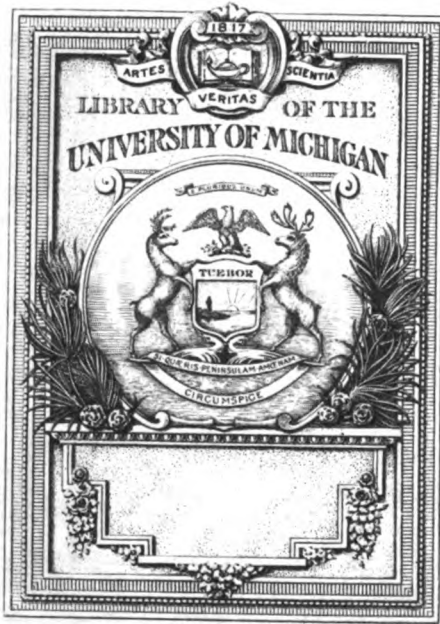




*Memoirs of Jeanne d'Arc,
surnamed La Pucelle d'Orleans*



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MEMOIRS
OF
JEANNE D'ARC.

LONDON:
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... d. Sic to Charles VIIth at Chinon.

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M E M O I R S
 OF
JEANNE D'ARC,
 SURNAMED
LA PUCELLE D'ORLEANS;
 WITH THE
HISTORY OF HER TIMES.



IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

By W. H. Ireland.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR ROBERT TRIPHOOK,
 OLD BOND STREET.

1824. m1

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HISTORY
OF
JEANNE D'ARC,
LA PUCELLE D'ORLEANS,
FROM
THE SIEGE OF ORLEANS, IN 1428,
TO
THE PERIOD OF HER EXECUTION, IN 1431.

VOL. II.

b

HISTORY,

ETC. ETC.

ON the ninth of May, 1429, being the day after the siege of Orleans was raised, Jeanne d'Arc prepared to leave the city; upon which occasion, in order to testify her gratitude towards her host and his family, she presented to them the white satin hat, edged with gold, which she wore when dressed in man's apparel, but not in armour. On Tuesday the tenth of May, Jeanne arrived at Blois, being very anxious to present herself to the king. The fame of her victorious career was already the subject of conversation at court; every one felt anxious to behold her again; and, according to the old chroniclers, "*Charles lui fit moult grant chiere, et la reçut à grant honneur*—Charles feasted her nobly, and received her with great honour;" and all the courtiers, if reliance may be placed upon the same authorities, for once paid their homage to genius and to virtue.

On arriving at Loches, where the monarch then

resided, La Pucelle, throwing herself at his feet, expressed herself in these words : “ *Gentil Dauphin, voilà le siège d’Orléans levé, qui est la première chose dont j’ai eu commandement, de la part du Roi du ciel, pour le bien de votre service ; reste maintenant à vous mener à Rheims en toute sureté, pour y être sacré et couronné. Ne faites aucun doute que vous n’y soyez très bien reçu, et qu’après cela vos affaires n’aillent toujours prospérant, et que tout ce que j’ai eu ordre, de la part du Roi du ciel, de vous dire et assurer, n’arrive en temps et lieu.* Comely Dauphin, now is the siege of Orleans raised, which is the first act I was commanded to execute, on the part of the King of heaven, for your benefit ; it now remains for me to conduct you in safety to Rheims, to be there anointed and crowned. Do not entertain a doubt but you will be well received, and that afterwards your affairs will invariably continue to prosper ; and every thing which has been ordered me by the King of heaven to communicate and to assure you, will come to pass in time and place.”*

* The enterprise of conducting the king to Rheims was attended with many difficulties. It was absolutely necessary to traverse more than seventy leagues of a country, all the cities of which, not excepting Rheims, were garrisoned by English and Burgundian troops ; to cross three principal rivers, the Loire, the Seine, and the Marne, besides many inferior streams ; and to lay siege to every town from Loches to Rheims, which it was impossible to effect from the want

Indecision appears to have been the prevailing characteristic of Charles VII., at least during that period of his life on which we are writing. One might

of heavy artillery and the necessary pecuniary supplies.* To consider of these impediments, several councils were held, which La Pucelle was not allowed to attend; and great indecision and difference of opinion were evinced as to the course of conduct that should be pursued. In this state of incertitude the king left the council-chamber without coming to any determination, and retired to his cabinet, where he summoned his confessor, Christophe de Harcourt, the bishop of Castres, and the lord de Treves, formerly chancellor of France, who, on account of his advanced age, had retired from that eminent post. Thus circumstanced, they were undetermined whether to admit La Pucelle or not; but Jeanne, impatient of delay, knocked at the door, demanding admission, and when in presence of the king, bespoke him as above, &c.—*Lenglet*, vol. i. p. 78.

Luchet, at page 19, says, “What had the king to apprehend when La Pucelle was at the head of his armies? His majesty, as void of confidence as he was ungrateful, left the council in a state of uncertainty, and shut himself up with his confessor, the bishop of Castres, and the lord de Treves, a mere simpleton, who had been displaced from the post of chancellor on account of his incapacity to undertake any affair of moment.”

And the same author, in the following page, says, “This

* When the march to Rheims was undertaken, notwithstanding the recent successes obtained, the king could only compass the payment of *three francs* for each man at arms.—See *Chartier*, page 28; *Chronique de France*, page 341; *Histoire de la Pucelle*, page 520.

have imagined that, after these memorable events, his confidence in Jeanne d'Arc would have been unbounded; but such did not prove the case. Instead of taking advantage of the first impulse of enthusiasm to lead his armies on from one victory to another, he became a prey to his wonted listlessness. Time moved with celerity; each day idly spent seemed an irreparable loss to Jeanne d'Arc, and that more particularly, as she frequently remarked to the king, because her mission was circumscribed to about a year, and it was therefore essential to place that period to the best account. Charles VII. being one day engaged with his council in close consultation, Jeanne d'Arc, giving way to impatience, knocked at the door of the apartment in which the ministers were assembled, when the king, on hearing that it was La Pucelle, ordered her to enter. Jeanne, advancing with humble and modest demeanour, knelt before the monarch, and thus addressed him: "*Noble Dauphin, ne tenez plus tant et de si longs conseils; mais venez au plutôt à Rheims prendre votre digne couronne* : Noble Dauphin, do not con-

interview" with Jeanne d'Arc "produced more effect upon the mind of the king than all the reasons previously adduced by his counsellors, to whom he sent word that he should proceed to Rheims, notwithstanding the difficulties that presented themselves, and that they were to prepare to follow him."

tinue these long councils, but rather proceed with expedition to Rheims and receive your rightful crown." The bishop of Castres inquired whether it was by order of her counsel that she spake in this manner to the king, whereto she answered in the affirmative; adding, that her celestial adviser pressed her very much to make this communication to his majesty. The bishop then demanded if she would further explain herself, when La Pucelle replied, blushing deeply, "I know very well all that you are desirous of learning, and I will freely tell you."—"Will it please you, Jeanne," said the king, "to declare what has passed in the council?" La Pucelle, without hesitation, immediately said, that whensoever she felt displeased on account of what she uttered on the part of God being discredited, she retired to a bye-place to offer prayers to the Divinity, and to complain to him of the want of faith that was manifested in respect to her mission; and that she then heard a voice uttering the following words: "*Fille de Dieu, va! va! Je serai à ton aide. Va!* Daughter of God, go, go! I shall be ready to assist thee. Go!" That when she heard this voice she felt excessive joy, and that she was desirous of always continuing in that state. While delivering these words, her countenance beamed with the most lively satisfaction, and she raised her eyes to heaven.

Notwithstanding this, several princes of the blood-

royal, and among the rest the duke d'Alençon, who was very desirous of being put into possession of his ducal territories, gave it as his opinion, that Charles ought not as yet to undertake the expedition to Rheims, but that the conquest of Normandy should be attempted. These plans were the result of common-place policy: it was not understood that in following the advice of Jeanne d'Arc, and adopting a vigorous and daring line of conduct, all the calculations of the enemy would be frustrated. La Pucelle, however, more deeply imbued with the subject, uniformly persisted in her entreaties, in opposition to the king's generals and counsellors, that Charles should proceed to Rheims, there to be anointed and crowned;* adding that,

* Lenglet, (p. 79,) makes La Pucelle address Charles in the following words, differing from those of our text: "*Noble Dauphin, ne tenez plus de si longs conseils, mais préparez vous pour vous acheminer à Rheims, recevoir une digne couronne, symbole et marque de la réunion de votre état et de tous vos sujets à votre obéissance*: Noble Dauphin, desist from holding such long councils, but prepare for your journey to Rheims, to receive a rightful crown, the symbol and mark of the return of your state and subjects to your obedience." Luchet, (p. 19,) in adverting to the above, shrewdly remarks: "We are not acquainted with the author of this little harangue!" and certainly the concluding sentence is very unlike the style of delivery usually attributed to Jeanne d'Arc.

Hume, speaking of the proposition to repair to Rheims, remarks, that had it been made a few weeks before, it would have

this solemn act once performed, the prosperity of the English would gradually decline. At length Charles VII., in compliance with the desires of Jeanne, promised to undertake the expedition to Rheims as soon as the English should be driven from the posts which they still occupied on the Loire above and below the city of Orleans. About this period one of the brothers of Jeanne d'Arc joined the maid, in order to share the glory of her warlike operations. This was in all probability Jean d'Arc; for Pierre d'Arc was already in company with his sister, and we do not find from history that Jacquemin d'Arc ever quitted the paternal roof.

Every thing was soon prepared for the expedition, and the forces set forward in order to lay siege before Jargeau. The duke d'Alençon, count Du-nois, admiral Culan, La Hire, and Florent d'Iliers, accompanied La Pucelle. The whole united forces were then passed in review, consisting of three

been deemed the height of extravagance. He then adds, that Charles resolved to follow the inspirations of the prophetess.—“Hume,” says M. de Saint Prix, (p. 211,) “frequently attributes to Charles a line of policy which his conduct belies. Smollett also follows his example, in stating that the king marched to Beaugenci to take the command of the troops at Patay, &c. “The English,” says Saint Prix, “generally speaking, confound periods, and represent Charles as a very skilful monarch; in order, no doubt, to infer that Jeanne was made an instrument to forward his designs.”

thousand six hundred men;* being a very inefficient army to undertake the siege of so strong a place, well defended, and under the command of the earl of Suffolk, one of the most experienced generals England had to boast. Some advised that the assault should be attempted without delay, while others were of opinion that reinforcements were necessary; to these, however, Jeanne said: "*N'ayez aucune crainte, et livrez l'assaut; car Dieu conduit votre œuvre: et croyez que si je n'étais pas sûre que Dieu même conduit ce grand ouvrage, je préférerais garder les brebis à m'exposer à tant de contradictions et de périls.*" Do not yield to fear, but begin the assault; for God conducts your work: and believe me, if I was not certain that the Lord himself conducts the great enterprise, I should prefer guarding the sheep to exposing myself to so many contradictions and perils." Arrived at Orleans, the troops were joined by fresh reinforcements, which increased the army to between four and five thousand men.

It was calculated by the French that the suburbs of Jargeau might be occupied the same night; but the English commander, having gained timely information, quitted the town in order to offer them battle.

* Historians state, "*environ douze cens lances;*" but when any given number of *men at arms*, or *men of the lance*, are specified, such number must be tripled, because every warrior, accoutred, or bearing the lance, was uniformly accompanied by two archers: therefore the *twelve hundred lances* signified three thousand six hundred troops.

The French, disconcerted at finding their intentions thus anticipated, did not oppose with energy the shock of the assailants; and Suffolk endeavoured to cherish the ardour of his soldiers by assurances of victory. Upon this Jeanne d'Arc, snatching her banner from the hands of the squire who bore it, goaded the sides of her steed, and darted amidst the thickest of the conflict. The warriors immediately recognised the voice of the heroine, when, rallying, they surrounded her at the instant, and marched with fresh ardour to assail the enemy. In a short time the scene was changed; the English were repulsed in all directions, and compelled to retire within the city, and abandon the suburbs to the French army.

On the ensuing day, being the twelfth of June, the siege of Jargeau was commenced. Jeanne d'Arc, who possessed an extraordinary skill in disposing of the artillery, conducted matters so ably upon this occasion, that after a few hours the place was completely battered down by the bombs and cannon-balls directed against it. On a sudden it was announced that Fastolf and other English captains were approaching with troops from Paris, in order to succour the besieged. This unexpected information was productive of some indecision in the French army. It was proposed to abandon the siege for a time, and repair to encounter Fastolf and his reinforcements; but La Pucelle, in conjunction with some of the generals, showed the folly of

relinquishing an enterprise which had commenced under auspices so propitious; and the siege was, in consequence, renewed with redoubled ardour. Operations were carried on by night as well as by day, and equal valour was manifested by the besiegers and the besieged. At length, on the morning of the third day, Suffolk, perceiving that the garrison was losing its energy, demanded a suspension of arms for fifteen days; promising to surrender the town if it was not succoured within that period. This proposition was rejected; upon which occasion Jeanne made use of the following words: “ *Que les Anglais aient la vie sauve, et partent, s'ils veulent, en leurs robes et gippons,* autrement ils seront pris d'assaut.* Let the lives of the English be saved, and let them depart, if they will, in their robes and *petticoats*, otherwise they shall be taken by assault.”

It was decided that the attack should be made

* The word *gippon* (now *jupon*) is to be found in various ancient manuscripts written *gipe*, *gipon*, and *gipoun*: it is derived from *gubba* of the Arabs, and *guippona* of the Italians. In using this expression, it does not appear that Jeanne d'Arc intended a reflection upon the English, owing to any peculiarity in that part of their dress; since we read in the *Journal de Paris*, under the reigns of Charles VI. and VII. page 2, as follows: “ *Furent deux hommes tempestes, dont l'un fut tué tout mort, et ses souliers et ses chausses, son gippon, furent tout désirez, et si n'avoit le corps entamé, et l'autre homme fut tout affolé.*”

that day; and soon after, the sound of trumpets summoned the troops from all directions to the combat. Jeanne d'Arc, hearing this warlike clangour, placing the helmet on her head, cried out to the duke d'Alençon with the air of one inspired, and in energetic tones, "*En avant, gentil duc, à l'assaut!*" Forward, comely duke, to the assault!" The prince hesitated, thinking it necessary to await supplies; upon which La Pucelle continued, "*N'ayez doute, l'heure est prête quand il plait à Dieu; il est temps d'agir quand Dieu veut que l'on agisse, et qu'il agit lui-même:*" and perceiving that he was still undecided, she said: "*Ah, gentil duc! as-tu peur? Ne sais-tu pas que j'ai promis à ton épouse * de te ramener sain et sauf?*" Do not doubt, the hour is come when it pleases God; it is time to act when God wills that one should act, and when he acts himself. Ah, comely duke! art thou afraid? Dost thou not know that I promised thy wife to conduct thee back safe

* "The duke d'Alençon, who had recently returned from a long captivity in England, was declared generalissimo of the army destined to conduct the king to Rheims; but the duchess, his wife, a princess of the house of Orleans, wished to dissuade the duke from accepting this commission, apprehending that some fresh misfortune might befall him. She, in consequence, addressed herself to La Pucelle, who promised to bring the duke back from the expedition *sain et sauf*; he (the duke) having orders from the king to be governed in all things by the advice of the Maid."—*Lenglet*, vol. i. p. 81.

and sound?" Having uttered these words, she flew to the assault; which was carried on and repelled with the most obstinate fury on either side. The ditches were choked up with broken ladders, ruins of the wall, armour, and the bodies of the slain; and the ramparts strewed with the dead and the dying. The assault had lasted four hours without intermission, when Suffolk, from the height of the walls, expressed a desire of holding conference with the duke d'Alençon: no attention, however, was paid to his words, and the attack continued. In the thickest of the combat, Jeanne d'Arc descended into the fosse, bearing her standard, and proceeding to the spot where the English made the most obstinate resistance; she mounted the ladder in person, animating the Frenchmen to follow her.* The

* " *The courageous Jeanne incessantly animated the combatants by her gesticulations and her cries; she was seen on the summit of the ladder, grasping the banner in her hand, which she was on the point of fixing upon the wall.*" Such an example, says M. Luchet, was of greater utility than all the dexterity attributed to Jeanne d'Arc by her panegyrists, and even surpassed the experience and the personal courage of the duke d'Alençon. There is no occasion to adduce proofs to support facts of a similar description. Who is not aware of the rapid progress of fanaticism, and the miracles thereby performed? This conduct alone might perhaps have produced the incredible change which so speedily after took place in the affairs of France." — *Luchet*, pp. 20, 21.

English immediately poured down upon her a shower of arrows and stones, when, being struck by one of these missiles, she fell at the bottom of the rampart. The enemy immediately rent the air with shouts of joy ; but Jeanne, suddenly springing up, more haughty and terrible in demeanour than ever, exclaimed : “ *Amys ! amys ! sus, sus ! Dieu a condamné les Anglais à cette heure—ils sont tous nôtres !* Friends ! friends ! upon 'em, upon 'em ! God has condemned the English—from this time they are all ours !” The French immediately mounted in crowds to the assault, overthrowing every obstacle in their progress, following the English from street to street, and from house to house, with the implacable fury of vengeance and the intoxication of victory. Suffolk, perceiving that it was impossible to defend the city any longer, retreated to the fort erected on the bridge which joined the town to the right bank of the Loire ; but all his attempts were vain, and he was at length compelled to surrender himself prisoner of war.*

The French, irritated at having experienced so sanguinary a resistance, put every thing to fire and sword, rendering the city one scene of desolation.

* Alexander de la Pole, one of the earl of Suffolk's brothers, was slain, and another also captured, while the loss of the English on this occasion amounted to eleven hundred killed.

Even the churches did not escape pillage, and the soldiers butchered prisoners while under the protection of those to whom they had surrendered. Jeanne d'Arc and the duke d'Alençon, fearful lest a similar fate should attend the earl of Suffolk, caused him to enter a boat, with several other English lords, for their safe conduct to Orleans, which city they gained without further molestation.

La Pucelle and the duke d'Alençon returned to Orleans the same night, and from thence they despatched to the king an account of the taking of Jargeau.

The regent duke of Bedford, dreadfully alarmed at these signal reverses, had recourse to the most strenuous endeavours for re-establishing the English affairs in the Orleanais; and to forward these views, he made the most pressing applications for fresh supplies from England.

While the Pucelle remained at Orleans, she witnessed the accession of many powerful noblemen of France, with their vassals, to the royal standard, by which increase the army was raised to nearly seven thousand men. It was now resolved to besiege the town of Beaugenci. At this period Charles VII. repaired to Sully, that he might be nearer to the army, and be enabled to afford succour, if required. According to the advice of Jeanne d'Arc, the French possessed themselves

of the fortifications of the bridge at Meun,* for the purpose of facilitating the passage of the Loire, and laying siege before Beaugenci. This town was commanded by the famous lord Talbot; but he confided the charge to another experienced officer, while he proceeded to meet Fastolf, who was on his march from Paris with a plentiful supply of men and ammunition.

On the sixteenth of June, the French army took their station before Beaugenci, on the side of Beausse, which place they carried by assault without much difficulty. The English then retired to the castle, when La Pucelle and the other French captains planted the bombs and cannon, and got all things in readiness to besiege that fortress.

The earl of Richemont, constable of France, who was not in favour at the court of Charles VII., and whose succours the king would not receive, nevertheless presented himself at the siege of Beaugenci. His supplies were of no utility; but the situation in which he placed Jeanne d'Arc and the duke d'Alençon was not the less embarrassing, and

* This was Meun, or Mehung, on the Loire. After the capture of Jargeau, the English garrison of La Ferte Hubert evacuated that place, and proceeded to reinforce Beaugenci. — See *Monstrelet*, vol. ii. folio 44.

had very nearly produced a division in the army.*

The following day, at the time when La Pu-

* Arthur, earl of Brittany, constable of France, brother of the duke, repaired to the siege, accompanied by several other noblemen, and from twelve to fifteen hundred troops raised at their own expense. The arrival of the constable gave the king some uneasiness, because his favourite, the lord de la Trimouille, had prejudiced him against this first officer of the crown; and the duke d'Alençon refused to hold any communication with the constable, owing to the unfavourable sentiments entertained towards him by the king. Saintrailles, La Hire, and several other captains, however, were of opinion that the mediation of La Pucelle should be resorted to, in order to effect a reconciliation between the king and the constable. Jeanne, who had as yet sought no favour at the hands of royalty, freely consented, but only on condition that the constable would make oath, between the hands of the duke d'Alençon, to serve the king loyally; and that all the noblemen who sought to bring about this good understanding, should affix their seals, or give their signatures, with that of the constable, to be laid before the king. All this was executed, when Charles, apprized of the danger that might result from irritating the constable, acquiesced, although his favourite, La Trimouille, endeavoured to oppose the measure. — *Lenglet*, vol. i. pp. 86, 87.

Luchet says, "At the siege of Beaugenci an event occurred which merits some consideration. The constable Richemont, having heard of the successes attending the enterprises of Charles VII., hurried to the scene of action, either to share in or to augment them. La Pucelle was opposed to his admission, conceiving him to be an enemy of the Dauphin;—her miracu-

celle was in consultation with the duke d'Alençon, news was brought of the advance of the English with a powerful force, headed by the lord Talbot; and from every quarter the soldiers cried, "To arms!" It was at this juncture that our heroine addressed the prince, who was on the point of departing, in consequence of the arrival of the constable, and stated the necessity of immediate succour; and entreated, that in a moment when it was requisite to concentrate all the forces, he certainly would not think of abandoning his post. It is most probable that these exhortations of Jeanne prompted the duke to change his resolution, and continue with his forces under the royal standard.

The earl of Richemont, having learned that the head of the bridge of Meun, where a small number of French were posted, was in danger of falling into the power of the garrison of the city, despatched sixty horsemen and a body of archers to afford succour to that post.

lous voices should have instructed her that the intentions of Arthur were sincere. This lack of celestial intelligence might have been attended with very disastrous consequences, had not some lords fortunately interfered, and disposed the king to accept the services of the earl of Richemont. Count Dunois having apprized La Pucelle that the constable's arrival could not but prove advantageous to the royal cause, she hastened to effect his reconciliation with the king."— See page 21.

However, during the night, the commander of the castle of Beaugenci demanded a capitulation, which was complied with; and his troops retired, carrying away their arms and baggage, and engaging not to bear arms for ten days after the capitulation. This force marched off to Meun.

Scarcely had the garrison of Beaugenci evacuated the fortress, before the speedy approach of the English army was announced to the French captains, when Jeanne d'Arc thus addressed herself to the earl of Richemont: "*Ah, beau connétable! vous n'êtes pas venu de par moi, mais puisque vous êtes venu, vous serez le bien venu: Ah, handsome constable! you are not come upon my account; but since you are arrived, you shall be right welcome.*"*

La Pucelle and the generals ordered the troops to march from Beaugenci, and ranged them in order of battle, that they might be in readiness to receive the shock of the enemy's attack; for they were convinced that the English had only united their forces for the purpose of daring the French to a decisive encounter. The duke d'Alençon, in presence of count Dunois, the constable Richemont, and several other captains, then inquired of Jeanne what course it was necessary to adopt? "*Avez-vous des bons éperons?*"† Have you good

* See Notes, vol. i. page 193.

† Luchet, page 22, in reference to the above reply of Jeanne,

spurs?" was her answer. "Shall we then turn our backs upon the enemy?" said the prince. "*Non, non!*" exclaimed Jeanne; "*mais les Anglais ne se défendront point; ils seront vaincus, et des éperons vous seront nécessaires pour courir après eux:* No, no! but the English will not defend themselves; they will be beaten, and spurs will be wanted to pursue them."

Lord Talbot, lord Scales, and Fastolf, had united their forces, and advanced in haste at the head of four thousand combatants to succour the castle of Beaugenci, and effect the raising of the siege; but they arrived too late, and found the French army ranged for battle and ready to receive them. The English, on witnessing these arrangements, took the road to Meun, and attacked the head of the bridge, in the hope of gaining that position before the coming up of the French.

says, "This *luminous* answer was not understood, which signified that good spurs were necessary to follow up the English when they should be put to flight; and to encounter them, 'were they hung to the clouds.' If," says our author, "historians had attributed to La Pucelle nothing but a plain answer, fraught with common sense, the minds of men would not have been forcibly struck; whereas, in applying to her enigmatical phrases, every one was desirous of explaining them according to his own acceptance. By this means the ideas were elevated, disputes grew warm, and such was the enthusiasm necessary to be instilled into the soldiery."

La Pucelle and the French captains immediately took horse, and proceeded to follow the route of their enemies. On learning the approach of the French, the English abandoned the attack of the bridge of Meun, and directed their march upon Janville. The French generals seemed fearful of an attack upon open level ground, but Jeanne was superior to these vain forebodings. "*Eh mon Dieu!*" said she, "*il faut les combattre. Fussent-ils même pendus aux nues, nous les aurions, car Dieu nous a envoyés pour les punir. Le gentil roi aura aujourd'hui la plus grande victoire qu'il a eu pièce, et m'a dit mon conseil qu'ils seront tous nostres.**" In the name of God, we must fight them! Were they even hung to the clouds, we should have them, for God has sent us to punish them. The comely king will this day gain the greatest victory he has had for a long time, and my counsel has told me that they shall all be ours." These assurances urged the troops to come up with the English, in order that they might not have sufficient time to capture any strong places, or to entrench themselves. Every precaution was taken to prevent disorder from occurring in the main body of the army by any precipitancy in the march. La Hire commanded the cavalry; the constable and marshal de Boussac conducted the avant-guard; and Jeanne

* See the deposition of the duke d'Alençon.

d'Arc, the duke d'Alençon, the count Dunois, and the admiral of France, had charge of the main body. The avant-guard was directed to skirmish, in order to commence the conflict while but few troops were in sight of the enemy. La Hire soon came up with the arrière-guard of the English, who had come to the resolution of accepting battle; and they continued to advance for the purpose of encountering the French in a more favourable position. In consequence of this, the English at length posted themselves in a wood near the village of Patay. The French avant-guard, although their force did not amount to more than fifteen hundred men, having received orders not to suffer the English to fortify themselves, charged the enemy with impetuosity, and put them to the route. At this juncture the main body of the French army came up, and completed the overthrow of their opponents. In this conflict La Pucelle performed prodigies of valour. It was in vain that the lord Talbot even surpassed his accustomed feats of personal bravery, and had recourse to every expedient for the purpose of renewing the combat and recalling victory to his standard; he could but delay for a short period the overthrow of his followers, and render the battle more sanguinary by this obstinate defence, in which he was but feebly supported by his soldiers. A horrible butchery of the English was the result of

this battle, in which nearly their whole army perished, while the victory cost the French only a few lives.* Lord Talbot, lord Scales, and Sir Thomas Rampston, were among the number of those who fell into the hands of the conquerors.

This was the first pitched battle in which the French had triumphed over the English during the last eight years; and it was in the fields of Patay that the remains of the powerful forces sent by England, under the command of the earl of Salisbury, for the subjugation of France, were completely annihilated.†

* Jeanne d'Arc not only gave the above assurance of victory that would crown the French arms at Patay, but moreover affirmed that they would lose very few men, which was certainly the fact; and only one officer was killed.— *See the deposition made on the seventh May, 1456, by Thibaut d'Armagnac, or de Termes, Bailiff of Chartres, who was present at the battle of Patay.*

† When the victory of Patay was gained, the king remained at Sully on the Loire, between Gien and Jargeau. The duke d'Alençon, accompanied by Jeanne d'Arc and all the noblemen who had been present at the conflict, repaired thither; when La Pucelle, throwing herself at the feet of Charles, supplicated him to receive in amity the constable Richemont, who had so faithfully served him, and sworn to continue loyal. The king could not withhold his consent; but the lord de la Trimouille, exasperated at this reconciliation, which he had vainly endeavoured to counteract, obtained an order from the king whereby the constable was excluded from attending the coro-

The French army, in pursuit of the scattered wrecks of the English, arrived under the walls of Janville nearly as soon as the latter; the inhabitants of which place, having closed its gates upon the vanquished, threw them open, with every demonstration of joy, to the deliverers of France from a foreign yoke.

The defeat at Patay spread terror in the French capital, which was in the hands of the English. The regent journeyed thither with all expedition, in order to consult respecting the most efficient measures that could be adopted to re-establish affairs. An embassy was also despatched to the duke of Burgundy, inviting him to repair to Paris. The duke of Bedford, however, aware that he could by no means calculate upon the assistance of that prince, redoubled his solicitations to the English government for immediate reinforcements. The British ministers, in order to arrest the progress of Charles VII., thought of employing

nation; Richemont being deputed to guard the Loire, the frontiers of Maine and of Normandy, and to protect them against any sudden incursions of the English. Jeanne d'Arc and all the warlike noblemen were indignant at this tame compliance with the wishes of such an unworthy favourite, who had uniformly proved himself the advocate of every measure tending to foment animosity against the king. The opposition of Trimouille, however, to any measure, was sure to gain the servile acquiescence of his royal master. — *Lenglet*, vol. i. pp. 91, 92.

the troops then assembled for a crusade, which had been proclaimed in England against the Bohemian heretics, and confided to the direction of cardinal Beaufort, bishop of Winchester; a treaty having been concluded for that purpose.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the regent, the affair of Patay spread consternation throughout the English garrisons of the small towns of Beausse. Most of them set fire to the places confided to their charge, and took to flight, even before the arrival of the French forces.

The constable was making preparations to pursue the enemy, when the king commanded him to return to his own territories; stating, at the same time, that he would rather never be crowned than receive the inauguration in his presence.

The victorious army again returned to Orleans, where new warriors arrived from all directions. Charles VII. was also expected, but he did not repair to that city, on account of the rooted aversion he entertained towards the earl of Richemont. The monarch continued, therefore, to reside at Sully; and to that town Jeanne d'Arc and the principal captains of the army journeyed, the constable alone excepted, to make the king acquainted with the success that had crowned their martial operations. The noble Saintrailles there presented to his majesty the brave lord Talbot; upon which occasion he said to the king: "Sire:

here is the most terrible and the most praiseworthy of your enemies. So glorious an arm as this was not framed to carry galling chains; permit me to restore him to liberty." Charles acceded to the request of Saintrilles, and the illustrious captive was immediately set free, without paying any ransom.

La Pucelle was particularly anxious that the king should visit his brave and faithful Orleanese; and so urgent were her prayers, that she at length prevailed upon him to journey as far as Châteauneuf on the Loire. Jeanne was also desirous that Charles and the constable Richemont should meet on amicable terms; but, to her great disappointment, the king would not allow that nobleman to accompany him in his expedition to Rheims; wherefore Richemont, losing all hope of being re-established in the king's good graces, retired to his domain of Parthenai.

It was about this period that the youthful heroine caused a letter to be written to the duke of Burgundy, entreating him to abandon the cause of the English, which communication was despatched by one of the heralds at arms attached to her service.

Jeanne d'Arc returned to Orleans, where she passed the troops in review as they arrived at that city. She then directed them to march for Gien, the place appointed for the rendezvous of the army destined to undertake the journey to Rheims: but having

just cause to fear the indecision of the king,* she returned to Sully, for the purpose of encouraging him to undertake that enterprise. All the generals appointed for the march having assembled round the monarch at Gien, deliberated whether it might not be expedient, before undertaking the journey, to ensure the surrender of Cône and La Charité; and Jeanne d'Arc with great difficulty induced Charles to consent, that the capture of those places should not be attempted until after his return.

La Pucelle had entreated Charles VII. not to be apprehensive of a want of troops, assuring him that he would have sufficient forces for the undertaking, and that numbers would voluntarily flock to his standard. This anticipation was soon verified. As the army evidently increased in numbers, Jeanne did not suffer the general enthusiasm to cool

* On arriving at St. Benoît on the Loire, the king, perceiving that Jeanne d'Arc was fatigued, advised her to take some repose; but she answered, while tears flowed from her eyes, that he ought to doubt nothing, as then the kingdom would soon be his, and he would speedily be crowned. If we consider the bearing of this answer, and the constant indecision of Charles VII. in acting upon the counsel of La Pucelle, it will better enable us to comprehend what she herself said in reply to one of the interrogatories at the process of condemnation,—that she did not even know for a certainty whether either the king or his court believed in the truth of her mission.

by unnecessary delays. In the midst of the troops, she incessantly addressed the king and his followers in these terms: "Go boldly forward, and every thing will prosper. Do not fear, for you will meet with no one that can harm you, and you will scarcely find any resistance."

Every thing being in readiness for the expedition, the day of departure was decided on. The city of Rheims, all the fortresses of Picardy, Champagne, the Isle of France, Gâtinois, Auxerrois, Burgundy, and the whole country between the Loire and the ocean, were occupied by the English. The king, nevertheless, decided on following the advice of La Pucelle.

Jeanne d'Arc, accompanied as usual by her brothers, quitted Gien on the 29th of June, 1429, and directed her course for Auxerre. On the ensuing day she was followed by Charles VII., a part of his court, and all the leading commanders of the army.

The forces amounted to about twelve thousand fighting men which arrived before Auxerre, at that time a very strong city, subject to the duke of Burgundy, having closed its gates against the legitimate sovereign. Jeanne d'Arc was of opinion that the place should be immediately attacked, guaranteeing, at the same time, the success of the enterprise.

Owing to the peculiarly difficult situation in

which the inhabitants of Auxerrois then found themselves, they had recourse to negotiations, and despatched deputies to supplicate that the king would grant them a neutrality, provided they undertook to supply the troops with provisions, of which they already stood in need. This treaty was concluded, with the proviso that the inhabitants of the city should submit to testify to Charles the same obedience as should be offered by the cities of Troyes, Chalons, and Rheims. La Pucelle and many of the leading noblemen were adverse to the terms of this agreement, because it displayed in the onset great weakness and timidity, while, on the other hand, a signal victory would have ensured success during the whole progress of the enterprise.*

The king having remained three days at Auxerre, again set forward with the army, and marched to Saint Florentin, which opened its gates without

* The inhabitants of Auxerre escaped the horrors of a siege, by sending two thousand golden crowns to the lord de la Trimouille : such were the measures pursued with the favourites of Charles VII., who valued not their master's reputation. Auxerre also furnished provisions for the army, and boats to cross the river; and as traitors are never deficient in finding excuses to palliate their infamy, La Trimouille hinted to the monarch, that as the city held out for the duke of Burgundy, it was necessary to adopt conciliatory measures to soften and gain over that prince to his interest; besides which, the siege would retard his coronation.

resistance : he continued there but a short time, and then proceeded on his route to Troyes. The army continued to augment in numbers daily : through the whole tract of country traversed by the youthful heroine, all those who were capable of bearing arms eagerly presented themselves to follow her march.*

Charles VII. at length arrived before Troyes, within whose walls, nine years before, his ruin had been decided upon, and the act ratified which excluded him from succeeding to the throne of his ancestors. The king caused his heralds at arms to go before him, who commanded the inhabitants to acknowledge their rightful sovereign ; but the citizens closed the gates, and prepared for a vigorous defence in case of assault. The garrison also made a sortie to skirmish with the avant-guard of the army ; but it was soon repulsed and forced to re-enter the city. The forces then encamped round the place, but from a want of artillery did not commence the attack : all that could be done was to invest the town. Every summons sent to induce the city to surrender proved ineffectual, and a scarcity of provisions began to prevail throughout the army.† In this emergency a council was called

* The army amounted to more than 12,000 men. — See *Hume* and *Tripout*, pp. 135, 136.

† Speaking of the city of Troyes, Lenglet says, (vol. i. page 97,)

in order to consult on the critical posture of affairs. Some were of opinion that the king ought to return to Gien, while others advised that the march direct for Rheims should be continued without delay. The lord de Treves, formerly chancellor of France, a man respectable on account of his advanced age and eminent services, gave it as his opinion, that since the expedition had been undertaken by the advice of La Pucelle, she might be able to devise means that would ensure its success. On a sudden, Jeanne d'Arc rapped at the door of the council-chamber, and, being admitted, her opinion was asked, in regard to the measures requisite to adopt under the existing state of affairs: upon which she thus addressed the king: "*Serai-je crue de ce que je dirai?* Will what I have

"That the city, although rich, could not succeed in purchasing the favour of La Trimouille; and it was therefore invested for the space of two or three days, during which the army suffered greatly from a scarcity of provisions. In consequence of this, upwards of two thousand men were deprived of bread, and with difficulty procured beans as a substitute. These beans had been sown by the advice of a cordelier, named Brother Richard, a great preacher and zealous Burgundian. Monstrelet, who speaks in his praise, calls him a monk of the Augustine order; but he was misinformed." Luchet, (at page 23,) adverting to the above statement, says, "These beans came to maturity in three days: rather a *clever* growth, it must be confessed."

to say be believed?" when the king replying in the affirmative, she continued: "*Noble Dauphin, ordonnez à votre gent de venir et d'assiéger la ville de Troyes, et ne tenez pas plus longs conseils; car, en mon Dieu! avant trois jours, je vous introduirai dans la ville de Troyes par amour ou par puissance, et sera la fausse Bourgogne bien stupéfaite.* Noble Dauphin, command your people to come and besiege the city of Troyes, and hold no longer councils; for, by my God! before three days I will introduce you into the city of Troyes by love or by force, and false Burgundy shall be much stupified." The chancellor then stated to Jeanne, that they should be glad to continue six days, so that the truth of her assertion could be verified. Upon which the heroine, feeling piqued that any doubt was entertained, answered, with great coolness: "*Que l'on me suive et mette la main à l'œuvre, car Dieu veut que l'on s'emploie soi-même:*" then turning to the king, she added, "*Demain vous serez maître de la cité.* Only follow me and apply your hands to the work, for it is the will of God that we toil ourselves: to-morrow you shall be masters of the city."

Jeanne d'Arc then took her standard, assembled the troops, and ordered them to pitch their tents below the ramparts; she also commanded the soldiers to convey fascines to fill up the fosse. During the whole night La Pucelle occupied herself in forwarding these preparatives with the most

indefatigable zeal and activity. These hostile movements in the army caused great alarm in the city. A general consternation, which appeared supernatural, soon took possession of the populace, who fled in crowds to the churches, and, prostrate before the altars, spent the night in prayer.*

The period of the attack being arrived, Jeanne d'Arc, who had not tasted repose, commanded the assault, and caused the trumpets to sound. She then sprang upon the verge of the moat, bearing her banner, and ordered the ditch to be filled up with the fascines prepared for that purpose.† At this juncture a panic took possession of the English and the Burgundians; the recollection of the recent victories obtained by Jeanne flashed upon their minds, and completed the effect of terror. Deputies were, in consequence, appointed to go and treat with

* Jean Lesguisé, bishop of Troyes, a very holy man, set the example, and instigated the inhabitants to submit to their legitimate sovereign. It was this prelate, in conjunction with the principal citizens, who demanded the capitulation.—*Lenglet*, vol. i. page 102.

† This assault was prepared on the side of the city where Magdalen Gate stands, and that of Composité. The Count Dunois, in the course of his interrogatories during the revisal of Jeanne's sentence, stated, that it was not a little surprising to view the activity of the girl on this occasion, who singly produced more effect than a whole company of soldiers.

the king; the gates were opened, and they proceeded, trembling, towards the French camp.

Charles received these emissaries with peculiar marks of favour: the leading terms of the capitulation were, that the garrison, consisting of English and Burgundians, should march away unmolested, bearing their goods and chattels, and that a general amnesty should be accorded to the inhabitants; the rest of the day being given to the garrison to retire from the city. The English and Burgundians, by virtue of the treaty, took with them the prisoners who had previously fallen into their hands, whom they regarded as a part of their rightful property. La Pucelle, on beholding this, was sensibly affected, and could not bear the sight; she took her station before the gate of the town at the moment when the garrison was marching forth; and when the unfortunate captives appeared, loaded with chains and overcome by grief, she cried out, "*En mon Dieu, ils ne les emmeneront pas!*"—By my God, they shall not march them away!" and she prevented them from quitting the place. The king, on being made acquainted with what was passing, ordered that a certain sum should be given to the English and the Burgundians by way of ransom for their captives; with which they were compelled to be satisfied, having no power left to dispute the question.

The ensuing day, the 10th of July, 1429, being

that fixed upon for the king's entrance into the city, Jeanne d'Arc was desirous of going before him. The inhabitants, fully acquainted with the injurious reports circulated by the English respecting her, not knowing whether to regard her as a fairy or a saint, despatched brother Richard to meet her, stating, that they were doubtful as to her mission being from the Lord. This father Richard was the same ecclesiastic whose discourses at Paris had been attended with the greatest success, and who had foretold that the year 1430 would be productive of the most extraordinary events. He approached La Pucelle, making the sign of the cross, and sprinkling holy water before him. Jeanne, smiling with playful gaiety, thus addressed him: "*Approchez hardiment, beau père; je ne m'en voulleraï pas*—Approach boldly, good father; I shall not fly away:" and from that moment brother Richard attached himself to the interests of Charles VII.*

* "This Richard," says Luchet, (p. 23,) "was a fanatic monk, charged with various crimes, and disgraced. As soon as he perceived La Pucelle, he was desirous of exorcising her, but she replied," &c. Our authority then says in continuation: "How are we to sift out the truth from this chaos of absurdities? Writers annex something of the marvellous in the subjection of Troyes, the garrison of which city consisted only of six hundred men with no experienced captain to command them. Nothing from thenceforth could happen in the ordinary course of nature,

After this event Jeanne d'Arc returned to the king in order to acquaint him that every thing was prepared for his reception. Charles then mounted on horseback, and made his entry into Troyes in great pomp, having at his side La Pucelle bearing her standard. On arriving at the cathedral the king heard mass performed, and at the conclusion of the ceremony received the oaths of allegiance from the principal inhabitants.* The day following, the whole army traversed the city amidst the sound of trumpets and the acclamations of the citizens, who, inspired by joy and gratitude, exalted the names of the king and La Pucelle to the skies.

and the finger of God is made to trace out the route of Charles VII. There is not a ridiculous invention with which historians have not interlarded their recitals. *A-propos*, concerning the siege of Troyes, some writers have affirmed that the king despatched letters of nobility to the bishop. What a recompense for a minister of the Lord!

• “The other cities followed the example of Troyes,” says Lenglet, (vol. i. p. 104;) “and as the courtiers extolled the actions of the Maid, affirming that no similar instance was to be found recorded in history, Jeanne replied, with a modesty worthy of her pious conduct: ‘*En nom de Dieu! Monseigneur a un livre, auquel pas un clerc, tant soit il parfait en cléricature, ne sauroit lire!* By my God! my Lord has a book, wherein no clerk, however perfect in erudition, would be able to read!’ In no one instance was La Pucelle found to attribute the fortunate result of an action to her own courage; she uniformly alleged that every thing was due to the King of heaven.”

Charles VII. quitted Troyes with the army, and continued to march with all possible speed to Châlons; being invariably preceded by Jeanne d'Arc in complete armour. The inhabitants of the latter city, to the great astonishment and gratification of the monarch, voluntarily came forth and tendered their submission.*

Tidings of the triumphant march of La Pucelle having spread with rapidity to her native country, some inhabitants of Domremy resolved to set forward and await her arrival at Châlons. They were four in number, among whom were her godfather, Jean Morel, and Conradin Despinal: thus our heroine had the unexpected pleasure of finding herself, for a short period, surrounded by the friends of her infancy. These inhabitants of her native place regarded her with astonishment, asking her a

* As soon as the king had taken the necessary precautions to ensure the safety of the city (Troyes), by appointing a loyal governor and a strong garrison, he proceeded towards Châlons. La Pucelle was constantly strenuous in urging the king forward, to prevent his yielding to that indolence to which he was unfortunately subject, and on this account she would not even remain to sleep in the city. The news of the surrender of Troyes speedily arrived at Châlons, the inhabitants of which place, conducted by Pierre de Latilly their bishop, proceeded to lay the keys of the town at the king's feet; when Charles adopted the same measures in regard to them which he had pursued at Troyes, and then continued his march direct for Rheims.—*Lenglet*, vol. i. p. 104.

multiplicity of questions, to all of which she replied with her accustomed gentleness and good-will. They inquired, particularly, how she had been able to brave so many dangers, and if she did not fear to encounter death in the hour of battle? To this she answered, "*Je crains que la trahison* — I only fear treason;" as if she already felt a conviction of having met with something of that nature, and perceived beforehand, from the conduct of those by whom she was surrounded, some reason to suspect their fidelity.

The events which had taken place since the raising of the siege of Orleans, and the triumphant march of the monarch towards Rheims, had spread alarm throughout the city of Paris. The regent duke of Bedford, who did not place much reliance upon assistance from the duke of Burgundy, to whom he had given umbrage, continued to send the most pressing applications for supplies from England.

In the meantime Charles VII. made rapid progress towards Rheims, at which city he expected to meet with a most obstinate resistance; and this presentiment he did not scruple to make known to La Pucelle, who uttered the following reply: "*N'ayez aucun doute; car les bourgeois de la ville de Rheims viendront au-devant de vous. Avant que vous approchiez de la ville, les habitans se rendront. Avancez hardiment, et soyez sans inquiétude; car si vous voulez agir virilement, vous obtiendrez tout votre roy-*

come. Entertain no doubt; for the inhabitants of the city of Rheims will come forth to meet you. Before you arrive at the city the inhabitants will surrender. Proceed boldly, and do not feel inquietude; for if you will act manfully, you will obtain all your kingdom.”*

The king with his army had now arrived within four leagues of Rheims, and the inhabitants were quite panic-struck at the report of the victorious career of the royal forces. The call of honour, however, banished the idea of surrendering the place without hazarding some opposition. The two commanders of the city, one named on the part of the king of England, and the other on behalf of the duke of Burgundy,† thought it requisite to consult the inhabitants respecting the course that should be adopted. They inquired whether the citizens felt a resolute wish to defend themselves, and the latter in turn demanded if the military were sufficiently strong to afford them aid and to protect them. The commanders then stated, that if the natives were willing, or could

* Deposition of Le Sieur Charles Simon, president of the chamber of accounts, and formerly ambassador at Venice, delivered the 7th of May, 1456.

† The duke of Burgundy had appointed a garrison at Rheims, consisting of six hundred men, commanded by Le Sieur de Saveuse, a name once odious to the kings of France, and the Sieur de Châtillon on Marne.—*Lenglet*, vol. i. p. 106.

hold out for six weeks, they would march an efficient force to their succour. However, they shortly after quitted the city, stating that they went for supplies, and advising the inhabitants to protect themselves. The partisans of Charles immediately gave it as their opinion, that a deputation should be sent, bearing the submission of Rheims to the king. This was composed of the leading personages of the town, as well ecclesiastics as laity, who, on presenting themselves before the monarch, laid the keys of the holy city at his feet,* when the king, feeling less pleasure in vanquishing than dispensing pardon, freely banished from his mind the recollection of all the evils which the inhabitants of Rheims had done against his person.

On the morning of the 16th of July, Regnaut de Chartres, chancellor of France, made his solemn entry into the city, as archbishop of Rheims. Towards night, Charles VII., for whose reception every thing had been prepared, proceeded thither in pompous array, accompanied by his whole army, at the head of which rode La Pucelle, who excited universal attention. It was decided that the monarch should be consecrated and crowned on the ensuing day.

* The king was at the Castle of Sept-Seaux, dependent on the archbishopric of Rheims, and situated four leagues from the city, when the deputation presented him the keys.—*Lenglet*, vol. i. p. 107.

Réné, duke of Bar and Lorraine, brother of the king of Sicily, and the lord de Commercy, hastened to Rheims, at the head of a brilliant cavalcade of nobility, as well as a crowd of warriors, to tender their services to his majesty.

Jeanne d'Arc, who was better acquainted than any one else with the value of time, and who never for a moment lost sight of that grand object—a general reconciliation throughout the kingdom of France—took advantage of the interval between sunrise and the ceremony of the coronation to address the following letter to the duke of Burgundy:—

“ Lettre de Jehanne la Pucelle au Duc de Bourgoigne.



“ JHESUS MARIA.

