JOAN OF ARC AS PERSONAL IDEAL AND
LITERARY SYMBOL IN THE LIFE AND
WRITINGS OF SAMUEL L. CLEMENS

APPROVED:

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JOAN OF ARC AS PERSONAL IDEAL AND LITERARY SYMBOL IN THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF SAMUEL L. CLEMENS

THESIS

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By

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PREFACE

To persons unfamiliar with the life of Mark Twain, he appears to be a comedian who spent his time writing humorous books such as Tom Sawyer, Huckleberry Finn, and A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court. To persons not familiar with the satire or the autobiographical details contained within them, these, and other books by Twain, seem to be merely novels written to amuse the reading public.

This thesis offers a different concept of Mark Twain, who worshiped Joan of Arc and considered her the ideal of womanhood.\(^1\) This idealization of Joan, which existed from the time he was a small boy,\(^2\) until his death, apparently drove him to write a book about her, which is entitled the Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc. Concerning the writing of this book, Twain made the following statements, in a letter to Henry Rogers:

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\ldots \text{Although [Joan of Arc] is mere history—history pure and simple—history stripped naked of flowers, embroideries, colorings, exaggerations, inventions—the family agree that I have succeeded. It was a perilous thing to try in a tale, but I never believed it a doubtful one—provided I stuck strictly to business and didn't weaken and give up: or didn't get lazy}
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\(^2\)Albert Bigelow Paine, "Mark Twain—Boy and Man," Mentor, XII (May, 1923), 5.
and skimp the work. The first two-thirds of the book were easy; for I only needed to keep my historical road straight; therefore I used for reference only one French history and one English one—and shoveled in as much fancy work and invention on both sides of the historical road as I pleased. But on this last third I have constantly used five French sources and five English ones and I think no telling historical nugget in any of them has escaped me.

Possibly the book may not sell, but that is nothing—it was written for love. 3

Since Mark Twain considered his Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc to be "mere history," some consideration is given to historical facts concerning Joan's life, deeds, and personal appearance. Twain's Joan of Arc differs in significant details from the Joan of Arc of history.

It is important to know where Twain acquired his concept of Joan, as he did not actually take his model from history. Thus, one needs to consider the varying portrayals of Joan in literature. Also, material is available concerning the contrasting characteristics of these Joans and Twain's concept of Joan.

There are many problems concerning Twain's Joan of Arc. For instance, this book reveals a side of Mark Twain's personality which is known to few people. The romantic style of mysticism and fairylore is quite unlike the style of Twain's better known books. What is the reason for this rare exhibition of writing? Why did Twain write this book? Finally, after writing this book, Twain discovered that it was not popular; yet he vowed that it was a great literary masterpiece, written for

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3 Samuel L. Clemens, Mark Twain's Letters, arranged with comments by Albert Bigelow Paine (New York, 1923), II, 624.
love. His family and many of his friends agreed. One immediately wonders on what basis they placed their opinions. These questions are considered in this thesis.
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CHAPTER I

JOAN OF ARC IN HISTORY

During the season of Epiphany, probably on the sixth day of January, 1412, in Domremy, a baby girl, Jeanne, commonly referred to as Joan of Arc today, was born to Isabelle Romee d'Arc and her husband, Jacques.¹ This child spent many hours during her early youth by the streamlet of Les Frois Fontaines, and on the banks of the Meuse, where she would often join the other children of that small French village in playing various games. She learned to spin and sew at an early age. She soon began to help her mother with the household duties, and, during harvest time, she often assisted her father and her brothers with the work of the fields.²

Joan had no formal schooling. Although she never was taught to read or write, she knew her "Pater," her "Ave," the Creed, and other such principles of faith that were practices in the Catholic church. These she learned from her mother. Her religious training was carried


³Ibid., p. 18.
further by the priests of her community, who also tutored her on the doctrines of religion. 4

The life of Joan of Arc was comparatively uneventful until 1425, when, upon taking refuge from the rain in an abandoned chapel, she fell asleep and dreamed that she was commanded by God to aid the Dauphin and save France, then being besieged by England. 5 Profoundly affected by this dream, Joan immediately began seriously endeavoring to live a pure, chaste life, in order to be better prepared to carry out this command. 6

Joan's opportunity to begin carrying out what she considered to be her mission in life arose early in May, 1428, when she was allowed by her parents to visit a relation on her mother's side of the family, Durand Laxart, at Petit-Burey. Upon arriving there, she succeeded in enlisting Laxart's support in convincing Robert de Baudricourt to escort her to the Dauphin, 7 and the two set out almost immediately for Vaucouleurs. There Joan went to Baudricourt and pleaded for an escort to the Dauphin. Although he refused to obey her wishes, she was not discouraged, for she believed that he would eventually realize his mistake. Shortly after returning home, she was notified by her parents that she would be needed at

4Ibid., p. 22. 5Ibid., p. 42.


Petit-Burey, by Laxart and his wife, Jeanne, in January, as they were expecting a baby then. Thus Joan was to be provided with another opportunity to incite Baudricourt to take action on her behalf.

Due to an attempt on the part of the English to subdue Domremy, Joan had little time to spend thinking of this trip, during the following months, for the inhabitants of this small French community, including the entire d'Arc family, were soon forced to retreat to Newfchateau. While peacefully residing in this community with her parents, at the house of Jean de Waldaires, an inn-keeper, she was forced to go to Toul, where she was cited before the ecclesiastical tribunal on a charge of breach-of-promise. Joan won the case. Shortly afterward, during the latter part of August, 1428, the d'Arcs and the other people of Domremy were able to return home, as peace had been restored to their little community.

During the latter part of January, 1429, Joan of Arc left Domremy, accompanied by Laxart, to go to Petit-Burey, where she was to assist in caring for his wife and child, soon to be born. After remaining at Petit-Burey for three weeks, Joan and Laxart went to Vaucouleurs, where, for the second time, she asked aid from Robert de Baudricourt in obtaining an

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9Champion, op. cit., p. 72.
10Fabre, op. cit., pp. 67-70.
11Sackville-West, op. cit., p. 86.
escort to the Dauphin. Although he still seemed to have little faith in
Joan's plan at first, upon being informed by two of his soldiers, Bertrand
de Poulengy and Jean de Novelempont, commonly known as Jean de Metz,
that they were resigning from his army, in order to accompany this young
girl to the Dauphin, Baudricourt decided to write to Charles and request
that Joan be permitted to see him.\textsuperscript{12} She soon obtained permission, and
at dawn, on Wednesday, February 13, 1429,\textsuperscript{13} she left for Chinon, es-
corted by Jean de Metz and Poulengy, their body of servants, and Richard
the Archer.\textsuperscript{14}

On this momentous occasion, Joan of Arc wore a black riding cloak
over her armour and, over her head, a black woolen cap. Black hose
concealed her legs, and boots of soft leather served as a protection to
her feet.\textsuperscript{15}

She was described as a healthy girl, with a dark complexion and
black hair, cropped at the ears like a soldier's.\textsuperscript{16} She was rather tall
for her age and sex. The principal features of distinction about her
were her neck, which was quite short, and a small bright red mark be-
hind her right ear.\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{12}Jules Michelet, \textit{Joan of Arc} (New York, 1900), p. 43.
\textsuperscript{13}Ireland, \textit{op. cit.}, I, cviii.
\textsuperscript{14}Ibid., I, cvii.
\textsuperscript{15}Fabre, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 85.
\textsuperscript{16}Lang, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 73-74.
\textsuperscript{17}Sackville-West, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 2.
Though a journey such as Joan and her escort were making was considered to be quite hazardous, they came upon no trouble at all. After spending the night at the Abbey of Saint Wubain with the Abbot, a relative of Baudricourt’s, they proceeded onward for eleven days, crossing the Aubre, the Seine, the Yonne, and finally arriving at Gien. From there they proceeded to Blois, Touraine, and Fierbois. At Fierbois, Joan dictated a letter to the Dauphin, announcing her approaching arrival.

Upon reaching Chinon, Joan of Arc was not allowed to speak with the Dauphin for two days. When she did finally gain admittance to the castle, she was almost immediately insulted by a French soldier, to whom she replied that he should ask God’s forgiveness, as he would shortly die. The Dauphin, attempting to deceive her, momentarily caused Joan to be frustrated, by hiding among the crowd of people in his chamber. However, she was soon able to distinguish him from the others, and went forward to greet him and inform him of her plans. Shortly after, word came that the soldier who had insulted her was dead.

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20 Lang, op. cit., pp. 75-76. 21 Ireland, op. cit., I, cxiii.
24 Ireland, op. cit., I, cxvii.
Among the people, there arose almost immediately a pronounced feeling of consternation. It had already been rumored that Joan of Arc had been able to distinguish Baudricourt from other men who were in his company, upon her first encounter with him. That this young girl from Domremy could distinguish the Dauphin from a large group of people and, more astonishing, that she could foretell the death of a human being, seemed miraculous to them. The Dauphin was also impressed. Joan had privately disclosed to him her sincere belief that he was the intended heir to the French throne and the legitimate son of Charles VI, and he began to consider her proposal that he go to Reims and be officially crowned. Therefore, plans were made immediately for her to be interrogated by his Council.

Although the incidents previously mentioned were considered to be definite signs of the supernatural powers of Joan of Arc, there are actually logical answers for them. In the first place, it is quite possible that Joan had heard her father or other relatives describe the Dauphin and Baudricourt. At any rate, it is a recognized fact that each had distinguishing features, such as the obeseness of Baudricourt and the long legs of the Dauphin. It would probably not be difficult for a clever child, such as Joan, to recognize the stern commanding look of the former, or the meek embarrassed expression on the face of the latter.

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25 Ibid., I, cxxiii.  
26 Lang, op. cit., p. 88.  
27 Sackville-West, op. cit., p. 69.
In reference to Joan's statement to the French soldier that he would shortly die, it is highly possible that she was merely stating an acknowledged fact, without actually intending to refer to any specific length of time. Since he was a soldier in the French army and since, at that particular time, there were exceedingly large numbers of French soldiers dying in battle each day, she could have easily been alluding to death in battle.

After being questioned by the Council at Chinon, Joan of Arc was accompanied by the Dauphin to Poitiers, where she lodged with Maitre Rabateau, the Dauphin's advocate in the Parliament. There the investigation continued, lasting for six weeks. At the end of this period, Joan was declared to be a virgin and the intended savior of the people of France.\textsuperscript{28}

The Dauphin and Joan of Arc left Poitiers on March 24, 1429.\textsuperscript{29} Upon arriving at Chinon, Joan began to prepare for the siege of Orleans, enlisting the aid of various persons, including Louis de Conte, a page of the Dauphin's, who, though not regarded as being particularly intelligent, was her devoted servant.\textsuperscript{30} She also sent a message to the English, announcing her intended arrival and warning them to depart to their homeland.\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{28}Lang, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 91. \textsuperscript{29}Fabre, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 123.

\textsuperscript{30}Sackville-West, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 132.

\textsuperscript{31}Holinshed, \textit{op. cit.}, III, 164-165.
At dawn on Wednesday, April 27, 1429, Joan of Arc and those accompanying her set out for Orleans by the La Beauce route. Upon arriving at Orleans on April 29, she reached the Burgundy gate and was met by the burgesses of the city, who received her in a friendly manner.

On the two following days, she bade the English depart, but they made no attempt to do so. Therefore, on May 5, she and the French soldiers stormed the Bastille of the Augustines, and on May 8, the English withdrew and Joan entered Orleans in triumph.

The King of France received Joan graciously, as she entered Tours on May 10, 1429. In turn, she prevailed upon him to march on to Reims, where he would be welcomed and officially crowned. At that time he was not anxious to make this move. Therefore, Joan returned with him to his castle at Loches. Eventually he consented to go to Reims, if all of the Loire towns would be besieged on the way there; and in June, 1429, Joan, Charles, and the French army set out for their destination. A battle followed at Patay, on June 18, which was a great victory for the French. The Dauphin besieged Auxerre, Trois, and other small French villages through which he passed.

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32Fabre, op. cit., p. 143.  
33Ibid., p. 146.  
34Champion, "Saint Joan of Arc," op. cit., p. 73.  
35Sackville-West, op. cit., p. 201.  
36Ibid., p. 201.  
37Michelet, op. cit., p. 314.  
38Ibid., p. 318.  
39Holinshed, op. cit., III, 166.
On July 14, he and Joan of Arc, accompanied by the French army, approached the town of Reims. The grand entrance to this city occurred on July 15, when the Dauphin was presented with the keys to the city by the bishop of Chalons. On the seventeenth day of July, he was crowned Charles VII. Throughout the entire coronation, Joan remained by his side, encouraging and praising him. This event was the peak of Joan of Arc's triumph.

After Charles VII was crowned King of France, Joan seemed to lack the power that she had had over him before. Since he refused to attempt an attack on Paris, she followed him from place to place. On August 23, she accompanied the Duke of d'Alençon and a small group of French soldiers to St. Denis, which they seized, hoping for an opportunity to attack Paris. On September 8, they received word from Charles VII to abandon their position, but Joan refused to obey this order. Although severely wounded, she continued to fight until she was led, against her will, to La Chapelle.

