JOAN OF ARC IN SHAKESPEARE, TWAIN, AND SHAW

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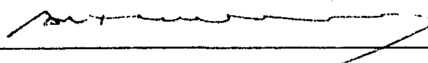

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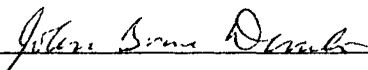

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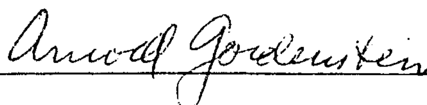

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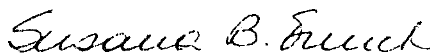

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To

MAX AND WILDA

Joan of Arc in Shakespeare, Twain, and Shaw.

ABSTRACT

No author can write about the historical character of Joan of Arc without investing some of his own personality, world view, philosophy, and prejudice into his depiction of her. Each author's depiction of Joan of Arc is influenced by his own preconceptions about what Joan was, or should have been, and is invariably tied to psychological, sociological, philosophical, and historical forces which influenced the author's respective art as a whole.

Shakespeare's Joan of Arc is treated misogynistically because he perceived her as an anti-woman - one who had stepped over traditionally defined lines of feminine behavior. Shakespeare depicts Joan as a witch, shrew, and trull.

Twain's Joan of Arc is treated as a prepubescent, young maiden, a child-naif. Like other "innocents" in Twain's works, Joan is thwarted by the corruption in society and the false Moral Sense that is prevalent in civilization.

Shaw created Joan of Arc in his own image and as a vehicle to embody his own personal philosophy of Shavian genius and the Life Force. Shaw seeks to de-romanticise Joan of Arc, and creates her as a "manly woman".

R E S U M O

Não há autor que escreva a respeito da personagem histórica de Joana d'Arc sem inserir um pouco de sua própria personalidade, sua visão do mundo, de sua filosofia e preconceitos na retratação que dela faz.

Em Shakespeare,Joana d'Arc é tratada de forma anti-feminista; sua coragem e força interna cedem diante de todas as imagens negativas e estereotipadas, associadas à mulher em Shakespeare, que tenham desafiado parâmetros femininos tradicionalmente definidos.

Em Twain, Joana d'Arc é tratada como uma pré-púbere "desavisada"; como ocorre com outros inocentes na obra de Twain, ela é destorcida pela corrupção na sociedade e pelo falso senso moral que prevalece na civilização.

Shaw não foi exceção; também ele criou Joana d'Arc segundo sua própria imagem, como um veículo incorporador de sua filosofia pessoal, isto é, do gênio "Shaviano" e da Força Vital.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Joan of Arc,a young French girl who was burned at the stake in 1431,has captured the imagination of writers and historians of almost every age and country. Joan has been described as "une sainte pour tous", and may also be described as a woman to suit just about everyone's taste. She has been a receptacle for about every kind of cause and movement imaginable, representing the most conservative to the most liberal factions.Her personality has become a repository for about every kind of predilection and prejudice possible. Marina Warner says that even in Joan's own age her individuality was largely ignored. During her lifetime her significance was already magnified by fears and longings of her contemporaries, who had already begun to perceive her actions according to one or another stereotype of the age.[1] She became the human counterpart of what botanist call an ecotype, a plant which travels, adapts itself, and develops differently in different surroundings.[2] Joan became different things to different people and countries at different times.

There has been a resurgence of interest in Joan of Arc in the twentieth century particularly since her canonization in 1920.

The year 1982 marked the 550th anniversary of Joan's death. A number of stimulating articles and books appeared in this commemorative year. I expected such recent books about Joan to be something of feminist treatises. I was surprised to find Marina Warner's recent book nothing of the sort. I was anxious to see to what extent Joan of Arc was a feminist prototype in literature.

When I began this thesis my utmost interest was in Joan herself and to what extent the real or historical Joan had been imurred by literature. I wanted to know why this young French girl from the peasant class had become so polemic. What is it about Joan that made her so attractive, so convincing, so hard to resist? Why is Joan's name equally familiar to a child in Austria or Brazil or Southwest Texas? Joan of Arc was as prominent a figure in my child's mind as Robin Hood or Davy Crockett. Why does Joan's image still come to the mind's eye with such clarity and force? What is it about Joan of Arc that has made her so immortal?

I wanted to examine the works of various authors against their separate historical surroundings and try to discover what in their own experiences had attracted them to or repelled them from the Joan story. I was interested in knowing how three male writers – Shakespeare, Mark Twain, and Bernard Shaw – perceived Joan, to what extent she was romanticised, if she was considered heroic, and what informed their perception of heroism in regard to woman.

Shaw's Saint Joan was written only a few years after Joan's canonisation, and I was eager to see if Joan was depicted by Shaw as the Shavian "new woman" or "manly woman". I was curious to discover if Joan was conceived as a proletarian heroine, and if she could be simultaneously perceived as a military and Christian heroine. I wished to observe whether Joan was depicted as a supernatural or natural heroine, and how each writer viewed Joan's religious experience and "voices". I hoped to discover something of Joan's psychological makeup; and to what extent each author regarded Joan as normal or abnormal. I was anxious to see if Joan were treated as a mature woman or child-naif, and if she had been masculinized or exhibited traditional feminine traits. I expected to observe whether Joan was created according to a type particular in each author's work, and expected to find something of each author's personality, world view and teleological vision tied to Joan.

By discussing three different perspectives on Joan in this thesis, which vary in terms of both historical and psychological angles, I was able to examine how each author used and transformed historical materials that were rooted in "fact" (trial records, etc). By contrasting and comparing the treatment of the Joan story by Shakespeare, Twain, and Shaw I hoped to discover what was common or historical and what was unusual or personal in their perspectives of Joan of Arc and her story. It was my intention to compare and contrast when possible the Joan story in the three works with respect to characterization, plot, tone, theme, and image or symbol.

The Historical Joan and Her Age

The presence of Joan of Arc changed the course of the Hundred Years War. This war began in 1337 when Edward III of England claimed the throne of France through his mother. When seventeen-year old Joan appeared on the scene in 1429,Lancastrian England was disputing with Valois France for the right of domination in France. England's Henry V had renewed his grandfather Edward's claim to France and had won a great victory at Agincourt in 1415, and by the Treaty of Troyes had appointed his heir Henry VI the future king of France and England.Joan's Dauphin, Charles VII,would be usurped by the son of Henry V.

There were two political parties in France,the Armagnacs and the Burgundians. England took advantage of the civil dispute and enmity between the two parties, marshalling the Burgundians to their side to further their ambitions in France. Joan led the Armagnac party which wished to see the French crown rightfully restored to Charles VII. The Burgundians were enemies of the Valois line from which Charles descended.

Marina Warner describes Joan's culture as one "terrorized by sensual sin". Joan's virginity had tremendous power in her culture because the image of an undefiled body was immensely potent. Medieval Christians regarded virginity as a "holy state of prelapsarian innocence" and viewed chastity as a precondition of miracle working.[3] Joan's contemporaries had been waiting for

a virgin who would restore war-torn France. There were prophecies concerning this virgin; Merlin himself had prophesied that France would be ruined by a woman and restored by a virgin. According to her contemporaries, Joan was the virgin who would restore France. Queen Isabella, who in 1420 had made the treaty with England which dispossessed her son Charles VII, was regarded as the woman who had destroyed her country. The purity of Joan of Arc was of the utmost importance. It was widely believed that the devil could not have commerce with a virgin.[4] Marina Warner discusses the powerful force of Joan's virginal state:

> The concept of virginity which she embodied- literally- had enormous power in her culture. Juxtaposed to the vivisected and dismembered body of the kingdom, her virginity provided an urgent symbol of integrity. By synecdoche, Joan's intact sexuality stood for the whole of her and, in the ambitions of her supporters, for the whole of France.[5]

Joan's France of the Hundred Years War was marked by division. Division existed between the French and the English, between the feudal lords and the court; there was division by class and feudal loyalties. Joan's society was in an upheaval. The nobles were anxious to secure their privileges and hold on to a way of life which was becoming increasingly more difficult to preserve. The ecclesiastics were also anxious to maintain their position and influence amidst the civil strife.

Pierre Cauchon, the Bishop of Beauvais and a fervent supporter of the English Government in France, was the chief mover behind

Joan's trial and condemnation. Warner describes him as "a man who had from an early age made his fortune using God to rule Caesar".[6] Cauchon took advantage of the English desire to be rid of Joan to further his own career as an ecclesiastic. He did the English and Burgundian party a favor by condemning Joan as a heretic, thereby repudiating the Valois dynasty. Joan's claim that she had received a mission from God to crown the Dauphin king of France gave Charles VII the divine seal of legitimacy. The servants of Henry VI could not allow this. Cauchon presided over Joan's trial illegally because by law he could not judge a prisoner who was not captured in his own diocese. In return for his activities which greatly benefited the English cause in France, he obtained the rewards he desired. He was appointed to new posts as "vidame" of Rheims, and "maître des requêtes du roi". He pleaded for and received the provostship of Lille a year later.[7] Cauchon was paid a nice sum of money for gathering evidence for Joan's prosecution. Jean Beaupère, another of Joan's hostile interrogators, drew payment for his role in Joan's trial.

The church could not take life, but they could hand a relapsed heretic over to the secular arm to be burned. Joan signed a recantation confessing that she had lied concerning her revelations and visions from God; that she had been seditious, idolatrous, and had evoked and adored evil spirits, etc. She believed she would be set free if she signed the recantation. Her judges threatened her with the stake if she did not sign.

When Joan learned that she had been sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, she abjured, taking back everything that she had recanted of, preferring death to spending the rest of her life in a dungeon. Joan could then be legally handed over to the secular branch, having been declared a relapsed heretic by the Church. The secular branch, represented by the feudal aristocrats, the English and the Burgundians, were quite pleased to burn her.

Joan's strategy of taking the Dauphin to Rheims, the city in France where all French Kings had been crowned, was brilliant. Charles's coronation in the city of Rheims confirmed his kingship in the customary way established for centuries, The Dauphin had been dispossessed by a treaty which his mother had made with the English. Joan understood what the people understood, that kings are made in heaven, not by treaties. The Dauphin was not a king to the people until he had been crowned at Rheims and anointed with the "sainte ampoule", the phial of holy oil. Charles's coronation provided "a look of normality to the abnormality of his situation, it provided a relief from craziness, from disorder, from a sense of not knowing where things stood."[8]

The war slipped from Joan's grasp because of Charles's cowardice and laxity. Charles was determined to withdraw from the conflict with the English. He preferred to make truces and carry on negotiations. Joan had repeatedly said that she thought that peace would come only at the point of a lance. Charles frustrated Joan's plan to take Paris from the English. He

disbanded the army, but Joan continued to fight as a freelance captain of war. She was captured on the 24th of May in Compiègne, when the commander of the city's French troops reconsidered risking his stronghold on her behalf. He ordered the gates to be closed and the draw-bridge raised. Joan was trapped on the other side of the causeway with no line of retreat from the enemy encircling the city. In November Cauchon ransomed Joan from the Burgundians. After having spent one year in English and French ecclesiastical prisons, Joan was burned at the stake.

Themes and Considerations

Already in Joan's own age, her image was being manipulated by various political interests. Joan's rehabilitation which took place in 1456 was political in its intent. Charles and his supporters found it embarassing to have his claim to the throne of France sullied by Joan's reputation as a heretic and a hoax who was burned at the stake. Because of Charles's association with her, he felt that it was necessary to finally clean her image up.

For Shakespeare's Elizabethan age Joan served as a whipping girl for England's jingoistic policy of national expansion and blustering foreign policy. Within her own country the opposing power blocs competing for Joan's patronage were numerous. Napoleon's desire to reinstate himself with the Church, led to a restoration of her cult expressed in nationalistic terms.

For some,Joan became a patron of national populism. As a daughter of the soil she was associated with democratic ideals,

social equality and participation of the masses. For Charles Pēguy and Anatole France she personified the freedom of the individual and her trial and condemnation was the personification of oppressive governments.[9]

To the Action Francaise in France she represented the "Nation", and the pro-militarist monarchy and anti-republican sentiments in France, not "Democracy". Joan's name was linked to demands for support of violently authoritarian measures.

Joan's canonization like her rehabilitation served a political purpose. In 1894 after tremendous socialist gains in the French elections of 1893, Leo XIII realized that Joan could be used in an attempt to reclaim French souls influenced by socialism and atheism.[10] In 1903 Joan was declared Venerable. Joan's canonisation in 1920 was capitalized on as a means of demonstrating that the Church and State could work together.

Joan of Arc fit well into the Romantic spirit of the 19th century and her qualities of youth and innocence were particularly appealing to Twain. Joan's attachment to the land and her link to the peasant class appealed to Twain's democratic, populist sentiments. The theme of innocence in Twain's works was not a new one in English or American literature. Wordsworth had dealt with the fate of innocence in his Ode on Intimations of Immortality written in 1807. The fate of the "innocent" finds expression in other works in American Literature- we find

Ishmael in Melville's work and Natty Bumppo in Cooper's . In many of Mark Twain's works including Joan of Arc, innocence is equated with childlikeness; and knowledge and experience, with maturity and evil. Marina Warner says that the chief problem with this is that it is a rejection of reality. A child heroine represents a reduction of conflict.[11] The conception of Joan as an innocent child from the rural village of Domremy , a little sheperdess with whom God spoke, may be too simple. Warner has observed that "one of the most tantalizing puzzles of European history disappears under the cloud of primal innocence." [12] Warner observes that the Joan story embodying the theme of innocence with Joan as a "sweet-faced child of hagiography, represents the Western attachment to changelessness and (its) terror of flux." [13]

Joan has served as a vehicle for varied political intent and particular literary themes or philosophical considerations. Feminists of every age have been attracted to Joan of Arc.When Christabel Pankhurst was released from Holloway jail in 1908, the victory procession of the Women's Social and Political Union was led by a suffragette dressed as Joan in full armour. Joan's life,however, was a tribute to the male principle, a homage to the male sphere of action.[14] In Shaw's depiction of Joan in Saint Joan as a "manly-woman", it is the "manliness" of her personality which Shaw believes enhances her personality.Warner comments on the fact that Joan of Arc chose to dress herself in two intertwined uniforms of positive virtue, maleness and

Knighthood.[15] She says that "men remained the touchstone and equality a process of imitation".[16] Warner sees Joan's transvestism as an attempt to overcome the denigration of her sex:"By abrogating the destiny of womankind, Joan could transcend her sex. She could set herself apart and usurp the privileges of the male and his claims to superiority".[17]

1.2 JOAN OF ARC IN LITERATURE

In the sixteenth century Joan is associated with the classical Amazon, and the Renaissance warrior. Joan's surname which was written during her trial and rehabilitation as "Darc" had gradually become "D'Arc" (of Arc) with all the connotations which the name brings to mind. Both Diana and the Amazons used a bow or an "arc". Joan was assimimilated to images of classical or Biblical heroines. Shakespeare's Charles VII says of Joan: "Thou art an Amazon and fightest with the sword of Deborah". The Amazon's two most famous queens, Hippolyta and Penthesilea, were Diana's chief votaries. They lived by her example, "spurning men, tracking game, rejoicing in battle, inverting biology and flouting nature."[18]

As a Renaissance warrior the death-dealing Amazon went through a profound metamorphis : no longer a fatal votary of Diana, "she ceased to renounce men; instead, her fighting frequently culminated in erotic surrender to a superior male warrior."[19] In Shakespeare's play, Joan of Arc inverts natural order, but is finally conquered by the male principle represented first by Warwick, then by York.

In the eighteenth century Voltaire's "La Pucelle d'Orleāns" appeared as a racy burlesque of Joan's virginity.Voltaire writes of Joan: "And the greatest of the rare exploits/Was to preserve her maidenhead for a whole year." Warner summarizes the plot of Voltaire's long poem in this way:

> Joan is promised to Dunois, but only after a year has passed, during which her virginity, the guarantee of the country's safety and her victories in battle, has to be closely guarded. She is put to the test many times,... and she very nearly fails in the last test, when she is passionately wooed by [a flying] ass.... At the last moment, Joan is saved by the handy presence of Deborah's lance at her bedside and the vigilance of Dunois at her keyole.[20]

When Romantic patriotism was at its highest in France during the end of the eighteenth century and through the nineteenth, Voltaire's "La Pucelle" was condidered "a lapse in the worst possible taste, the equivalent of slipping a banana skin under a cripple."[21]

In Friedrich Schiller's epic drama, Die Jungfrau von Orleans, Joan is so highly romanticised that she hardly bears any resemblance to the historical Joan. Schiller's Joan of Arc falls in love with an English soldier; and because Schiller can't bear to have Joan burnt at the stake, she dies on the battlefield.

The publication in 1841 of the records of Joan's trial by Jules Quicherat, shed a different light on her. With the appearance of

these historical documents, writers began to interpret Joan's story with special attention to historical accuracy. In 1844 the French historian Jules Michelet published his work on Joan which appeared in his Histoire de France. Mark Twain's Joan of Arc appeared in 1896. Twain borrowed much of his historical knowledge concerning Joan from Michelet. Andrew Lang's The Maid of France appeared in England about the same time as Twain's work on Joan was published in America. Both works romanticised the Joan story and are marked by the interest of their age in the individual, populism, and the celebration of natural virtues and man in nature . Before Twain and Lang celebrated Joan as a people's heroine linked to her native soil, Robert Southey had written his epic poem Joan of Arc in 1793. Southey's Joan of Arc is an expression of his revolutionary socialism. His Joan also represents an unspoiled agrarian culture, from a time when "industrialisation had not withered the social organisation created spontaneously by the labouring people."[22] In his poem, Joan is described as a "Rousseau-like force of nature, alert and obedient to the inner promptings of the innocent human heart."[23]

George Bernard Shaw's play Saint Joan appeared in 1924,and is probably the best known work about Joan of Arc in the twentieth century. In Saint Joan Joan is a typical Shavian heroine and genius and an embodiment of Shaw's philosophy of Creative Evolution and the Life Force.

1.3. REVIEW OF PRIOR LITERARY CRITICISM

The literary criticism which I drew on in my arguments and treatment of Joan of Arc in this thesis is varied. The Henry VI trilogy has practically been ignored by critics. Shakespearean critic Leslie Fiedler, however, gives particular importance to the trilogy in an effort to show that it is indicative of Shakespeare's misogynistic bent in dealing with women throughout the Shakespearen canon. Fiedler argues that Shakespeare was a man torn by his own personal prejudices, and that in addition to woman, Shakespeare's treatment of the Jew, Black Man, and Indian is pejorative. Fiedler observes that Shakespeare treated Joan of Arc in particular, and women in general as "strangers", the "alien", the "other" - outsiders. Although I had to agree that Shakespeare's portrait of Joan was negative and unhistorical, I tried to qualify Fiedler's theory that all women in the Shakespeare canon are not treated misogynistically by presenting the point of view of critics who viewed other feminine characters in the Shakespearean plays as positive and sympathetic creations.

In the 1930's there was a closer reexamination of Shakespeare's use of symbol and imagery especially popularized by Carolyn Spurgeon and G.Wilson Knight. Knight held that one should analyze the poetic symbolism in the plays in regard to certain images that recur in the same association. Knight insisted on attention to the unity of the Shakespearean play and distinguishes "poetic interpretation" from "criticism"

giving emphasis to the interlocking and interthreading recurrences of motifs, and interpretation of the whole art-form.[24] Knight sees the "Imperial Theme" in Antony and Cleopatra as Love, where the feminine values represented in Egypt and Cleopatra take precedence over the conventional male-oriented Roman values of war and honor.

William C. Spengemann pays particular attention to Twain's Joan of Arc because it demonstrates the author's lifelong desire to believe in man's innocence on the one hand,and his growing disillusionment in the efficacy of innocence in a corrupt world, on the other. Sprengemann examines Twain's concern with the fate of innocence, as an intrinsic theme informing Twain's works from beginning to end. Sprengemann holds that Twain could neither renounce his faith in the idea of innocence nor accept it uncritically.

Albert E.Stone describes Twain's attraction to and sympathy for the age of childhood. He traces some of the social and intellectual currents in Twain's career which accounted for this special predilection. Joan of Arc is significant as an image of childhood in Twain's works and of his fondness for and special devotion to girlhood; and combines his lifelong interest in history and the remote past.

Roger B.Salomon examines the images of history in Twain's works. He traces Twain's early theory of progress exhibiting itself through human history to his final pessimism in the progress of the human race. Twain's late works express his view of history as a "barren and meaningless process", and his view that evil is inherent in man and his nature immutable. Salomon

viewed Joan of Arc as Twain's attempt to escape from his own rationalistic formulations concerning the nature and progress of mankind.

Marina Warner's recent book on Joan of Arc is not literary criticism but is interesting as an attempt to de-code the context in which Joan flourished; it pays special attention to different aspects of Joan's posthumous fame. Warner begins by discussing the impact that Joan's virginity made on her contemporaries.She then describes Joan in the various costumes which she herself chose, in the dress of a man, the splendour of a knight and in the guises that her contemporaries thought she had assumed: the role of female prophet insubordinate heretic, and dangerous witch.[25]

George Bernard Shaw's preface to Saint Joan is an extensive commentary on Joan's personality, the "evolutionary appetite" which drove Joan onward, the significance of her voices and visions, and her manliness and militariness. Shaw discusses the treatment of Joan of Arc in literature, particulary Shakespeare's and Mark Twain's treatment of the maid, as well as mentioning other writers who dealt with the Joan story such as Schiller, Voltaire, Andrew Lang, and Anatole France. Shaw discusses in some length his own portrayal of Joan in Saint Joan.

I also found Stanley Weintraub's anthology on Saint Joan quite useful. Weintraub collected twenty-five essays giving a world-wide critical view of Shaw's Saint Joan from its opening performance in December, 1923, to the present. His anthology includes essays, articles, and review, by such writers as Luigi Pirandello, Johan Huizinga, J.Van Kan, Louis L. Martz, J.I.M. Stewart, Alick West, Hans Stoppel, A.Obraztsova, A.N.Kaul, etc.

The appearance of Jules Quicherat's transcripts of Joan's trial and rehabilitation hearings, added a new authenticity and force to subsequent works. Twain and Shaw both drew extensively from Quicherat's transcripts in their treatment of the Joan story.

1.4. STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

In examining the actual historical accounts which are concerned with the character and career of Joan of Arc, I was able to observe to what extent Shakespeare, Twain, and Shaw had added to or detracted from the Joan story, and if the image of Joan had been distorted, enhanced, or perhaps inverted in their respective works.

The body of my work will be composed of 3 chapters which deal with the literary treatments of the Joan figure. Chapter II examines Shakespeare's treatment of Joan in Arc in <u>Henry VI Part One</u>. Chapter III deals with Twain's depiction of Joan in his novel <u>Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc</u>. Chapter IV examines Bernard Shaw's characterization of Joan in his play <u>Saint Joan</u>. Chapter V provides comments on various aspects of the depiction of Joan of Arc by Shakespeare, Twain, and Shaw.