“ Hault et redoubte prince, duc de Bourgoigne, Jehanne La Pucelle vous requiert, de par le Roy du ciel, mon droiturier et souverain Seigneur, que le Roy de France et vous faciez bonne paix ferme, qui dure longuement; pardonnez l'un à l'autre de bon cuer entièrement, ainsi que doivent faire loyaulx chrétiens, et s'il vous plaist à guerroyer si, alez sur les Sarrazins. Prince de Bourgoigne, je vous prie, supplie, et requiers, tant humblement, que requerir vous puisque ne guerroyiez plus ou [au] saint royaume de France, et faittes retraire incontinent et briefment voz gens qui sont en aucunes places et fortresses dud: saint royaume; et de la part du gentil

*roy de France, il est prest de faire paix à vous, sauve son honneur s'il ne tient en vous, et vous fais à savoir, de par le Roy du ciel, mon droiturier et souverain Seigneur, pour votre bien et pour votre honneur, et sur voz vie, que vous n'y gagnerez point bataille à l'encontre des loyaulx François, et que tous ceulx qui guerroient ou [au] saint royaume de France guerroient contre le roy Jhus [Jesus], Roy du ciel et de tout le monde, mon droiturier et souverain Seigneur ; et vous prie et requiers, à jointes mains, que ne faires nulle bataille, ne guerroiez contre nous, vous, vos gens, ou subgiez ; et croiez seurement que quelque nombre de gens que amenez contre nous, qu'ilz n'y gagneront mie, et sera grant pitié de la grant bataille et du sang quy y sera respendu de ceulx qui y vendront [viendront] contre nous ; et ce trois sepmaines que je vous avoye escript, et envoié bonnes lettres par ung herault que feussiez au sacre du roy qui aujourduy dimenche XVIIIme jour de ce present mois de Juillet, ce fait en la cité de Reims, dont je n'ay eu point de reponse ne nouy oncques puiz nouvelles dud' : herault. A Dieu vous commens, et soit garde de vous s'il luy plaist, et prie Dieu qu'il y mette bonne paix. Escrip aud' : lieu de Reims, led' : XVIIIme jour de Juillet.**

* The above letter, dictated by La Pucelle, was discovered in the archives of Lisle, and is peculiarly interesting, as from it the precise period of the coronation of Charles VII. is identified — a date hitherto unknown. This document is penned in Gothic characters, with many abbreviations, but perfectly legible. It is folded in a similar manner to our ordinary letters

" JESUS MARIA.

" High and redoubted prince, duke of Burgundy, Jeanne La Pucelle requires you, in behalf of the King of heaven, my rightful and sovereign Lord, that the king of France and you enter into a good and firm peace that may last long, forgive one another entirely and in good heart, as ought to do loyal Christians ; and if it pleases you to go to war, then go against the Saracens. Prince of Burgundy, I pray, supplicate, and require you, most humbly, not to continue longer any warfare in the saintly kingdom of France, and cause to march back incontinent and briefly your people who occupy any places or fortresses of the aforesaid saintly kingdom ; and on the part of the *gentil* king of France, he is ready to make peace with you, preserving his honour : it therefore rests with you, and he makes known to

of the present day, but completely square ; and at the bottom, on the folded side of the epistle, is subscribed, "*Au Duc de Bourgoingne.*"

The duke of Burgundy despised this communication, as issuing from a person of such base extraction ; and when Charles VII. sent his ambassadors, La Pucelle predicted, that peace would never be restored but at the point of the lance ; that is to say, after he should have witnessed the prosperity of the king. This statement was acknowledged and scrupulously examined during the process of Jeanne's condemnation.—*Lenglet*, vol. i. pp. 112, 113.

you, in behalf of the King of heaven, my rightful and sovereign Lord, for your good and for your honour, and upon your life, that you will gain no battle upon encountering the loyal French, and that all such as war in the saintly kingdom of France make war against the King Jesus, King of heaven and the whole world, my rightful and sovereign Lord; and I pray and require you with joined hands, not to give battle nor enter into warfare against us, you or your people or subjects; and assuredly believe, that whatsoever number of people you bring against us, they will gain nothing, and it will be a great pity to have a battle, and that the blood should be shed of those who shall come there against us: and three weeks past did I write and sent you good letters by an herald; why are you not at the coronation of the king, which takes place this day, Sunday the seventeenth day of the present month of July, in the city of Rheims; to the which [letter] I have had no answer, nor have since received any news of the herald aforesaid. To God's holy keeping I commend you, if it so pleases him, and pray God that he restore a good peace. Written at the said place of Rheims, the said seventeenth day of July."

The princes, prelates, and all the barons and knights, who had accompanied Charles, were assembled in the cathedral. La Pucelle, stationed near the grand altar, and holding her banner, attracted the

gaze of the immense multitude assembled upon this solemn occasion in the sacred structure which had witnessed the consecration of so many Gallic sovereigns.* Upon this occasion, all the ancient forms

* Chaussard, vol. i. pp. 42, 43, 45, and 46, adverting to all the prior actions of La Pucelle and the coronation of Charles, says :

“ We need not feel astonished after so many events of this nature, and the testimonies delivered relative to these exploits by upwards of an hundred witnesses, consisting of ecclesiastics, men of the long robe, military commanders, citizens, and peasants, that they all felt a conviction God had despatched Jeanne d’Arc to rescue Orleans, and to save France; and that her inspirations were due to Divine Providence, rather than the result of human foresight.

“ But that which, above all, determined them to cherish such an opinion, was the moral and spotless conduct of Jeanne, of which they were witnesses; their testimonies on this head forming part of their depositions. Chastity was the predominant characteristic of Jeanne d’Arc; she detested words as well as actions of a disgusting tendency, neither would she suffer the utterance of an improper speech in her presence: no man ever held converse with her at night, and she had always a girl or a woman to sleep in her chamber.

“ All the knights and their squires who saw her, unanimously testified, that although they were for the most part young, they felt for her the greatest respect, and that no one of them had ever felt the least desire or temptation in regard to that extraordinary girl.

“ She confessed to captain Daulon, ‘ *That her council instructed her in all that she should do; that it was composed of three counsellors, one of whom was always with her, the other*

adopted at the ceremony of crowning were punctually observed; and after the king had received the holy oil, Jeanne d'Arc, advancing towards him, knelt and embraced his knees, shedding tears while she thus addressed him: "*Gentil roy, ores est exécuté le plaisir de Dieu, qui voulait que levasse le siege d'Orléans, et que vous amenasse en ceste cité de Rheims, recevoir vostre saint sacre, en montrant que vous estes vray roy, et cellui auquel le royaume de France doit appartenir.*" Comely king, thus is executed the pleasure of God, who willed that I should cause the siege of Orleans to be raised, and conduct you to this city of Rheims to receive your holy coronation; thus showing that you are true king, and he to whom the kingdom of France ought to belong." In answer to which, Charles testified his gratitude. It seems at this period the monarch caused a medal to be struck in honour of Jeanne d'Arc, on one side

going and coming, and that the third was the one with whom the other two deliberated.' Daulon earnestly entreated that Jeanne would procure him a sight of her council; but she replied, that he was not as yet worthy nor sufficiently virtuous, which determined him to address her no more upon the subject.

"She had no assurance whatsoever in regard to the safety of her life in battle; running equal risks with the other combatants. Indeed, so little certain was she of personal safety, that she several times charged her confessor to entreat the king, that in the event of her death, he would cause prayers to be offered up for her and all those who had died in so just a war, which had been supported for the defence of the kingdom."

of which was represented her effigy, and on the reverse a hand bearing a sword accompanied by this inscription: "*Consilio firmata Dei*.*"

La Pucelle must have felt exceeding joy at witnessing this long-predicted ceremony. Her uncle, Durand Laxart, and her father, arrived in the city nearly at the same time as herself. Her two brothers, Pierre and Jean d'Arc, had accompanied her during all her famous expedition; so that this extraordinary girl might, for a short interval, have regarded herself as restored to her family and the country to which she owed her birth. It is affirmed that Charles took delight in hearing Laxart recapi-

* Speaking of the success attending the king's expedition to and coronation at Rheims, Luchet, at p. 24, thus expresses himself: "At length the monarch arrived at Rheims, where he was crowned, and recognised legitimate possessor of the kingdom of France, and then performed his (*neuvieme*) ninth to possess the power of curing the evil. What could then be the feeling of the nation? A girl had just restored to him his glory,—she is regarded as inspired,—and yet no altar is raised to her, neither does she receive any recompense. The city of Rheims performs no one act to hand down to posterity the exploits and the courage of Jeanne d'Arc. There exists among men a certain line of conduct so strongly impregnated with the spirit of the period when they exist, that one is almost tempted to question those statements which tend to its subversion."

Charles performed his *ninth* at St. Marcou, and obtained the gift of healing the scrofula, or king's evil.—*Lenglet*, vol. i. p. 111.

tulate all the difficulties which Jeanne had to surmount before her arrival at Chinon.

Jaques d'Arc, and in all probability Laxart, were remunerated by the city during their continuance at Rheims. The sum paid to Alis, widow Rolin Moriau, the hostess of l'Ane Rayé, with whom Jeanne d'Arc was lodged, amounted, according to an ancient account of expenditures of the city, to twenty-four livres *Paris*, and it is there stated that the father of La Pucelle was honoured to associate with the king.

While France and Europe re-echoed with the glory of Jeanne's exploits, that heroine aspired only to the enjoyment of peaceful solitude and the pleasures of obscurity. To obtain this desired end, she made repeated applications for permission to retire from the bustle of active life; and she at length consented to remain only from respect to the orders of Charles and the prayers of the major part of the nobility, who had witnessed the wonderful effect of her presence in spurring on the troops to victory. Thus in a manner compelled to yield to the wishes of her sovereign, it was remarked, that Jeanne from that moment never opposed her advice to that of his ministers and generals—a liberty she had almost invariably taken until that time; but contented herself with giving the soldiers an example of intrepid valour.

The king continued only three days at Rheims,

when he left that city for Corbény, and thence advanced to the small town of Vailly; all which places opened their gates to receive him. At the last-mentioned city the monarch wished to await the return of the heralds whom he had despatched to Laon and to Soissons to summon their respective inhabitants to surrender. The deputies from Soissons soon arrived at the camp, and presented the keys of their city to the king, and their example was speedily followed by the people of Laon. Charles then marched to Soissons, and continued there three days, during which he received the welcome intelligence that Provins, Coulommiers, Crécy-en-Brie, and many other places of less importance, had voluntarily recognised his authority. A division of the army, headed by La Pucelle, directed its course for Château Thierry; when the nobles, who had shut themselves up in that town, on beholding the French troops, demanded a capitulation. At this juncture it was announced that the English were advancing in great force with the design of attacking the royal army; which news, suddenly disseminated throughout the camp, created some degree of consternation and tumult. Ever a stranger to fear, Jeanne d'Arc, by her strenuous endeavours, re-established order among the forces, and it was soon after ascertained that the report was merely a false alarm. The negotiation for the surrender of Château Thierry was then renewed, by which it was

agreed that the garrison should march from the place with arms and baggage.

* Charles VII. soon arrived at Château Thierry; and Jeanne d'Arc profited by the short space of time he continued there, to petition that the inhabitants of the villages of Greux and Domremy might be exempted from all taxes on land, and from aids, pecuniary supplies, and imposts of every description. Charles acceded to the request of La Pucelle by issuing an edict at Château Thierry, dated in the month of July, 1429. The inhabitants of the two villages before mentioned, having been subsequently molested in the enjoyment of the exemption thus accorded, were supported by a new royal ordinance of the 6th of February, 1459; and these privileges were duly confirmed by the successors of Charles VII. on their accession to the throne. Louis XIII. ratified them in 1610, and Louis XV. in 1730. In 1774, when the commune of Greux solicited the same exemptions from Louis XVI., the reply of that monarch was, that he would allow those privileges, but not accord his express approbation, because they appeared to him contrary to that justice that was due to all his subjects, which prescribed that the burthen should be equal—a decision in every respect consonant with reason. Thus, until the period of the Revolution, all the registers of taxation as regarded the parishes of Greux and Domremy bore these simple words,

“*Néant à cause de la Pucelle*—Extinct on account of La Pucelle.”

From Château Thierry the king went to Provins, and remained there three or four days. The terror inspired by the successes of the French army had not only spread in the environs of Paris, but even throughout the capital itself. The duke of Bedford, having just received reinforcements from England, returned with all speed to reanimate the affrighted population. The regent then proceeded to Corbeil, whither the wrecks of his army had repaired, and from thence marched upon Mehun, where he was joined by the troops from Normandy: he was thus at the head of ten thousand combatants—a force about equal to that of the royal army. The duke manœuvred as if his intention was to cut off the retreat of the French army, and advanced as far as Montereau Faut-Yonne. On gaining that city, he despatched his heralds at arms on the 7th of August, bearing a defiance to the king. Charles VII. accepted the challenge, and continued to advance upon Paris by the plains of Brie. This bold movement appears to have struck the British army with consternation; for the regent re-entered the capital without hazarding an engagement, although he had himself demanded it.

The French forces then returned to Château Thierry, where they crossed the Marne, advancing

by la Ferte Milon towards Crespy in Valois. On learning the arrival of the king, the inhabitants, flocking upon his route from all parts, welcomed him with the loudest acclamations. The population, in short, appeared in a body; and the country people especially gazed at La Pucelle, who, on witnessing these glowing effusions manifested by the crowd, addressed Count Dunois and the archbishop of Rheims, between whom she rode, in these words: "*Voici un bon peuple. Je n'en ai encore vu aucun autre qui se soit tant rejoui de la venue d'un si noble roi. Plût à Dieu que je fusse assez heureuse pour finir mes jours sur cette terre, et y être ensevelie!*" Here is a good people. I have not before seen any who has been so much rejoiced at the coming of so noble a king. Might it so please God that I was happy enough to end my days on this soil, and to be buried here!" The archbishop of Rheims then asked her in what spot she entertained a hope of dying? Jeanne made answer: "*Je ne suis sûre ni du temps ni du lieu. Plût à Dieu, mon Créateur, que je pusse maintenant partir, abandonnant les armes, et aller servir mon père et ma mère, en gardant leurs brebis avec ma sœur et mes frères, qui se rejouiraient beaucoup de me voir.*" I am neither sure as to the time nor the place. Would to God, my Creator, that I might now depart, quitting arms, and go and serve my father and my mother, tending their sheep with

my sister and my brothers, who would greatly rejoice to see me!" Words which plainly show that to continue with the army was contrary to her desire, the purpose of her mission being fully accomplished. It also appears likely that Jeanne d'Arc was aware that the courtiers did not sincerely love the king, and that she was herself the object of mean jealousies on the part of a great many leading officers of the army. From this discourse we may also infer that her brothers no longer accompanied her: it is indeed probable they left her at Rheims, and that it was from that city Jean d'Arc departed to take possession of the post of provost of Vaucouleurs, to which he had been nominated by the king.

From Crespy in Valois, Charles and his forces continued to approach Paris, and encamped near Dammartin. The duke of Bedford again left the capital to march against the royal army, and halted at the village of Mittry, at a short distance from Dammartin; occupying an advantageous situation, where he proceeded to fortify himself so as to render the post impregnable. Charles, believing that it was now the enemy's fixed determination to give him battle, immediately advanced; but the duke of Bedford quietly awaited the arrival of the enemy in his entrenchments. Fatal experience had taught the French to repress their ardour; and the

English, perceiving that they could not entice their foes into the snare prepared to entrap them, retired upon Louvres, and from thence returned to Paris.

The king returned to Crespy, from which place he forwarded heralds at arms to summon Compiègne to surrender, and the inhabitants joyfully complied. Beauvais soon followed Compiègne, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of Pierre Cauchon, bishop of the former place, who was devoted to the English cause; and the inhabitants, irritated with the conduct of this ecclesiastic, expelled him with contumely from their city. This outrageous treatment, no doubt, excited the implacable hatred which this worthless priest ultimately displayed against the unfortunate Jeanne d'Arc. The inhabitants of Paris, however, did not participate in the sentiments demonstrated by all these cities, which testified such eagerness to return to the obedience of their legitimate monarch.

Charles VII. left Crespy for Compiègne; when the regent, having learned this movement, proceeded by a forced march upon Senlis, in the hope of cutting off the king's communication with Normandy.

The French advanced towards Senlis, and encamped at the distance of three leagues from that city, at the village of Barron, adjoining to Mont-Piloer, from whence horsemen were despatched to reconnoitre, who soon came in view of the

English forces. The two armies then approach; some skirmishes took place, which were terminated by the drawing in of night, when the English retired along the margin of the small stream which runs from Senlis to Barron, and the French to Mont-Piloer.

By sunrise the following morning, Charles ordered his forces to march from the camp, and ranged them in order for battle. The army was divided into three principal bodies; that reserved for the command of La Pucelle, Dunois, and La Hire, being destined to skirmish, or despatch reinforcements, as emergency should require.

The duke of Bedford, equally prepared for the conflict, occupied a position very strong by nature, which he reinforced by digging wide fosses; his front being covered by very deep trenches, and an immense number of palings inclining forwards.

Charles having proceeded to a considerable distance from the three divisions of his army, in front of the English force, and from thence perceiving the strong position of the enemy, repressed the ardent desire he entertained of attacking the regent. The king, notwithstanding, made his troops advance until they arrived within two cross-bow shots of the enemy, when he signified by his heralds at arms, that if the English would quit their entrenched camp he would give them battle: this the duke, however, carefully avoided. Several hot skirmishes

took place, which continued until sunset, in the course of which great bravery was manifested on each side. During these brisk encounters La Pucelle, accompanied by Dunois, count d'Albret, and the intrepid La Hire, made herself conspicuous amidst the combatants; sometimes reanimating the discomfited soldiers and leading them back to the contest, and at others directing her lance with fury against those warriors who came to the attack. In the meantime Charles, accompanied by the duke de Bourbon, La Trimouille, and his guards, rode along the ranks, animating the troops, and showing himself worthy to command.

Darkness terminated these partial conflicts, the trumpets on both sides sounding a retreat; the English re-entered their camp, and the French returned to the spot near Mont-Piloer where they had slept on the preceding night. The following morning the duke of Bedford marched back to Paris, and the king to Crespy, in Valois.

While these transactions took place, La Pucelle was unremitting in her endeavours to prevail upon the king to renew his applications to the duke of Burgundy, because it appeared to her of the greatest importance to collect all the French princes under the banner of the fleur-de-lis. In compliance with her request, an embassy was despatched, which found the duke residing at Arras. The deputies being introduced, detailed to the prince

the strong desire the king entertained for a reconciliation; mentioning the youth of the latter in extenuation of the cruel act committed on the person of his father, the duke Jean. The chief minister of the prince made answer, that a reply should be forwarded in a few days.

These negotiations did not impede the operations of the royal army, and the castle and city of Creil were carried by the French, which gave them the command of the second passage over the river Oise. The most intrepid leaders of the king's forces ventured to pass that stream, and by this means extended their incursion as far as the confines of Normandy. The town and important fortress of Aumale were surprised; and the fortress of Torcy likewise fell into the power of the French, as well as Estrepagny, situate four leagues distant to the west of Gisors. Lastly, Castle Gaillard, built upon a high rugged rock on the banks of the Seine, seven leagues from Rouen, yielded without opposition to the royal forces.

Charles then repaired to Compiègne, to which place he had long been invited by the loyal prayers of its inhabitants. The king continued there for several days, and entrusted the command of the town to Guillaume de Flavy, who had rendered himself conspicuous by his promptitude and valour.*

* Charles was welcomed to Compiègne with every demonstration of popular zeal, and a pomp befitting his royal dignity.

The deputation from the duke of Burgundy soon arrived; but it was evident that the duke, in sending it, had no other object in view than to make professions which he never intended to fulfil.

We have now to present our readers with a very curious document, tending to prove the high reputation which Jeanne d'Arc must have acquired, even in countries remote from the French territory.

The comte d'Armagnac* had retired to the court of the king of Arragon, where he resided at the period to which our history now refers. At that time there were three claimants of the Papal See, two of whom greatly agitated the Catholic Church; and the count, believing that Jeanne d'Arc was divinely inspired, despatched a letter to inquire of her which of the contending parties possessed the most legitimate claim to the apostolic chair.

As the reply of La Pucelle, which follows, is dated Compiègne, the 22d August, 1429, it must have been forwarded from that town during her continuance there with Charles VII., at the present period of her history.

The king established there as governor a gentleman of Picardy, named Guillaume Flavy, afterwards suspected of having betrayed La Pucelle.—*Lenglet*, vol. i. p. 116.

* This nobleman died after the year 1450.

The following is a copy of the before-mentioned letter: —

“ Lettre du Comte d’Armagnac à Jeanne la Pucelle.

“ Ma très chère Dame,

*“ Je me recommande humblement à vous, et vous supplie pour Dieu que attendre la division qui est à présent en la Sainte Eglise Universelle sur le fait des papes; car il y a trois contendans du papat: un demeure à Rome, qui se fait nommer Martin V.; auquel tous les rois Chrétiens obseissent; l’autre demeure à Paniscelles au royaume de Valence, lequel se fait appeller le pape Clement VII.; * le tiers on ne sait où il demeure, sinon seulement le cardinal de Sainte Estiene, et peu de gens avec lui, lequel se fait appeller pape Bénéoit XIV. Le premier, qui se dît pape Martin, a été élu à Constance par le consentement de toutes les nations des Chrétiens. Celui qui se fait appeller Clement fut élu à Paniscelles, après la mort du pape Bénéoit XIII., par trois de ses cardinaux. Le tiers, qui se nomme pape Bénéoit XIV., à Paniscelles, fut élu secrètement, même par le cardinal de Sainte Estiene. Veuillez supplier à nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ, que, par sa miséricorde infinie, nous veuille par vous déclarer qui est des trois dessus-*

* Such is the name assigned by count d’Armagnac to this anti-pope. Had Clement been recognized as the legitimate possessor of the papal chair, he would have been designated, according to chronological order, Clement VIII.

dits vrai pape, et auquel plaira que l'on obeïsse de cy en avant ; ou à celui qui se dit Benoît, ou à celui qui se dit Clement, et auquel nous devons croire, si secrètement, ou par aucune dissimulation, ou publique, ou manifeste ; car nous serons tous prêts de faire le vouloir et le plaisir de notre Seigneur Jesus Christ. Le tout votre,

“ COMTE ARMAGNAC.”

“ *Letter from the Comte d'Armagnac to Jeanne la Pucelle.*

“ *My very dear Lady,*

“ I commend myself humbly to you, and supplicate you in the name of God, on account of the division which at present exists in the Holy Universal Church respecting the affairs of the popes, for there are three pretenders to the papacy : one lives at Rome, who calls himself Martin V., to whom all the kings of Christendom obey ; the other resides at Paniscella, in the kingdom of Valencia, who names himself pope Clement VII. ; the third, no one knows where he lives except the cardinal of St. Stephen's, and a few others with him, and he calls himself pope Benedict XIV. The first, pope Martin, was elected at Constance, by the consent of all Christendom. Clement was elected at Paniscella, after the death of Benedict XIII., by three of his cardinals. The third, called pope

Benedict XIV., living at Paniscella, was elected in secret by the cardinal of St. Stephen's. Would you supplicate the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that by his infinite mercy he would declare to us by you which of the three above-mentioned is the true pope, and to which he would be pleased we should obey from the present henceforth, whether to Benedict or to Clement: and in whom we ought to believe, whether secretly or by any other dissimulation, public or manifest; for we shall be always ready to act the will and the pleasure of our Lord Jesus Christ. Every thing to you,

“COMTE D'ARMAGNAC.”

To the above communication Jeanne d'Arc transmitted the following reply: —

“JESUS ☩ MARIA.

“Comte d'Armagnac,

“*Mon très cher et bon amy, Jheanne la Pucelle vous fait sçavoir que votre message est venus par devers moi, lequel m'a dict que l'avéz envoyé par de ça pour sçavoir de moi auquel des trois papes que mandez par mémoire vous deviez croire; de la quelle chose ne vous puis bonnement faire sçavoir au vray pour le présent, jusques à ce que je sois à Paris ou ailleurs à requoy; car je suis pour le présent trop empeschée aux faicts de la guerre: mais quand vous saurez que je serai*

à Paris, envoyez moi un message par devers moi, et je vous ferai sçavoir tout au vrai auquel vous devez croire,* et que en aurez sçu par le conseil de mon Souverain Seigneur le Roy de tout le monde, et que en aurez affaire à tout mon pouvoir. A Dieu vous commens. Dieu soit garde de vous! Escrit à Compiègne † le XXII. jour d'Août, 1429.

“ JESUS MARIA.

“ Count d'Armagnac,

“ My very dear and good friend, Jeanne la Pucelle makes known to you that your message has come to me ; the which states that you have

* Jeanne d'Arc complained, in the course of the fifth interrogatory, that her words had been changed. It seems that it was especially the case respecting this answer, wherein she professed herself dubious as to which of the popes was entitled to obedience. She says, that she obeyed the pope then sitting at Rome, (Martin V., elected by the Council of Constance, after the abdication of Gregory XII. and the deposing of John XXIII. and Benedict XIII.), and that the answer she gave to the messenger of the comte d'Armagnac was to that effect. — *Observations of Lenglet*. See also *Laverdy*, p. 44.

N. B. This comte d'Armagnac was Jean IV., son of the famous constable, of whom we have so frequently spoken in our Summary.

† The statement made in the Itinerary is thus substantiated, (vol. ii. note 27, page 22,) where it is said, “ that the king arrived at Compiègne on the 22d of August, the monarch being usually accompanied by Jeanne d'Arc.”

sent to me to know in which of the three popes, whom you name from recollection, you ought to believe; of the which thing cannot I verily know the truth for the present, until I shall be at Paris, or elsewhere, in quiet, for I am at present too much hindered by affairs of war; but when you shall learn that I am at Paris, send a messenger to me, and I will make known to you for a truth in whom you ought to believe, and that I shall have learned by the counsel of my Sovereign Lord the King of all the world, and then you will see the whole of my power. To God I commend you. May God be your guard! Written at Compiègne this XXIII. day of August, 1429."

The constable, comte de Richemont, thinking it humiliating to continue in a state of inactivity, quitted his retreat at Parthenay, and passing the Loire, took the castle of Gallerande, that of Ramefort, and the important fortress of Malicorne, from the English. He then advanced towards Evreux, with a force not so formidable from its numbers as from its bravery. The duke of Bedford, seeing Normandy threatened in two directions, (for he did not doubt but it was the king's intention to penetrate into that province,) took the route for Rouen, passing through St. Denis. Charles VII., apprized of the regent's departure, resolved to quit Compiègne, and direct his march

towards Paris. The royal forces, in consequence, encamped at Senlis, when Pont-Sainte, Maxence, Choisy, Chantvilly, and a number of less important places, opened their gates as soon as summoned to surrender by the king's heralds at arms.

The various accounts which had arrived in the capital, the example of so many cities reduced to the obedience of Charles VII., the inactivity of the duke of Burgundy, and the absence of the duke of Bedford, all combined to raise a hope that an attempt upon Paris might be attended with success. The king first presented himself before St. Denis, which town threw open its gates to receive him, when the monarch immediately proceeded to offer up thanks to Heaven, in the great church where the remains of his royal ancestors were deposited.

While at this town, the people of Lagny*

* "Jeanne d'Arc was desirous of remaining with the garrison of Saint Denis, but the lords of the court obliged her to follow them. On the twelfth of September the king left Saint Denis; and being given to understand that the people of the city of Lagny on the Marne wished to submit to his authority, he repaired thither, accompanied by La Pucelle. During the period of her continuance in this town, a still-born infant was carried to the church, which, having been kept for three days, was black and livid, no appearance whatsoever of life being apparent in the babe. The girls of the city supplicated Jeanne d'Arc to visit the church

despatched several of the principal inhabitants to offer their submission to the king. It was also during her stay at St. Denis, that Jeanne d'Arc broke the famous sword which was found in the church of Sainte Catherine de Fierbois over the shoulders of a prostitute: of which circumstance we have given an account in the Notes to the Diary, vol. i. p. 171.

The Parisians, however, did not show any disposition to send a deputation to the king; indeed they seemed to entertain the most loyal sentiments towards the English, and an implacable hatred towards their legitimate monarch. This sentiment

with them, for the purpose of imploring the mercy of God, that he would be pleased to restore the child to life, in order to receive baptism. Happily, after some time spent in prayer, the infant gaped several times and began to move, and its colour returned: it was baptized, and died shortly after. The judges of La Pucelle, men not only unjust, but iniquitous, strove to construe this miracle into a crime, as if she had sought to attribute the deed to her special interference. Jeanne, however, defended herself with great wisdom; stating, in reply, that the act was solely due to the mercy of the Lord, who had favourably listened to the prayers devoutly offered up."—*Lenglet*, vol. i. pages 119—121.

The above circumstance was adduced as incontestable evidence against Jeanne d'Arc during her trial; and we merely record it as one of the miraculous tales connected with La Pucelle, leaving the reader to form his own conjectures upon the subject.

was promoted as much as possible by the enemies of Charles, who, among various other tales, made the Parisians believe that it was the king's intention, in the event of his subjugating the capital, to destroy the city, and level the streets with the plough-share. Notwithstanding this inauspicious state of things, the royal forces performed daily skirmishes at the gates of Paris; and the generals at length came to the resolution of attempting an attack of a more serious nature.

Jeanne d'Arc, the duke d'Alençon, and a number of other captains, marched from St. Denis on the 7th September, with a considerable force, to occupy the village of La Chapelle. The following day, which was the festival of the nativity of the Virgin, the artillery being disposed in various directions, a vigorous fire was kept up against the ramparts of the city. The French had brought with them a number of waggons and carts loaded with rubbish, to fill up the moat; and the attack was commenced between the gate St. Honoré and that of St. Denis. The defence of this post had been confided to English troops, who, in the first instance, made the most determined resistance; but they were ultimately forced to give way to the impetuosity of the assailants. The English, therefore, abandoned the gate, and re-entered the place, leaving the besiegers in possession of the barrier and the boulevard. It appears that La Pucelle acted a con-

spicuous part in this affair, and signalized herself by proofs of her accustomed valour. She captured the sword of one of the leading combatants of the British army.

Jeanne d'Arc, finding the garrison of Paris so little disposed to defend the city, resolved to assault the place; but she was not aware of the quantity of water which was in the ditches. She caused plenty of rubbish and faggots, however, to be brought, and the whole were precipitated into the fosse, by which means she was enabled to attain the brink of the second moat. She then proceeded to sound the depth of the water with her lance: meanwhile fresh faggots were thrown in as near the walls as possible, and the soldiers displayed a firm resolution to scale the heights. At this juncture the citizens, who were occupied at prayers in the churches, quitted those places of worship in alarm, and hastened to shut themselves up in their houses. La Pucelle, standing erect on the narrow space which separated the two moats, maintained a firm footing amidst a shower of arrows, encouraging the French soldiers, and directing the various operations, while at her side waved her banner, borne by an intrepid warrior. The cries, the menaces, and the opprobrious epithets, lavished upon her by the besieged, did not produce the least impression on her mind. She remained cool and unshaken, crying out incessantly, "Surrender the

city to the king of France!" In this most hazardous situation an arrow at length struck the intrepid heroine, who was grievously wounded: her standard-bearer also received an arrow in the leg, and in the act of stooping to extricate the dart, was pierced by a second shaft between the eyes, and dropped dead at her feet. Notwithstanding this event, Jeanne d'Arc would not quit the spot, so eager was she to enter the city, although the night was fast approaching; wherefore the duke d'Alençon was under the necessity of personally requesting her to desist. From every thing we have been able to collect relative to this spirited attack, we should unhesitatingly conclude that the jealousy of many of the leading commanders was displayed towards La Pucelle on this occasion; and that she was by no means efficiently seconded in her daring resolution, which otherwise, in all probability, might have been crowned by success.*

This attempt upon Paris therefore failed, and the French retraced their steps to La Chapelle.

* M. Luchet, at p. 24, adopting his ordinary doubtful mode of speaking in regard to the exploits and miraculous mission of Jeanne d'Arc, thus expresses himself: "La Pucelle continued to follow the army which laid siege to Paris. Our heroine was wounded there by an arrow, which pierced her thigh. The danger to which she was exposed, says the last history of France, led Jeanne to imagine that her merit and warlike actions had

On the following day the army entered Saint Denis, at which place Charles had remained with his arrière-guard.

The event of the preceding evening having completely opened the eyes of Jeanne d'Arc in respect to her secret enemies, she strenuously renewed her entreaties with the king for permission to return to her native plains, and to spend the residue of her days in peaceful obscurity. Fresh representations were, however, made to La Pucelle, which induced her to continue with the army; for the king could not make up his mind to allow the absence of one who produced such enthusiasm in the minds of his followers. When we reflect on the cruel catastrophe that awaited this extraordinary girl, it is impossible to avoid the most painful sensations, since she fell a sacrifice to the petty animosities of those for whose service she had hazarded her life, who nevertheless recompensed her magnanimous conduct with the basest ingratitude and the most cowardly treachery.

Jeanne d'Arc proceeded with the king to those provinces bordering on the Loire, whither it was

raised up envious persons against her. This was being jealous of Heaven itself, for the mere thought of its special protection should have cancelled all idea of rivalry: she was, in consequence, desirous of retiring, but, unfortunately, that wise resolution was prevented."

deemed expedient to march the army. It appears that the wound of La Pucelle did not prove dangerous, since she was permitted to undertake the journey. However, to testify her devotion, before she proceeded on her route, she offered up to Saint Denis, according to the custom adopted in those days by persons wounded in war, a trophy consisting of the complete equipment of a man at arms, together with the sword which she had taken before Paris. This offering Jeanne caused to be hung against one of the pillars in the church of Saint Denis.*

The king, accompanied by La Pucelle, made his triumphant entry into Gien about the end of September; being not more than three months after he had set out to undertake one of the most hazardous expeditions which the history of France has recorded.

Charles VII. continued for some days at Gien, from whence he proceeded to Tours, and thence to Chinon. The queen, who was desirous of being near her husband, went to meet the monarch; and La Pucelle, who had their reconciliation much at

* Jeanne was accused of having hung banners in the church of Saint Denis, for the purpose of attracting public veneration, whereas she only sought to render homage to God on account of the success attending the French arms. — *Chaussard*, vol. i, pages 47, 48.

heart, beheld with satisfaction this proceeding on the part of Mary of Anjou. Jeanne, in consequence, preceded the king and his retinue, and went in person to meet the royal consort; when Charles, instead of continuing his route to Chinon, consented to repair to Bourges, whither he returned with the queen.

Jeanne d'Arc, during her continuance at the latter city, resided in the house of Renaud de Boulogne, the king's advocate and receiver of the finances, where she remained for the space of three weeks, regularly sharing the bed of the mistress of the mansion.

Although the wonderful exploits of La Pucelle had acquired her the greatest renown, she had not hitherto received any signal mark of the royal favour. It was in the month of December, 1429, that the letters of nobility were accorded by Charles VII. to Jeanne d'Arc and her family; and from that time it was the king's pleasure that she should be clothed in rich apparel, and that the full establishment and retinue of a count should be attached to her person.*

* Lenglet says, (vol. i. p. 123,) "The king being at Berri, forwarded to Meung, in the month of December, letters patent, which were registered in the Chamber of Accounts the 16th January, 1430, whereby La Pucelle, with all her family, was ennobled; and he moreover gave them the name of *DULYS*."

"The females of the family of Jeanne d'Arc only enjoyed this

From the period of Charles's return to Gien, a discussion had existed as to the propriety of again undertaking the expedition to Normandy, and entrusting the command to La Pucelle and the duke d'Alençon. It appears, however, that the project was adopted which had been proposed previous to the departure for Rheims,—that of seizing all the strong places on the banks of the Loire which remained in possession of the enemy. In consequence of this resolution, the siege of Saint Pierre le Moutier was decided upon, before the attempt upon La Charité on the Loire. Jeanne d'Arc and the lord d'Albret, who were charged with this expedition, united their forces at Bourges, and soon proceeded from thence to the first-mentioned place; and upon this occasion, as upon so many others, La Pucelle distinguished herself by perseverance, courage, and intrepidity. In consequence of a vigorous resistance on the part of the besieged, the French already began to feel their courage subdued. Jeanne remained almost alone on the walls of the town, calling aloud for faggots and other materials necessary to fill up the fosse.* At

distinction for six years, the parliament having afterwards limited such favour to the male descendants."—*Luchet*, p. 25.

The armorial bearings of La Pucelle were:—azure: a sword in pale argent, cross and pomel or, bearing on point a crown or, between two fleurs-de-lis of the second.

* "The attack was then directed for some time on Saint Pierre

length, reanimated by her undaunted perseverance in the midst of danger, the forces suddenly rallied at the voice of the heroine, and the city was immediately taken.

After this victory Jeanne d'Arc was desirous of marching the army to the Isle of France, where the English had obtained some advantages, and retaken some fortresses from the French. It was, however, represented to her, that it would be more politic to attack La Charité on the Loire, with which proposal she acquiesced; another striking instance of her submissiveness after the accomplishment of her mission: indeed, it now appeared as if she made it a duty to conform to the wishes of the

le Moutier; the French commenced the assault of the place, but found themselves compelled to sound a retreat; notwithstanding which, Jeanne continued firm at her post. Daulon, who had been wounded in the heel by an arrow, entreated her to retire, at the same time asking why she did not follow the rest? La Pucelle, then taking off her helmet to make her obeisance, answered, that she was not alone, for that fifty thousand of her people were with her, and that she had no intention of retiring until the town should be taken. Daulon, seeing only five or six soldiers present, again exhorted her to retire; but instead of following his advice, she ordered fresh materials to be thrown into the fosse, and the city was almost immediately captured. Charles soon after entered Pierre le Moutier, Jeanne marching before him, bearing her standard. She took care to preserve the church from pillage, so that every thing it contained was religiously respected." — *Chaussard*, vol. i. p. 50.

generals, and to set aside the opinion she might herself entertain on the proceedings as they occurred. In this expedition La Pucelle followed the lord d'Albret and the marshal of Saint Sevère; the troops under their command being few in number, and the place intended to be besieged of considerable strength. Arrangements were, in consequence, made for the attack; but more than a month transpired ere the besiegers made any progress, and the city showed no disposition to capitulate. Several very sanguinary assaults having been attempted without producing a favourable result, the French were at length compelled to raise the siege and abandon all their artillery. While this ill success attended the attack on La Charité, the intrepid La Hire, having scaled the walls of Louviers, took possession of that city.

During these transactions the duke of Burgundy, wholly occupied with the preparations for his marriage, forgot alike his allies the English, and the affairs of the country. This prince abandoned the environs of the capital to all the horrors of war, and the most abject misery reigned especially throughout Paris; so that the royal troops proceeded to skirmish under the very walls of the city. About this time the French got possession of Melun by surprise, when the English and the Burgundians, being anxious to repossess the place, were repulsed by the enemy. It appears that La

Pucelle, on hearing that Melun was threatened, repaired amongst the foremost to the scene of action, and was a sharer of the victory.

In the month of April, 1429, a conspiracy was discovered in Paris, which had for its object the surrender of the city to Charles VII. ; but it proved unsuccessful, and the principal actors in the plot were executed as traitors.

The period was now fast approaching when the heroine of Domremy was herself to become a captive. The supernatural agents who visited her appeared on the fosse of Melun,* according to her statement, and announced: "That before the festival of St. John she would fall into the power of her enemies — that it could not be avoided — that she must not be affrighted, but accept the cross with gratitude; and that God would support her strength and her courage."

Jeanne d'Arc then prayed to her two protecting saints, that they would entreat the Lord that she might die as soon as taken, and thus be spared the torments of a lingering captivity. They answered her prayers by recommending patience and resignation, refusing to reveal to her the day and

* Lenglet says, (vol. i. p. 124,) "She (Jeanne) stated, that passing through Melun about Easter, she had had either a presentiment, or a species of inspiration, that she would be taken and delivered over to the English before the festival of Saint John of 1430."

the hour when she would be deprived of her liberty. From this moment, Jeanne affirmed, the two saints almost daily warned her of the misfortune that awaited her : and she entirely refrained from giving her advice during the deliberations of the council of war, being silently submissive to the decision of her superiors. She did not, however, make known these revelations ; and she continued to display, upon all occasions, her accustomed hardihood, and to brave impending dangers with the same fearlessness as before.

La Pucelle once more took up arms. She had quitted Berri, and marched into the Isle of France, for the fulfilment of her commission. She was at the head of a small body of troops, having several captains under her command ; but in this expedition Jean Daulon did not accompany her. She arrived at Lagny on the Marne, during the first days of May ; being nearly the same season at which, about a year before, she had entered Orleans, preparatory to the raising of the siege of that town.

It was speedily announced to La Pucelle, that a body of three or four hundred English or Burgundians were traversing the Isle of France, on their return, loaded with plunder, from ravaging the country round about Lagny. This troop was headed by Franquet of Arras, a warrior as detested for his cruelties as renowned for personal valour. Jeanne d'Arc, with Ambrose de Loré, Jean Foucault, and

a small band of troops collected by those two captains, set forward in pursuit of the enemy, whom they speedily encountered. A halt took place on each side, and the troops were marshalled in excellent order, when the onset commenced, which was so bravely contested that the victory continued for a length of time undecided. Twice the French were repulsed, and as often La Pucelle led them back to renew the combat: victory at length crowned the efforts of Jeanne with success; and the major part of the enemy were put to the sword, the remainder falling into the hands of the victors, among whom was the commander Franquet of Arras. La Pucelle, with her captive, entered Lagny in triumph; she was at first anxious to exchange him for the lord de Lours, who had been taken prisoner by the English; but Franquet of Arras having disgraced himself by numerous crimes, it was deemed expedient to consign him over to the hands of justice. Jeanne d'Arc, having ascertained that the prisoner for whom she was desirous of exchanging Franquet was no longer in existence, abandoned the latter to the bailiff of Senlis, where he was condemned to death by the judges of that town, and beheaded accordingly.* This execution,

* In Holinshed's Chronicle we have the following account of the taking of Franquet of Arras:—

“In the month of Maie, 1430, with a valiant man in feats

whether unjust or not, but whereof it is proved La Pucelle was wholly innocent, formed one of the

of armes, on the duke of Bourgognion's side, one Franquet and his band of three hundred souldiers, making all towards the maintenance of the siege, the Pusell Jone, and a foure hundred with hir, did meet. In great courage and force did she and hir people sundrie times assaile him, but he with his, (though much under in number,) by meanes of his archers, in good order set, did so hardilie withstand them, that for the first and second push she rather lost than wan. Wherat this captinesse, stricken into a fretting chafe, called out in all hast the garrison of Laignie, and from other the forts thereabout, who, thicke and threefold, came downe with might and maine, in armour and number so far exceeding Franquet's, that though they had doone hir much hurt in hir horsemen, yet by the verie multitude were they oppressed, most in hir furie put to the sword; and as for to Franquet, that worthie capteine himselfe, hir rage not appeased, till out of hand she had his head stroken off, contrarie to all manhood, (but she was a woman, if she were that,) and contrarie to common right and law of armes. The man for his merits was verie much lamented, and she by her malice then found of what spirit she was."—See p. 603.

“ This capture (of Franquet) drew down upon La Pucelle the hatred of the Burgundians, as if his imprisonment, and the execution that ensued, were to be attributed to her. The bishop of Beauvais sought to attach it as a crime to Jeanne d'Arc that she had caused the death of this officer, although she did not officiate among the number of his judges: on the contrary, she sought to have this man exchanged for a French captive detained by the English. His trial was the result of innumerable complaints made by the inhabitants of the surrounding districts, and the judges themselves represented to La Pucelle, that it did not

grounds for accusation which the English produced against her when her trial took place.

Compiègne was, however, speedily after threatened, when Jeanne d'Arc, who was at Lagny, immediately proceeded thither with the comte de Clermont and some troops. They first arrived at Soissons, the governor of which town, upon frivolous pretences, would not grant permission for the army to pass through the city. In consequence of this impediment, the forces were under the necessity of taking a circuitous road, in order to arrive at a bridge for the passage of the Oise. As the troops were destitute of provisions, the comte de Clermont judged it expedient to retire to the Loire; and the result was a complete failure in the operations

become her to intercede for a cut-throat, who had stained himself by crimes and murders in defiance of the laws of war; and that he, in consequence, deserved death an hundred times."

6 "The bishop of Beauvais further alleged that Jeanne had given money to the soldiers who had made Franquet prisoner; and having reproached her for this, during one of the interrogatories, she contented herself with making the following answer: "*Pensez-vous que je sois une argentière ou trésorière de France, pour donner ainsi de l'argent?*" Think you I am a money-changer, or the treasurer of France, that I should thus distribute money?"

Replies of this nature, so frequently made by La Pucelle, would not have failed to excite astonishment in more equitable judges.

which had been projected to render the enemy's plans abortive. Nevertheless Jeanne d'Arc refused to abandon a country where she conceived her presence to be necessary, and proceeded to Crespy, and from thence to Compiègne. She had made an appeal to all Frenchmen who were near enough to afford assistance to the city; and she was joined by Jacques de Chabanne, Theaulde Volpergue, Regnaut de Fontaines, Poton de Saintrilles, and many other knights renowned for valour, with about two thousand combatants. At this period the duke of Burgundy besieged the fortress of Choisy, situated in the peninsula which is formed by the rivers Aisne and Oise, affording a convenient point of communication between Compiègne and the other French cities.

In this state of affairs, Jeanne d'Arc resolved to attempt an attack on Pont l'Évêque and the other towns which furnished supplies to the enemy. Pont l'Évêque, garrisoned by the English, was on the point of being forced, when the troops which the duke of Burgundy had left at Noyon arrived to its succour. The French, being thus attacked by superior numbers, retreated in good order, and entered Compiègne laden with booty. In the interim the fortress of Choisy was obliged to capitulate, when the duke of Burgundy rased the castle to the ground, and rebuilt the bridge, over which his army marched to attack Compiègne to the north. This

event occurred during the absence of La Pucelle, who had retired to Lagny to procure fresh reinforcements; she, however, speedily returned, and threw herself into Compiègne, by which means she eluded the vigilance of the enemy.

The arrival of Jeanne d'Arc infused joy into the inhabitants of the town; who conceived that in this youthful heroine they beheld the protecting angel of France. Advantage was taken of this enthusiasm to march for the purpose of dislodging the enemy from their station at Marigny, at the extremity of the causeway, where they had fortified themselves. For this purpose La Pucelle, accompanied by several captains, issued from Compiègne by the gate of the bridge, at the head of about six hundred fighting men, as well infantry as cavalry, which force proceeded across the meadow.

On descrying the French who issued from the boulevard of the bridge, the Burgundians fell back in the direction of Marigny, crying out, "To arms!" The enemy then ranged themselves under Jean de Luxembourg, when the combat was begun under the most sanguinary auspices. Never did Jeanne d'Arc manifest more boldness and valour than upon this occasion: she twice repulsed the enemy, whose numbers continued increasing, until she drove the troops to their hold at Marigny. She attempted a third charge, and again compelled them to fall

back, but found it impossible to repulse them more than half way. The French, now perceiving that they must soon have to sustain the attack of the whole opposing army, gave way, directing their course towards the city. During this retrograde movement, La Pucelle marched in the rear, constantly turning round and facing the pursuers, in order to cover the retreat of her own party, and bring them back without further loss into the town. At this juncture the English advanced with the utmost celerity to cut off the retreat of the French forces; and the rapidity of this movement spread terror among the pursued, who hastened in tumult towards the barrier of the bridge boulevard, when the crush proved so dreadful that it was impossible to advance or to recede. The Burgundians, certain of being supported in every direction, made a most tremendous charge on the rear of the French squadrons, and thus spread disorder in all directions. Paralysed with terror, part of those who had fought at this spot precipitated themselves, armed, into the river, while many others surrendered themselves as prisoners. Jeanne d'Arc alone continued to defend herself with unshaken constancy. Being easily recognized by her purple-coloured dress, and the standard which she bore in one hand, while with the other she defended herself with her sword, she was soon surrounded by a crowd of warriors, who disputed with each other the honour

of making her captive. In spite of every impediment, La Pucelle arrived at the foot of the bridge boulevard : some writers have stated that she could not enter on account of the crowd, while others affirm that the gates were closed, which must have been the result of treachery. It is beyond all doubt that the fame of the heroine had awakened jealousy in the breasts of the chiefs of war, and therefore the treason of Guillaume de Flavi, who might have apprehended that Jeanne d'Arc would reap all the glory of saving Compiègne, is by no means improbable. Abandoned by all her companions in arms, and surrounded by assailants, La Pucelle displayed prodigies of valour to escape captivity. She sought to gain the open country on the side of Picardy; but a Burgundian knight, (some say, a bowman of Picardy,) seizing her by her vestments, dragged her from her horse. Thus, without pledging her faith to any one, was Jeanne captured, as she herself affirmed during her examination. The historian Monstrelet, a writer devoted to the Burgundian faction, pretends that she surrendered herself to Lyonel, Bastard of Vendôme, to whom she gave her word, and that he conducted her to Marigny, where she was placed under a very strong guard.*

* In order to show the manner in which the capture of Jeanne, as well as many other important events, were recorded by English

The capture of Jeanne d'Arc spread consternation among the French forces, while it excited the most

writers, we insert the following quotations, extracted from five of our principal chronicle histories. From thence it will be obvious, that although the revisal of Jeanne's sentence had occurred when the major part of these tales were recorded, yet no notice is taken by our historians of the depositions of such honourable personages as the comte Dunois, the duke d'Alençon, the knight Daulon, &c. whose representations completely refute many of the following statements. As it is impossible to discredit for a moment the testimonies delivered on oath by such characters as the above, we must of course infer, either that our writers were misinformed, or wilfully stigmatized the memory of an unfortunate girl, who had, for a short period, tarnished the laurels of our countrymen. No document extant in France tends to impeach, in the smallest degree, the uniform chastity of Jeanne d'Arc's sentiments; yet it appears from the chronicles of Caxton and Higden, that she adduced the plea of pregnancy in order to escape execution: and it is not less painful to observe that our divine Shakspeare has tarnished his pages by a repetition of that falsehood, rendered more disgusting by the manner in which it is told, in the First Part of Henry VI., act v. sc. 4, which runs as follows:—

Puc. Will nothing turn your unrelenting hearts?