Upon recovering from this wound in her leg, Joan of Arc continued the fight against the English, although she actually accomplished little.

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40 Michelet, op. cit., p. 323.
41 Champion, "Saint Joan of Arc," op. cit., p. 73.
42 Sackville-West, op. cit., p. 224.
43 Michelet, op. cit., pp. 326-328.
44 Holinshed, op. cit., III, 168.
The French seemed to be unable to overcome the English. In gratitude for her services to the crown, in December, 1429, Charles VII conferred a mark of nobility upon Joan, her family, and her posterity.

After residing for a while at the court of the king, Joan of Arc once again began encouraging the French in attacks against the English. She was present at the attack made on Lagny, in the spring of 1430, when Franquet d'Arras, an English officer, was captured. When the truce with Burgundy expired, Joan perceived that, since no treaty of peace had been signed, the Duke was probably planning to recapture Compiegne. Therefore, she left for this town with approximately four hundred men. Although they did succeed in gaining admittance to the town on May 24, they were unable to redeem it. When the Burgundians began to surround them, the French forces began to retreat, but Joan of Arc continued to fight until her capture, which followed shortly after the retreat of the French forces.

Upon surrendering to an archer of the troop of the Bastard of Wondomme, Joan of Arc was taken to the Burgundian camp, where she

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45 Michelet, op. cit., p. 330.

46 Champion, "Saint Joan of Arc," op. cit., p. 73.


48 Michelet, op. cit., p. 338.

49 Fabre, op. cit., p. 242.
was questioned by Philip the Good. From there, she was taken to Beau-
lieu, and it was while imprisoned there that she was sold to Jean of Lux-
embourg, the general officer of the Duke of Burgundy. Shortly after at-
ttempting to escape at Beaulieu, she was taken by her captor to his castle
at Beaurevoir. There she was well cared for by Luxembourg's wife and
sister, and was comparatively happy, until she overheard that she was
to be sold to the English. In an attempt to revolt against such action,
Joan of Arc jumped from the tower, her place of imprisonment, and in-
jured herself.

Shortly after her recovery, Joan of Arc was carried to the Castle
of Crotoy, at Arros, where Jean of Luxembourg, upon being promised by
the King of England a large ransom of approximately ten thousand francs,
sold her to the English. In turn, the English transported her to Rouen,
their military base in France, and imprisoned her in the tower of the
Castle of Philip Augustus, placing her in a small iron cage and chaining

50 Champion, "Saint Joan of Arc," op. cit., p. 73.
51 Ireland, op. cit., I, xcvii-xcviii.
52 Ibid., p. cii.
54 Ireland, op. cit., I, ciii.
55 Ibid., p. cix.
her at the neck and the wrists. There she was also cruelly mistreated by the five Englishmen who guarded her. 56

Meanwhile, upon learning of Joan of Arc's capture, the authorities from the University of Paris sent word, requesting that Joan be cited before an ecclesiastical tribunal, on charges of sorcery and magic. 57

Pierre Cauchon, bishop of Beauvois, claimed the right to be her judge, since she was captured in his district. 58

The inquiries to the trial of Joan of Arc began on January 9, 1431, almost seven and a half months after her capture on May 24, 1430. 59

On January 13, Cauchon called another assembly, at which testimonies were given as to Joan's innocence. However, Cauchon, being informed by the King of England that he was expected to convict Joan, whether she was guilty or not, and already possessing an intense hatred for her, is known to have changed these testimonies, in order to be sure of having her found guilty. 60

On Wednesday, February 21, 1431, Joan was ordered to appear in person at eight o'clock in the morning, in the Chapel Royal of the Castle. Cauchon, Jean de Maitre, the vicar of Jocques Graverand, and the

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56 Iibid., pp. cix-cx. 57 Iibid., p. ciii.

58 Iibid.

59 Michelet, op. cit., p. 147.

60 Ireland, op. cit., I, cxii-cxiv.
counsellors met her there and questioned her. 61 This was the first of fifteen sittings or interrogations, the last of which ended on the evening of March 17, 1431. 62 On March 18, the reports of the Doctors were studied by Cauchon and the assessors, followed by an assembly of twenty-two assessors who went to Joan's cell on March 19, and read the entire proceedings to her. 63 The actual trial began on Tuesday, March 27, 64 and it continued until May 23, 1431. At that time, Joan of Arc was taken to a room in the castle at Rouen, near her prison, and was read the list of accusations against her. 65 On Thursday, May 24, in the cemetery of the abbey of Saint-Ouen, at Rouen, she was told that, unless she recanted, she would be put to death. Joan became quite emotional at that point, and, either due to fear or bewilderment, she recanted, signing her abjuration. 66 Thus the sentence passed upon her was perpetual imprisonment, instead of death.

Joan of Arc immediately took off the articles of men's clothing she was wearing and willingly put on women's clothing, which was provided for her by the clergy. She also allowed her hair to be shaved off. 67

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61 Fabre, *op. cit.*, p. 266.
62 Ireland, *op. cit.*, I, cxlvii.
63 Ibid., p. cl.
65 Ibid., p. 330.
66 Ibid., pp. 341-343.
67 Ibid., p. 348.
Four days later, on May 28, 1431, Joan was visited by the judges, who discovered that she had resumed wearing men's clothing. When questioned about her manner of dress, she stated that she wished to repudiate the oath she had taken at the cemetery, as she had been frightened momentarily by the thought of death. She also stated that certain promises made to her on May 24 had not been kept. 68

The judges assembled on May 29, in the chapel of Rouen, to decide what Joan's punishment should be for following such action. Their decision was that she had relapsed from her recantation and should be put to death. 69

On Wednesday, May 30, 1431, at nine o'clock in the morning, after being permitted to take sacrament, Joan was led to a cart in the courtyard of the castle and was taken from there to the Old Market Place. After the sermon, delivered by Nicolas Midi, 70 Joan, kneeling, prayed and asked those present to pray for her also. Joan of Arc was declared to be relapsed, an excommunicate, and a heretic, 71 and was sentenced to be burned to death.

Upon hearing her sentence, Joan began to cry. She asked for a crucifix, and was given two sticks, placed in the shape of a cross by an

68Ibid., p. 350. 69Ibid., p. 352.

70Ireland, op. cit., I, cxc-cxcii.

71Barrett, op. cit., p. 365.
Englishman. These she kissed and dropped into her dress. The church crucifix was also brought to her and this she embraced until the English soldiers, tiring of the delay, dragged her to the stake and bound her arms. 72 Upon her forehead was placed a miter of Inquisition on which were inscribed these words: "Heretic, relapse, apostate, idolatress." 73

In only a short time after the burning began, Joan of Arc was completely enveloped in smoke and flames. The fire was then allowed to die down. The body of Joan was then covered with wood and fuel, and her remains were thrown into the Seine. 74

Joan of Arc's actual historical importance to the French was not her military abilities, for, contrary to popular belief, Joan was never in command of any French military forces. Yet it is a well known fact that she held a profound influence over the French people, during the last few years of her life. Because of her remarkable spiritual faith and her dynamic personality, she has often been referred to as the "regeneration of the soul of a flagging France." 75

Joan's death, considered "an outrage committed against religion, virtue, humanity, and the law of nations," 76 caused utter confusion among

72 Ireland, op. cit., I, cxciii-cxciv.  
73 Ibid., p. cxcvi.  
74 Sackville-West, op. cit., p. 342.  
75 Ibid., p. 159.  
76 Ireland, op. cit., I, cxcix.
the French people, many of whom had looked upon her as the intended savior of the people of France. 77 As a result, there was a drastic deterioration in the morale of the French. However, the French did finally retaliate against the English, and succeeded in regaining possession of their country. Thus the spirit of Joan of Arc has lived on in France, keeping aglow a fire of patriotism.

77 Lang, op. cit., p. 91.
CHAPTER II

JOAN OF ARC IN LITERATURE

Joan of Arc has been represented in various ways within the pages of literature. 1 Contrasting interpretations of her personality and the nature of her calling have produced in literature numerous prototypes of the real Joan, some of the most common being a hysterical, a fanatic, a medium, a village idiot, a crafty adventuress caught in the coils of a subtle political web, and a saint answerable only to God. 2

This chapter begins with Joan in French literature, because of the recurrent influence of the French writers on those of other countries who have written about Joan. 3 Because of Joan's unpleasant relationship with the English, it will be worth-while to include representations of Joan in English literature. The chapter concludes with selections representing the treatment of Joan in American literature.

Mark Twain's interpretation of Joan in his Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc is considered to be a conglomeration of history, sentimental fiction, and farce. 4 The selections from prose fiction which

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1 Helen Harriet Salls, "Joan of Arc in English and American Literature," The South Atlantic Quarterly, XXV (April, 1936), 167.
3 Salls, op. cit., p. 169.
4 Ibid., p. 175.
characterize Joan are very few. Of those in existence, there seems to be none of literary merit in either France or England. As for the two prose fiction selections, not including Twain's book, found in American literature, Henry Van Dyke's short story, "The Broken Soldier and the Maid of France," is the most commendatory, as Jeanne, a novel published by Theda Kenyon, in 1928, is considered to be mere travesty. 5

Since representations of Joan are relatively rare in prose fiction, 6 drama has been chosen instead, as more rewarding for this study. There are available in drama an extensive variety of selections from which to choose, as well as greater diversity in the characterization of Joan.

Also, according to V. Sackville-West:

... [Joan's] life ... divides itself into four almost deliberately designed theatrical Acts: First Act, The Rise; Second Act, The Triumphs; Third Act, The Stagnant Interlude; Fourth Act, The Culmination of the Tragedy. 7

Joan of Arc has been represented in French drama ever since the middle of the fifteenth century. She made her "initial appearance upon the stage" in Le Mystère du Siège d'Orléans, 8 a French mystery play, said to have been written in its earliest version before 1450, 9 by an unknown citizen of Orleans. 10 However, the play was later revised and

5 Ibid., pp. 175-176. 6 Ibid., p. 175.

10 Frank, op. cit., p. 203.
additional material was added to it, possibly as late as 1474.  

The play, quite accurate historically, has included within it various preserved historical data. Frank says of this play: "... Despite [Joan's] visions, she appears as a practical, straightforward girl, simple, humble, and sensible. Her speeches ring true." It has also been stated that the Joan within this play resembles more closely the real Joan of Arc than almost any subsequent portraits of her in literature. Thus, though there is an extremely patriotic tone about this mystery play, Joan remains undistorted.

During the seventeenth century, Joan, considered by this time to be a national subject in drama, was mentioned in such French dramas as Les Amantes ou la Grande Pastorale, published in 1613, by Nicolas Chrétien des Croix, the Tragédie de Jeanne d'Arques, dite la Pucelle d'Orléans, published by Jean de Virez, in 1600, and La Rocheloisi, published in 1629. Also, three prose tragedies concerning Joan of Arc


12 Frank, op. cit., p. 204.

13 Ibid., p. 205.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid., p. 206.


17 Nathan Edelman, Attitudes of Seventeenth-Century France toward the Middle Ages (Morning Heights, 1946), p. 182.

18 Ibid., p. 258.

19 Ibid., p. 259.
were published by d'Aubignoc, during the 1640's. None of these, however, ever achieved the literary significance of Le Mystère de Siège d'Orléans.

In 1910, the Mystère de la Charité de Jeanne d'Arc, an entire play concerning Joan of Arc, was published by Charles Peguy, in France. Due to the "weird style" in which it was written, this play seems almost medieval in nature. It is possible that Peguy was attempting to convey, within this play, the thoughts of Joan, who is supposedly undecided, at this particular time, as to the nature of her calling. In this respect, Madame Gervaise is possibly symbolical of the Church.

Throughout this play, Joan is portrayed as a radiant, self-sacrificing person, whose primary interests are her country, her people, and their relationship with God. There continually seems to be present within the Mystère de la Charité de Jeanne d'Arc a comparison between Joan, the savior of her country, and Jesus Christ, the Savior of the world. This comparison, which actually is only implied, concerns such matters as the similarity in their callings, as well as the human suffering they both experienced. Joan is depicted by Peguy as one who differed from the people of her time, in that she not only expresses a desire to aid her

20 Lancaster, op. cit., V, 75.


23 Ibid., p. 125.
country, but also actually makes an aggressive and determined effort to carry out her plans.\textsuperscript{24}

The devout piety of Joan is constantly illustrated throughout this play. Peguy even insinuates that Joan was a saint. Perhaps this insinuation is best exemplified in the following statement by Madame Gervaise concerning the hardships of Joan:

\begin{quote}
I know that you have . . . experienced all the sadness of a Christian soul. . . . The saints, all the saints have gone through that. It is the very condition, the hard law, the hard appreciation of holiness. . . . \textsuperscript{25}
\end{quote}

Thus it seems that this play is actually an attempt on the part of Peguy "to describe the awakening of [Joan's] supernatural vocation."\textsuperscript{26}

In certain instances, Joan is depicted as a very stubborn and self-determined person, whose chief sin is pride.\textsuperscript{27} When presented from this respect, she seems almost human. On the whole, however, it seems that Peguy did not intend his Joan to be a part of this world: she is too good for it.