This thesis is not an exercise in myth criticism of the Joan legend, or an attempt to discover an underlying common myth, which informed the works of each author. I wanted rather to examine the variations in each work on Joan, and each work's peculiar relevance to the author and any similarities or differences it may have had to other works which Shakespeare,

Twain, and Shaw wrote. When possible I tried to compare or contrast Shakespeare's, Twain's, and Shaw's treatment of Joan of Arc.

My conclusion will propose the thesis that Shakespeare's treatment of Joan of Arc is misogynistic, because he viewed her as an anti-woman - one who had stepped over traditionally defined lines of feminine behavior. Shakespeare's Joan of Arc seeks to subvert the English masculine principle, and is reminiscent of other aggressive women in Shakespeare like Venus in Venus and Adonis, and the Dark Lady in the Sonnets.

My conclusion will propose that Twain's Joan of Arc is treated as a prepubescent young maiden. In Twain Joan of Arc is created in the tradition of genteel Victorian maidenhood, as well as being a critic of the gentility around her. Joan, like other innocents in Twain's works, is thwarted by the corruption in society, and the false Moral Sense that is prevalent in civilization.

I will seek to show that Shaw's Joan of Arc is the embodiment of his own personal philosophy of Shavian genius and the Life Force. Shaw seeks to de-romanticise Joan of Arc, and creates her as a "manly woman".

Each author's depiction of Joan of Arc is influenced by his own preconceptions about what Joan was, or should have been, and is invariably tied to psychological, sociological, philosophical, and historical forces which influenced the author's respective art as a whole.

CHAPTER II

SHAKESPEARE'S JOAN OF ARC

Shakespearean critic Leslie Fiedler has perceived Shakespeare as essentially misogynistic in his treatment and characterization of women. Fiedler has strongly criticised Shakespeare's misogyny, and in particular his misogynistic treatment of the historical Joan of Arc and her daughter alter-ego, Margaret of Anjou in the trilogy, Henry VI, Part One, Two, and Three. Fiedler misses no opportunity to show us that in this early play Shakespeare has desecrated the image of Joan, the virgin maid and saint of France.

In his argument Fiedler has sought to prove that Joan of Arc as well as most of the other female characters are what in literature may be called the borderline figure,sometimes called the "shadow", the "other", the "alien", the "stranger".[26] Did Shakespeare begin his career with an anti-feminist bias? This is an important question and one which Fiedler answers affirmatively. After a close textual examination of the Henry VI trilogy and a discussion of Fiedler's argument that Shakespeare was indeed fanatically misogynistic,I wish to qualify this point and suggest reasons for doing so.

In Henry VI Part One Joan seems to the French to be a pure virgin, sanctified, worthy of veneration, and ordained to lay

her hand upon France and free it from foreign English rule and subjugation. Joan begins by telling her story with seemingly enough humility as she speaks to the French Dauphin whom she has been ordained to crown as King of France:

> Dauphin, I am by birth a shepherd's daughter,
> My wit untrained in any kind of art.
> Heaven and our Lady gracious hath it pleased
> To shine on my contemptible estate.
> Lo, whilst, I waited on my tender lambs,
> And to sun's parching heat displayed my cheeks,
> God's mother deignèd to appear to me,
> And in a vision full of majesty
> Willed me to leave my base vocation
> And free my country from calamity.
> Her aid she promised and assured success.
> In complete glory she revealed herself;
> And, whereas I was black and swart before,
> With those clear rays which she infused on me
> That beauty am I blessed with which you see.
> (I ii 72-86)

Next Joan encourages the Dauphin to accept her as his "warlike mate". The Dauphin makes a plea to be Joan's lover rather than her sovereign. Joan however responds: "I must not yield to any rites of love, for my profession's sacred from above." Shakespeare seems unable to curb his true opinion of Joan of Arc for very long, as he lets shades of the English disdain of Joan creep into the French Dukes' dialogue concerning her. As Joan spends such a long time in private discourse with the Dauphin, they assume that he is making love to her. The historical Joan, of course, did enter into private conversation with Charles in an attempt to win his support to lead the ragged

and brow-beaten French army to victory and to convince him that he must go to Rheims to be crowned.

Talbot, as the English protagonist responds misogynistically upon learning that Joan and the Dauphin have raised a siege against his forces:

> Pucelle or puzzel, dolphin or dogfish,
> Your hearts I'll stamp out with my horse's heels
> And make a quagmire of your mingled brains.
> (I vi 107-109)

The French word "pucelle" means virgin or maid. Historically Joan referred to herself as the maid. Shakespeare makes a pun on the words "pucelle" - virgin, and the English cant word "puzzel"- which means "whore", or as Fiedler points out even "stinking whore", since behind the English cant word must lie the Italian word "puzzare", with its equivalent of "burning, scalding stench".[27]

In contrast to Talbot's outburst, Shakespeare's ambivalence toward Joan comes through in the unwittingly prophetic speech which Charles recites. More often than not the Dauphin's words are overblown, vain repetitions, and unctuous flattery, but in this speech they ring true:

> In memory of her when she is dead,
> Her ashes, in an urn more precious
> Than the rich-jeweled coffer of Darius,
> Before the kings and queens of France
> No longer on Saint Denis will we cry,
> But Joan la Pucelle shall be France's saint.
> (I vi. 23-29)

Talbot promises to "chastise the high-minded strumpet". He assures the English dukes that God is on their side; that is, the English side against the French, which Fiedler says for Shakespeare is the equivalent: "enemy= France= traitor= woman= blackness of darkness".[28]

Shakespeare's Joan of Arc is unchaste and impure. Charles and Joan are engaged in a little tête-à-tête, and after Charles has upbraided her for the military losses which they have suffered, she responds in this way: "Wherefore is Charles impatient with his friend?" Any Elizabethan playgoer would understand Joan's use of the word "friend" to mean "lover". Burgundy continues this same line of thought as he reports the English attack on France:

> And sure I scared the Dauphin and his trull
> When arm in arm they both came swiftly running
> Like to a pair of loving turtle doves
> That could not live asunder day or night.
> (II ii 28-31)

Burgundy calls Joan a vile fiend and shameless courtesan. When Lord Talbot comes face to face with Joan he curses her as the "Foul fiend of France and hag of all despite, railing Hecate encompassed with [her] lustful paramours!" Jean Pasqueral, confessor of the historical Joan of Arc testified at her vindication that Joan broke down and wept at the insults hurled at her by the English from the fort of Les Tourelles at Orleans before the battle.[29] For Shakespeare and the Elizabethans, Joan of Arc,

"a historical woman without a historical face [had become] diabolically ugly." [30] Shakespeare's play demonstrates well the polarity of Joan's image to the French on one hand and to the English on the other.

Talbot is killed in the battle against the French. At Talbot's death we are reminded of one of the most important themes in Shakespeare - War and Male Honour, along with its grandiose trappings of titles and tributes to this masculine realm of action. When Sir William enters the French camp to claim Talbot's body he breaks into an overblown, elaborate recital of Lord Talbot's many titles and honours. Joan answers Lucy with such sensible directness (apparent in other female characters in Shakespeare) that we can't help but feel more favorably inclined toward her when she says:

> Here is a silly stately style indeed!
> The Turk, that two and fifty kingdoms hath,
> Writes not so tedious a style as this
> Him that thou magnifiest with all these titles
> Stinking and fly blown lies here at our feet.
> (IV vi 72-76)

Just when we are about to assume Shakespeare's ambivalence toward Joan as thoroughgoing, she emerges in much more monstrous and fiendish dimensions than in any of the earlier scenes. Before the French excursions in Angiers the maid falls into incantations, calling on the devil as "the lordly monarch of the North" to aid her in battle against the French. The fiends which Joan has

"culled out of the powerful regions under earth" come forth and appear before her. In a diabolic and heinous manner Joan offers her blood, her body, and finally her soul to the fiends in a Faustian exchange for their forces against England.

> Oh, hold me not with silence overlong!
> Where I was wont to feed you with my blood,
> I'll lop a member off and give it to you
> In earnest of a further benefit,
> So you do condescend to help me now.
> No hope to have redress? My body shall
> Pay recompense if you will grant my suit.
> Cannot my body or blood sacrifice
> Entreat you to your wanted furtherance?
> Then take my soul, my body, soul and all....
> (V iii 13-16, 18-23)

Shakespeare's Joan of Arc has shown herself to be a full-fledged witch who receives her powers from the fiends of darkness and not from God or the Virgin Mary as she claims when she introduces herself to the Dauphin. The imagery of bloodiness is strong in Shakespeare's depiction of Joan. In the past "bloodletting could be used to seal a pact, as a pledge of the witch's faith,because if given to the devil, it was a sign of surrender."[31]
It was also believed that bleeding a witch cancelled her power, in the same way that her power was neutralised by the name of Jesus or with holy water. The English were terrified when they observed the historical Joan's invulnerability to pain. Dunois testified in 1456 concerning the effect that Joan had on the English soldiers at Orleans. He says that during the battle Joan was wounded "by an arrow which penetrated her flesh between her

neck and her shoulder for a depth of six inches."[32] Joan dressed her wound with a little poultice of lard and olive oil, and retired into a vineyard where she remained at prayer for a space of eight minutes, then continued fighting as if nothing had happened. According to Dunois "the moment the English saw her return to battle they trembled with terror,"[33] and thought her a witch. Lord Talbot in Shakespeare is particularly anxious to spill the witch's blood to neutralise her power. In hand-to - hand combat with Joan, Talbot cries:

> Devil, or Devil's dam, I'll conjure thee:
> Blood will I draw on thee, thou art a witch,
> And straightway give thy soul to him thou servest.
> (I v. 5-8)

In Joan's Faustian evocation of the powers of darkness, she is a prototype for Lady Macbeth who conjures spirits to unsex her and "stop up the accéss and passage to remorse". Lady Macbeth offers the ministers of murder the milk from her woman's breasts in exchange for gall.

Shakespeare's Joan of Arc who culls her powers out of the regions of darkness and described herself as "black and swart" before being infused with light by the Virgin Mary, has in fact never been anything but <u>black</u> and <u>foul</u> in Shakespeare's mind. We are reminded again of Fiedler's equation of Shakespeare's masculine England against feminine France which is: "enemy= France=traitor=woman=blackness of darkness."[34] Fiedler has

illustrated that for Shakespeare the opposite of fair is not only black but also foul, so that black and foul are equivalent. Blackness and foulness in King Lear's mad diatribe are the equivalent of femaleness:

> Down from the waist they are centaurs,
> Though women all above;
> But to the girdle do the god's inherit,
> Beneath is all the fiends'-
> There's hell, there's darkness, there is the
> sulphorous pit- burning, scalding, stench,
> consumption! Fie, fie fie! Pah! pah!
> (King Lear, IV vi 125-131)

Fiedler tells us that Joan of Arc for Shakespeare is the representative of the female principle which struggles to subvert and destroy the male principle represented by Talbot. Fiedler says that "once the most phallic of English Kings Henry V has died, the male principle of England is threatened and England is in danger of becoming an island ruled by the female principle."[35] The play begins with the Duke of Bedford eulogizing Henry V:

> Instead of gold, we'll offer up our arms,
> Since arms avail not now that Henry's dead.
> Posterity, await for wretched years
> When at their mothers' moist eyes babes shall
> suck,
> Our isle be made a nourish of salt tears,
> And none but women left to wail the dead.
> (I i 46-51)

Fiedler says that for the male principle to be conquered by the female... "and none but women left" was a most fearful thing in

Shakespeare's private mythology.[36] Fiedler, however, never explains what the "male principle" embodied for Shakespeare or for the Elizabethans for whom he wrote.

In a patriarchal society, the accepted order for the Elizabethans and Shakespeare, the male principle seems to embody honor, patriotism, war and the call to arms, public service , solidity, form, strength. By contrast the female principle is more subjective, multi-faceted, emotional, even secretive and private, related to flux and flow, soft, inadamant, submitting.

What would perhaps seem a virtue in the male world would seem the contrary in the feminine world. What may be seen as remorselessness, hardheartedness, and stubborness in the female may be interpreted as positive, uncompromising,unyielding force of moral character in the male. Female activity which would provoke violent opposition might be viewed in the male sphere of action as necessary corollaries and consequences in a patriarchal society in which the survival and social development of the clan or tribe is thought to depend on unalterable moral codes.

What may appear as virtue in the male and in one particular set of circumstances, might appear as error in the female when placed in inappropriate circumstances not in accord with the defined and acceptable mores formed by the communal expectations of a male-oriented society. We may assume that the male and female principles for Shakespeare embodied those characteristics which the Elizabethans held as natural attributes and inherent

qualities in man and woman as ordered by "nature" and the universe in line with the patriarchal organization and propensity of their society.

The historical Joan of Arc inverted many of the attributes that Shakespeare would have considered "natural" in a woman. She left her home and family, dressed herself like a man and went into the totally masculine area of War. As a military leader,she commanded men rather than submit to them. She subjected her female body to the same rigorous hardships and dangers that men were subject to. She was uncompromising and adamant in her dealings with the enemy.She yielded her personal convictions to no man or woman.

Shakespeare has clearly established the fact that Joan of Arc is an "unnatural woman", one who subverts the masculine principle. He clearly demonstrates that Joan is black and foul and receives her powers not from above but from the powers of darkness. She reappears to fight with the Duke of York who curses and imprecates her as an ugly witch:

> A goodly prize, fit for the Devil's Grace!
> See how the ugly witch doth bend her brows,
> As if with Circe she would change my shape!
> (V iii 32-35)

Joan is taken prisoner by York , who now represents the English masculine principle, replacing the dead Talbot. In the next scene Joan is brought forward by the English guards to speak to her father who has come to Anjou searching for her. As an unnatural

woman who subverts the masculine principle Shakespeare's Joan of Arc must be cast out. She is not cast out and burned at the stake, however, until she has had a chance to deny and betray her father.

When Joan's father finds her in prison he cries:

> Ah, Joan, this kills thy father's heart
> outright!
> Have I sought every country far and near,
> And now it is my chance to find thee out,
> Must I behold thy timeless cruel death?
> Ah, Joan, sweet daughter Joan, I'll die with
> thee!
> (V iv 2-6)

Joan responds to the old man in a most ungracious and insolent manner:

> Decripit miser! Base ignoble wretch!
> I am descended of a gentler blood.
> Thou art no father nor no friend of mine.
> (V iv 6-8)

York and the other dukes rebuke Joan for denying the old man: "Graceless! Wilt thou deny thy parentage? This argues what her kind of life hath been-wicked and vile and so her death concludes." Joan's father makes one more plea to her: "And for thy sake have I shed many a tear. Deny me not, I prithee, gentle Joan". Joan answers her father in an imperious and disdainful way: "Peasant! Avaunt! You have suborned this man of purpose to obsure my noble birth". After this outburst we are left wondering what became of Joan's former humility when she presented herself as

a "shepherd's daughter, [her] wit untrained in any kind of art, inspired by heaven and our Lady gracious."

Joan's father at last curses her in a sinister outburst of emotion:

> Kneel down and take my blessing, good my girl.
> Wilt thou not stoop? Now cursed be the time
> of thy nativity! I would the milk
> Thy mother gave thee when thou suck'dst her breast
> Had been a little ratsbane for thy sake!
> Or else, when thou didst keep my lambs afield,
> I wish some ravenous wolf had eaten thee!
> Dost thou deny thy father, cursed drab?
> Oh, burn her, burn her! Hanging is too good.
> (V iv. 25-33)

In this scene Joan surpasses any of her former wretchedness and contemptibility. She is not only a trull and a witch, but a despicable and hateful daughter or to use Fiedler's terminology "a betraying daughter."[37] Fiedler says that in the Shakespearen canon "fathers are more betrayed than betraying."[38] This is certainly true in The Merchant of Venice. Portia's father, the dead king, had in his will taken care to insist that Portia's would-be suitors be required to pass the test of the three caskets before winning her hand. In this way he hoped to choose the right suitor for Portia and drive opportunists away. Portia has been described by critics as "the Golden Girl" and "the darling of a sophisticated society."[39] Portia is no cloistered little girl. Men from every part of the world come to woo her and she is able to see and evaluate what the wide world has to offer. She

unmercifully, if not vulgarly, mocks her suitors as comic and absurd characters, each according to their national stereotypes or the color of their skin. Portia is "a stranger-hater par excellence." She is archetypally Medea, "the cunning one", a witch, however favorable she may appear to her suitors.[40] She defies her father's will by using her manipulative magic to let the suitor of her choice know how to choose the correct casket. Portia's rival is Antonio-a kind of father-figure for Bassanio. Shylock's daughter Jessica is also a "betraying daughter" in the play. Against Shylock's will she elopes with a Gentile and gilds herself with her father's gold ducats before leaving. Shylock later learns that in Genoa Jessica has traded for a monkey, his turquoise ring, which he received from his wife during their courtship.

Shakespeare was profoundly affected by the Elizabethan view of a fixed medieval universe with fixed relations and values. Shakespeare's writings are coloured and directed by this world view. Medieval man believed in a great chain of being; that everything in the universe had its proper rank in the chain of being. Jan Kott speaks of this hierarchical order which must exist in the Shakespearean universe in this way:

> There is in the universe an order of the elements, and a corresponding order of the rank on earth.
> Royal power comes from God, and all power on earth is merely a reflection of the power wielded by the King.[41]

Shakespeare eloquently expresses this view in the speech spoken by Ulysses in Troilus and Cressida:

> The heavens themselves, the planets and this center,
> Observe degree, priority, and place,
> Insisture, course, proportion, season, form,
> Office, and custom, in all line of order.
> And therefore is the glorious planet Sol
> In noble eminence enthroned and sphered
> Amidst the others, whose medicinable eye
> Corrects the ill aspects as planets evil,
> And post like the commandments of a king,
> Sans check to good and bad. But when the planets
> In evil mixture to disorder wander,
> What plagues and what portents,what mutiny,
> What raging of the sea, shaking of earth,
> ... Divert and crack, rend and deracinate,
> The unity and married calm of states
> Quite from their fixture! Oh, when degree is shaked,
> Which is the ladder to all designs,
> The enterprise is sick!
>
> (I iii 85-97, 99-104)

The Elizabethans for whom Shakespeare wrote, supported "nature" as a reflection of the "status quo". This kind of nature presupposes divinely ordained relationships between the King and the Kingdom, the father and his children, the young and the old, the servant and his master, and between man and woman. In the Shakespearean universe the natural order would of course be patriarchal. Just as all power on earth is wielded through the king on earth, the order of the universe, and the planets are governed by the Sol (the Sun). The Sun is usually associated with the male principle, while the moon, a satellite of the earth which accompanies it in its revolution around the sun, is associated with the feminine. The moon is

generally associated with mutability and lack of permanence and stability. Shakespeare seems to associate the male principle and a patriarchal society, with order and form, that which is solid and well-defined, and superior in rank or degree.

Shakespeare's Joan of Arc inverts "nature" and pays no attention to fixed relations and values. In a patriarchal society, daughters and sons owe obedience to their fathers, and are expected to submit themselves to the father's governance and receive his blessing just as the liege or subject submitted himself to his lord or king. When Joan betrays and denies her father in a contemptible manner, and then refuses to submit to him and receive his blessing, she deserves to be burned and the old man's curses ring out loud and clear: "Dost thy deny thy father, cursed drab? Burn her, burn her! Hanging is too good." [42]

Fiedler goes to extremes when he says that "even those girls who cross their fathers for the purest love must die" [43] (Juliet, Cordelia and Desdemona). In Shakespeare's later plays there is no death for "betraying daughters" as Fiedler has suggested must be the fate of all girls like Joan. The end is happy marriage and reconciliation for all with the fathers happily blessing the men whom their daughters have chosen.

Although Fiedler tries to apply his theory about Shakespeare and daughters too widely, his theory is relevant enough in regard to Joan. After Joan has cursed her father she rises to new heights of phrenetic pomposity and haughtiness- as an

incredible megalomaniac. Joan answers her accusers, and rather than a divinely inspired agent of the Virgin Mary, she puts us in mind of a self-appointed female Anti-Christ:

> First, let me tell you whom you have condemned,
> Not me begotten of a shepherd swain,
> But issued from the progeny of Kings,
> Virtuous and holy, chosen from above
> By inspiration of celestial grace
> To work exceeding miracles on earth.
> No misconceived! Joan of Arc hath been
> A virgin from her tender infancy,
> Chaste and immaculate in every thought;
> Whose maiden blood, thus rigorously effused,
> Will cry for vengeance at the gates of Heaven.
> (V. iv. 36-41, 49-53)

When York the other English pay no attention to Joan's outburst, and call for her execution, she makes her last ghastly proclamation:

> I am with child, ye blood homicides,
> Murder not then the fruit within my womb,
> Although you hale me to a violent death.
> (V. iv. 62-64)

When York answers that he had imagined that she and the Dauphin had been "juggling",Joan denies his accusation and says that it was Alençon who had enjoyed her love. Then in almost the same instance Joan declares that she has deluded them, and that it was neither Charles nor Alençon that impregnated her, but Reignier, King of Naples. In order to leave us with the idea that Joan of Arc is thoroughly debased and promiscuous, Shakespeare has York say such things as: "Why here's a girl! I think she knows not well there were so many, whom she may accuse."[44]

Fiedler makes much of this scene and directly links its appearance in the play to what he considers Shakespeare's fanatic misogyny. Fiedler fails to point out however, that Shakespeare took as his source for this scene the accepted historical chronicles of his day. A quotation from Holinshed will show Shakespeare's use of the Chronicles in creating this scene:

> Howbeit, upon humble confession of her iniquities with a counterfeit contrition pretending a careful sorrow for the same, execution spared and all mollified into this, that thenceforth she should cast off her unnatural wearing of man's habilments and keep her to garments of her own kind, abjure her pernicious practices of sorcery and witchery, and have life and leisure in perpetual prison to bewail her misdeeds. Which to perform... a solemn oath very gladly she took.
>
> But herein (God help us!) she fully afore possessed of the fiend, not able to hold her own in any towardness of grace, falling straight into her former abominations (and yet seeking to eke out life as long as she might) stake not (though the shift were shameful) to confess herself a strumpet, and (unmarried as she was) to be with child.[45]

Holingshed's account of Joan of Arc, of course, was nothing but calumny. As Marina Warner has pointed out, the actual fact of Joan's chastity and purity was dangerous for the English and their partisans. It was of the utmost importance to the English that Joan be proved unholy and promiscuous. In order to exorcise the power of Joan's virginity the English tried to reduce Joan's physical condition to ordinariness by claiming that Joan herself had admitted to being pregnant. Warner says that:

> The body that for one side [the French] was impermeable and unbroken became vulnerable, broken, permeable, impure to the other [the English side].
> ... where the French perceived a dry, sealed vessel, a womb that had not undergone menarche, the English found wetness, rottenness sickliness and blood.[46]

Shakespeare's Joan of Arc has appeared as a liar and a hypocrite, a character riddled with contradictions of humility and holiness. Joan is depicted as a railing witch,banning hag and despicable trull. Three female characters appear in Henry VI Part One: Joan, the Countess of Auvergne, and Margaret of Anjou. Fiedler says that they never appear on the stage together and could have been played by a single actor because they are "mythologically speaking all one, being all 'black', all French, and all bent on betraying the male champion of the English."[47]

Once Joan of Arc has been condemned and burnt, she is replaced in the trilogy by Margaret, as a kind of daughter-alter ego. Before Joan of Arc is burnt, Joan accuses Reignier, the King of Naples, who is Margaret's father of having gotten her with child. Fiedler tells us that if Joan hadn't been prematurely burned at the stake she might have borne a half-sister to Margaret.[48]

The second part of the trilogy begins with the marriage of Henry VI to the French lady, Margaret of Anjou. The general action of the play revolves around the civil wars in England between the houses of Lancaster and York. Margaret, the French

Lady whom Henry VI marries, is the inspiration for the party of the Red Rose, the Lancastrians. The origin of the beginning of the War of Roses in England, of course occurred when King Richard II was usurped by his cousin Bolingbroke (Henry IV). Henry VI was considered by the House of York as an illegal heir to the crown. The disorder and discord in England caused by the House of Lancaster when Henry IV usurped the crown, is finally repaired when Henry of Richmond became King, for by his marriage with Elizabeth of York he united the White Rose and the Red.