Then, Joan, discover thine infirmity,

That warranteth by law thy privilege.—

I am with child, ye bloody homicides!

Murder not then the fruit within my womb,

Although ye hale me to a violent death.

York. Now Heav'n forefend! the holy maid with child?

War. The greatest miracle that e'er you wrought:

Is all your strict preciseness come to this?

enthusiastic joy through the Burgundian and English ranks. The latter flocked in crowds to see

York. She and the Dauphin have been juggling, sure:
I did imagine what would be her refuge.

War. Well, go to, we will have no bastards live;
Especially since Charles must father it.

Puc. You are deceiv'd, my child is none of his;
It was Alençon that enjoy'd my love.

York. Alençon! that notorious Machiavel!
It dies, and if it had a thousand lives.

Puc. O! give me leave! I have deluded you;
'Twas neither Charles, nor yet the duke I nam'd,
But Reignier, king of Naples, that prevail'd.

War. A married man! that's most intolerable.

York. Why, here's a girl! I think she knows not well,
There were so many whom she may accuse.

War. It's sign, she had been liberal and free.

York. And yet, forsooth, she is a virgin pure.—
Strumpet, thy words condemn thy brat and thee:
Use no entreaty, for it is in vain.

Puc. Then lead me hence :—with whom I leave my curse.
May never glorious sun reflex his beams
Upon the country where you make abode,
But darkness, and the gloomy shade of death,
Environ you, till mischief and despair
Drive you to break your necks, or hang yourselves!

[*Exit guarded.*]

York. Break them in pieces, and consume to ashes
Those foul accursed ministers of hell!"

"About this tyme and afore y^e reame beyng in grete mysery
and trybulacyon, the Dolphyn began to make warres and gate

this girl of eighteen, whose name alone, during the last year, had made them tremble, and spread terror

certaine places and made dystresses upon the Englyshemen by y^e meane of his capytaynes, y^t is to saye, la Heer and Poton de Sayntraylles, and in especyall a mayde, the which they named La Pucelle de Dieu.

“ This made rode lyke a man and was a valyaunt capytayne amonge them, and toke upon her many grete enterpryses, in so moche y^t they had a byleve for to have recovered al theyr losses by her. Notwithstandyng at y^e last, after many grete feates, by the helpe and prudence of syr John Luxemburgh, y^e whiche was a noble captayne of y^e duke of Burgoyne, and many Englyshmen, Pycardes and Bourgoynons, whiche were of oure partye before y^e towne of Compyne y^e xxiii daye of Maye, the forsayd Pucelle was taken in the felde armed lyke a man, and many other capytaynes with her and were all brought to Rone, and there she was put in to pryson. And there she was judged by lawe to be brent. And that she sayd y^t she was w^ot chylde, whereby she was a whyle respited. But in conclusion it was founden y^t she was not with chylde and than she was brent in Rone and y^e other capytayns were put to raunsome and entreted as men of warre been accustomed.”—*Caston's Chronicle, imprinted by Wynkyn de Worde, 1515, verso of fol. clii.*

“ Aboute this tyme and afore, the reame beyng in grete myserye and trybulacion, the Dolphyn with his partye began to make warre and gate certayne places, and made detresses upon Englyshemen by the meane of his capytaynes. That is to wyte, La Heer and Poton de Sentrailles. And in especyall a mayde whiche they namyd La Pucelle de Dieu. This mayde rode lyke a man. And was a valyaunt capytayne amonge them. And toke up on her many and grete enterpryers; in so moche that they had a byleve to have recoverde all theyr losses by her. Not-

even to the walls of London. "Never," says Villaret, "did the victories of Crecy, of Poitiers, or

withstandyng, at laste, after many grete faytes by helpe and prowesse of syre Johan Luxembrydye whiche was a noble capytayne of y^e dukes of Burgoyne and many Englyshe men, Pycardes and Burgonyons whiche were of our party before the towne of Compyne, the thre and twentyest daye of Maye, the sayd Pucell was take in the felde armyd lyke a man and many other captyns with her; and all brought to Roan, and there she was judged by the lawe to be brente. And thenne she sayde that she was with chyld, wherby she was respyted a whyle. But in conclusyon it was founde that she was not with chyld. And then she was brente in Roan. And the other captaynes were putt to raunsonne."—*Higden's Polychronicon*, 1527. fol. 335.

"In thys very season the English men in the colde moneth of December besieged the towne of Laigny, in the which was the Puzel and divers other good capitaynes. But the weather was so cokde, and the rayne so great and continuall, that they of force compelled, not by their enemies, but by the intemperate season, reysed their siege: and in their returne, the Puzell and al the garrison within the towne issued out and fought with the English men, where (after long fighting) both parties departed without eyther great gaine or losse. After this enterprise done, the duke of Burgoyne accompanied with the erles of Arundell and Suffolke, and the lorde John of Luxenbrough, wyth a great puyssaunce, besieged the towne of Compeigne: which towne was well walled, manned and vytailed, so that the besiegers must eyther by assault or long taryeng, wearie or famishe them within the towne. So they cast trenches, and made mynes, and studied all the wayes that they could devise, howe to compasse their conquest and enterprise. And it happened in the night of the Ascension of our Lorde, that Ponthon of Xentrales, Jone

of Azincourt, excite such transport: the feeling was carried even to frenzy."

the Puzell, and five or six hundred men of armes, issued out of Compeigne, by the gate of the bridge towarde Mownt-dedier, intending to set fyre in the tents and lodgings of the lorde of Baudo, which was then gone to Marigny, for the duke of Burgoyns affayres. At which time syr John of Luxemborough, wyth eyght other gentlemen (which had riden about the towne to serche and viewe, in what place the towne might be most aptly and conveniently assaulted or scaled,) were come nere to the lodging of the lorde of Baudo, where they espyed the French men, which beganne to cut downe tents, overthrowe pavilions, and kill men in their beds. Wherefore shortly they assembled a great number of men, as well English as Burgonions, and couragiously set on the Frenche men. Sore was the fight and great was the slaughter, in so much that the French men, not able longer to indure, fled into the towne so fast, that one letted the other to enter. In which chace was taken, Jone the Puzell, and divers other: which Jone was sent to the duke of Bedford to Roan, where (after long examination) she was brent to ashes. This witch or manly woman (called the mayde of God) the French men greatly glorified and highly extolled, alleging that by her Orleaunce was vitayled: by her king Charles was sacred at Reynes, and that by her the Englishe men were often times put back and overthrowne. O Lorde, what disprays is this to the nobilitie of Fraunce: what blot is this to the Frenche nation: what more rebuke can be amputed to a renowned region, then to affirme, write and confesse, that all notable victories, and honorable conquestes, which neyther the king with his power, nor the nobilitie with their valiantnesse, nor the counsayle with their wit, nor the

As early as the day ensuing, being the 25th May, 1430, news arrived at Paris of the taking

commonaltie with their strength, could compasse or obtaine, were gotten and achived by a shepherdes daughter, a chamberlein in an hostrie, and a beggars brat: which blinding the wittes of the French nation, by revelations, dreames, and phantasticall visions, made them beleve things not to be supposed, and to geve fayth to things impossible. For surely, if credite may be geven to the actes of the clergie, openly done, and commonly shewed, thys woman was not inspired with the Holy Ghost, nor sent from God (as the French men beleeve), but an enchanteresse, an organe of the devill, sent from Sathan, to blinde the people, and bring them in unbelieve: as by a letter sent from the king of England may appere: but for that the same is long, I thought it sufficient to rehearse the effect thereof, which was as foloweth.

“ First, that she, two yeres and more, contrarie to Gods lawe, and the honest estate of womanhood, was clothed in mans apparell, and exercised the office of a capitayne in the warres.

“ Also, she affirmed that she was sent of God, and that she had spoken personally with God.

“ Also, she caused her selfe to be honored and worshipped of many, as a woman sanctified.

“ And for a true declaration of the falsitie and lewdnesse of her doing, she being called before the byshop and the university of Paris, was there with great solempnity adjudged and condemned, a superstitious sorceresse, and a divelische blasphemeres of God, and as an erronyous wretch was consumed with fyre. And at the time of her death, she confessed how the devill had deluded and deceived her.

“ This letter the king of England sent not onely to the duke

of Jeanne d'Arc, when public rejoicings were ordered, *Te Deum* was sung in the metropolitan

of Burgoyne and other princes, to declare the veritie of the matter, and the administration of justice, but to admonishe all rude and ignoraunt persons, in all other countries, to refraine from the credite and beliefe of the sayengs, of suchē prophane prophecies, and craftie imaginers, as this pievishe painted Puzell was. Yet notwithstanding this lawfull processe, this due examination and publike sentence, John Buchet, and divers French wryters, affirme her to be a saint in heaven. But because it is no point of our fayth, no man is bound to beleve his judgement, although he were an achdeken. But Paulus Emilius, a famous wryter, rehersing that the citizens of Orleance, had buylded in the honor of her an image or an idole, sayth that Pius Byshop of Rome, and Anthony Byshop of Florence, much marvayled and greatly woudered at her actes and doings. With which saiying, I can very well agree, that she was more to be marvayled at, as a false prophetisse, and seducer of the people, then to be honored or worshipped as a saint sent from God into the realme of Fraunce. For of this I am sure, that all auncient wryters, as well divine as prophane, allege these three thinges beside dyvers other, to apperteine to a good woman. First shamefastnesse, which the Romaine ladies so kept, that seldome or never they were seene openly talking with a man: which vertue at this day amongst the Turkes is highly esteemed. The second is pittie: which in a womans hart abhorreth the spylling of the bloud of a poore beast, or a siely birde. The thirde is womanly behaviour, advoyding the occasion of evill judgement and causes of slaunder. If these qualities be, of necessitie, incident to a good woman, where was her shamefastnesse, when she daylie and nightly was conversant with comen souldiours and men of warre, amongst whome is small honestie, lesse vertue,

church, and bonfires were kindled throughout the city.

and shamefastnesse least of all exercised or used? where was her womanly pittie, when she taking to her the heart of a cruell beast, slue man, woman and childe, where she might have the upper hande? where was her womanly behaviour, when she cladde her selfe in a man's clothing, and was conversant with every losell, geving an occasion to all men to judge, and speake evill of her and her doings? Then these things, being thus plainly true, all men must needes confesse, that the cause ceasing, the effect also ceaseth: so that if these morall vertues lacking, she was no good woman, then it must needes consequently folow, that she was no saint."—*Grafton's Chron.* fol. 544.

" In this tyme and season that the kyng laye at Calais, many skirmishes were foughten betwene the Englishemenne, and the Frenchmenne prevailed by the helpe of a woman, whiche thei, as before is touched, named the maiden of God. So that lastly, she with her compaignie came to a towne called Compeyne, to the entent to remove the seyge laide thereunto by the duke of Burgoyne and other of the English capitaines. And thereupon the xxiii daye of Maye, she gave battaile unto the Englishmene and Burgonions and fought with them long tyme. But in the ende, by the manliode of a Burgonion knight, named Sir John Luxemburghe, she was taken on live, and hir compaignie distressed, and she caryed to the citee of Roan, and there kept a season, for so much as she feined her with chyld. But when y^e contrary of it was knowne, she was therefore judged and brente."—*Fabian's Chronicle*, fol. 380.

" And for that I before in the viii yeare of Henrye the VI, promysed in the vi yeare of thys Charles to shewe unto you somewhat of the mayden or Pucelle, whyche the Frenchmen named La Pucel de Dieu, and her for a messenger from God to be sente reputed, I shall here followe the sayng of Gagwyn, which

The joy of the enemies of La Pucelle was in proportion to the terror which her exploits had

sayth as followeth. In the vi yeare or thereabout, to reckon frome the deathe of thys Charles' father, a wench or mayden, bred in a stret or wyllage, called in Latyn Wallicolor, and in thys tyme beyng spronge to the age of xx yeares or thereabout, havng to father a poore man, named Jakes Delarch, and her mother Izabel, she also beryng the name of Jane or Johan, requyred by dyvers and sondrye tymes an uncle of heys, beyng perfect of the forsayde vyllage, that he wold presente her unto the Frenche kyng for thynges concernyng greatlye the weale of hym and of hys realme. Whyche sayde perfecte, after manye delaies, for so much as in her wordes he hadde lytle trust, yet at length her sayde uncle beyng named Roberte Baudryncourte, sent her wyth a convenyente companie unto the kyng wyth letters certifyng hym of all y^e maner of thys mayde. Whereof the sayde Charles beyng ascertained, thought he wolde use some meane to knowe the vertue of thys wenche.

“ And for he had perfecte experyence y^e before tymes this woman had never sene hys person, he thoughte he wold chaunge hys come and habyte, to see whyther she, by her vertue, coulde knowe hym frome other; and that done, he standyng among other of his familiars as one of them, she was called into the chamber, and demanded yf ever before tyme she had sene the kyng. And after she had answered nay, she was bidden to espye out the king, whyche there stode amonge that companie.

“ The whych anone, wythout diffyculte hym fonde, and saluted as king. And albeit, that he refused her reverence, and sayde that she erred in her choyse, yet she persevered knelyng at hys feete, and sayde that by Godde's purvyauce she was taughte that he was her very soveraygne prynce and none other. Wherefore the kyng and all hys lordes had her in more affyaunce, that

occasioned. Her name alone had caused the desertion of the soldiery to such an extent, that the

by her the lande shuld be releved, whyche at that daye was in passynge miserye.

“ Than after dyvers questyons to her made, what was the cause of her commynge thether, she aunswered and sayde, that she was sente frome God, to stablyshe the kynge in hys realme, and that by her she beyng leder and captayne of hys people, by dyvyn grace onlye the kynge shulde shortly subdue hys enemies. By reason of whyche wordes, the kynge with hys lordes were some dele comforted.

“ Upon thys, armoure and sworde was soughte for this mayden, which, as sayth my sayde autoure, was founden myraculouslye, whereof the processe to me apereth so darke and fantastycall, that therewith me lyst not to blot my boke, but suffer it to passe by. Than thys wenche beyng purveyed of all thynges necessarye to the warre, a companie of knyghtes and souldyours to her by the kynge was assygned. And so she rydyng as a man, and in man’s habyte contynued by y^e space of two yeres and more, and did many wonderfull feates, and gat from the Englyshe menne many stronge townes and holdes. Wherefore among the Frenchmen she was worshypped for an aungell, or a messenger sente frome God, to releve thyr great myserye. And as affyrmeth the sayde authoure, she by her provydence caused y^e sayde Charles as king of Fraunce to be crowned at Raynes, in the year of our Lorde MIIIC and XXIX.

“ Albeit, nother the Frenche cronycle nor other whyche I have seene testyfyeth that, but affyrmeth that he was not crowned during the lyfe of the duke of Bedforde. But Almyghtye God, whych for a season suffereth suche sorcery and devylysh wayes to prospere and reygne, to the correccyon of synners, lastelye, to shewe hys powre, and that good men shuld not fall into anye

regent duke of Gloucester found himself compelled to issue a proclamation against those captains

erreure, he sheweth the clearenesse of suche mysticall thynges, and so he dyd in thys. For lastlye, she by a knyghte Burgonyon was taken, and after sent to Roan, and ther brent for her demerites, as in the viii yere of Henry VI is more at length shewed." — *Fabian's Chronicle*, fol. 428 & 429.

"At the verie same time that Campeigne was besieged (as before is said) sir John of Lutzenburgh, with eight other gentlemen, chanced to be neere unto the lodging of the said lord Bawdo, where they espied the Frenchmen, which began to cut downe tents, overthrow pavilions, and kill men in their beds: whereupon they with all speed assembled a great number of men, as well English as Burgognions, and couragiously set on the Frenchmen, and in the end beat them backe into the towne, so that they fled so fast that one letted another, as they would have entered. In the chase and pursute was the Pusell taken, with diverse other, besides those that were slaine, which were no small number. Diverse were hurt also on both parts. Among the Englishmen, sir John Montgomerie had his arme broken, and Sir John Steward was shot into the thigh with a quarell.

"[As before ye have heard somewhat of this damsel's strange beginning and proceedings, so sith the ending of all such miracle-mongers dooth (for the most part) plainelie decipher the vertue and power that they worke, by hir shall ye be advertised what at last became of hir; cast your opinions as ye have cause. Of hir lovers (the Frenchmen) reported one, how in Campeigne thus besieged, Guillaume de Flavie the capteine having sold hir aforeband to the lord of Lutzenburgh, under colour of hasting hir with a band out of the towne towards their king, for him with speed to come and leavie the siege there; so gotten hir forth he shut the gates after hir, when anon by the Burgognians set upon

and soldiers who were terrified by the enchantments of Jeanne d'Arc.

and overmatcht in the conflict she was taken: marie yet (all things accounted) to no small marvell how it could come so to passe, had she beene of any devotion or of true beleefe, and no false miscreant, but all holie as she made it. For earlie that morning she gat hir to saint Jameses church, confessed hir, and received hir Maker (as the booke termes it) and after setting hir selfe to a piller, manie of the townesmen that with a five or six score of their children stood about there to see hir, unto them (quod she) ' Good children and my deere freends, I tell you plaine one hath sold me. I am betraied and shortlie shall be delivered to death: I beseech you praie to God for me, for I shall never have more power to doo service either to the king or to the realme of France againe.'

" Saith another booke, she was intrapt by a Picard capteine of Soissons, who sold that citie to the duke of Burgognie, and he then put it over into the hands of the lord-of Lutzenburgh; so by that meanes the Burgognians approched and besieged Campeigne, for succour whereof as damsell Jone with hir capteins from Laignie was thither come, and dailie to the English gave manie a hot skirmish, so happened it on a daie in an outsallie that she made by a Picard of the lord of Lutzenburgh's band, in the fiercest of hir fight she was taken, and by him by and by to his lord presented, who sold hir over againe to the English, who for witchcraft and sorcerie burnt hir at Rone. Tillet telleth it thus, that she was caught at Campeigne by one of the earle of Ligneis soldiers, from him had to Beavrevoir castell, where kept a three months, she was after for ten thousand pounds in monie and three hundred pounds rent (all Turnois) sold into the English hands.

" In which for hir pranks so uncouth and suspicious, the lord

Shortly after, falling into the hands of her foes, La Pucelle was sold by the bastard of Vendôme

regent by Peter Chauchon bishop of Beauvois (in whose diocese she was taken) caused hir life and beleefe, after order of law, to be inquired upon and examined. Wherein found, though a virgin, yet first shamefullie rejecting hir sex abominable in acts and apparell to have counterfeit mankind, and then all damnable faithlesse, to be a pernicious instrument to hostilitie and bloudshed in divelische witchcraft and sorcerie, sentence accordinglie was pronouced against hir. Howbeit, upon humble confession of hir iniquities, with a counterfeit contrition, pretending a carefull sorow for the same, execution spared and all mollified into this, that from thencefoorth she should cast off hir unnaturall wearing of man's abilliments, and keepe hir to garments of hir owne kind, abjure hir pernicious practises of sorcerie and witcherie, and have life and leasure in perpetuall prison to bewaile hir misdeeds. Which to performe (according to the maner of abjuration) a solemne oth verie gladlie she tooke.

“ But herein, God helpe us, she fullie afore possest of the feend, not able to hold hir in anie towardnesse of grace, falling streight waie into hir former abominations, and yet seeking to eetch out life as long as she might, stake not, though the shift were shamefull, to confesse hir selfe a strumpet, and, unmarried as she was, to be with child. For triall, the lord regent's lenitie gave hir nine moneths staie, at the end whereof she was found herein as false as wicked in the rest, and eight daies after, upon a further definitive sentence declared against hir to be relapse and a renouncer of hir oth and repentance, was she thereupon delivered over to secular power, and so executed by consumption of fire in the old market-place at Rone, in the selfe same steed where now Saint Michael's church stands, hir ashes afterward without the towne wals shaken into the wind.



to Jean of Luxembourg, comte de Ligny, general officer of the duke of Burgundy, to whose sole custody she was in consequence committed. The

Now recounting altogether hir pastorall bringing up, rude without any vertuous instruction, hir campestrall conversation with wicked spirits, whome in hir first salutation to Charles the Dolphin, she uttered to be Our Ladie, Saint Katharine, and Saint Annes, that in this behalfe came and gave hir commandements from God hir maker, as she kept hir father's lambs in the fields, where saints in warres among christen men were (be we sure) never so parcial patrons or partners to maintenance of horrible slaughters, rapines, and bloudshed, hereto hir murtherous mind in killing of Franquet hir owne prisoner, hir two years continuance in hir abominations and deadlie mischiefe, without anie hir travell or motion betweene the princes for peace, hir relapse at last, and falling againe into her abjured iniquities, by hir virginitie, (if it were anie,) by hir holie words, hir fasting and praiers, what they might be, sith Satan (after Saint Paule) can change himselfe into an angell of light, the deeplier to deceive.

“ These matters may verie rightfullie denounce unto all the world hir execrable abominations, and well justifie the judgement she had, and the execution she was put to for the same. A thing yet (God wot) verie smallie shadowed, and lesse holpen by the verie travell of the Dolphin, whose dignitie abroad foulie spotted in this point, that contrarie to the holie degree of a right christen prince, as he called himselfe, for maintenance of his quarels in warre would not reverence to prophane his sacred estate, as dealing in divelish practises with misbelevers and witches. Which maladie he full sorilie salved, like one that to kill the strong sent of onions would cheaw a clove of garlike, so a six-and-twentie yeares after, he pact with pope Calixt the third, by whose mandat directed to his three delegats, the bishops of Paris,



duke soon after* received an application from one brother Martin, who assumed the title of vicar-

Reimes, and Constance, at the cathedrall church of Paris, in presence of Jone, the Pusel's mother, John and Peter hir brethren, the seven-and-twentieth daie of November, 1455, the validitie and goodnesse of the processe and sentence upon hir was called in question, and in great solemnitie sit upon.

"Wherein the cause was so sincerelie canvassed among them, that afterward, on the eight of Julie, 1456, a quite contrarie sentence was there declared: of effect, that this Jone, forsooth, was a damsel divine, no fault in the Dolphin for his counsell and witcherie practises with hir; the processe, judgement, and condemnation against hir, all wrong and injurious. And for justification and remembrance as well of hir innocencie in life and death, as also of the sinceritie of their later sentence, a new crosse in that old market to be reared. In this tale of Tillet's is she further likened to Debora, Jahell, and Judith, and unto Romane Clelia compared by Polydor, that shames not somewhat also to carpe at hir judgment, and much pitieth hir paine. But what puritie or regard of devotion or conscience is in these writers, trow yee, who make no consideration of hir heinous enormities, or else any difference betweene one stirred up by mercie divine, or naturall love, and a damnable sorcerer suborned by Satan. And thus much of this gentle Jone, and of hir good oratours that have said so well for hir: now judge as ye list."—*Holinshed's Chronicles*, folio 604, 605.

* There can be no doubt but the capture of Jeanne was deemed an event of the highest importance, since we find it detailed in the Parliamentary Register of Paris in the following words:—

"Monday, the 25th of May, 1430, the Chancellor received letters of lord Jean de Luxembourg, his brother, stating, that

general of the inquisition of the faith to the kingdom of France, directing him to place the unfor-

on the preceding Tuesday, during a sally made by the troops of Messire Charles de Valois, who was then at Compiègne, against the besiegers encamped before the town, the soldiers of the said Valois were compelled to retreat with such precipitancy, that many of them rushed into the river, the rest being taken, among whom was captured the woman calling herself La Pucelle, who had in their company made the attack on horse-back."

It appears from some parts of the process against Jeanne d'Arc, that she was captured beyond the bridge of Compiègne, on the side of Picardy, in the direction of Noyons, and therefore in the diocese of Soissons, contiguous to that of Beauvais, being only separated from thence by the river. In consequence of this, La Pucelle was not subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop of the latter city, but to the prelate of Soissons; and the first unjustifiable act committed against her was her not being tried by the judge of the territory where she was taken. Guillaume de Flavi, supposed to have been instrumental in causing Jeanne to be made prisoner, was subsequently brought to trial on the charge, but escaped punishment, owing to a want of sufficient proof to establish the fact. Notwithstanding this, some historians state that he ultimately received retribution at the hands of his own wife, with whom he lived on very bad terms, and who was the cause of his death; for which she received absolution, after adducing sufficient evidence that her husband had determined on the ruin and sacrifice of this unfortunate girl, and that he had promised the lord de Luxembourg to deliver her up to him; a convention which, from the depositions of La Pucelle, appears scarcely probable, since, according to her own statement, she was captured on the very day of her entrance



tunate girl under his cognizance, as she was strongly suspected of many crimes savouring of heresy. In the first instance, Jean of Luxembourg sent his prisoner, guarded by a numerous escort, to the Castle of Beaulieu.

The saints who favoured Jeanne, being supplicated by her, returned the answer, that it was requisite she should see the English monarch. This she wished to avoid, and therefore sought means to effect her escape. She succeeded so far as to quit her chamber, by making an opening between two planks. Her intention was to shut up the guards within the tower, and to gain the open country, but the keeper of the castle chanced to cross her way. No sooner was she observed by this man, than he gave the alarm, and she was immediately compelled to re-enter her prison. She supported this misfortune with becoming patience, saying, "*that apparently, it was not the will of God she should that time escape, and that it was decreed she must see the king of the English, as her voices had told her.*"

This incident, or some other motive, determined Jean of Luxembourg to despatch his prisoner to the

into Compiègne. Jeanne does not even state that the barrier was closed upon her, in order to prevent her entrance into the city, as some historians have asserted; but that it was the English and the Burgundians, who, having cut off her retreat, prevented her escape into Compiègne.

Castle of Beurevoir,* where his wife and sister resided, who received the unfortunate girl with every mark of consideration. Those ladies were well aware that the English sought every means of sacrificing La Pucelle, and that one of the grounds of accusation alleged against her was the change of her apparel. In consequence of this, they offered the maid a dress suited to her sex, and invited her to wear the same. Jeanne d'Arc, however, refused, in firm though gentle language, observing: "*I shall not quit the vestments I wear without the permission of God.*"

However desirous the hostesses of La Pucelle appeared to sympathize with her in her captivity, they had it not in their power to alleviate all its rigours. She was not permitted to range at liberty through the Castle of Beurevoir. Jeanne remained at this fortress for about four months; and her greatest affliction was the danger to which the inhabitants of Compiègne were exposed, and the

* While Jeanne d'Arc continued in the power of Jean de Luxembourg, she was treated like other prisoners of war, and not loaded with irons. When at the Castle of Beurevoir, a chevalier who frequently saw her endeavoured, but without any violence, to inspire her with love: it was, however, to no purpose. Having on one occasion pressed her hand, and wishing to become more importunate, his advances were repelled with the cool determination of rigid virtue; such being the deposition which the chevalier himself subsequently made. — *Chaussard*, vol. i. page 52.

inability she felt of affording them the smallest assistance.

A new subject of disquietude soon occurred to embitter the misfortunes attending Jeanne's situation. Pierre Cauchon, bishop of Beauvais, a deadly enemy of the royal party, and of Jeanne d'Arc in particular, laid claim to the maid as being her rightful judge, the capture having been effected in the territory subject to his jurisdiction; and, in order to pay his court to the English, he strenuously insisted upon having her sent before his tribunal. As soon as ever the university of Paris had learned that Jeanne d'Arc had fallen into the hands of the Burgundians, they wrote to the duke of Burgundy, requesting that the young girl might be cited before an ecclesiastical tribunal, as suspected of magic and sorcery; and this learned body likewise addressed Jean of Luxembourg upon the same subject. Pierre Cauchon, to satiate the enmity he had long entertained against La Pucelle, undertook to be the mediator between Jean of Luxembourg, the duke of Burgundy, and the king of England. The latter, provided that La Pucelle were placed at his disposal, agreed to pay to Jean of Luxembourg a very large ransom, which was stipulated at ten thousand francs* in the negotiations set on foot for that purpose.

* From Dupré de Saint Maur's *Essay on French Coins*, in quarto, p. 215, it appears that the 10,000 francs so offered were at that period worth about 3150*l.* sterling.

The injunctions of the bishop of Beauvais, and the weighty offers made by the English government, induced Jean of Luxembourg to give up his prisoner, in spite of the urgent solicitations of his wife, who conjured him, for the sake of honour and humanity, not to surrender up to certain death so interesting a sufferer, who, according to the laws of war, was entitled to honourable consideration.

Each succeeding day, however, unfolded some inauspicious event, and La Pucelle heard with anguish that all the inhabitants of Compiègne, including children of the age of seven years, were to be put to the sword. This dreadful news produced a complete frenzy in her mind, and she declared she would rather die than survive the butchery of so many worthy individuals. Then addressing her protecting saints, as if they had been actually present, she exclaimed: "*How is it? will God suffer these good people of Compiègne to perish, who have been so loyal to their lord?*" It was about this time also she learned that she was sold to the English, when she again resolved to hazard every thing to regain her liberty. She therefore threw herself from the tower wherein she was confined, to avoid the dreaded moment that was to consign her to her enemies; resolved, in case she escaped, to fly and afford succour to the city of Compiègne. Neither the counsel of Saint Catherine, whereby Jeanne said she was assisted, nor the

promises made to her by that saint, which affirmed that the inhabitants of Compiègne should receive assistance, and that she herself would not be surrendered until after an interview with the English monarch,—nothing could urge her to relinquish this rash design. She was very much hurt by the fall, and lay without any sign of life at the foot of the ramparts. When restored to recollection, she knew not where she was, nor in what manner she had been conveyed to the spot in which she then found herself; so that those who attended were under the necessity of informing her she had thrown herself from the tower. She persisted for three or four days in refusing to partake of food; but comforted at length by the advice of Saint Catherine, she went to confess, and humbly craved pardon of God for what she had done, after which she ate as before, and was in a short time restored to perfect health.

Thus re-established, Jeanne was conducted to Arras, for the purpose, it was supposed, of being delivered over to the English officers, when she was sent off to the Castle of Crotoy. In this same fortress was incarcerated an ecclesiastic of great talent, who was chancellor of the cathedral of Amiens: Jeanne d'Arc regularly attended the mass which he daily performed, and also confessed herself to him very frequently.

The celestial emissaries by whom La Pucelle

conceived herself to be visited, never ceased, as she stated, to offer her necessary consolation; and what they had announced in respect to the assistance which the inhabitants of Compiègne were to receive, actually occurred within the period prescribed. That town was reduced to the very last extremity: environed by bastilles in every direction, the blockade was complete, and famine had already commenced its ravages within the walls. At this critical juncture a band of brave and determined warriors, scattered throughout the Isle of France, resolved to succour the place, and cause the siege to be raised. This project they accordingly executed, with a boldness and resolution which was crowned by the most signal success. The bastilles of the besiegers being carried by assault, the enemy became disheartened, and precipitately left their encampments, seeking refuge in Normandy and Picardy: wherefore Jean of Luxembourg deemed it expedient to raise the siege immediately, leaving all his artillery in the hands of the French.

The result of the deliverance of Compiègne was the immediate reoccupation of Gournay, Pont Saint Maxence, Longueil, Breteuil, and many other places, by the royal forces, as well in the province of Picardy as in the Isle of France; and a signal victory obtained on the plains of Germigny, by the justly celebrated Poton de Saintrilles, completely established the glory of the French arms.

This success tended only to foment the hatred of the English towards Jeanne d'Arc, whom they regarded as the only cause of their numerous defeats; and, in consequence, all those who were devoted to that cause redoubled their efforts to deliver up this illustrious victim to the fury of her enemies.

The university of Paris forwarded two letters upon the subject, one to the bishop of Beauvais, and the other to the king of France and England.* It

* On referring to the trial of Jeanne d'Arc it appears, that on the second of April, 1431, being the day after Lent, and during several subsequent days, the thirty-eight articles brought against La Pucelle were reduced to twelve.

The leading points of accusation, which are given at full length in the valuable history of Laverdy, (pp. 51—98,) and which he takes the trouble to refute, consist of apparitions and revelations—Jeanne's having assumed man's attire—the precipitating herself from a tower, (which was done to escape from confinement,)—and the inserting the form of a cross at the commencement of her letters.

The university assembled at the latter end of April; and early in May decided that those apparitions, &c. proceeded from Belzebub, Satan, and Belial; that Jeanne, inasmuch as she adopted the male costume, might be chargeable with idolatry, having delivered up her person and her dress to the demon, by imitating the custom of pagans, &c. Is it surprising, after such statements as these, emanating from the most learned body of men perhaps then existing, that the innocent Jeanne d'Arc should have been offered up a sacrifice to implacable hatred and barbarous superstition?

would be difficult, says Villaret, to conceive a more artful plan than that pursued by the duke of Bedford and the English ministry, who by this means caused themselves to be entreated to perform an act the perpetration of which they most ardently desired. They were impatient to sacrifice La Pucelle; her death would serve their cause; they were desirous it should be attended with every degree of publicity; and it was therefore their policy to throw the odium of the crime upon the French nation,—thus thinking to exculpate themselves by covering their cruelty with hypocrisy.

Although disarmed and loaded with irons, Jeanne d'Arc still excited the greatest terror among the English; and to such a pitch did this prevail, that the British government published an act, stipulating that all warriors who should abandon their colours through dread of La Pucelle were to be tried by an English council.

The cause of the British in every direction was on the decline. At length the inhabitants of Sens drove out their foreign governors, and tendered their submission to Charles VII. Terrified by so many reverses, the English from that period believed that their only chance of safety depended on the death of La Pucelle; and orders were issued that the trial of this unfortunate girl should commence as soon as possible, under the miserable hope of thus restoring courage to the British forces, of

defaming Charles, and inspiring his partisans with terror.

Jeanne was removed from Crotoy to Rouen, and imprisoned in the great tower of the castle, which still exists, and is named, after her, Tour de La Pucelle. Here she was treated with a rigour that amounted to cruelty. Some authors affirm that for a certain period she was shut up in an iron cage : it is certain that the depositions of the smith who made the cage were taken, who affirmed that it was weighed and delivered by himself, in presence of a witness.* It has also been remarked, that at the commencement of Jeanne's captivity, the inhabitants of Rouen were permitted to see her in the prison ;† but that she was soon after kept in complete

* Chaussard, vol. i. page 56, says, that La Pucelle could not hold herself upright in this iron cage, that she was fastened round the neck by an iron collar, and that heavy chains were affixed to her wrists : that another witness deposed (but he was the only one) that Jeanne continued in this cage until the proceedings commenced ; he does not, however, state having actually seen her. This deed of barbarity, if committed, must have been the reason why admission to La Pucelle was denied to all applicants. The door of the chamber in which she was confined was at the top of a flight of steps, and the casement commanded only a view of the court-yard of the castle, so that it was impossible for any one to obtain sight of her.

† Among other persons who gained admission to Jeanne d'Arc was Pierre Manuel, an advocate of the king of England, and Pierre Davou, lieutenant of the bailiff of Rouen. During this

seclusion, and thus remained until her trial took place. One incontrovertible fact is, that the feet of the wretched captive were confined in iron fetters; and that a chain, encircling her body, was attached by means of a lock to an immense bar of wood.

Jeanne was uniformly guarded by five Englishmen, three of whom passed the night in her dungeon, the other two keeping watch at the door; these men, purposely selected from among the most degraded of the soldiery, insulted and shamefully ill used the prisoner, frequently extending their cruelty so far as to wake her during the night, in order to torment her by falsely stating that the hour was arrived when she was to be led forth to suffer the agonies of death. This cruel treatment was aggravated by brutal attempts to violate her chastity.

At length, on the 3d of January, 1431, the king of England issued letters-patent,* authorizing the

visit, the former inquired of La Pucelle, whether she had known that her capture would be effected? to which she made answer, that she was pretty certain of it. He then stated, that since she had received such foreknowledge, she ought to have been upon her guard the day when she was taken: to this remark Jeanne replied, that it was not in her power, since she neither knew the day nor the hour when her captivity would commence.

* The following copy of these letters-patent, with the remarks that accompany them, is extracted from the work of M. Le Brun Charmettes:—

process to be instituted against Jeanne d'Arc, wherein it was expressly stipulated that the prisoner

“ A woman causing herself to be called La Pucelle, abandoning the habit and vestments of the female sex, against divine law, an abominable act in the sight of God, disproved and forbidden by all law, attired, dressed, and armed in the habit and state of a man, has committed and exercised cruel homicidal deeds, and, as it is said, has given the simple multitude to understand, to seduce and abuse them, that she was sent on the part of God, and had a knowledge of his divine secrets, together with many other dogmas very perilous, prejudicial, and scandalous to our holy Catholic faith; in following up which abuses, and exercising hostility between us and our people, she has been taken armed before Compiègne by certain of our loyal subjects, and since conducted a prisoner before you.” Being then desirous that the delivering up of the captive to the ecclesiastical tribunal should not appear to be the act of the English king, the following clause is added :—“ And on account of these superstitions, false dogmas, and other crimes of lese Majesty divine, she has by many been reputed as suspect, noted, and defamed, who have required at our hands forthwith, through the revered father in God our loved and trusty counsellor the bishop of Beauvais, ecclesiastical judge and ordinary of the said Jeanne on account of her being taken and apprehended within the confines and limits of his diocese, and alike exhorted by our dear and most saintly daughter the university of Paris, that it may please us to give and deliver up to the said reverend father in God the said Jeanne, to interrogate and examine her on the said counts.” It is somewhat singular that throughout this document the English ministry did not make their youthful sovereign utter a syllable respecting the inquisition; but a particular clause leaves to the bishop appointed as judge,

should still be retained, even in case she was not found guilty of the acts for which she was put upon her trial. By this means, says M. Laverdy, the king of England only lent her to the ecclesiastical judges, in order that they might decide whether or not she was to suffer the punishment of death.

On the 9th of January a consultation was held at the residence of the bishop of Beauvais respecting the affairs of Jeanne d'Arc, at which were present, Jean le Maître, deputy for the diocese of Rouen, the grand inquisitor, and the bishop of Beauvais, when it was argued whether the approaching trial should be subject to all the pretended privileges of the inquisition? Jean le Maître several times refused to become a participator in this transaction; but he was ultimately compelled to yield, notwithstanding the repugnance he felt; being threatened,

the power of acting conjointly with that tribunal; "and to proceed against her [Jeanne]," continue the letters-patent, "according to the ordinances and dispositions of the divine and canonical rights: to call such as ought to be summoned;" an expression that may as well apply to the inquisition as to the doctors in theology, canon, and civil rights. Lastly, these letters order that La Pucelle shall be delivered over to the bishop of Beauvais, for the purpose of her being tried, "according to God and reason;" and orders are issued to all to give to the prelate "aid, defence, protection, and comfort." It is therein also expressly reserved, at all events, that Jeanne shall still be retained—"even in case she is not found guilty or attainted with the acts above mentioned."

in case he persisted in his refusal, that he should himself be put to death. During this conference the judges were named who were to constitute the tribunal, to whom letters were accordingly forwarded by the bishop of Beauvais. In these documents it was stated that the accused was suspected of sorcery, enchantments, invoking of demons or malign spirits, and many other acts forbidden by the catholic faith.

On the 13th of January the bishop of Beauvais convened another assembly. In the verbal process of this sitting, it is stated that he was to communicate to the doctors facts that had been ascertained in that part of the country where Jeanne was born, and memoirs recording accounts which were there current among the people respecting her. A citizen of Rouen, named Moreau, had been despatched to Domremy to acquire this information; but instead of finding any charges prejudicial to the accused, he, on the contrary, obtained the most honourable testimonies in regard to the character both of her family and herself until the period when she set forward to present herself to Charles VII. at Chinon. These testimonies, however, were suppressed at the trial, as it appears that every verbal process of the conferences that took place was committed to writing under the immediate superintendence of the bishop of Beauvais. He could more easily insert every thing

he required, as these pretended verbal processes were neither read in presence of the judges appointed, nor presented to them for signature: besides which, the numerous contradictions they contain are sufficient evidence of the falsehood of such statements. As it was necessary, at any rate, to sacrifice Jeanne d'Arc, in order to satisfy the English, every means was resorted to for the purpose of accomplishing the end desired. One ecclesiastic, named Loiseleur, a canon of Rouen, counsellor of the holy office, and the worthy co-adjutor of the bishop of Beauvais, willingly resorted to the most perfidious manœuvres in order to ruin the prisoner. This infamous being, whose name is stigmatized in history, pretended that he was a native of the same country as La Pucelle, by which means he obtained access to her. The room wherein Jeanne was confined was contiguous to another in which, by means of a hole, every thing could be overheard that the prisoner uttered in her most confidential moments. The earl of Warwick, the cruel bishop of Beauvais, and the perfidious Loiseleur, had agreed upon the plan which the latter was to adopt. They then ordered the two notaries employed during the process to repair to the chamber in question, in order to hear, unseen, all that transpired within the dungeon. The individuals so stationed soon recognized the voice of Loiseleur, who entered into conversation,

detailing to Jeanne d'Arc false accounts respecting the affairs of Charles VII. He then proceeded to speak concerning the revelations which she affirmed had been, and continued to be, made to her; and to put several insidious questions to Jeanne respecting them. La Pucelle, delighted, after such a lapse of time, to meet a man so apparently favourable to the royal cause, and a companion in misfortune, (for he represented himself as a prisoner of war,) betrayed herself in her replies with the implicit confidence of a frank and generous mind, as incapable of suspecting as of contriving such consummate treachery. The earl of Warwick and the bishop of Beauvais, who remained with the notaries, directed them to write down all the replies uttered by Jeanne; but the latter, aware of the trap laid to compromise their probity, had courage enough to refuse compliance, stating that they would not be guilty of conduct so unjustifiable; but that if Jeanne uttered the same things before the tribunal, they would in that case register them.

It was thus found requisite to renounce these disgraceful means of criminating La Pucelle; but the second object proposed, namely, that of obtaining ground for interrogatories, was fully accomplished. The traitor Loiseleur, from the period in question, always enjoyed the confidence of the unfortunate girl; he acquainted her that he was a

priest, and was appointed her confessor. This execrable monster then abused the confidence thus obtained under the mask of religion, not only by detailing to the bishop of Beauvais all that the prisoner confided to him, but by suggesting to her beforehand dangerous replies to those questions he thought fit to propose.

Estivet the proctor was desirous of acting a part quite as infamous as that of Loiseleur. He also introduced himself into the prison to deceive Jeanne d'Arc, but it appears that he was not fortunate enough to acquire her confidence. Nothing could equal the baseness of this dastardly wretch, who had slavishly devoted himself to the English cause, except the gross and brutal language he adopted. During the whole trial of La Pucelle, Estivet unceasingly calumniated the notaries, who were anxious to follow the regular course prescribed by justice and probity; and he loaded the unfortunate girl with reproaches, disgusting abuse, and continued menaces.

All the documents required for the direction of the interrogatories were at length procured, and there only remained one difficulty to surmount prior to the opening of the process, which was the non-acquiescence of the vice-inquisitor, who pertinaciously refused to take any part in the business. Further remonstrances were then made to him, but he refused to interfere,

alleging that his jurisdiction extended only to the diocese of Rouen, and not to that of Beauvais. At length, however, the vice-inquisitor consented that the trial should be entered upon, and the opening of the process was fixed for the 21st of February. Jean le Maître, on this occasion, officiated as assessor; and the bishop of Beauvais solicited the inquisitor of France to attend, or to delegate some person in his place.

The tribunal instituted, not for the judgment, but for the condemnation of the accused, (for her death had been predetermined,) was thus constituted. It is true, some judicial forms were resorted to; but this was only for the purpose of tarnishing her reputation, and publicly vilifying Charles VII. for accepting her assistance. It was obvious that she had been bought by the English; and it is now incontrovertibly shown that the judges were paid to condemn her. This last iniquity is proved from some curious documents preserved in the priory of Saint Martin des Champs, authentic copies of which are to be found in the Public Library at Orleans.* These proofs are handed down in letters-patent and ordinances of Henry VI., styling himself king of France and England, relating to payments made to

* See the work entitled, *Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque d'Orléans*, by A. Septier, Orleans, 1820.

the doctors who assisted at the process, (whose names agree with those transmitted to us by history,) and likewise containing the receipts for the sums that were paid to them.

The deliberative voice was vested in only two judges, Pierre Cauchon, bishop of Beauvais, a licentiate of civil law, installed in his bishopric in 1420 by the Burgundian faction, one of the English king's privy-counsellors in France; and Jean le Maître, of the fraternity of preachers, a bachelor in theology, vicar of Jacques Graverand, and bearing the title of inquisitor-general of the faith in France.

Jean de la Fontaine, a licentiate of the canon law, had the charge of counsellor and examining commissary.

Jean, Joseph, or Guillaume d'Estivet, canon of Beauvais and Bayeux, was constituted proctor.

The notaries were, Guillaume Manchon, a priest, public notary of the archiepiscopal court of Rouen; Guillaume Colles or Coles, a priest, surnamed Bos Guillaume or Boys Guillaume, also a public notary of the same court; and Nicolas Vasquel, filling a similar office.

Jean Massieu, priest, who in 1455 was one of the curates of the parochial church of Saint Candide at Rouen, was nominated the ecclesiastical beadle or verger. His duties consisted in issuing writs and summonses, conducting Jeanne

to the tribunal, escorting her back to prison, and giving notices to those assessors whose presence was required at the sittings.

Besides the judges assessors, or counsellors, there were many engaged who had merely a consulting voice; some of whom assisted at the first sittings, and not at the subsequent ones, and others attended the concluding assemblies, who had not presented themselves at the commencement of the process. It appears that this portion of the tribunal consisted of all the doctors who could be compelled by force to assist in this most iniquitous proceeding. The following are the names of the most conspicuous, either on account of their reputation, or of the parts which they performed during the process:— Gilles, abbot of Fecamp; Nicolas de Vendères; Nicolas Loiseleur; Nicolas Midy; Pierre Morice; Thomas de Courcelles; Jean de Castillon; Jean Fabry; Guillaume Erard; Isambert de la Pierre; Jean Beaupère; Jacques de Touraine; Martin Ladvenu; Jean Tiphaine; the abbé of Saint Ouen; Jean Lohier; and Gérard Feuillet.

On the day appointed for the commencement of the trial, the bishop of Beauvais, accompanied by forty counsellors or assessors, repaired by eight o'clock in the morning to the royal chapel of the castle at Rouen, where Jeanne was ordered to attend. Thus even before the altar was innocence betrayed, covered with reproach, and *legally* assas-

sinated, in the name and in honour of the Sovereign Judge of all mankind !