\textbf{The Lark}, a French drama published in 1956, by Jean Anouilh, is the most recent version of Joan of Arc. Anouilh defended his interpretation of Joan in the following manner:

\textbf{The play . . . makes no attempt to explain the mystery of Joan.}
You cannot explain Joan, anymore than you can explain the tiniest flower growing by the wayside. . . .

He went further to state that it was his intention to create a new Joan within his play.

To a certain extent, Anouilh succeeded, for Joan's life is certainly highly romanticized and, in some ways, quite colored. However, her personality still compares, to a certain degree, with that of the authentic Joan, for, within this play, she appears to be a sensible, shrewd, and very intelligent girl. Pride and arrogance, possibly two of the most undesirable qualities about her, are also present. She is portrayed as a devoutly religious person, however, who wishes to serve her country.

Though Joan is never actually referred to as a saint, the idea that her Voices and Visions were authentic seems to prevail throughout The Lark. That her real intentions were often misunderstood by the people of her time has been illustrated to some extent by the manner in which she is treated, while still a young child, living at her home in Domremy.

The romantic conclusion of this drama is definitely the most drastic misrepresentation of facts to be found within The Lark. Joan is not burned at the stake. Instead, she is freed at the last moment, and is consequently portrayed as the heroine of this tragi-comedy.

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28Jean Anouilh, The Lark (New York, 1956), (Note).


30Anouilh, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

31Ibid., pp. 102-103.
A typical example of the influence of French literary interpretations of Joan of Arc upon English writers is evident in Shakespeare's Henry VI, Part I, a famous history play of the late sixteenth century, for the first portion of this play was based on Le Mystere du Siege d'Orleans, an especially good source, since it contains an accurate account of the siege of Orleans, as well as of Joan of Arc.

However, Shakespeare relied more extensively on the historical chronicles of Holinshed in his study of the life and times of Henry VI. From this voluminous history, he also drew certain information concerning Joan, some of which is quoted below, in its original form:

In time of this siege at Orleance (French stories saie), . . . vnto Charles the Dolphin, . . . by one Robert Badricourt, . . . was caried a yong wench of an eightene yeares old, called Ione Arc. . . . Of fauor was she counted like-some, of person stronglie made and manlie, of withall . . . wherein she fought and did manie slaughters by hir owne hands.  

Shakespeare's Joan is considered to be one of the most interesting figures in Henry VI, Part I, though she appears in only ten of the twenty-seven scenes. She is first depicted as a young peasant girl who took pity on the sad plight of France. This interpretation may have resulted

32 Jusserand, op. cit., p. 45.


34 Holinshed's Chronicles as Used in Shakespeare's Plays (New York, 1927), p. 93.

35 Salls, op. cit., p. 178.
from Shakespeare's study of the French mystery play. However, during the last portion of Henry VI, Part I, Joan is portrayed as an entirely different person. In one of these scenes, she is accused of being a witch by the Duke of Burgundy. It is quite likely that the original source for such an idea resulted from Shakespeare's reading Holinshed's Chronicles, in which it is mentioned that on a certain occasion, the Duke of Bedford referred to Joan of Arc as a "deuelish witch."37

In Act V, scene iv, of Henry VI, Part I, Joan is referred to as a harlot, and is portrayed as exhibiting a rebellious attitude toward her father. The reason for Shakespeare's picturing Joan in such a light has usually been considered to be the patriotic attitude of England, in reference to France, at this particular time. However, this may not be so, for Shakespeare's interpretation of Joan in Act V of his play is quite similar to a certain paragraph in Holinshed's Chronicles. Holinshed's comment on Joan, following his discussion of her abjuration, is as follows:

But herein (God helpe vs) she fullie afore possest of the fiend not able to hold hir in anie towards of grace, falling streight wale into hir former abominations (and yet seeking to eetch out life as long as she might) stake not (though the shift were shameful) to confesse hir selve a strumpet, and (unmaried as she was) to be with child. For triall, the lord


regents lenitie gaue hir nine moneth stata, at the end whereof she found herein as false as wicked in the rest, on eight daies after, . . . was she . . . executed by consumption of fire . . .

Thus a similar statement by Joan herself is found within Act V of Henry VI, Part I, as she cries:

"Will nothing turn your unrelenting hearts?
Then, Joan, discover thine infirmity,
That warranteth by law to be thy privilege.
I am with child, ye bloody homicides:" 39

Generally considered the most important English play on Joan, Saint Joan by George Bernard Shaw was published in 1923. It has been stated that Shaw expressed the perpetual charm of Joan in nearly the same way it had been expressed by Shakespeare. 40 However, according to Shaw, in his Preface to Saint Joan, there is a vast amount of difference in the two plays, 41 and these differences, which are quite evident, are discussed by him.

In Shaw's Saint Joan, Joan of Arc actually seems to live, possibly as a result of Shaw's historical study of Joan. 42 She is presented, throughout the play, as a great revolutionary character in history, as an early exponent of nationalism, and as an early Protestant. 43

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38Ibid., p. 171.
39Shakespeare, op. cit., p. 236.
40Salls, op. cit., p. 168.
43Shaw, op. cit., p. 30.
is not portrayed as a beautiful girl, but as a person with great vitality, and an overbearing nature. One of the most outstanding features about Shaw's Joan is her "shrewd peasant humor." 44 She actually seems to compare to Mark Twain's Joan in some respects, such as in her medieval simplicity 45 and her benevolence toward her fellow man. 46

The age-old question as to whether there is anything peculiarly remarkable about Joan of Arc was answered by Shaw in his Preface. He stated that her vigor and the scope of her mind and character, and the intensity of her vital energy were the only remarkable qualities about her. 47 He referred to her as an "unwomanly woman," possessed with an intense passion for warfare. 48 In Saint Joan, Shaw's Joan is portrayed just in this manner. However, it is Dunois who says to Joan: "You have the makings of a soldier in you. You are in love with war." 49

Shaw's Joan has been considered the "incarnation of an idea." 50 She sets her mind to driving the English out of France, and consequently, she works toward this goal throughout the play. She also


47 Salls, op. cit., p. 167. 48 Ibid.

49 Shaw, op. cit., p. 91.

exhibits a determination to trust her own judgment. This is especially
evident throughout most of the trial scenes. 51

Thus the lively and exciting Joan, who is discussed by Shaw in his
Preface, is dramatically revealed in Saint Joan. Though she is intro-
duced as a canonized saint in the Epilogue to the play, this last presen-
tation of her can never erase Shaw's interpretation of Joan, the soldier,
a girl living before her time.

In The Trial of Jeanne d'Arc, published in 1932, by Edward Gar-
nett, 52 Joan is at first portrayed as a person with the power to subdue
almost anything through the use of her shrewdness, her intellect, and
her courage. Yet, the slow disintegration of her spirit is made appar-
tent throughout the play. As the trial progresses, she becomes more
frustrated and more disillusioned. However, shortly after her recanta-
tion, she regains her faith. 53 Thus, Garnett's Joan is presented as a
human being who loses her faith in God, only to regain it shortly after-
ward. Furthermore, she willingly dies for her faith.

One of the earliest American dramas concerning Joan is Jeanne
d'Arc, published in 1906, by Percy MacKaye. According to Helen
Harriet Salls, this play "is destined to endure as a work of art." 54 Joan's

51 Ibid. 52 Wagenknecht, op. cit., p. 307.

53 Edward Garnett, "The Trial of Jeanne d'Arc," Joan of Arc, ed-

spiritual qualities are emphasized, while many of her more human traits are almost completely withheld. However, by attempting to call special attention to her devoutly pious spirit, MacKaye seems to have depicted her in a manner which could almost be referred to as melodramatic. Perhaps this is best illustrated in the scene in which D'Alençon is blinded by a light of radiant splendor while attempting to kiss Joan's hand as a gesture of his affection. 55

As to the romantic events within the life of MacKaye's Joan, definitely the most sentimental of these is her relationship with the Duke of D'Alençon. Although this romantic relationship is purely fictitious, it is developed in quite a convincing manner. 56 An impressive illustration of the presence of romance within Jeanne d'Arc may be found in its dramatic conclusion, which consists of Joan's reunion with D'Alençon, who not only brings about the renewal of her faith, but also offers to die with her, and of the return of Joan's Voices. 57

There is a definite similarity between MacKaye's Joan and Mark Twain's. For instance, the same "blunt humor and . . . ready kindliness" present in MacKaye's Joan is also displayed within the personality

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57 MacKaye, op. cit., pp. 159-163.
of Joan in Twain's *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc*. Both of these writers also used Joan's home life as the background for their presentation of Joan as the major character within their respective literary works. Also, there is a note of comparison in the pessimistic qualities found in Twain's novel and MacKaye's play. That there is pessimism in Twain's *Joan of Arc* is evident. However, an accurate illustration of this quality in *Jeanne d'Arc* is found in Joan's statement:

To build and build and build on running sands —
How terrible it must be to be God!

In a less notable dramatic work, also entitled *Jeanne d'Arc*, which was written in 1932 by Emma Gelders Sterne, Joan is portrayed in a very human light, while at the same time, she is presented as the possessor of extraordinary abilities. Sterne's Joan is humanitarian in many respects, and is very patriotic. However, numerous historical facts concerning the life of Joan of Arc were misrepresented in this play.

*Joan of Lorraine* by Maxwell Anderson was published in 1943. In this play, Joan is portrayed as shy, sweet, and completely feminine. Thus she lacks any definite sign of being a capable military leader.

Though Anderson's Joan does commune with her Visions and Voices, the

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60 *MacKaye, op. cit.*, p. 126.  
matter is introduced in a logical manner, as though they came from Joan's imagination. Also, to a great extent, she is presented as a French patriot, attempting to aid her country in any way possible. Due to the simple, straightforward air about her, Anderson's Joan appears to be a virtuous and innocent youth, almost capable of being referred to as a saint, and very un-life-like. However, it must be kept in mind that the characterization of Joan is considered a minor part of this play, as its intended purpose is to serve as a study in faith.

Though, as previously mentioned, Anderson's portrayal of Joan was rather shallow, it is interesting to consider his justification for representing her in this manner. No doubt, his opinions concerning the real Joan of Arc's personality may be found in the following lines from Joan of Lorraine:

... [Joan has] always been shown on the stage as a sort of Tom Paine in petticoats, a rough, mannish hoyden, with visual delusions, strong common-sense, and a rather homo predilection for soldiers' clothes and manners. Even Shaw follows that line, but it doesn't seem to be historically accurate. As far as the evidence goes she was a modest and unassuming village girl who never would have raised her voice anywhere if she hadn't been convinced she was carrying out God's orders. And if she was this kind of girl, and completely feminine, then her problem was how to make herself heard, how to get her message out to the world.

\[62\] Wyatt, op. cit., p. 357.
\[63\] "Bergman on Broadway," Life, XXI (December 2, 1946), 54.
\[64\] Brown, op. cit., pp. 24-25.
There are various ways in which Joan of Arc is represented in literature. Shakespeare represented her as a symbol of evil, while Shaw and MacKaye presented her as a great military leader. Throughout the centuries, other literary artists have also taken the name, Joan of Arc, and, according to their abilities, have created a character to represent their respective tastes. This is perhaps also true of Mark Twain's interpretation of Joan in his *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc*.

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*Salls, op. cit.*, p. 184.
CHAPTER III

THE INCEPTION OF MARK TWAIN'S BOOK,

JOAN OF ARC

The Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc, printed serially in Harper's Magazine during 1895, actually had its inception nearly fifty years prior to this time, on a certain bleak afternoon in 1847. While on his way home from the Hannibal printing office where he was working as an apprentice, Mark Twain saw a printed piece of paper being swept along by the wind. Due to his professional interest in newsprint, he retrieved the paper, only to discover that it was a leaf from a history book on Joan of Arc.

After reading a brief description of the "maid" in the cage at Rouen and the subsequent dialogue which passed between her and the brutal English soldiers, Twain became so deeply interested in the story that he took the page home to Henry, his younger brother, who had read considerably more than he, and asked him about this young martyr. Significant

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1Samuel L. Clemens, Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc (New York, 1923), I, xviii.


3Ibid., p. 45.
changes almost immediately occurred in the life of this young, sensitive boy, who, for the first time, heard the story of Joan of Arc, her trials and tribulations. 4

Besides this reverent fascination for Joan, which he retained until his death, 5 Mark Twain also acquired a sensitive reverence for the chastity of womanhood, of which this French "maid" was the symbol. 6 Also, from this day forward, he expressed an ardent hatred for falsehood, tyranny, and treachery, while he boldly sympathized with the weak and the oppressed. 7 Twain's respective attitudes concerning the wicked and the oppressed resulted, either directly or indirectly, from his admiration for Joan of Arc, and these attitudes seem to have motivated him to a certain extent toward writing the Recollections.

The young journeyman's interest in reading immediately increased. Although books were scarce in Hannibal, 8 he read every available one he could find on Joan. After this supply of books was depleted, he turned his interest to French history, which, in turn, developed into

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4Albert Bigelow Paine, Mark Twain (New York, 1912), I, 81.


7Paine, Mark Twain, I, 82.