As alter ego to Joan, Margaret is presented in the same light as Joan. Gloucester views Henry's marriage to the French Margaret as the undoing of England. When Suffolk goes to Margaret's father to ask for her in marriage to Henry, he agrees to Reignier's petition for the right to possess and rule over territories formerly conquered by the English. Gloucester says to the English dukes:

> O peers of England, shameful is this league!
> Fatal this marriage, canceling your fame,
> Blotting your names from books of memory,
> Razing the characters of your renown,
> Defacing monuments of conquered France,
> Undoing all as all had never been!
> (I i 98-103)

Neither Shakespeare nor the English dukes, however, take into consideration the fact that England has no right to be in France in the first place, that they are foreign intruders and that the territories which they have formerly conquered and then lost through Suffolk's negotiations with Reignier for Margaret belonged to the French in the first place. In the court there is

rivalry between Margaret and the Duchess of Gloucester, and Margaret slaps the older woman. Margaret, like Joan, becomes increasingly more domineering, fiendish, and cruel and unnatural as the play progresses. She is also like Lady Macbeth who finds her husband "too full of the milk of human kindness." Margaret is anti-religious and despises Henry's mild and holy ways.
She mocks him unmercifully before Suffolk whom she has taken as her lover:

> I thought King Henry had resembled thee
> In courage, courtship and proportion.
> But all his mind is bent to holiness,
> To number Ave Maries on his beads.
> His weapons holy saws of sacred writ,
> His study is his tilyard, and his loves
> are brazen images of canonized saints
> I would the College of the Cardinals
> Would choose him Pope and carry him to Rome.
> (I iii 56-65)

Margaret, having replaced Joan of Arc as the rebellious female principle seems likewise inclined to conquer the male principle represented by the English. She has replaced Joan as the French scourge upon the English. Margaret and Suffolk plot and instigate the murder of Gloucester and when Suffolk is suspected by the people of being the murderer, Margaret wantonly pleads for Henry to protect her lover. When the King pays no attention to her and leaves the room, she falls to banning and cursing like Joan of Arc does before she is burned as a witch. Margaret, being French and thus the enemy, is no less a witch than Joan is for Shakespeare. She says to Henry as he goes out:

> Mischance and sorrow go along with you!
> Heart's content and sour affliction
> Be playfellows to keep you company!
> There's two of you; the Devil make a third!
> And threefold vengeance tend upon yours steps!
> (III ii 300-304)

Margaret is a wanton; she reminds us of Cressida who passes between the Trojan and Grecian camps, moving easily from one lover to the next. When Cressida first learns that she is to be returned to the Greek camp and to her father Calchas in exchange for the Trojan Antenor whom the Greeks have captured, she seems wild with grief at the thought of leaving her lover Troilus. However once she arrives in the Greek camp she greets the warriors with easy familiarity. Before long she is dallying with Diomedes. Cressida easily parts with the gift which Troilus has given her as a token of his faithfullness, and invites Diomedes to come to her.[49] Oftentimes, however, in Shakespeare's plays we may observe that the female characters are unjustly accused of being wantons. After Posthumus Leonatus has been tricked into believing that his wife Imogen has betrayed him with Iachimo, he falls into one of the most misogynistic speeches to be found in the Shakespearean canon:

> Is there no way for men to be, but women
> Must be half-workers? We are all bastards,
> And that most venerable man which I
> Did call my father was I know not where
> When I was stamped. Some coiner with his tools
> Made me a counterfeit. Yet my mother seemed
> the Dian of that time: so doth my wife
> The nonpareil of this....
> Could I found out the woman's part in me!

> For there's no motion that tends to vice in
> man But I affirm it is the woman's part.
> Be it lying, note it the woman's;flattering,
> hers; Deceiving, hers; Lust and rank thoughts
> hers, hers; Revenges, hers; Ambitions,
> covetings, change of prides, Disdain, Nice
> [Capricious] longing, slanders
> Mutability, all faults that be named,
> Nay, that Hell knows, why hers but part or
> all, But rather all.
> Cymbeline (II V 1-8, 19-28)

Leonatus finds femaleness so abhorrent that he asks if there is not some way in which men can be born and humanity reproduce itself without the necessary participation of women in the act of procreation. He even assumes that his mother was a wanton. He wants to find and abrogate the part in himself which he inherited from woman, as that which "tends to vice in man". Leonatus then recites a long list of evil to be found in mankind; lying, deceiving, lust and rank thoughts, ambitions, etc., all of which he attributes to the "woman's part" in man. Imogen is falsely accused in Cymbeline and we can observe in the Winter's Tale that King Leontes suffers from "horn madness". He has Queen Hermione put in prison where she gives birth to their daughter, whom he will not claim as his own. In Othello and Hamlet, Desdemona and Ophelia are likewise accused of being unchaste but prove to be quite pure and faithful and self-sacrificing in their love. Frequently the male characters in Shakespeare are possessed of an abnormal and motiveless inclination to believe in the unchastity and incontinence of their virtuous lovers or wives. It is their own paranoia (in these male characters) which destroys or attempts to destroy their women. Oftentimes the women in Shakespeare's works are not the betrayers,

but the victims of paranoia and malignancy in men.

As Shakespeare's play continues Margaret becomes more aggressive and, like Joan of Arc, martial. Joan of Arc and Margaret have real swords which they actually inflict, rather than imaginary swords like Rosaline in As You Like It and Viola in Twelfth Night. Margaret leads the faction of the House of Lancaster against York and his followers. Richard of York curses Margaret, just as Joan was also cursed, as the scourge of England. York calls Margaret: "Blood-bespotted Neapolitan, Outcast of Naples, England's bloody scourge."

Like Joan of Arc, Margaret is cursed as the "outcast","the other", "the alien", and "stranger" that Fiedler says Shakespeare had so much trouble with. Fiedler tells us that Joan and Margaret, fall in with others which Shakespeare perceived as aliens, strangers and outsiders- the Indian, the Black Man, and the Jew. Fiedler says:

> Men of a particular culture seem impelled to invent myths whenever they encounter strangers on the borders of their world... whenever they are forced to confront creatures disturbingly like themselves in certain respects, who do not quite fit (or worse, seem to have rejected) their definition of what it means to be human.
>
> Such creatures are defined- depending on whether the defining group conquers or is conquered by them- as superhuman or subman, divine or diabolic; and the confrontation with them is rendered in appropriate terms, honorific or pejorative.[50]

Fiedler goes to extremes in his classification of the "stranger" in Shakespeare, as including all women in the canon, as well the Black man, the Jew, and the Indian. This would have left hardly anyone whom Shakespeare was in fact not prejudiced against. What Fiedler is talking about however, is not so new or strange an idea. Carl Jung said that when we take off our masks,we see our dark side where live all those things within us which we dislike or are frightened by. This is our shadow. The things which we don't accept in ourselves, that repulse us, we project on to the "other", whether he be our neighbor, our political enemy, or a symbolic figure; and therefore we remain unconscious that we shelter the "other" within us.[51]

The Jungian shadow corresponds to the unconscious in Freud. Jung tells us that the shadow passes the limits of the personal and extends itself into the collective shadow. When united in masses civilized man conducts himself according to inferior standards of behavior. He becomes caught in collective prejudice and racial discriminations. He constructs scapegoats, and becomes anxious, destructive, and sanguinary.[52]

Shakespeare seems to have had a prejudice against what he considered "anti-women", women who subvert the roles assigned to them by men. Shaw considered Helena in All's Well That Ends Well an excellent heroine and a prototype for the New Woman and his pursuing women like Ann Whitefield and Dona Ana in Man and Superman. Not everyone has viewed Helena in the same positive light as Shaw, however. Richmond says that Helena "weds and beds Bertram against his will and largely without his knowledge, reducing him to a state of abject submission."[53] He tells us that Bertram is

reduced to a mere machine by Helena, to produce a pregnancy which he has consciously opposed.[54] Richmond points out that in Shakespeare -- unlike in Shaw - a dominant woman is likely to be a destructive force rather than a creative influence.[55]

When Margaret learns that Henry VI has disinherited their son and promised the throne to York's heirs in exchange for the right to rule peacefully during his lifetime, she organises an army against York (the House of Lancaster) and his supporters. Margaret's group break in on York's young son Rutland at his studies. Clifford stabs the boy and Margaret goes before York to sadistically mock and taunt him with a handkerchief stained in his son's blood. Margaret goes beyond human boundaries in her bloodthirsty perverseness. She is so unnatural and inhuman that she certainly seems to be "the other" which Fiedler talks about. Margaret, like Joan, seeks to subvert and neutralize England's masculine principle. Margaret overtly humiliates and tries to reduce York. She gives orders to her men concerning him:

> Come, make him stand upon this molehill here,
> That raught at mountains with outstretched
> arms, Yet parted but the shadow with his hand.
> What! was it you that would be England's king?
> Was't you that reveled in our Parliament
> And made a preachment of your high descent?
> Where are your mess of sons to back you now?
> ...Where is your darling Rutland?
> Look, York. I stained this napkin with the
> blood That valiant Clifford, with his rapier's
> point, Made issue from the bosom of the boy;
> And if thy eyes can water for his death,
> I give thee this to dry thy cheeks withal.
> (I iv 66-83)

After Margaret has given York the bloody handkerchief she sets a paper crown upon his head: "York cannot speak unless he wear a crown. A crown for York! And, lords, bow low to him". Margaret continues in this taunting manner until she falls into a witch's chant:

> Off with the crown, and,with the crown, his head,
> And, whilst we breathe, take time to do him dead.
> (I iv 107-108)

Margaret like Joan is a witch. York as representative of the English male principle curses the witch Margaret as he did Joan. Margaret orders her men to stab York,but she is not satisfied until she has twisted the knife into York herself. She has him be-headed and dismembered,and gives orders that his head be set on York's gate. Harrison says that Shakespeare created Margaret worse than history has recorded. Before York is beheaded he makes a quite eloquent speech. It seems safe to say that this eloquence actually reveals Shakespeare's own personal viewpoint, at least concerning the anti-women whom Shakespeare seems to have thoroughly detested. York tells Margaret:

> 'Tis beauty that doth oft make women proud,
> But, God He knows, thy share therof is small,
> 'Tis virtue that doth make them most admired;
> The contrary doth make thee wondered at.
> 'Tis government that makes them seem divine;
> The want thereof makes thee abominable.
> Thou art as opposite to every good
> As the Antipodes are unto us,
> Or as the South to the septentrion.
> O tiger's heart wrapped in a woman's hide!
> (Part.III . I 127-136)

York continues his speech on what "women are" or at least what they should be in Shakespeare's universe:

> How couldst thou drain the lifeblood of the child To bid the father wipe his eyes withal,
> And yet be seen to wear a woman's face?
> Women are soft, mild, pitiful, flexible-
> Thou, stern, obdurate, flinty, rough, remorseless.
> (I iv 138-142)

Richmond tells us that the prime sources of disaster in Shakespeare's plays are to be found in women "who neurotically forget their biological role (like Lady Macbeth) or their social tact (like Desdemona and Cordelia), or who attempt to seize physical supremacy from the male (like Queen Margaret)."[56] He says that men in Shakespeare are prone to self-defeating pretentiousness, as we may observe in Love's Labor Lost, but with women the potential faults are far more pathological:

> Women are far more vulnerable to deep psycho logical disorders.Joan's transvestism and diabolism...Lady Macbeth's prayers to be "unsexed", and Volumnia's vicarious satisfaction in virile bloodlust through her son's massacres.[57]

In Henry VI Part One, Two and Three Shakespeare portrays those women who do not follow the conventional pattern of what men expect them to be as viragoes, witches, termagants and trulls — monstrous creatures and subverters of the masculine principle. Those women who do not fulfill the traditional view that women must be submissive and obedient in a patriarachal world are "anti-women"

and must be cast out, either symbolically or actually- as in the case of Joan of Arc. Joan must be cursed and damned by the masculine principle represented by the English dukes: "Break thou in pieces and consume to ashes, thou foul accursèd minister of Hell!"[58]

Many of the early Shakespearean works, like the Henry VI trilogy lack the traits of the mature artist, dramatist, and poet, which the later works show Shakespeare to be. In these earliest works Shakespeare's characters, male as well as female, lack the roundness and psychological depth and variety that the characters in the later works exhibit. The test of roundness in a character,according to E.M. Forster,lies in the ability of the character to change. A round character is completely conceived and realized, multilayered and multifaceted. Forster defines the round character as being capable of surprising in a convincing way. Flat characters are constructed around a single idea or quality , they are not changed by circumstances, they remain unalterable through the work and therefore flat.[59]

Neither Joan of Arc nor Margaret are multifaceted characters in the sense that many of the later feminine characters in Shakespeare are. They remain the same villainous viragoes, witches, and termagants throughout the play. We are never really surprised by Joan's character, only by the shocking contrast of what we had conventionally perceived Joan of Arc to be like, in contrast to Shakespeare's conception and creation of her.

The misogyny which we have observed in the Henry VI trilogy reflects the dark bitterness and despair found in Shakespeare's

Sonnets. Joan of Arc is indeed reminiscent of an earlier prototype—the Dark Lady to whom twenty-six of Shakespeares's sonnets are dedicated. When Joan of Arc first introduced herself she described herself as "black and swart", and Fiedler has clearly demonstrated to us that Joan is black and foul in Shakespeare's private mythology. In speaking of his dark mistress in Sonnet 130, Shakespeare says: "If snow be white, why then her breasts are dun/ If hairs be wires, black wires grow on her head."Sonnet 147 is also suggestive of the Dark Lady:

> For I have sworn thee fair, and thought thee
> bright,
> Who art as black as Hell, as dark as night.

In *Love's Labor's Lost* Berowne speaks of falling in love as "toiling in black-pitch that defiles." Later,in describing the dark Rosaline to the King,Berowne says:

> Is ebony like her? O wood divine!
> A wife of such wood were felicity.
> No face is fair that is not full so black.
> (IV iii 248-249, 253)

The King answers Berowne:

> Oh, paradox! Black is the badge of Hell,
> The hue of dungeons and the school of night.
> (IV iii 253-255)

Fiedler tells us that the anti-feminist bias which so directly influenced Shakespeare's view of woman as stranger, as well as his over-all theories about the nature of love, can be found in Sonnet 144:

> Two loves I have of comfort and despair,
> Which like two spirits do suggest me still.
> The better angel is a man right fair,
> The worser spirit a woman colored ill.
> To win me soon to Hell, my female side,
> And would corrupt my saint to be a devil,
> Wooing his purity with her foul pride.
> And whether that my angel be turned fiend
> Suspect I may, yet not directly tell,
> But being both from me, both to each friend,
> I guess one angel in another's Hell
> Yet this shall I ne'er know,but live in doubt
> Till my bad angel fire my good one out.

Fiedler tells us that in this sonnet "is distilled Shakespeare's vision of Eros as good and evil." He says that Sonnet 144 begins as an account of one who would divide his love in two, directing all that is noble toward one object, all that is vile towards another. The sonnet ends with his discovery of the two in each other's arms —the noble contaminated by the vile.[60] J.Middleton Murry says the sonnets "contain the record of the poet's own disaster in love."[61] There is no doubt that the sonnets mirror a kind of disgust and despair and bitterness in the poet. In Venus and Adonis, another early work, we can hear the poet's voice echoed through Adonis. Venus and Adonis is the mythic tale of the aggressive female's reduction of the passive male. There is something a little frightening, even abhorrent in the aggressiveness of Venus in the poem. In describing Venus's wooing of Adonis, Shakespeare uses such animal imagery as the eagle tearing away at her prey with her beak and gorging itself:

> Even as an empty eagle, sharp by fast,
> Tires with her beak on feathers, flesh,and bone,
> Shaking her wings,devouring all in haste,
> Till either gorge be stuffed or prey be gone,
> Even so she kissed his brow,his cheek,his chin,
> And where she ends doth anew begin.
> (11. 55-60)

The imagery of animals fallen to predators continues, "a bird lies tangled in a net" and a deer is captured. Adonis seems to echo the young Shakespeare who may have felt a little victimized by the abrupt end of his youthful freedom brought on by a forced marriage to an older woman:

> Who wears a garment shapeless and unfinished?
> Who plucks the bud before one leaf put forth?
> If springing things be any jot diminished,
> They wither in their prime, prove nothing of worth.
> The colt that's backed and burdened being young
> Loses his pride, and never waxeth strong.
> (11. 415-420)

Adonis makes another plea to Venus which may also have been indicative of Shakespeare's own feelings:

> Measure my strangeness with my unripe years.
> Before I know myself, seek not to know me.
> No fisher but the ungrown fry forbears.
> The mellow plum doth fall,the green sticks fast,
> Or being early plucked is sour to taste.
> (11. 524-528)

At the risk of being too simplistic, the most severe misogyny belongs to the early Shakespeare who was forced to marry at the age of eighteen, and who by the age of twenty found himself the father of three children, and expected to assume marital and paternal

responsibilities. Shakespeare seemed to have gone through periods of ambivalence, in regard to women and love. Murry says that "the sonnets of disastrous love seem to fall naturally into place in that period of profound disturbance which is expressed in Hamlet, in Measure for Measure, in Troilus and Cressida, and All's Well That Ends Well."[62]

Shakespeare seems much like Antonio in The Merchant of Venice. He is at times a melancholy man like Antonio. Shakespeare is a man who is at times torn and divided, ambivalent and doubtful. Shakespeare's disillusionment with the world and loss of faith is probably no more clearly expressed than in this sonnet:

> Tired with all these, for restful death
> I cry,
> And purest faith unhappily forsworn,
> And gilded honor shamefully misplaced,
> And maiden virtue rudely strumpeted,
> And right perfection wrongfully disgraced,
> And strength by limping sway disabled,
> And folly, doctorlike, controlling skill,
> And simple truth miscalled simplicity,
> And captive good attending captive ill.
> Tired with all these, I would be gone,
> Save that, to die, I leave my love alone.

In Shakespeare's earliest plays Henry VI Part One, Two and Three, we feel compelled to admit that his feminine characters do not come through in a positive light, and that as Fiedler claims Shakespeare is quite misogynistic. Fiedler, however, fails to bring to our attention that though there exist dark ladies, witches and shrews in the Shakespearean canon, there are also some quite positive portraits of female characters.

Viola is the most convincing, altruistic, and practical character in Twelfth Night. She is the touchstone by which we

can measure the other characters' viewpoints concerning love and lovemaking in the play. The Duke is seen posturing and in love with love, while Olivia spiritlessly enjoys the excessiveness of her own feelings about love and sorrow.[63] Olivia and Viola have both lost brothers, but Viola confronts the situation in the most intuitive and mature way. Her earthly realism about love serves as a commentary upon the varieties of false love in the play as set off against the purity of her affection for the Duke.[64]

Joseph Summers says of Viola:

> Young, intelligent, zestful, she is a realist. She cuts through the subterfuges and disguises of the others with absolute clarity, and she provides us with a center for the movement, a standard of normality which is never dull.[65]

Even through her boyish disguise, Viola is one of Shakespeare's most feminine characters. She finds her role difficult, and at times wishes she had not taken on the disguise at all. Viola is not fond of disguise and posturing: "Disguise, I see thou art a wickedness wherein the pregnant enemy does much". She is fair to both the Duke and Olivia her rival, and serves them both without distorting the truth to serve her own ends. Viola is sympathetic to the plight of Olivia and shows no jealousy toward her.

Rosaline in As You Like It is also an intelligent and enterprising character. Rosaline is aware of love's illusions but keeps her head without the exclusion of the deepest heart-felt emotions in love. She has none of the prudishness or legalistic exactness

which flaw the character of Isabella in Measure for Measure, but rather posseses a healthy frankness and realism about love. Rosaline directs and motivates the activities of the other lovers in the play. She and Portia in The Merchant of Venice are both more lively, vital, and intelligent than the male characters.