The bishop of Beauvais opened the sitting by causing the royal letters-patent to be read to the tribunal, in virtue of which La Pucelle was to be arraigned before him and the doctors whose opinions had been taken. The proctor Estivet then set forward, that Jeanne was cited to appear for the purpose of answering interrogatories of right, to which it was intended she should be subjected. These preliminary steps taken, the verger was sent to bring forward the persecuted prisoner. Jeanne d'Arc, as we have already hinted, had frequently demanded to have judges named on the French side; but as soon as she appeared before the tribunal, every precaution was taken not to mention that request. In order to divert the attention of the assisting doctors from the just demand preferred by the accused, the bishop of Beauvais, on the arrival of the prisoner, began a long harangue upon the subject of the process instituted against her.

At the commencement of the interrogatory, when Jeanne was ordered to make known her Christian and surname, and also to state if she was called La Pucelle, and whether she was in reality a maiden, her answer was: "*Je puis bien dire que telle je suis, et si vous ne me croyez, faites moi visiter par des femmes*": I can with truth avouch that such I am, and if you do not believe me, let me be visited by

women." She then offered to submit to an examination by females* who should enjoy the reputation of strict morality. — These proceedings must neces-

* From a number of attestations we find that, after the arrival of La Pucelle at Rouen, it was thought proper to ascertain whether she was a virgin, as had been asserted; and that in consequence she was visited by matrons appointed by the duchess of Bedford herself, whose names are inserted in the depositions. This examination, it appears, proved in every respect creditable to Jeanne. One of the notaries affirmed that it was reported at Rouen that the duke of Bedford concealed himself behind the arras on this occasion, in order to obtain ocular demonstration of the real state of the prisoner. — *Chaussard*, vol. i. p. 57.

The following curious incident will show, not only the tenacity of Jeanne d'Arc in adhering to man's attire, but her warmth of temper in resenting any improper liberties towards her person. When her virginity had been proved to the satisfaction of the duchess of Bedford, the latter gave orders that the soldiers should not use any violence towards their prisoner, and endeavoured to prevail with her to resume the attire of her sex, sending her a dress for that purpose; but Jeanne strenuously refused: and the tailor commissioned by the duchess to bear her message to La Pucelle happening to lay his hand upon her person rather too freely, she without hesitation gave him a smart box on the ear. — See *Deposition of Jean Marchet*.

While in confinement previously to the act of abjuration, the chastity of Jeanne d'Arc was certainly subjected to the severest trials. One of her guards used every effort to violate her person; and the bishop of Beauvais himself told one of the assessors, and a witness on the trial, that the earl of Warwick, bearing the cries of La Pucelle, went to her rescue, threatened the guards, and appointed others to supply their place. This fact was also

sarily have tended either to disprove or to substantiate the charge of magic alleged against her: for, according to the opinions entertained at that period, as we have previously mentioned, the state of virginity was supposed to inspire the devil with a respectful dread, quite incompatible with magic incantations. Thus, should the proof have been unfavourable to Jeanne, the English would have reaped the twofold advantage of substantiating the charge of sorcery and of dishonouring their enemy.

With these considerations the examination of Jeanne was decided upon, the duchess of Bedford being deputed to superintend the necessary arrangements. The name of one of the women employed upon this occasion was Anne Baron, who was acquainted with Jean Massieu, the beadle or verger appointed to officiate during the process. The termination of the inquiry proved in every respect honourable to the prisoner, although no observation is made upon the subject in the rough draughts of the proceedings now extant: so carefully did the worthless bishop of Beauvais conceal from the eyes

detailed to the same person by the canon Loiseleur, one of the assessors.

Statements so conclusive at once refute all the calumnies which have been disseminated in respect to the character and demeanour of Jeanne d'Arc.

of the world all that appeared in any way favourable to the reputation of Jeanne d'Arc.

The first sitting of the tribunal was very tumultuous, and no detail is given in the verbal process of what transpired upon that occasion. All the assessors were present; and Jeanne was interrupted at every word that escaped her, without a moment's time being allowed her for explanation. Besides the record-keepers employed during the trial, there were two or three secretaries of the king of England, who committed to paper whatsoever they thought proper. Six assessors, Beaupère, Midy, Touraine, Morice, Courcelles, and Feuillet, were specially charged to propose questions to the accused. While Jeanne was giving answers to one, another interrogated her, so that she was compelled on several occasions to exclaim, "*Beaux frères, faites l'un après l'autre!* — Good brothers, proceed one after another!" By this means she was so hurried, that her replies, as may naturally be expected, were not always correct.

It was probably owing to the confusion which continually occurred that the tribunal was transferred to another chamber called *Salle des Préparatoires*. It is also very likely that the judges were anxious to induce the notaries to record the replies of the accused in terms consonant with the wishes of her enemies; but they were little disposed to lend themselves to so culpable and unworthy a proceeding.

It was also imagined that they might be brought over to this by causing the replies of Jeanne to be written by confidential persons, whose mode of recording the same might be compared with that of the notaries, in order to accuse them of incorrectness, and therefore threaten them with the indignation of the tribunal. It appears that Loiseleur was the individual chosen to superintend these secretaries, as it was conceived that his abilities were fully adequate to the task of misinterpreting the most innocent expressions; but it was most essential that he should not be seen by La Pucelle, with whom he had a different card to play; and perhaps it was not possible that he could have remained concealed, had the sittings continued to be held in the chapel of the castle. The desired plan was, however, completely effected in the *Salle des Préparatoires*, where the writing-desk of the secretaries was placed in the deep recess of a window, and a serge curtain suspended before it, by which means Loiseleur remained unobserved by the assembly. The interrogatories were arranged by the bishop of Beauvais himself; and the questions put by one of the assessors, with the intention of eliciting replies that might tend to inculpate the accused.

Nor was the treatment of Jeanne out of court less calculated to excite the indignation of every feeling mind. Such was the barbarity shown to

this persecuted creature, that the performance of her religious duties was denied her; a privation which became the more painful, as in her wretched situation she doubly stood in need of the consolations of religion. Notwithstanding this prohibition, the kindness Jeanne experienced from the verger, Jean Massieu, emboldened her to inquire of him, whether, upon her road from the prison to the tribunal, some church or holy spot did not exist in which the sacred host was exhibited? Massieu, in reply, pointed out the royal chapel, situated in the great courtyard, which they had to cross in their way to the *Salle des Préparatoires*. La Pucelle then entreated that Massieu would allow her to approach the edifice, for the purpose of kneeling down and offering up her prayers. The verger, Massieu, was softened by her tears, and complied with her wishes; when prostrating herself to the ground, with clasped and upraised hands, she breathed to the Almighty the most humble and fervent supplications.

Jean Massieu, upon one occasion, conducting La Pucelle from the tribunal to her prison, was met by an English priest, who, notwithstanding the presence of the accused, expressed himself to the following effect: "What thinkest thou of her answers? will she be burnt?" "To the present time," answered Massieu, "I have observed nothing but justice and honour in her; and she appears to me to be a

very good woman ; but I know not how the matter will terminate—God alone can speak to that.” This conversation, being made known to the earl of Warwick, involved Massieu in very great danger. He was summoned before the bishop of Beauvais, who reproached him for having so expressed himself ; and concluded by stating, that he had better beware how he misconstrued circumstances, or that he should be taught *to drink once too much for his opinions*. The bishop of Beauvais then issued express orders that the accused, in future, should not be permitted to go near the chapel.

Before we enter upon a concise detail of the proceedings that occurred during each sitting, it may be well to state that Jeanne d’Arc made many fruitless applications to be transferred to the prison of the archbishopric, she being subjected to ecclesiastical authority. It was in vain that she demanded to be judged by others than her avowed enemies, or that, at any rate, an equal number of unprejudiced ecclesiastics should be the arbitrators of her fate. Every thing was denied her, not excepting her appeal to the pope — a request that never had before been refused when made by the greatest criminals. In such case the king’s proctor preferred his appeal to the pope as a matter of right, even in case the accused had neglected to have recourse to such a proceeding.

The process commenced on Wednesday, the 21st

of February, 1431. The first step taken by the accused was to demand that as many ecclesiastics should be summoned on the part of Charles VII. as on that of the king of England, and that she might be released from the irons with which her ancles were loaded. At the inexperienced age of nineteen years, it may be reasonably supposed, she would be in need of some friendly advisers ; but such assistance, when requested, was refused. An oath was exacted from Jeanne that she should declare the truth ; which she took without any apparent reluctance, only demanding that no inquiry should be made respecting her secret communications with the king, which, she stated, she had never revealed to any one, nor would make them known, even though death should be inflicted for her silence. On this point Jeanne continued inflexible, notwithstanding the repeated interrogatories proposed to her respecting it. The bishop of Beauvais, in the course of this sitting, having commanded her not to make any attempt to escape from prison ; she answered with firmness, that she could not see the justice of such a command, and should not scruple to disobey it if a favourable opportunity occurred.

On the ensuing day, the 22d of February, the second sitting was convened, when Jeanne was interrogated as to the manner in which she had resolved to proceed on joining Charles at Chinon ; and it was on this occasion that she made known

the precise words used by the lord de Baudricourt—*“ Va, et advienne tout ce qui pourra,”*—at the period of her departure from Vaucouleurs.

The letters dictated by Jeanne, and forwarded to the English on her arrival at Orleans, were also laid before her; and such was the strength of her memory, that although ten months had transpired since they were penned, she discovered during their perusal the alterations which we have before mentioned as purposely made in the wording of those instruments. It was then demanded of the accused whether she had seen an angel over the head of the king? to which she answered, *“ Pardonnez moi, et passez outre,”*—Excuse me, proceed to other matters.” The tribunal next touched upon the most essential points which they wished to ascertain—the apparitions or revelations which Charles VII. had seen or heard; but Jeanne would say nothing on that subject, advising them to send to her king if they were desirous of acquiring such information. She afterwards repeated this resolution of secrecy in the course of the fifth sitting.

As the assembly were desirous of expediting the process as much as possible, a third sitting took place on Saturday, the 24th of February, during which she cautioned the bishop of Beauvais to take heed how he styled himself her judge: but he was not susceptible of any scruples of conscience from such remonstrances. It was in vain that further attempts

were then made to draw from La Pucelle certain statements concerning the king; she persisted in her silence, nor would she submit to be put upon her oath, but invariably desired them to pass on to other matters. Jeanne further stated, that there were certain points upon which she was not bound to reply; and when doubtful questions were proposed, she required time to frame her answers. Far from taking to herself any share of praise for the actions she had performed, she modestly attributed all her successes to the interposition of the Almighty.*

* M. Luchet, at p. 31, says, that during the third sitting Jeanne being interrogated respecting the period when she heard the voices of her celestial advisers, her reply was to the following effect. That they addressed her three times; in the morning, and at the hours of Vespers and of *Ave Maria*;—that they awoke her and commanded her to speak boldly. “*This*,” continues our author, “*may have been a vision or a dream; there exists no more proof of the one than of the other. In the ordinary course of things, is it not more easy to believe that Jeanne was dreaming, than to suppose a useless miracle?*”

After this La Pucelle stated, that the voices told her to communicate all things to the king, but not to them.

When they proposed other questions, for the express purpose of urging her to contradict herself, she observed, “*Le dict des petits enfans est, qu'on pend bien aucunes fois les gens pour dire la vérité*: The adage of little children is, that persons should never be hanged for speaking the truth.”

When asked whether the natives of Domremy were favourable to the Burgundians or the Armagnacs, she answered: That she had only known of one Burgundian whose head she should like

Being asked by the judges whether she thought herself blessed with the grace of God, she thus expressed herself:—“ *Si je n’y suis, Dieu veuille m’y mettre; et s’y j’y suis, Dieu veuille m’y tenir; car je m’estimerais la plus malheureuse des femmes, j’aime mieux mourir que de me savoir hors de la grace et de l’amour de Dieu.* If I am not, may God effect it; and if I am, may God retain me in it; for I should esteem myself the most unfortunate of women, I would rather die than know that I were without the pale of the grace and love of God.” It appears that one of the assessors conceived this question to be of such a difficult nature to resolve, that he decidedly expressed his opinion that the prisoner was not bound to answer it. Even the severe critic Luchet allows that the above reply of Jeanne d’Arc was sublime.

On being asked why she had borne her banner foremost at the coronation of Charles VII. at Rheims, in preference to those of the captains attending, she answered, “ *Il est juste que qui a eu part au travail en ait à l’honneur*—It is but just that such

to have seen struck off. Upon this reply M. Luchet remarks, that such a desire could not originate with Heaven, but must have been the result of fanaticism.

The residue of this sitting, continues our authority, was employed in ascertaining what was *The Ladies’ Tree*, and the *Wood of Oaks*; concerning which, however, the replies of Jeanne afforded nothing satisfactory.

as contributed to the work should share the honour." An answer worthy an everlasting record, as Voltaire expresses himself.*

When it was demanded whether she had given the soldiers to understand that her banner was the signal of prosperity? she exclaimed, — "*Non; je leur disois pour toute assurance, Entrez hardiment au milieu des Anglois! ET J'Y ENTROIS MOI-MEME.* No; I said to them, for all assurance, Enter boldly in the midst of the English! AND I ENTERED THERE MYSELF."† Can any one deny the sublimity of such an ejaculation?

On Tuesday, the 27th of February, the tribunal again assembled, when the prisoner, as upon every former occasion, evinced in her answers a solidity of judgment and good sense far superior to her years and condition in life. When interrogated respecting particular occurrences, on which she had formerly been questioned by the officers of Charles VII., she referred her judges to the verbal process, as taken down upon that occasion at Poitiers.‡

* Essai sur les Mœurs, chap. clxxx.

† Villaret, xv. 51.

‡ At the fourth sitting, which took place three days after, being asked how she had found herself? her answer was, "*Le mieux que j'ai pu* — As well as I could."

To a query respecting her fasting during Lent, Jeanne an-

The fifth sitting was held on Thursday, the 1st of March; at which were produced the answers

swered: "*Cela est-il de votre procès?* Does that form any feature of your process?"

Recurring again to the heavenly voices, the prisoner said, that they proceeded from Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret, who were adorned with beautiful coronets, "*et moult richement, moult précieusement vêtue*—and most richly and preciously attired." One of the doctors, father *Beaupère*, upon this, gravely remarked that the voice could not be that of Saint Catherine, who was only the protectress of philosophers.

Being asked how she recognised the two saints, Jeanne replied, "By their salutations and the manner of their performing reverence."

If they were attired in the same kind of vestments?—"She had not permission to reveal that matter."

Whether they were of the same age? if they spoke together and talked much?—"Go to Poitiers, and learn that from the register." To this the prisoner added, that she had seen the council of Saint Michael, and beheld the angels corporeally: that Saints Catherine and Margaret often caused her to confess. M. Luchet remarks upon the last assertion, that Jeanne had previously said, she only confessed once during the year.

When pressed respecting the sign she had given to the king, her uniform answer was, "You will never know that from me."

Being questioned as to whom she had given a promise never to reveal this, Jeanne replied, "To no one but Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret."

Our author then concludes his remarks upon this sitting in the following manner:—"Is it to be believed that a set of men, nay, of priests, could have condemned to the flames a poor bewildered

sent by La Pucelle to the comte d'Armagnac, then a fugitive in Arragon, respecting the anti-pope, Pierre de Lune. On perusing these documents, Jeanne discovered that the same measures had been resorted to with those as with her letters to the English; many of her expressions being altered so as falsely to impeach her with heresy. La Pucelle uniformly acknowledged the authority of the pope then resident at Rome. In many of her replies, however, she seemed to express some raillery towards her judges.*

It is stated, that when pressed by innumerable interrogatories which arose from the prophetic threatenings contained in those letters, Jeanne on a sudden made the following asseverations, which were delivered in a very lofty tone, and accompanied by a solemnity of gesture that rivetted the

creature capable of making such answers? and if the acts of this process are false, posterity will inquire, for what crime a girl was burnt, who, whether a fanatic or a devotee, had merely rendered useless services to her ungrateful country?"—*Luchet*, pp. 93, 94, 95.

* In alluding to this statement, *Luchet*, p. 97, says: Abbé Lenglet pretends that she (Jeanne) had art enough to enliven the sittings by her ludicrous remarks. The ridiculous questionings of her interrogators frequently furnished her with ample occasion, says our authority; but she never availed herself of the same: we have not been able to discover, after carefully examining five different copies of the acts of the process, the replies handed down to us by Lenglet.

attention of her hearers : “ *Avant qu’il soit sept ans, les Anglais abandonneront un plus grand gage qu’ils n’ont fait devant Orléans, et perdront tout en France. Ils éprouveront la plus grande perte qu’ils aient jamais faite en France, et ce sera par une grande victoire que Dieu enverra aux Français*: Before the lapse of seven years, the English will abandon a greater pledge than they did before Orleans, and will lose every thing in France. They will experience the greatest loss they have ever yet sustained in France, and this will be in consequence of a signal victory that will be accorded to the French by the Almighty.”

All these forebodings were strictly fulfilled. Paris was retaken by the French on the 13th of April, 1436, five years subsequent to Jeanne’s prediction; in 1450, the English lost the battle of Formigny, the result of which was the reconquest of Normandy; and in 1453, the battle of Castillon was gained by the French, when the truly valiant lord Talbot perished, and the submission of Guienne to France immediately followed.

The judges inquired of the accused whether the saints who appeared to her had hair upon their heads? To which she could not refrain from making this ludicrous reply: “ *Cela est bon à savoir*—It is very essential to ascertain that.” Shortly after they asked whether Saint Margaret spoke English? “ *Comment parleroit-elle Anglais, vu qu’elle n’est pas*

du parti Anglais?—How should she speak English, seeing she is not on their side?" was the prisoner's reply, which was a piece of wholesome instruction for the interrogators. They then desired to know whether Saint Michael presented himself before her in a state of nudity: to which question Jeanne answered, "*Pensez-vous que Dieu n'ait pas de quoi le vétir?* Do you think that the Almighty has not wherewithal to clothe him?" *

On Saturday, the 3d of March, the sixth sitting was convened, when the most captious and equivocal interrogatories were put to the accused; from which she extricated herself with as much prudence as firmness of character. She was exhorted to resume the female dress, which she declined. At this sitting the most important question was that

* It being demanded of Jeanne whether Saint Michael and Saint Gabriel had the faces of men, she made answer, "*Je les ai vus en mes yeux* — I have seen them with my own eyes."

Whether she had beheld or knew from revelation if she should escape?—"That forms no part of the process."

If the voices had said any thing to her in general terms?—"Yes, most certainly, they told me I should be delivered, but I neither know the day nor the hour; and that I was also to feast well."

If she had conceived she had done wrong in assuming the habit of a man?—"That she did better in obeying her Sovereign, [meaning the Almighty,] than men."—*Luchet*, pp. 95, 96.

respecting the child restored to life at Lagny * before the image of the Holy Virgin ;—the particulars of which have been previously detailed. In reply to this, Jeanne stated, that the event in question was wholly ascribable to divine mercy, in answer to the prayers offered up in its behalf.

After the sixth interrogatory the bishop of Beauvais gave notice that he should not in future convoke all the assessors, but follow up the proceedings in presence only of a small number, chosen from among them, who should select from the avowals of the accused those that were essential for her judgment. The crafty prelate was well aware that by adopting this plan he should obtain a council subservient to his wishes, and thus prevent any courageous individual from suggesting to the prisoner hints which might be serviceable for her defence. This method also enabled him ultimately, as M. Laverdy very justly observes, to lead those

* The critic Luchet says we must regard as idle tales both the pretended resurrection of the child at Lagny, and the poisoned ragout of carp which the bishop of Beauvais is supposed to have sent to Jeanne d'Arc. It is not stated that the infant was dead, but merely *en détresse et maladié*—in distress and sick. The crime attributed to Pierre Cauchon has no other foundation of credibility than that Jeanne happened to be troubled with indigestion after partaking of the ragout. Are these to be considered as proofs? And since the question is concerning the interference of celestial agency, is it possible to adduce too much testimony?—Page 97.

into error who discontinued their attendance at the sittings: an opinion which the sequel will abundantly confirm.

All these interrogatories took place in Jeanne's own chamber. During the seventh, which occurred on Saturday the 10th of March, it was demanded of the prisoner, whether she possessed any property besides the horses which the king had presented to her? To which she answered, "*Je ne demandais rien à mon roi; fort bonnes armées et bons chevaux, et de l'argent à payer les gens de mon hostel*: I required nothing for myself of my king but very good arms, good horses, and money to pay the people of my hotel." Concerning her capture La Pucelle said, that the event took place on the other side of the bridge of Compiègne; whereby she inferred that she could not be amenable to the bishop of Beauvais. This, however, produced no effect on that ecclesiastic from the moment that he had resolved to act as the judge of La Pucelle. The prisoner was interrogated at considerable length respecting the sign she had given the king in confirmation of her holy mission; but the more anxious her judges seemed to ascertain that fact, the more resolutely she persisted in keeping the secret inviolate.*

* "The last seven sittings," says M. Luchet, "were spent in varying the questions previously proposed, for the purpose of making Jeanne utter contradictions. We do not think it necessary to copy the replies: let the reader judge from those

The eighth and ninth interrogatories took place on the morning and evening of Monday, the 12th

already cited, whether Jeanne d'Arc was an heretic, as the English pretended; if a philosopher, according to the statements of three historians of Orleans; a wit, as attested by Lenglet; or whether she was noble and naïve, according to a recent writer.

“ It appears to us, that this girl was born with weak understanding, that she was devout from childhood, that her zeal was of a ludicrous nature, instigated by her imagination or by some fanatic priests. Very little is required to awaken the most extravagant projects in a brain affected by enthusiasm; the mere perusal of a tale is in itself sufficient. If the dangerous recitals wherewith romances abound; if the exploits of a *Bayard* have frequently sufficed to melt the hearts of those who perused them, or to rouse heroic sentiments in the bosoms of impetuous youth; why should not the bold details of the lives of saints infuse a desire to become their imitators in ill-regulated imaginations? The soul is susceptible of every impression which has any reference to the marvellous.

“ Is it absurd to state that the wandering missionaries who go about planting the crucifix, and affrighting mankind into confession, render all those more sinful whom they do not convert into saints, than the perusal of the histories of Judith, Sarah, &c. which produce similar effects? What was required to convert the youthful Jeanne d'Arc into a subject of inspiration? Merely one of the circumstances above alluded to. People are accustomed in the provinces to devote a part of the evening to perusing the Bible. This may be pernicious to the people. Let the learned and wise doctors produce edifying lessons for our souls from such profound mysteries, and conceal those traits that are calculated to scandalize the uninformed; in such case the perusal will teach our souls to imbibe the spirit that inspired them;

of March. In the course of the former Jeanne was examined respecting the young man who was desi-

but the sacred allegories, wherewith the Holy Ghost has enveloped truth, should be interdicted to all such as are not formed to be enlightened.

“ Let us imagine for a moment that Jeanne d’Arc was accustomed to this Christian habit. Is it absurd to conceive that the conduct of the Jews, who repaired, by order of the Omnipotent, to cut the throats of the wicked, should have awakened in the mind of the young devotee a desire of going forth to combat the enemies of her country, whose victorious career was incessantly detailed in her presence? And having manifested such a disposition for heroism, why may not a Baudricourt, or some other, have yielded her assistance ?

“ I am well aware that this conjecture is unsupported by proofs ; but has it been proved that Saint Michael appeared to her *in the guise and form ‘ d’un très vrai prud’ homme—* of a truly handsome man?’ It is a fact that Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret descended from heaven, arrayed in garments of white and gold, and ordered her to repair in person to raise the siege of Orleans.

“ After fifteen sittings, during which between five and six hundred questions were proposed, the judges assembled, on the twelfth of May, to decide whether Jeanne should be subjected to the question. The tribunal consisted of thirteen judges, eleven of whom found her depositions sufficiently clear to condemn her, while the remaining two concluded, *that she ought to be subjected to the torture, as a medicine for her soul,* and to subject her to the church militant.

“ From the prisoner’s interrogatory, sixty propositions were framed, denominated as crimes, twelve of which were selected and forwarded to the University of Paris. Concerning these, we

rous of marrying her at Neufchateau in Lorraine. On this subject very unreasonable questions were put to the accused, and it was stated that she had summoned the youth to compel him to espouse her; but the contrary proved to be the fact, as the young man was rejected by Jeanne after he had summoned her before the magistrate of Toul. Besides this, La Pucelle stated that she had consecrated her virginity to Heaven so long as it should please the Lord to preserve it to her.

It was not until the ninth sitting that Jean Le Maître, who had previously assisted at the process only in quality of an assessor, produced the credentials of his commission as inquisitor-general of France, and in that character officiated as a judge upon the trial. He then superintended the proceedings, and on the same day gave the commission of proctor, and that of the issuer of mandates, to those who had been previously chosen by the bishop of Beauvais. He also nominated persons to guard the prisoner in the name of the holy inquisition.

The eleventh and twelfth sittings took place on the same day, being Wednesday the 14th of March. Upon this occasion Jeanne spoke very boldly con-

shall, in the sequel, subjoin our reflections. There is far greater cause to pity than to blame an unfortunate creature, the victim of a culpable inclination; but what expressions will suffice to depict the horror we experience on beholding so many iniquitous and cruel judges?"—*Luchet*, pp. 98—102.

cerning the inhabitants of Compiègne, and deplored the sufferings they had endured on account of their attachment to their legitimate sovereign. She however predicted at the same time that they would receive succour before the festival of Saint Martin of that winter, which actually occurred on the 1st of November: the English and the Burgundians were then beaten, and compelled to abandon the siege of the city. Had the judges been actuated by a principle of equity, they would have deferred the trial until the arrival of the period mentioned, in order to ascertain the truth of this prediction. In that case, had it proved false, they might justly have arraigned her for an attempt to dive into futurity; whereas, if the contrary had taken place, it would have served as a proof in her justification. But the malice of the bishop of Beauvais, with that of the English, prevented the adoption of any considerate, sober measures, from which no possible evil could have resulted, as Jeanne d'Arc must still have remained at their disposal.

At this interrogatory a circumstance occurred, which could not fail to impress any mind that was susceptible of natural feeling. Jeanne, addressing herself in an emphatic manner to the bishop of Beauvais, spoke in the following terms:—

“ You state that you are my judge. I am not aware that you are such; but I charge you take heed and do not judge me wrongfully, as in such case you will place

*your soul in great jeopardy; and I finally forewarn you, that should it please Almighty God to punish you, I have only fulfilled my duty in thus giving you timely notice!" **

Who can repress astonishment at such a remonstrance from a girl of so humble an education? The unfortunate prisoner even went so far as to state that she felt a presentiment of her approaching doom, but at the same time expressed her confidence in the succour and protection of the Deity.

Being asked whether her supernatural voices had promised her deliverance? she replied, that they had held out assurances of succour; but she did not know whether the promise implied that she should obtain immediate deliverance, or that during her trial some troubles might occur that would effect that desirable end.

The words pronounced by her celestial counsellors,

* From the commencement of her trial, Jeanne d'Arc invariably objected to the bishop of Beauvais; and upon one occasion in particular, the latter having remarked that the king of England had ordered him to judge her, and that he should obey his command; at the same time advising her to submit to the church — "What is meant by the church?" demanded the prisoner. "As to you, I do not submit myself to your judgment, because you are my principal adversary." The omission of these words from the process affords a striking proof that the notary Manchon could not record facts if commanded to the contrary by the bishop of Beauvais. — *Chaussard*, vol. i. p. 72.

she stated, were : “ *Prent tout en gré ; ne te chaille de ton martyre ; tu t'en viendras enfin au royaume de paradis* : Take all for the best ; be not grieved for thy martyrdom ; thou shalt arrive at last in the kingdom of paradise.” “ The many privations and cruelties to which I have been subjected in prison,” added Jeanne, “ have been equal to martyrdom. Whether I am doomed to bear still greater, I know not, but leave every thing to the will of the Lord.”

Among the insidious interrogatories continually put to the unfortunate prisoner, was the following : “ Is it a deadly sin to keep a man prisoner who might be lawfully ransomed ? ” Her answer was, that she had never done so. Upon which the judges reproached her with the death of Franquet of Arras. La Pucelle, in reply, exculpated herself in the manner previously explained : and it was also upon the inquiry being made whether she had distributed money to those who captured that officer, that Jeanne remarked she was neither a money-changer nor the treasurer of France, to be so empowered to distribute money.

No artifice was left untried in order to entrap the accused ; every endeavour was made to extort answers from her that might tend to depreciate her character. After having explained to her the distinction between the church triumphant and the church militant, the latter of which was said to consist of the pope, cardinals, prelates of the church, and the

clergy in general, it was demanded of her whether she would submit to the church militant? Had she answered in the affirmative, she would have escaped from her blood-thirsty judges; and it can scarcely be conceived how such a question should have been proposed, unless it were that the perfidious Loiseleur, who was admitted to her confidence, had persuaded her not to submit herself to the church, because that tribunal would then assume a judicial authority over her. Jeanne, however, unfortunately evaded the questions, stating that she was the servant of the church triumphant, to which she submitted every thing she had done and was still to execute; and that in respect to resigning herself to the church militant, she for the present should deliver no answer.

Among various other questions put to the accused, was the following: "Whether or not God hated the English?" To which she made the following reply:—
"De l'amour ou haine que Dieu a aux Anglais, je n'en sais rien; mais je sais bien qu'ils seront tous boutés hors de France, excepté ceux qui y mourront, et que Dieu enverra victoire aux Français contre les Anglais. Respecting the love or the hatred God may entertain towards the English, I know nothing; but I know for a certainty that they will all be driven out of France, excepting those who die there, and that God will send victory to the French against the English."

In the twelfth sitting the prisoner was very gravely examined respecting her banner, which the tribunal sought to convert into a plea for accusing her of sorcery. On this occasion the following examination took place:—“Did you infuse the power of victory into the standard, or the standard into you?” “*De la victoire de l'étandard ou de moi, c'était tout à notre Seigneur*—Whether victory was by the means of the standard or myself, the whole was the work of our Lord.” “Was the hope of victory founded in your banner or yourself?” “*Elle était fondée en Dieu, et non ailleurs*—It was founded in God, and in nothing else.” “Had another person carried it, would it have been attended with similar good fortune?” “*Je n'en sais rien ; je m'en rapporte à notre Seigneur*—I know nothing about that; I leave every thing to our Lord.” It was inquired of her whether, during her childhood, she had cherished the wish of being injurious to the Burgundians? “*J'avais grande volonté que mon roi eût son royaume*—I had a great desire that my king should repossess his kingdom.” “Do you think that your king was justified in killing or causing the duke of Burgundy to be assassinated?” “*Ce fut grand dommage pour le royaume de France : mais quelque chose qu'il y eût entre eux, Dieu m'a envoyée au secours du roi de France*—It was a great misfortune for the kingdom of France: but whatsoever may have existed between

them, God sent me to the assistance of the king of France.”

During the thirteenth interrogatory, which took place on the morning of the 15th of March, the judges wishing to pronounce the accused an heretic, she was exhorted to commit herself to the church; but, being very deficient in education, she did not know how to reason concerning points of doctrine, and therefore stated, that if any thing had been uttered by her in opposition to the faith, she only wished to be made acquainted with the same, as it was far from her desire to uphold such tenets.

Some allusions were then made to her several attempts to escape from prison, to which she answered with a degree of prudence which could hardly have been expected from her, that if the will of God was favourable to it, she would eagerly embrace the opportunity, but at the same time without having recourse to violence. Jeanne was uniformly zealous in her religious duties, and never ceased to entreat that she might be permitted to attend the celebration of mass.

The fourteenth sitting was held on the morning of Saturday, the 17th of March, 1431. Upon this occasion the questions proposed to La Pucelle were disorderly and of a malicious tendency; sometimes relating to angels and to her male attire; at others to fairies, Saints Catherine and Margaret, and the

love and hatred that God might entertain towards the English or the French. To all these complicated questionings Jeanne answered with equal prudence and simplicity. She was frequently interrogated by several persons at the same time, who sought to break the thread of her replies; and as they were monks, who most earnestly endeavoured to embarrass her on these occasions, she could not refrain from exclaiming at times, "*Beaux frères, faites l'un après l'autre* — Good brothers, do pray speak one after the other." Two things, however, she uniformly maintained, which must have been exceedingly mortifying to her judges: First, that the English would all be expelled from the kingdom; and, secondly, that she would rather suffer death than revoke a single act she had done by order of the Almighty in the service of the king of France: adding, that the only recompense she expected was the salvation of her soul. Whenever there appeared any room for doubt, or when an immediate reply might be productive of inconvenience, the prisoner regularly demanded a little delay until she could frame her answer with greater propriety.

The tribunal held its fifteenth meeting in the evening of the same day, upon which occasion the subject of Jeanne's male apparel was resumed, when she assigned the following reasons for adopting and retaining it: First, that she had received an order from Heaven to assume it; secondly, that such a

dress was better calculated than that of a woman to secure her from the insults of the soldiery; and, thirdly, that her chastity was thereby more surely preserved.

These reasons were well supported by previous facts; for Jeanne had been assailed during her imprisonment by the violence of an English nobleman, (as she solemnly declared to brother Martin L'Advenu, who was present until her last moments,) as well as by the brutal guards who attended her. Of these evils Jeanne had complained to the earl of Warwick and the bishop of Beauvais; but finding that her representations were unavailing, she had been compelled, for the sake of self-preservation, to resume and retain the habiliments of a man, in which she constantly slept. The boldness of Jeanne's answers was construed into contumacy by her judges, who consequently pronounced her a relapse.

These brutal proceedings, as we have already stated, continued until the duchess of Bedford, sister of the duke of Burgundy, after ascertaining the virgin state of Jeanne d'Arc, prevented their repetition; and during the whole of the trial her purity was never once called in question.* This, however, did not

* Carte (in Lenglet, vol. iii. p. 139), who is silent respecting the atrocious iniquity of the judgment, confesses, "That the chastity of Jeanne was never called in question, even by her greatest enemies, and that her courage could not be sufficiently extolled."

prevent her being questioned, whether, if she should lose her virginity, she would be deprived of her prosperity and the visits of her supernatural agents? To this La Pucelle made answer, that no revelation had been made to her on that head. Doubtless this question was suggested by the English, as it seems to be in unison with the repeated insults offered to her whilst in confinement. To this statement we may subjoin, that some of the interrogators put many frivolous and indecent questions to the prisoner, respecting virginity and the married state, as also concerning the cross ☒ which she had caused to be inserted in her letters before and after the words, "*Jesus Maria.*" In reply to the latter query, La Pucelle said, she had been told by the ecclesiastics that it was proper so to do; and to the other queries her answers were invariably prudent and reserved.

In conclusion, the accused desired that she might be allowed to appeal to the Pope's decision, but such a proposition was far from acceptable to the bishop of Beauvais. As Jeanne d'Arc on several occasions repeated this demand, attempts were made to tamper with her, in order to prevent her from appealing to the apostolic chair. One of those vile hypocrites who at that period concealed their vices under the garb of the ministers of religion, and of whom there were but too many, was employed for this purpose. The individual in question was

Loiseleur, who used every effort to induce Jeanne to forego this appeal; but her firmness resisted all his artifice and sophistry.

On the 18th of March, the bishop of Beauvais, in conjunction with the grand inquisitor, assembled twelve of the assessors at his residence, when it was agreed to examine the reports of the doctors who had been charged to give their opinions on the leading confessions of the accused, and consult what the works on the canon law might contain relative to the points in question.

Twenty-two assessors assembled on the 19th. It was then agreed, that all the previous proceedings should be collected and condensed into a less number of articles; previously to which, they resolved that the interrogatories should be legally verified. For this purpose they repaired to the chamber of Jeanne d'Arc, and read in her presence the whole of the proceedings; whereto she only made some trifling additions, and did not raise an objection to any one article.

The festival of Easter was now near at hand, and La Pucelle applied for permission to attend the celebration of mass on the Sunday. The judges seemed willing to accede to this request, provided she would agree to resume the dress of her sex. To this Jeanne replied, that she had not received the advice of her council respecting such a measure, and that she could not therefore adopt the female

habit, which should be immediately done if it solely depended upon herself. The interrogatories being concluded, the ordinary process was then commenced against La Pucelle.

On the 26th of March, it was resolved that the accused should be interrogated on the articles proposed by the proctor, amounting to twenty, and that if she refused to reply, they should be considered as confessed and averred.

At this juncture Jean de Fonte, Isambart de la Pierre, and Martin L'Advenu, visited La Pucelle, and entreated her to submit to the church; explaining at the same time that thereby was meant the Pope and the Holy Council. It appears that this advice made a strong impression on the prisoner, who from that period began to place less confidence in the representations of the perfidious Loiseleur.

On the Holy Saturday before Easter, being the 31st of March, La Pucelle was summoned to give answer to the several points concerning which she had not as yet explained herself. It was during this sitting that brother Isambart returned to advise her to submit herself to the Council of Basil. Jeanne, always apprehensive of fresh schemes to insnare her, inquired what she was to understand by a General Council? Isambart boldly replied, that it was a congregation of the whole universal church, and that in such council there would be as

many on her side as on that of the English. On hearing this, Jeanne exclaimed aloud : "*Ho ! puisque en ce lieu sont aucuns de notre partie, je veux bien me rendre et me soumettre au concile de Bâle* — Ho ! since in this place there are none upon our side, I am willing to give up and submit myself to the council of Basil." Immediately after this the bishop of Beauvais, furious and indignant, cried out : "Hold your tongue, envoy of the devil !" He then told the notary to take special care not to write down that Jeanne had submitted to the General Council of Basil. "*Hélas !*" sighed out the wretched prisoner, "*vous écrivez ce qui est contre moi, et vous ne voulez pas écrire ce qui est pour moi !* — Alas ! you write down what is against me, but you will not record that which is favourable to me !" Upon this occasion the English party threatened to throw brother Isambart into the Seine for his humane interposition.

The bishop of Beauvais ascribed to Isambart's advice the change that was apparent in the system of defence resorted to by La Pucelle, and he in consequence adopted measures to prevent the admission of any one into the prisoner's chamber without his sanction. The assessors, however, declared that the accused ought to have advisers ; and the bishop of Beauvais apparently yielded to the remonstrances of the tribunal ; but he secretly communi-

cated every thing that transpired to the English council, in order to raise obstacles, without seeming to interfere.

Unfortunately for Jeanne, the number of assessors present, when she preferred her appeal to the Pope and the General Council, was very inconsiderable; and among these there were some who were bought over to the bishop of Beauvais.

The seventy heads of accusation preferred against La Pucelle by Estivet, the proctor, were first reduced to thirty-one, and ultimately to twelve.* It

* These twelve articles, as they are rather curious, we deem worthy of insertion.

Articles of Accusation alleged against Jeanne d'Arc, and concerning which the University of Paris was consulted by the Tribunal instituted at Rouen.

ARTICLE I.

A certain woman says and affirms, that being of the age of thirteen, or thereabouts, she has beheld with her mortal eyes Saint Michael, who came to offer her consolation, and sometimes also Saint Gabriel, who appeared to her under a corporeal form; and at other times a great host of angels, and that then Saints Catherine and Margaret also presented themselves to her under corporeal forms; that she even beholds them daily, and has heard their voices; that sometimes she has embraced and kissed them, touching their bodies. She has also seen the heads of angels and of the two saints; but she would state nothing respecting the other parts of their bodies nor their habiliments.

That these two saints have sometimes spoken to her near a

was assumed that they contained the substance of the replies made by the prisoner, which, however,

fountain situated contiguous to a great tree commonly called The Fairies' Tree, which fairies are said to frequent, and whither persons resort for the recovery of their health, although profane the spot; and that many times in this and other places she has worshipped, and performed reverence to them.

She further states, that these two saints appeared and showed themselves to her afterwards, adorned with beautiful and precious wreaths of flowers, and that they repeatedly stated to her, by the order of God, that it was necessary she should repair to a certain secular prince, and promise him, that by her assistance and labour he should recover, by force of arms, a very large temporal domain and great worldly honour; that he would prove victorious over his enemies; that he would receive her into his service, and would furnish her with arms and a body of armed men for the execution of her promises. And moreover, &c. (See Article V.)

She further states, that these two saints tolerated her conduct, when, without the knowledge and against the will of her father and mother, at the age of seventeen, or thereabouts, she quitted the paternal dwelling; and associating herself with a multitude of armed men, spent her days and nights with them, seldom having any female companion.

The saints said and commanded her to execute many other things, in consequence of which she styles herself the messenger of the God of heaven and of the church triumphant.

ARTICLE II.

This same woman further states, that the sign which induced the prince to whom she was sent to place confidence in her revelations, and to allow her to carry on the war, was the descent

was very far from the truth : for, instead of writing down the articles in the words of Jeanne d'Arc,

of Saint Michael and a host of angels, some with wings, and some wearing crowns, among whom were Saints Catherine and Margaret ; that having presented themselves to the prince, Saint Michael and his attendant saints and angels tarried for a long time upon the earth, parading the paths, ascending the steps, and appearing in his chamber; that one of these angels presented the prince with a crown of very pure and precious gold, and bowed in reverence to him. This woman once stated that she believed that the prince was alone when he received this sign, but it appears that many persons were near him ; and at another time, that an archbishop received the sign, which was a crown, and gave the same to the prince, in presence of many temporal lords.

ARTICLE III.

This woman knows and is certain, that he who visits her is Saint Michael, on account of the excellent advice and succours which he has afforded her, the good doctrine which he has instilled into her, and because he declared himself to be Saint Michael ; that she in like manner distinguishes the two saints from each other, because they name themselves when saluting her ; that on this account she believes him to be Saint Michael ; and she believes that the conversations and actions of the said saint are true and good, as firmly as she believes that our Lord Jesus Christ suffered and died for our redemption.

ARTICLE IV.

She moreover states, that she is certain of many acts that will come to pass in future, and professes to have had a fore-knowledge, through the revelations made to her by the two

they founded them upon mere conjectures, as appears from the deposition made at the process of

saints, of certain profound secrets: for instance, *that she will be delivered from prison*, and that the French, *in her company*, will perform the grandest feats of arms ever yet achieved in Christendom; and still further, that by these revelations she was made acquainted with persons she had never seen before; and that she discovered and caused to be found a certain sword that was concealed under ground.

ARTICLE V.

(*First, in reference to Article I.*)

She adds that the two saints commanded her, by order of God, to assume and to wear the dress of a man; that she adopted the same, and still retains it, obeying this injunction with such scrupulous perseverance, that she sometimes plainly states, she would rather die than relinquish these vestments, unless such a command was by the order of God; nay, she has even submitted to be debarred from attending mass, and from receiving the sacrament of the eucharist, at the periods prescribed to the faithful, rather than resume the female attire.

ARTICLE V.

This same woman states and affirms, that by the command and with the good-will of God, she has adopted and uniformly worn the dress commonly assumed by men. She further states, that, having received the order of God to wear such apparel, it was requisite she should appear in a short robe, a petticoat, sleeves, and short clothes fastened with many tags; that her hair should be cropped round above the ears, and nothing appear upon her person indicating the female sex, save and except what nature had given her to distinguish the difference of the sexes.

revisal, by Thomas de Courcelles, one of the assessors who presided at the process of condem-

She confesses that she has frequently received the eucharist thus attired ; and although several times charitably spoken to and advised to resume the vestments of a woman, she could never be prevailed upon to acquiesce, explicitly stating, that she would rather die than change her dress, or that she would not do so unless by God's command ; and that, if she wore the male costume with those in whose behalf she armed herself and so acted prior to her capture and detention, it was one of the most signal services which could occur to the kingdom of France ; adding, that for all the world she would not make oath that she never again would wear man's clothing, or desist from bearing arms ; and in saying thus much, she states, that she has acted well, and that she does right in obeying God and his orders.

ARTICLE VI.

She avows and agrees that she has caused several letters to be written, in which were the words, "*Jesus Maria*," and the figure of a cross ; that she sometimes subjoined a second cross, and that the latter signified that what she mentioned in her letter was not to be put into effect ; that in other letters she stated, that she would cause those to be executed who should not obey her letters and ordinances ; that she should be recognised by the feats she performed, having the best right, even the order of the God of heaven ; and she frequently asserts that she has performed nothing but by virtue of the revelations and commands of God.

ARTICLE VII.

She further says and avows, that when about seventeen years of age, she went, of her own accord, and by virtue of a revelation, to a certain esquire whom she had never seen, leaving

nation. The accomplices in this plot were alone in possession of the secret of its management. The

the paternal roof against the will of her father and mother, who were almost bereft of their senses when made acquainted with her departure; that she entreated this esquire to conduct or cause her to be conveyed to the prince of whom we have previously spoken; that, in consequence, this captain, at her request, gave her a sword and the accoutrements of a man, and that he ordered a knight, a squire, and four valets, to escort her; that on arriving in the presence of the prince, she told him she was anxious to carry on the war against his adversaries, and at the same time promised to procure for him a vast territory and to overcome his enemies, for which purpose she was despatched by the God of heaven; adding, that in all this she has acted rightly by the order of God, and in virtue of revelation.

ARTICLE VIII.

She says and declares, that of herself, and without being forced or engaged thereto by any one, she precipitated herself from a certain high tower, rather choosing to die than be delivered into the hands of her adversaries, and survive the destruction of the city of Compiègne. She further says, that she could not prevent thus precipitating herself to the earth, notwithstanding the two saints had ordered her to the contrary; and although she agrees that it was a weighty crime to offend these saints, yet she well knows that the sin was forgiven after she had confessed herself; and this she states was revealed to her.

ARTICLE IX.

(First, in reference to Article I.)

The two saints revealed to her that she should be saved in the glory of the blessed, and that she would ensure the salvation

prisoner's replies, altered in private, were communicated to a select number of persons who

of her soul, if she preserved her virginity, which she had offered up the first time she saw and heard them; and in respect to this revelation she affirms, that she is as certain of her salvation, as if she was actually and in very deed enjoying the kingdom of heaven.

ARTICLE IX.

This same woman affirms that these two saints promised to conduct her into paradise, if she faithfully preserved the virginity of her body and soul, which she had dedicated to them. She says that she is as sure of this as if she were already in the glory of the saints; and she does not think she has committed any deadly sin, or else it appears to her the two saints would not visit her daily, as they are wont to do.

ARTICLE X.

This same woman states and affirms, that God loves certain persons, whom she designates and names, and who are still living; that he loves them better than herself; and that she knows this by means of the revelation of Saints Catherine and Margaret, who speak to her, not in English, but in French, because they are not on the English side; and that as soon as she had ascertained that the voices were in favour of the prince above adverted to, she did not love the Burgundians.

ARTICLE XI.

She says and avows, that in respect to these voices and spirits, whom she denominates Michael, Gabriel, Catherine, and Margaret, she has worshipped them many times, by uncovering her head (*caput discoperiendo*), in bending her knees, in prostrat-

were deemed worthy of confidence ; but one of the parties, whose name has not been preserved, made

ing herself to the earth upon which they trod, and in offering up to them her virginity ; that when embracing and kissing the two female saints, she corporeally and sensibly touched their persons ; that she has frequently summoned them to her in order to demand their aid and advice, though they frequently appear without being called ; that she acquiesces with and obeys their counsels, and has so continued to do from the commencement, without consulting any one, whether father or mother, whether curate, prelate, or any other ecclesiastic. Nevertheless she believes that voices, with male and female saints of this description, visit her from God, and by his orders, as firmly as she believes in the Christian religion, and that our Lord Jesus Christ has suffered death for our deliverance ; and that if an evil spirit appeared feigning to be Saint Michael, she would well know how to discern whether it was himself or not.

This woman further adds, that of her own consent, and without being urged thereto, she has sworn to these two saints not to reveal the sign of the crown which was given to the prince to whom it was sent ; and she also states that she could not reveal the same until she gained permission so to do.

ARTICLE XII.

This woman avows and affirms, that if the church were desirous she should do any act contrary to what she says God has ordered her, she would not comply for any earthly thing, affirming that she knows what is contained in her process proceeds from the ordinance of God, and that it would be out of her power to act otherwise. Besides this she adds, that she will not refer to the decision of the church militant, or to that of any living man, but

known the unworthy proceedings. Whatever prejudices this individual might have entertained against the accused, he strictly examined the various statements, pointed out their many defects, and proposed to the private council that was convened upon the occasion the alterations which he thought it would be advisable and necessary to make. The corrections consisted of a sheet of paper, whereupon the twelve articles had been written by Jaques

to our Lord God alone, more especially as regards the revelations, and the matters to which they relate, and to every thing she has done by virtue of those revelations; and she states that she has not uttered this and the other answers from her own head, but that she has spoken and delivered them by command of those voices, and by virtue of the revelations made to her; although the judges and other persons present declared to her several times the article of the faith — *I believe in the one Holy and Catholic Church*, explaining to her that every living follower of the faith is bound to obey and submit his words and actions to the church militant, particularly in matters of faith, and what concerns the sacred doctrine and ecclesiastical ordinances.