8Cyril Clemens, "Mark Twain's Reading," Commonweal, XXIV (August 7, 1936), 364.
an interest in all history. Foreign languages began to interest him. Consequently, he began extensive research which was put to use nearly fifty years later in writing Joan of Arc.

Prior to hearing about Joan of Arc, Mark Twain seems to have been a romantic idealist, picturing the world as a place of innocent splendor, which was composed of "good" people, such as his father, his mother, or his aunt. Yet, when he realized that there were such evil people in the world as the vile English soldiers who spoke so disrespectfully to the young "maid," it must have been a shock to him. He immediately began to fight idealistically against tyranny and injustice in his own tiny world of Hannibal by various means, such as reprimanding a boy for cheating at a game of marbles.

In 1853, upon obtaining a job in St. Louis, working on the Evening Post, Twain was exposed to the trials of a realistic world without the security which had always been provided by his mother, Jane Clemens. Since religion had been forced upon him at an early age by this pious woman, it is only natural to surmise that he would lack the faith of a

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10 Ibid., p. 46.


12 Cyril Clemens, "Mark Twain's Religion," *Commonweal*, XXI (December 28, 1934), 255.
true believer in the Christian doctrines. As a result, he began to search for some being in whom he could have an abiding faith. ° When he began work at the Philadelphia Inquirer in the latter part of 1853, no doubt, this need was even more crucial. This change which occurred in Twain's mental outlook on life is also noticed by Paine, who states:

"We have somehow the feeling that he had all at once stepped from boyhood to manhood, and that the separation was marked by a very definite line." ° It seems quite possible that in order to have his spiritual needs supplied, this young adolescent began to feel an ardent devotion for Joan of Arc, "probably the only being, outside his immediate family, in whom Twain ever wholeheartedly believed." °

In order to escape from the harsh reality of a sinful world, Mark Twain began to regress into a world of fantasy. This form of indulgence, which he so willingly acknowledged in his autobiographical narrative, "My Platonic Sweetheart," actually began in 1854, while he was working for the Philadelphia Inquirer. He mentioned that it was at this strategic time in his life that he first beheld his "platonic sweetheart," "a real person." ° There is every indication to believe that this "spirit"

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15 Paine, Mark Twain, I, 96.

16 Williams, "Mark Twain's Joan of Arc," op. cit., p. 244.

whose "sweet and innocent society has been one of the prettiest and pleasant experiences of [his] life" is Joan of Arc, his chaste symbol of womanhood, due to the facts concerning various encounters with her, which are stated in "My Platonic Sweetheart." He began by stating: "I met her first when I was seventeen and she fifteen. . . . No, I did not meet her; I overtook her. It was in a Missourian village which I had never been before. . . . "

One immediately notices his statement on overtaking her, which could easily refer to his overtaking the page from some history book on Joan of Arc. Although he states that he had never seen the village, this seems to be of little consequence. It seems quite possible that Twain's mention of being "touched with a spirit of loneliness, and a feeling of soft regret for something" was a subconscious expression of his spiritual needs, which could be supplied only by his faith in Joan of Arc. Therefore, after being thrust out into this realistic world, this young man appears to have become mentally stagnant, as he began to periodically indulge in regression on the average of once every two years. According to Mentor L. Williams, Mark Twain

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20 Ibid., p. 288.
21 Williams, "Mark Twain's Joan of Arc," op. cit., p. 244.
remained "a child, an immature, frustrated boy" throughout his life, and, at the time of writing the Recollections, he fully portrayed this side of his nature.  

Though a river pilot on the Mississippi during 1857 and 1858, Mark Twain continued reading. He was regarded by the other river pilots as a great reader, especially of books on history and travels. He also continued the study of foreign languages while a river pilot, and, at one time, was studying French, German, and Latin. However, he was finally forced to discontinue the study of German and Latin. He did keep up faithfully in his study of French, which proved to be quite an asset to him in doing his research on Joan of Arc during the 1880's.  

In 1864, while at work in his newspaper office in San Francisco, Twain dreamed once more of his "platonic sweetheart." It appears that he was still disturbed about the harshness and the cruelty within the world at this time in his life, when he related the following incidents which occurred within this dream: "... We were living in a simple and natural and beautiful world where everything that happened was natural and right, and was not perplexed with the unexpected or with any forms of


24 Ibid., p. 248.


Mark Twain also referred to himself and his "dream sweetheart" as "a couple of ignorant and contented children," which draws attention to the previous statement by Williams, concerning Twain's mental relapse into childhood. Also, it is quite probable that there is a definite significance between his being perpetually seventeen years of age and the fact that in 1853, at the age of eighteen, he left his home and began working in St. Louis, upon deciding to "go out into the world."

The apparent effect of this particular dream is significant, for it was at this same time that Twain began a fight against what was probably tyranny in his eyes. While working as a reporter on the San Francisco Call, he suddenly became so dissatisfied with the police officials that he wrote editorials sharply criticizing them for their shortcomings. It is plausible that this criticism of police officials was a subconscious means of reprimanding the English officials who treated Joan of Arc so unjustly. At any rate, he did exert a bold effort toward justice, one of the first relevant changes occurring during the turning point in his mental life.

Although Mark Twain stated in "My Platonic Sweetheart" that he had dreamed of his "dream sweetheart" on the average of once in every

28 Ibid., p. 291.  
29 Ibid.  
30 Paine, Mark Twain, I, 92.  
32 Paine, The Boy's Life of Mark Twain, p. 64.
two years since 1854, in this autobiographical narrative, he related only two other dreams of this kind which occurred before he wrote Joan of Arc. Both of these dreams occurred within the space of an hour, in 1867, while Twain was on a lecture tour in New York. None of the action which took place within these two dreams seems to be of any significance. Yet, some very pertinent information was disclosed by the novelist, while he was in the process of discussing these two dreams. First of all, he acknowledged the fact that he had begun to write these dreams down in his notebook. 33 He also mentioned that within his notebook were several letters from his "dream-sweetheart" which were written in a "dream-tongue," accompanied by his translations. 34 Although this material is not available to the public, one can almost visualize the tremendous extremes of fantasy in which Twain indulged, when he referred to his love in the following manner: "To me she is a real person, not a fiction, and her sweet innocent society has been one of the prettiest and pleasantest experiences in my life." 35 There is little doubt that the person to whom he was referring was Joan of Arc, for she is the same innocent "maid" in his book, the Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc.

While on the Quaker City Holy Land excursion, during the summer and fall of 1867, Twain fell in love with a miniature portrait of Olivia

34 Ibid., p. 296.
Langdon and would often visit her younger brother Charles in order that he could look at this picture. Since this portrait was far from ravishing, one might easily surmise that it was Joan, not Olivia Langdon, that this prospering young writer saw within this picture, which he considered a fair representation of ideal womanhood. In fact, there appears to be a slight resemblance between Joan and Olivia.

During 1868 and 1869, one is best able to recognize Twain's desire to regress to a romantic world of his own and his Joan fixation in his letters to Livy. Shortly after meeting this young delicate girl, he personally disclosed to her, in one of his letters: "For once, at least, in the idle years that have drifted over me, I have seen the world all beautiful and known what it is to hope..." Thus, Twain's pessimistic nature of previous years was revealed at this time in his life to the person who was one day to be his wife.

It appears that Twain began to allow Olivia Langdon the privilege of being the earthly recipient of his spiritual love for Joan, the one


37 Ibid.

38 Mrs. Oliphant, Jeanne d'Arc (New York, 1896), frontispiece, opposite title page.

39 Paine, Mark Twain, I, 394.

person who, in his opinion, symbolized the ideal of womanhood. 41 Such an idea was brought out in a letter to her on January 6, 1869, when he begged: ". . . let me honor you above all women. . . . You are my world, my life, my pride, my all of earth that is worth living. . . ." 42 He had expressed a similar idea prior to this, on November 28, 1868, when he wrote her: ". . . You are so pure, so great, so good, so beautiful. . . . how can I keep from worshipping you, you dear little paragon?" 43 Carl Van Doren believes that Twain was actually practicing some form of secular Mariolatry, 44 which, possibly, is illuminated in his reverent attitudes toward his mother, and especially toward Joan of Arc and Olivia.

The similarity between Joan and Olivia, in Twain's mind, is truly amazing. In February, 1869, Twain referred to Olivia as "... the sweet spirit that ... carries a constant blessing to every member of the little circle [she] inhabit[s]... ." 45 Yet, almost forty years later, in discussing Joan, he referred to her "fair spirit" 46 also. His


42 Samuel L. Clemens, Love Letters, p. 43.


44 Van Doren, op. cit., p. 154.


reverent adoration for the pious ways of these two women, who possibly seemed to him to reflect the piety of his mother, appears to be quite noticeable. In describing Olivia to his mother, he remarked, "She is only a little body, but she hasn't her peer in Christendom." When discussing Joan some years after this, he expressed a similar opinion, while stating: "... Her religion made her inwardly content and joyous; ..." He also seems to have recognized a certain similarity in their physical bodies, for, while referring quite often to Olivia's "little body" and "tiny hands," he described Joan as "a little and slender figure." The similarity in his description of these two women indicates that Twain began to worship Livy as a physical symbol of his spiritual love for Joan of Arc, which had only been expressed in periodic dreams prior to this time.

After his marriage to Olivia Langdon in 1870, it is conjectural that he and his bride were lost in a world of romance. Yet, he did not completely forget his sympathy for the oppressed, which had resulted

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47 Paine, Mark Twain, I, 378.

48 Samuel L. Clemens, Joan of Arc, I, 52.

49 Paine, Mark Twain, I, 378.

50 Samuel L. Clemens, Love Letters, p. 90; Joan of Arc, I, xxvii.

51 Samuel L. Clemens, Joan of Arc, II, 67.
from his interest in Joan of Arc, for during this particular year, he wrote numerous articles and editorials for the Express which were in defense of the weak and the oppressed. 52

Twain's deep inner desire to aid the underprivileged was quite apparent in the articles which he wrote for the Galaxy, during 1870 and 1871. For instance, in one issue of this periodical he adversely criticized the Reverend T. DeWitt Talmage for his statements against allowing the workingmen to worship in the fashionable churches, 53 while, in another, he depicted the cruel treatment of the Chinese immigrants in San Francisco. 54

During these early years of married life, he also maintained his reading in history. He seemed to have attained a vast amount of pleasure from reading the Life of P. T. Barnum, which, according to William Dean Howells, contains "the inner revelation of the human being at first hand." 55 Thus, it seems quite probable that Twain was still carrying on research on Joan and mankind at this time, as Ferguson has indicated. 56

In 1872, while in London, Mark Twain had an opportunity to express his view on womanhood, while replying to the toast to "The Ladies"

52 Paine, Mark Twain, I, 401-402. 53 Ibid., p. 404.

54 Ibid. 55 Ibid., p. 411.

56 Ferguson, op. cit., p. 66.
at the Anniversary Festival of the Scottish Corporation of London. It was at this time that he publicly acknowledged his admiration for Joan of Arc, while stating:

... Who was more patriotic than Joan of Arc? Who was braver? Who has given us a grander instance of self-sacrificing devotion? Ah! you remember well, what a throb of pain, what a great tidal wave of grief swept over us when Joan of Arc fell at Waterloo.

As Mark Twain reached the age of forty, the sensitive, serious nature within him came to be revealed, as he began to advocate public reform more openly. One of these first radical articles of this nature was "The Curious Republic of Gondour," which appeared in the Atlantic in October, 1875. The topic of discussion was the advocacy of voting qualifications according to one's intellectual qualifications. Although it would seem that such an article would have little connection with his Joan fixation, one must remember that Twain's ideas toward reform actually have their origin in his first knowledge of the life of this young French martyr.

While touring Paris in February, 1879, Mark Twain's lifelong interest in Joan of Arc was fervently revived, causing him to make plans toward writing a book on her. This was the beginning of the end of

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58 Ibid., p. 44.

59 Paine, Mark Twain, I, 554.

60 Ibid., p. 643.
possibly a subconscious goal of his, which must have originated in 1847, when he found the page from some history book on Joan.

It was at this time in his life that Twain actually began his research on the Maid of Orleans, the French language, and the country. While in France, he did quite a bit of sight-seeing, at which times he probably saw some of the statues and shrines of Joan, and read several books on France. After returning to the United States, in August, 1880, Mark Twain began to compile a bibliographical listing of the books on Joan, which included, among others, his own copy of Janet Tuckey's Joan of Arc. This book, still in existence, contains numerous marginal notes which he made for the purpose of research on this subject. Other research materials included Life of the Maid by Lord Ronald Gower, Jeanne d'Arc by J. Michelet, and the records of Joan's trial, which had been translated into Modern French by Quicherat. However, he soon became so engrossed in various business ventures that he was forced to spend most of his time on these.

Throughout the years from 1881 until 1891, it seems that Mark Twain was still preparing for his pseudo-historical novel on Joan of Arc. Although he was not carrying on any formal research to the knowledge of the literary critics or biographers during these years, he had written

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61Ibid.  
62Ibid.  
63Ibid., II, 958.  
64Ibid.
and published The Prince and the Pauper and A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court, two books with medieval themes. 65 Within A Connecticut Yankee are also elements of witchcraft and sorcery, topics of interest to Twain for some time. In fact, prior to this time, he had introduced witchcraft into several long narratives, his two travel books, and the autobiography. 66 This particular interest of his in magic of this kind reverted to the reading he had done at an early age on Joan, who was on trial for witchcraft.