Charleston says that the female characters in the comedies have those personality traits which "fit them more certainly than men to shape the world towards happiness."[66] He observes that in so many cases the Shakespearean heroes "are out of harmony with themselves, and fraught with the certainty of tragic doom" while there exists in the heroines an "equipoise of a durable spiritual organism."[67] One critic has observed that the heroines have the gift of inspiring and returning affection and are more human and patently natural in their response to emotional crises like that of falling in love."[68] Viola, Rosaline and other heroines respond naturally to love's call and are able to inspire love and affection in others. In As You Like It, it is Rosaline who takes the initiative in the flight to Arden and in achieving Orlando's love. It is she who brings the right lovers together in the end. Viola wins the confidence of the Duke because of her intelligent, sensitive and sincere way of handling herself. She pursues with devotion a love who is unloving to her alone. Charleston praises the heroines in the comedies:

> They have a kind of finely developed mother wit, a variety of humanised common sense which, because it is impregnated with human feeling is more apt to lay hold of the essential realities of existence than the more rarified and isolated intellect of men.[69]

In mentioning those favorable portraits of women in the Shakespearean canon we cannot fail to mention Cleopatra. She is Shakespeare's masterpiece. Contrary to what some critics have suggested, Cleopatra is a tribute to, rather than a detraction from, the female image. Enobarbus says of Cleopatra:

> Age cannot wither her, nor custom stale
> Her infinite variety: other women cloy
> The appetites they feed; but she makes hungry
> Where most she satisfies: for vilest things
> Become themselves in her; that the holy priests
> Bless her when she is riggish.
> (II ii.240)

G.Wilson Knight says that"Cleopatra's power to assimilate all qualities and gild them with the alchemy of her rich personality" was observed, too, by Antony.[70] She is one:

> Whom every thing becomes, to chide,to laugh,
> To weep; whose every passion fully strives
> To make itself,in [her], fair and admir'd!
> (I.i.49)

It is interesting to see what some of the critics have said in regard to Cleopatra. S.L.Bethell says:

> Antony chose Egypt, intuition, the life of spontaneous affections, with its moral and aesthetic corollaries; all of which Cleopatra is the focus and symbol... In Cleopatra [Shakespeare] presents the mystery of woman, the mystery of sensuality, an exploration of the hidden energies of life. Intuition or spontaneous feeling is opposed to practical wisdom, generosity to prudence, love to duty... and the former in each instance is preferred. She [Cleopatra] is [Antony's] good, and not his evil genius, rescuing him from an undue preoccupation with the world, which is a snare and a delusion.[71]

G.Wilson Knight says that the "Imperial Theme" in Antony and Cleopatra is Love. The two root antagonists in the play are War or Empire, and Love. Cleopatra is associated with the Nile and fertility, with water and flux and feminine softness. Rome,the West , and Antony, are associated throughout the play with masculine warriorship and manly strength, with the land and earth's solidity. Knight says that " 'water' suggests something more free and unfettered than earth's solidity".[72] Women pay less attention to forms of convention; they are not so tethered and bound but are more free to seek their own element. Antony fights beside Cleopatra by sea, even though he is warned against it: "it thus becomes almost a symbol of his love, opposing the solid prudence of his soldiership."[73] Unlike Shakespeare's earlier plays where the feminine and masculine are always warring against one another, discordant and alien, there is a blending of the elements in Antony and Cleopatra. Knight says that a certain stillness interpenetrates

the drama's activity throughout; and water imagery blends with this effect:

> It is a still sheen of level quicksilver interlacing and interpenetrating earth's surface: ocean surrounding island and touching coast, rivers cutting the land.[74]

Throughout the play Shakespeare associates beautiful imagery with the East, Cleopatra, and the Feminine. Images of "abundance, fertility, luxury and languor abound in the Egyptian scenes, and these are contrasted with images of ascetism, war, business, coldness in the Roman scenes."[75] How far Shakespeare has come from those horrible, frightening images of stalking predators associated with the feminine in Venus and Adonis. Knight says that "there is a certain liquidity, a 'melting' and 'dissolving' of element in element throughout the play. Earth and sun are mated to produce rich harvests."[76] The mating of the sun and the Nile is important. Land and water are continually blending and mingling; 'Water' and 'Land', sea and earth are juxtaposed. Knight says that in Antony and Cleopatra "there is a clinging mesh of cohering elements reflecting the blending of sexes in love, man blending with woman in love, of life dissolved in the other element of death."[77]

Cleopatra's primary qualities are her essential femininity and her profuse variety of psychic modes. Knight says that if there exists a streak of serpentine evil in Cleopatra it "melts into her whole personality, enriching rather than limiting her more positive attractions."[78] He observes that "a limited perfection is sand on which to build: thus Isabella [in Measure for Measure] was

exposed to shame, her very virtue turned against her when it claimed all-importance.[79]

In Antony and Cleopatra Shakespeare affirms the Feminine principle, represented by Cleopatra as symbol of these values. The time-honored values associated with war and the Masculine, which we have seen exhibited so proudly in Julius Caeser for example, and so aggressively in the Henry VI trilogy, grow dim in the light of Love in Antony and Cleopatra. Cleopatra as Shakespeare's priestess of love is victorious. Antonio cries: "Let Rome in Tiber melt, and the wide arch of the ranged empire fall! Here is my space. Kingdoms are clay..."[80] Antony tells Cleopatra that if she would put a bourne to the measure of his love, she must "needs find out new heaven, new earth."[81]

The lovers tell us that the world is unlighted, a barren promontory without love.[82] Without love the world is futile, unclean, a sty and without the presence of the loved one in this world "there is nothing left remarkable beneath the visiting moon."[83] How different is Shakespeare's treatment of love between man and woman in Antony and Cleopatra than in the early Shakespearean poem Venus and Adonis where a curse is put on love, and in Hamlet where Holland says: "Love is lust, physical, filthy; food is garbage; bodies are rotten with disease and caked with cosmetics."[84] And how different is the treatment of the Feminine principle in this play where Antony "sells a warrior's honour and an emperor's sway for the Imperial Theme which is Cleopatra's love".[85]

What a long way Shakespeare seems to have come,judging from his misogynistic treatment of the Feminine Principle embodied in Joan of Arc,to his celebration of the feminine in his characterization of Cleopatra. Could it be that Shakespeare's perceptions and emotions as a man and a writer went through a refining process? Isn't it possible that his early doubts and self-division were somehow resolved? Perhaps Fiedler in examining so closely the misogyny in Shakespeare as an early writer and in his treatment of Joan, has failed to take a look into the more tranquil, serene and mature artist, which Shakespeare's later works show him to be.

CHAPTER III

JOAN OF ARC IN MARK TWAIN

No author could have or can write about Joan of Arc without investing some of his own personality, world view and private philosophy into his depiction of her. In the same way that Joan of Arc is reminiscent of other women in the Shakespearean canon, Joan is also representative of a pattern which recurs in Mark Twain's works. At first sight, a book written by Twain about Joan of Arc, may seem somewhat incongrous with the man and his work. I wish to discuss Mark Twain's characterization of Joan of Arc in regard to the man and his society and as a theme inherent in his work from the earliest to the latest. While Shakespeare's Joan is treated misogynistically , Twain's Joan is highly romanticised. She is at times a sacharine copy of the Victorian heroine conceived in the genteel tradition and conventionality of the New England society which Twain married into. There is no doubt that Twain, the "candidate for gentility", characterized Joan within the genteel tradition associated with the New England society of correctness and conventionality which he found himself a part of when he married Olivia Langdon, daughter of coal magnate and pillar of New York society, Jarvis Langdon.This genteel group which included such people as Henry Ward Beecher, Harriet Beecher Stowe, etc. presented to him a new scheme of things other than he was accustomed to in the mining camps of California or the steamships along the

Mississippi.

Twain was influenced by the general Victorian conception of woman, as highly idealized and a little unearthly. He reveals a lot about his general conception of the feminine in a statement to Livy concerning his feeling for her during their courtship:

> You seemed to my bewildered vision, a visiting Spirit from the upper air, not a creature of common human clay to be profaned by the love of one such as I.[86]

Twain adored and idealized his beautiful and fragile wife "Livy". His conception of angelic, disembodied Spirit seems to exemplify the reigning attitude of the Victorian age toward women, who were not treated as flesh and blood beings. In a letter to a friend four days after his marriage, Twain wrote of Livy:

> Before the gentle majesty of her purity all evil things and evil ways and evil deeds stand abashed then surrender. Wherefore without effort or struggle or spoken exorcism all the old vices and shameful habits that have possessed me these many years, are falling away, one by one, and departing into the darkness.[87]

Kaplan has observed that Livy is a flesh and blood wife, but:

> She is also a guiding principle, a symbolic figure he invests with its own power to select and purify, she has become an idealized superego.[88]

Joan Seelye says that the figure of Joan of Arc remained "a poignant and powerful symbol in the writer's consciousness, a mythic counterpart to his idealistic, even chivalric notions of woman-hood which included his wife and daughters." [89]

Twain's Joan of Arc is the embodiment of Victorian girlhood. George Bernard Shaw described Twain's Joan as "skirted to the ground, and with as many petticoats as Noah's wife in a toy ark... an unimpeachable American school teacher in armor... a most beautiful and ladylike Victorian." [90] Twain's favorite daughter Susy, demanded much more than her mother – purity, gentility, and high sentiment in his works; her favorite books by Twain were not Huckleberry Finn but The Prince and the Pauper and especially Joan of Arc. One of Twain's contemporaries described the criteria of the female reading audience of Twain's time as "the iron Madona who strangles in her fond embrace, the American novelist." [91]

We know that Twain modeled Joan's physical nature after his daughter Susy. Twain's physical description of Joan is quite different from the diabolical portrait which Shakespeare created or the tomboyish St.Joan of Shaw. Twain described Joan in this way:

> Joan was sixteen now, shapely and graceful and of a beauty so extraordinary... There was in her face a sweetness and serenity and purity that justly reflected her spiritual nature. She was deeply religious, and this is a thing which sometimes gives a melancholy cast to a person's countenance, but it was not so in her case. Her religion made her inwardly content and joyous, and if she was troubled at times, and showed the pain of it in her face, it came of distress for her country; no part of it was chargeable to her religion. [92]

There is always something a little ethereal and saintly about Twain's Joan of Arc.

Throughout Twain's life he held a special affection for the age of young maidenhood. The same expression which he used in describing his own daughter, he used time and again in reference to Joan - "marvellous child". Twain even had a tendency to view his wife throughout their lives together as a young girl. Stone points out that Twain's attachment to childhood and his special fondness for young maidens survived even the onslaught of his rage against the cosmos, the result of his late pessimism and bitterness.[93]

Twain was not alone in his special predilection for children and especially girls. Hawthorne,after the birth of his own children-Una, Julian,and Rose, recorded observations he made about them which he often utilized in his books about children. He himself modeled Pearl in his Scarlet Letter after his daughter Una. Hawthorne had an infatuation with the"sinless child"; Pearl was the impurely pure child. In Hawthorne's later work, Phoebe, Priscilla, Hilda, the Snow Maiden, Alice Vane, and Sylph Etherage are all "on the outer limits of girlhood."[94] They are "girls almost women grown".[95] Twain's devotion to girlhood was not so unusual in the light of similar sentiments in Hawthorne, Poe, Lewis Carrol, etc.

It was this particular state of girlhood which attracted Twain to Joan of Arc. Twain relied heavily on the French Historian Jules Michelet as a source. In his Jeanne d'Arc Michelet writes about Joan:

> She had the divine right to remain soul and body a child. She grew up strong and beautiful but never knew the physical sufferings entailed on women. 96

Michelet quotes from the testimony of several women from Domremy that Joan never menstruated. In the margin of his own copy of Michelet's work,Twain wrote next to Michelet's reference to Joan's ammenorrhea:"The higher life absorbed her and suppressed her physical (sexual) development." 97 It was this timeless and sexless quality in Joan which appealed to Twain. It was of the utmost importance that Joan remained a child in body and spirit. Twain's Joan of Arc is intrinsically child-like and innocent.
This celebration of innocence and superiority in the child is put forth in Wordsworth's poem, "Ode on Intimations of Immortality" where the newborn baby has come from the ideal pre-existent state with God, and is the wisest and most uncorrupted of individuals:

> Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting:
> The Soul that rises with us, our Life's Star,
> Hath had elsewhere its setting,
> And cometh from afar:
> Not in entire forgetfulness,
> And not in utter nakedness
> But trailing clouds of glory do we come
> From God, who is our home:
> Heaven lies about us in our infancy!
> (11.58-66)

As the growing child becomes more and more imprisoned in the body of the physical , imperfect world,the Soul loses some of its former glory and perfection but still has has some power of recalling the

ideas and images of the spiritual realm from whence it came, there-fore retaining some of its former innocence.

Emerson and the transcendentalists also perceived children as not only morally superior to adults but intellectually more independent and discerning. In the "Over Soul" he asserted his belief in the natural sagacity and intuition of children.

Twain was deeply interested throughout his lifetime in the "innocent". The fate of the "innocent" as a leading motif in Twain's works is common. Joan of Arc is also an "innocent" and exhibits many of the same qualities which other of Twain's charact-ers display. Sprengemann says that at some point in the innocent's career, he inhabits a "Delectable Land", an arcadian wilderness marked by freedom, purity, and spaciousness:

> Clemens often describes this primitive paradise as a wild prairie which resembles the sea, or a small village lying in a winding river near a virgin forest. Sometimes it is a broad ocean, sometimes heaven. It is almost always, summery and sleepy; and Clemens usually treats it as a dream. Occasionally it exists in the happy past, and it always abounds in magic and mystery.[98]

The setting of Twain's <u>Joan of Arc</u> is pastoral, idyllic, and described in much the same way that the land inhabited by the innocents in other of Twain's works is described. Joan derives from and receives much of her strength from the pastoral and idyllic setting which she grows up in. Her native village has that same dreamlike repose and remoteness which other settings in Twain possess: Jackson Island, Camelot, Eseldorf, etc. It is in this setting that Twain adds his most interesting detail to the

Joan story- "The Fairy Tree", which remains a symbolic image throughout the book:

> In a noble span carpeted with grass on the high grounds stood a most majestic beech tree with wide-reaching arms and a grand spread of shade, and by it a limpid spring of cold water; and on summer days the children went there... for more than five hundred years- went there and sang and danced around the tree for hours together; refreshing themselves at the spring from time to time...
> Also they made wreaths of flowers and hung them upon the tree and about the spring to please the fairies that lived there; for they liked that, being wild innocent little creatures, as all fairies are, and fond of anything delicate and pretty like wild flowers put together in that way.99

It is a historical fact that in Domremy there existed a large beech tree, beside a clear spring, which the children of the village hung little arrangements of flowers on and called the Fairy Tree. Joan of Arc's story is told by Sieur Louis de Conte,Joan's page and secretary. De Conte was an actual historical figure, a young man of noble birth mentioned in Michelet's history. As Stone has pointed out, he is the most transparent of personae and a mouthpiece for Twain, with the convenient initials S.L.C., Clemens's own initials of course. De Conte describes how a hundred years before, the fairies had been denounced by the priest of Domremy as being "blood kin of the Fiend". The little fairies were barred from redemption, and warned by the village priest to never again show themselves "on pain of perpetual banishment from that parish." The fairies are banished after Dame Aubrey happens on them one night. The description of the fairies certainly must have enchanted

Twain's daughter Susy. Susy and Mark Twain read Joan of Arc together and this was her favorite of all her father's books. What child wouldn't have been delighted with Twain's description of the fairies stealing a dance?

> But late one night a great misfortune befell. Edmund Aubrey's mother passed by the Tree , and the fairies were stealing a dance, not thinking anybody was by; and they were so busy, and so intoxicated with the wild happiness of it, and with the bumpers of dew sharpened up with honey which they had been drinking that they noticed nothing; so Dame Audrey stood there astonished and admiring, and saw the little fantastic atoms holding hands, as many as three hundred of them tearing around in a great ring half as big as an ordinary bedroom, and leaning away back and spreading their mouths with laughter and song... and kicking up their legs as much as three inches from the ground in perfect abandon and hilarity-oh, the very maddest witchingest dance the woman ever saw.[100]

The priest and the village church which banish the fairies in Joan of Arc are just examples of the corruption of society's conventions, institutions, and the Moral Sense which appear in all of Twain's works about innocence. The Fairy tree and the fairies are symbols of the children's youthful innocence and freedom.According to Twain,society's conventions, institutions and the Moral Sense — "civilization"—are hostile to and thwart and destroy innocence.

De Conte begins his story about Joan of Arc by describing the days of their youth before war closed around the village. He says "they were peaceful and pleasant, those young and smoothly flowing days of ours." But here,as in other works by Twain, the innocent's world is invaded by corrupt institutions, the baseness

of civilization and the "damned human race". The country fields of Domremy are no more free from the intrusion of corrupt society than is the raft of Huck and Jim. When the young people are out of doors romping around the Fairy Tree they see a boy from the village climbing the slope, bringing news and carrying a flag stick bearing a black flag. The news that he brings is that a treaty has been made at Troyes between France on the one hand and the English and their sympathizers, the Burgundians, on the other. He tells them about the treaty: "By it France is betrayed and delivered over, tied hand and foot, to the enemy. It is the work of the Duke of Burgundy and that she-devil the Queen of France. It marries Henry of England to Catherine of France."[101]

The treaty in effect has made null and void any claim of the French Dauphin to the throne, making him an ineffective outcast. Joan's Dauphin is disinherited by Charles VI, who is to reign until his death, when the regency will pass to Henry V of England, and then to Henry's heir. The young people are struck dumb by this treacherous agreement.

It is in these earliest scenes where Joan and De Conte have not yet left their pastoral village, and are still children, that the dialogues in the book are the most convincing. De Conte describes a scene in Joan's home during the winter where many of Jacque d'Arc's neighbors are gathered. Joan is sitting on a box, apart, with her bowl and bread on another one, and her pets around her. In his attempt to link Joan with nature and all nature's creatures, Twain has created a virtual menagerie around the little girl:

> All the cats came and took up with her and homeless and unloveable animals of other kinds heard about it and came and these spread the matter to the other creatures and they came also...[102]

As De Conte expresses Joan's love for and affinity with the animals, he shows her gentleness and love of liberty:

> ... and as she would allow no fetters, but left the creatures free to come and go as they liked, that contented them and they came and they didn't go to any extent, and so they were a marvellous nuisance, and made Jacques d'Arc swear a good deal.[103]

We see the bitter irony later when Joan, who is so linked with the birds and free animals of the woods and is a libertarian, is fettered and caged and deprived of her freedom by the forces of civilization which Twain represents as the Church and the Court.

As Joan and D'Arc's neighbors are sheltered inside from the cold Domremy winter, someone hammers on the door. De Conte tells us it was "one of those ragged road-stragglers the eternal wars kept the country full of." The straggler is obviously hungry and after appealing to one face after another, and receiving no response, Joan offers him her bowl of porridge. Joan's father reprimands her severly, demanding that she sit down. He says that they are being eaten out of house and home by the like and that he will not endure any more of it. He tells Joan that the man has the face of a rascal and a villain.

Joan sets her bowl down on the box and stands before her scowling father. She pleads for the hungry sojourner with the same child-like logic that she uses in defending the fairies to Pere Fronte:

> Father if you will not let me, then it must be as you say: but I would that you would think-then you would see that it is not right to punish one part of him for what the other part has done; for it is the poor stranger's head does the evil things, but it is not his head that is hungry, it is his stomach, and it has done no harm to anybody... [104]

These early scenes of Joan as a child in Domremy particulary express her benevolence, compassion and intuitive powers, traits which are inherent in all of Twain's "innocents". She is a lot like Huck Finn who after struggling with his conscience comes to the logical conclusion that if he must " go to hell" for saving Jim, the runaway slave, then this is what must happen.

When Joan pleads for the banished fairies before the priests, she has already as a child, aligned herself with nature against the artifices of institutionalism. There is another early instance in the book where she sides with the masses against the infringement of a foreign enemy on their native soil. Twain's Joan is nationalistic and proletarian. De Conte describes the scenes where a stranger, a Burgundian priest, stands on the steps of the church and announces the death of Charles VI, and then urges the crowd to give their allegiance to the English King Henry V. De Conte recalls that:

> With aggravating coolness the priest looked down on the angry and indignant crowd as he told them how at the funeral of their old King, the French King-at-Arms had broken the staff of office over the coffin of Charles VI and his dynasty; saying in a loud voice: 'God grant long life to Henry, King of France and England, our sovereign lord!' and then he asked them to join him in a hearty Amen to that! 105

While the others in the crowd remained"white with wrath" which tied their tongues for the moment, Joan looked up into the priest's face and said in her sober earnest way: " I would I might see thy head struck from thy body!", then after a pause and crossing herself, "if it were the will of God." De Conte assures us that this is "the only harsh speech that Joan ever uttered in her life." But it is exactly this forceful spiritedness in the child, already exhibiting loyalty to France and indignation at its subjugation by foreign rule, which makes her come alive and attractive.

In Joan of Arc Twain swings back and forth between oversentimentality and stark realism and descriptions of gruesome violence: it is the same pattern which recurs so often in Huckleberry Finn. Against the peaceful pastoral setting of Domremy, De Conte contrasts the horrors of war:

> For the first time we saw wrecked and smoke-blackened homes and in the lanes and alleys, carcasses of creatures that had been slaughtered in pure wantonness- among them calves and lambs that had been pets of the children.106

Later the children come upon the mad-man hacked and stabbed to death in his iron cage in the corner of the square. Huck and Jim's trip down the river in the raft is continually intruded on by the tawdry remnants of civilization and its corruptness. The "house of death", a two-story frame house which is full of greasy cards and whisky bottles, and the dirty clothes of men and women, and a naked corpse, floats down the river after the storm, and breaks into the peaceful repose of Jim and Huck on the raft.

Huck and Jim's experiences with civilization and "the damned human race" are always juxtaposed with their experiences on the raft and the river which for them is "the Delectable land", the innocent's habitat which Sprengemann discusses. Huck describes their idyll with nature on the raft:

> We said there warn't no home like a raft after all. Other places do seem so cramped up and smothery, but a raft don't.You feel mighty free and easy and comfortable on a raft. Sometimes we'd have the whole river to ourselves for the longest times. Yonder was the banks and the islands, across the water; and maybe a spark- which was a candle in a cabin window; and sometimes on the water you could see a spark or two- on a raft or a scow,you know; and maybe you could hear a fiddle or a song coming from one of them crafts. It's lovely to live on a raft. We had the sky up there, all speckled with stars, and we used to lay on our backs and look up at them, and discuss about whether they was made or only just happened.[107]

When Huck and Jim's raft is smashed by an up-stream boat, Huck and Jim are temporarily separated. Huck is taken in by the Grangerfords and has a taste of the baseness and degradation in

civilization. The Grangerford family and the Sheperdson's continue a feud that began years ago; who started the feud or for what reason it began,has already passed from the memory of the two families. When Huck discovers that the two families are at it again, he leaves the house and follows them.He finds Buck, the Grangerford's youngest son-a boy about Huck's same age:

> Buck begun to cry and rip, and 'lowed that him and his cousin Joe... would make up for this day yet. He said his father and his two brothers was killed, and two or three of the enemy. Said the Sheperdson's laid for them in ambush.[108]

Then Huck describes what took place next and his sickening encounter with "the damned human race" and its society:

> All of a sudden, bang! bang! bang! goes three or four guns- the men [the Sheperdson's] had slipped around through the woods and come in behind without their horses! The boys jumped for the river- both of them hurt- and as they swum down the current the men run along the bank shooting at them and singing out, 'kill them, kill them!' It made me so sick I most fell out of the tree. I ain't a-going to tell all that happened it would make me sick again if I was to do that. I wished I hadn't ever come ashore that night to see such things.
> I ain't ever going to get shut of them-lots of times I dream about them.[109]

These violent portrayals of the baseness of civilization in Joan of Arc and Huckleberry Finn are images which run through most of Twain's writings and represent the bitter, ironic invasions of the innocent's world. In Twain there is tension between civil-

ization and man's natural environment- the country or the wilderness.

Even though civilization inevitably encroaches upon the innocent's world, man is nevertheless at his best when he returns to or while he still remains in a natural setting. In the country or wilderness the innocent is ignorant of the wiliness and guile in human nature. Away from the corrupting influence of civilization, the innocent is governed by his heart rather than his head- a repository for prejudice and narrowness and all those "false notions of right and wrong inculcated by society"- which make up the Moral sense in man.[110] In Twain's works, the natural world of the innocent has a regenerating force, for example, the Greenhorn of Roughing it becomes a more virtuous and sympathetic character when he leaves the confining city and enters into the country.