And in reference to Article I.

She has hesitated and refused to submit herself, her words, and actions, to the church militant, although several times exhorted and required; stating that it is impossible for her to act contrary to what she has affirmed in her process to have done by the order of God; and that, in respect to those things, she does not refer to the decision or judgment of any living creature, but solely to the judgment of God.

de Touraine, covered with marginal and interlined additions and alterations, of which the judges at the revisal took an entire copy. It has been ascertained that these corrections were sanctioned by the assessors ; but the articles were nevertheless adopted in their original form, altogether disagreeing with, and even frequently contradicting the answers delivered by Jeanne. As a proof of this, she was represented to have affirmed, that her delivery from prison would be effected, and that the French, accompanied by her, would perform the greatest feats of arms ever yet achieved in Christendom. The assertions that she had made concerning her male attire were misrepresented ; it was stated that she would not attend the celebration of mass because she must lay it aside, whereas it was well known that she consented to put on the dress of her own sex in order to hear the church service, on condition that she should be allowed to resume her favourite apparel afterwards. Every precaution was taken to conceal Jeanne's real motives for this conduct, originating, as before observed, in extreme modesty, which had been repeatedly subjected to the most brutal assaults from the vilest of men.

The assessors and doctors, when consulted upon questions thus garbled and contrary to truth, were almost unanimous in their unfavourable opinions, and adjudged the prisoner guilty upon every count. In order to remove from the recollection of the

accused the advice she had received from father Isambart, recourse was had to the expedient of weakening and changing, by equivocations and subtle distinctions, the definition which Jean de la Fontaine had given to La Pucelle of the church militant. Thus the entire routine of the process was involved in ambiguity, and it was in this manner that all the ulterior proceedings respecting the prisoner were uniformly conducted.

At this juncture it was reported that Jeanne d'Arc was taken dangerously ill, when cardinal Beaufort and the earl of Warwick, having ascertained the fact, employed Guillaume des Jardins and Guillaume de la Chambre, two practitioners in medicine, with other doctors. At the interview which took place with these individuals, the earl of Warwick stated that Jeanne was ill, and that he had summoned them for the purpose of holding a consultation. "For," added the earl, "the king of England would not for the world that she should die a natural death;* he has paid dearly for her, and her days must end by the hand of justice; he expects to have her burnt. See her, therefore, and adopt every precaution that she may recover." The doctors, in consequence, visited the prisoner, and agreed that she ought to lose blood. When they returned to the earl of Warwick, in order

* Deposition of Guillaume de la Chambre.



to make known to him their decision: "Take heed," said the latter, "not to bleed her; for she is artful and might put an end to herself." Notwithstanding this, however, Jeanne was bled, and the fever immediately abated. The judges despatched one Jean Tiphaine, a student in medicine, to visit the invalid, who was introduced to her by the proctor Estivet; when the latter conducted himself towards Jeanne in the most infamous manner, and loaded her with abuse of the vilest description. The unfortunate sufferer, unable to suppress her just indignation, endeavoured to rebut these foul aspersions, and was in consequence so exhausted from irritation, that a return of the fever immediately took place. The nature of the prisoner's disorder might lead to a suspicion that the bishop of Beauvais had sought to poison her, in order the more easily to rid himself and the English his masters of the burden and the disgrace of a tedious and iniquitous judicial proceeding.*

Upon the first citation, which took place on the 18th of April, Jeanne was in imminent danger. In

* In respect to this illness of Jeanne d'Arc, one of the witnesses made the following singular statement: On the prisoner's being questioned as to whether she could in any way account for her indisposition, she replied, that the bishop of Beauvais had sent her a carp of which she had eaten, and that she firmly believed her illness originated in that circumstance.—*Chaussard*, vol. i. p. 64.

this extremity she only requested that the sacraments of penitence and the eucharist might be administered to her, and an assurance that her body after death should be consigned to consecrated ground.

The wretched captive had too long perceived that her life was forfeited, and that it was vain to delude herself with a hope of release from her enemies. This at least appears evident from the following fact.

Raymond, Lord de Macy, came to visit La Pucelle, accompanied by the earls of Warwick and Stafford, the comte de Ligny, who had basely sold her, and the chancellor of England. Comte de Ligny, addressing himself to La Pucelle, said: "Jeanne, I am come to treat respecting your ransom in case you will promise never again to take up arms against us:" to which Jeanne replied: "*En nom de Dieu vous vous riez de moi, car je sais bien que vous n'en avez ni le vouloir ni le pouvoir. Je sais bien que ces Anglais me feront mourir, croyant après ma mort gagner le royaume de France; mais fussent-ils cent mille godons plus qu'ils ne sont de présent, ils n'auraient pas ce royaume.* By my God, you do but mock me; for I well know that you have neither the will nor the power. I am certain that these English will put me to death, thinking, after I am gone, to gain the kingdom of France; but were they a hundred thousand (*godons*) gluttons more than they are at present, they would not possess the king-


dom. The earl of Stafford, indignant at hearing these magnanimous expressions, half unsheathed his dagger, with the intention of striking the captive; but the earl of Warwick, seizing his arm, prevented the execution of his purpose.

At the third monition the assembly hinted to the accused that the executioners were at hand, and that they had prepared the instruments necessary for the infliction of torture. These means, however, instead of intimidating, only tended to irritate Jeanne d'Arc, and to inspire her with additional courage. "If, during the agony of my sufferings," said she, "any false avowals should chance to escape me, I will maintain that they were only wrenched from me by violent means. God has uniformly guided all my actions; never has the devil possessed influence over my proceedings. Even should you tear me limb from limb, and separate my soul from my body, I would not utter one word more than was expressed during the process." Jean de Castillon, sensibly affected by the apparent good faith of the accused, began to surmise the evil intentions of her persecutors; wherefore, upon a very captious and improper question being proposed to the prisoner, he dared to affirm, in open court, that perhaps she was not obliged to give any reply to interrogatories of such a nature. At hearing this the assembly was in great commotion; but Castillon, more indignant than affrighted

at the vehemence of his opponents, declared to the bishop of Beauvais and those assisting, that proceedings conducted in such a manner were entirely null and void. The bishop, in anger, commanded his silence, and he was never after summoned to attend the sittings of the court.

At length arrived the answers of such as had been consulted, and among them those of the university of Paris. Upon examining them it is difficult to decide whether we should feel most astonishment at the extreme folly of the motives alleged for condemnation, or the iniquity of the doctors who advocated the cause of the English. One fact, however, is particularly worthy of remark, which is, that the judges never communicated to the accused the twelve propositions, wherein her original answers had been so materially altered, and which served as the basis of so many infamous judgments.

During the monition of the 23d of May, Pierre Morice, canon of the cathedral at Rouen, whilst rehearsing the twelve articles of accusation, incessantly reproached the prisoner with her ignorance and weakness, and endeavoured to entangle her by frivolous and vexatious questions. No interval of time was allowed the accused between the several propositions to which the opinions of the university of Paris applied, and she was debarred from uttering a syllable in her own defence upon any one of the articles produced in evidence against



her. When Morice had concluded the perusal, he advised the accused to appeal to the decision of the church.

It was at this period that the answers of Jeanne were expected; and she in consequence addressed the court, saying, that she referred to the statements made during the process, and that she was resolved to maintain them. "*Quand même je serais en jugement, quand je verrais le feu préparé, le bucher allumé, et le bourreau prêt à m'y jeter, je ne dirais pas autre chose à la mort, que ce que j'ai dit au procès.* Even were the sentence put in force," exclaimed the accused, "did I behold the fire prepared, the fagots lighted, and the executioner on the point of throwing me into the flames, I would not in death utter a thing that was not pronounced during the process." And from that period she maintained a determined silence, which was never broken. The unfortunate prisoner was then cited to appear on the ensuing day to hear her definitive judgment pronounced, while her pretended judges drew out the sentence of condemnation, which does not appear to have been communicated to the assessors. This document opens with a detail of the vigilance with which pastors should banish from their flocks the errors disseminated by the devil; after which it proceeds briefly to notice the instruction already procured, the advice of the doctors consulted, and the decision of the

university. It was then stated to the accused, that she had imagined and superstitiously invented divers revelations and apparitions, on which she too easily placed reliance; and that she was rash, superstitious, and a sorceress; a blasphemer of God and his saints, and especially of the Lord in his sacraments; a prevaricator of the divine law, and of the doctrine of the laws of the church; a schismatic, erring from the faith, and rashly culpable towards God and the holy church, to which she would not submit herself. Lastly, it was declared, that she was obstinate, persevering in her errors, and an heretic; that she was lopped off from the church as an infected member, and consequently delivered over to secular justice, which was called upon to act with lenity towards her.

From this period the judges engaged themselves entirely in endeavouring to procure Jeanne d'Arc's submission to the church; and it was ultimately decided, that if she did not solemnly abjure her errors, she should be handed over to the secular arm, and burnt at the stake. From the general tenour of her character, it may naturally be conceived that La Pucelle would refuse such an abjuration; and the perfidious Loiseleur was once more employed to wheedle her into compliance. "Confide in me, Jeanne," said the traitor; "if you desire to be saved, you may effect it. Resume your female attire, and act in all things as you are desired,

otherwise you are in danger of death : but if you do as I say, you will be saved, and every thing will terminate favourably ; no injury will be done to you, and you will be restored to the church." Such assurances, it must be allowed, were very consolatory to a wretched captive so circumstanced, and who only sought to be delivered from the hands of the English.

On the 24th of May, 1431, Jeanne d'Arc was conducted to the burial-ground of the abbey of Saint Ouen at Rouen. In the midst of this enclosure were erected two stages, or scaffolds, one for the use of the judges and the other for La Pucelle and Guillaume Erard, doctor in theology, who was the person deputed to deliver the sermon customary upon such occasions. Jeanne appeared in the dress of a man.

At a little distance was stationed the executioner, with the cart used for the conveyance of culprits, and the faggots were arranged around the stake on the spot where the sentence was to be put into effect.

The preacher then commenced a discourse, which had for its ostensible object the eternal salvation of the prisoner, and the instruction of the multitude assembled. In the course of his preaching, however, he contrived to lavish the bitterest invectives upon Jeanne d'Arc, stating that she had attacked the king's majesty,—had committed many crimes

against God and the Catholic church ; that she erred against the faith ; and that if she did not act with caution she would be burnt. On hearing this, La Pucelle exclaimed aloud : “ *Ah, France ! tu es bien abusée, qui as toujours été la chambre très Chrétienne, de te adhérer à une hérétique et scismatique, tel il est, aux paroles et faiz d'une femme inutile, diffamée, et de tout déshonneur pleine ; et non pas luy seulement, mais tout le clergie de son obéissance et seigneurie, par lequel elle a été examinée et non reprise, comme elle a dit et du dit Roy.* Ah France ! how art thou abused, which hast ever been the most Christian chamber, to adhere to an heretic and schismatic, for such he * is, from the words and acts of a useless defamed woman, full of dishonour ; and not only him, but all the clergy and nobility under his obedience, by whom she has been examined, and not reproached.”

On directing his discourse to La Pucelle in particular, the preacher exclaimed, in an elevated tone of voice : “ It is to thee, Jeanne, I speak, and tell thee that thy king is an heretic and schismatic ! ” to which she made answer : “ Speak of me, and not of the king ; he is a good Christian.” And as this ecclesiastic still proceeded in his invectives, she further observed : “ *Par ma foi, sire, révérence gardée, car je vous ose bien dire et jurer, sous peine de ma vie, que c'est le plus noble Chrétien de tous les Chrétiens, et*

* Meaning Charles VII.

qui mieux aime la foi et l'église, et n'est point tel que vous dites—By my faith, sire, with all due submission, for I dare to tell you and to swear, on pain of my life, that he is the most noble of all Christians, and loves the faith and the church, and is not that which you call him." The preacher and the bishop of Beauvais then commanded Jean Massieu, the beadle, to compel Jeanne to hold her peace.


When the sermon was concluded, a schedule was read to the prisoner, containing the form of the abjuration; and the beadle having read the contents, said to the accused: "You will abjure and sign this schedule." Among other things, it contained a promise never more to carry arms, to wear male attire, or to have her hair cut short; the whole consisting only of about eight lines. Jeanne then said she did not know what was meant by abjuring, and required an explanation; upon which Jean Massieu, desirous of making the prisoner, as quickly as possible, aware of the perilous situation in which she was placed, briefly stated, that if she should show any opposition to the articles of abjuration, she would be burnt; and at the same time advised her to appeal to the universal church, whether she ought to abjure or not. Placing confidence in his words, Jeanne then cried aloud: "*Je me rapporte à l'église universelle, si je dois abjurer ou non*—I appeal to the universal church, whether I ought to abjure or not." "Thou shalt instantly abjure them, or be

burnt!" answered the pitiless Erard. Upon this Jeanne resumed her speech in the following words: "*J'ai déjà répondu à ce qui concerne la soumission à l'église, par rapport à mes actions et mes paroles; je consens que l'on envoie mes réponses à Rome, et je m'y soumetts; mais j'affirme en même temps que je n'ai rien fait que par les ordres de Dieu: au surplus, j'ajoute qu'aucun de mes faits ni de mes discours ne peut être à la charge de mon roi, ni d'aucun autre.* I have already replied to what appertains to submission to the church, as concerns my words and actions; I consent that my answers be forwarded to Rome, to which I submit; but I protest at the same time that I have done nothing but by the command of God: moreover I have to add, that none of my speeches or actions can be imputed to my king or any one else." Could there be a more incontestable proof adduced of fidelity and greatness of soul at a moment so replete with terror?

Jeanne was no more questioned as to whether she would submit to the church or not, but merely if she would revoke the deeds and discourses which had been condemned by the ecclesiastics present? To this she answered, that she wished to appeal to God and their holy father the pope. The judges, however, without consulting any one, took upon themselves to state to the accused, that that was not sufficient; for that the pope resided at too great a distance for an appeal to be made to him. It was then

stated, in order to induce her to recognise the judgment awarded against her, that the ordinaries would act as judges in their diocese. Thus the inquisitor and the bishop of Beauvais acted as the church itself, and their fiat admitted of no appeal; such being the flagrant error that doomed the unfortunate Jeanne d'Arc to the flames.

Thrice was La Pucelle summoned, in defiance of her appeal to the pope, to sanction this unlawful principle; but as she did not think fit to answer, the bishop of Beauvais proceeded to read her condemnation, during which he had the daring effrontery to pronounce these words: "You have, moreover, with an obstinate and persevering spirit, expressly refused to submit to our holy father the pope and to the general council." It cannot be denied that this was indeed the very climax of impudence.



The most importunate measures were perseveringly adopted in order to obtain from Jeanne the abjuration so much desired. Some employed menaces, while others had recourse to prayers and entreaties; for not all those who at this momentary crisis surrounded La Pucelle were her enemies, but, on the contrary, many of them ardently wished to save her life. Threats, however, only irritated the heroine, who, in a moment of impatience, exclaimed: "*Tout ce que j'ai fait, tout ce que je fais, j'ai bien fait, et fais bien de le faire*—All that I have done, all that I do, is well done, and I do well in so doing."

But entreaties produced a contrary effect ; she became softened, and at length determined to comply. Loiseleur exhorted her, in the most pressing terms, to submit ; while Erard, changing his tone, addressed her with counterfeited good-will, to the following effect : “ Jeanne, we all feel pity towards thee : thou must revoke what thou hast uttered, otherwise we must abandon thee to secular justice.” Several persons, greatly affected, and really interested for the fate of La Pucelle, then exclaimed aloud : “ Jeanne, do as you are advised ; will you be the cause of your own death ?”

The unfortunate girl began to be evidently moved, and proceeded to clear herself from blame, by stating to the preacher that she had adopted men's attire because, being obliged to appear in the midst of armed men, that state of dress was more suitable and safe than the female attire. “ I have been guilty of no crimes,” she said ; “ I believe in the twelve articles of the faith, and the precepts laid down by the decalogue ; I appeal to the court of Rome, and I believe in every thing that is accredited by the holy church.” Still Jeanne was pressed to abjure, and Erard went so far as to promise, that in case of compliance she should be set at liberty ; but although her resolution was shaken, she still persisted in her refusal : “ Ah !” she exclaimed, “ you have great difficulty in seducing me !”

The bishop of Beauvais, perceiving that she was inclined to yield, delayed the reading of the sentence of condemnation ; upon which the English who were present began to murmur, and even went so far as to accuse the bishop of treason and of favouring the accused. The passionate Pierre Cauchon could not patiently submit to this injury : “ It is a lie,” said he, addressing the chaplain of cardinal Beaufort— “ for in such a situation I would show favour to no one ; but it is the duty of my profession to endeavour to save the soul and body of the said Jeanne. You have done me an injustice, nor will I proceed further until you have offered me reparation.” The cardinal put an end to this disgraceful altercation by reprimanding his chaplain, and ordering him to hold his tongue.

Jean Massieu took advantage of the time that was occupied in this debate to persuade Jeanne to sign the schedule. Pressed on every side, and overcome by the entreaties of those who were around her, she at length replied to the representations of the doctors : “ *Que cette cédule soit vue par les clercs et l'église, dans les mains des quels je dois être mise ; et s'ils me donnent conseil de la signer, et de faire les choses qui me sont dites, je le ferai volontiers* — Let this schedule be inspected by the clerks of the church, in whose hands I am to be placed ; and if they advise me to sign it, and to perform the things which are told me, I am willing so to do.” Guil-

laume Erard then exclaimed, " Sign on the instant, or you shall this day terminate your existence in the flames !" Jeanne replied, that she would rather sign than be burnt ; upon which the bishop of Beauvais demanded of cardinal Beaufort, what should be done, seeing that she acquiesced. The cardinal then said, that he ought to admit her to penance. Laurent Callot, secretary of the king of England, immediately drew from his sleeve a schedule, which he presented to the accused for the purpose of signing. Jeanne upon this remarked, that she could neither read nor write. Callot was peremptory ; and Jean Massieu, who watched over all the actions of the prisoner, in order that no occasion to save her might escape, placed the pen in the hands of La Pucelle. They then caused her to repeat the form of the abjuration which had already been several times read over, containing only seven or eight lines, as we have previously noticed. Jeanne obeyed ; but while in the act of repeating, smiled, as if she attached no importance whatever to the forms that were exacted from her. At length, as if in derision, she traced a circle at the bottom of the schedule ; when Laurent Callot, seizing her hand, forced her to annex the figure of a cross.

It appears that at this juncture a great tumult arose in the assembly ; originating in expressions of joy from the people, which repressed a contrary feeling on the part of the English who were present : and

the latter threw stones at the judges to testify their discontent at finding that Jeanne d'Arc was not immediately to be burnt at the stake.

The schedule, however, so signed by La Pucelle, was not that which had been read to her, and which she had repeated, the latter consisting merely of a few lines ; but another, occupying nearly three pages, which Callot had very adroitly substituted, when the signature was to be annexed.* The document

* The following is the schedule, as it appears in the process of condemnation :—

“Every person who has erred and mistaken the Christian faith, and afterwards, by the grace of God, is returned to the light of truth and to the unity of our holy mother church, should have special care lest the enemy in hell should turn him back and cause him to relapse into error and damnation. On account of this, I Jeanne, commonly called La Pucelle, miserable sinner, after what I have thus seen of the error to which I was devoted, and that by the grace of God I am returned to our holy mother church, in order that it may be seen, that not feignedly, but of good heart and good will, I am returned to her : I confess that I have most grievously sinned, *in lying by pretending* to have heard revelations and apparitions from God, by the angels and Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret ; in seducing souls ; *in creating things foolishly and lightly* [the same contradiction appears in the sentence] ; in uttering superstitious divinations ; in blaspheming God, and his saints male and female ; in trespassing against divine law, the holy Scriptures, and the canon laws ; in adopting a dissolute and unbecoming dress, against the decency of nature, and hair cropped short round in disguise of a man, against the comeliness of the feminine sex ; in also wearing

which she unwarily signed, contained every statement that the prisoner would have refused to ratify had it been read to her; being made up of the most cowardly confessions, and of assertions equally vile and absurd. This important result being

armour, with great presumption, and cruelly desiring the effusion of human blood; in saying that I have performed all these things by the command of God, the angels, and the above-mentioned saints—and that in so acting I have done well, and not been mistaken; in despising God and his sacraments; in raising seditions; and in committing idolatry by adoring evil spirits and invoking them. Which crimes and errors, with good heart and without fiction, I, by the grace of our Lord God, returned to the path of truth, by the holy doctrine and the good counsel of you and the doctors and masters you have sent me, abjure, detest, deny, and from all renounce and depart: and upon the several points abovesaid submit myself to the correction, disposition, amendment, and total determination of our holy mother church and your good justice. I equally swear, vow, and promise to my Lord Saint Peter, prince of apostles, to our holy father, the Pope of Rome, his vicar and his successors, and to you, my lords, the reverend father in God my lord bishop of Beauvais, and the religious personage master Jehan le Maître, vicar of my lord the inquisitor of the faith, as well as to my judges, that never by any exhortation, or other manner, I will return to the errors aforesaid, from which it has pleased our Lord to take and deliver me; but always remain in union with our holy mother church, and in obedience to our holy father the Pope of Rome. And this I say, attest, and swear, by the Almighty God and by the holy Evangelists. And in confirmation hereof, I have signed this schedule with my signature." JEANNE, ☒

obtained, the bishop of Beauvais and the vice-inquisitor, without even consulting the assessors, pronounced a sentence widely different from the first, but similarly addressed to the accused,—from whence it may be concluded that the two sentences had been previously drawn out. This new sentence, which was read aloud to Jeanne, closed with these words: “As you have sinned against God and the church, we condemn you, as a matter of grace and moderation, to pass the residue of your days in prison, to share the bread of bitterness and the water of agony, to weep for your sins, and to commit no more in future.”

The perfidious Loiseleur at this period approached La Pucelle, and with hypocrisy that but ill concealed his malicious irony, thus bespoke her: “Jeanne, you have made a good day’s work of it, if it so pleases God, and you have saved your soul.” The prisoner then demanded whither she was to go, and if she was not to be delivered over to the power of the church, since the church condemned her? Upon finding that no reply was made to this question, she exclaimed, “*Or ça, entre vous, gens d’église, menez moi en vous prisons, et que je ne sois plus en la main de ces Anglais*—Well now, come you men of the church, conduct me to your prisons, and let me no longer remain in the hands of these English.” No notice was, however, taken of this appeal, so evidently just; but the bishop of Beauvais ordered

her to be conducted back to the prison from whence she came, and the wretched captive was in consequence again committed to the castle of Rouen.

The vice-inquisitor speedily followed Jeanne to her cell; where, after exhorting her not to relapse into those errors which the church had forgiven her, he further enjoined her to adopt the habiliments of her own sex, according to the orders of the court, with which she had agreed to comply. The unhappy maid submitted without opposition, and also agreed to let her hair grow, and not cut it short, as was customary at that time with men. Morice and Loiseleur had furnished La Pucelle with female attire, in which she dressed herself: the male accoutrements, however, were not removed, but placed in a sack, and left in the chamber. The latter circumstance is particularly worthy of remark, because it throws a light on the dreadful event which speedily after took place, and put a finishing stroke to the atrocious proceedings adopted by the enemies of the wretched girl. Some Englishmen, unacquainted with the later schemes of cardinal Beaufort, Cauchon bishop of Beauvais, and others who were delegated to act in this sanguinary affair, expressing their discontent on finding that Jeanne d'Arc had escaped from immediate death, received this iniquitous answer: "Do not fear, we shall soon have her another way." In fact, the execution

of La Pucelle was delayed for a while merely to give the proceedings of her judges the appearance of lenity; for the means of putting her sentence into effect were already prepared.

Jeanne was committed to the care of five English soldiers, three of whom spent the night within her apartment, and the others without. On the two following days she scrupulously fulfilled the duties imposed upon her at her judgment: although on the very day when her sentence was pronounced, she manifested infinite regret for having submitted to the terms. On the 27th of May, which fell upon a Sunday,* the bishop of Beauvais and the earl of

* The following is the account delivered by Massieu, according to the statement of Boreille, and the evidence taken at Rouen.

“On the arrival of Sunday morning,” says he, “which was the day of Holy Trinity, when she [Jeanne] was about to get up [as stated by herself to the narrator], she said to her guards, ‘Assist me, I wish to get up.’”

“One of these Englishmen, upon this, took off the female dress she had upon her person, emptied the sack that contained the man’s apparel, and threw the vestments upon her, bidding her at the same time arise; after which he placed the woman’s attire in the said sack: ‘You know,’ said the prisoner, ‘that I am forbidden to put on these clothes, and that so to act would be deemed a crime:’ yet they nevertheless would give her no other.

“In this debate the prisoner and her guards continued until nearly mid-day, when, urged by the pressing exigencies of nature,

Warwick hastily summoned the assessors and notaries who had officiated at the process, in order to announce to them that Jeanne d'Arc had resumed the dress of a man. They received orders to repair to the castle for the purpose of verifying the fact; but on their arrival they were very ill-treated by the English, who reviled them as traitors, Armagnacs, and evil counsellors; so that the major part could not gain admittance into the chamber of the prisoner. This interruption arose from the English, who were irritated at finding that Jeanne d'Arc had escaped punishment when the first sentence was pronounced.

she was constrained to go out and take with her the said male habit."

During the process of revisal, other facts were elicited to prove the violence to which Jeanne was repeatedly subjected. It is incontestably proved, that attempts were made to violate her chastity between the period of abjuration and the alleged relapse. La Pierre states, that when the prisoner endeavoured to justify herself for resuming the male dress, she publicly declared and affirmed that the English had subjected her to the most cruel injuries while habited as her own sex; and this witness also deposes (to use his own words,) "*Qu'il la vit eplourée; son visage plein de larmes, desfigurée et outragée en telle sorte que lui qui parle en eût pitié et compassion—* That he beheld her dishevelled, her face bathed in tears, and so disfigured and outraged, that he, the speaker, had pity and compassion on her."

Jeanne's confessor, L'Advenu, who accompanied her to execution, states, she declared to him, "That after the per-

Several of the assessors, however, forced their way into the apartment occupied by the prisoner, whom they found clad in the dress of a man. One of them expressed a wish to ask her the reason why she had thus changed her habits ; but another exclaimed, " In the name of the devil hold your tongue !" whilst a third raised a hatchet to strike the individual who had made the proposition. At this occurrence the persecutors of Jeanne d'Arc testified a ferocious joy ; and the earl of Warwick and the bishop of Beauvais were heard to exclaim, with cruel satisfaction, " She is caught !"

The judges, that is to say, the bishop of Beauvais and the vice-inquisitor, accompanied by eight assessors, repaired to the prison on the ensuing day. They no longer confined themselves to the observance of legal formalities. The first process being terminated by a judgment, a new course of proceedings ought to have been instituted in consideration of the relapse ; but they only occupied themselves in making preparations for the execution, without giving any intimation to Jeanne d'Arc that she was again to be tried by a criminal process. She

formance of abjuration, and while in prison, she had been violently assaulted, molested, beaten, and her hair torn, and that it was an English lord who strove to violate her ; to which she publicly added, that such was the cause of her having changed the female attire."—*Chaussard*, vol. i. pp. 12, 13, and 14.

was asked the reason why she had resumed the dress of a man? To this she replied: "I have done so because I conceive it more decent and fitting than the apparel of women, so long as I continue to be guarded by men. Besides, I only adopted the dress because the promises made to me were not performed; namely, to permit me to hear mass, to receive the body of Jesus Christ, and no longer to shackle me thus with fetters and chains of iron." The judges, without denying the justness of this affecting appeal, represented to La Pucelle that she had sworn not to resume the attire of a man; upon which the impulse of despair forced from her these words:—"I would rather die than continue in chains; but were I permitted to attend mass, to go unfettered, and enjoy a less rigorous imprisonment, I would be good—I would do every thing the church required."

The bishop of Beauvais, fully bent on making Jeanne a sacrifice to his own hatred and that of her enemies, then interrogated her respecting her revelations, about Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret, and as to what had been communicated by those saints since the period of her abjuration. Instead of dissembling, Jeanne, with a frankness that was the occasion of her death, made this answer, which is amply verified by the rough draft of the process of condemnation:—"God has made known to me, through the medium of the two saints, the great pity excited by that solemn incident, in which I

consented to perform abjuration in order to save my life. Previous to last Thursday they announced to me that I should act thus, and do what I have done. When I was upon the scaffold, they commanded me to answer the preacher boldly; and I now say he was a false preacher, because he accused me of having done things which I had never performed. Since Thursday they have declared to me that I was guilty of a great fault. In short, every thing which I have said and done since Thursday last, has been performed under the dread of being burnt."

On its being observed to the prisoner that she had solemnly abjured, "I said," answered she, "things which I neither thought to say nor to do; it was not my wish to have it thought that I did not believe the saints conversed with me. It is not true that I have renounced every thing which I may have done. I would rather instantly perform my act of penitence than longer endure all I am forced to suffer in prison. Besides, I have never said or done any act against God and the faith, notwithstanding all that I have been commanded to renounce. I do not know what was contained in the schedule of abjuration; I have revoked nothing but under the supposition that it would be agreeable to God. In fine, if the judges desire it, I will resume a woman's dress; but I will do nothing more."

The judges, without informing the prisoner that,

regarding her as a relapse, they were going to arraign her, caused the verbal process to be drawn out, repeating every thing she had uttered, probably without reading the contents of this document to her. Such is the account substantiated by the rough draft of the process executed under the direction of the judges; and these facts, such as they are, sufficiently prove the atrocious conduct of Jeanne's persecutors. In addition to this, however, it is confidently averred by the depositions of witnesses, as we have above stated, that the prisoner only assumed male attire to escape the repeated attacks upon her chastity.

In the verbal process, all these facts were omitted by the judges; but who can feel astonished at such scandalous conduct? The whole tenour of their proceedings sufficiently displays the baseness of their hearts. It was but a secondary consideration that they had entrapped the unfortunate girl in order to give her up to the vengeance of the English; they even went so far as to triumph in the success of their infamous treachery. They made a parade of their disgrace, and assumed glory to themselves for playing the parts, assigned to them by strangers, of so many judicial assassins. Once, on quitting the prison, the dastardly bishop of Beauvais was heard to exclaim in an elevated tone of voice, a smile playing on his lips as he addressed the earl of Warwick and a multitude of people who

surrounded him, "*All's well! the business is done.*"

The simple visit of the judges to Jeanne d'Arc sufficed with her persecutors for every other judicial form. On the ensuing day they convened such assessors as they thought proper to select, and read to them the extrajudicial verbal process which they had dictated. It was on this document, which may be deemed in some measure apocryphal, that the opinions of the judges were taken, and Jeanne was to be declared a relapse, and consequently surrendered over to the secular arm, with the hypocritical injunction that she should be leniently treated. The prisoner was cited to appear before her judges on the following morning, when her death was resolved upon, and fixed for the same day. The bishop of Beauvais, at an early hour, despatched Martin L'Advenu to Jeanne, to announce her approaching fate, to urge her to unfeigned contrition and penitence, and to hear her confession. Upon this the wretched creature burst into tears, and tore her hair, exclaiming: "*Hélas! me traite l'on ainsi horriblement et cruellement, qu'il faille mon corps net et entier, qui ne fut jamais corrompu, soit aujourd'hui consumé et rendu en cendres! Ha! j'aimerais mieux être décapitée sept fois que d'être ainsi brûlée. Hélas! si j'eusse été en la prison ecclésiastique, à laquelle je m'étais submise, et que j'eusse été gardée par les gens de l'église, non par mes ennemys et adversaires, il ne m'en fût pas si misérable-*"

ment meschu comme il est. O! j'en appelle à Dieu le grand Juge des grands torts et ingravances qu'on me fait. Alas! then am I to be treated thus horribly and cruelly, that my whole and entire body, never yet corrupted, should be consumed and reduced to ashes! Ha! I would rather be beheaded seven times over than thus burnt. Alas! had I been consigned to the ecclesiastical prison, to whose jurisdiction I submitted, and guarded by men of the church, not by my enemies and adversaries, such a miserable end as this would not have awaited me! Oh! I appeal to God, the great Judge, how many sufferings and grievances I have been compelled to endure!"

Brother Martin L'Advenu, however, succeeded in calming the unhappy girl, and she prepared herself, with her accustomed resignation and piety, to make her confession. At this time she demanded the sacrament of the eucharist, which her persecutors allowed her to receive. Her request being submitted to the bishop of Beauvais, that prelate, after consulting with other doctors, gave for answer, *that Jeanne might have whatsoever she thought fit to request.* What a disgusting series of contradictions do these proceedings display! All these favours were to be granted to an unfortunate creature who was on the point of being publicly proclaimed a schismatic and a heretic.

The eucharist was administered by brother Martin, which Jeanne received with the greatest de-

votion, shedding tears in abundance, and evincing an humility beyond all expression. After this religious act had been performed, the bishop of Beauvais repaired to the prison; and upon entering, he was accosted by Jeanne in the following words, "Bishop! it is owing to you that I die." "Ah! Jeanne," answered the bishop, "you die because you have relapsed into your former errors." To this the wretched sufferer replied, "*Hélas! si vous n'eussiez mis aux prisons de cour d'église, cela ne serait point arrivé. Pourquoi j'appelle de vous devant Dieu.* — Alas! had you placed me in the prisons of the ecclesiastical court, this would not have happened. On this account I appeal from you to God.

La Pucelle was then dressed in woman's attire; and the time for her removal to the scene of suffering being arrived, which was nine in the morning, she was placed in a cart that awaited her in the courtyard of the castle. At her side were seated her confessor, brother Martin L'Advenu; the beadle, Jean Massieu; and brother Isambart de Lapiere; while upwards of eight hundred English soldiers, armed with hatchets, swords, and lances, ranged themselves as an escort for the vehicle.

At this affecting juncture, the iniquitous Loiseleur, torn by feelings of the most poignant remorse, rushing through the crowd, ascended the cart to crave pardon of Jeanne for his infamous perfidy. The English instantly laid violent hands upon him, and would have

murdered him but for the interference of the earl of Warwick, who strictly enjoined him, if he valued his life, to seek refuge at a distance from Rouen.

As the cavalcade advanced towards the old market-place at Rouen, which was at that period the spot appropriated for the execution of criminals, Jeanne uttered lamentations at once so pious and so affecting, that even those who were immediately concerned in the cruel transaction were brought to their tears.

Scaffoldings had been erected in the market-place, one for the judges, (amongst whom were also the secular judges appointed to pronounce sentence of death upon the prisoner,) another for the accommodation of spectators, and a third on which were piled the faggots destined to consume the prisoner. Thus it is obvious that the implements of death were prepared even before the sermon was delivered, or the sentence finally pronounced.

Nicolas Midi was deputed to address to the condemned a salutary exhortation, which was also intended for the edification of the assembled multitude. This ecclesiastic, among other things, told her that she had acted sinfully; that her crime had been once pardoned, and that therefore the church could no longer interest itself in her behalf: and he concluded his harangue with these words, addressed to La Pucelle: —“ Jeanne, go thy way in peace; the church can no longer protect thee, and therefore yields thee to the secular arm.”

At the termination of the sermon, Jeanne, kneeling down, offered up the most fervent prayers to God, at the same time craving forgiveness of all those whom she might have offended; entreating the bystanders to pray for her, and expressing so much devotion in her conduct, that her judges, and even many of the English, her bitter enemies, could not refrain from tears. Fully assured of the efficacy of the prayers of the church, she begged of the priests who were in attendance, that each would celebrate a mass for her soul. So attentive was she, even at this terrible moment, to guard against every thing that might tend to the prejudice of her king, that she was anxious to testify he had never been instrumental in the deeds she had preformed, whether she had been right or wrong in so doing.*

The bishop of Beauvais then spoke in his turn, and read aloud the sentence, which concluded with these words:—“It is therefore on this account, we, being on our tribunal, declare, by our present sentence, that you are a relapse and a heretic; we pronounce you a rotten member, and as such, in order that you may not corrupt others, we declare you cast out and cut off from the church; and we deliver you over to the secular power, praying it to be moderate in its judgment towards you, in sparing you from death and the mutilation of your

* This fact is attested by Jean de Mailly, bishop of Noyon.

members ; and if you show real signs of repentance, the sacrament of penitence shall be administered to you." From these closing words it appears that the sentence had been worded on the preceding day, before the favour of receiving the sacrament had been granted to the prisoner.

Jeanne wept anew on hearing the sentence delivered, and made application for a crucifix : upon which an Englishman present formed a small cross with two sticks, and handed it to the sufferer, who devoutly received the same, first kissing it, and then placing it in her bosom.* She then humbly entreated the beadle that he would procure for her the church crucifix, in order that she might fix her eyes upon it until the moment of her yielding up the ghost. A clerk of the parish of St. Saviour's, in compliance with her request, then brought the cross, which she eagerly seized and pressed with fervour in her arms, recommending her soul to God, Saint Michael, and Saint Catherine, continuing to grasp the same until her arms were bound upon the scaffold. The English, impatient to behold the sacrifice of their

* "She displayed," says Massieu, "grent, evident, and clear signs of contrition, penitence, and fervour in the faith, as well by her piteous and devout lamentations, as by invoking the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin, and all the saints." -- *Chaussard*, vol. i. page 125.

unhappy victim, began to murmur at these delays ; * upon which, without any ceremonious form or sign of judgment, they destined the heroine to the flames, ordering the executioner to do his duty.

Two serjeants then repaired to conduct the prisoner from the scaffold upon which she had first been stationed ; when she kissed the crucifix, bowed to the assistants, and descended of her own accord, followed by brother Martin L'Advenu. A troop of armed Englishmen then seized upon the prisoner, and dragged her to the stake with every mark of furious exultation. The seneschal of Rouen †

* We learn from the evidence of Massieu, that while he was engaged with Jeanne in her devotions, he was urged by several Englishmen, and even by some captains amongst them, to hurry her through her last duties, in order that they might the more speedily glut their eyes with the spectacle of her execution ; these cruel wretches impatiently vociferating, " How, priest ! will you keep us here to dine ? "

† Laurent Guidon, advocate of the court of Rouen, who accompanied the seneschal to the scaffold, states, that after Jeanne had been delivered over to the secular arm, she was instantly placed at the disposal of the seneschal, when, without any judgment either from him or the deponent, whose duty it was to pronounce judgment, she was seized by the executioner, and hurried to the stake. Pierre Davon, lieutenant of the seneschal of Rouen, also declares, that without any interval of time being allowed, or the pronouncing of sentence by secular justice, Jeanne was led off to execution. However, in order to ascertain whether any men-

and his lieutenant were not allowed time to pronounce any sentence against the accused ; they were

tion is made of a judgment in the registers, or the minutes of the bailiwick of Rouen, Mr. Laverdy instigated the baron de Breteuil to write to the procurator-general of the parliament of Rouen ; and the answer received was, that after the most scrupulous and minute research among the preserved documents of the bailiwick, no instrument was found, nor the slightest mention recorded of the matter in question.

From this statement it seems probable that the seneschal of Rouen alone authorised the executioner to conduct Jeanne to the stake. His order was no doubt necessary to the accomplishment of the execution, as churchmen could not issue such a mandate ; but as it appears that Jeanne continued half an hour upon the scaffold after condemnation, offering up prayers to Heaven, may we not reasonably infer that this time was employed in persuasions to urge the seneschal to pronounce the unjust decree ? It was probably necessary to make him comprehend and adopt the pretended privilege of the Inquisition, as absurd as iniquitous, by virtue of which it is maintained that the temporal judge cannot dispense with condemning to the flames, without examination or judgment, a person whom the church has adjudged guilty ; a privilege subversive of all secular authority, and which, if admitted, must oblige it to follow blindly the commands of a body of men possessing none when considered in an earthly point of view.

This conjecture is rendered the more feasible, as, besides the dishonour which the harangues of Jeanne from the scaffold could not fail to cast upon her judges, it was their interest to terminate the proceedings as speedily as possible. From the tenour of the process of revisal, it is obvious that the authority assumed by the Inquisition had neither been recognised nor admitted in France until the period of Jeanne's execution. Many of the witnesses

not even consulted; but Jeanne was hurried away to death, invoking the name of the Almighty, and frequently exclaiming: "*Ah! Rouen, Rouen! seras-tu ma dernière demeure?* — Ah! Rouen, Rouen! wilt thou be my last residence?"


At the foot of the stake the mitre of the Inquisition was placed upon her brows, whereon were written these words: "HERETIC, RELAPSE, APOSTATE, IDOLATRESS;" and on a tablet in front of the scaffold the following lines were traced in large characters:—

JEHANNE, QUI SE FAIT NOMMER LA PUCELLE,
MEURTERESSE, PERNICIEUSE, ABUSERESSE DE
PEUPLE, DEVINERESSE, SUPERSTITIEUSE, BLAS-
PHEMERESSE DE DIEU, MALCREANT DE LA FOI
DE JESUS CHRIST, VENTERESSE, IDOLATRE,

take notice of the iniquity of this proceeding, alleging that the judgment of the secular power had not been duly pronounced: an assertion incontestably well founded; for an order to put any person to death without examining the ground of accusation, or any deliberation on the part of the king's officers, in whose hand is the sword of justice, the fiat of life and death, can only be considered as an act of tyranny and no judgment. But does it not at the same time prove that these witnesses had never seen a similar plan adopted, that they had no idea that such conduct could be tolerated, and that consequently the exercise of this pretended right was not customary in France? This observation is important, inasmuch as it tends to prove, that if France had been guilty of the fault of admitting the tribunal of the Inquisition into her realm, the government at least had wisely excluded one of its most flagrant abuses.

CRUELLE, DISSOLUE, INVOCATRICE DE DIABLES,
SCISMATIQUE, ET HERETIQUE.

Many of the crowd, whose feelings forbade them to view the consummation of this cruel spectacle, hurried away from the scene of horror. As soon as the wretched Jeanne was fastened to the stake, the executioner set fire to the faggots. On witnessing the approach of the flames, Jeanne cried out in a loud voice, "JESUS!" Brother Martin L'Advenu was so anxiously engaged in preparing the unhappy sufferer to meet her fate with Christian resignation, that he did not perceive the fire rapidly gaining on his own person; Jeanne, however, grateful for his charity, watched over his safety, and had still sufficient presence of mind and courage to give him notice of his danger, and request him to withdraw. She then entreated that he would station himself at the foot of the scaffold, and elevate the crucifix of the Lord before her, in order that she might contemplate the same in her dying moments; and also that he would continue his exhortations in a tone of voice sufficiently loud for her to hear him; with all which that ecclesiastic faithfully complied. While he was fulfilling this most pious duty, and preaching to Jeanne on the subject of her salvation, the bishop of Beauvais and some priests of the church of Rouen approached to view the unfortunate girl. On beholding the prelate near her, Jeanne reminded him that he was the cause of her sufferings and her death;



and said, "*Si vous m'eussiez mise dans les prisons de l'église, je ne serois pas ici*— If you had placed me in the prisons of the church, I should not have been here." She persisted to the very last moment in affirming that she had done nothing but by the command of God, and that she did not believe herself deceived in the voices she had heard. Firm in the protestation of her innocence and of the iniquity of her judges, casting around a look fraught with the most agonizing expression, she exclaimed: "*Ha, Rouen! j'ai grand peur que tu n'ayes à souffrir de ma mort!*— Ah, Rouen! I am much afraid that thou wilt have to suffer for my death!"

The executioner, however, sought to shorten her agonies by increasing the fierceness of the flames. Enveloped on all sides by smoke and fire, Jeanne nevertheless continued to call upon Almighty God and the male and female saints of Paradise, and with the last parting sigh of life, as her head dropped upon her bosom, she mentioned the name of Jesus.

When the unfortunate girl was no more, the English, fearful lest it might be said she had escaped, commanded the executioner to withdraw the fire a little, that those who assisted might view the body. After this the corpse was again placed in the flames; and in order that no vestige of it might remain, cardinal Beaufort directed that her bones and ashes should be cast into the river Seine.

Thus perished, through the perfidious machina-

tions of a few designing priests, who had been bought over to the English cause, this most extraordinary young woman, who had rescued the Gallic monarchy from impending destruction, and had levelled so dreadful a blow at the power of Britain, that the armies of the latter, experiencing defeat after defeat, were ultimately compelled entirely to abandon the French territories. Jeanne was executed on the 30th May, 1431, in the twenty-third year of her age, after enduring for a year the most rigid captivity.

Immediately after the death of Jeanne, the executioner sought out the two ecclesiastics who had officiated during her last moments, and said, with tears in his eyes, that he did not believe God would forgive him for putting the young woman to death; and that he had never before felt so much repugnance at fulfilling the duties of his office.

Jean Tressart, secretary of the king of England, on returning from the place of execution, was heard to exclaim aloud, "We are all lost and dishonoured! a great crime has this day been perpetrated, for a saintly person has been burnt."

The punishment of Jeanne d'Arc was an outrage committed against religion, virtue, humanity, and the law of nations, which, even at the dark period when it transpired, considered as sacred the persons of warriors taken with arms in their hands. — But what endeavours did Charles VII. make to rescue from the power of her enemies the heroine who had pre-

served his crown and his kingdom; or what steps did he take to avenge her cruel death? History is altogether silent upon this subject. It is truly painful to suppose that either the supineness of the monarch, or the jealousy of the great, should have been the cause of the total abandonment of Jeanne d'Arc from the time when she was taken prisoner before Compiègne. In vain have several authors, and M. Laverdy* among the rest, sought to adduce,

* M. de Laverdy was the first who undertook to justify Charles VII., but all his reasonings are founded upon mere conjecture. For instance: he pretends, that the king could not propose the ransom or exchange of the prisoner, because Henry VI., as principal leader of the war, possessed the exclusive right of retaining any captive whom he had purchased for ten thousand francs, &c. Suppose we admit this right as well authenticated, (which is not the fact, however positive this author's assertion,) is it very certain that Luxembourg, after having purchased Jeanne, would not have refused to sell her to him who should offer the highest price? And would this Luxembourg, as a subject of the duke of Burgundy, have been restrained by any motives of giving umbrage to Henry of England, who at that period was obliged to show every sentiment of consideration to the Burgundians? The very reverse of this conjecture results from the procrastinated negotiations. As early as the 14th of July, Pierre Cauchon, bishop of Beauvais, had offered ten thousand livres, and it was not until after the 3d of January, six months afterwards, that the bargain was concluded. In short, until it was terminated, Charles had the power of entering into a negotiation for the purchase of Jeanne d'Arc, without imposing upon Luxembourg the necessity of violating, in any degree, this pretended right of Henry VI.; and yet seven months

allatives for the conduct of the king and his government, the customs and prejudices of the times : the judgment of posterity has been decidedly passed. The cruel treatment of Jeanne d'Arc must ever be considered as an indelible stain on the memory of that prince whose reign was rendered illustrious by her exploits ; from which alone he acquired the title of Charles the Victorious.

The English, in reality, acquired no benefit from the death of La Pucelle, having been irrecoverably defeated before Orleans, and quite disheartened by the king's coronation at Rheims. The French con-

and a half were suffered to transpire from the capture of Jeanne before her delivery into the hands of the bishop of Beauvais. But in order to cut short every other consideration, where is a solitary proof to be found of Charles having sought to redeem the brave captive, or to rescue her from the stake? There is not a single instance of the kind on record ; and yet every historian would have eagerly sought the opportunity of extolling any such act undertaken by the monarch and his council, had he adopted even the most trivial measure to accomplish an end so truly desirable.

This may be adduced as a further proof of the good faith displayed throughout by La Pucelle. Had she been tutored by the court to perform the part she played, would not all means have been resorted to for her preservation? would there not have been good cause to apprehend that, either from a justifiable resentment at finding herself betrayed, or with the hope of escaping the fire, she would have unmasked all that had transpired? and how advantageous must such an avowal have proved to the English ! On the contrary, from every statement it appears she was uniform in pronouncing eulogies on the king.

tinued to march forward in the career of victory opened to them by the deeds of the brave maid of Domremy. They chased their enemies from France, after subjecting them to immense losses both of men and money.