During this same period of time, Twain had also worked with U. S. Grant in writing his Memoirs 67 and with Pope Leo XIII in the writing of the Life of Pope Leo XIII. 68 Both of these experiences should have been helpful to him in the writing of the Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc.

Because of financial difficulties, Twain and his family went abroad, in 1892, as living expenses were less in Europe. At Nauheim, he incorporated Those Extraordinary Twins into Pudd'nhead Wilson. 69 Perhaps as a result of writing this book which dealt with slavery, the author's sympathy for the oppressed was revived, causing him to become interested in writing a book which had its inception nearly fifty years prior

65 Coleman O. Parsons, "The Devil and Samuel Clemens," The Virginia Quarterly Review, XXIII (October, 1947), 601.
66 Ibid.
68 Paine, The Boy's Life of Mark Twain, pp. 246-247.
69 Paine, Mark Twain, II, 949.
to this time, in Hannibal, Missouri. At any rate, he did at this time suddenly become extremely interested in the idea of writing a book on the life of Joan of Arc.

The Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc was begun during the winter of 1892, at the Villa Viviani, in Italy. Twain stated that he wished to publish the book anonymously, because it was a serious book, and, due to his experience with The Prince and the Pauper, he felt that the reading public would not regard it as such if they knew that he had written it. Therefore, the book was written in the first person, under the name of Joan's page and secretary, Sieur Louis de Conte, who had also been her childhood playmate, and was presumably translated by Jean Francois Alden for the reading public.

Twain wrote rapidly in the months that followed, for he had an abundant background on the subject from the reading he had done on this topic throughout his life. He had also translated, at an earlier date, several French books dealing with the subject. According to Twain,

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70Ibid., p. 957. 71Ibid., p. 956. 72Ibid., p. 959. 73Ibid. 74Paine, The Boy's Life of Mark Twain, pp. 268-269. 75Ibid., p. 269.
he had enjoyed all the time spent on research for this book, which afforded him so much pleasure. 76

Although this book was to be published anonymously, Twain disclosed his plans for it to Mrs. Fairbanks, in a letter written on January 18, 1893. He did not divulge the title, but he did relate to her that this book was "written for love." 77 He also wrote Fred Hall, announcing:

I am writing a companion to The Prince and the Pauper which is half done and will make 2000,000 words; and I have had the idea that if it were gotten up in handsome style, with many illustrations and put at a high enough price, maybe the L. U. L. canvassers would take it and run it with that book. 78

This particular letter, though showing an interest in monetary gain, tends to disclose the high regard which the author had for his book on Joan of Arc.

By March, 1893, Twain had arrived at the first great climax in this narrative, the raising of the siege of Orleans. Although he had apparently planned to cover the entire life of Joan, since he had so industriously done extensive research on the trials, financial troubles arose once more, and he was soon forced to put aside his writing for a while. 79

76 Cyril Clemens, "Mark Twain's Joan of Arc," Commonweal, XXII (July 26, 1935), 23.

77 Samuel L. Clemens, Mark Twain to Mrs. Fairbanks, edited by Dixon Wecter (San Marino, 1949), p. 269.

78 Ferguson, op. cit., p. 256.

79 Ibid., pp. 256-257.
When he returned, in May, he and his family went to Germany, where he wrote "The Defense of Harriet Shelley," an essay portraying his "chivalrous reverence for the chastity of women." According to Paine, Twain showed signs of the beginning of "a genuine literary renaissance" by his first chapters on Joan of Arc and by this essay on Harriet Shelley.

Mark Twain took the manuscript of his incomplete story on Joan of Arc to the United States in the early summer of 1894, and attempted to have it printed in Harper's. However, he was only offered $5,000, and this did not please him at all. On August 5, 1894, Mark Twain wrote his wife that, upon being urged to complete Joan of Arc by Harry Harper, he had made an agreement to do so by the following year. He also related to her:

I said the terms were plenty liberal enough if we succeeded in keeping the authorship secret; but that if the secret got out & my name had to go to it, I thought 25 or 30 per cent ought to be added to the price (Pudd'nhead Wilson terms). So we've settled on that without any trouble. He wants me to write some articles.

When Mark Twain left the United States, he went to Etretat, the ancient fishing village where he began the second part of his story on

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81 Paine, Mark Twain, II, 988.

82 Samuel L. Clemens, Mark Twain to Mrs. Fairbanks, p. 310.

83 Samuel L. Clemens, Love Letters, p. 311.
Joan. That fall, he visited various landmarks of Joan of Arc. He visited Rouen, where he stayed for quite a few days. While there, Twain took advantage of his time by examining documents of Joan's trial at Rouen, as well as by visiting the jail where she had stayed while awaiting her sentence.

After returning to Paris, Mark Twain resumed the writing of Joan of Arc. Once more he began to read his day's work on the book to his family. He was quite constant in his writing and, in a letter to Mrs. Fairbanks, on February 9, 1895, stated:

... I finished my book last night at 7 p. m., — 170,000 words. I have been at it off & on for more than two years, & have written two other books in the meantime... Name and subject? Well, I mean to keep those private until I decide whether I will publish it or not.

Susy Clemens, who was quite fond of this book, wrote the following in her diary, after hearing the ending of her father's book: "Tonight Joan of Arc was burned at the stake..."

Joan of Arc, Livy's choice of all his work, was dedicated to this woman who had served probably as a physical symbol of Twain's spiritual Joan. The author was quite proud of the book and considered it the

84 Paine, Mark Twain, II, 989.
85 Ibid.
86 Ibid., p. 994.
87 Ibid.
88 Samuel L. Clemens, Mark Twain to Mrs. Fairbanks, p. 276.
89 Paine, Mark Twain, II, 997.
90 Allen, op. cit., p. 280.
best of all his works. He stated that it did not matter to him how well
the book sold, for it had been written for love and he had received seven
times more pleasure from it than from any of his other writing.\footnote{Gladys Carman Bellamy, \textit{Mark Twain as a Literary Artist} (Norman, 1950), p. 348.} Perhaps this pleasure which he attained from writing the \textit{Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc}, published serially in \textit{Harper's Magazine} during 1895, was best explained by Twain, himself, when he stated: "From his cradle to his grave a man never does a single thing which has any FIRST AND FOREMOST object but one—to secure peace of mind, spiritual comfort, for HIMSELF."\footnote{Cowie, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 637.}
CHAPTER IV

MARK TWAIN'S JOAN OF ARC

Though written by Mark Twain as a true historical account of the life of Joan, the Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc is actually a fairy tale based on fact. Within this book may be found Mississippi folklore, popular legends of the 1800's, farce, burlesque, humor, satire, and many other elements entirely superficial to the historical or authentic value of this book. Consequently, it is quite evident that Twain viewed Joan through a veil of disillusionment. ¹ No doubt, he was unable to erase the mental images of Joan, her family, and her environment as he had pictured them in his mind for nearly fifty years. Though he claimed to have spent ten years in extensive research, his mind had apparently become so narrowed that he refused to accept what was recorded as historical truth.

That Mark Twain realized, either consciously or subconsciously, the historical weakness of Joan of Arc seems to be quite evident. It is probable, however, that he did not feel in the least guilty for writing such a book. In fact, the following reference to Paladin's knack for

¹Euphemia Van Rensselaer Wyatt, "Bernard Shaw and His St. Joan," Catholic World, CXIX (May, 1924), 196.
mixing fact with fiction, as found within Joan of Arc, seems to be a timely illustration of such a supposition.

... He was not lying consciously; he believed what he was saying. To him, his initial statements were facts, and wherever he enlarged a statement, this enlargement became a fact too. He put his heart into a heroic fiction, and his earnestness disarmed criticism—disarmed it as far as he himself was concerned. ... 2

Thus Twain seems possibly to be recording his own sentiments concerning his writing of Joan of Arc.

The universal theme found within Twain's Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc is one of unceasing popularity. It is the constant conflict of good against evil, with Joan personified as good. Consequently, those characters within this book who are opposed to Joan and her followers are personified as evil. It is in this sense that Twain seems to justify his right to persecute formal religion and formal law. 3 Twain also unjustly criticizes Cauchon to such an extent that, in the last portion of this book, he could be referred to as the antagonist, with Joan as the protagonist.

The setting of Joan of Arc is basically the same as is recorded by history. As the story begins, the central action is at Domremy, the small village where Joan was born. Within the first portion of the book,

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2 Samuel L. Clemens, Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc (New York, 1923), I, 152.

a discussion of the characteristics of this period of history is carried on by the proposed narrator, Sieur Louis de Conte.

A change in the setting occurs when Joan sets out for Burey, in hopes of seeing Baudricourt. At this point, however, emphasis on physical or geographical locations almost ceases. In its place appears a new and greater stress on the spirituality within the main character. Joan is revealed as a truly divine person with superhuman powers. Throughout the major portion of this book, consequently, emphasis is placed on character, rather than setting or action.

There is a brief digression from spiritual to physical emphasis in the description of the scene at Tours. As Joan makes her way to Orleans, however, the tone reverts to the supernatural as the author compares her entrance to the city with the excitement which would follow if the world were to cease to exist. 4 No emphasis on geographical location may be found within this chapter. Spiritual emphasis, on the other hand, is most intense. Whether or not intended by Twain, the joyous tone of Joan's welcome is comparable to the tone of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem shortly before His crucifixion. The resemblance can readily be seen in the following passage from Joan of Arc:

... The people about her struggled along, gazing up at her through their tears with the rapt look of men and women who believe they are seeing one who is divine; and always her feet

4Clemens, op. cit., I, 200.
were being kissed by grateful folk, and such as failed of that privilege touched her horse and then kissed their fingers. 5

At Tours Joan meets the King. There she is portrayed as a humble young girl, who continually praises God for making all her previous victories possible. At this time, the King ennobles her, her family, and her female descendants. 6

After battles, marches, and adventures, Joan and the Dauphin, accompanied by the French army, set out for Reims, where the official coronation is to take place. 7 During this Bloodless March, they pass through Gien, Auxerre, Saint-Tal, Troyes, Chinon, and Chalons, reaching the outskirts of Reims on July 16, 1329. 8

The description of Joan's entering Reims once again seems comparable to Christ's triumphant entrance into Jerusalem during the week preceding His death, and it seems likely that Twain intended this similarity. The vast number of people present who looked upon her as the savior of France were depicted as reverently and devoutly kissing her feet, kneeling as she passed, and reaching out in order to touch either her clothing or her horse. 9 Instead of strewing palm branches, however, they cover her path with flowers.

5Ibid.
6Ibid., p. 280.
7Ibid., II, 31.
8Ibid., p. 39.
9Ibid., p. 42.
The coronation at the Church of St. Remi is a scene of reverent solemnity portrayed as the climax of Joan's mission.  

Humor is introduced at this point with the introduction of Laxart and Papa D'Arc, two figures who are the brunts for burlesque with their various antics and their awkward mannerisms. Soon, however, the tone changes to unhappiness and grief, with Joan ordered to remain with the French army as the Commander-in-chief. The chapter is brought to a close with Joan's departure for a council of war, where the final decision is to march against Paris. 

When the King agrees to a fifteen-day peace, the tone becomes one of gloom and despair for Joan and her army. Though they attempt a skirmish without the King's permission, it is unsuccessful. Joan is wounded and the army is forced to withdraw to Gien, where it is disbanded. 

After Joan's imprisonment by the Duke of Burgundy, she is turned over to the English without any offer of ransom from the King of France. She is then carried to Rouen by the English, where she is put on trial as a heretic.

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10 Ibid., p. 47.
11 Ibid., p. 60.
12 Ibid., p. 78.
13 Ibid., pp. 84-85.
14 Ibid., p. 91.
15 Ibid., pp. 103-105.
16 Ibid., p. 107.
After being betrayed and condemned, Joan is put to death in a most impressive manner, as a true martyr. The climactic setting of martyrdom is ably described by Twain. The major emphasis, however, is on Joan. Thus, instead of elaborating on the scenery, Twain relates the actions of the characters in a manner which is especially sentimental.

The Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc consists of three main portions or structural divisions. The first two thirds of this book are the most original portions, based largely on "fancy and invention," according to Twain. The early life of Joan and her discipleship to the work of God constitute the first division. The first chapter in this portion of the book concerns Louis de Conte's introduction and self explanation as to why he is writing this personal recollection and by what means he has the right to do so. Consequently, he explains his first arrival at Domremy. In the second chapter, a description of Domremy is given, with emphasis on the fairies and the Fairy Tree. Fantasy is played up in this chapter. Throughout Chapters III, IV, V, VI, and VII there are apocryphal tales of the great deeds of Joan of Arc and their relation to the kind of life she is to lead in her later years. These stories concern Joan's kindness toward animals and people in need, her patriotism for her country, and her bravery. Her encounter with the Archangel St.

\[17\text{Ibid., pp. 277-278.}\]

\[18\text{Ibid., p. 122.}\]

\[19\text{Mary A. Wyman, "A Note on Mark Twain," College English, VII (May, 1946), 438.}\]
Michael is the most melodramatic. This part of the book is permeated with mysticism and fantasy.