There is no doubt that what appealed most to Twain about Joan was her innocence. Sprengemann says that in Clemens, the myth of innocence involves these aspects:

> An innocent hero, who behaves with an instinctive sense of rightness, confronts characters and situations which represent the forces of evil and then pursues a course of action which leads, first to recognition, then to either evasion by the innocent or to total defeat of one of the contestants, or to compromise between them.[111]

Once Joan and De Conte leave their natural, pastoral surroundings and venture into the world of experience, they are initiated into an awareness of suffering, pain, disillusionment and re-

pression. This is the same pattern which we have observed in Huckleberry Finn. In The Gilded Age, another child-woman passes from the world of innocence into experience, but unlike Joan, Laura succumbs to the corruption in civilization. Laura, like Joan, lived in and derived her natural goodness and purity from the country. Her physical description is of a type similar to Joan and to all girls in Twain:

> With all her pretty girlish airs and graces in full play, and that sweet ignorance of care and that atmosphere of innocence and purity about her that belonged to her gracious state of life, she was a vision to warm the coldest heart and cheer the saddest.[112]

Twain implies here that the innocent state is accompanied by "sweet ignorance of care", while initiation into the corrupt world of experience brings with it worry, disillusionment, wordly pressures, and responsibilities. This is of course the same idea that Wordsworth expressed in "Ode on Intimations of Immortality". Throughout his works, Clemens demonstrates his increasing belief in the vulnerability of innocence. Laura loses her innocence when she leaves the country and comes in contact with a corrupted society; she becomes a femme du monde and a murderess. As she sits in her lush Washington drawing room, she reflects wistfully on her childhood:

> She dwelt upon it as the one brief interval in her life that bore no curse. She saw herself again in the budding grace of twelve years, decked in her dainty pride

> of ribbons consorting with the bees and butterflies, believing in fairies, holding confidential converse with the flowers...[113]

Laura says: "If I could only die! If I could only go back, and be as I was then for one hour-and hold my father's hand in mine again, and see all the household about me in that old innocent time-and then die!" [114] This is of course sentimentality to make a Freudian blush. Twain overdramatises Laura; the book is ridden with the same defects as Joan of Arc, except that Laura's depiction falls into bathos, while Joan retains her dignity throughout the book, despite De Conte's adoring and sentimental recollections of her. The Gilded Age was written in 1873 and was a joint collaboration with Charles Dudley Warner. Twain's vision of the efficacy of innocence becomes increasingly darker and more pessimistic in his later works. But even in Twain's early works innocence is fragile and vulnerable. Laura's final despair and death shows, however, that in a world devoid of innocence, life is hopeless.

Tom Sawyer is another innocent in Twain who, like Joan of Arc, Huck and Laura, is linked to a natural setting and suffers repression and wordly pressures when he leaves it. Tom is characteristically portrayed with a desire to escape from the institutions of St. Petersburg, school, church, etc.- "captivity and fetters". When Tom escapes to Jackson Island, he sheds his clothing and enters into communion with nature .

Later in the book Tom goes over to the other side becoming like the rest of the townspeople. Tom tries to convince Huck Finn

that he must also conform; Tom says to Huck,"Well everybody does that way Huck", but Huck counters, "Tom, it don't make no difference, I ain't everybody."[115] Judge Thatcher has plans for Tom to be "a lawyer or a great soldier" and to send him to the National Military Academy. He has Tom's money out earning six percent interest,affording Tom a comfortable living.

Sprengemann says that Tom remains a sympathetic character in Twain's eyes as long as he is an innocent but "when he is a candidate for respectability, a burgeoning citizen, a bad boy who is on his way to making good, Clemens treats him with contempt and hostility".[116] This is interesting because Twain, the "candidate for respectability", was a lot like Tom himself. Clemens said in a letter to William Dean Howells that he would never take Tom into manhood:

> If I went on now and took him into manhood, he would be just like all the one-horse men in literature and the reader would conceive a hearty contempt for him.[117]

He says that "Tom would just grow up to be an ordinary liar."[118]

Twain's final sympathies in Tom Sawyer are clearly with Huck, for the unregenerate boy asserts his right to be an individual while Tom acquiesces and becomes a hypocrite, selling out his freedom and innocence. Huck doesn't capitulate, but in Huckleberry Finn innocence can only survive as long as it is running away from evil society. Huck and Jim try to create a microcosm of an unfallen world on the raft,but even this world is invaded by elements from corrupt society such as those

"rapscallions" - the "Duke" and the "Dauphin", an "ornery lot". Huck has to "light out to the territory" in a final attempt to retain his natural innocence and freedom. Huck's main response to evil aggression is flight, but as he and Jim try to escape from civilization, they encounter it again and again as they move downstream.

Twain's Joan of Arc is perceived as totally unique and miraculous, and unlike any other human being. She is invested with the elements of divinity and mystical power. In an essay, Twain expresses the mystique which surrounds Joan of Arc:

> Out of a cattle pasturing peasant village lost in the remoteness of an unvisited wilderness and atrophied with ages of stupefaction and ignorance, we cannot see a Joan of Arc issue equipped to the last detail for her amazing career and hope to be able to explain the riddle of it, labor at it as we may. It is beyond us. All the rules fail in this girl's case. In the world's history she stands alone-quite alone.[119]
>
> (22, 363-4)

Joan, unlike any of the other innocents in Twain, partakes of a divine nature which raises her above the worldly forces of corruption and allows her to retain her innocence. Joan is a religious mystic. De Conte describes the change that comes over Joan when she first becomes aware of her mission. He recalls the gravity and seriousness in her usually light-hearted and cheerful demeanor. De Conte says: "She was not melancholy but given to thought, abstraction, dreams. She was carrying France upon her heart, and she found the burden not light."[120]

De Conte describes Joan after her voices have made clear to her that she is to lead the French armies against the foreign invader and crown the Dauphin, King of France:

> None who met Joan that day failed to notice the change that had come over her.She moved and spoke with energy and decision; there was a strange new fire in her eye,and also something wholly new and remarkable in her carriage and in the set of her head. This new light in the eye and this new bearing were born of the authority and leadership which had been vested in her by the decree of God.[121]

Joan is a spirited and efficient leader, confident in herself and inspiring confidence in others. She exhibits the same natural self-sufficiency that other innocents in Twain exhibit, with the exception that she has the added boon of divine inspiration.

Joan of Arc is a natural as well as a supernatural heroine. Joan is closely linked to natural images throughout the book, especially the Fairy Tree. Twain begins by establishing Joan's link to her natural setting early in the book. Many of these scenes are very melodramatic, as for example the scene in which she leaves her native village and looks back tearfully on the Fairy Tree. John Seelye has pointed out that the melodrama in Joan of Arc is not necessarily false. It is Twain's sincerity and genuine adoration of Joan which salvages some of the more blatant moments of melodrama.

Once De Conte leaves Domremy he is initiated into the world of experience. An initiation in Twain occurs when the innocent leaves "the Delectable Land" and learns that "freedom is a

dream and that evil constraint is the only reality."[122] Joan is for De Conte the embodiment and symbol of innocence which he loses through his experience with evil. De Conte is a transparent persona for Mark Twain.

Joan of Arc represents Twain's fragile attempt to sublimate his darkening vision of human existence. Salomon points out that it was not surprising that Twain groped for the miraculous during this period. His family had been continually plagued by one illness after another, and he had run himself into bankruptcy with his disastrous typesetter machine.

Critics have pointed out that the artistic failure of Twain's Joan of Arc lies in Twain's inability to keep his narrator and himself detached from Joan. As Seelye has pointed out De Conte insists too much at times and his often inflated prose detracts from the book as a whole.[123] The first person point of view and the vernacular idiom make Huckleberry Finn much more successful than Joan of Arc. Sprengemann says "unlike in Joan, Twain looks at the world from within Huck instead of looking at him from the outside and avoids the danger of abusing his hero."[124] But Seelye says:

> To have the Sieur De Conte close to Joan in personal terms and prose fiction terms, was essential to the telling of the story as Mark Twain saw it, as a projection of his own psychic traumas and daydreams; and his failure to transmute those fantasies into living flesh is integral to the writing of the book.[125]

De Conte is like Mark Twain himself who grew steadily more pessimistic and disillusioned with the world and humanity. Like Twain, De Conte swings back and forth between sentimentality and the desire to believe in the efficacy of innocence and purity in a fallen world-to bitter cynicism. He moves from the optimism and hopefulness natural to youth to disgust, disbelief, and bitterness in old age. Stone says: "In Twain, despair and sentimentality are inseparable... because they formed consistent and complimentary aspects of his view of reality."[126]

Many of Twain's innocents experience a contest between the "heart" and the "head". Huckleberry struggles with his conscience and his head over aiding and protecting the runaway slave Jim. His head tells him that for all practical reasons, in a slave-owning society, he is bound to turn Jim in. Unlike the wily Tom Sawyer, Huck is ruled by his heart rather than his head. Tom Sawyer uses his "head" when he goes out to whitewash Aunt Polly's fence and Twain treats Tom with irony; he is described as "the glorious whitewasher". Tom is thinking of how he is going to get the fence whitewashed without working, when Ben Rogers strolls by eating an apple and impersonating a steam boat, the "Big Missouri". At first Ben stands by scoffingly watching Tom at work, until finally Tom convinces him that not every boy has a chance to whitewash a fence, and that he's the one that's missing out: "I reckon there ain't one boy in a thousand, maybe two thousand that can do it the way that it's got to be done."[127] Finally Ben is offering Tom the core of his apple for the chance to whitewash

the fence, and when Tom continues to refuse: "I'll give you all of it!" Twain describes the scene in this way:

> Tom gave up the brush with reluctance in his face, but alacrity in his heart. And while the late steamer "Big Missouri" worked and sweated in the sun, the retired artist sat on a barrel in the shade close by, dangled his legs, munched his apple, and planned the slaughter of more innocents. There was no lack of material; boys happened along every little while; they came to jeer, but remained to whitewash. After Ben fagged out Tom traded the next chance to Billy Fisher for a kite, in good repair, and when he played out, Johnny Miller bought in for a dead rat and a string to swing it with- and so on, and so on, hour after hour. And when the middle of the after noon came, from being a poor poverty-stricken boy in the morning, Tom was literally rolling in wealth... if he hadn't run out of whitewash, he would have bankrupted every boy in the village.[128]

Tom has used his "head" to outwit the other boys and "plan the slaughter of innocents" and Twain treats him ironically:

> Tom said to himself that it was not such a hollow world, after all. He had discovered a great law of human action, without knowing it- namely, that in order to make a man or a boy covet a thing, it is only necessary to make the thing difficult to attain.[129]

Joan and Huck Finn are more innocent than Tom. They are guileless and have compassionate tolerance and an instinctive ability to reach the right decision; unlike Huck, however, Joan never experiences an inner conflict between head and heart. Her heart is always in tune with her most deeply felt intuitiveness and common sense.

Joan's simplicity and "ignorance" (which in Twain's "innocents" is synonymous with innocence) is pitted against what De Conte describes as "a company of holy hair splitters and phrase mongers". De Conte describes Joan's güilelessness before her judges. Ignorance is the same thing as an uncorrupted heart and spirit:

> She sat there, solitary on her bench, untroubled and disconcerted the science of the sages with her sublime ignorance- an ignorance which was a fortress; arts, wiles, the learning drawn from books, and all like missiles rebounded from its unconscious masonry and fell to the ground harmless; they could not dislodge the garrison which was within- Joan's serene great heart and spirit, the guards and keepers of her mission.[130]

Joan's special powers are not corrupted by the Moral Sense- or any "trained and studied casuistry based on clever arguments and sophism" which the judges display, but rather on the power of heart and humanity over head or sophisticated reasoning. Joan's natural intuition,which gives her the ability to draw others to her and amaze even scholars,is something integral to her particular powers of innocence and goodness:

> By the help of no art learned in the schools, but using only the enchantments which were hers by nature, of youth, sincerity, a voice soft and musical, and an eloquence whose source was the heart, not the head, she laid that spell upon them.131

Stone points out that although Joan is a religious mystic, and her powers come from supernatural sources, they are also derived from natural sources like in Twain's other innocents:

> Joan is a religious mystic whose puissance seems to emanate from her own intuition rather from the temporary indwelling of Holy Voices. These ambiguities are implicit in the structure of the book, not simply because the historical Joan was, and is an enigma but also because Sieur Louis de Conte cannot resolve his own doubts.[132]

Twain's Joan is a nationalist. She is sent of God to lead the French army against the foreign invader. Only she is able to blow life and courage into the cowed French soldiers. She has a purifying effect on the soldiers. In keeping with the historical accounts- Twain's Joan allows no cursing or foul talk among her soldiers and requires them to go to confession and attend mass. She carries her sword only as a symbol of authority and, in accordance with the documents of her Rehabilitation,swears never to have taken human life. Joan is always in the throng of battle with her men, but only to impart courage and instill confidence in them.

Throughout the book Joan holds fast to her assurance that her Voices are from God and that she has received the divine mission to lead the French armies and crown the Dauphin, Charles VII. In his novel,Twain includes a letter which the historical Joan of Arc actually dictated to her page and secretary and sent to the English.Joan is ready to make peace with the English if they meet her conditions:

> King of England, and you Duke of Bedford who call yourself Regent of France; William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk; and you... who style yourselves lieutenants...do right to the King of Heaven. Render to the Maid who is sent by God the keys of all the good towns you have taken and violated in France... She is very ready to make peace if you will do her right by giving up France and paying for what you have held.[133]

Joan was convinced that it was her task to liberate France from the foreign subjugation of England and she held "the King of Heaven" before her as her mentor.

In Mark Twain, Joan is a proletarian leader and the power and inspiration of the people. She is a peasant. At one point in the book Mark Twain seems to be prophesying the French Revolution, with Joan as the embodiment of the spirit which brought it about. In Twain's novel, Joan longs to return to her land, the pastoral setting of her childhood innocence. Unlike Shakespeare's Joan of Arc, who is a despicable daughter and curses her father as a "decrepit miser and base ignoble wretch", Joan wants to return to her mother and father's home once her mission is completed. Twain's Joan of Arc is humble and associates herself with the peasants or "prole". She tells the high eccleciastics who have come to judge her case and chastise her for presuming to know the will of God, her being only a simple peasant: "If we (the peasant class) were as simple as you think there would be no wheat to make the bread to feed the court". [134]

Twain's Joan of Arc is always associated with nature and the natural uncorrupted forces of the heart and spirit particular to Twain's "innocents", especially the child. Joan is described in Twain as "the only heart her men had."[135] She has the ability to "blow the breath of life and valor into dead corpses."[136] Joan's special forces are always linked to natural images. De Conte says that her powers go to her soldiers, who value her "as the fruitful earth values the sun". He continues the imagery:

> She was the sun that melted the frozen torrents and set them boiling: with that sun removed they froze again.[137]

Throughout the novel Twain associates Joan with the warmth and light of the sun. In Shakespeare we have observed that woman and the female principle are usually associated with incontinence, immutability, and the coldness of the moon, while the Sun is associated with the masculine principle, with form and stability and permanence, and is superior to the moon, which is only a satellite that accompanies Earth in its revolution around the Sun. Like the sun, Joan has a reviving warmth about her. As a child and young girl she laughs freely and often, and the special quality of her laughter makes "old people feel young again" De Conte particularly delights in Joan's care-free mirth and brightness. While Twain's Joan of Arc has a regenerating power which she transmits to her soldiers and De Conte, Shakespeare's Joan is a liar and an imposter who receives her powers from the "fiends of darkness."

When Joan is being led to the stake she is flooded with sunlight, and the peasants kneel before her with lighted candles, increasing the light and warmth with which Joan is always associated. In Shakespeare, no light surrounds Joan, but rather darkness, because she is conceived in every way as black and foul. The peasants hold their lighted candles as she passes:

> ... thousands upon thousands massed upon their knees and stretching far down the distances, thick sown with the faint yellow candle-flames, like a field starred with golden flowers.[138]

De Conte makes a contrast between the English soldiers and the peasants who kneel before her with lighted candles:

> There were some that did not kneel; these were the English soldiers. They stood elbow to elbow, on each side of Joan's road and walled it in, all the way, and behind these living walls, knelt the multitudes.[139]

The English soldiers, those "living walls" who "wall in" Joan's road and try to separate her from the peasants and their candle-flames, represent the corruption of human institutions in a society which is thwarting and hostile to innocence. Sprengemann says that Joan is the "sun giving life to the people".[140] The peasants are described with natural imagery, as they kneel with their lighted candles they seem "like a field starred with golden flowers". In another place in the book De Conte describes the peasants in brightly colored skirts and jackets. They look

to him like "endless borders of poppies and lilies... multitudinous flowers."[141] The peasants are flowers and the soldiers who represent the institutions of Church and State, separate the people from Joan's warmth and light "leaving them in the shadows for want of substance".[142]

Joan is always linked with nature, the sun and the Fairy Tree and freedom. It is corrupted society and its institutions which take away her liberty. De Conte describes Joan when she is taken from prison and brought to trial:

> She had been languishing in dungeons, away from light and air... for near three quarters of a year- she, born child of the sun, natural comrade of the birds and of all happy, free creatures.[143]

While Twain associates Joan with natural images, and sees her as a natural and integral part of the world of innocence before the world closes in on it, Shakespeare viewed Joan's instincts as unnatural, malevolent and malignant and a threat to the conventional system. She is an aggressive subverter of masculinity, overturning the old medieval world order and patriarchal system. Twain holds the exact opposite view as Shakespeare, seeing instead the conventional system as a threat to Joan's natural instincts of benevolence, benignity and innocence. While Joan is associated in Twain with the natural energy and warmth of the sun and its light, she is associated with blackness and unnaturalness in Shakespeare.

In Twain's novel, as well as in Saint Joan by Shaw, Joan is kind of a Protestant. Twain's Joan of Arc is a Protestant

in the sense that she looks not to the Church as the final authority, but depends on and places her faith in a personal God who reveals Himself and His will to her through no other mediator. Joan has visions and receives God's orders and counsel through her Voices, not through the interpretation of the Church Militant or any of its prelates- Bishop, priest, or otherwise. She will submit to no other authority than her Lord in Heaven. She is even an exponent of the "Protestant work ethic". During battle she says enthusiastically to her soldiers: "Work! Work! and God will work with us !" Twain contrasts Joan's healthy vigor with "the corrupt intellectualism of the Church".[144]

De Conte describes the "lethargy of the Court", and Joan's natural energy, courage, and wholesomeness is juxtaposed with the effete artificiality and decadence of the Court. De Conte refers to the King's counselors as "'dandies', 'ladies' maids', and butterflies who were unwilling to leave the silken idleness of the Court for the rude contact of war." [145] The Dauphin's Court is described in this way:

> Here he is, the Dauphin shut up in this wee corner of the realm like a rat in a trap; his royal shelter this huge gloomy tomb of a castle, with wormy rags and crippled furniture for use, a very house of desolation; in his treasury forty francs, and not a farthing more, God be witness! no army, nor any shadow of one; and by contrast with this hungry poverty you behold this crownless pauper and his shoals of fools and favorites tricked out in the gaudiest silks and velvets you shall find in any Court in Christendom. [146]

Sprengemann tells us that Joan combines the natural energy of youth and innocence, and "works to institute popular reforms in a land that is chained by effete traditions and constraining institutions."[147] Mark Twain's Joan of Arc is full of contradictions and paradoxes, as many of his works are. Twain's Joan is at once the necessary by-product of the genteel New England society which Twain had become a part of, as well as a critic of the gentility around her. There is this same duplicity surrounding Twain's Joan as child-woman, highly idealized but simultaneously embodying a kind of raw unbridled natural energy which seems a little subversive to and incongrous with Twain's highly romanticised idealisation of her. Joan of Arc in Twain is pure but blooming, sensual but not sexual, a tantalizing mingle of the ideal and the natural.

In contrast to the spiritless Dauphin, his mediocre counselors, and his "shoals of fools and favorites" who surround him, Joan is like the Shavian genius who is driven by a moral passion to work for something outside himself and is always ahead of his own times,having more vision and moral vision than the average person. Unlike the lethargic and corrupt members of the Court, Joan has the passion of her convictions and puts her whole character, genius, and energy, into bringing about necessary change. Like the Shavian genius,Twain's Joan is morally superior to other human beings, has a different set of values and is "one who grasps a higher universal, making it [her] own purpose in accordance with the higher laws of the spirit."[148]

Joan of Arc never becomes corrupted by the Court and its superficial, tinseled values. Even throughout her campaigns and the mad frenzy and turmoil of battle and bloodshed, Joan never loses her instinctive goodness, compassion, and humanity. Twain depicts an incident which Michelet discovered in the deposition of Joan's page during her trial. De Conte describes the scene in the same way that it was described by the page of the historical Joan of Arc. He tells us that their men had mortally wounded an English prisoner who was too poor to pay a ransom, and when Joan saw this:

> She galloped to the place and sent for a priest, and held the head of her dying enemy in her lap, easing him to death with comforting words, just as his sister might have done; with womanly tears running down her face all the time.[149]

Twain's Joan of Arc is like Huck Finn who can pity and feel compassion for those human beings who have used him or done him wrong. When Huck sees those "rapscallions" the dauphin and the duke tarred and feathered he says: "Well, it made me sick to see it, and I was sorry for them poor, pitiful rascals, it seemed like I couldn't even feel any hardness against them any more in the world. It was a dreadful thing to see. Human beings can be awful cruel to one another."[150] Two other children (innocents) in Twain demonstrate compassion toward their fellow beings: Tom Canty and King Edward in The Prince and the Pauper. In Twain's works children are morally

superior to and more compassionate than adults. In Twain, even the most sympathetic of adults have lost their powers of discernment. When the little prince in The Prince and the Pauper changes places with Tom Canty, Tom's mother receives him kindly but pities his "apparently crazed intellect."

At times Twain's Joan of Arc has some psychological depth and seems human, other times she is nothing more than the stereotyped Victorian heroine in the clutches of a villain. Cauchon, the Bishop who conducts Joans's trial is conceived as an arch-villain, and a scoundrel and monstrous fiend, with a physical appearance to match:

> When I looked at that obese president, puffing and wheezing there, his great belly distending and receding with each breath, and noted his three chins fold above fold, and his knobby and knotty face, and his purple and splotchy complexion, and his repulsive cauliflower nose, and his cold, malignant eyes- a brute, every detail of him- my heart sank.[151]

Joan is contrasted to Cauchon as the genteel Victorian maiden, as a diffident little creature with "a dainty figure...gentle and innocent... winning and beautiful in the fresh bloom of her seventeen years."[152] When Cauchon and Loyseleur bore a hole in her room to listen to her confessions, De Conte wonders:"How could they treat that poor child so? She had not done them any harm." De Conte says of Cauchon: "One wonders if he ever knew his mother or ever had a sister." This whole scene which Twain creates is utterly ridiculous, and De Conte's

observations quite in the Victorian vein,are just as absurd. Salomon comments: "Twain reduced a death struggle between polit ical and social systems to the Victorian convention of the female in distress."[153] Twain deals in stereotypes and Salomon says that"we are asked to cheer as time and time again the frail but indomitable virgin foils the vile seducer."[154]

In Mark Twain's Joan of Arc, Joan is angelic; a fair genteel maiden. We can particulary see Olivia and Susy's influence in Twain's physical description of Joan. His daughter Susy was the physical model for his Joan of Arc. While Joan of Arc is a child-woman or a "girl not fully grown", not yet sexual, she is fully woman in Shakespeare. Shakespeare's Joan is surround ed by her lovers and paramours and claims to be pregnant. She is neither angelic nor fair nor a maiden in Shakespeare but rather a fiendish, black trull.