After the death of Jeanne d'Arc, the English government being already aware of the great injustice of the act, vainly endeavoured to reap the advantages they had anticipated from it. The enemies of the unhappy girl flattered themselves with a hope of convincing foreigners, as well as the French nation, that her condemnation was justifiable, and thus to anticipate the fatal effects which this most iniquitous judgment could not fail to produce on public opinion. The English were also anxious that Charles VII. should wear the reproach of having employed criminal means to establish himself upon the throne. To this intent the ministers of the youthful English monarch caused two letters to be addressed in his name ; one in Latin, bearing date the 8th June, 1431, to the emperor, the kings, princes, and dukes of Christendom ; and the other in French, of the 28th June, in the same year, to the duke of Burgundy, the prelates, churches, courts, nobles, and cities of the kingdom of France. The first contains merely an empty declamation concerning the danger of erroneous doctrines and false prophets ; the second is of greater importance, and may be regarded as a real manifesto, issued for the purpose of exculpating the

judges and the English government; which will therefore be found at length in the subjoined note.*

* *Letter from the King of England to the Duke of Burgundy, &c. &c. &c.*

“ MOST DEAR AND WELL-BELOVED UNCLE,

“ The very fervent love we know you to bear, as a true Catholic, to our holy mother the church, and your zeal for the exaltation of the faith, induces us to signify to you by writing, that in honour of the above, an act has lately taken place at Rouen, which will tend, as we hope, to the strengthening of the Catholic faith and the extirpation of pestilential heresies.

“ It is well known, from common report and otherwise, that the woman erroneously called the Maid, has, for upwards of two years, contrary to the divine law, and to the decency becoming her sex, worn the dress of a man, a thing abominable before God; and in this state she joined our adversary and yours, giving him, as well as those of his party, churchmen and nobles, to understand that she was sent as a messenger from Heaven; and presumptuously vaunting that she had personal and visible communications with St. Michael, and with a multitude of angels and saints in Paradise, such as St. Catherine and St. Margaret. By these falsehoods, and by promising future victories, she has estranged the minds of persons of both sexes from the truth, and induced them to the belief of dangerous errors.

“ She clothed herself in armour also, assisted by knights and squires, and raised a banner, on which, through excess of pride and presumption, she demanded to bear the noble and excellent arms of France, which in part she obtained. These she displayed at many conflicts and sieges; and they consisted of a shield having two flower-de-luces or on a field azure, with a pointed sword surmounted with a crown proper.

“ In this state she took the field with large companies of men-

The bishop of Beauvais could not conceal, even from his own reflection, the flagrant injustice and in-

at-arms and archers, to exercise her inhuman cruelties by shedding Christian blood, and stirring up seditious and rebellions of the common people. She encouraged perjuries, superstitions, and false doctrines, by permitting herself to be revered and honoured as a holy woman, and in various other manners that would be too long to detail, but which have greatly scandalized all Christendom wherever they have been known.

“ But divine mercy having taken pity on a loyal people, and being no longer willing to suffer them to remain under such vain errors and credulities, permitted that this woman should be made prisoner by your army when besieging Compiègne, and through your affection she was transferred to our power.

“ On this being known, she was claimed by the bishop in whose diocese she was taken ; and as she had been guilty of the highest treason to the Divine Majesty, we delivered her up to be tried and punished by the usual ecclesiastical judges, not only from respect to our holy mother the church, whose ordinances we shall ever prefer to our own, but also for the exaltation of our faith.

“ We were unwilling that the officers of our secular justice should take cognizance of the crime, although it was perfectly lawful for us so to do, considering the great mischiefs, murders, and detestable cruelties, she has committed against our sovereignty, and on a loyal, obedient people.

“ The bishop having called to his aid in this matter the vicar of the inquisitor of errors and heresies in the faith, with many able doctors in theology and in the canon law, commenced, with much solemnity and gravity, the trial of the said Joan. After these judges had for several days interrogated her on her crimes, and had maturely considered her confessions and answers, they sent them for the opinion of our beloved daughter, the University of

famy of the judgment he had pronounced. He was well aware that every rule and form of justice had

Paris; when they all determined that this Joan was superstitious, a sorceress of the devil, a blasphemer of God and of his saints, a schismatic, and guilty of many errors against the faith of Jesus Christ.

“ To recall her to the universal faith of our holy church, to purge her from her pernicious errors, and to save her soul from perpetual damnation, and to induce her to return to the way of truth, she was long and frequently charitably preached to; but that dangerous and obstinate spirit of pride and presumption, which is always endeavouring to prevent the unity and safety of Christians, held the said Joan so fast bound, that no arguments nor exhortations could soften the hardness of her heart; so that she boasted that all which she had done was meritorious, and that it had been done by the command of God, and the aforesaid holy virgins, who had personally appeared to her. But what was worse, she refused to acknowledge any power on earth but God and his saints, denying the authority of our holy father the pope, and of the general councils of the universal church militant.

“ The ecclesiastical judges, witnessing her obstinacy and hardness of heart, had her brought forth before the people, who, with the clergy, were assembled in great numbers, when she was again preached to by an able divine. Having been plainly warned of the doctrines of our holy religion, and the consequences of heresies and erroneous opinions concerning it to the welfare of mankind, she was charitably admonished to make her peace with the church, and renounce her errors; but she remained as obstinate as before.

“ The judges having considered her conduct, proceeded to pronounce sentence upon her, according to the heinousness of her crimes; but before it was read, her courage seemed to fail her, and she said she was willing to return to the church. This was

been openly violated ; and it is by no means improbable that he was already tormented with all the

heard with pleasure by the judges, clergy, and spectators, who received her kindly, hoping by this means to save her soul from perdition.

“ She then submitted herself to the ordinances of the church, and publicly renounced and abjured her detestable crimes, signing with her own hand the schedule of her recantation and abjuration. Thus was our merciful mother the church rejoiced at the sinner doing penance, anxious to recover the lost sheep that had wandered in the desert. Joan was ordered to perform her penance in close confinement.

“ But these good dispositions did not last long, for her presumptuous pride seemed to have acquired greater force than before, and she relapsed with the utmost obstinacy into all those errors which she had publicly renounced. For this cause, and that she might not contaminate the sound members of our holy communion, she was again publicly preached to, and, proving obstinate, she was delivered over to the secular arm, which instantly condemned her to be burnt. Seeing her end approach, she fully acknowledged and confessed that the spirits which had appeared to her were often lying and wicked ones ; that the promises they had made to set her at liberty were false, and that she had been deceived and mocked by them.

“ She was publicly led to the old market-place at Rouen, and there burnt in the presence of the people.

“ This notice of her sentence and execution is sent by the king of England to the duke of Burgundy, that it may be published by him for the information of his subjects, that all may henceforward be advised not to put faith in such or similar errors as had governed the heart of the maid.”—*Johnes's Translation of Froissart's Chronicle, folio*, vol. iii. pp. 6—8.

horrors of a guilty conscience, from the enormities of which he had been guilty. The heroic death of La Pucelle had excited an universal sentiment of commiseration; even the English, after satiating their vengeance, felt in its full force the barbarous severity of her condemnation; and so openly was this opinion expressed, that the judges concerned in the affair deemed it necessary to adopt coercive measures to repress the feeling. Jean de Lاپierre, a Jacobin monk, who had witnessed the last scene of Jeanne's sufferings, was accused of having spoken ill of the judgment pronounced by the bishop of Beauvais and the inquisitor. He was, in consequence, summoned to their presence, when he was compelled to ask forgiveness upon his knees, after declaring that he had been bewildered and divested of reason. He was then condemned, as an especial grace, by sentence of the 8th of August, 1431, to be confined in prison, and to live on bread and water, in the house of the brothers preachers of Rouen, until Easter-day following.* All these rigorous proceedings, however, were unattended by success; the complaints became so reiterated and violent, that the bishop of Beauvais deemed it necessary to place himself under the immediate protection of those

* These proceedings against Jean de Lاپierre are detailed in the manuscripts relating to the process of Jeanne d'Arc, but not signed by the keepers of the records, the notaries, or any other functionary.

whose cause he had espoused. In addition to this, he was under fearful apprehensions from the inquiries of his superiors, for having suffered the sentence of death to be put into effect, notwithstanding the appeal to the pope and the council of Basil formally made by the unfortunate captive. Pierre Cauchon therefore appealed to the king of England, and obtained letters of guarantee,* wherein that prince engaged, among other things, to undertake the bishop's defence at the court of Rome, or at the council of Basil, in case any process should be instituted against him. As early as the 7th of June, the bishop, aided by the vice-inquisitor, endeavoured to clear his character by publishing declarations purporting to have been made by Jeanne d'Arc before her execution; as also some depositions of Loiseleur, which latter were evidently fabrications, as that infamous villain had been obliged to seek for safety in precipitate flight.

The English, as we have already hinted, were very careful completely to destroy the body of La Pucelle, lest any false report should spread that she had escaped from execution. Such precautions, however, did not prevent the appearance of impostors, who afterwards endeavoured to pass themselves off for Jeanne d'Arc. Among others, in 1440, a female

* These letters were dated the 12th June, 1431, being thirteen days after the execution of La Pucelle.

was presented to Charles VII., assuming the name of La Pucelle, to whom the king said, "Pucelle, my friend, you are right welcome, in the name of God who knows the secret that exists between us." Instead of hazarding a reply, this woman threw herself on her knees before the monarch, and immediately confessed the fraud, which the king pardoned, but severely punished those who had countenanced the deception.

Whether any credit be due to the Problem that will be found at the termination of this volume, we leave to the reader's judgment to decide; it, however, appears singular, if La Pucelle escaped the flames, that Charles VII., in the letters patent that were issued to authorize the first inquiry concerning the process of condemnation, should have stated, "that they caused the said Jeanne to die by a cruel death, unjustly, and in defiance of reason." These instruments were delivered by the king in 1449, after Rouen had been reduced to allegiance. This prince, jealous of reviving the memory of Jeanne d'Arc, who had rendered him so many signal services, entered upon the subject the very moment the conquest of that city was effected. By letters patent, dated the 15th February, Guillaume Bouillé, doctor in theology, was deputed to collect evidence respecting the judgment of La Pucelle; to compel such as were in possession of documents relative to the process, or other matters appertaining to the same, to

present them to him ; and the king thereby orders all his officers, judges, and subjects to obey his commissary in these respects, as well as those whom he should appoint to assist him.

The witnesses who deposed at this first information previously made oath to speak the truth upon all the points on which they should be examined. These witnesses were seven in number ; namely, Isambart de Lapierre, Jean Toutmouillé, Martin L'Advenu, Guillaume Duval, Guillaume Manchon, Jean Massieu, and Jean Beaupère, who had all officiated as assessors or keepers of the records during the process of condemnation. No mention, however, of this preliminary inquiry was made at the process of revisal, because it had originated in an order of secular justice ; and no doubt the persons engaged were fearful also of giving umbrage to the royal authority, by making use of such proceedings as references. From these researches Charles VII. had a memoir drawn out, to be consulted as occasion required, upon which he took the advice of many doctors and lawyers, all of whom unanimously agreed on the nullity of the late process, in all its forms, and the injustice that characterized its adoption.

In 1452, cardinal d'Estouteville, archbishop of Rouen, and the pope's legate, having inspected the documents collected by Guillaume Bouillé, together with the advice of the legal counsellors of the king, and being further made acquainted with

the complaints universally made throughout his diocess against the condemnation of Jeanne d'Arc, judged it expedient, in summoning an inquisitor, to proceed of himself, in quality of the pope's legate, to seek official information, and five witnesses were accordingly examined ; namely, Guillaume Manchon, one of the notaries employed during the process of condemnation ; Pierre Miger, Isambart de Lapierre, Pierre Cusquet, and Martin L'Advenu, assessors. Being soon after compelled to repair to Rome, cardinal d'Estouteville deputed his grand vicar, conjointly with the inquisitor of the faith, who had been present at the first hearing, to proceed with the inquiry. Upon this occasion seventeen witnesses, selected principally from amongst those who had been engaged in the previous proceedings, were examined upon twenty-seven articles.

Charles VII., finding that every step he had taken was productive of no effective result, and that according to the forms then adopted each attempt only gave rise to fresh and insurmountable impediments, at length made application to the court of Rome. The English, however, then possessed great influence with the papal see, and it appeared quite as probable that this last expedient would fail as the former. Thus circumstanced, Charles determined that the relatives of Jeanne d'Arc should present themselves and make an appeal in their own names. Jacques d'Arc, father of La Pucelle, and

Jacquemin, her brother, were no longer in existence, having died of grief on hearing of the cruel and unjust manner in which the brave girl had been put to death; but the mother of Jeanne and two of her brothers were still living. At length the demise of the pope, and the consequent election of a successor, seemed to present a more auspicious opportunity for the intended application; and the public testimonies of cardinal d'Estouteville, aided by the secret negotiation of the French king, obtained a favourable reception for the appeal of the relatives of La Pucelle. In 1455, Calixtus III., who had recently been elected to the pontificate, granted the apostolical letters requested, by virtue of which he appointed a tribunal to revise the process of condemnation of Jeanne d'Arc. The papal brevet was dated the 3d of the ides of June, 1455, whereby the archbishop of Rheims, the bishop of Paris, the bishop of Coutances, and Jean Brehal, inquisitor, were charged to hear all the evidence that should be produced on either part, and then to decide thereupon, according to the dictates of justice.

It was ordained by the brevet, that the relatives of Jeanne d'Arc should be heard apart from the other witnesses; and a public audience was appointed for that purpose on the 17th of November, 1455, in the archiepiscopal palace at Paris; when, bathed in tears, the disconsolate mother, Isabella Romée, with her two surviving sons, presented herself to the

court. The deepest sorrow was depicted on the countenances of this interesting group, foremost of whom was Isabella, bearing a paper in her hand, followed by her confessor, with several doctors, and other persons, who came to attest the nullity and injustice of the condemnatory process. This long and mournful procession produced a sentiment of commiseration throughout the assembly. Isabella having entered, after performing the humblest reverence and giving vent to audible groans, proceeded to make known her humble supplications, stating :—

“ That Jeanne d’Arc was her daughter; that she had reared her in the fear of God and the traditions of the church, according to her age and rank in life, which compelled her to be in the meadows and fields; that her daughter had frequented the church, confessed and received the sacrament every month, and uniformly fasted on the days prescribed by the church.

“ That she had never thought or meditated any thing contrary to the faith, but that, notwithstanding this, her enemies, in contempt of the prince under whom she lived, had instituted a process against her in matters of faith.

“ That, without any lawful authority, they paid no attention to her exceptions in law, or appeals tacit or expressed.

“ That they falsely imputed to her views destructive of the soul.

“ That they subjected her to irreparable infamy for herself and her family.”

Isabella, nearly overcome by excess of anguish, having with difficulty given utterance to these sentences, her counsel proceeded to read aloud the petition presented by herself and her two sons.

On the conclusion of this document, the judges, causing the crowd to make way, proceeded to another chamber, to which Isabella was conducted, and examined as to what concerned her person, and on such other topics as were deemed expedient. Having then returned into the audience chamber, they caused the brevet of Calixtus III. to be read aloud, giving the applicants to understand that there was little probability of succeeding in an affair that presented so many difficulties : but the appellants still persisting in their claim, the judges declared that they would not refuse to fulfil their duties according to their consciences, and conformably to the brevet of his holiness the pope. On the same day were issued two ordinances ; the first citing all such as had any knowledge of the process to appear at Rouen on the 12th of December ; the second citing Guillaume Hellande, the then bishop of Beauvais, and the representatives of Pierre Cauchon, of the vice-inquisitor Jean Lemaître, of the proctor Estivet,

or of those having to show cause. No intelligence could be gained of the vice-inquisitor, or of the heirs of Estivet; but those of Pierre Cauchon were found, and summoned accordingly.

The process of revisal having been undertaken at the request of private individuals, the depositions made were only considered as answers to inquiries. Every person was summoned to give evidence who could be supposed to have any knowledge of facts connected with the case; and at the same time the minutest investigations were made in Jeanne's native country, amongst those who were likely to be best acquainted with her private character. Guillaume Manchon was the first witness who appeared: he laid before the court the minutes of the process of condemnation in French and Latin. The curates of Moncel and Domremy, Durand Laxart, uncle of La Pucelle, who had conducted her to the Lord de Baudricourt, Jean de Novelompont surnamed of Metz, and Bertrand Poulengie, who had accompanied Jeanne d'Arc in her journey from Vaucouleurs to Chinon, were also examined in the course of this inquiry. We also find recorded the names of Beatrice Félicité, widow Thiesselin, godmother of La Pucelle, aged eighty, and that of Jeanne, widow Thiesselin de Vitel, sixty years old. The name of Thiesselin is still legible on two monumental effigies in the church of Domremy, which are found in the chapel to the left of the choir; these effigies repre-

sent two male figures of nearly the natural size, with hands joined as in the act of prayer ; over the head of each is a gothic ornament, and upon either side are two shields bearing three ploughshares each, in the midst of which appears a star. The following is the inscription recorded on the tomb :—

Ci gist Jacob Thiesselin, qui trespasa l'an mil quatre cent quatre vingt et trois, le quinsième jour de Novembre, et Didier Thiesselin son freire, qui trespasa l'an mil quatre cent

Two lines still remain to complete the date, which were not filled up when the last survivor of the two brothers was committed to the tomb. It is probable that these two Thiesselins were sons of one of the widow Thiesselins, who, as above mentioned, gave evidence during the inquiry instituted at Domremy, at the period of the revisal of Jeanne's process.

The second inquiry was instituted at Orleans; connected with which proceeding we find the most illustrious names, of those who had either been the companions in arms of the heroine, or attached to her household, and who may be said never to have quitted her during the progress of her noble exploits. At the head of this list of witnesses appears the title of that redoubted warrior and honourable prince, Jean Comte de Dunois et de Longueville, surnamed the Bastard of Orleans.

The third inquiry, instituted at Paris, records as witnesses Louis de Contes, who had served La

Pucelle in the capacity of page; Jean Duc d'Alençon, prince of the blood royal; and Jean Pasquerel, almoner and confessor of Jeanne d'Arc.

The fourth and last inquiry was pursued at Rouen, and in the evidence there adduced, were the depositions of the most high and powerful lord, Jean d'Aulon, who had filled the honourable employ of squire to La Pucelle.

All the testimonies agreed in acknowledging both the military and domestic virtues of our heroine, and in applauding her wonderful exploits. One hundred and forty-four depositions were taken at different times, although they do not comprise a like number of witnesses, the same individuals having appeared at different inquiries; these were all examined with scrupulous impartiality. The judges at the revisal, before they pronounced sentence, in order to confer more weight on the judgment they were called upon to deliver, consulted the most renowned prelates and doctors of the kingdom. The report of every one without exception was favourable to La Pucelle, noticing with disapprobation all the irregularities which had characterized the process of condemnation. The decree of re-instatement* was finally pronounced in the archi-

* *Definitive Sentence of Absolution and Justification of Jeanne d'Arc, La Pucelle d'Orleans.*

In honour and reverence of the holy, sacred, and inseparable Trinity; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. *Amen.*

Our Saviour and Redeemer, Jesus, God and man, by the eter-

episcopal palace of Rouen, on the 7th of July, 1456,
in presence of the mother and the brothers of Jeanne

nal majesty and providence instituted and ordained; first Saint Peter and his apostles, with their successors, to regulate and govern the church militant, principally to meditate and consider the truth, and to teach and demonstrate to all true pilgrims the paths of justice and equity, to lead wanderers in the right path, to console the desolate, to raise up and support the oppressed, and conduct them in the proper way.

Upon this account, by the authority of the holy apostolic see, we, Jean reverend father in God, bishop of Coutances, and Jehan Brehal, doctor in theology of the order of father preachers, inquisitor of heresy and idolatry to the kingdom of France, judge delegated and ordered by our most holy the modern pope (Calixtus III.)

Considering the process solemnly agitated and argued before us, and by the virtue and power of the apostolic command addressed to us, reverently received and considered by us on the part of the good and notable dame Isabeau d'Arc, widow of the defunct Jacques d'Arc, and mother of Jehanne d'Arc and of Jehan and Pierre d'Arc true and legitimate brothers of good memory, of Jehanne commonly called La Pucelle, and of all their relatives, actors, their names taken against the inquisitors of the faith constituted in the diocese of Beauvais, and against all others pretending profit and interest in this affair, as well conjointly as separately.

The whole being seen, and in particular the peremptory appeal and act of the said widow, of her children and friends, actors, with one of our proctors nominated and appointed by us and at our instance, to the encounter of the culpable and faulty defendants, that we may note down and certify what they may have done against the said accused and defendants, and their answers, and proceed judicially against them. It appearing after the demand

d'Arc, assisted by their counsel, and attended by fourteen persons expressly summoned as witnesses.

and petition of those who are actors and complainants, that their reasons and conclusions also written in form and manner of articles, all of which pretend and declare the whole a fallacy, deceit, fraud, iniquity, and deception done and committed concerning a process in matter of faith, instituted and carried on against Jehanne La Pucelle, by Pierre Cauchon late bishop of Beauvais and by the inquisitor of the faith, pretended and wrongfully ordained to the diocess of Beauvais, and by master Jehan d'Estivet proctor, or calling himself proctor, of the said diocess, or at least to that execution of La Pucelle, and to the fraud and falsifying of the process and other matters, which followed the same which are to the honour and purifying of the defunct.

Considering also, the visiting and examining the books, memorials, letters and originals, the writings and libels made and committed by writing in virtue and command of our compulsory letters, and the registers delivered by our notaries, with their signatures exhibited and shown in our presence, as we had required and demanded to ascertain their opinion and ripe deliberation, and upon that have summoned and invited advocates and counsellors, in presence of whom we have communicated the writings, libels, and articles, with the statements and allegations of doctors to ascertain the truth of the whole of this process. We have consequently seen and read the informations and preparatives, made by the reverend father in God Messire Guillaume de Saint Martin, (cardinal d'Estouteville,) cardinal of Rome then legate in France, who invited us with the inquisitor, after we should have inspected the books and allegations, which were, at their coming, presented and communicated to them, as well by us as our commissaries, with the other articles and writings made at the commencement of the process, and, after they had inspected and examined with

The tribunal pronounced that the process, the abjuration, and the two judgments against Jeanne, con-

many doctors and prelates who had communicated their opinions, conceived and thought that it was necessary to elucidate and declare all the doubts concerning the process : in like manner by order of the right reverend father in God legate in France, these articles, treatises, writings, and libels were published, inspected, and presented at the desire of the said actors and proctor, and were finally ratified and approved after numerous summonses, invitations, and callings.

Considering also the depositions and attestations of witnesses, as regards the good life and righteous conversation of the said Pucelle defunct, as well from the place of her nativity as the examination and interrogatories taken down and made in presence of many venerable doctors and prelates of the church, and particularly in presence of the right reverend father in God Regnault, archbishop of Rheims, in the city of Poitiers, and other places. Considering also what she foretold concerning the delivery and freedom of Orleans ; that is to say, that the siege should be raised from before the city then attacked by the English, and that the king of France should be crowned in the city of Rheims ; all which came to pass. And furthermore, the nature of the false judgment, the manner of proceeding, and the letters and ordinances of the king of France, with the depositions and attestations given in the mode of proceeding, and produced against all the statements alleged. Considering also the description of our proctor, who, after having visited and amply perused these articles and writings, joined and associated himself with the actors, and in the name of our office and dignity, immediately of his own accord produced and placed in judgment all the writings, attestations, and articles, to the very intentions and final wishes of the said actors, expressed and declared under certain protestations, re-

tain the most manifest fraud, injustice, and calumny, combined with errors in law and in deed; and in

quests, and reservations, made on his part and that of the said actors. Which demands we have admitted and accepted with several pleas of right, that might advertise and direct, by us also received and visited, and the name of Jesus invoked, concluding in the cause, and this day assigned to hear our sentence. All these points considered, and ripely and diligently conned, and the articles being received, which the false judges, since they conducted the process artfully, resolved that it was expedient to extract them from the confessions and affirmations of the defunct Pucelle, to transmit them to several notable and worthy persons. These articles have uniformly been contradicted and impugned by our proctor, and by the mother and the brothers of the said deceased, as false and iniquitous, drawn out and collected unjustly, and quite contrary to the mode in which they had been confessed.

For these causes, and in order that our sentence may proceed from truth and the knowledge of God the Creator, who alone knows how to read the minds and will of men, and there is but himself who perfectly understands the revelations, and who is the sole and true Judge; for he accords his grace unto whomsoever it pleaseth him, and often appoints the humble and the little to confound the great, the proud, and the haughty, never abandoning such as have good faith in him; but aiding and supporting them in their tribulations and adversities. Therefore, this affair being seen and ripely considered, and a premeditated and prepared opinion being formed touching the decision of this process: considering also the solemn determination of the doctors and prelates of the church who have deliberated upon the same with a great turning over of books, codicils, libels, registers, and opinions, as well verbally as in writing, made upon the subject of the defunct Jehanne d'Arc, which things are more worthy to be admired than

consequence the whole were pronounced null and void as well as all that ensued, and as far as neces-

condemned : considering the erroneous judgment pronounced against her, and the unreasonable mode of procedure, in every respect captious, fraudulent, and detestable, from the high and arduous questions proposed to the said defunct, whereto the most learned doctor would scarce know how to make reply ; and many great personages having also stated it was marvellous difficult to propound the questions proposed, intended rather for her damnation than salvation ; according to the words of Saint Paul, who says, speaking of divine decrees and revelations, that we must rely upon God.

For these reasons, as well as that justice demands it, we decree and state, that these articles ought to be recommenced and reiterated ; that is to say concerning a process instituted and pretended against the said defunct, touching the sentence pronounced against her by the articles written falsely, maliciously, and with calumny. And considering the malevolence of the adversaries of the said Jehanne, who pretended to draw from her a confession not true, but false in many substantial points and passages of the process, which may have moved and inclined the hearts and opinions of the assessors and advocates to other than wholesome deliberations, and to reject many circumstances and attestations which are not contained in her process according to truth and real justice, but only in terms and rigorous expressions, which subvert the whole truth of this process : wherefore we abrogate, annul, and annihilate these articles as false and captious, untruly extracted and taken from the confession of Jehanne La Pucelle. And in regard to this process, we decree and declare in judgment that it is necessary to destroy, to tear it up, and cast it in the flames.

In addition to this, after having diligently visited, seen, and

sity required, broken and annulled, having neither force nor virtue. In consequence of this, the cha-

considered the causes, other articles of the said process, and two things in particular, that is to say, that the judges always pretended to search, and fallaciously found matter and occasion to judge and condemn her as a relapse to her former heresy and idolatry, and that they delivered her over to the hands of her enemies the English, and would not admit and accept the submissions, remonstrances, and appeals of the said defunct, requiring to be led to the pope, referring her case to the holy apostolic see, and her writings to be examined and considered by the clerks of France: considering also that they fraudulently and deceitfully drew from her an abjuration and renunciation, by force and violence, in the presence of the executioner, threatening to cause her to be publicly and cruelly burnt; by which menaces, and the operation of fear, they forced from her a schedule of abjuration which Jehanne in no way knew or comprehended. And further, after we had consulted the above said treatises, reasons, and opinions of the doctors of theology, and of canon and civil right, given and answered on the crimes falsely imputed to the said Pucelle, and which did not depend on the order and continuation of the process; and further, considering many points and articles learnedly descanted upon touching the nullity, injustice, and non-validity of the process entered upon and conducted against her, with the just determinations, true answers of the doctors justly maintaining the cause of the noble king of France, and testifying the innocence, simplicity, and humbleness of La Pucelle, and on the contrary the malice, cavilling, unjust, and unreasonable sentence of the judges, who, more from a motive of vengeance than right and equitable justice, condemned her.

We, being in our high tribunal, having always God before our eyes, by definitive sentence preferred and given from our judicial

racter of Jeanne d'Arc and of her surviving relatives was pronounced free from any blot or stain

seat and high tribunal: we, the undersigned, will, pronounce, decree, and declare, that the said process and sentence, abounding in fraud, cavillings, iniquities, and in every thing repugnant to right and to justice, containing manifest errors and abuses: in like manner the aforesaid abjuration, and all the false and unjust executions, which preceded and followed, ought to be broken, annulled, lacerated, and destroyed; and moreover, inasmuch as justice and reason persuades and enjoins us, we break, destroy, annul, and evacuate by all power and force, value and virtue, and proclaim and declare the said Jehanne, whom God absolve, her brothers and relations, actors and claimants, to have in no wise contracted nor acquired any stain or slur of infamy, by reason and in consequence of the premises; being innocent, non-culpable, and exempt from crime and sin, which was falsely attributed to the said Pucelle.

And further, we order publication and solemn execution to be forthwith proclaimed of our said sentence in two public places of this city of Rouen; one, this day in the area and burying ground of Saint Ouen, to which place a general procession shall be made, and a solemn sermon delivered by a venerable doctor in theology; and the other in the old market-place, whither a general procession shall proceed to-morrow morning, and there shall be preached a solemn sermon by a venerable doctor in theology; that is to say, in the square where La Pucelle was cruelly and horribly burnt and suffocated; and after the solemn preaching, there shall be placed and erected a comely crucifix, in perpetual remembrance of the said defunct Pucelle, and all other departed souls, as well in this said city of Rouen, as in other parts of this kingdom, where it shall be deemed proper and expedient, to give token, memorial, and notable certification of the executing and pronounc-

of infamy, from which they were entirely cleared and discharged.

By this sentence it was ordained that two solemn processions should take place, followed by sermons in the apologetic form ; the first to be delivered on the square of Saint Ouen, the second in that of the old market-place at Rouen, where the execution of Jeanne d'Arc had taken place, and in which a crucifix was erected.

Such was the result of a judgment as equitable as it was celebrated. The decree was pronounced after the most impartial and ample investigation, every deposition having come from the mouths of the assessors still living who had officiated at the process of condemnation. These witnesses were even com-

ing of our sentence ; and if any points are still necessary to be established, ordered, and accomplished, we reserve them for our power and disposition, and for cause.

This present sentence was given, pronounced, and published by Messieurs the judges above named, in presence of the right reverend father in God, the bishop of Mans, Hector Cocquerel, Alain Olivier, Nicolas du Bois, Jehan de Gouis, and many others ; and was completed at the archiepiscopal palace of Rouen, in the year of grace 1456, the 7th day of the month of July. And on the subject in question spoke Jehan, by the grace of God, archbishop of Rheims ; Guillaume, reverend father in God, Monsieur the bishop of Paris ; and Richard, by divine grace, Monsieur bishop of Constance [Coutance in Normandy].

(Extracted from the Manuscript of Messieurs the Cardinals of Rohan and Soubise, folio 123, verso.)

pelled to examine the minutes of the original trial, when it appeared that the major part did not recognise the proceedings, from having been compelled to vote on the twelve articles containing assertions substituted in lieu of the real interrogatories.

Charles VII. contented himself with re-establishing the reputation of La Pucelle, and pursued no measures to avenge her death on those who had contributed to bring her to the stake. It is probable that the general pardon, which he had granted by his edicts on the union of Normandy with the French crown, did not permit him to have recourse to rigorous measures. It has, however, been remarked by French writers, that nearly all those who took a leading part in the iniquitous judgment pronounced against La Pucelle, came to an untimely death. Cauchon, bishop of Beauvais, died of apoplexy, while under the hands of a barber who was shaving him ;* Estivet the proctor was discovered dead in a dove-cote ; Nicolas Midy was seized with leprosy, of which he died ; Guillaume de Flavy, accused of having betrayed La Pucelle, was strangled in bed by his wife ; the regent duke of Bedford ex-

* The sudden death of Cauchon, bishop of Beauvais, did not occur until the 18th of December, 1442; previous to which, in 1432, the year after Jeanne's execution, he had obtained the bishoprick of Lisieux through the interest of the English, but his reputation was never re-established, and he died loaded with universal hatred and disgrace.

pired in 1435, in the very castle at Rouen which contained the dungeon wherein Jeanne d'Arc was immured; and Henry VI., in whose name she was sacrificed, after having been twice dethroned and doomed to pass a great portion of his life in captivity, was murdered in the Tower.

Some authors, and Villaret among others, have stated, from authorities of dubious reputation, that Louis XI. was more severe than his father, in causing the authors of the death of Jeanne d'Arc to be arraigned; that two of her judges were in consequence arrested, and condemned to suffer the same death they had inflicted upon the unfortunate girl; and that the bones of two others were disinterred, and cast into the flames that consumed them. Those who were charged with this new revisal of the process, ought to have commanded the confiscation of the goods of the condemned, and ordered that from the amount of the sale of such effects a church should be erected at Rouen, on the very spot where La Pucelle had been sacrificed; and, according to the custom of the times, a mass performed continually for the repose of her soul.

M. de Laverdy submitted these statements to the consideration of a severe critic, who did not credit the assertion. To enter into a detail of the motives which prompted the above writer to hazard this opinion, would encroach too much upon the plan of the present undertaking. We must content ourselves

with referring the reader to Vol. III. of the Notices and Extracts of the Royal Library at Paris. We conceive that the above supposition is well calculated to accompany the numerous popular tales that are current, and which, in all probability, owed their origin to the dissensions that existed between Louis XI. and his father Charles VII.

According to some authors, Louis XII. commanded a further revision of the case of Jeanne d'Arc; but this statement is not better established than the foregoing.

The gratitude of the Orleanese towards the heroine who had preserved their city, has been displayed upon every occasion with the greatest enthusiasm. According to the unanimous wish of the inhabitants, a monument was erected to her memory on the bridge of Orleans. The magistrates of this faithful city were not content with this demonstration of their gratitude; they also granted a retreat to the mother of Jeanne d'Arc, and gave her a pension from the year 1438 until 1458, at which period she died at Orleans. This annuity was continued to Pierre d'Arc, called the Chevalier du Lis, third brother of La Pucelle, who had uniformly accompanied her in the wars, and continued to reside at Orleans from the period of his sister's death. It was this brother who obtained from the liberality of the duke of Orleans the grant for himself and his eldest son, during their natural lives, of an island situated in

the vicinity of Orleans, on the river Loire, where the remains of a castle still stand, apparently coeval with that period. Upon every occasion when one of the family of Arc has visited the city, those honours have never been withheld which the citizens esteemed due to such as inherited the blood of their deliverer. The procession, celebrated on the 8th of May, the anniversary of the deliverance of Orleans, and of which a description will be found in the sequel of this volume, is one of the most striking marks of the gratitude of the Orleanese, having been perpetuated from age to age until the present day. The impulse of revolutionary fanaticism suspended for a few years this annual festival; but with the return of order under the imperial dynasty of Napoleon, it was restored according to ancient custom, while the old monument upon the bridge, which had been sacrificed at the shrine of Equality, was replaced by a bronze statue of the heroine which now adorns the public square of Martroy.

In short, these grateful sentiments were not long since manifested in the most conspicuous and honourable manner. On the first invitation given by the prefect of the department of Vosges to the authorities of Loiret, claiming their assistance at the ceremony of inaugurating the monument erected at the birth-place of Jeanne d'Arc, a deputation, composed of the first magistrates of Loiret and the city of Orleans, repaired immediately to Domremy. They

joyfully hastened to offer a new tribute of respect to the heroine whose memory is alike celebrated by the natives of the Loiret and Vosges, and who is no less venerated by all Frenchmen, as the deliverer of their country from a foreign yoke.

REFUTATION
OF
THE ALLEGED CRIMES
FOR WHICH
JEANNE D'ARC
WAS
CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED.

REFUTATION,

ETC. ETC.

WE shall now proceed to recapitulate the charges as read to La Pucelle, and subjoin to each a series of remarks tending to exculpate the unfortunate maid from any act that could in justice affect her life.

The judges being assembled, Maître Pierre Maurice, doctor of theology, read aloud the several charges to the prisoner, which we give as closely to the original as possible.

FIRST.

“ Jeanne, thou hast said that from the age of thirteen thou hast had revelations and apparitions of the angels, and Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret, whom thou hast often seen with thine eyes, and that they have conversed with thee.

“ In respect to this first assertion, the clerks of the University of Paris have considered the manner of the said revelations and apparitions, the purpose of the things revealed, and the quality of the person. All points considered, they declare that those assertions are lies, fancies, and seductive and pernicious things, proceeding from wicked and diabolical spirits.”

We do not wish to maintain that Jeanne d'Arc was really honoured with revelations from heaven, but it certainly was the height of absurdity, and barbarous in the extreme, to condemn her to the flames for those which she professed to have witnessed; as the manner of her revelations was precisely similar to that described by all those who have pretended to such miraculous disclosures of the secrets of futurity. Saint Ignatius beheld a cross; Saint Dominick saw the holy Virgin, who presented him with a scapulary; Saint Theresa heard the voices of a choir of angels; and Jeanne d'Arc gazed upon Saint Michael, and heard Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret converse. It is true we have no other proofs of the fact but her own declaration; but what other evidence have we of the revelations of Saints Ignatius and Dominick?

“The purpose of the things revealed” To effect the raising of a siege, upon which depended the glory, and almost the salvation of her country, and to restore to her legitimate monarch his usurped crown, was, beyond dispute, a more important conclusion than is attendant upon the generality of such revelations.

The quality of the person claims a similar indulgence; she was simple, a virgin, &c.

SECOND.

“Jeanne, thou hast asserted that thy king had a token whereby he knew that thou wast the emissary of God, from Saint Michael, accompanied by a host of angels, of whom many had wings, and others crowns on their heads, and that with the said angels were Saint Catherine

and Saint Margaret ; the whole of which company came to thee at the castle of Chinon, and ascended the steps of the same, even to the chamber of the king, before whom an angel, bearing a crown, bent reverently ; and thou hast once affirmed that thy king had this sign when alone. On another occasion, thou hast stated that this crown, which is called by thee a sign, was delivered to the archbishop of Rheims, to be by him presented to thy king, in the presence of several princes and lords whom thou hast named.

“ In regard to this article, the clerks allege that the thing is not likely, but a presumptuous falsehood ; a seductive and pernicious tale, derogatory to the dignity of the holy and evangelic church.”

This second article, it must be confessed, contains an absurdity and a contradiction ; but is a person to expire in torments for absurdities and contradictions ? Is the assertion that an angel has delivered a crown to a king one day, and on a subsequent day that the crown was given to the archbishop of Rheims in order to be remitted to the king, derogatory to the dignity of the holy and evangelic church ? The dignity of the church could in no way be affected by the extravagant reveries of a visionary. But even suppose she had derogated from the evangelic dignity, which would have been very blameable ; was it absolutely requisite that she should be burnt ? Was the Spanish Nun conducted to the stake, who wrote the Life of the Holy Virgin, from the hour of the Conception, which she affirms took place on a Sunday ? Was Antoinette Bourignon committed to the flames, who very gravely asserted, that previous to the fall Adam was possessed of

both sexes? "He was," says our authority, "of a stature above that of the present race of men; his hair was short and curly, approaching black in colour; the upper lip was covered with a little hair
 he was formed as our persons will appear when we are translated to eternity; and," (I scarcely know whether I ought to proceed,) "that he had in a part of the body that shall be nameless, the form of a nose similar to that upon our faces, which proved a source of delicious odours and perfumes. From thence also was to issue forth the whole race of men, of whom he possessed in himself every principle: for there existed a vessel in his belly wherein sprang up little eggs, and another vessel full of a divine liquor which gave fecundity to those eggs; and when the man became heated with the love of God, the strong desire he felt that other creatures besides himself should exist to praise, adore, and love the Divine Majesty, caused the liquor to flow over, in consequence of the fire created by the love of God, upon one or more of these eggs, with inconceivable ecstasies; and the egg, thus rendered fruitful, some time after issued forth by the canal from the body of the man in form of an egg; and then, little by little, extended until it produced a perfect human form." This may well be said to have derogated from common sense, but never from the dignity of the book of Genesis.

THIRD.

"Jeanne, thou hast stated thy knowledge of angels and saints, by the excellent advice, comfort, and doctrine which they gave thee; and it is thy belief that Saint Michael appeared to thee, and thou sayest that their

REFUTATION OF CHARGES, &c. cxxxxvii

acts and sayings are good; and that thou believest this as firmly as thou hast faith in Jesus Christ.

“In respect to this article, the clerks say that these things are not sufficient to prove a knowledge of the said angels and saints, and that thou hast given credence too easily, and affirmed with temerity; and that in saying that thou believest in those things as firmly as in Jesus Christ, thou errest in the faith.”

To this third charge, accusing La Pucelle of believing in her revelations and apparitions as firmly as in the Christian faith, she might have replied, that the doctrine of these celestial beings did not contradict the light of the faith; and, by the firm persuasion she entertained of holding converse with heavenly spirits, she naturally reasoned thus. And since we only know what we believe through the medium of men, and she believed herself to be expressly enlightened by emissaries from the Divinity, where could be the harm of believing as firmly in a Saint Gabriel and a Saint Mary, as in the doctrine of a parish priest? It ought to have been proved to her that she should not have had revelations, instead of blaming her for having given credence to those which she thought she had witnessed.

FOURTH.

“Jeanne, thou hast stated a certitude of knowing events that will occur in future, that thou hast discerned hidden things, and recognised persons whom thou hast never before seen, and all this through the intervention of Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret.

“ In regard to this article, the doctors affirm that it contains presumptuous superstition and divination, and conveys a vain and boasting assertion.”

In this charge Jeanne is blamed for superstition and vain boasting, in having stated that she had divined the past and foreknown the future. She was very fortunate in her predictions; since what she had foretold came to pass within that century. The French and English courts employed men and women whose only occupation consisted in detailing to the credulous and the curious every remarkable event which had characterised their lives. These persons, however, were not accused of “superstition,” neither were they doomed to the stake under the plea of “vain boasting.”

FIFTH.

“ Jeanne, thou hast stated that, by command of the Almighty, thou hast constantly adopted the dress of a man; that thy hair was cropped short above thine ears, without leaving any thing to demonstrate thy being a woman; and that thou hast, thus accoutred, several times received the body of our Lord; insomuch so that thou hast sundry times been admonished to cast it off, which thou hast constantly refused to do, stating that thou wouldst prefer death to leaving off the said attire, unless it were by the command of God. And that if thou wert still in the same apparel with the king and those of thy country, it would be one of the most fortunate events that could occur to the kingdom of France: and thou hast also said, that for a thousand things thou wouldst not make

oath to discontinue for ever the said dress and accoutrements. And that, in advancing those things, thou affirmest to have acted well, and by the command of God.

“ In respect to these several points, the clerks affirm that thou blamest God, and contemnest him in his sacraments; that thou transgresses the divine law, the holy Scriptures, and the canonic ordinances; that thou art tainted and savourest ill in the faith; that thy boastings are vain, and render thee suspected of idolatry; and that thou urgest thyself never more to wear the habiliments of thy sex in imitation of the custom of the Gentiles and the Saracens.”

The wearing men's attire is, in this charge, adduced as a crime; from whence it is inferred, that La Pucelle was tainted and savoured ill in the faith, and was suspected of idolatry. Wherein does the connexion between heresy and the vestments of a man consist? In what can the Almighty be offended whether a human being is clothed or naked? or whether he adopts a pair of short clothes or a petticoat? What connexion is there between idolatry and the mode of dressing? Can it be said that Jeanne d'Arc thereby disturbed the order of society? But the king and his confessors quietly permitted the indulgence of this singular whim for the space of two years; nor were the people scandalized at it. It will perhaps be said, that in the book of Deuteronomy such a custom is accounted an abomination;—it may be so. According to the law of Moses, various inconveniences might result from indulging such a fancy. In the same code it is deemed a heinous sin to partake of certain meats; yet,

according to the new law, men are permitted to eat of that very food.

SIXTH.

“ Jeanne, thou hast stated having frequently affixed to thy letters the two names of Jesus, Maria, and the sign of the cross, thereby tending to demonstrate to those whom thou didst address, that they were not to act according to thy words. And in other letters thou hast made boastings of what thou wouldst do to such as did not obey thee; and that it would be manifest by thy blows who had the best right. And thou hast frequently avouched that thou hast done nothing but by revelation and the command of the Lord.

“ Respecting this article, the clerks declare that thou art a murderess, and guilty of cruelty, seeking the effusion of human blood, seditious, provoking to tyranny, blaspheming God, his commandments and his revelations.”

Under the above head Jeanne d'Arc is considered criminal for having used the names of Jesus, Maria, and traced a cross upon her letters;—let the reader pronounce upon the unjustness of this imputation. She is also adjudged as “cruel, and a murderess, desirous of spilling human blood,” for writing to an enemy, “that it would be manifest by blows who had the best right.” It is hard to determine whether such a charge should be attributed to the blind superstition of the times, or to a malice the most outrageous of which the history of mankind can furnish an example.

SEVENTH.

“ Jeanne, thou hast stated that, in consequence of the revelations thou hadst at seventeen years of age, thou didst abandon thy father and thy mother against their wills, which proved to them so displeasing that they were nigh falling dangerously ill; and that thou didst repair to Robert de Baudricourt, who, at thy desire, furnished thee with the robes of a man, and a sword, as well as persons to accompany thee unto thy king, to whom thou didst state, that thou camest to expel his adversaries, and didst promise that thou wouldst re-establish him on his throne, that he should prove victorious over all his enemies, that God sent thee to do this deed; and thou hast stated that all the acts aforesaid were performed by thee in obedience to God, and from revelation.

“ With respect to these articles, the clerks say that thou hast been wicked and passionate towards thy parents, in transgressing God's commandment to honour thy father and thy mother. That thou hast proved thyself scandalous and a blasphemmer of God, erring from the faith, and hast made a presumptuous and daring promise to thy king.”

Jeanne is here arraigned for deserting the paternal roof without the advice and consent of her parents. This was not only a fault, but highly blameable. We deem it essential to discard the opinion cherished by some writers, who inculcate the doctrine of trampling nature under foot, when the voice of Heaven seems to tolerate such conduct. Why did not Jeanne consult and adopt the opinion of an indulgent father? Is not that prudent resistance which frequently is made to the wild fancies of youth, inculcated

by the Divinity itself? In this there is no doubt but Jeanne d'Arc acted erroneously; but was she therefore to suffer agonizing tortures at the stake?

EIGHTH.

“Jeanne, thou hast stated that of thine own good will thou didst leap from the tower of Beaurevoir into the moat, preferring death to falling into the power of the English, or living after the destruction of Compiègne; and that Saints Catherine and Margaret had commanded thee not to retreat from the said tower; nevertheless, thou couldst not restrain nor guard thyself against the same, and that in consequence thou wert guilty of a great sin in acting against their orders; but that thou hast since learned, by means of thy voices, that God had pardoned thee this sin after thou hadst confessed the same.

“As to the present article, the clerks state that it betrayed pusillanimity, bordering upon desperation to commit suicide; and forasmuch as thou hast uttered a daring and presumptuous assertion, in having affirmed that God had pardoned thee this sin, thou savourest ill as regards the freedom of human judgment.”

Jeanne d'Arc is here reproached for an attempt upon her own life in escaping through the casement of the fortress of Beaurevoir. She did not jump from the window with intent to sacrifice herself, but for the purpose of saving her life; and yet the clerks came to a decision, “that she savours ill as regards the freedom of human judgment.”

NINTH.

“Jeanne, thou hast affirmed that Saint Catherine and

Saint Barbe have promised to conduct thee to Paradise, in case thou preservest thy virginity, which thou hast offered up and promised them, and that of this thou art as fully assured as if thou wert actually in the glory of paradise; and that thou dost not believe the having committed the work of mortal sin. And that if thou wert guilty of mortal sin, Saints Catherine and Margaret would not visit thee as they were accustomed to do.

“ Respecting this article, the clerks say, that in thus acting thou hast been guided by temerity and presumptuousness, that the assertion is a pernicious lie, that it is in contradiction to what thou hast previously stated, and that thou savourest ill in regard to the Christian faith.”

The ninth plea adduced for burning Jeanne d'Arc, was grounded upon her assertion, that she firmly believed herself as sure of enjoying paradise as if she were already there. Such a happy conviction would be generally esteemed a triumph of faith, and the most pure homage that could be offered up to the Divinity: in this case, however, it was tortured into a crime.

TENTH.

“ Jeanne, thou hast affirmed thy conviction that God loves no other person living more than thyself, and that thou knowest it from the revelations of the before-mentioned saints; that they converse in French, and not in the English tongue, because they are not favourable to them; and that thou hast since known that the voices in question were for thy king, and that thou hast not loved the Burgundians.