The second and longest division is composed of forty-one chapters, within which are related Joan's attempts to see the Dauphin, her ultimate success, the succeeding battles which were victories for the French, the coronation, and, finally, Joan's capture. There is quite a bit of digression from the story in this division. Twain was perhaps attempting to cover up for this by making it seem as though this wandering was due to de Conte's old age. He says: "Let me see—where was I? One's mind wanders around here and there and yonder, when one is old..." 20

Some of the most touching scenes are to be found within these chapters. For instance, "The Red Field of Patay," Chapter XXX, is a striking scene of melodrama which might be referred to as the climactic scene of this division. Undoubtedly, it is one of the most impressive chapters within the book.

Though Chapters I and II of this section are compact and congruent, Chapter III is filled with humor and burlesque. The Sieur Louis de Conte is the main channel of burlesque, while the Paladin is the source of humor. Though many humorous episodes have preceded this chapter, this is the first time that an entire chapter is devoted to humor and burlesque to

20Clemens, op. cit., II, 66.
the extent that these elements detract from the continuous development of the plot.

Chapters IV, V, and VI concern Joan's ultimate success in gaining the respect and admiration of the Dauphin. Though based on fact, these chapters contain elements of fiction, fable, and humor. The humorous incidents seem to reach a climax in Chapter VII, in the Paladin's tall tales.

Joan's success in obtaining the Dauphin's aid, along with her proposed appointment as Commander-in-Chief of the French forces, is the main topic of Chapters VIII, IX, and X. Consequently, though some burlesque and fables are employed by Twain in the last half of Chapters IX and X, historical fact prevails.

Chapter XI takes on a dramatic, even a melodramatic tone. Within this chapter, Twain for the first time refers to the life and deeds of Joan as being comparable to a drama. Fictitious incidents are plentiful throughout this and the following chapter.

While containing both fiction and fact, Chapters XIII and XIV again concern primarily Joan and her great feats. Complete and almost burlesque humor is found within Chapter XV, with Noel's attempt to portray the Paladin as he really is ending in riotous humor. Though some mention of the Paladin's resultant popularity is extended into Chapter XVI,

21Ibid., I, 183.
most of this chapter pertains to the deeds of Joan of Arc. Humor prevails throughout Chapter XVII, while Chapter XVIII, concerning Joan's victory at Orleans, is permeated with tones of optimism and melodrama. The subsequent chapter, however, is of a completely humorous and romantic nature, dealing entirely with Conte's and the Paladin's encounter with some ghosts. Historical fact, mixed with an almost equal amount of fiction, composes Chapter XX. Chapter XXI foreshadows certain coming events, such as Joan's being wounded while storming the Bastille. 22 Throughout this chapter may be found a prevailing tone of mysticism. Chapter XXII concerns the battles between the French and their enemies that precede the Bloodless March. The mixture of fact, fable, and melodrama found within this chapter continues through Chapter XXIII, as Joan, her family, and her female posterity are ennobled by the Dauphin, 23 while Chapter XXIV is a jovial celebration of the preceding events.

An extreme intensity of tone marks the three succeeding chapters, as Joan finally convinces the Dauphin that he should go to Reims and be crowned King of France. Chapters XXVIII through XXXV are serious in tone. Such events as the battle at Patay and Joan's withstanding the Burgundians' attempt to carry off French hostages are merged with others to create tones of mysticism, fantasy, suspense, and melodrama.

22Ibid., p. 255. 23Ibid., II, 280.
Folklore of a Mississippian quality is found within Chapter XXXVI, creating farce. The first signs of pessimism may be found within the last part of Chapter XXXVII, when Joan is ordered to remain with the French army. Consequently, there is a note of pessimism present throughout the remainder of this portion of the book, which ends with Joan's being captured by the enemy.

This second section actually seems more like Twain's usual style of writing. Many of the characteristics of his literary style are present. Humor and burlesque are not uncommon; and, as has already been mentioned, folklore of Mississippi origin may be found, along with characters with Twainian characteristics.

The last twenty-five chapters comprising the third structural division relate to Joan's imprisonment, trial, and death. Most of these chapters, however, concern the trial proceedings. Though Twain considers this portion to be history, the facts are exaggerated. Cauchon is portrayed as being completely wicked and extremely cruel to Joan, which is contrary to history. The prevailing tone is melodramatic. Though notes of pessimism are scattered throughout the book, as evidenced by the continuing references to the infirmities and sadnesses brought on by old age, there is an increased note of pessimism within this third division, especially in reference to Joan's trial and execution.

Chapters I through III of the third section are quite melodramatic. While the first chapter concerns Joan and her imprisonment, the second and third chapters are included as a means by which Twain can logically explain Conte's presence at the trial and execution. These two chapters are also necessary in order to make known the military situation after Joan's capture. The remaining twenty-two chapters concern Joan's trial and death at the stake. They contain elements of fact, fiction, and fancy; tones include pessimism, despair, and reverence.

Since Twain did not include his Conclusion in his structural division of the book, it seems fitting that it should be considered as the fourth division. The six pages of the Conclusion tell of Joan's retrial or Rehabilitation which occurred some twenty-three years after her death, along with the reason for the King's sudden interest in Joan's being cleared of all guilt. Also, the lives of Joan's relatives and friends are discussed by Sieur Louis de Conte, who supposedly kept up with these people after Joan's death. Conte recounts all the good things said about her at her Rehabilitation trial. Thus ends the book which Twain said brought him so much pleasure. 25

In review of what has previously been stated, it is important to keep in mind the presence of a distinct variation in literary style. The first part of Joan of Arc consists primarily of fantasy and fiction, based

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on fact, while humor and burlesque predominate in the second part. Twain's literary style is serious, however, in the third and fourth parts. At all times, Twain maintains a most sincere reverence for Joan. Mysticism, humor, burlesque, farce, fantasy, fiction, exaggeration, and fact are all employed.

It is likely that the framework for Twain's book is based on Janet Tuckey's Joan of Arc, as both books follow nearly the same pattern of writing. Within Tuckey's book may be found a concluding chapter, which, though more intricate than Twain's, is of the same general nature. It is possible that Twain obtained a major portion of his information on Joan from Tuckey's book. It is known that Twain read this book and included it in his bibliography. Albert Bigelow Paine, one of Twain's personal associates, mentioned in his book Mark Twain that throughout Twain's copy of Tuckey's Joan of Arc were many marginal notes made during the time Twain was doing research on the life of Joan. 26

The similarity in Tuckey's and Twain's versions of the life and deeds of Joan of Arc may be recognized as early as pages seven and eight in Twain's book, where the description of Domremy corresponds almost exactly with that of Tuckey's on page twenty-three. This could be a coincidence if it were not for the noticeable similarity in the wording and the sentence structure.

26 Albert Bigelow Paine, Mark Twain (New York, 1912), II, 958.
The element of farce and fairy lore is not an original device of Twain's, either. Though it is possible that he included this device because of his romantic idealization of Joan, some of the illusions to fantasy which are most vivid may also be found within Tuckey's book. Even the Fairy Tree which received much emphasis in Twain's book also played a vital part in Tuckey's Joan.

Much of Twain's book seems to be direct paraphrasing of Tuckey's book, with additional touches of humor, farce, burlesque, fable, pessimism, and melodrama. In some instances, Twain practically committed plagiarism by copying both phrases and entire paragraphs almost verbatim from Tuckey. A revealing illustration of this is found within the following study of Joan's encounter with de Metz. This encounter has been related by Tuckey as follows:

... "What are you doing here, my child?" he asked her, jestingly. "Shall the King be driven out of France, and must we all turn English?"

"I am come to the royal city," she answered, "to bid Robert de Baudricourt take or send me to the King, but he does not heed my words; and yet I go before the King, though I should wear away my legs to the knees. For no one else in the world, neither kings nor dukes, not the daughter of the King of Scotland, can recover the kingdom of France, and there is no help but in me. And indeed I would rather spin with my poor mother, for this is not my calling; but I must go and do it for it is my Lord's will."

Like Baudricourt, the knight asked her, "Who is your lord?" and she answered, "He is God." But, unlike

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27Clemens, op. cit., I, 24.

Baudricourt, he was touched by her words. In the old feudal fashion, he laid his hands within hers and vowed that by God's help he would take her to the King. Another worthy gentleman, Bertrand de Poulengy, gave a like promise. 29

In almost the exact words, Twain recorded this same event:

"What are you doing here, my little maid? Will they drive the King out of France, and shall we all turn English?"
She answered him in her tranquil, serious way:
"I am come to bid Robert de Baudricourt take or send me to the King, but he does not heed my words."

"What is your hope and purpose?"
"To rescue France. And it is appointed that I shall do it. For no one else in the world, neither kings, nor dukes, nor any other, can recover the Kingdom of France, and there is no help but in me."

Joan dropped her voice a little and said: "But indeed I would rather spin with my poor mother, for this is not my calling; but I must go and do it for it is my Lord's will."
"Who is your Lord?"
"He is God."

Then the Sieur de Metz, following the impressive old feudal fashion, knelt and laid his hands within Joan's in sign of fealty, and made oath that by God's help he himself would take her to the King.

The next day came the Sieur Bertrand de Poulengy, and he also pledged his oath and knightly honor to abide with her and follow whithersoever she might lead. 30

There is also a great deal of similarity in the trial scenes. The only noticeable difference in this part of the two books is that Twain has revised some incidents and included Sieur Louis de Conte as a witness of Joan's trial and execution. Although he states that the third part of

29 Ibid., pp. 30-31.
30 Samuel L. Clemens, Joan of Arc, I, 92-94.
his book was based upon extensive historical research, Twain included within it the original dramatic and patriotic tones found within Tuckey's Joan of Arc. The following comparison is offered as one of many such possible illustrations:

"Ah Joan," [the Bishop] answered, "be patient. You die because you have not kept the promise you gave us, and because you have returned to your former iniquities."

"Alas," she said, "if you had put me in a prison of the Church, and given me a right and proper keeper, this would not have happened. Therefore I appeal against you before God."  

Twain's interpretation of this scene is as follows:

"Ah, be patient, Joan. You die because you have not kept your promise, but have returned to your sins."

"Alas," she said, "if you had put me in the Church's prison, and given me right and proper keepers as you promised, this would not have happened. And for this I summon you to answer before God."

There is also a similarity in the two accounts of Joan's dying words. Tuckey's Joan exclaims, "Ah, Rouen, Rouen! I fear thou wilt have to suffer for my death!" Twain's Joan vows, "Ah, Rouen, Rouen, I have great fear that you will suffer for my death!" Evidence indicates that Twain adapted Tuckey's Joan of Arc for his own use, adding fictitious characters and incidents as he saw fit. Perhaps this is the

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31 Ferguson, op. cit., p. 260.  
32 Tuckey, op. cit., p. 194.  
33 Samuel L. Clemens, Joan of Arc, II, 272.  
34 Tuckey, op. cit., p. 198.  
35 Samuel L. Clemens, Joan of Arc, II, 281.
explanation for the presence of emotionalism and sentimentalism within a book by an elderly, embittered man. Twain's Conclusion is practically a revision of Tuckey's concluding section entitled "The End of the War—The Trial of Atonement." In the appendix to her book, Tuckey refers to books on Joan by Quicherat, Michelet, and Wallon36; these same historians, among others, are cited by Twain as the authorities whom he consulted. According to Alexander Cowie, it was not like Twain to enter into laborious research. He further stated that this was the opinion of numerous other critics.37 It appears likely that Twain entered into little actual research on the life of Joan of Arc and that, instead, he made a Twainian revision of Tuckey's book.

In Twain's Joan of Arc, there are many minor characters who seem to be modeled after such typical characters as the farmers, the bullies, and the roughnecks of Twain's personal acquaintance. Also, within the book may be found notable comparisons to some of the characters who were residing in the West when Twain was there. There appears to be a Missourian air about quite a few of these minor characters. In some instances, they also tend to resemble characters from other books written by Twain.38


38 Ferguson, op. cit., p. 262.
Aubrey, the maire, is portrayed in a realistic light. His geniality and general warm-heartedness cause him to be a welcomed guest wherever he may be. That he excels in diplomacy is evident by his ability to win old Jacques d'Arc to his side concerning the matter of giving food to the stranger who came to his house one dark and dreary night. 39

Another minor character portrayed realistically is Dame Aubrey, the wife of Aubrey and the mother of Edmond Aubrey, otherwise known as the Paladin. She is portrayed as a gossip. 40 Though of little significance within the book as a whole, Dame Aubrey is a vivid characterization.

Pere Guillaume Fronte, the priest who cared for Sieur Louis de Conte during his youth, is portrayed in a revealing manner. His varied duties as a priest are clearly portrayed. There are various references to his good nature and joviality. He is depicted as a wise and understanding person; yet he is capable of making mistakes, which causes him to appear even more human.