Twain's Joan of Arc is a story about despair in old age and lost faith. Stone says:"Twain views the bitter truths of human life from the double perspective of boyhood and old age, looking through the innocent eye as well as the tired mind."[155] De Conte is an old man in his eighty-second year when he nos - talgically recounts his story of Joan. Once the optimistic,roman tic young man who left Domremy to follow Joan, De Conte is an embittered old man when he records his recollections. This is part of the weakness of Joan of Arc as a novel.The two nar- rators, De Conte as a boy and later as an embittered old man, and the process by which the boy is transformed into the misanthrope,is not sufficiently dramatised.De Conte's initiation

into the world of experience is already complete when he begins to describe Joan's career and initiation, and the fate of innocence in a fallen world.[156]

When Joan is betrayed by the treachery and baseness of the damned human race, the pessimism of the old man becomes more pronounced as he moves from the optimistic hopefulness born of youth and innocence, to disillusionment. De Conte echoes Mark Twain. When Joan says that the only thing which she feared was treachery and then was in fact betrayed, De Conte says: "Truly man is a pitiful animal." The old man remembers that in his youth he remained hopeful to the last that Joan would be ransomed, and rescued:

> I believed for I was young and had not found out the littleness and meanness of our poor human race, which brags about itself so much and thinks it is better and higher than the other animals.[157]

The palace and Court which Joan must occupy represent exile and moral restraint. De Conte continually refers to Joan's career in the wars and to her imprisonment, as an exile, recalling the words which the children of Domremy sang to the Fairy tree:

> And when in exile wand'ring we shall fainting yearn for glimpse of thee/O rise upon our sight.[158]

A vision of the Fairy Tree signifies that death and release from exile is near for the one who sees the vision:

> Now from time immemorial all children reared in Domremy were called the children of the Tree; and they loved that name for it carried with it a mystic privilege not granted to any others of this world: Whenever one of these [the children] came to die, then beyond the vague and formless images drifting through his mind rose soft and fair a vision of the Tree- if all was well with his soul.159

Throughout the book there exists the disparity of the two conflicting views of the world, optimism in youth and pessimism in maturity. But once Joan is imprisoned and put through the trial, De Conte's pessimism becomes more observable. We soon learn that Joan has seen the vision of the tree. De Conte says:

> She was to die; and so soon. I had never dreamed of that. How could I, and she so strong and fresh and young, and every day earning a new right to a peaceful and honored old age? For at that time I thought old age valuable. I do not know why but I thought so ... all young people think it... they being ignorant and full of superstitions.160

When De Conte and his companion Noel learn that the French have sold Joan to the English, their laughter was "dried at its source." He recalls Joan's laughter at something that one of her comrade-in-arms had said to her, and reveals the change which has taken place in him as an old man who has lost

the ability to laugh and find pleasure in the world:

> I only cried when that picture of young care-free mirth rose before me out of the blur, for there had come a day between, when God's gift of laughter had gone out from me to come again no more in this life.161

De Conte begins to view death as a release from perverseness, disillusionment, and evil in this world. He discusses the death of the Paladin, a comic sidekick who provides some humor to the story, "a youthful Miles Glorious or a kind of Falstaff."[162] Unlike Falstaff, however, the Paladin emerges as a brave hero who dies in battle. Noel speaks for both himself and De Conte when he expresses their despondency:

> He, the Paladin drained the cup of glory to the last drop, and went jubilant to his peace, blessedly spared all part in the disaster which was to follow. What luck! What luck! And we? What was our sin that we are still here; we who have also earned our place with the happy dead? 163

Sprengemann says: "The death wish, follows hard upon the loss of hope and childish illusions of innocence."[164] In The Mysterious Stranger — one of the latest and darkest of Twain's works, death is also perceived as a release. Satan tells Seppi and Theodor that he will change the future of their playmate Nikolaus. When they learn that Satan will shorten Nikolaus's life they are stricken, but Satan tells them: "He had a billion possible careers,

but not one of them was worth living; they were charged with miseries and disasters."[165]

Joan's voices promise her victory. Both De Conte and Joan take this to mean that she will be rescued. During the trial Joan tells Cauchon that her Voices have promised her help, but that she does not know in what form the help will come. She says:

> I don't know whether I am to be delivered from this prison or whether when you send me to the scaffold there will happen a trouble by which I shall be set free. But what my voices have said clearest is, that I shall be delivered by a great victory.".166

De Conte imagines that the great victory which Joan is referring to will be one with the soldiers' "war cry" and "clash of steel" coming to Joan's rescue. This is not far from the chivalric idea of rescuing the "damsel in distress". But De Conte's hopes are dashed when Joan finishes her sentence:

> And always they say [the Voices] 'Submit to what comes; do not grieve for your martyrdom, from it you will ascend into the kingdom of Paradise. 167

Twain's Joan of Arc is a Christian heroine in the sense that she receives her Voices from God, is divinely inspired, and will submit to no other than her Lord in Heaven; but at the same time there is the element of pantheism mingled with her Christian faith. The symbols with which Joan is associated throughout

the book are natural images and symbols, like the sun and the Fairy Tree. This mingling of transcendental and natural qualities is cental to Twain's characterization of Joan.Her Christian faith instills in her an ethereal, angelic, other-worldly aura, but at the same time she is a human "clay-made" girl associated with the earth, sun, and birds. Joan is most expressly associated throughout the book with the beech tree—the children's Fairy Tree—as the symbol for childhood innocence and freedom. The beech tree is related to the fate of innocence in a corrupt world, like the tree Joan dies at the hands of the Church. For the old man,Joan's death is heartbreaking, for with it comes disillusionment and loss of faith, but for Joan, death represents nothing sad or cheerless, nothing dark or gloomy. Her voices have promised her a place in Paradise-deliverance and great victory; and the vision of the beech tree which she has seen is a promise that "all is well with her soul." It means release from this world where innocence is inevitably thwarted or destroyed. Joan perceives the vision of the tree which signals approaching death as remission from exile, leave to come home. Death is at the same time a return to God and the Christian Paradise, and a return to the tree, a pantheistic symbol of paradise—Eden before it was corrupted, the unfallen world.

The vision of the beech tree which Joan has while she is in prison gives her courage to face death, as does the wooden cross which she holds to her breast while she is burned. Joan as an innocent derives much of her power from the "Delectable Land" and natural sources as well as supernatural.

She never loses her link to the natural world and its images. An English soldier fashions a cross for her from two sticks. Friar Isambar also brings her a cross from the church which she asks him to raise toward her face and "let [her] eyes rest in hope and consolation upon it till [she] has entered into the peace of God."[168]

We soon learn that De Conte, the old man, has recently seen the vision of the tree, and he understands that his death is near. De Conte is a lonely embittered old man who years before has lost his beloved Joan, symbol of purity and goodness and innocence in a corrupt and fallen world. De Conte looks forward to his death as release from the "prison house" where experience, the world and its society only break in and destroy.

De Conte is like Mark Twain, who also became bitter and cynical toward the end of his life. Twain had every reason to feel despair in the last years of his life. He had lost a son, a younger brother, and had never really recovered from the death of his daughter Susy, who died suddenly of spinal meningitis when she was away at college. Twain said of Susy's death: "Our loss, would bankrupt the vocabularies of all the languages to put it into words."[169] In another image central to his experience he said that "Susy's death was like a man's house burning down—it would take him years and years to discover all that he had lost in the fire."[170] Twain's wife, never physically strong, declined rapidly after Susy's death and died eight years later. Twain's youngest daughter Jean, died of a heart attack. Jean suffered from epilepsy and during most of

the five years after Livy's death and before her own in 1909, she would be in and out of various sanatoriums. His daughter Clara suffered a nervous collapse and for a year Twain was not allowed to visit, telephone, or even write her. In the last years of Twain's life he too began to see death as a release and even to look forward to his own,like De Conte. Stone discusses two poems which Twain wrote, "In Memoriam", a poem composed after Susy's death, and its prose sequel, "The Death of Jean". Stone says that the latter is a more personal and poignant document of grief, even thought it hangs on the edge of mawkishness. Stone tells us that:

> What redeems "The Death of Jean" is not simply terrible sincerity of emotion but also the identification of Twain's private loss with the general sense of lost innocence and youth that for thirty years had informed his fiction. 171

Twain wrote of Jean's body lying in its coffin on Christmas eve:

> "And last night I saw again what I had seen then, - that strange and lovely miracle - the sweet, soft contours of early maidenhood restored by the gracious hand of death! When Jean's mother lay dead, all trace of care, and trouble, and suffering, and the corroding years had vanished out of her face, and I was looking upon it as I had known and worshipped it in its young bloom and beauty a whole generation before.172

This was written barely four months before Twain's own death,

and one senses the writer's own yearning for the "gracious hand."[173] Of course the phrases which Twain uses, "the sweet, soft contours of early maidenhood ", "the corroding years" , "young bloom and beauty ",put us in mind of the story by the bitter old man De Conte, longing for release; and Twain's paean to another young maiden, Joan of Arc who De Conte describes as "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 bond."[174]

In his youth, when he first began to write,Twain thought that history demonstrated progress. Evil was viewed largely as the result of faulty institutions.He believed that through the progress of history and training,man could and would change for the better. He argued before the Monday Evening Club: "Training is potent. Training toward higher and higher... ideals is worth any man's thought and labor and dilligence," [175] But later in The Connecticut Yankee, the avid exponent of progress Morgan Le Fay finally confesses:

> All that I think about in this plodding, sad pilgrimage, this pathetic drift between the **eternities** is to be able to 'humbly live a pure and high and blameless life', and as for the rest he says 'save that one microscopic atom in me that is truly me: the rest may land in Sheol and welcome for all I care.'[176]

Here Twain denies any meaning, historical or otherwise, to human experience ("life is a pathetic drift between eternities"). All

that is left for man is denunciation ("the rest may land in Sheol and welcome") and flight.[177] Salomon says that Twain's fundamental attitude came to be "to hell with civilization." The young Twain thought that history and time would demonstrate progress in man's nature and his world, but as his vision of man and the world darkened, he began to view history and time "as an endless empty change."[178] Before the end of Twain's life he sketched in his notebook the outline of a play in which America would return to an "age of darkness" around 1985.[179]

For a time, of course, Twain placed his faith in children before they were corrupted by experience. Sprengemann says: "Childhood to Clemens, was a prelapsarian state and not subject to original sin."[180] Joan's essential uniqueness in Twain is that she managed to escape from the corrupting influence of society: "She was able to carry into later life the goodness and innocence of her youth in the teeth of her feudal environment."[181] Joan is like Hegel's "world-historical individual" and the Shavian genius who make an impact on the world around them bringing about change, which makes the world better:

> Joan was a miraculous exception to all laws of history as Twain conceived them, yet an individual who had somehow made an impact on history- [one] who at least had managed to illuminate the darkness briefly with [her] innocence.[182]

Joan of Arc was Twain's last fragile attempt to believe in

innate goodness and innocence. Even in her case he could only believe because he viewed Joan as a miraculous exception. Twain described Joan in this way:

> She was perhaps the only entirely unselfish person whose name has a place in profane history and the most extraordinary person the human race has ever produced.[183]

In Joan of Arc De Conte describes Joan as an "ideally perfect" individual who "was not made as others are made". He tells us that "she rose above the limitations and infirmities of our human nature."[184] In Joan of Arc, as well as some of his earlier works, Twain viewed evil as something external to man, not innate. When Twain described Laura in The Gilded Age he used traditional Christian terms in describing her youth, "grace" and "gracious state of life" – Twain viewed the state of innocence as natural to youth. Man was seemingly born uncorrupted and then became corrupted through his contact with civilization. In the early works evil was external to man; his corruption was blamed on the Moral Sense –"false notions of right and wrong inevitably inculcated by society."[185] Man was born free from depravity and became evil through experience. When Twain's vision of man's nature and the world darkens, evil is viewed as innate, and "corruption is envisaged as a quality inherent in Adam, no fall is involved."[186] Twain expresses his later belief in the inherent evil in man through the persona of Satan in The Mysterious Stranger:

> The first man was a hypocrite and a coward, qualities which have not yet failed in his line; it is the foundation upon which all civilizations have been built.[187]

We can observe,however,that even before Twain had begun to assert the essential immutability of human nature and the existence of innate evil in man, he seems to have lost faith in the vitality of innocence in a corrupt world. Even while Twain placed his faith in innocence, it seems to be only a transient force, because the forces of society ultimately invade its domain to thwart or destroy it. Laura loses her innocence as she becomes part of the lush Washington society, Tom acquiesces and becomes a hypocrite, Huck has to light out to the territory, and Joan of Arc is abandoned and betrayed by her friends and finally burned to death, "her fate a measure of the general depravity of the human race."[188]

Even in Twain's early works, innocence could not survive in civilization. Sprengemann says: "urban settings smother natural goodness with conventions and institutions. Only in nature can innocence display itself in the form of brotherhood, general good will, repose, and native sagacity."[189] This was only true of nature in Twain's earliest works like Life on the Missippi and Huck Finn where the innocent could find freedom and independence and peace of heart, in nature.

Finally Twain's image of the "Delectable Land" (man in nature), the idyllic village or countryside, or idyll on a raft disappeared. There was no longer any hope of man's

recovering Eden. Twain's bitter despair is suggested in his notes concerning a sequel to Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn that he thought of writing. Twain imagined Huck as coming back "sixty years old, from nobody knows where- and crazy: "He and Tom meet again" and together they talk of old times, both are desolate, life has been a failure, all that was loveable is in under the mold. They die together."[190] Salomon tells us that Twain's final vision: "There was no refuge on the bosom of the river, no flight to the West, that preserve the qualities of childhood and the human experience from the ravages of life."[191]

Joan of Arc is a stepping stone toward Twain's darkest pessimism. The Mysterious Stranger is the logical conclusion to an increasingly darker view of the survival and efficacy of innocence either found in childhood or in the innocent who inhabits the "Delectable Land" in nature. Freedom and innocence exist only in dreams. Man is fallen, Eden is forever lost. Twain moves from the lonely, disillusioned old man, De Conte in Joan of Arc, to the bitter cynicism and denial of Satan in The Mysterious Stranger. Before Satan has totally vanished he comes back to say goodbye to the boys, and when Theodor asks him if they will meet again, Satan says no. Theodor replies: "In this life, Satan, but in another?. We shall meet in another surely?" [192] Satan **responds** tranquilly and soberly: "There is no other". At last Satan express Twain's final dark loss of faith and vision:

> Life itself is only a vision, a dream. It is true that which I have revealed to you; there is no God, no universe,no human race, no earthly life, no heaven, no hell. It is all a dream- a grotesque and foolish dream. Nothing exists but you. And you are but a thought- a vagrant thought, a useless thought, a homeless thought, wandering forlorn among the empty eternities![193]

Gladys Bellamy says that by the time Twain has come to The Mysterious Stranger he can no longer even put his faith in his boys. Stone points out that almost all of Twain's last works deal with girls, rather than boys, and he suggests that Twain "unconsciously divides his allegiance along sexual lines".[194] He tells us:

> 'The Death Disk', 'A Horse's Tale', 'Eve's Diary', and 'Marjorie Fleming,the Wonder Child' are, on the surface at least, happy pieces in which the power and beauty of girlhood are celebrated.[195]

Stone argues that Twain's attachment to chilhood and his special fondness for young maidens survived even the onslaught of his rage against the cosmos.[196] He says that cynicism and solipsism are not really Twain's most deeply felt convictions.

Twain's Joan of Arc was published twenty years after Tom Sawyer but appeared twenty years before The Mysterious Stranger. Twain's entire lifetime was involved in writing about children and the fate of the innocent in civilization. Twain considered his book about that "marvellous child" Joan of Arc, to be his

best book, although his critics do not agree. In describing Joan of Arc to Livy and Susy, Twain said: "This is to be a serious book. It means more to me than anything I have ever undertaken."[197] Mark Twain could not account for Joan of Arc's amazing personality and character, nor did he even want to. In the article called "St. Joan of Arc", Twain says Joan's personality "is one to be reverently studied, loved, and marveled at, but not to be wholly understood and accounted for by even the most searching analysis."[198] Twain was able to retain his belief in the goodness and innocence of Joan because of her special inexplicable uniqueness.

Far from being incongruous with the writer or the rest of his work, Joan of Arc is an appropriate commentary on Twain himself and the dualities and contradictions which were ever-present in Mark Twain' psyche and literary art. Stone sums it up quite well:

> To the aging man who was both a realist and romantic in his writing, a determinist and a moralist in his thinking, an agnostic and yet a deist in his worship, Joan of Arc permitted a temporary haven.[199]

CHAPTER IV

JOAN OF ARC IN GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

Joan of Arc in Shaw's play Saint Joan embodies the Shavian philosophy of woman, the Life Force, and Creative Evolution. It is Joan of Arc's identification with some essential vitality and will outside herself which makes her superior to others. This essential vitality is the Life Force. The components of Shaw's Life Force are two-fold:

> The first component is man's Will which reason serves as thought, as imagination, and as the ability to understand oneself, the world, and ones purposes in it. The second component of the Life Force is its physical and procreative impulse without which the species would die.[200]

This task of propelling the species onward through procreation is the one which Shaw sees the Life Force investing in woman. Without the physical and procreative elements of the Life Force, the species would die. But for Shaw "it is man's mind that must find the way to something better and lift the man to the Superman."[201]

Hans Stoppel has pointed out that in the beginning of Shaw's writing career, "he had assigned woman no higher task than that of propagating the species and providing for the continuance

of life, while it fell to the male to insure spiritual progress."[202] Stoppel tells us that with the advent of the First World War, Shaw began to put less faith in man and become more pessimistic about the male's ability to ensure progress:

> The First World War brought home to Shaw the political inability of man and the dangers inherent in the masculine genius and so, by contrast, increased his belief in the mission of woman. It was in this atmosphere that Saint Joan took place.[203]

Shaw's philosophy of the Life Force has some similarities to Schopenhauer's philosophy concerning the Will, but it is different than Schopenhauer's system, where although the force of the will leads to greater self-consciousness, the objective is simply self preservation. Robert Whitman says that Schopenhauer's philosophy differs from Shaw's in that:

> There is no sense of ameliorative evolution, or belief that there is satisfaction or joy in becoming something better than what was. On the contrary, greater self-consciousness only brings a greater awareness of frustration, suffering, and despair.[204]

Whitman tells us that it was Georg Friedrich Hegel that provided the catalyst and vital spark to Shaw's philosophy concerning the Life Force. He says:

> What appealed most to Shaw in Hegel's philosophy was that it represents a dynamic process- working everywhere and at all times- in which each synthesis is not an end, but becomes the thesis in a new triad, the dialectic is a process, always evolving into more and and more complete syntheses, progressively higher and higher forms. [205]

For both Hegel and Shaw, the Will or Force that lies behind the universe and all existence finds its highest manifestation and realization in man. Shaw believed that the Superman would eventually evolve through a kind of dialectical process. In Shaw the man who is more than man is the Superman.

Joan of Arc is an example of what Hegel called a "world historical individual"-"one who grasps a higher universal, and makes it his own purpose in accordance with the higher law of the spirit." [206] Hegel's figure in Shaw, of course, becomes the Superman. Shaw's Superman is inspired and driven in his thrust upward by something called "the moral passion." Hegel also applied the term "passion" to the phenomenon of great men. In speaking of his "world historical individuals" Hegel said:

> "There were indeed men of passion, they had the passion of their conviction and put their whole conviction, character, genius, and energy into it." [207]

In Bernard Shaw's work Joan is the embodiment of the Life Force, or Creative Evolution, and of what he calls in his preface to Saint Joan the "evolutionary appetite."

Shaw says:

> That there are forces at work which use individuals for purposes far transcending the purpose of keeping these individuals alive and prosperous and respectable and safe and happy in the middle station in life... is established by the fact that men will, in the pursuit of knowledge and of social readjustments for which they will not be a penny the better, and indeed are often many pence the worse, face poverty, infamy, exile, imprisonment, dreadful hardship, and death.[208]

What Shaw is saying here is there are men and women in the world who are willing to sacrifice themselves for higher purposes which benefit mankind,"the pursuit of knowledge and of social readjustments". This appetite for evolution which motivated Joan of Arc to leave her home and family in the small rural village of Domremy and to became the liberator of France was as natural and strong an impulse and appetite as other people's appetite for food.

Joan exhibits a trait which Shaw greatly admired in men — the rejection of happiness in favor of a commitment to work for something outside the self, a kind of moral passion with all the characteristics of genuine religious fervor.[209] In _Candida_ Marchbanks rejects the bourgeois happiness of Candida and her husband. Before Marchbanks leaves he tells them: "I no longer desire happiness: life is nobler than that."[210]

This idea is expressed in one of Shaw's personal letters when he wrote:

> The true joy in life is being used for a purpose recognized by yourself as a mighty one: the being thoroughly worn out before you are thrown on the scrap heap; the being a force of Nature instead of a feverish selfish little clod of ailments and grievances complaining that the world will not devote itself to make you happy.[211]

It is not an involvement with some kind of milk-toast idealism that Shaw admires; in fact, the word "idealism" in Shaw is a pejorative term. In the "Don Juan in Hell" scene in <u>Man and Superman</u> the distance between heaven and hell is essentially the difference between idealism and realism. Don Juan tells Ana that "heaven is the home of the masters of reality", and that "hell is the home of honor, duty, justice, and the rest of the seven deadly virtues."[212] When Ana protests, "I am going to heaven for happiness. I have had quite enough of reality on earth," he replies, "Then you must stay here; for hell is the home of the unreal and the seekers of happiness."[213] The statue confirms what Juan says by describing hell as "a place where you have nothing to do but amuse yourself."[214] Robert Whitman points out that it not simply a puritan contempt for pleasure that Shaw expresses: "it is not the self-indulgence Shaw despises and fears, but the self-delusion."[215] An idealist in Shaw is one who seeks to hide reality rather than seek

a better reality. Juan tells the idealist in hell:

> You call your appearance beauty, your emotions love, your sentiments heroism, your aspirations virtue, just as you did on earth; but here there are no hard facts to contradict you.[216]

Salvation to Shaw is not merely a private matter, but the future of mankind; "he measures the scale from damnation to blessedness in terms of commitment to the self and commitment of the self to the purposes of the universe."[217] Shaw looks critically upon the pursuit of mere personal happiness as something which is not worthy of man's highest aspirations and efforts. Joan echoes this idea when she tries to put some fighting spirit into the Dauphin: "You have a little son, he that will be Louis the Eleventh when you die. Would you not fight for him?"[218] The cowardly Dauphin answers Joan that he would not, and says: "Why can't you mind your own business, and let me mind mine?"[219] Joan answers the Dauphin contemptuously:

> Minding your own business is like minding your own body: it's the shortest way to make yourself sick... I tell thee it is God's business we are here to do: not our own.[220]

She tells the governor of Vaucouleurs, Robert de Baudricourt, that she doesn't like the soldiers' chivalric manner of waging

war: "Our soldiers are always beaten because they are fighting only to save their skins... I will teach them all to fight that the will of God may be done in France."[221]

From the beginning of her career Joan finds herself in conflict with men of lesser aspirations and ability; the lukewarmness and cowardliness of the Dauphin and his court frustrate her. Like Mark Twain's Joan, she has no patience with idleness and effeteness at the court, and cannot understand those around her who are only motivated by self-interest and petty ambitions while France lies about them in ruins.