“ In regard to this article, the clerks state, that it is a bold assertion, an injury done to those saints, and a transgression against the commandment of God, which is to love thy neighbour.”

La Pucelle, in the above charge, is found culpable of presumption in daring to assert “ that God loved *no one living* more than herself;” be it so. She declares that the saints always conversed in French, and not in English, being inimical to the latter. This was an extravagant folly; but an outrageous folly, no less ridiculous, was that of the clerks, who reproached her for having imputed to the saints that they did not love their neighbours. When the saints have once attained the celestial abode, they protect us, and only love the power that rewards them.

ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH.

“ Jeanne, thou hast said that to those, whom thou callest Saint Michael, Saint Catherine, and Saint Margaret, thou hast often performed acts of reverence in bending thy knees to earth, in kissing the ground whereon they walked in their virgin state, and that thou hast kissed and clasped them round their necks, and that from the beginning they came from God, without taking counsel of thy curate or any other churchman; and that, nevertheless, thou believest that voice to proceed from God as firmly as thou confidest in the Christian faith, and that Jesus Christ suffered death and the passion; and that if any evil spirit should appear under the form and figure of Saint Michael, thou shouldst recognise him well. Thou hast likewise affirmed that for nothing upon earth thou wouldst make known the sign

given to thy king, unless it were by the command of God.

“ To which the clerks say, that suppose thou hadst had the revelations and apparitions whereof thou makest boast, in the manner stated, thou art an idolater, an invoker of demons, erring from the faith, and hast rashly pronounced an illicit oath.

“ Jeanne, thou hast stated that, in case the church required thee to do contrary to the command which thou sayest was pronounced by God, thou wouldst not do it for any thing on earth ; and that thou knowest well that what is contained in thy process is in consequence of the command of God ; that it would be impossible for thee to act contrarily ; and that, with regard to all the above-mentioned things, thou wilt not appeal to the judgment of the church as received on earth, nor to living man, but to God only ; and thou sayest besides, that these answers are not from thine own head, but by the order of Omnipotence ; although the article of faith states that every one should believe in the Catholic church, which thou hast several times declared ; and that every good catholic Christian should submit all his acts to the church, and particularly in revelation and such things.

“ As regards this article, the clerks say, that thou art a schismatic, imperfectly impressed with the truth and authority of the church, and that up to the present period thou hast erred perniciously in the faith of God.”

These two concluding accusations rest upon Jeanne's refusal to submit to the judgment of the church. In this tribunal she only beheld a furious prelate, who had become possessed of her person for the sum of six thousand francs,

and a dozen of indecorous priests, artful and fanatical. Was she then wrong in not acknowledging as judges men who sought to avenge themselves upon an enemy, who acted subserviently to the hatred of the English, and who talked only of the church militant and the church instructor? Jeanne, to all appearance, did not comprehend those high-sounding terms.

It may not, however, be amiss to observe, that there remained at that period at Paris, of the dispersed university, only a small number of ignorant and superstitious doctors, who even felt astonished at the high importance attached to them, in having the assertions of La Pucelle forwarded from Rouen for the purpose of receiving their final decision.

DESCRIPTION
OF
THE ANNUAL FESTIVAL
CELEBRATED AT ORLEANS,
On the 8th of May,
TO COMMEMORATE THE RAISING OF THE SIEGE OF THAT CITY
BY
JEANNE D'ARC,
SURNAMED
LA PUCELLE D'ORLEANS.

DESCRIPTION,

ETC. ETC.

THIS ceremony, which had been regularly observed at Orleans from the time of Charles VII., was, together with many other customs that had prevailed under the French monarchy, discontinued during the stormy period of the Revolution; but on Napoleon's accession to power, the festival was revived, and is now observed with all possible éclat. The following account, translated from the verbal process written by the Count de Rocheplatte, who presided at the fête in his capacity of mayor of Orleans, in 1817, may give the reader some idea of the ceremony.

“ On the 7th of May, at eleven in the morning, young Morin, (Etienne Hippolite Léon,) nine years of age, son of Philippe Antoine Pascal Morin, cooper, and Elizabeth Pierron, who had been selected by the mayor, a month previous, to be the representative of Jeanne d'Arc, was conducted to the town house of Orleans, by his parents; he was there dressed in the ancient costume which had been regularly adopted on these occasions, consisting of an under vest of red silk slashed with yellow, short breeches of the same colour with long openings, yellow silk hose, grey shoes with red and yellow roses, a bonnet

of grey felt, turned up à la *Henri IV.*, surmounted by a plume of red and yellow feathers; and at his side he wore an antique sword, with a girdle of scarlet cloth edged with gold.

“ At twelve o'clock precisely, the youthful representative of La Pucelle, bearing a white banner powdered with golden fleurs-de-lis, accompanied by a detachment of troops, preceded by the drummers and trumpeters of the national guard, marched to the tower of the belfry of Orleans, parading through the streets d'Escures, le Martroi, la Barillerie, and l'Aguillerie, to the principal gateway of the old town house. At this station, during the space of one hour, the drums and trumpets continued to send forth strains of martial music, and at stated intervals the great bell of the belfry sounded, and so continued every quarter of an hour until sunset.

“ At the same period of midday, twenty-four cannons were discharged from one of the towers of the great wall, by the cannoneer company of the national guard, two reports being heard every five minutes.

“ At one o'clock, the youth personating Jeanne d'Arc, being reconducted in the same order to the town house, was committed to the prison prepared for his reception.

“ At half past three, the mayor, and all persons connected with the mayoralty, and the municipal council, escorted by a detachment of the national guard under arms, headed by the supposed Jeanne d'Arc, with her banner and standard proceeded to the cathedral, preparatory to the matins of the ensuing day.

“ After the service there performed, the municipal corps returned to the town house, and the youth personating

Jeanne d'Arc was reconducted to the prison, where he slept that night.

“ On the 8th of May, being the day of the fête, the bell of the belfry recommenced ringing by sunrise, continuing the same every quarter of an hour, until the appearance of the procession.

“ At three quarters past seven o'clock, the municipal corps, as well as the civil and military authorities, being desirous of hearing the panegyric which was to be pronounced on the exploits and character of Jeanne d'Arc, having repaired to the town house, quitted the same in grand procession, under a strong escort of the national guard, &c. ; accompanied by drums and martial music, the representative of La Pucelle being also present with her standard : in which manner the procession entered the cathedral.

“ Precisely at eight o'clock, Abbé Bernet, first almoner of the royal house, and honorary canon of the royal chapter of St. Denis, the orator who had been selected a year before by the mayor, at which period he was only a vicar of the parochial church of St. Paterne of Orleans, pronounced the panegyric of Jeanne d'Arc in the nave of the cathedral.

“ At nine o'clock the discourse terminated, when the canons of the church began the cathedral service ; during which, the clergy of all the parishes and chapels of ease throughout the city, the different corporate bodies, the administrative functionaries, and all the public officers who had not been able to assist at the delivery of the panegyric, resorted to the cathedral, and took the seats prepared for them, according to their several orders of precedency.

“ While this was transacting, the youth, habited as

Jeanne d'Arc, accompanied by his father, proceeded to the prefecture, where the countess of Choiseul, wife of the prefect, had prepared an elegant breakfast for her guests.

“As the several corps took their places in the cathedral, the attendants of the mayoralty, arrayed in their best liveries, and each accompanied by two soldiers, presented the civil and military functionaries and the ecclesiastics with nosegays, which had been ordered by the mayor, amounting to eight hundred; besides which the clergy were presented with fifty copies of the hymns to be sung during the march of the procession.

“Precisely at ten o'clock, the whole body began to move forward in the following order:—

“The procession opened with sections of the horse troops of the national guard.

“Two companies of the grenadiers of the national guard by sections.

“Two companies of the battalions of the royal Swiss guard, preceded by their bands.

“The children of the hospital.

“The representative of Jeanne d'Arc carrying her banner, and at his side his father, supporting the great standard, surrounded by a detachment of troops.

“The fraternity of Saint Nicholas, or the watermen of the river Loire, with their two flags.

“The clergy of the city in a body.

“The colours of the national guard, attended by an escort, and preceded by music.

“All the public functionaries of Orleans, according to their orders of precedence.

“The pupils of the royal college.

“ Three companies of the national guard.

“ A strong detachment of chasseurs of the Swiss regiment.

“ A detachment of the corps of lightermen.

“ The company of troops of the department.

“ The royal foot gendarmerie; after whom followed a detachment of hussars, which closed the procession.

“ The whole train was accompanied by troops, forming a barrier on either side, in order to preclude all possibility of the crowd impeding the advance of the procession. These consisted of: —

“ Three companies of chasseurs of the national guard.

“ A numerous detachment of the chasseurs of the Swiss regiment, and a body of lightermen.

“ The procession quitted the cathedral by the south portal, and marched along the streets of the prefecture, Saint Saviour's de l'Ormerie, the Pomme de Pin, the Great Market-place, the Poultry Market; and, instead of traversing the street now occupying the spot where the ancient Châtelet stood, descended by the street of Hôteleries, and thence mounted to the port, when, crossing the bridge, it arrived at the half-moon. There the youth personating La Pucelle ascended an alcove previously prepared, from whence he saluted with his banner the whole cavalcade as it passed on, continuing its march by the balustrades conducting to the Augustins, where a cross had been raised on the site formerly occupied by the Tournelles, in commemoration of the deliverance of Orleans by Jeanne d'Arc upon that identical spot of ground.

“ At this place the procession made a halt, when the

officiating ecclesiastic pronounced a benediction on the crucifix; and the usual prayers said upon such occasions being concluded, the corps again advanced by the square of la Bascule, the Quay, Port Royal Street, the Martroi, the street d'Escures, square of l'Etape, and the street d'Evêché, and re-entered the cathedral by the north portal.

“ During the march of the procession, four discharges of artillery, each consisting of six cannons, were fired by the company of cannoneers belonging to the national guard: the first on the procession quitting the church; the second on arriving at the bridge, and while the representative of Jeanne d'Arc saluted the cavalcade as it passed on the half-moon at the end of the bridge; the third as the procession repassed the bridge on its return; the fourth and last, as it re-entered the cathedral.

“ All these ceremonies concluded, the constituted authorities were reconducted by their respective escorts to the place of their sittings, and the youth personating La Pucelle returned to the town house with the municipal body, where he delivered a complimentary speech to the mayor.

“ At half after three o'clock, the mayor, accompanied only by the functionaries attached to his office, and the representative of Jeanne d'Arc, escorted by a detachment of the regular troops, proceeded to the church of Saint Aignan to assist at the performance of matins for the dead.

“ The ensuing morning, at half past nine o'clock, the whole municipal body, preceded by the youth personating La Pucelle, bearing his standard, accompanied by an

escort of the national guard with their band playing, marched in grand procession to the church of Saint Aignan to hear the celebration of the solemn mass for the dead performed for the souls of those who perished at the siege of Orleans.

“ Bread and wine were then presented to the mayor in due form, who gave twenty francs by way of an offering.

“ The taper presented was, according to ancient custom, of yellow wax, and weighed about two pounds.

“ On the conclusion of this last ceremony, the youth, habited as Jeanne d’Arc, proceeded to the town house, and there delivered up his whole costume to the mayor, who, in return, gave him a hat, a pair of stockings, a pair of shoes, and twenty-four francs for his own use ; besides which, he presented the father with twenty-six livres as an equivalent for the loss of his time.

“ On the evening of the eighth, the mayor despatched a letter of thanks to the orator, requesting his acceptance, as a mark of gratitude on the part of the Orleanese, of ten pounds weight of wax lights, the same of coffee, and twenty pounds of sugar, the produce of their industry, as a compensation for the expense of his journey.

“ The mayor also requested the manuscript of his harangue, in order to have the same printed at the expense of the city : this being complied with, two hundred copies were struck off, of which twenty-five were remitted to the author, and the rest distributed to the public functionaries and ecclesiastics of Orleans.

“ During the whole time that the representative of Jeanne d’Arc continued at the town house, that is to say, from the 7th, at eleven in the morning, until the

12th at midday, the mayor furnished every necessary for the youth, as well as his father, who constantly remained with him.

“ According to the verbal process above recorded,

“ Resolved, That in order to serve as a guide for the future, the same be inscribed in the Register of Resolutions.

“ Executed at the Town Hall of Orleans, this tenth of May, 1817.

“ The Authentic Copy.

“ *The Mayor of Orleans,*

“ **LE COMTE DE ROCHEPLATTE.**”

PORTRAITS
AND
HISTORICAL ENGRAVINGS
OF
JEANNE D'ARC.

**FROM PICTURE GALLERIES, MUSEUMS, CABINETS,
MEDALS, &c.**

VOL. II.

5

PORTRAITS,

ETC. ETC.

IF the heroic exploits of the Maid of Orleans embellish the pages of history, the sciences and arts have alike contributed to hand down her fame to future ages. The biographers of Jeanne d'Arc have certainly given an ample detail of her actions; but so materially do they vary in their accounts, that a feeling of scepticism has been engendered in the public mind. Eloquence was resorted to for the purpose of abetting the cause of her persecutors, and during the succeeding centuries it was likewise employed in order to avenge her wrongs; even poetry disputed with eloquence this latter privilege, though with more of ardour than success.

Why were not the arts, till within late years, more frequently employed in France to multiply the representations of this heroine? In that case, posterity might have possessed authentic memorials of the features of this extraordinary woman; whereas the major part of the engravings, and other representations of Jeanne d'Arc now extant, are but the offspring of imagination.

The portrait in oil preserved with the greatest care and veneration at the town-house * of Orleans, although boasting antiquity, is unquestionably more modern than the time of Jeanne d'Arc, as the costume at once decides, without referring to the state of the arts in France at the time of Charles VII., which, compared with the painting in question, would be found bad in the extreme, resembling more the pictorial productions of the Chinese than the portrait of La Pucelle to which we now refer.

Wraxall, speaking of this picture, gives a faithful description of it in the following words : —

“ In the Hôtel de Ville is a portrait of Joan of Arc, which I studied long and attentively; though it was not done till 1581, which was near 130 years after her decease, it is yet the oldest and best picture existing. The painter seems undoubtedly to have drawn a flattering resemblance of her, and to have given his heroine imaginary charms. Her face, though long, is of exceeding beauty, heightened by an expression of intelligence and grandeur rarely united. Her hair falls loosely down her back, and she

* The present Hôtel de Ville of Orleans, in which the portrait of Jeanne d'Arc is preserved, was not the town-house at the period of the siege in 1428; since it appears from the archives of the city, that when Charles duke of Orleans, at the expiration of the long captivity he had endured in England, after being made prisoner at the battle of Azincourt, conducted his newly married bride, in 1442, to the city of Orleans, he found the residence was not sufficiently commodious. In consequence of this, the city, in the ensuing year, purchased the Hôtel des Carneaux and some adjoining houses, upon the site of which they erected the present edifice, which was not completed until 1498.

wears on her head a sort of bonnet, enriched with pearls, and shaded with white plumes, tied under her chin with a string. About her neck is a little collar, and lower down upon her bosom a necklace composed of small links; her dress, which is that of a woman, I find it difficult exactly to describe. It sits close to the body, and is cut or slashed at the arms and elbows. Round her waist is an embroidered girdle, and in her right hand she holds the sword with which she expelled the enemies of her sovereign and her country. I am not surprised at the animated and enthusiastic attachment which the French still cherish for her memory. The critical and desperate emergency in which she appeared; her sex, youth, and even the obscurity of her birth; the unparalleled success which crowned her enterprises, the cruel and detestable sentence by which she was put to death, the air of the marvellous spread over the whole narration, increased and strengthened by that veneration which time affixes to every great event; all these united causes conspired to place her above mortality. Rome and Athens would undoubtedly have ranked her among their tutelary deities and have erected temples to her honour; nor can I help being amazed, that amidst an almost infinite number of modern saints who crowd and disgrace their churches, no altar has yet been dedicated to the Maid of Orleans."

There exists a very scarce and beautifully finished engraving from this picture, executed by the burin of Mieris, from which several copies have been engraved.

In the collection of Dulys, is a portrait of Jeanne d'Arc

represented in armour and on horseback, which possesses no claim whatever to authenticity.

We shall now proceed to describe another portrait of Jeanne d'Arc, by no means commonly known, but which appears in every respect worthy to figure among the catalogue of those mentioned under the present head.

The portrait in question was originally in the possession of the family of Les Picard Dulys and is now the property of Jean Baptiste Alexandre de Haldat-Dulys, younger brother of Mr. C. N. Alde Haldat, doctor of medicine, and member of several learned institutions, who has furnished the present account. To the before-mentioned gentlemen it was bequeathed by the ladies D'Arbamont, last descendants of Jean Dulys, second brother of Jeanne, whose family became extinct at Vaucouleurs in 1812. The features of our heroine would be so curious to preserve, and ancient and authentic monuments are so rarely to be met with, that under the existing state of uncertainty as to any true resemblance, none of those effigies ought to be neglected which present a prospect of handing down the undoubted lineaments of La Pucelle. The costume of Jeanne d'Arc, as represented in the portrait now under review, which is a half-length, is analogous but not similar to that commonly attributed to her, and which is found in the likeness of La Pucelle accompanying the work of Professor Hordal, and that preserved at the town-house at Orleans, a copy from which embellishes our present work. The features, as portrayed in this picture, are those of a female of the age of twenty, very

agreeable, though not altogether regular; and evidently preserve the characteristic traits which distinguish the physiognomies of the ancient population of Lorraine, in the neighbourhood of the birth-place of Jeanne d'Arc. Her complexion is a very clear brown, without much colour; her eyes are brownish, and resemble those attributed to the females of Persia; her eyebrows, of the chesnut hue, are delicately pencilled; her forehead elevated; the nose well proportioned, but rather thin; the mouth small, and the chin pointed; the oval of her physiognomy is lengthened and agreeable; and the *tout ensemble* conveys the stamp of tender melancholy. Her head is covered with a plaited velvet cap or bonnet, ornamented with a plume of white feathers; and is upon the whole very dissimilar to that in the picture at Orleans. Her hair, of a clear chesnut hue, flows over her bosom, which is covered by a breastplate bearing gilt bronze ornaments. Her robe is amaranth, and either shoulder is ornamented with the head of a lion; while in her left hand, which is the only one seen, she bears a sword, on the blade of which the painter has inscribed his name in very large characters.

The name of the artist, whose reputation is perfectly well known in the annals of Lorraine, dispels all idea of doubt as to the origin of the picture; for as Deruet, the painter in question, lived between the years 1600 and 1680, we may form a pretty accurate conjecture of the period when it was painted; and although the time is somewhat remote from that wherein Jeanne d'Arc flourished, the reflections which it awakens render it, nevertheless, worthy of the attention of the public. The striking

variations in the costume, in the first instance, prove that it is not a copy of any one of those so frequently reproduced by the burin: and as it cannot be an original, there is reason to conjecture that it is a copy from some more ancient portrait which has thus handed down the features of Jeanne d'Arc. Were it merely the result of the artist's imagination, one might reasonably conceive that, when resigning himself to the momentary inspiration, he would have given our heroine, as other painters have done, an ideal character that might particularly stamp her features: whereas the traits in question display nothing to distinguish them from those of an ordinary countenance; unless we refer to the costume, the ornaments of which are touched with the peculiar spirit that characterises the pencil of a pupil of Tempester and Josepin. The agreement that exists between the portrait in question, and the descriptions that historians have transmitted to us respecting the countenance of La Pucelle,* if not its origin, ought to render it worthy of attention.

* She had, says Mr. Lebrun Descharmettes, the forehead moderately high; large eyes; the lids severed like an almond shell; the point of sight of no decided hue, being between brown and green, a colour peculiar to persons of a very clear brown complexion; the expression of her features was melancholy, and of an inexpressible softness; the eye-brows finely pencilled; the nose straight, well formed, and rather thin; the mouth particularly small, and the lips vermilion; the dimple formed between the under lip and the chin was conspicuous, and the chin itself small. The general outline of the countenance was handsome, the complexion beautifully fair; her hair, of a fine clear chesnut, was long behind and cropped at the sides, after the fashion of warriors, falling gracefully over her shoulders.

It was presented to the family of Le Picard Dulys, as a particular favour, by the good duke Henry II., and has been carefully preserved to the present period : there is consequently every reason to conclude that, in case it had been considered only a fanciful representation, it would not have appeared worthy to remain in the hands of the descendants of that celebrated woman, especially considering that the persons who received it might have been cotemporaries of the illustrious daughter of Jacques d'Arc.

The researches made among the papers of the family of Le Picard Dulys, and the historical documents extracted from the monuments that existed at Gibaumé, a village two leagues distant from Vaucouleurs, give us to understand that this picture was presented by Henry II., duke of Lorraine, to Jacques Dulys, exempt of the guards of that prince.

On the painted windows of the monastery of the Minimes at Chaillot, otherwise *Les bons hommes de Passy*, was depicted a portrait of La Pucelle, which could not rank of the time ; for the religious house in question was not built until the reign of Charles VIII. It is now altogether destroyed, and a manufactory occupies the site.

The destruction of the monument erected to her memory at Orleans, by order of Charles VII., and of which we shall shortly have occasion to speak, is much to be regretted, as there is every reason to suppose that the statue in question was the only one that conveyed a just idea of the person of Jeanne d'Arc.

Portraits from fancy have been incessantly multiplied ; of such we find specimens in the collection of Thevet ; in the gallery of the *Palais Cardinal* ; and Gauthier, in 1613, executed three different engravings of La Pucelle. Mon-

cornet has delineated her in a court dress adorned with feathers; she is also portrayed habited in a breast-plate, holding a lance in one hand, and a sword and standard in the other. Henry Hondius has represented her at prayers, in the attitude of inspiration; and she is likewise delineated as driving the English before her, from a design of Cochin. From the burin of Poussart, we have the representation of a piece of tapestry, which represents Charles VII. conducted by Jeanne d'Arc, and entering the city of Rheims in triumph. The square in which the martyrdom of La Pucelle took place, or rather her apotheosis, at Rouen, has been given; as well as the fountain and expiatory edifice, raised upon the spot where the stake was erected at which she was burnt; together with a view of the tower wherein she was incarcerated, and the monuments consecrated to her memory by the gratitude of the Orleanese.

I shall not attempt to describe the illustrations accompanying the epic of Chapelain, which are precisely upon a par with the poetic efforts of that author.

The *Illustrious Men and great French Captains which adorned the ancient Gallery of the Palais Royal at Paris, with an Abridgment of their Lives and memorable Actions*, published by Colombière, contains portraits engraved by Heince and Bignon, Paris, in folio, 1690, among which is that of La Pucelle, whole length, from a painting of Vouet. She is there represented as an Amazon, with slashed sleeves, a small bonnet, with a plume of feathers upon her head, and a gold chain about her neck; having only a cuirass upon the body, and grasping a sword in her right hand with the scabbard in the left.

In a work entitled, *L'Europe Illustre, contenant l'Histoire abrégée des Souverains, des Princes, des Prélats, des*

Ministres, des grands Capitaines, des Artistes, et des Dames célèbres, &c. 1755; six vols. 8vo. are inserted portraits by different artists, and among the rest, by Boizot and Picard, the latter being the best in the collection. Among these are engravings of Charles VI. and VII. kings of France, Henry V. and VI. of England, of Tannequi Duchâtel, of the Bastard Dunois, the duke of Bedford, Juvenal de Ursius, Philip le Bon duke of Burgundy, La Pucelle, &c. accompanied by an abridgment of their lives.

Vingt-sept Estampes Allégoriques des Evénemens les plus connus de l'Histoire de France, dessinées par Cochin; Paris, 1768, in quarto.

These prints, among which is represented Jeanne d'Arc, were executed for the abridged chronology of president Henault, published in 1768, quarto.

L'Histoire d'Angleterre, représentée par Figures, gravées par David, graveur de Monsieur, Membre de l'Académie de Beaux Arts de Berlin, &c. accompagnées de Discours, par Letourner et L'Abbé Guyot; 1786, in quarto, 2 vols.

In this work La Pucelle is represented at pages 73 and 78, as well as at plate 18th of the second volume.

L'Histoire de France, représentée par Figures, gravées par David, Membre de l'Académie de Peinture et de Sculpture de Rouen, &c. accompagnées de Discours, par M. l'Abbé Guyot, Membre des Académies de Nancy et de Rouen; Paris, 1791 et suivans, in quarto.

The history, accompanied by plates of La Pucelle and Charles VII., is to be found in the fourth volume.

Musée des Monumens Français, ou Description Historique et Chronologique des Statues en marbre et en bronze, bas-reliefs,

et Tombeaux des Hommes et des Femmes célèbres, pour servir à l'Histoire de France et à celle de l'Art, ornée de gravures, &c. ; par Alexandre Lenoir, fondateur et administrateur du Musée ; Paris, Guilleminet, an 10, 1801, in 8vo. 4 volumes.

La Pucelle, and the notice respecting her, occupy from page 112 to 120, where is inserted an engraving of her bust. M. Lenoir informs the reader that he caused the original head to be modelled by citizen Beauvalet, after an ancient picture of Jeanne d'Arc, in order that it might be placed in the chamber appropriated for the reception of antiquities of the fifteenth century, in the Musée, near the statue of Charles VII., whom she maintained upon the throne, and who was base enough to suffer her to be sacrificed by her enemies.

The bust in question is to be found plate 77th, No. 527 : it is a mediocre performance, and does not convey any traits of authenticity.

Besides the foregoing portraits of Jeanne d'Arc, representations of her have been multiplied *ad infinitum* for embellishing the manifold editions of Voltaire's satirical poem of La Pucelle d'Orléans ; added to which, since the restoration of the Bourbons, not only portraits, but representations of every leading exploit of our heroine, have been engraved or delineated in lithography, it having been the fashion at Court to extol the deeds of La Pucelle, and place to the account of religion, and the special interference of Heaven, the fortunate intervention of Jeanne d'Arc in the cause of France and of the throne.

MONUMENTS

ERECTED TO THE MEMORY OF

JEANNE D'ARC,

AT

ROUEN, ORLEANS, DOMREMY,

ETC. ETC.

MONUMENTS,

ETC. ETC.

TOWER AND FOUNTAIN OF LA PUCELLE AT ROUEN.

THE monument raised by the Orleanese to the memory of Jeanne d'Arc, serves as a perpetual memorial of her valour and glory, whereas those of which we are going to speak are only the records of her sufferings and misfortunes. Dragged from dungeon to dungeon, and delivered over to the ferocious inquisitors, brothers Martin and Pierre Cauchon, La Pucelle was at length incarcerated in a tower at Rouen, still standing. The building in question is situated near Bouvreuil Tower, and retains to the present time the name of Tour de la Pucelle—the Maiden's Tower. This edifice was formerly concealed by a row of houses; to the left of which is the gate of Bouvreuil Tower. Its aspect, although in the direction of the country, is sombre, and gives rise to melancholy reflections; the beams of day never pierce to the interior. The massive walls, desolate and sad witnesses of those barbarous feudal times of which they bear the stamp, would inspire a secret awe in the breast of those who might be ignorant that this asylum was the scene of the accumulated and dreadful sufferings of innocence and

heroic virtue. Jeanne's cries re-echoed through those dismal vaultings; her tears were shed upon the inhospitable soil: it was there the captive lingered, perhaps within the iron cage; and beyond a doubt pined in a dungeon loaded with massive and galling fetters.

In the year 1805, when digging in the garden of the monastery of the Maidens of the Holy Sacrament, the lower basement of this tower was discovered. Beneath the flooring of the chamber a well appeared, or else the back of the lower moat, wherein might be seen several links of chains almost entirely mouldered away with rust.*

IT was in the old market-place that Jeanne d'Arc suffered at the stake; but the precise spot where this scene of iniquity was transacted, was not in the square at present called the old market; being now known as the *Marché aux Veaux*, or market for calves; and it was on this account that the monument raised to the memory of *La Pucelle* was erected in that market. Upon the spot where the cross stood, which was built after the revisal of Jeanne's process, a fountain was constructed, surmounted by a statue of the murdered girl.

The fountain in question was of very delicate workmanship, and consisted of three ranges of pillars, one above another, on a triangular base; the whole ornamented with arabesque and statues of saints, at the summit of which rose that of Jeanne d'Arc. The water issued from three spouts terminating with horses' heads.

* See Annals of the year 1805, the month *Floréal*.

This edifice, constructed at a period when the arts were reviving in France, (towards the commencement of the sixteenth century,) was light, while the figures, and the arabesque in particular, were in a beautiful chaste style.

In 1755, this structure was replaced by another, consisting of a pedestal decorated with dolphins, upon which rests the statue of the heroine. This latter monument is far inferior in elegance to that previously described. The two last lines of the inscription upon this edifice run as follow :—

*Flammarum victrix, isto rediviva tropæo,
Vitam pro patria ponere virgo docet.*

MONUMENTS ERECTED AT ORLEANS.

THE first monument, being a just homage too tardily manifested in honour of heroism and misfortune in 1458, was due to the piety and gratitude of Charles VII. It was erected on the ancient bridge leading to the city, and was taken down on account of the carpenters' work that became necessary at the period of its undergoing repairs in 1745.

The Catholics have reproached the Protestants for having, in 1567, at the period of the second troubles, demolished the figures of this structure, with the exception of that of the king ; but Du Haillan informs us that it was battered down by a cannon-ball, the blow being completely accidental.

The monument was recast on the 9th of October, at the expense of the city, by one Hector Lescot, otherwise Jacquinet, and reinstated upon its former pedestal on the 15th of March, 1571.

Every member of the several figures composing the group was produced separately, and it is thought that they were the second ever cast in France. From 1741 the whole was kept from public view, as the monument had fallen into complete neglect; but in 1771 the municipal officers caused it to be again reinstated; the charge devolving upon M. Desfriches, a distinguished artist in landscape painting.

This monument was erected upon a stone pedestal, nine feet long by as many in height, and consisted of four figures in bronze, nearly of natural dimensions; and of a cross of the same metal. The Virgin was seated at the foot of the crucifix on a rock or calvary formed of lead, which united all the figures: upon her knees she supported the extended form of Jesus Christ; above the head of the Saviour, at some distance, a cushion supported the crown of thorns; to the right figured the statue of Charles VII., and to the left that of Jeanne d'Arc, both in the act of kneeling upon cushions which were added to the new monument. These two figures, whose hands were joined as in the act of prayer, were armed at all points, with the exception of their helmets, placed within a foot distance from each: that of the king was surmounted by a crown. A shield, bearing the arms of France, stood between the two, leaning against the rock, without any supporters, crown, or other ornament; and the lance of La Pucelle was stretched across the monument. This cele-

brated female was clad as a man, and only distinguishable by the cut of her hair, tied by a band of riband and falling below her waist. Behind the cross was represented a pelican nourishing her progeny with her blood; they were inclosed in a nest or basket which formerly crowned the crucifix, at the base of which was added a serpent holding an apple in its teeth.

The pedestal was decorated by escutcheons and marble slabs, whereon were graven, in golden characters, the two inscriptions composed by Mr. Jacques Ducoudray, then mayor of Orleans.

DU REGNE DE LOUIS XV.

Ce Monument, érigé sur l'ancien Pont,
Par le Roi Charles VII., l'An 1458,
En action de graces de la délivrance
De cette Ville, and des Victoires remportées
Sur les Anglois par JEANNE D'ARC,
Dite LA PUCELLE D'ORLEANS,
A été rétabli dans sa première forme,
Du vœu des Habitans, and par les soins de
M. JACQUES DU COUDRAY, Maire
L'An M.DCC.LXXI.

The following inscription, on the opposite side, is remarkable for its noble simplicity:—

D. O. M.
Pietatis in Deum,
Reverentiæ in Dei Param,
Fidelitatis in Regem,
Amoris in Patriam,
Grati animi in Puellam
Monumentum
Instauravère Cives Aureliani,
Anno Domini, M.DCC.LXXI.

The designs of the pedestal and of the iron railing that surrounded the monument were by M. Soyer, engineer; and M. Desfriches, before mentioned, presided over the whole undertaking.

The appearance of the accessories above described, doubtless, contrasted too much with the simplicity of the figures; while the style of architecture, consisting of twisted forms, which predominated in the pedestal, was equally removed from the simplicity of the antique structure. In other respects the figures were highly interesting from their unadorned appearance, and the chaste exactness observable in the costume.

At the period when this monument was erected, the artist could imagine nothing better than to delineate his heroes in the act of prayer; he had communicated truth to their attitudes — and veracity never fails to be interesting; such constituted the merit of this religious monument, the *tout ensemble* of which was pleasing to the eye.

The sculptor who repaired this memorial, however, was guilty of a great error. The armorial bearings of France placed before Charles VII. he surrounded by a collar of the order of Saint Michael; whereas this collar and decoration were not instituted until 1469, under Louis XI., son of Charles VII.

This monument was completely broken up, and afterwards melted down to construct cannon, in 1793, when revolutionary anarchy swept every thing away in one general vortex of devastation.

In the year 1805, under the consulate of Napoleon Buonaparte, during the prefecture of J. P. Maret, and the mayoralty of Crignon — Desormeaux, another monument was raised to the memory of the heroine of Orleans.

This was the first after the epoch of the revolution that was cast in bronze. A distinction so honourable is explained in the first instance by the circumstances under which it was erected, when every thing seemed to assume a character of united grandeur and stability; by the noble devotion of the magistrate of the department and those of the commune, as well as the generous assistance of the government, and of private individuals, who came forward to offer subscriptions in furtherance of a monument so truly national.

This statue, by M. Gois the younger, represents Jeanne d'Arc in the act of grasping a banner just carried off from the enemy, trampling under foot the English leopards, and bidding defiance to her enemies. The statue is eight feet high, and beautifully executed in all its proportions; it appears as if the bronze had become animated under the tool of the young artist. It rests upon a pedestal of veined marble nine feet by four in height, and the socle and steps are of the same material. Four bas-reliefs in bronze, placed between the cornices and astragals, are richly executed, the figures being also grouped in the happiest manner.

The first to the south represents the conflict at the Tournelles: that to the west, displays La Pucelle receiving her sword from the hands of Charles VII.: that to the eastward, the coronation of the monarch in the cathedral at Rheims, with Jeanne d'Arc fulfilling the functions of constable of France: and, lastly, that to the north, the portentous moment when the bishop of Beauvais reads the judgment pronounced against the heroine, of sentence of death to be carried into execution at Rouen: while

at the bottom are represented two lachrymatories. Two of these bas-reliefs measure one foot by two feet seven inches ; the other two, one foot by three.

Upon the erection of M. Gois's statue, a medal struck in bronze was distributed gratuitously to those subscribers who had given fifty francs, and one in silver to such as had contributed double that sum.

This medal has on one side a bust of the first consul, and on the reverse the effigy of Jeanne d'Arc.

We shall now speak of the monuments erected to the memory of Jeanne d'Arc in her native province : those existing in the village of Domremy will be amply described when we treat of the humble dwelling wherein La Pucelle was born. Independent of this memorial, the native village of our heroine presents other features worthy the notice of the antiquary and the historian. Tradition has handed down to the present day the history of a chapel called Our Lady of La Pucelle, consecrated in the village church ; and, in consequence of the remains of many of her descendants being deposited there, it was likewise denominated the Chapel of the Dulys. Claude Dulys, curate of Domremy and Greux in 1550, was interred there, as appears from his will. The repairs which the church underwent in 1600, together with the ravages of revolutionary fury, have obliterated the major part of the epitaphs, inscriptions, and armorial bearings, tending to substantiate these facts. Notwithstanding this, however, two columns which decorate the principal altar still bear two escutcheons displaying the arms of Dulys, supported by two angels seated on their capitals.

Their workmanship is mediocre, and their cumbrous proportions are sufficient testimonies of their origin. It is probably in this chapel that the figure was formerly placed which M. Gerardin fixed over the archway of the portal of Jeanne d'Arc's dwelling. Those persons who visited the monument prior to its restoration, recollect having seen it surmounted by a mutilated statue. Although it was then blended with the stone-mason's work, and only presented a front view, it was nevertheless impossible not to recognise the figure of a kneeling female warrior; but the little connexion between this statue and the monument over which it was placed, easily led to a supposition that it had not been originally destined to occupy that spot. The place for receiving the arch over the door of M. Gerardin's new house was immediately perceptible; but that for the figure now under consideration was no where to be found. Since it has been disencumbered from the mason's work, its kneeling posture is fully identified, and what had been previously conjectural is incontestably proved; namely, that it originally formed part of a monumental effigy for an oratory, where it was most probably placed before an image of the Virgin Mary, in whom during her life Jeanne placed such implicit confidence.

As we have no positive proof respecting the oratory where this sculpture originally stood, we conceive that simple conjecture may suffice to stamp it as having formed a decoration of the before-mentioned chapel of Dulys. The coincidence of the indications still existing of two angels bearing the arms of the family, and above all, the statue being in possession of M. Gerardin, seem to con-

firm this opinion. For how could it have fallen into the hands of the last proprietor of the house belonging to the descendants of our heroine's father, unless it had been as the property of those who, when the chapel was demolished, carefully removed it from the church to preserve it in their dwelling, with which it devolved, by means of the last of the Dulys family who died at Domremy, to the predecessors of M. Gerardin the elder? However, be the origin of the sculpture what it may, it no doubt formed part of a monument raised to the glory of Jeanne d'Arc, and destined to hand down her features, her exploits, and her virtues, to remotest posterity.

Such are the monuments existing at Domremy, not to mention those consecrated by popular veneration; such as a particular tract of land constituting a vineyard near the ruins of a chapel, called in that country Our Lady of Beaumont, where it is traditionally told that La Pucelle offered up her orisons, and which is still known by the title of La Pucelle, as well as a fountain situated near those vineyards and above the wood of oaks.

It is also affirmed that memorials of Jeanne existed in the church of Greux, but its partial re-erection and the effects of the revolution have caused them to disappear. The town of Vaucouleurs, which furnished means for equipping the heroine when the lord de Baudricourt sanctioned her journey to Chinon, and which was uniformly inhabited by the descendants of Jean Dulys, one of her brothers and provost of the place, did not raise any effigy of note to her memory. However, when a spontaneous feeling prompted the people of that town to take up arms for the protection of social order against the assaults of anarchy, such was

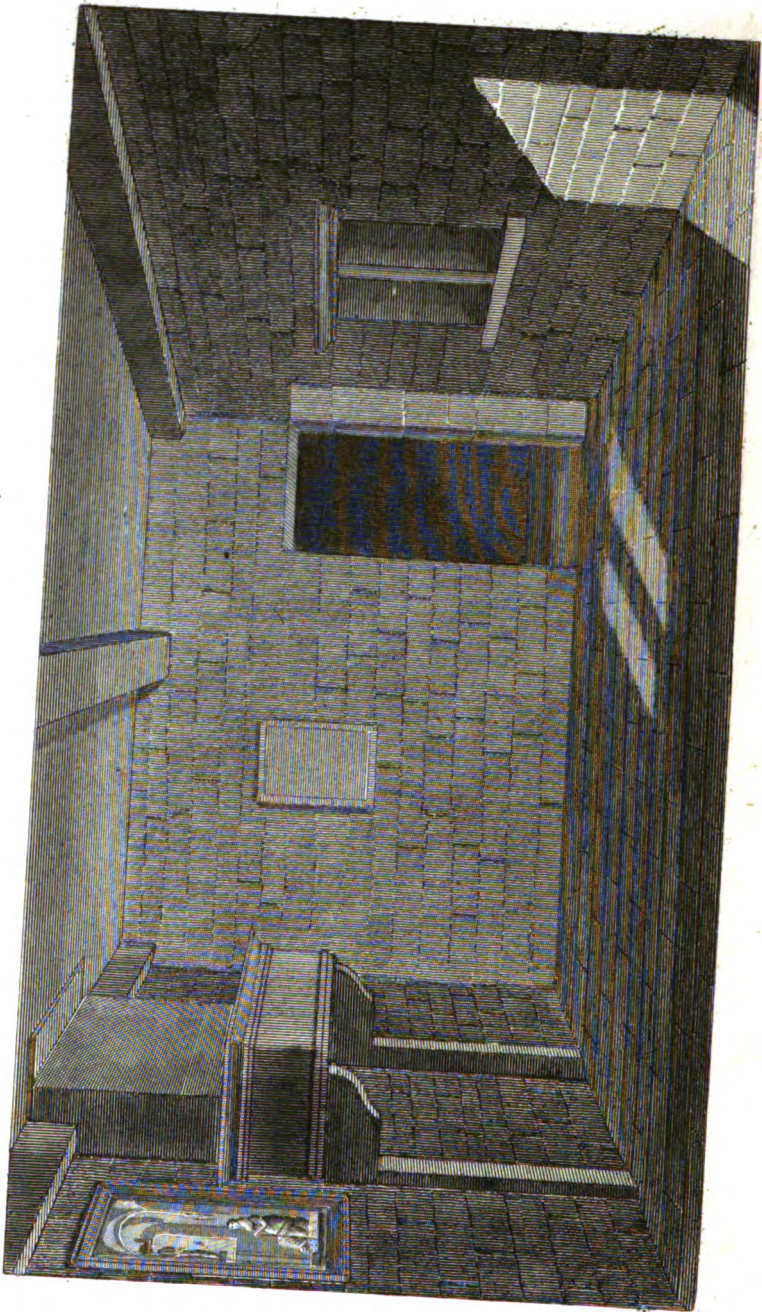
the enthusiastic respect they felt for the memory of Jeanne d'Arc, that the national guard of Vaucouleurs had impressed on the buttons of their uniforms the arms of the family of Dulys, which had been till then preserved in the front of the dwelling of Le Picard Dulys, otherwise called d'Arbamont; and several inns of the town still retain for their signs rude effigies of La Pucelle d'Orléans. In respect to the house where she spent the short time prior to her departure, and the name of the host of which has been preserved, no indication on that head is now known for a certainty.

Near the village of Naives in Blois, situate in the district of Commercy, department of the Meuse, two leagues distant from Vaucouleurs, is one of those popular memorials, which, preserved by uninterrupted tradition, point out the route she followed to avoid the ravaging hordes of Burgundians who infested the vicinity of Vaucouleurs. This road still bears the name of the Way of La Pucelle, and is in every respect accordant with the route pointed out in our Itinerary.

Toul, the most ancient and at that period a town of the greatest importance in the vicinity of Jeanne's native place, had also consecrated a religious monument to her memory. This relic existed in the remarkable edifice that was due to the ancient bishops and to the zeal of their ancestors. But the demons of anarchy, who, during the revolution destroyed in the palace of the government of Nancy the divinities of heathen mythology, together with every remnant of aristocracy, in the first instance, afterwards vented their rage against the images of saints and heroes which decorated the cathedral pile of this city. The monument of

Jeanne d'Arc among others was not spared : it was erected by Claude Hordal, commendatory prior of Bleurville, arch-deacon of Port, and grand deacon of the chapter of the cathedral of Toul. It consisted of a statue of the natural size, and in every respect similar to that which had existed at Domremy. This was affixed to the second pillar of the chapel of the visitation, and the iron hold-fasts which served to support it are still extant, but every other vestige has disappeared. Kneeling with joined hands and in the act of prayer, Jeanne seemed to regard the sanctuary, towards which she appeared in the act of addressing the genius that animates heroes, and tendering proofs of her grateful spirit. As Claude Hordal, son of Stephen Hordal, who married Henrietta Dulys, daughter of Pierre d'Arc, was grand deacon about the middle of the sixteenth century ; there is every reason to conjecture that this effigy dated from that period, and was a copy of the figure which stood upon the bridge at Orleans ; the destruction, however, of this relic, prevents the possibility of any further research upon the subject.





DESCRIPTION
OF
THE RESIDENCE
OF
JEANNE D'ARC,
AND
THE MONUMENTAL FOUNTAIN
ERECTED
TO HER MEMORY AT DOMREMY.

DESCRIPTION,

ETC. ETC.

IN 1818, the constituted authorities of the department of Vosges, supported by the duke de Choiseul, peer of France, adopted the resolution that a certain sum of money should be appropriated to render the birth-place of Jeanne d'Arc public property. The ministers of Louis XVIII., being made acquainted with this determination, very commendably forwarded the design, which was also countenanced by the king himself, who was equally anxious with his subjects for the preservation of the dwelling-place of La Pucelle, and for the erection of a public monument to her memory. And in order to confer a greater degree of éclat upon his royal munificence, his majesty was pleased to order that a structure of a morally useful nature should also be erected, and in consequence a public seminary was founded for the instruction of the young countrywomen of the brave heroine of Domremy. Twelve thousand francs were set apart for the erection of the building, eight thousand were given to endow the school, and the remaining expenses were defrayed from the funds of the department of Vosges.

The humble mansion of La Pucelle, now comprised within the enclosure of the royal school of Domremy, was

formerly screened on the north and south by rustic cottages that formed a part of the same street. In front, it was concealed by the dwelling of M. Gerardin, of which it formed an out-building, separated from it by a narrow yard. Over the doorway of his new residence, the first of which runs in a direct line with that of the school, M. Gerardin senior, by whom it was built, had placed the arched moulding of the cottage of Jeanne d'Arc, and above that a statue of the heroine. Three chambers of small dimensions, converted into a stable and cellar, were all that remained of the residence of the illustrious Jeanne. But such glorious recollections have attached themselves to these ruins, that several strangers of distinction, venerating the spot, have been anxious to procure a fragment of the materials of which they are composed : the beams of the kitchen, and the side supporters of the doorway, bear evident marks of these honourable spoliations, which the architect employed has respected, in the course of his labours, as tending to characterise the venerated spot.

Fully impressed with the importance of preserving to the mansion of Jeanne d'Arc its antique appearance, the artist carefully avoided every thing like useless addition or ornament. He contented himself with unmasking the edifice by demolishing the ruins that encumbered it, restoring to the doorway the arched moulding which had originally belonged to it, and replacing in its former position the chimney-piece removed by M. Gerardin the elder into his new building. The rough-casting necessary for the preservation of the walls, and the repairs of the roofing and flooring, were therefore all the works executed

for the preservation of this rustic building. Standing quite alone, it now presents itself without any obstacle to the gaze of the curious, who are always struck by the irregularity and smallness of its dimensions, affording a striking contrast to the celebrity it enjoys.

That which most particularly arrests attention, and is, indeed, worthy of observation as a most characteristic part of this building, is the gothic moulding over the door. The sculptures in bas-relief which it presents, display three shields and three inscriptions. The centre shield has the armorial bearings of France; the second, to the right, the quartering given by Charles VII. to the family of Arc. The crowned sword occupying the centre of this shield, brings to mind the exploits of La Pucelle, and the fleurs-de-lis that accompany the same, the gratitude of her monarch. The third shield, to the left, has been variously interpreted: some persons have conceived that the implements represented were three spears or lances; others have regarded them as the barbs of arrows, constituting part of the armorial bearings attributed to the family of Arc; and a third opinion has been, that they were three iron spikes of the plough, construed as emblems of agriculture, that having been the profession of Jacques d'Arc, father of La Pucelle. In reality they only present a sign of the alliance of the possessor of this venerated dwelling with the family of the Thiesselins.*

* These armorial bearings belonged to the family of Thiesselin; and the reason why they appear connected with those of Jeanne d'Arc is as follows:—Claude Dulys, procurator fiscal of the lordships of Domremy and Greux, for the count de Salm, married

The inscriptions are of three kinds:— the first, inserted under the shield bearing the arms of France, consists of the words, *Vive le Roi Loïs*; the second, over the same shield, records the date 1461, indicating the prince in question, being Louis XI., first avenger of the memory of Jeanne d'Arc; and the third, carved over the date, contains the words, *Vive labour*. This is surmounted by several ears of corn bound together with a tendril of the vine. These three shields are inscribed in a double curve in ogee, from whence issue other mouldings, which in uniting form three frames for the shields and inscriptions. The sculptures were defaced during the revolution; but the traces were left so perceptible, that it was easy to restore them, and this reparation has been successfully completed without altering their characteristic forms.