Since Joan's personal friends are, for the most part, stereotyped, those who play only a minor role will be discussed at this time. Consequently, a deviation in character portrayal occurs at this point. Fewer elements of realism are present. Many of these characters are dull and stiff; some even lack credibility.

39 Clemens, Joan of Arc, I, 29-32.

40 Ibid., p. 15.
One of the most vividly described of all the minor characters is Joan's friend, Etienne Roze, whose nickname is the Sunflower because of his "yellow hair and round pock-marked face."\(^{41}\) Unfortunately, his speech is quite unconvincing. It is as though he were a puppet, manipulated by strings.

There are five girls who are supposedly close friends of Joan's. Marie Dupont and Cecile Leleillier, however, are only mentioned on one page of this book and add nothing at all to the story. Haumette and Mengette, though more fully portrayed, are both unconvincing. They appear to be merely shallow reflections of Joan. At all times, Joan's will is their will; therefore, they seem to lack realistic qualities and, instead, are merely paper manikins. Catherine Boucher is similarly portrayed. It is as though Twain's adoration for Joan was so strong that he could not bear to create another feminine character who might be comparable.

Laxart, Joan's uncle, as well as her personal friend, is definitely a typical Twainian character. Though a country peasant, he is full of boyish pride, while displaying some ignorance and awkwardness. His personality is most fully displayed in his tale concerning the bull's unwelcomed entrance upon a funeral procession.\(^{42}\)

As a whole, the d'Arc family possesses no signs of credibility; yet Joan's father, Jacques d'Arc, is portrayed in a manner which shows

\(^{41}\)Ibid., p. 37.  
\(^{42}\)Ibid., II, 61-62.
tendencies toward realism. His habit of swearing and his selfish attitude concerning giving handouts to passers-by are realistic details. His conversation with Aubrey concerning political conditions in Domremy and the fact that he had a temper add further realism to the characterization. On some occasions, however, d'Arc's portrayal is distorted, and at times his actions are unconvincing.

Jean, Pierre, and young Jacques d'Arc are alike; all three of them are unrealistic. They appear to have no mind of their own, but to agree with Joan on all issues. Only young Jacques is portrayed as having any reasoning ability.

Isabel d'Arc, Joan's mother, plays an insignificant role. She is a poorly conceived character, superfluous to the development of the story.

The characters assuming the more important roles within the book, are extremely weak literary creations, lacking almost all elements of realism. On the whole, they have no depth of character. Twain is guilty of over-simplification in the creation of these characters, most of whom are either all good or all bad.

La Hire is portrayed in an entirely different manner, however. He is introduced, first of all, as a French soldier who has acquired, throughout the years, all the bad habits which accompany military life.

43 Ibid., I, 32.  
44 Ibid., p. 54.
Yet this man is portrayed as being so impressed with Joan of Arc that he almost immediately changes into a person of an entirely different nature. That such an utter change should occur within such a brief span of time seems incredible. After this change, melodrama seems to prevail in his actions and statements. He becomes a comparatively stiff character.

There is also a certain amount of crudeness in the characterization of the Duke of Alençon, the King's cousin. Though there are some signs of an insinuated platonic relationship existing between Joan and him, it is quite clear that Joan of Arc is the recipient of all praise and glory. Thus the Duke of Alençon is nothing more than another mechanical manikin, set up for the purpose of enhancing the life and deeds of Joan herself.

The Dauphin, the King of France, is portrayed in two contrasting lights, neither of which is complimentary. At first, he is thought of as being a rather weak and unintelligent person who answers to the dictates of others' wishes. Later on, however, he is considered an evil, thoughtless ruler who thinks only of his own selfish desires. The Dauphin is a shallow character. His entire characterization is weak and lacking in verisimilitude. He is merely a puppet, dependent on the puppet master for all his actions.

La Tremoille, the Dauphin's advisor and Joan's bitter adversary, is pictured as an extremely vile character. Yet he lacks the qualities essential to authentic portrayal. He, also, is comparable to a puppet in his actions.

In Twain's opinion, Cauchon, an extremely important character in the third part of the book, is Satan in disguise. He is portrayed as being the most cruel and the most vile of all men, as is illustrated by Twain's statement that "Cauchon was more than [a brute]."46 Necessary elements of realism are lacking in the portrayal of this character because of Twain's refusal to recognize the actual facts concerning Cauchon's part in the trial and conviction of Joan.

One of the characters closest to Joan and her friends, supposedly, is Noel Rainguesson. His statements and comments are meant to be of a most revealing nature, as his goal seems to be to defend the good and condemn the evil. As for the elements of realism in his character portrayal, there is present throughout this book a constant force which seems to bring about a slow deterioration of these qualities, until he is finally revealed as possessing all the conventional marks of a Missouri farmer.

Joan's compatriot Edmond Aubrey, commonly referred to as the Paladin because of his constant bragging about "the armies he was . . .

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46 Ibid., II, 207.
going to eat up some day,"\textsuperscript{47} is definitely a comic character. Whether in armor or not, he is nothing more than a clumsy Missourian. At the same time, however, he has much in common with the comic characters of \textit{A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court}.\textsuperscript{48}

The narrator of the \textit{Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc}, Sieur Louis de Conte, is inadequately realized, being merely a stiff cardboard image of Mark Twain. His pessimism regarding the human race,\textsuperscript{49} and his adoration for Joan parallel Twain's. De Conte contributes nothing to the action within the story himself. Instead, he is created solely for the purpose of recording the life and deeds of Joan of Arc. Thus, to anyone familiar with the facts concerning his association with Joan, his characterization appears as nothing more than burlesque and fable.

Joan of Arc, the heroine, is the weakest and the least realistic character in the book. She is introduced in a manner which causes her to appear to be on this earth, yet dwelling above it in all her saintly glory. Though Twain may have actually attempted to present a true picture of Joan, she is greatly sentimentalized. She does exhibit some few womanly characteristics; for the most part, however, she is a dainty, saintly doll.

\textsuperscript{47}Ibid., I, 38.

\textsuperscript{48}Helen Harriet Salls, "Joan of Arc in English and American Literature," \textit{The South Atlantic Quarterly}, XXV (April, 1936), 175-176.

\textsuperscript{49}Bellamy, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 348.
Joan is portrayed as inhumanly good, for, to Twain, she is a "little fighting saint." Her good qualities are illustrated by the apocryphal stories found in the first part of this book: beauty, bravery, patriotism, humanitarianism, and intelligence are all established by means of incidents in her early life. The veil of mysticism cast about her is crude and unconvincing.

The actions of all the characters within this book evolve around Joan. For the most part, these characters, including Joan herself, lack depth of character. There is, furthermore, a specific purpose for the actions of all the other characters, which is to enrich and enliven Joan's characterization. It must be admitted that they fail to achieve this purpose.

In a letter to Henry Rogers, written shortly after the completion of Joan of Arc, Mark Twain made the following statement: "... the family agree I have succeeded [in the writing of this book]." The entire Clemens family, especially Mrs. Clemens and Susy, held the book in high esteem. The special interest exhibited by Susy for the Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc was partly the result of her sensitive

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50 Salls, "Joan of Arc in English and American Literature," op. cit., p. 176.

51 Samuel L. Clemens, Mark Twain's Letters, II, 624.

52 Bernard DeVoto, Mark Twain's America (Boston, 1932), p. 269.
feelings concerning the manner in which Joan withdrew from her childish activities, in order to begin carrying out her purpose in life. 53

Mark Twain also felt strongly about this book; in fact, he went so far as to say:

I like Joan of Arc best of all my books; and it is the best. I know it perfectly well. And besides, it furnished me seven times the pleasure afforded me by any of the others; twelve years of preparation, and two years of writing. The others needed no preparation, and got none. 54

It seems that Twain convinced himself, at any rate, that this book was as great as he considered it to be.

Only praise is found in a critique by a close relative, Cyril Clemens, who made the following comment:

The story of Joan's life which was brief as a sputtering of a candle was exquisitely told and, much more important than anything else, had made Joan a creature of flesh and blood. Twain showed that one who is gay, cheerful, and full of laughter can be a saint at the same time. He showed also that humor, as a worthy attribute of great character, can be a source of salvation. 55

He could scarcely qualify as an objective critic.

The same spirit of optimism reigned within the heart of Albert Bigelow Paine, a literary critic of the 1800's who was a close associate of Mark Twain. Paine referred to the Personal Recollections of Joan of


54Ferguson, op. cit., p. xx.

55Cyril Clemens, "Mark Twain's Joan of Arc," op. cit., p. 324.
Arc as the most important work of Twain's later life and, in some respects, as his most important literary creation of any time. Paine's flowery praise of this book is carried to a more exalted level in the Introduction to Joan of Arc. In his opinion, Twain has created a lovely saint who is also a human being. He further states that this book signifies "Mark Twain's supreme literary expression—the loftiest, the most delicate, the most luminous example of his work." Within Paine's The Boy's Life of Mark Twain, Paine also praised this book, referring to it as "a tale told with the deepest sympathy and the rarest delicacy." Paine predicted that some day this book would be as popular as any other of Mark Twain's works, if not more popular. Needless to say, it is one of his least popular ones.

Although a close personal friend, William Dean Howells could see the weaknesses that had been overlooked by others of Twain's friends. The central weakness of Joan of Arc, as pointed out by Howells, is Twain's lack of ability to reproduce realistically that which he visualized mentally. He mentioned the ever-present lack of realism within this book whose characters are, for the most part, lifeless beings. Though

57 Samuel L. Clemens, Joan of Arc, I, xix.
59 Paine, Mark Twain, III, 1227.
Howells was close to Twain, his ability as a literary critic apparently enabled him to recognize the fact that Twain's sentimental reverence for Joan prevented him from writing about her successfully. 60

Henry Rogers, a friend who served as financial advisor to Twain throughout his later life, quickly recognized the weaknesses of Joan of Arc. He admitted that Twain's excessive reverence for Joan and his lack of invention caused the book to be a failure. 61

Within a biographical criticism of Mark Twain, Brander Mathews referred to this book as "a reverent and sympathetic study of the bravest figure in all French history." 62 He mentioned, however, that Twain is not shown at his best in this book, which is the least characteristic of his books, 63 because of his effort to elevate and honor Joan.

As early as the 1930's, better criticism began to appear. R. Ellis Rogers referred to this book as "an ambitious, rather rigid failure." 64 William L. Phelps pointed out that Twain, though incurably sentimental, hated sentimentality, which is a major element of Joan of Arc. 65

60 Ferguson, op. cit., p. 261. 61 Ibid., p. 260.


63 Ibid., pp. xv-xviii.

64 R. Ellis Roberts, "Mark Twain," The Fortnightly, new series, CXLIIV (December, 1935), 591.

Carl Van Doren was quick to recognize the shortcomings of the book. He stated that it tended to be a dull stereotype of other books of this type written during the 1890's in America, and pointed out that this book deviated sharply from Twain's usual style of writing. Van Doren considered the background authentic, yet stated that only the final third of the book showed any signs of realism. Concerning the trial scene, he wrote: "... Twain reaches realism, by casting his biased idealistic ideas aside, in order to make room for the facts dealing with the trial, based on original records, which allows the romantic boundaries to be broken." 

George Bernard Shaw, who himself wrote on Joan, criticized Twain's Joan as "a beautiful and most ladylike Victorian" who was "skirted to the ground and with as many pretty petticoats as Noah's wife in a toy ark."

According to De Lancey Ferguson, Twain's first blunder was in trying to relate the story of Joan of Arc in the first person. In his opinion, no actual need for background was created by Twain. He also stated that the characters within this book are, for the most part, far


67Ibid., p. 144.

68Ibid., p. 154.

69DeVoto, op. cit., p. 280.

70Ferguson, op. cit., p. 261.
from convincing. Details are stressed which, in his opinion, are of little or no importance to the development of the story. Twain's over-emphasis on the military costumes and the battles caused Ferguson to state that there was a direct similarity between this book and the historical romances of Sir Walter Scott.  

Bernard DeVoto made a detailed study of Twain's Joan of Arc. While referring to the book as mediocre, he pointed out that Twain's skill is evident in the devices and inventions of romantic fiction. DeVoto called special attention to the gorgeous spectacles within this book. Yet, he pointed out that these descriptions were not of medieval France, but of Missouri, during Twain's boyhood. He commented further that the peasants and nobles are, for the most part, of the same nature as the farmers and the gentry of Hannibal. DeVoto called attention to Mark Twain's susceptibility to "Joaniology." At the same time, he named the Catholic Church as the intended villain of this pseudo-historical romance.  