Shaw's Joan is a realist, she sees things as they are and is not afraid to call them by their appropriate names. Joan comes in conflict with the spiritual powers invested in the Catholic Church, and with the temporal powers invested in the feudal aristocracy and the King. As in Twain's work, the government and church leaders appear small-minded and self-seeking beside Joan. Joan's realism is in contrast to their kind of idealism which makes them believe that they are virtuous or worthy, as they shut their eyes to their own imperfections and the world around them. This idealism makes them insensitive to the problems and functioning of human nature in the real world. What Shaw calls realism in his characters is similar to what Twain perceives in his innocents as native intuitiveness and discernment. Like Twain, Shaw perceives Joan of Arc as unique; she sees further and probes deeper than other people because she has a different set of ethical values, and the force and energy to give effect to this extra vision and its values.[222]

Shaw claims in his preface to Saint Joan to have presented Joan of Arc with much more authenticity than Shakespeare or Twain because he says that he understood the Middle Ages and they did not. Shaw says that Shakespeare's Henry VI ends in "mere scurrility" and that:

> Shakespeare having begun by an attempt to make Joan a beautiful and romantic figure was told by his scandalized English company that unless he at once introduced all the old charges against Joan of having been a sorceress and a harlot, and assumed her to be guilty of them, his play could not be produced.[223]

This at least seems to be one of the reasons for Shakespeare's misogynistic treatment of Joan of Arc. Certainly Shakespeare was supported by various patrons in a time when England was involved in a nationalistic policy of expansion. Shakespeare was writing for the Elizabethans and had a responsibility to propagate the Tudor's claim to the throne. Shaw at least perceived Shakespeare's obvious ambivalence in his treatment of Joan.

Shaw tells us that when "jingo scurrility had done its worst to Joan, sectarian scurrility used her stake to beat the Roman Catholic Church and the Inquisition."[224] Shaw's biggest complaint about Twain's novel is that he made Joan's story a melodrama with the institution of the Roman Catholic Church and its representative Cauchon into the villain; with Joan as the Victorian "damsel in distress". Shaw considered

Twain a genius but says of him:

> Mark Twain, the Innocent Abroad, who saw the lovely churches of the Middle Ages without a throb of emotion ... was clearly out of court from the beginning.[225]

Shaw, never famous for his humility, claims to have the advantage over the Elizabethans of writing in full view of the Middle Ages. One is never quite sure what Shaw means by this statement. He is not clear. He is however clear and adamant in his claim that Shakespeare and Twain understood the Middle Ages less than he. He tells us that there is not a breath of medieval atmosphere in Shakespeare's histories. Shaw explains what he means by this:

> His John of Gaunt is like a study of the old age of Drake. Although Shakespeare was a Catholic by family tradition, his figures are all intensely Protestant , individualist, skeptical, self-centered in everything but their love affairs , and completely personal and selfish even in them. His kings are not statesmen; his cardinals have no religion: a novice can read his plays from one end to the other without learning that the world is finally governed by forces expressing themselves in religions and laws which make epochs rather than by vulgarly ambitious individuals who make rows.[226]

Shaw is quite severe in his criticism of Shakespeare and his art, and of course he is exaggerating. It may simply be that Shakespeare was just a keener observer of human nature and human weaknesses and tendencies. What seems to bother Shaw

most about Shakespeare is that his characters "mind their own business" too much, and that they seem too little interested in the rest of humanity. In Shaw's opinion Shakes-peare's characters are simply too bourgeois and careless of how their actions affect the community as a whole. Shaw says of Shakespeare's characters in general and in particular of some of the characters which he himself (Shaw) portrays in Saint Joan:

> [In Shakespeare] we should have seen them all completely satisfied that if they would only be true to themselves they could not then be false to any man... as if they were beings in the air, without public responsibilities of any kind.227

In short, Shaw claims to have done a much better job of presenting Joan to us than Shakespeare or Twain. He claims that his play contains all that need be known about her. This is perhaps disputable, but certainly there is no doubt that the Joan of Arc which Shaw depicts more closely resembles the Joan of Arc that we know from the records of her trial and rehabilitation than the Joan which Shakespeare seemed compelled to portray.

George Bernard Shaw was always a supporter of women and their causes, and actively fought for and supported women's strides for independence and rights. He encouraged them to be feminists, and individualistic and stalwart in their convictions and opinions. Some of the best roles in his

plays were created for women whom he personally admired and respected. It is no wonder then that the Joan story would be particulary attractive to Shaw.

Shaw's feminine characters follow certain patterns.There are specific types of women in Shaw - the womanly woman, the pursuing woman, the mother woman, the new woman and the manly woman. Joan of Arc in Shaw is depicted more as the "new woman" or "manly woman". Sylvia Craven in The Philanderer is an example of a "new woman" as well as a "manly woman".In Shaw's play, The Philanderer, Sylvia Craven represents the manly woman in her youth. As a new woman, Sylvia of course wants her independence and liberty and insists on receiving the same social treatment as the male sex. She wants equal treatment at the club so "she affects a blunt, 'manly' language and demands that she be called by her surname ... just as the men are."[228] Sylvia likes tobacco and rolls her own cigarettes.

Lina Szozepanowska, the Polish acrobatess in Misalliance is a manly woman, also. She is thoroughly disgusted with all the romantic nonsensical preoccupation with "love" which seems to be the only topic of any interest in the household. She finds it boring and unhealthy. Lina delivers Shaw's manifesto of the "free woman".

> Why should [I] yield to any man even to marry him? I am an honest woman. I earn my living. I am a free woman: I live in my own house. I am a woman of the world: ... every night crowds of people applaud me, delight in me, buy my picture,

> pay hard-earned money to see me. I am strong: I am skillful : I am brave: I am independent: I am unbought; I am all that a woman ought to be.[229]

In another of Shaw's plays, The Millionairess, the male character says to the female protagonist: "You talk to me as if you were a man. There is no mystery, no separateness, no sacredness about men to you."[230]

Shaw's Joan of Arc is a manly woman and a managing one. She combines the most admirable qualities of both sexes. In the Preface to Saint Joan Shaw describes Joan as not only a "genius and a saint" but also "a born boss". Shaw asks the following questions concerning Joan:

> Why did she insist on having a soldier's dress and arms and sword and horse and equipment, and on treating her escort of soldiers as comrades, sleeping side by side with them on the floor at night as if there were no difference of sex between them?
>
> Why did she give exhibitions of her dexterity in handling a lance, and of her seat as a rider?
>
> Why did she accept presents of armor and chargers and masculine surcoats, and in every action repudiate the conventional character of woman?[231]

Shaw answers his own questions: "The simple answer to all these questions is that she was the sort of woman that wants

to live a man's life."[232] Shaw's answer may not be the only answer or the definitive one,but it makes some sense. The woman or girl who feels the limitations of her own sex and wishes she had been born a male instead, was surely just as common in the past as in our day. Shaw continues:

> You have your Rosa Bonheur painting in male blouse and trousers, and George Sand living a man's life and almost compelling her Chopins and De Mussets to live women's lives to amuse her.[233]

Shaw saw that men subconsciously fear this kind of women (manly women). We have observed this in Shakespeare's treatment of Joan and of other "anti-women" in the Shakespearean canon. Shaw tells us that: "Had Joan not been one of those "unwomanly women" she might have been canonized much sooner."[234] And we might say in addition that if she had not been what Shakespeare and the Elizabethans considered an "anti-woman" she might not have had so much mud slung at her.

Shaw says that Joan's "unwomanly and insufferable presumption" was not a little of the reason why she was burnt. Shaw recognizes that Joan's "pretensions" being on such a magnificent plane would have hardly been tolerated by her peers in a man, and much less in a woman. It is safe to say that in the Middle Ages, and by and large in our own age , woman was considered man's inferior in the traditionally male-oriented areas of war and politics. Shaw describes what

was mostly viewed as "insufferable presumption" on Joan's part by most of her male contemporaries and especially her enemies:

> Joan claimed to be the ambassador and plenipotentiary of God, and to be, in effect, a member of the Church Triumphant whilst still in the flesh on earth. She patronized her own king, and summoned the English to repentance and obedience to her commands. She pooh-poohed the plans of generals leading their troops to victory on plans of her own. She had an unbounded and quite unconcealed contempt for official opinion, judgment and authority and for War Office tactics and strategy.235

Twain doesn't portray Joan as a "manly woman" but rather a small, dainty, diffident creature, feminine in the traditional manner. His depiction of Joan is in keeping with the genteel Victorian ideal of girlhood. She is physically beautiful with a sort of child-like waif quality about her at times, although she can be quite a puissant leader and she manages to hold her own against her shrewd judges. She answers them with such good sense and wit that they sometimes appear ridiculous beside the unlettered country girl.

Twain's Joan, however, seems prepubescent; he never quite regards her as a flesh-and-blood woman, or even a flesh-and-blood young maiden, almost-woman. Twain never portrays fully-sexed women in his novels. His female char

acters are either prepubescent girls, not yet women, or old widows and spinsters, women who have passed the age of full sexuality and are menopausal. Only in one novel did Twain portray a woman who could be considered fully-sexed and at the age when the flow of sexuality is the strongest, a woman still of child-bearing age. This woman was the black slave, Roxy, in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*.

The chivalric romantic ideal of woman is unsatisfactory. Neither polarity in which woman is treated as a child or an ideal to be venerated, or as a trull and vixen, is very satisfactory to the modern age. The chivalric and Victorian veneration of woman is less glaringly misogynistic but is nevertheless misogyny in that the real woman is denied and lost somewhere. The woman instead becomes a symbol or ideal which is arrived at through sublimation, that is, "changing a forbidden impulse or idea into something socially or morally acceptable to the individual's ego."[236] This may be what happened in Twain's case perhaps because of his rigid Calvinistic background and the squeamishness of the Victorians to deal with sexual matters of any kind. What else could have happened to the lost woman in Twain's work?

Shaw's Joan of Arc is not romanticised or idealized but Johan Huizinga suggests that Shaw exaggerated in his attack on the romantic view of Joan. He says: "Shaw would like to reason away every touch of feminine charm in Joan, at whatever price."[237] Joan may be considered a "manly woman"

in her predilection for the male-oriented sphere of action, but Shaw's Joan is at times too bellicose. From the historical accounts that have remained concerning the person of Joan of Arc taken from different witnesses who knew her, Shaw's portrayal of her at times seems quite discordant. When Joan is longing to relive some of their military battles again, she says to Dunois: "Oh, dear Dunois, how I wish it were the bridge at Orleans. We lived at that bridge".[238] Dunois reminds Joan, "yes faith, and died too: some of us."[239] Joan then responds, "Isn't it strange, Jack? I am such a coward before a battle; but it is so dull afterwards when there is no danger: Oh so dull! dull! dull!"[240] Shaw makes Joan into a kind of daredevil. She is reminiscent of the "new woman" or modern woman who is suffering from boredom and ennui when not involved in a new movement or challenge, or in Joan's case a new military campaign. Joan is an example of Shaw's manly woman when she says:

> I am a soldier: I do not want to be thought of as a woman. I do not care for the things women care for. They dream of lovers, and of money. I dream of leading a charge, and of placing the big guns.[241]

A little later in the play Dunois says to Joan: " You are a bit of a woman after all." Joan tells him: "No, not a bit: I am a soldier and nothing else."[242] At Joan's first meeting with Dunois, she seems so rambunctious to get down

to the fighting that he says to her: "You are in love with war", and later he tells her "you must learn to be abstemious in war, just as you are in your food and drink, my little saint."[243] J.Van Kan finds Shaw's portrayal of Joan as an over- eager soldier not in keeping with the historical Joan. He says:

> Undoutedly Joan was a soldier... but she was anything but a soldier by choice who dreamed of the joy of fighting and waging war. She was a soldier from stern necessity, a soldier "toute prest a faire paix." 244

At times Shaw's Joan seems to have lost some of the reserve and dignity with which we know the historical Joan of Arc conducted herself. Shaw's Joan calls the King, "Charlie" - which sounds quite different from the real way that Joan addressed him - "gentil Dauphin". Upon her first acquaintance with Bertrand de Poulengey and John of Metz, Shaw has Joan calling them "Polly" and "Jack". Sometimes Shaw's Joan seems too much of an unpolished rustic. Kan tells us:

> It is one of the marvels of this peasant girl that she, in the entirely strange surroundings of the Court, immediately found the correct and natural way to behave. Elle possed, san l'avoir apprise, la langue qu'il convient de parler aux grands. This has not been sufficiently understood by Shaw. He gives her the naif awkward speech of the peasant girl who comes straight from the land, first to the Commander of Vaucouleurs and then to the King's Court.245

Shaw's Joan of Arc, presumably because she is a "manly woman",is oftentimes a little too boisterous, vociferous and rude, and because she is a Shavian genius,too officious. It is true that Joan sometimes answered her accusers tartly,but the sweetness and simplicity of the maid's replies and demeanour is lost in Saint Joan. What Shaw criticised Mark Twain the most for was his romantic,idealized treatment of Joan. Shaw says in his Preface that:

> It is this twopenny- half penny romanticism picturing the heroine above all as a beautiful girl whose followers were all in love with her which has hopelessly distorted the image of Joan."[246]

Shaw, however, has gone to such a point of assuring us that Joan is none of this,that the sweetness in Joan's spirit is not conveyed and the "angelic side of the Maid is obscured".[247]

For Shaw,Joan must be a moral and religious genius, and as a Shavian genius she must be a critic of her times. William Irvine says of Shaw's Joan of Arc:

> She must be a protestant and a Shavian, exhibiting all the impatience, pertness, arrogance, and hubris that accompany an excessive sense of rectitude,[248]

Joan, being a Shavian genius, and an embodiment of the Life Force, is naturally superior to her peers. Perhaps this is

the reason for her cocksureness. Shaw felt that it was Joan's obvious rightness and superiority to those around her that roused such violent reaction toward her. Shaw says of genius in general: "Now it is always hard for superior wits to understand the fury roused by their exposures of the stupidities of comparative dullards."[249] Shaw says of Socrates' accuser: "He had really nothing to say except that he and his like could not endure being shown up as idiots every time Socrates opened his mouth."[250] Shaw tells us that, if Joan had not been so young and inexperienced but a little more subtle and tactful she might have saved herself:

> If she had been old enough to know the effect she was producing on the men whom she humiliated by being right when they were wrong, and had learned to flatter them, she might have lived as long as Queen Elizabeth.[251]

The historical records, however, show that Joan was far from believing that she was always right. The vociferous, self-confident, cocksure Joan of Arc in Shaw bears little resemblance to the portrait of Joan secured through historical documents and records. Joan begged earnestly that she might receive confession, for she says: "One cannot cleanse one's conscience too much."[252] On another occasion she gravely corrected the record of her testimony during the trial, "Where it is written 'All that she has done is at God's bidding' should read 'All the good I have done'."[253] Her statement during her trial that she was aware that God loved other living persons more than her

is touching and suggests humility rather than self-righteousness. When the women of Bourges came with rosaries for her to touch, Joan said with a laugh toward her hostess: "Touch them yourselves. They will be quite as good with your touch as with mine."[254]

Although Shaw tries to banish any romanticised ideas of Joan of Arc as femininely attractive, the head of her military household, Jean d'Aulon, called her "a beautiful and well-formed girl" and Percival de Boulainvilliers thought her "of satisfying grace".[255] At Selles-Cher, in June 1429, the De Laval brothers heard her address the ecclesiastics who were standing in front of the church, "in a very womanly voice", while she sat mounted on a fiery black horse. De Boulainvilliers was also impressed by Joan's charming, feminine voice. In June 1429 De Boulainvilliers recorded his impressions of Joan of Arc:

> She talks little. She eats and drinks sparingly. She delights in beautiful horses and armor, she greatly admires armed and noble men. She avoids contact and converse with the many. She sheds tears freely; her expression is cheerful.[256]

Johan Huizinga says that there exists in the testimonies of various witnesses concerning the person of Joan of Arc an essential harmony in their descriptions of her. Huizinga says of Joan:

> This strange combination of strength and lightheartedness with tearful emotion and an inclination toward silence provides what is perhaps the best approach to the essence of her being.[257]

The historical records left concerning Joan of Arc render her much more human than Shaw's portrait of Joan as Shavian genius and embodiment of the Life Force. Although Twain's depiction of Joan is highly idealized and romanticised in accord with the genteel tradition, he read closely the documents of her trial and rehabilitation, and seems to have captured the essence in her character which Shaw ignored— her femininity. Shakespeare's Joan, is of course feminine, but only in the sense that she is a subverter of masculinity. She possesses all the negative traits of femininity as the shrew, harlot, and witch.

Both Shaw and Twain used Joan's "sharpest sallies", as part of the dialogue in their works. Joan's actual replies to her judges, because of their witty humor and irony, seem very Shavian in nature. Joan of Arc displayed a straightforward common sense view of situations at hand, which was naturally attractive to both Shaw and Twain. Joan is the kind of realist that appealed to Shaw. Some of Joan's most Shavian responses in Saint Joan are actual responses that Joan made to her judges during her trial. In the play, Courcelles asks Joan, "How do you know that the spirit which appears to you is an archangel? Does he not appear to you as a naked man." Joan replies , "Do you think God cannot afford clothes for him?" [258] When the historical Joan was asked by her judges whether the archangel had hair, she replied in her commonsense way: "Why should it have been cut off ?" [259] When Joan's judges asked her if her saints spoke English, she answered: "Why should they speak English, when they are not on the English side?" [260] Joan would not take oath to answer all questions asked of her and said matter of factly: "It is an old saying that he tells too much truth is sure to be hanged." [261]

Shaw, being a rationalist himself, creates his Joan of Arc as one also. Joan explains her voices rationally rather than mystically, she tells Baudricourt, the governor of Vaucouleurs, who is to give her men and provisions, that she hears voices telling her what to do and that her voices come from God. He replies: "They come from your imagination." "Of course", says Joan, "that is how the messages of God come to us."[262] In another place Joan tells the Dauphin: "They (the voices) are only echoes of my own common sense."[263] The Shavian explanation for Joan's "voices" is that she is a "Galtonic Visualizer". Shaw's Joan is quite aware that her natural common sense and clear-sightedness express themselves in her visions. Shaw explains in his Preface to Saint Joan:

> She saw imaginary saints just as some other people see imaginary diagrams and landscapes with numbers dotted about them, and are thereby able to perform feats of memory and arithmetic impossible to non-visualizers.[264]

Because Joan is a Shavian heroine and genius in Saint Joan, Shaw rationally explains the manifestation of her voices as the result of her highly developed and acute imagination.

Joan believes throughout the play that she will escape or be ransomed, for she says "my voices promised me I should not be burnt." Once Joan's common sense tells her that she has been deceived by her voices, that is, she has failed to interpret what they meant to say, she signs a recantation of heresy. Shaw tries to rationalise away any spiritual significance which may be

attached to the "voices". He explains her voices as merely a production of her imagination and an iconography of her common sense, since "they never gave her any advice that might not have come to her from her mother wit exactly as gravitation came to Newton."[265] Hans Stoppel says that Shaw viewed Joan's visions "as products of her creative imagination", prophecies "divinely inspired springing from the activity of the Life Force within her."[266] Shaw then views Joan's voices and visions as corollaries to the Life Force that provide the necessary impetus to Joan's actions which will bring about change in the world. Stoppel explains the nature of the visions and inherent problems:

> But since the visions of the inspired imagination are human as well as divine in origin, there is a danger they may be not only creative and prophetic but false and illusory. [Shaw] regards it as the duty of empirical reason to test the practical validity of intuitions... and distinguish between realistic vision and romantic illusion (or fancy). For while the former is constructive and creative, the latter, which refuses to submit to rational test is no more than a delusion.[267]

The historical Joan of Arc, however, unlike Shaw's Joan, never assumed that her voices or visions came from any power within her, common sense, Life Force or otherwise. J.Van Kan says that everyone is free to interpret and explain in his own way the voices that from her childhood had guided Joan. He tells us that:

> Shaw is perfectly free to interpret 'the voices' as the product of Joan's imagination, the echoes of her own common-sense, or even of her own willfulness. But it is in contradiction to all the facts to impose this explanation upon Joan herself.[268]

The historical Joan actually gave the simplest of explanations regarding the spiritual state in which she heard her voices: It was a state of great elation, in which she would always like to be. She said that she was filled with a feeling of knowing much more than she might or could express. "There is more in the books of the Lord than in yours", she said to the churchmen who examined her at Poiters.[269]

Twain, rationalist as he often was, gave credit to Joan's voices, and in his work on Joan, the voices neither fail nor deceive her. They promise her that she will be delivered, only she interprets deliverance as regaining her freedom on earth. The voices have promised her deliverance, however, from this earth, which Twain views as deliverance from a prison-house of corrupted societies and their institutions. For Shakespeare Joan's voices are nothing more than fiends and devils which Joan has "culled out of the powerful regions under earth."

As a genius and embodiment of the Life Force, Joan finds herself in conflict with the Church, the Inquisition and the Feudal System. "A genius is an instrument singled out by the Life Force to achieve progress."[270] As a Shavian genius Joan has outgrown the standards of her time and is involved in the process of bringing into effect new standards. As an embodiment

of the Life Force, she "tirelessly strives onward" to abolish old worn-out conventions. Stoppel says of Shaw's Joan of Arc:

> She is thus, of necessity, a revolutionary, whose very aim is to clear away traditional modes of life to establish her new standard. Shaw quite consequently makes her the opponent of feudalism and a pioneer of the modern age where social, political, and religious ideas are concerned and puts into her mouth words which herald the French Revolution, modern nationalism, and Protestantism.[271]

Shaw has created the bishop and inquisitor as fair and honest men who conducted Joan's trial properly. He regarded them as guiltless according to their code as Joan was according to hers. He tells us in the Preface that his play contains no villains. Shaw says that the "rascally bishop and the cruel inquisitor of Mark Twain - are as dull as pickpockets;and they reduce Joan to the level of the even less interesting person whose pocket is picked."[272] Shaw says that only by representing the Bishop and Inquisitor as "capable and eloquent exponents of The Church Militant and The Church Litigant, can [he] maintain [his] drama on the level of high tragedy."[273] A.Obraztsova says that the crime committed by Joan's judges was not the result of individual villainous acts. The crimes were the ideas which they defended and in which they piously believed.[274] Shaw followed Hegel's formula of tragedy that "the tragic is not to be found between right and wrong, but between right and right".[275] Shaw has been criticised, however,for overexplaining not only Joan but the various exponents of the ideas which he wished to

dramatise in his play- Cauchon, who represents the Church; Lemaitre, the Inquisition; and Warwick, Feudalism. As one critic has pointed out Shaw makes his characters quite aware of both the functions they fill in contemporary civilization and of their subsequent places in history, and even designates the tendencies they are discussing and which were then in their infancy with names like Protestantism and Nationalism which could have only existed when these tendencies had become mature.[276] Shaw explains his reasons for explaining so much about his chief characters and the ideas which they are exponents of:

> The play would be unintelligible if I had not endowed them with enough of this consciousness to enable them to explain their attitude to the twentieth century.... I represent these three exponents of the drama as saying the things they actually would have said if they had known what they were really doing.[277]

Shaw insists that the judges at Joan's trial were not unjust and that they spared no effort to save her. Johan Huizinga admits that the trial was seemingly conducted properly but points out that Pierre Champion, a historian who was probably more familiar than anyone else with France of the fifteenth century, refers to it as "a masterpiece of partiality under the most regular of procedures."[278] To him as well as to Hanotaux and Quicherat, it remained "odious". The political intention of Joan's enemies was to make Joan's condemnation as unimpeachable as possible. Most historians agree that Joan's judges were partisan Burgundians who were self-serving and seeking. Joan belonged to the Armagnac

party which opposed them. The feudal powers and the Church combined to destroy Joan; each to protect their special favors and powers. Sarolea says that Joan's enemies used religion as a pretext to get rid of her.[279]

In Saint Joan, Joan wants the King to rule as God's bailiff on earth. Warwick calls this "a cunning device to supersede the aristocracy, and make the King sole and absolute autocrat."[280] Warwick, as a representative of Feudalism and as a noble, fears that this movement to invest power in the kings to rule as God's bailiffs will bring an end to the power of the nobles and feudal lords. He tells Cauchon:

> ... We call no man master...nominally we hold our lands and dignities from the king...but only as long as the people follow their feudal lords, and know the king only as a travelling show, owning nothing but the highway that belongs to everybody. If the people's thoughts were turned to the king, and their lords became only the kings servants in their eyes, the king could break us across his knee.[281]

Cauchon, as representative of the spiritual powers, sees Joan as a heretic because she claims to receive her authority directly from God, and that her individual experience is not subject to the church's interpretation or authority. Joan encroaches upon the church's authority because she insists that God must be served first. Cauchon compares Joan's heresy to others of the same stamp: "The man Hus, burnt only thirteen years ago at Constance, infected all Bohemia with it.

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A man named Wcleef, [John Wycliffe] himself an annointed priest, spread the pestilence in England."[282] Both Warwick and Cauchon try to convince one another that their respective cause and the danger it runs is of more consequence. Cauchon tells Warwick:

> I see now what is in your mind is not that this girl has never once mentioned the Church, and thinks only of God and herself, but that she has never once mentioned the peerage, and thinks only of the king and herself.[283]

Warwick says that the two ideas are the same at bottom:

> "It is the protest of the individual soul against the influence of priest or peer, between the private man and his God. I should call it Protestantism if I had to find a name for it."[284]

Cauchon rails against Joan's nationalistic bent. He describes it to Warwick: "I can express it only by such phrases as 'France for the French', 'England for the English', 'Italy for the Italians', 'Spain for the Spanish', and so forth."[285] Joan is a champion of nationalism in Twain as well as in Shaw. She sets herself against foreign intrusion on French soil. Her opinion is that the English have no right to be in France, that God gave them their own land and their own language and they should return to England and speak English there. In Saint Joan, Cauchon describes nationalism as anti-Catholic, and anti-Christian; in other words, he is afraid that Joan "could enthrall every nation

in the direction of national independence and away from the obedience to the dogmas of religion."[286] The worst thing which could happen in Cauchon's mind is that the people would escape from the influence of the holy Roman Church. The chaplain Stogumber, as the fanatically nationalistic Englishman, is an exponent of English colonialism when he says of Joan: "This woman denies to England her legitimate conquests, given her by God because of her peculiar fitness to rule over less civilised races for their own good."[287] The real fear of both the secular and the spiritual powers, however, is of losing their influence and power over the people.

During the trial both the Bishop Cauchon and the Inquisitor return to name Joan's particular heresy. The Inquisitor says:

> A gentle and pious girl, or a young man who has obeyed the command of our Lord by giving all his riches to the poor, and putting on the garb of poverty, the life of austerity and the rule of humility and charity, may be the founder of a heresy that will wreck both Church and Empire if not ruthlessly stamped out in time.[288]

He tells the Court that heresy ends in such monstrous horror of wickedness "that the most tender-hearted among you, if you saw it at work as I have seen it, would clamor against the mercy of the Church in dealing with it".[289] The inquisitor has referred to crude heresies which are perverse, but Cauchon says that these are "like the black death which rage for a while and then die out,

because sound and sensible men will not under any incitement be reconciled to nakedness and incest and polygamy and the like".[290] Cauchon again refers to "Protestantism", the heresy which the church sees in Joan when she sets up her private judgement against the Church and interprets God's will for herself. The essence of Joan's Protestantism is that she needs no mediator between her and her Lord but as a child of God, can boldly stand before the throne of grace and know Christ's will for her. Cauchon says of "Protestantism";

> We are confronted today throughout Europe with a heresy that is spreading among not weak in mind nor diseased in brain: nay, the stronger the mind, the more obstinate the heretic. It is neither discredited by fantastic extremes nor corrupted by the common lusts of the flesh; but it, too, sets up the private judgement of the single erring mortal against the considered wisdom and experience of the Church.[291]

Before the trial at the meeting between Cauchon and Warwick in the English tent, Cauchon tells Warwick that the Church cannot burn Joan, cannot take life, and that his first duty is to seek Joan's salvation. Warwick is cold and calculating and is only interested in political expediency. He says to Cauchon "the practical problem would seem to be how to save her soul without saving her body". and "Well, by all means do your best for her, if you are quite sure it will be of no avail".[292] Both the secular and spiritual powers understand what must be done in Joan's case.

Both Twain and Shaw insist on Joan's Protestantism, but Joan was Protestant in the fact that she refused to submit her experience

to the gen's d'églese. In Shaw's play as well as in the actual transcripts from the trial and rehabilitation, Joan said:

> On all that I am asked I will refer to the Church Militant, provided that they do not command anything impossible. And I hold as a thing impossible to declare that my actions and words and all that I have answered on the subject of my visions and revelations, I have not done by the order of God... And that which God hath made me do, hath commanded, or shall command, I will not fail to do for any man alive. And in case the Church should wish me to do anything contrary to the command which has been given me of God, I will not consent to it, whatever it may be. 293

In all Joan's practices she was an ardent Catholic. Her intense devotion to the eucharist was commented upon by both the English and the French. Marina Warner says that in the fifteenth century frequent communion was rare. Joan was said to have taken communion frequently. Her love of the sacrament was profound, and by depriving her of it her enemies had a weapon with which they could coerce her. She begged to hear Mass and take communion on the Easter Sunday that fell during her imprisonment. Joan was allowed to partake of the sacraments only the day of her execution. Joan required her soldiers to attend Mass.

Joan may have represented the spirit of a Luther or a John Wesley, but she would not have placed so much importance in receiving the sacraments and the Catholic Eucharist, and her voices and visions would not have taken the physical form of Catholic saints if she had not been a devout Catholic.

Joan in Twain's work is a pantheist as well as a Christian Protestant. Shaw also links Joan with nature. When Joan learns that in recanting she has not been set free, but is sentenced to spend the rest of her life in prison, she takes back her recantation preferring death to perpetual imprisonment. This is one of Joan's most poetic speeches in the play. After being told that she is condemned to "eat the bread of sorrow and drink the water of affliction to the end of [her] earthly days, she says:

> You promised me my life; but you lied. You think that life is nothing but being stone dead. It is not the bread and water I fear: I can live on bread: when have I asked for more? It is no hardship to drink water if the water be clean. Bread has no sorrow for me and water no affliction. But to shut me from the light of the sky and the sight of the fields and flowers; to chain my feet so that I can never again ride with the soldiers nor climb the hills; to make me breathe foul damp darkness, and keep from me everything that brings me back to the love of God...[294]

Joan tells her judges that she could "do without [her] warhorse and drag about in a skirt and let the banners and trumpets and knights and soldiers leave [her] behind... if only", she tells them,

> I could still hear the wind in the trees, the larks in the sunshine, the young lambs crying through the healthy frost, and the blessed church bells that send my angel voices to me on the wind.[295]

Shaw criticised Shakespeare for the lack of medieval atmosphere in his plays,and Twain for his romantic treatment of Joan. Huizinga questions the extent to which Shaw's play breathes a medieval atmosphere, and whether the presence or absence of such an atmosphere detracts from the play's dramatic effect and value. He says it is not the lack of time that hampers us in Shaw's work, but a dramatic deficiency of a more serious sort; the lack of high style.[296] Shakespeare's histories may lack medieval atmosphere but have an abundance of high dramatic style. Huizinga criticises Saint Joan as "too much lacking in the qualities of tragic poetry to be commensurate with the sublimity of the subject".[297] It is precisely poetry, Shaw argues in the Preface, which has made so much mischief in regard to an accurate understanding of the figure of Joan of Arc. Shaw rounds angrily on Twain's romantic depiction of Joan, but then when Shaw has Joan calling the King "Charlie" and has the King himself say such things as "I thought I should have dropped when they loaded that crown on to me. And the famous holy oil... was rancid. Phew!",[298] the seriousness of the subject is lost in Shaw's attempt to de- romanticise the Joan story. Huizinga says that "romantic sentiment is not the same as poetic sublimity, and it is an open question whether Shaw has not thrown out the baby of tragedy with the bath of romanticism."[299]

Shaw's Joan is probably at her best when she is the lonely genius and saint, embodying the Life Force. As a Shavian genius Joan is misunderstood and feared. Alick West says that the conflict in the play is not so much between Joan, the leader of

the common people, and the rulers of Church and State, "but rather between the lonely inspired saint, and those who distrust or hate the strangeness and reckless passion of such holiness."[300] Before Joan's trial the King whom she crowned has abandoned her and Dunois, her comrade-in-arms, is afraid to take any more military risks. The Archbishop of Rheims interprets Joan's irrepressible assurance as pride and obstinancy. The King, the military commander, and the archbishop make it clear to Joan that they will not do anything to help her if she sets her private judgement above theirs. The archbishop speaks for all of them when he says:

> You stand alone, absolutely alone, trusting to your own conceit, your own ignorance, your own headstrong presumption, your own impiety in hiding all these sins under the cloak of a trust in God.[301]

Joan is more eloquent in her response to the Archbishop than anywhere else in Shaw's play. Joan replies:

> I have better friends and better counsel than yours... There is no help, no counsel in any of you. Yes, I am alone on earth: I have always been alone. I thought France would have friends at the court of the King of France; and I find only wolves fighting for pieces of her poor torn body. I thought God would have friends everywhere, because He is the friend of everyone... Do not think you can frighten me by telling me that I am alone. France is alone; and God is alone; and what is my loneliness before the loneliness of my country and my God.[302]

Joan, as Shaw's lonely inspired genius, finds strength in loneliness. She tells the Archbishop and Dunois and the French king Charles:

> I see now that the loneliness of God is His strength: what would He be if He listened to your jealous little counsels ? Well my loneliness shall be my strength too: it is better to be alone with God: His friendship will not fail me, nor His counsel, nor His love. [303]

Shaw's favorite day dream was the lonely saint. Shaw himself could identify with Joan.

Kaul tells us that Joan is Shaw's perfect hero -"representing as much the values he admired as the cause of historical progress which he championed." [304] In Saint Joan, the Archbishop recognizes the tremendous force in Joan which they are witnessing, and says: "There is a new spirit rising in men; we are at the dawn of a wider epoch."[305] Shaw's Joan is an inspired saint and genius of the long crisis out of which was born a new culture. Joan is an anticipation of the super- humanity which, in Shaw's biological vision, is to replace man in the future. As an embodiment of the Life Force, Joan is part of the progress toward the realization of the Superman.

The paradox in the Epilogue to Saint Joan is that men may revere saints and geniuses once they are no longer among them, but just as the characters in Shaw's Epilogue they are not anxious for them to return to earth. Cauchon asks the question: "Must then a Christ perish in every age to save those that have no imagination?"[306] Cauchon finally admits that "mortal eyes cannot distinguish the saint from the heretic."[307] Shaw recognises that "humankind fears-

and often kills its saints and will go on doing so until the very qualities it fears become the general condition of man."[308]

As a Shavian genius, Joan is perhaps the objectification of George Bernard Shaw's "muse" and the projection of his own prophet complex. Shaw's Joan, it seems, must stand for Shaw himself, who always considered himself a lonely and misunderstood genius.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

It has been more than 550 years since the nineteen-year old French maiden of the rural village of Domremy was tried and sentenced. Joan was judged by an incredibly large number of ecclesiastics from the University of Paris, with the Bishop of Beauvais, Pierre Cauchon and a former rector of the University in charge of her trial- "prelates with impeccable reputations and substantial academic credentials". The English politicians, the foreign intruders in France whom Joan wished to expel from France, and the French churchmen who were seeking to further their own political ambitions combined forces to get rid of Joan. After sentencing her as a relapsed heretic the Church could conveniently hand Joan over to the Secular Branch represented by the English powers in France.

The tremendous moral force and charisma of Joan,however, was not abated at the burning stake. What informed the brief life of Joan of Arc was her unadulterated sincerity and courage, and her unfaltering moral conviction in the face of dishonesty , corruption, self-serving cowardliness, and betrayal.Joan's integrity and purity of motive illuminate her brief career. Joan believed that God,had entrusted her with a mission and that still small voice, the spirit of God within her, could not be ignored. Joan said that God,not the Church or a handful of men, must be obeyed – at whatever costs. It was Joan's tremendous moral

and spiritual tenacity through her terrible ordeal which has made her so appealing, so convincing, and so hard to resist through the ages.

In reading about the historical Joan of Arc and then examining the works of three separate authors about Joan, I learned that each story of Joan tells another story. It is my idea that that no author can write about Joan without placing his own particular stamp on her character. Basic themes and problems inherent in the Joan story are inevitably subject to each author's personal interpretation. Each personal interpretation of the Joan story is thus colored by the author's own world view or philosophy, historical epoch, prejudice and personality.

Shakespeare's Joan of Arc is reminiscent of the aggressive Venus in Venus and Adonis and of the Dark Lady in the Sonnets, as well as being a prototype for other anti-women in the Shakespearean canon. In Shakespeare's work Joan is depicted as a witch, shrew, and trull – an unnatural woman. Shakespeare treated pejoratively women who stepped over the conventional lines of feminine behavior in society, and perverted the characteristics which the Elizabethans held as natural attributes and inherent qualities in man and woman as ordered by "nature" and the universe in line with the patriarchal organization and propensity of society. Fiedler says that in Shakespeare's private mythology the unnatural, unconventional woman was the "stranger", the "enemy", and that Joan as an "anti-woman" who seeks to subvert masculine England must be neutralized and cast out.

Twain's Joan is of course a highly romanticised, idealised portrait of Victorian girlhood conceived in the genteel tradition of the New England society which Twain married into. Like Twain himself, Joan is a critic as well as a by-product of the gentility around her. Joan of Arc is a sample of Twain's lifelong devotion and tenderness toward children in general and young girls in particular. Twain's Joan of Arc is a child-woman or a girl not fully grown, one that has not passed over the dangerous border into maturity or full womanhood.

In Joan of Arc Twain deals again with a subject and theme which recurs in other of his works, the matter of innocence and the fate of the innocent in a corrupt world. Like other innocents in Twain's works, Joan's career is thwarted by the corruption in society and the Moral Sense that is prevalent in civilization. Unlike Twain's other innocents, however, Joan partakes of a divine nature which raises her above the worldly forces of corruption, allowing her to retain her innocence. Twain's Joan is a natural as well as a supernatural heroine – she is linked throughout the book to natural images and a natural setting.

In Joan of Arc Twain repeats his device of providing two distinct and opposing visions of the world through a single character. Joan's page, De Conte, relates her story to us through the optimistic hopefulness borne of youth and innocence and the disillusionment and pessimism of maturity.

Joan of Arc marks a pattern of increasing darkness in Twain's works from his view of a prelapsarian state of

innocence in childhood and young maidenhood towards an increasingly more pessimistic view of the "damned human race" and the vitality and efficacy of innocence in a fallen world. Twain's work about Joan is a passage to Twain's belief in the deterministic philosophy of his essay "What is Man?", and a stepping stone to Twain's darkest vision in the _Mysterious Stranger_, where evil is not viewed as something external to man but inherent in his nature.

In _Saint Joan_ Shaw has done what he does best – bring ideas into collision with one another, making the conflict essentially one of ideas.[309] Shaw's dramas involve dialectical conflicts, more that they create realistic characters in dramatic situations. Shaw's Joan is an inspired prophet persecuted by the conventional masses. Shaw, like Joan was also a "critic of traditional conventions, of stolidity and pompous authority".[310] Because Joan is a Shavian genius and the embodiment of the Life Force she must be in conflict with the conventions of her time and an exponent of Protestantism and Nationalism even before they actually come into existence. Joan is a Shavian realist because she sees things as they are and is not afraid to make them as they should be. She is an opponent of Feudalism because she perceives that it is an order which has outlived itself and is no longer relevant to the lives of the people.

As the embodiment of Shaw's philosophy of the Life Force, Joan represented for Shaw the possibilities of the human race. She is created as a Shavian genius, one who is singled out by the Life Force to achieve progress in history.[311]

Joan is conceived in Shaw's work as a "manly-woman" and is at times a little too brash, and officious. Like other Shavian geniuses Joan is trapped by the conventions of her age, and represents the values which Shaw admired and the cause of historical progress which he championed.[312] Joan is an anticipation of the super humanity which, in Shaw's biological vision, is to replace man in some future history. As an embodiment of the Life Force, Joan is part of the progress toward the realization of the Superman.

Shaw proposes the question to us through the character of Cauchon when he asks, "Must then a Christ perish in every age to save those that have no imagination?"[313] Shaw seems to agree with Charles VII who says: "If you could bring her back to life, they would burn her again within six months, for all their present adoration of her."[314] Mankind has not changed much since 1492, and according to Shaw,an exceptional person such as Joan is never accepted or understood. Joan,like all exceptional persons, was feared by those with less moral courage and ability, and by those unwilling to allow a young unlettered peasant girl to cast a shadow which might have dimmed their lamps. According to Shaw, humankind will continue to persecute its saints and geniuses until their very qualities become the general condition of man.[315]

Joan would probably find it quite surprising after all the fuss that was made to get rid of her, that she was rehabilitated and canonised. If she had read Shakespeare's Henry VI she most probably would have found it amusing, but

knowing her enemy as she did, she would certainly have found Shakespeare's depiction of her quite in keeping with the spirit of the day.

Joan probably would have been touched by Mark Twain's adoring tribute to her, but would have been surprised to have found herself described as "a dainty little figure" and "ideally perfect". Joan, after all, must have certainly been a strong, sturdy girl, who was able to ride well over long stretches of tiring and dangerous territories. Joan had to suffer the same hardships and deprivations that the common soldier of the day suffered. We know that, after receiving a serious arrow wound above her breast during one of the sieges, Joan retired from battle for only a short period which she spent in prayer, and then returned to the fighting. If she had been as delicate and dainty and genteel as Twain portrays her, she probably would not have made it through her terrible ordeal of one year in English prisons.

Joan would perhaps not have understood Shaw's reference to her as a genius, and embodiment of the Life Force, and as part of the creative process out of which would evolve the Superman. She was, in her own mind, just a simple peasant girl from Domremy obeying her Lord's command. Although Joan probably was not a "dainty, delicate, little thing", she might not have appreciated Shaw's depiction of her as a "manly woman", though undoubtedly she held a predilection for male-oriented spheres of action. At her trial, however, she told her judges that she would stand against any woman trained in the feminine domestic arts.

Joan probably would not have understood those people who scoffed at or tried to rationalize away her visions and "voices". Possibly she would have found it strange and a little pitiful that there were people who had not the same simple and profound faith that she possesed. Joan was certain that God was speaking to her through her "voices" and visions, and simply obeyed their calling.

There is no evidence that Joan was a religious fanatic or an ecstatic, though she did have a particular affinity for things of a spiritual nature. Joan loved to hear the church bells ringing, and would have them rung often; she attended mass frequently and required that her soldiers also attend; and she loved to take communion and was said to have taken it frequently. But the documents of Joan's trial reveal her sharp common sense and a certain reticence in discussing her "voices". The documents of Joan's trial showed her to be a quite sane and sensible young lady, very much in control of herself and her actions.

Joan probably would have found so many books and scholarly works dedicated to describing or examining her place in history and literature a bit curious, for she was after all a woman of action, not words. But books will continue to be written about Joan and her story, and it is unlikely that we will soon be able to say with Joan's executioner in Shaw's play, "You have heard the last of her."[316] For Joan will continue to fire our imaginations and arouse our curiosity and admiration, because she was an exceptional person, and it's most difficult to

find men or women like her who will live for, much less sacrifice and die for their innermost convictions.

Though Joan's enemies burned her body, the fact that her heart would not burn is documented. The people of her day took this as a sign of Joan's miraculous career and incorruptibility. Marina Warner tells us that:

> The pure vessel cannot, in the last analysis, be smashed, nothing can prevail against it. The image of Joan's unconsumed heart became a new touchstone, of her integrity, her incorruptibility, her charity, her love for God and God's love for her. 317

Shakespeare slung mud on Joan of Arc and denied her as an image of female heroism. Twain adored and celebrated Joan's heroism, but as a child who had not passed over the border to mature womanhood, and George Bernard Shaw converted Joan's femaleness to maleness. In the final analysis, however, it scarcely matters whether the figure of Joan was approved or disapproved of, for as Fiedler has pointed out "all truly mythic characters and events escape the works which give them birth and survive in the public domain. There they belong to no one and are contemporary only with each other."[318]

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