Alexander Cowie began his discussion of Joan of Arc by pointing out that it was a pure romance, moderately fitting the 1890's, with its period of economic depression. He considered Twain's forceful

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71Ibid., pp. 260-261.
73Cowie, op. cit., p. 628.
descriptions of military operations, along with other colorful descriptions, essential to the enhancement of the literary worth of this book, and praised Twain's ability to describe historical events in such vivid detail. Cowie further pointed out that, just as Twain idealized Joan, he also used her as a means by which he could express his hatred of injustice. Though Cowie did not wholeheartedly agree that Twain was a frustrated idealist, he did call to mind the fact that Twain's open adoration of Joan's sainthood is overstated, as well as quite inept, for one so famed for his iconoclasm. 74

In Cowie's opinion, Twain's exaggeration is one of the main weaknesses of this book, 75 noticeable, especially, in the characters whom Twain represented as all good or all evil. 76 Attention was also called to the fact that the book opens in "a blaze of overstatement," 77 which is quite unbefitting a proposed factual history. Thus, according to Cowie, the background is totally unbelievable. 78

Edward Wagenknecht stated that: "Mark Twain's admiration for Joan was lifelong, and he could not resist the temptation to sentimentalize her; even her childhood companions must take up a worshipful attitude

74 Ibid., pp. 628-629.  
75 Ibid.  
76 Ibid., p. 631.  
77 Ibid., p. 627.  
78 Ibid.
toward her. . . ."79 Critics generally agree that Twain's excessive sentimentality toward Joan is, to a great extent, responsible for the major weakness of this book. At the same time, Wagenknecht called attention to Twain's infusion of his own ideas concerning Joan with historical facts. As to the personal significance of this book for Twain, he stated: "... Above all, this is a book which must be taken into account by anyone who would understand one whole side of Mark Twain, the Mark Twain who adored Olivia Langdon, and who was capable of a tenderness to match his rages. . . ."80

Certainly it is true that Joan of Arc should be read by every scholar of American literature, if for no other reason than to see Mark Twain in a light which was known by so few people. Yet, there are actually many good qualities within this book. For instance, the Twainian style of writing, so distinctly present in the second literary division of this book, deserves favorable mention. Numerous successful literary techniques typical of Twain may be found within this book, for example: "Then [the Paladin] bowed low and when he rose he was eleven feet high. . . ."81

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80 Ibid.

81 Samuel L. Clemens, Joan of Arc, I, 218.
Twain often employed the pyramid style of writing in which a group of sentences lead up to a climactic sentence, usually one of great dramatic intensity. Suspense, therefore, is achieved in many pages of this book. Descriptions of scenes and events are sometimes forceful and vivid.

Some of the characters are capably portrayed, such as the elderly French soldier begging for food at the d'Arc home and the young Frenchman desiring his freedom from the Burgundians. Aubrey, the maire, and his wife are also fairly realistic characters, displaying many human traits. A few other of the characters show a tendency toward realism, on certain occasions. Consequently, the book is not a complete failure.

One must realize, however, that the weaknesses of the Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc vastly outnumber its good qualities. First of all, the book is begun in a blast of overstatement, which is a clear indication that Twain definitely lacked the ability to reproduce realistically what he had visualized mentally for so many years. Due to the close reverence he felt for Joan, Twain was not qualified to write objectively of her life.

As has already been brought out, the characters within this book are, for the most part, lifeless. Most of them may be classed in one of two extremes: all good or all evil. Consequently, almost all of the characters appear to be merely stiff cardboard puppets. Joan of Arc, however, is the weakest character of all, for she is the least realistically conceived.
Many details are stressed which are of little or no importance to the development of the story. Tedious descriptions which are totally unnecessary are also scattered throughout the book. On many occasions, important descriptions are related in a manner which tends to weaken the structure.

Mark Twain pictured the life and deeds of Joan as a magnificent drama. In one place he stated that "the first war-march of Joan of Arc was begun, the curtain was up." 82 He made a similar inference, while stating that "Joan of Arc had stepped upon her stage at last, and was ready to begin." 83 He referred to Joan's capture in the following manner: "The 24th of May. We will draw down the curtain now upon the most strange, and pathetic, and wonderful military drama that has been played upon the stage of the world. Joan of Arc will march no more." 84

82 Ibid., p. 183.  
83 Ibid., p. 201.  
84 Ibid., II, 99.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Mark Twain's entire family considered the Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc to be a great book,¹ and Twain himself considered it the best of his books.² It was held in extremely high regard by his wife, Olivia.³ His daughter Susy was emotionally affected by her father's portrayal of Joan.⁴ Many of Twain's personal associates spoke highly of the book.

The question which inevitably arises is this: Why did Mark Twain, along with his family and many of his friends, look upon Joan of Arc as a great literary accomplishment, while posterity has rated the book a failure, an illustration of Twain's literary limitations? The answer to this question is apparent: when persons are emotionally attached to a book, as Twain and his family were to this book, their critical perceptions are impaired. Undoubtedly, many of Twain's friends did not criticize the book because they were aware of his personal sentimentalism concerning it.


²Ibid.

³Bernard DeVoto, Mark Twain's America (Boston, 1932), p. 269.

From the time he was a small boy in Hannibal, Mark Twain worshiped Joan of Arc. The strange effect of this figure of French history upon his emotional being is aptly recorded in the book: "... Joan of Arc! The mere sound of it sets one's pulses leaping."

In 1854, Twain first dreamed of a pure young girl, to whom he referred as his "platonic sweetheart." This "real person," about whom he dreamed on the average of once every two years after 1854, was the image of Joan of Arc. While on board the Quaker City, he saw a miniature portrait of Olivia Langdon which, in his opinion, resembled the ideal woman. It is probable that there was some resemblance in this portrait to his dream image. At any rate, Olivia Langdon Clemens became the physical symbol of Twain's spiritual love for Joan, and he worshiped her accordingly. One of the many ways in which he exemplified his high regard for her was by allowing her the honor of being his Joan within the Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc.

5Coleman O. Parsons, "The Devil and Samuel Clemens," The Virginia Quarterly Review, XXIII (October, 1947), 600.


8Ibid., p. 300.

To anyone familiar with Olivia Langdon Clemens's physical features, as well as Twain's manner of describing them, the resemblance between Olivia and Twain's Joan of Arc is immediately noticeable. For instance, he referred to Joan as "the heroic little figure"\(^\text{10}\) with "eyes [that] were deep and rich and wonderful beyond anything merely earthly."\(^\text{11}\) She was also called "a spirit."\(^\text{12}\) Similar references made by Twain concerning Olivia may be found in his letters to her.\(^\text{13}\)

The \textit{Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc} may be interpreted as a literary panorama of various incidents occurring within the lives of Olivia Langdon and Mark Twain. These two are the main characters of this book. Joan is portrayed by Olivia, while Mark, a versatile personality, portrays, among others, La Hire, the Paladin, and Sieur Louis de Conte.

In the guise of La Hire, Twain is exhibiting his own masculine traits and, at the same time, is burlesquing many of his own actions. It may be that Twain is burlesquing some of the lofty ideals which Olivia tried to enforce upon him shortly after their marriage. For instance, just as she attempted to convert Twain into a better Christian by having him say grace, lead in family worship, and abstain from the use of

\(^{10}\)Clemens, \textit{Joan of Arc}, I, 165.  
\(^{11}\)\textit{Ibid.}, p. 291.  
\(^{12}\)\textit{Ibid.}, II, 39.  
\(^{13}\)Clemens, \textit{Love Letters}, pp. 23, 46, 71.
profane language, Joan attempts to convert La Hire. Concerning Joan's actions toward La Hire, Twain states: "... She made [him] pray..." An even more significant account of this attempt at converting La Hire follows: "... Joan worked earnestly and tirelessly to bring La Hire to God—to remove him from the bondage of sin—to breathe into his stormy heart the serenity and peace of religion..." These and similar passages were particularly meaningful to the Clemens family, who had actually lived through such a situation.

There is a noticeable similarity in Joan's effect on La Hire and in Olivia Clemens's effect on Twain. Within Joan of Arc Twain states:

... [Joan] ... could speak peace to storms of passion and be obeyed; ... could make the doubter believe and the hopeless hope again; ... could purify the impure mind; ... could persuade—ah, there it is—persuasion! ... 16

While still courting Olivia, Twain wrote a letter to her in which he made the following remark, concerning the effect she had on him:

"For once, at least, in the idle years that have drifted over me, I have seen the world all beautiful and known what it is to hope..." 17 This is only one of many possible illustrations of the similarity existing within the Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc and the personal life of

14Clemens, Joan of Arc, I, 191.

15Ibid., p. 190. 16Ibid., p. 206.

17Clemens, Love Letters, pp. 18-19.
Mark Twain and his family. It is easy to realize how such resemblances would be cherished by the sentimental Clemens family.

Elements of romance are evident within the section of this book concerning Joan and La Hire. Olivia may have blushed, recalling the time she was introduced to Mark, as Twain gathered his family about him and read:

When La Hire entered, one could see the surprise in his face at Joan's beauty and extreme youth, and one could see, too, by Joan's glad smile, that it made her happy to get sight of this hero of her childhood at last. La Hire bowed low, with his helmet in his gauntleted hand, and made a bluff but handsome little speech with hardly an oath in it, and one could see that those two took to each other on the spot. 18

It is probable that the Clemens family was affected by the narrative when, some minutes later, the following paragraph from Joan of Arc was related to them by Twain:

Joan and [La Hire] were inseparable, and a quaint and pleasant contrast they made. He was so big, she so little; he was so gray and so far along in his pilgrimage of life, she so youthful; his face was so bronzed and scarred, hers so fair and pink, so fresh and smooth; she was so gracious, and he so stern; she was so pure, so innocent, he such a encyclopedia of sin. In her eye was stored all charity and compassion, in his lightnings; when her glance fell upon you it seemed to bring benediction and the peace of God, but with his it was different, generally. 19

Within this particular paragraph, there is a distinct similarity in the physical features of Joan and La Hire to those of Livy and Twain. The

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18 Clemens, Joan of Arc, I, 185-186. 19 Ibid., p. 190.
manner in which the general natures of the former are described is a realistic description of the personalities of Livy and Twain. This must have been evident to the Clemens family.

In portraying himself as the Paladin, Mark Twain apparently attempted to reveal his humorous nature and, for the most part, he was successful. It seems that he also burlesqued his manner of exaggerating facts, by means of such statements as "... [The Paladin] was not lying consciously; he believed what he was saying. ..." 20 That, in the guise of the Paladin, Twain was actually attempting to predict the reception of the book is suggested by the remark that "... Nobody believed [the Paladin’s] narrative, but all believed that he believed it. ..." 21 Thus, Twain’s personality is reflected through the Paladin by the similarity in the extravagant tales, the intended sincerity of his untruths, and his abandoned imagination. 22

At the same time, by developing the Paladin’s relationship to Joan, Twain seemed to be calling attention to his awkwardness as compared to his wife’s dainty grace. He may also have wished to portray the humility he felt when comparing himself to Olivia, who was saint-like, in his opinion. By this means he paid homage to Livy in no little way.

Within Joan of Arc, there are revealed, on certain occasions, deep tones of pessimism. For the most part, these are evident in the statements

20Ibid., p. 152.

21Ibid.

made by Sieur Louis de Conte, who is another personification of Mark Twain, whose gloomy and depressing nature is thus revealed.

The *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc* also includes a noticeable element of Mississippi folklore. A timely illustration may be found in Laxart's hilarious account of a bull that disrupted a funeral procession. Actually, this same tale is recorded in George Washington Harris's *Sut Lovingood Yarns* as Sicily Burns's unintentional encounter with a bull, which resulted in the disruption of a wedding. 23 It is known that Twain had read this book of yarns, for, in a letter printed in the California Alta, on July 14, 1847, he made the following statement concerning Harris and his stories:

> I have before me [Harris's] book, just forwarded by Dick and Fitzgerald, the publishers, New York. It contains all his early sketches that used to be so popular in the West, . . . together with many new ones. 24

Twain evidently borrowed this folktale for his own use, since all the essentials of Harris's folktale are found within Laxart's tale in *Joan of Arc*. 25

Within the pages of this book, Twain evidently recalled incidents which occurred in his life prior to the time he met Olivia Langdon. For instance, it is probable that there is some relation between the various

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references to the conditions of war in Joan of Arc and his own personal recollections of the Civil War.

It seems reasonable to assume that Joan of Arc was considered by Twain to be a great literary masterpiece primarily because of his personal relationship to the characters, events, and places brought out in the book. Bernard DeVoto has stated that "Fifteenth-century France under Joan of Arc is Hannibal..." 26 The description of Domremy suggests a small town in the United States:

Our Domremy was like any other humble little hamlet of that remote time and region. It was a maze of crooked, narrow lanes and alleys shaded and sheltered by the overhanging thatch roofs of barnlike houses... 27

Domremy might pass for Hannibal, for Domremy is described as being situated near a great oak forest and timber was one of Hannibal's leading natural resources. 28 Mark Twain might have been picturing the Mississippi in his mind, and fondly recalling his childhood adventures while stating that the Meuse, flowing by the village of Domremy, served as a constant source of fun and enjoyment to the children of this small hamlet.

The Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc is filled with many precious memories which have personal meanings for the Clemens family.


27 Clemens, Joan of Arc, I, 7.

and their closest friends. For this reason the book was dear to them. They could identify themselves with many of the characters because, in numerous instances, they were the originals of these characters. This book concerning Twain's idol, Joan of Arc, is on one level an auto-biographical account of the life and deeds of Mark Twain and his immediate family. It was, in fact, so dear to the Clemens family that few critics of Twain's generation dared to find fault with it. Within the present century, however, it has been severely criticized. Contemporary critics find it replete with literary faults, but of significant value as a revelation of the personal life and character of its author.
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