The interior of the dwelling comprises three chambers,

Nicolle Thiesselin, as appears by an act of partition, bearing date the 20th September, 1490, as stated by Charles Dulys, at page 20 of his collection. Living at that period, he was the only one of the family who married a Thiesselin; and being established at Domremy by his employ, and the property he there held from Jacques d'Arc, his grandfather, it is impossible not to perceive that he was the originator of this monument, evidently placed there by some member of the family of La Pucelle. Touched with gratitude towards the prince who so far honoured him, he was anxious to manifest his feelings, and transmit them to posterity by means of a simple memorial, calculated to stamp them on the minds of his fellow-citizens; and which furnish us at the present day, the most unequivocal characteristics of the dwelling wherein Jeanne d'Arc received her birth.

the largest of which served for the kitchen, and communicated with the other two. Previous to their undergoing repair no particular feature presented itself, except a small press, or cupboard, of carved stone, formed in the thickness of the wall, in front of the chimney, in which were to be observed, as well as upon the beams of the ceiling and the door-posts, numerous incisions made by curious visitants desirous of possessing a fragment of the dwelling which inspired them with such particular interest.* It is in this chamber that the marble tablet has been deposited, bearing an inscription destined to transmit to posterity the following detail of the works undertaken and the monuments erected in honour of La Pucelle.

“ In the year 1411 was born on this spot Jeanne d'Arc, surnamed La Pucelle d'Orléans, daughter of Jacques d'Arc and Isabella Romée. In honour of her memory, the council general of the department of Vosges obtained possession of this dwelling, the king having commanded the repairs of the same, and founded a charity school for the female children of Domremy and Greux; and also erected a fountain, ornamented by a bust of the heroine, in order to perpetuate her image conformably to the wishes of public gratitude. These works were completed the 18th of August, 1820.” This apartment is also

* It is stated that prince Ferdinand of Prussia, on passing through Domremy, in 1815, visited the house of Jeanne d'Arc, when he prostrated himself to the earth, exclaiming, “ I salute thee, thou dwelling of a heroine !” — and that when he arose he broke off a piece of the archway of the door, which he conveyed away with the most scrupulous care.

decorated with a picture presented by his majesty, wherein M. Laurent, native of Nancy, one of the most celebrated Parisian artists, has represented, with a rigorous exactness, Jeanne d'Arc in an oratory dedicated to the Holy Virgin, before whose image she is placed in a kneeling posture, and resting upon the sword which she is supposed to have consecrated to the deliverance of her country. She is in the act of beseeching her august protectress to grant her the gifts of wisdom and courage, so essentially necessary to ensure the success of her heroic enterprise. The two remaining chambers, narrower and less regular in their formation, present nothing but the remains of an oven, which served the descendants of Jeanne d'Arc for household purposes. The mutilated statue which M. Gerardin senior had placed over the portal of his residence, will most probably adorn the before-mentioned chamber, when restored by a skilful artist to its primitive state, for the purpose of being shewn to the public. In addition to this, M. Cherrier, sub-prefect of Neufchâteau, very happily suggested the idea of placing an album in the same apartment, destined to register the names of the curious who may be prompted to visit this illustrious cottage.

The school, comprising in its enclosure the residence of Jeanne d'Arc, is simple in its construction, but in every respect calculated for the purposes intended. It fronts the new square, in which is the fountain consecrated by the department of Vosges to the honour of La Pucelle.*

* M. de Haldat, in his account of the festival that took place at the inauguration of the fountain at Domremy on the 10th of September, 1820, opens his pamphlet with these prefatory lines:—

This fountain is of all the existing monuments that which most forcibly arrests public attention ; it is erected in the centre of the square, and presents the most pic-

“No one is at present unacquainted with the circumstances that instigated the patriotic determination formed by the council general of the department of Vosges, for the re-establishment of the cottage wherein was born the heroine of Domremy, and the erection of the monuments dedicated to her memory. Although some variations have occurred in the accounts hitherto published, it is generally acknowledged that the proposal originated with a total stranger to M. Gerardin, the proprietor of the dwelling, who wished to obtain from him the sculptured effigy of La Pucelle which decorated the top of the doorway of his newly erected residence. Whatever might be the name of that individual, or his motives for such a proposition, it is certain that they instigated M. Manuel, an inhabitant of Sion, in the environs of Neufchâteau, to represent to the council of Vosges, of which he was a member, the necessity there was for preserving these precious remains. This proposal was too honourable to the country not to be eagerly seconded, and in consequence obtained universal applause ; being supported by the duke de Choiseul, then president of that assembly. In 1818, a resolution was consequently agreed upon, that certain funds should be appropriated for the purpose of acquiring the former residence of the heroine of Domremy.

“The ministers of Louis XVIII. not only applauded this highly patriotic intention of the council general of the department of Vosges, but presented the same to his majesty, who cheerfully contributed to forward the views of his subjects, for the preservation of the interesting cottage, and for constructing a monument so long demanded from public gratitude ; and in consequence the necessary sums were ordered to be disbursed for the erection of a public school,” &c.

turesque object which it is possible to conceive. Whether viewed from the side of the school-house, the street, or the vicinity of the church, its proportions appear to equal advantage on the verdant lawn that surrounds the spot, and the willows that decorate the banks of the Meuse, whose waters wash the base of the edifice in a southerly direction.

M. Jollois, whose profound acquirements in Egyptian architecture have enabled him to appreciate the beautiful and the grand, has combined in this structure, committed to his charge, the strictest plans to ensure the durability of the materials which the country has afforded for its construction. On a quadrilateral base rise four quadrangular prisms supporting a covering of two panes, with the same number of pediments, on which are inscribed the names of the heroine of the department of the Vosges. Under this covering is placed, upon a half column, the bust of Jeanne d'Arc, presented by Louis XVIII. This alabaster figure, which constitutes the principal feature of the monument, is the workmanship of M. Le Genre Héral, professor of sculpture to the academy of Beaux Arts at Lyons, who has re-produced the image of La Pucelle d'Orléans, represented as a beautiful young woman, robust, and replete with a saintly and generous enthusiasm. Long tresses float gracefully over her shoulders, and her head is covered with the cap or bonnet decorated by plumes of feathers, with which she was represented by those artists who were still living at a period when her features were fresh in the recollection of her contemporaries.

The reserve which the artist has shewn in distributing

ornaments may not, perhaps, afford pleasure to those who only expect to find in architecture mouldings and fretwork borders ; but it will ensure the approbation of all those who possess a knowledge of what is harmonious in the arts. The architect has been sparing of accessories, in order that the mind of the spectator might not be diverted from the train of reflections, at once melancholy and delightful, which are naturally associated with this interesting scene. He was also desirous that his labours should be longer secured from the ravages of time, and less exposed to the injuries which ignorance might inflict upon a structure whose materials are little calculated for durability ; and besides, a profusion of embellishments would have presented an unpleasing contrast to the simple cottages with which it is surrounded.

A monument raised to the glory of the heroine who became a martyr to the love of her country, would have lost much of its moral influence had it not been equally consecrated to public utility. The artist has, therefore, acted in conformity with every wish, by converting the structure into a public fountain, whose waters are derived from a source still bearing the appellation of Jeanne d'Arc. They are conducted by means of pipes to the centre of the square, and spout forth from the base of the pedestal in front of the street and the school-house. The water then precipitates itself into a reservoir, to render its use the more commodious, and from thence it issues by a subterraneous channel, and empties itself into the Meuse.

M. Jollois, not satisfied with combining with great solidity all the proportions of the edifice, has likewise sought to oppose to the ravages of time a precaution still

more efficacious, in order to transmit to posterity the remembrance of this generous undertaking of the department of Vosges, and the munificence of its monarch: he has enclosed in the centre of the mass constituting the basement of the fountain, a soldered leaden casket wherein are enclosed the best works and the principal medals consecrated to the glory of the heroine, together with specimens of the coins of the present reign, accompanied by the subjoined inscription:—

“ In the year of grace M.DCCC.XX., the XXVth day of the month of June, under the reign of H. M. Louis XVIII., was deposited the first stone of this monumental fountain, erected to the memory of Jeanne d’Arc. M. Boula de Coulombiers, master of requests, being prefect of the department of Vosges; M. Chevrier, sub-prefect of the arrondissement of Neufchâteau; and M. Humblot, mayor of Domremy. The council general of the department of Vosges consisted of Messires, the duke de Choiseul, peer of France; Sautre, Lemarquis, d’Hennezel, Drouel, Derazez, Muel, Vaultot, Husson, Count Bourcier de Villers, Fallacieu, Champy de Bruyères, de Bazelaire, and Hugo. M. Jollois, chief engineer of Vosges, was deputed to superintend the projected monument, and watch over the progress of its completion.”

HISTORICAL PROBLEM

CONCERNING

JEANNE D'ARC,

SURNAMED

LA PUCELLE D'ORLEANS.

BY

M. D. POLLUCHE,

FORMERLY A MEMBER OF THE LITERARY SOCIETY OF ORLEANS.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

BEFORE we enter upon the Historical Problem concerning the execution of Jeanne d'Arc at Rouen, it may be necessary to prefix the following statements respecting those females who are said to have appeared as the representatives of the defunct for the purpose of deceiving the people.

We may generally observe that when some singular or marvellous event occurs, imitators are found to figure on the scene; each being anxious to participate in the glory, without having shared the difficulty and the danger. Jeanne d'Arc was too distinguished a character not to have had some imitators: and we shall give other proofs of a similar description, in addition to the one casually adverted to at p. ccviii. which was in detail to the following effect, according to Symphorien Guyon, in his History of Orleans, part ii. page 264; that account being transcribed from a manuscript in the Royal Library, entitled, Bold Exploits of several Kings and Emperors. This pretended Pucelle, says our author, who appeared in 1441, was so like the true maid of Orleans, that a report was circulated abroad, stating that Jeanne d'Arc was risen from the dead. In consequence of this, Charles VII. gave orders that she should be conducted before him, in

order that he might ascertain the veracity or falsehood of this singular assertion. The king had some time before received an accident in the foot, and was in consequence under the necessity of wearing a kind of large boot. By this means he was easily recognized, and in consequence those who were at the bottom of this deception, for the purpose, as it appears, of reaping some personal advantage, (which, generally speaking, is the motive that excites all such deceptions,) advertised the pretended Pucelle of this accident, whereby it was easy for her to recognise the monarch. Charles, upon the arrival of the impostor, was reclining beneath a bower in his garden; when he ordered one of his gentlemen to go and receive the woman as if he himself were actually the king; but she, not finding in this courtier the indications previously pointed out, passed him without making any obeisance, and marched forward direct to the monarch, who could not refrain from feeling astonishment. This surprise was, however, of short duration; and, upon the king demanding of her the nature of the secret that subsisted between himself and La Pucelle, the impostor was confounded at the question, and falling upon her knees, confessed the fraud and craved forgiveness.

On consulting other evidences relating to the case of Jeanne d'Arc, we find that in the month of October, 1440, a pretended Pucelle was conducted to Paris by the gens d'armes, she having in like manner accompanied the march of the soldiery.* This female was very well received at

* Marcel, *His. de France*, vol. iii. p. 453, where he inserts an extract of the Journal of Charles VII.

Orleans, no doubt in memory of their illustrious deliverer, to whom the impostor bore some resemblance. It is generally allowed that the features of women are more similar than those of the male sex, and particularly in country girls; but this impostor soon unmasked herself. While on her route to Paris she proved deficient in that share of confidence which she had assumed when at Orleans, and refused to proceed to the capital, but was compelled to enter the city by force. She was then publicly exhibited to the populace on the marble table which stood at the foot of the grand staircase of the house of parliament in the court-yard of the palace. There, from her own confessions, were developed the various acts of her life; when she avowed that she was no virgin, but the widow of a knight, or calling herself such, by whom she had had two sons, and that under the disguise of a man she had proceeded to Rome, in order to procure absolution, having unfortunately, and by accident, struck her mother: that in that capital of the Christian world, she had fought a duel against two men, whom she killed, in defence of the just cause of pope Eugenius IV., which pontiff, the factious, remaining at Basil after the dissolution of the council of 1438, had been desirous of expelling from the papal chair, in 1439, in order to substitute the anti-pope Felix V. This adventure speedily ended in the retreat of the pretended Pucelle, who quitted Paris in the course of the winter. Pasquier makes mention of this fraud in his volume of Researches, book vi. q. 5.

We shall now detail what is stated by French writers in regard to the personage alluded to in the ensuing Historical Problem, leaving the reader to compare the statements,

and form his own conclusions. It may, however, be necessary to remark, that the French are so uniformly bent upon vilifying the English character, that they will never allow a doubt respecting the cruel termination of the life of Jeanne d'Arc through the vile machinations of our ancestors, as recorded in the page of history.

On the 30th of May, 1436, a pretended Pucelle made her appearance at Metz, where she is stated to have been recognized by her two brothers, Pierre and Petit Jean. A manuscript, however, preserved at Metz, which also details this fact, says that it took place on the 21st of the above month. It then proceeds to relate that the brothers conducted their sister from that city after she had received presents. From thence she travelled to Bacquelar, Arlon, and Marnelle; and was honourably received at the last-mentioned place, by the countess of Luxembourg. After remaining some time with that noble lady, she journeyed to Cologne with the count of Wirnenbourg, who was seemingly struck with the charms of this Pucelle; at which place conducting herself improperly, the inquisitor caused her to be arrested, and would have proceeded against her, had not the credit of the court prevented the adoption of that measure. She then returned into Lorraine, where she espoused a lord of the house Des Armoisies; and under that title was welcomed at the city of Orleans, being in every respect the counterpart of La Pucelle. The citizens of that town, ever grateful for the services performed by Jeanne d'Arc, made her presents, firmly believing her to be the heroine; she, however, did not present herself at court.

Abbé Lenglet, who always strenuously insists upon the infamous conduct of the English towards Jeanne d'Arc, speaking of this woman, says, "Nothing in her character agrees with that of the true Pucelle of Orleans. Who is there that cannot perceive the opposition manifest in her feats, compared with those of our pious heroine? Modesty, wisdom, diffidence, uprightness of conduct, and truth, were the attributes of Jeanne d'Arc; whereas this female travelled from city to city with a German gentleman, conducted herself improperly at Cologne, spake only in parables, was deceitful, and did not make manifest her intentions."

"I am aware," continues Lenglet, "that two points may be started. First, she was recognized by her two brothers for their sister; a circumstance that might certainly present a difficulty, did we not know how much resemblances have frequently deceived men. Secondly, her marriage with the lord Robert des Armoisies, a gentleman of very distinguished family in the duchy of Lorraine. This, however, could only be the effect of the artifice of our pretended Pucelle, who, before the marriage, had visited Cologne, accompanied by one count of Wirnenbourg. The only painful result of this event is, that the existing Messires des Armoisies are the descendants from a girl who had frequented the armies. Daily instances, however, are recorded of females having assumed the accoutrements of a man; so that the reader must be well aware that such circumstances are far from uncommon, as well among the French as foreign troops; and that even some women adopting that line of life have conducted themselves with prudence and chastity." So much

for the statement of Abbé Lenglet; to which we cannot refrain from adding, that however powerful resemblances may be in misleading casual observation, we certainly think a likeness must prove striking indeed that could deceive not only one but two brothers, of whom one had been the constant companion of his sister during her warlike engagements. In regard to M. des Armoisies having united himself to this female, it is another proof not so easily to be disposed of as the Abbé Lenglet infers; for gentlemen of noble houses were at that period very tenacious of entering upon family alliances without being well aware of the connexions they were forming: and as the nobleman in question had every opportunity of substantiating facts, from the duchy of Lorraine being situated on the borders of Compiègne, the province that gave birth to Jeanne d'Arc, it might be imagined that he must certainly have identified the person of his intended bride as the heroine of Orleans, ere he gave her a claim to his name, and thus constituted her a member of his family.

IN order to shew that no small share of consideration is due to the author of the following singular problem respecting the sacrifice of Jeanne d'Arc, we insert the subjoined biographical sketch of Monsieur *Daniel Polluche*, whose well-known research as an historian tends to throw greater weight upon his hypothesis.*

* Lenglet, in vol. ii. page 28, referring to the Problem of M. Polluche, states as follows:—"Notwithstanding this, a modern author,

M. Polluche, descended from an honourable and ancient family of Orleans, was born in that city in 1689. He became a student in the Jesuits' College in 1699, and distinguished himself in his several classes; after which his father sent him to Paris, where he studied philosophy with considerable success under the famous professor Dagoumer. Upon his return to his native city, M. Polluche gave free vent to his predilection for *belles lettres*, history, and antiquities, which was the leading bent of his mind; but the unexpected death of his father, leaving him very young, at the head of a considerable commercial establishment and a numerous family, of which he was the elder branch, suspended for a certain period his literary labours. Notwithstanding these impediments, the turn of his mind for study predominated; wherefore, unable to conquer the strong predilection, he retired from mercantile business, and yielded himself with enthusiastic ardour to his natural propensity.

The history of Orleans was the principal aim of this respected individual; to accomplish which he noted down every thing that he read, heard, or saw; in short, a love for his province and a veneration for the spot of his

perfectly well known, and highly esteemed for his valuable writings as an historian, (I mean M. Daniel Polluche, Member of the Literary Society at Orleans,) has published a Problem upon this subject, wherein he throws some doubts respecting Jeanne's execution. I have not, however thought it expedient to cause this production to be printed with any other documents, without his approbation: had such been the case, I should certainly have accompanied the same by some notes, which might have divested it of the title of a Problem."

nativity were the thoughts nearest his heart, and to which every other idea was rendered subservient. To forward his plans, M. Polluche carried on a correspondence with several literary men; and it is only a subject for regret that his voluminous collection was never given to the world, that being prevented by his death, which took place on the 5th of March, 1768. If, however, the name of M. Polluche does not figure on the title-page of a work so voluminous as would have been the History of Orleans, he is perfectly well known to the historian and the antiquary, by twenty-eight memoirs, dissertations, &c. &c, most of which appeared in the French Mercure at different periods.

In the collection of the Abbé Lenglet is inserted; *A Dissertation on the Family of the Pucelle*. The subjoined *Historical Problem* appeared at Orleans in 1750, in octavo; and the immense mass of unpublished manuscripts left by Monsieur Polluche were preserved in the archives of the Orleans family.

HISTORICAL PROBLEM,

ETC. ETC.

IN the year 1683 appeared in the French *Mercur* *Galant* for the month of November, a letter addressed to Monsieur de Grammont, which created a considerable sensation; as the author therein asserted that Joan of Arc, better known under the title of La Pucelle d'Orléans, did not suffer death at the stake in the city of Rouen upon the 30th of May, 1431; but that having escaped the power of the English, she was married in 1436 to a gentleman of Lorraine, by whom she had children; in proof of which assertion he published the extract of a manuscript, which Père Vignier of the Oratory discovered at Metz during a journey he performed in Lorraine with Monsieur de Ricey, who repaired thither in the character of intendant. This manuscript was afterwards printed, bearing the title of the Chronicle of Metz, composed by the curate of Saint Thiebaut at the same city, coming down to the year 1445. Father Calmet has inserted it among the documents in his History of Lorraine; and from thence it is faithfully transcribed, from columns cxxi. and cxxii. of the second volume.

“ L’an 1436, fut Sire Phelopin Marcouly, maistre eschevin de Metz, icelle année le 20 jour de May, vint La Pucelle Jehanne, qui avoit esté en France à la Grange aux Hormes, près Saint Privey, et y fut amoinée pour parler à aucuns de seigneurs de Metz, et se faisoit appelle Claude; et le propre jour y vinrent ces deux frères, dont l’un estoit chevalier, et s’appelloit Messire Pierre, et l’autre Petit Jehan escuyer, et cuidoient qu’elle fut ars; et tantost qu’ils la virent ils la congneurent, et aussy fist elle eulx. Et le Lundy 21 jour dondit mois ils l’amoinnast lor suer avecq eulx à Bacquillon, et ly donnaist le Sire Nichole Lowe chevalier un groussin du prix de 30 francs, et une paire de houzets, et seigneur Aubert Boulay uny chapperon, et Sire Nicole Groignart une espée; et ladite Pucelle saillit sur led cheval très habillement, et dict plusieurs choises au Sire Nicole Lowe, dont il entendit bien que c’estoit celle qui avoit esté en France, et fut recogneu par plusieurs enseignes pour la Pucelle Jehanne de France, que amoinnast sacrer le roy Charles à Rheims; et volurent dire plusieurs qu’elle avoit esté ars à Rouen en Normandie. Et quant elle volt partir, plusieurs de Metz l’allont veoir à la dicte Marieulle, et l’y donnent plusieurs juelz, et le recogneurent ilz que c’estoit proprement Jehanne la Pucelle de France; et doncq ly donnoit Jeffrey Dex ung cheval. Item, quand elle fut à Arelont, elle estoit toujours de coste Madame de Lucembourg, et y fut grand piece jusques à tant le fils le comte de Warnembourg l’enmoinnast à Collougne. Et puis s’en vint à ladite Arelont, et là fut fait le mariage de Messire Robert des Hermoises chevalier, et de la dite Jehanne la Pucelle; et puis après

s'en vint led Sieur des Hermoises avec sa femme la Pucelle demourer en Metz en la maison le dit Sire Robert des Hermoises qu'il avoit devant Sainte Segoleine, et se tinrent là jusques tant qu'il lors plaisir."

Thus translated:

"In the year 1436, Sir Philipin Marcouly was prefect of police of Metz; that same year on the 20th day of May arrived Joan the Pucelle of France at La Grange aux Hormes near Saint Privey, being conducted thither to speak to some of the noblemen of Metz; where she assumed the name of Claude: and on the same day came her two brothers; one of them, a chevalier, bore the name of Messire Peter, and the other Little John the esquire; who believed that she had been burnt, but as soon as they saw her they recognised her, as she did them. And upon Monday, the 21st of the said month, they conducted their sister to Bacquillon, where Sir Nicholas Lowe, knight, presented her with a mule of the value of 30 francs, together with its housings; and the lord Aubert Boulay gave her a cap, and Sir Nicholas Groignart a sword: and the said Pucelle went forth very dexterously upon the said beast, and communicated many things to the said Sir Nicholas Lowe, by which he knew that she had been in France, being further recognised from many other circumstances to be Joan the Maid of France, who had led king Charles to be crowned at Rheims, and whom many stated to have been burnt at Rouen in Normandy. And upon her departure, several persons of Metz repaired to see her at the said Marieulle, and presented her with many jewels, and ascertained that she

was truly Joan the Maid of France; and there was given to her by Geoffrey Dex a horse. Item, When she was at Arelont she was always at the side of Madame de Luxembourg, and great ceremonials took place, until the son of the count de Warnembourg accompanied her to Collougne; and upon her return to Arelont the marriage was performed between Sir Robert des Hermoises, knight, and Joan la Pucelle; after which this said Sieur des Hermoises with his wife La Pucelle resided in Metz, in the house of Sir Robert des Hermoises, situated before Saint Segoleine, where they continued during their pleasure."

The above recital is further substantiated by the marriage contract of Robert des Hermoises with La Pucelle, which Father Vignier declares to have seen among the title deeds of the family Des Hermoises; and also in a contract of sale, made by Robert des Hermoises lord of Trichiemont and Jeanne du Lis la Pucelle de France, wife of the aforesaid Trichiemont, of certain possessions which he had at Harancourt; which contract was dated the 7th of November, 1436. In short, these circumstances are further strengthened by the descendants of Des Hermoises boasting themselves in a legitimate line from La Pucelle.

Subsequent to this period, fresh proofs have been discovered, according to Monsieur Polluche, in support of the opinion of Father Vignier; for having had occasion to consult the ancient registers at the mansion-house of Orleans, that gentleman fell by chance upon that of Jacques L'Argentier for the years 1435 and 1436, wherein he found, under the article of the expenditure of the

latter, as follows: "To Renaud Brune, the 25th day of July, for giving drink to the messenger who brought letters from Jehanne La Pucelle, who was in his way to Guillaume Bellier Bailly de Troyes:—11 f. 8d. par."

"To Jehan du Lils, brother of Jehanne La Pucelle, on Tuesday the 21st day of August, 1436, for a gift to him made the sum of 12 liv.; forasmuch as the brother of the said Pucelle came into the chamber of the said city, requiring of the procurators that they would assist him with some money to return to his sister; stating that he came from the king, and that his majesty had ordered that he should receive a hundred francs, and commanded that they should be counted, whereof nothing was done, and twenty only were given, of which he had expended 12 liv. whereof only eight remained, which was no great thing for him to return, considering that he was five days on horseback; and this was commanded in the chamber of the city by the procurators, from which he received 12 liv. pour ce 9 liv. 12 s. par."

I pass over some articles respecting the manner in which Jean du Lis, the brother of La Pucelle, was feasted in Orleans, that I may at once come to the point.

"To Cueur de Lils, the 18th day of October, 1436, for a journey which he performed to the said city, in his way to La Pucelle, who was then at Arelon in the duchy of Luxembourg, and for carrying letters of Jehanne La Pucelle whereof he had been bearer, for the king at Loiches, where he was then resident, and which journey occupied him forty-one days: for the same 6 liv.

par." On continuing these researches, *Monsieur de Pol-luche* found, in the account of Gillies Marchousne for the years 1439 and 1440, and further, some articles dated 28th, 29th, and 30th July, 1439, for wine and refreshments presented to Dame Jehanne des Armoises. And lastly, " To Jehanne d'Armoises, for a present given to her the first day of August, 1439; after deliberation made by the council of the city; and for the services rendered by her to the said city during the siege, two hundred and ten livres; for this 210 liv. par."

Testimonies of such a decided nature are certainly calculated to raise inward doubts as to the commonly received opinions of the death of La Pucelle in 1431. The account of the curate of Saint Thiebaut, and the extracts from the archives of the mansion-house of Orleans, are demonstrative: since it appears from thence, that La Pucelle, after having escaped from the English, it little matters how, visits Metz, where she was previously believed to have suffered at Rouen; she is there recognised by many persons deserving of credit, and in particular by her two brothers. Is it possible that the latter could have been deceived in respect to their own sister — they, who had served with her in France? John, the elder, two months after, having found his sister, proceeds to Lorraine, in order to find the king and confirm this discovery; he passes through Orleans on returning to his sister, who three years afterwards repairs herself to that city, where she should certainly be well known, and continues a resident in the town for five or six days; she is there recognised and treated at the expense of the

city, which, upon her departure, presents her with no inconsiderable sum; for at that period *two hundred and ten francs* were equivalent to one thousand seven hundred livres at the present period. Can it be imagined that the inhabitants of Orleans were imposed upon; and that if this Jeanne des Hermoises was an impostor, she could have raised and carried on such imposition? The farce must soon have been discovered, as we shall presently demonstrate.

We will, however, give an additional proof of the opinion entertained at Orleans, that the Pucelle was still in existence. In this same account of Gilles Morchousne already quoted, is found this regular charge, two months anterior to the arrival of Jeanne des Hermoises.

“Nine pounds of wax to make four tapers, and one flambeau, for the obsequies of the defunct Jehanne La Pucelle, in the church of Saint Sanxom of Orleans, upon the eve of the Fête Dieu, 1439.” Whereas no similar charge is to be found in the expenses for 1440; nor during that year is any mention made of commemorating any such anniversary.

We may still support the opinion of Father Vignier by a further example. Charles Duke of Orleans in 1443 presented L'Isle aux Bœufs, near Orleans, to Peter du Lis, brother of La Pucelle; stating in such deed of gift that, “Whereas the supplication of the said Messire Pierre, purporting that in order to acquit himself of his loyalty to the king our said lord and the Duke of Orleans, he

quitted his country to join their service, in company with his sister Jehanne La Pucelle : with whom, and *ever since her absence*, even to the present moment, he has exposed his body and all he possesses in the said service."

What means the term, "*ever since her absence*," but that *La Pucelle* had only been *absent*, and not *dead*?— a circumstance which Peter du Lis, her brother, would not have failed to express in his petition, had such been the fact, for the purpose of exciting more interest in the mind of the prince. The pain of death, and in particular, such torments as are commonly believed to have attended the exit of *La Pucelle*, are much more touching than a simple *flight* or *absence*.

Lastly, it is necessary to remind the reader, that immediately after the 30th of May, 1431, a report was prevalent that *La Pucelle* was not dead, and that the English had substituted in her place an unfortunate wretch, whose crimes merited that death which they were desirous it should be believed the *Pucelle* had experienced; nay, even some went so far as to state, that she never fell into the power of her enemies. Let us now proceed to proofs.

In the Chronicle of Lorraine, among the documents printed by Father Calmet, column ix. and which does not come down later than 1544, when speaking of the siege of Compiègne, he states: "*That the Pucelle was there lost, and that no one knew what became of her : many*

said that she had been taken by the English, and was carried to Rouen, where she was burnt; others affirmed that none of the army had caused her death, because she attributed all the honour of her feats of arms to them."

The Chronicle of Metz is more decisive, column c. c. "The Pucelle was taken by the English and the Burgundians, who were enemies to the *Gentille fleur-de-lys*. After which she was sent to the city of Rouen in Normandy, and there was she at a scaffold burnt in a fire, *as it was said; but the contrary of which is since proved.*" And lastly, in the journal of a citizen of Paris, in the reign of Charles VII. to the year 1449, printed in the history of Charles VI., from the edition of the Louvre, it is stated:—"That after the execution of La Pucelle, many persons who had been deceived by her, firmly thought that on account of her sanctity she had escaped the fire; and that another had suffered in her place, they believing that it was herself."

It even appears, that from the time of the Pucelle, reports were already afloat which led to the belief that the period would arrive when her execution would not be credited; since an ocular witness deposed, in the course of the process respecting her justification in 1455, that when the execution took place at Rouen, "*The English, being doubtful lest reports should be disseminated in regard to the Pucelle's not being dead, or that some other had been burnt in her stead, caused the fire and wood to be withdrawn from behind the body after her death, in order that*

it might be ascertained she was dead."—See MS. in the Chapter-house of Orleans.

This latter statement, which appears at the first glance to favour an idea that the Pucelle was actually burnt, will, upon examination, be found susceptible of a construction diametrically opposite. Is a person recently suffocated by a great fire, which has consumed all the habiliments, easily recognized? And the precaution adopted by the English, to place upon the head of the sufferer whom they led to the stake an elevated mitre, by which she was disguised, and to cause to be carried before her a picture representing every thing against her that was infamous (*Recherches de Pasquier*, page 164)—were not those, I say, so many methods resorted to in order that the attention of the spectators might be diverted; of whom, a few excepted, none had ever seen her, and those few merely caught a glance of her person as she passed? Nothing more was required to lead into error, and make them believe that which it was absolutely wished they should accredit.

Some objections may here be raised; first, that supposing La Pucelle had escaped the cruelty of the English, it is impossible that some mention of the fact should not have been made during the process of her justification, particularly after the examination of no less than one hundred and twelve witnesses. It is easy to reply with Father Vignier, who raised the same objection, that the commission of those whom Pope Calixtus the Third dele-

gated to inquire into this affair in 1455, was not to demonstrate that La Pucelle had escaped from death at Rouen; but to inquire whether they had been justified in condemning her as an heretic, a relapse, an apostate, and an idolatress; and although it appears more than probable they were aware she had not been burnt, such a fact was unconnected with their commission, and they consequently did not trouble themselves upon that head.

The second objection relates to this statement: that about the same period when La Pucelle presented herself in Lorraine and at Orleans, two other females were received by the people as La Pucelle, whose impositions were afterwards discovered; from whence it might be inferred, that Jeanne des Hermoises was a similar impostor, even supposing her not to have been one of those in question. — Let us examine the proofs.

On perusing the Journal for the Life of Charles VII. already quoted, we find that—"In the year 1440, the parliament and the university caused a woman to be brought to Paris, following the men in arms, believed by many to be Jehanne La Pucelle, and who on that account had been very honourably received at Orleans, which woman was publicly shown at the palace on the marble stone in the great court; and being there examined as to her life and her estate, was recognised as not being La Pucelle, and as having been married." The other impostor is mentioned in a manuscript at the Royal Library, written at the period of Charles VII., entitled:

Exemples des Hardiesses de plusieurs Rois et Empereurs ; where it appears, according to *Père Labbe*, 180 : “ Among others I was told by the said lord (M. de Boissy), that ten years after the sentence at Rouen in 1441, was presented to the king another supposed Pucelle, who much resembled the first, and who was desirous that he should believe from reports spread, that it was the former one resuscitated. The king, upon hearing this, ordered that she should be conducted to his presence. But that his majesty said to her, ‘ Pucelle, my friend, you are right welcome in the name of God, who knows the secret which is between you and me.’—When most miraculously, after hearing only these words, this false Pucelle threw herself on her knees before the king, entreating mercy, and forthwith confessed all her treasons ; none of which, however, were judged too rigorously.”

We will now proceed to examine these facts. In the first recital there are traits which bear no analogy whatever to *Jeanne des Hermoises* ; for the woman there spoken of, was a *follower of soldiers, calling herself a maid*, which could not possibly have any reference to *Jeanne des Hermoises*, who avowed herself a married woman, by assuming the appellation of her husband ; who repaired to Orleans with her domestics only : since in all the registers of Morchousne not a syllable is said of *her being in company with men at arms, captains, or officers, and much less with soldiers*, like the female mentioned in the Journal : a circumstance claiming particular notice, as such conduct would have been disgusting in

a maid who had espoused a gentleman and a chevalier of lineage, which had uniformly ranked as one of the most honourable in Lorraine. Secondly, we may add, that if they were able at Paris and at the court to distinguish one of these warriors from the real Pucelle, it was much easier to have made that discovery at Metz and Arelont, as being so much nearer to the country of La Pucelle, as well as at Orleans, which had been the first and great theatre of her noble exploits: while the testimony of Peter and John du Lys in favour of Jehanne des Hermoises, whom they recognised for their sister, proves an argument in opposition to which it is very difficult to offer any reply. A third objection may be started; that if La Pucelle escaped from the English, would she not have fled to the court or to the army? and would not the king have rewarded the services which she had rendered him? Yet nothing appears strange in all this; for, by the manner in which Jean du Lys, her brother, was received at Loches in 1436, according to his own recital in a passage before quoted, it appears manifest that little faith was then attached to his statement.

But to reply more fully, let it be remembered what jealousy had been excited against the *Pucelle* by those who were nearest the king's person, and above all, in George de la Trimouille his favourite, who, to use the words of the Chronicle of Metz, "*was little loyal to the said king his lord, harbouring great envy at the feats she La Pucelle performed, and was the cause of her being taken.*"

The credit of this nobleman was so powerful, as to prevent the monarch from recognising La Pucelle, who was supposed to have suffered; and in regard to the gratitude of Charles VII., where shall we trace, upon his receiving news of the execution of La Pucelle, that he ever had recourse to the *Lex Talionis* in regard to the English and Burgundians of rank who fell into his hands? Can it be proved that he avenged a death which dishonoured him? It must be allowed, that the conduct of this prince was the same under both circumstances, and that the reasons by which he was governed had their origin in the same principle: the jealousy of the courtiers was the sole source.

It is, I conceive, useless here to speak of a girl whom the young count de Wirnenbourg pretended, about the year 1473, to be the Pucelle of Orleans, whom God had raised from the dead in order to establish in the episcopal see of Treves Uldaric Mandencheit; and whose imposition was discovered by the Inquisitor of Cologne, who caused her to be arrested and would have tried her, had not the count found means to effect her escape; and thus by flight rescued her from that death which a life marked by infamy had justly merited.

The period when this third impostor flourished is too far removed to have any reference to those of whom we have spoken, much less to Jeanne des Hermoises, whose disorderly course of life it is first requisite to substantiate ere she can be confounded with the person in question. This assuredly cannot be done; and what we have ad-

vanced respecting the other two may with much more reason be applied to this third-mentioned impostor.

I shall conclude by stating, that as the arrival of La Pucelle in France is one of those events in which many persons have thought they could trace a hidden source, it is not unlikely but a similar circumstance appertains to her execution, the secret of which may at some future period be fully exemplified; and in such expectation let us remain satisfied with the reasons thus adduced, *for harbouring doubts upon the subject.*

ITINERARY
OF THE
JOURNEYS AND EXPEDITIONS
PERFORMED BY
JEANNE D'ARC.

VOL. II.

B

ITINERARY.

THE following account, which never before appeared in print in this country, will be found of the greatest utility, as it conveys a just idea of the labours of Jeanne d'Arc, and the most important expedition of Charles VII. It cannot be denied that the tracing of this itinerary presented numerous difficulties, since the ancient chronicles are frequently very faulty: scarcely one indicates precisely the several stations; and when this happens, it frequently occurs that they ascribe to them different names, and vary in regard to the epochas: in short, there is not one definitive upon these points. Nearly all the historians omit the intermediate places, so that their notices are rarely to be met with, scattered, and, as it were, submerged in the volumes through which it is necessary to wade for the purpose of finding them. As these observations generally apply to the process instituted against Jeanne d'Arc, it was requisite, in order to avoid this labyrinth, to consult and compare, with infinite attention, all the recitals made by herself, together with the calendars, charts, &c. &c.

CALENDAR.		
The Present.	The Ancient.	
	Prior to her expedition.	<i>First. — Journey undertaken in the Environs of Domrémy.</i>
1428. May.	1428. May.	1. From Domrémy to Neufchâteau; from thence to Toul; from Toul to Neufchâteau; and from that place to Domrémy. (<i>See Note 1.</i>)
Middle of May.	Middle of May.	2. From Domrémy to Vaucouleurs and back; two journeys. (<i>Note 2.</i>)
1429. Feb.	Feb.	3. From Domrémy to Nanci and back. (<i>Note 3.</i>)
		4. From Domrémy to Vaucouleurs, being the third journey. (<i>Note 4.</i>)
		<i>Second. — Journey to the Court of Charles VII.</i>
1429. End of Feb. & 1st days of March.	1428. End of Feb. & 1st days of March.	5. From Vaucouleurs to Chinon, traversing the rivers Ormain, Saux, Marne, Aube, Armançon, Serain, Yonne, Dovant, Loing, Loire, Cher, and Indre; passing St. Urbain, then near Auxerre, and lastly by Gien, and St. Catherine de Fierbois. (<i>Note 5.</i>).....
		6. From Chinon to Coudray, and from thence to Chinon. (<i>Note 6.</i>) ..
		7. From Chinon to Poitiers
End of March & beginning of April.	End of March & 1429. beginning of April.	8. From Poitiers to Chinon
		104
		6
		16
		16

CALENDAR.			
The Present.	The Ancient.	<i>Third. — Expedition to Orleans.</i>	Leag.
1429. End of March & beginning of April.	1428. End of March & beginning of April.	9. From Chinon to Tours, and from thence to Blois. (<i>Note 7.</i>) ..	22
1429. End of April.	1429. End of April.	9. From Blois to Chinon by Tours, and return to Blois. (<i>Note 8.</i>)..	44
May 4th.	May 4th.	10. From Blois to Orleans, by La Sologne on the <i>south</i> of the Loire. (<i>Note 9.</i>)	13
9th to the end of the month.	9th to the end of the month.	11. From Orleans to the Environs of Pathay, in Beauce, and return to Orleans; (<i>Note 10.</i>) subsequent to which are divers attacks on the Bastilles, &c. (<i>Note 11.</i>)	10
Ditto.	Ditto.	12. From Orleans beyond Loches; (<i>Note 12.</i>) and return to the latter place	35
June, 1st days of.	June, 1st days of.	13. From Loches to Tours, and from thence back again. (<i>Note 13.</i>)	30
		14. From Loches to St. Aignan; from thence to Selles; from Selles to Romorantin, and from that town to Orleans. (<i>Note 14.</i>)	29
		<i>Fourth.—Expedition in the Environs of Orleans, and Battle of Pathay.</i>	
June 11 & 12.	June 11 & 12.	15. From Orleans to Gergeau, which was taken	4
13 and following days.	13 and following days.	16. From Gergeau to Orleans ..	4

CALENDAR.			
The Present.	The Ancient.		Leag.
		17. From Orleans to the bridge of Meun, which was captured	3
		18. From the bridge of Meun to Beaugenci, which was taken	2
		19. From Beaugenci to Pathay, where the battle was fought	7
		20. From Pathay to Jenville, which was captured; and excursions to the surrounding districts.....	5
1499. End of June.	1499. End of June.	21. From Jenville to Orleans ..	7
Ditto.	Ditto.	22. From Orleans to Sully; from thence to St. Bennet, on the Loire; from St. Bennet to Chateaufneuf; from the latter place to Sully; from Sully to Orleans; and from that city to Gien. (Note 15.)	44
		<i>Fifth.—Expedition for the Coronation of Charles VII.</i>	
29th June to the 17th July.	29th June to the 17th July.	23. From Gien to Auxerre; from thence to St. Florentin; from that place to Troyes; from Troyes to Chalons sur Marne; (Note 16.) and thence to Rheims, passing the rivers Loing, Douant, Yonne, Serain, Armançon, the Seine, Aube, and the Marne	59

CALENDAR.		
The Present.	The Ancient.	
		<i>Sixth. — Expedition from the Isle of Long-France to Brie and its Environs.</i>
1429. 20th July until the 13th Aug.	1429. 20th July until the 13th Aug.	24. From Rheims to St. Marcoul or Corberny; (<i>Note 17.</i>) from thence to Vailly; (<i>Note 18.</i>) from Vailly to Soissons; (<i>Note 19.</i>) from that place to Chateau Thierry; and from thence to Provins. (<i>Note 20.</i>) 36
20th July to the 30th Aug.	20th July to the 30th Aug.	25. From Provins to La Motte de Nangis; (<i>Note 21.</i>) from thence to Provins, then near to Bray; (<i>Note 22.</i>) and subsequent return to Provins... 17
14th to 28th Aug.	14th to 28th Aug.	26. From Provins to Chateau Thierry; (<i>Note 23.</i>) thence to La Ferte Milon; (<i>Note 24.</i>) from La Ferte to Crépy; and from that place to Dammartin, or the Environs. (<i>Note 25.</i>) 28
		27. From Dammartin to Crépy; thence to Baron and Montpilo; (<i>Note 26.</i>) from Baron to Crépy; from that place to Compiègne, thence to Senlis, and from Senlis to St. Denis. (<i>Note 27.</i>) 30
29th Aug. to 11th Sept.	29th Aug. to 11th Sept.	28. From St. Denis to La Chapelle, (attack made upon Paris); from La Chapelle to La Vilette; and from that place to St. Denis. (<i>Note 28.</i>) 3

CALENDAR.			
The Present.	The Ancient.		Leag.
		<i>Eighth.—Expedition to Lagny and Compiegne, or the final Exploits of Jeanne d'Arc.</i>	
1430. April and the beginning of May.	1430. April and the beginning of May.	33. From Mehun to Lagny. (Note 37.) Defeat of Franquet of Arras, in the neighbourhood, (Note 38.) and return to Lagny.....	9
		34. From Lagny to Soissons, passing by Chateau Thierry and Crépy; from Soissons to Crépy; and from that place to Compiegne. (Note 39.)	36
		35. From Compiegne to Pont l'Evêque; (fruitless attack of that place); and return to Compiegne. (Note 40.)	12
		36. From Compiegne to Lagny, passing by Crépy and Chateau Thierry. (Note 41.).....	28
Ditto to the 24th.	Ditto to the 24th.	37. From Lagny to Compiegne by Chateau Thierry and Crépy; (Note 42.) Sortie of Jeanne from Compiegne, where she was taken prisoner. (Note 43.)	28
		Total	902

FROM the above account, the various journeys or expeditions of Jeanne d'Arc, undertaken for the purpose of saving France, began at the latter end of February, 1428, and concluded upon the twenty-fourth of May,

1430, having in the whole occupied a period of *fifteen months*. (Note 44.)

After a very exact admeasurement of the extent of territory traversed during these journeys, calculating as by the flight of a bird, from one station to another; it appears that la Pucelle journeyed, in the short lapse of *fifteen months, nine hundred leagues, or two thousand seven hundred miles*. Now, if we take into consideration, that at the period in question there existed no high roads; that the bridges were but few in number; and that the whole tract of country through which these expeditions were undertaken, was garrisoned by enemies, who incessantly scoured the country; it must be allowed, that we should not exaggerate in adding one-third to the distance of a bird's flight, considering the circuitous routes, and the manifold obstacles, Jeanne must have encountered; which, instead of nine hundred leagues, would make the distance performed amount to *twelve or thirteen hundred*; and that too, without calculating any journeys she doubtless performed during the space of three months and a half,* respecting which no account whatsoever is handed down to posterity.† Finally; let it be remembered, that in the short interval during which these excursions were achieved, Jeanne was present at more than *twenty* battles, sieges, &c.; which simple statement contains, in itself, a lasting eulogy on the heroic and unfortunate memory of the Pucelle of Orleans.

* Vide Note 34, p. 26.

† If at that epoch Jeanne followed the Court, as it is presumed, it would be requisite to add one hundred leagues to the preceding calculation.

NOTES
TO
THE ITINERARY.

N O T E S.

NOTE 1.

THE first journey took place on account of an excursion of the Burgundians in the direction of Dom Remy; upon which occasion we find that Jeanne accompanied her parents and other inhabitants of the village. (See *Laverdy*, p. 298.) It may be presumed, that at the period in question she became servant at an inn, because poor labouring people, like her parents, must have exerted every means in their power to procure subsistence during this emigration: therefore, if such conjecture be founded in fact, the silence observed by the witnesses in regard to her having followed such an occupation, is at once explained. It is very true that they make no mention of a journey to Toul, specified by herself during the interrogatory; (see *Laverdy*, p. 39; and *Lenglet*, vol. i. p. 12): but this, on account of its brevity, might have escaped their recollections, as it was but two or three days, at most, because Jeanne undertook it while at Neuf-château. One of her uncles accompanied her during the last journeys.

In the next place, the avocation of Jeanne is no less positively proved by referring to the proceedings instituted for her justification; from whence it appears that she was occupied in domestic cares, and sometimes in watching the cattle. (See *Laverdy*, 39, 298, &c.) She only continued the servant at an inn for fifteen days, according to her own declaration; (see *Berthier*, 480; *Luchet*, 311): besides, these witnesses were not interrogated until twenty-five years after her death.

NOTE 2.

Jean la Part, yielding to the entreaties of Jeanne, conducted her to Vaucouleurs, in the month of May 1428; (see *Loverdy*, 300, &c.; *Lenglet*, vol. i. p. 15; and *Luchet*, p. 313.)

It may not here be amiss to observe, that the inhabitants of Dom Remy, with the exception of one only, were decided royalists; (see *Lenglet*, vol. i. p. 5; *Dartigny*, vol. vii. p. 346.) It also appears to have escaped all the writers upon this subject, that the applications of La Pucelle were made eleven months prior to the siege of Orleans, and anterior by seven to the landing of the Earl of Salisbury with powerful reinforcements; thus going back to the period when the advocates of Charles VII. had still resources, if they had been resorted to. In short, the first journey to Vaucouleurs took place five months before the siege, two months anterior to the campaign of 1428, and one month previous to the arrival of the Earl of Salisbury.

NOTE 3.

It was during these expeditions that the conversations of Jeanne spread abroad the account of her project; and her uncle having conducted her upon a pilgrimage, near Nanci, the Duke of Lorraine had the curiosity to see her, and even to consult with her respecting an illness. (See *Loverdy*, 301; *Lenglet*, vol. i. p. 19.)

NOTE 4.

This third journey was undertaken about the month of February, and occupied three weeks, the termination of the same being propitious to the wishes of Jeanne. Two gentlemen furnished her with men's attire, arms, and an horse, and undertook to accompany her; and Baudricourt, after receiving an answer from the Court, authorised the expedition to Chinon, and intrusted her with a letter for the king. (See *Loverdy*, p. 303; and *Lenglet*, 21 and 23.)

NOTE 5.

On the first day Jeanne slept at the monastery of Saint Urbain. (*See Answer to her second Interrogatory in Luchet*, 381.) Her route from Saint Urbain to the environs of Auxerre is merely conjectural, being traced from authors of that period and the depositions of witnesses. (*Laverdy*, 303; *Langlet*, 1—25; *Tripaut*, 49; *Belleforet*, 337; and *Hist. of La Pucelle*, 505.) She was obliged to pass many rivers and proceed by a circuitous route, in order to escape those places occupied by the enemy.

The history of Jeanne adds, at p. 505, "that she passed (*par*) through Auxerre, and many other cities, villages, and passes of the enemies' country, without experiencing any molestation." We, however, conceive this to be an error in the text, and that the word (*près*) *near*, in lieu of (*par*), should be substituted. It is scarcely credible that a company of seven persons (*Lenglet*, 1—24,) armed, could have passed quietly *through* garrisoned cities: and on this account, we have traced her route *near* Auxerre and other cities in lieu of *through* those places.

From Auxerre Jeanne passed near Gien; after which she arrived at places obedient to the king; (*Dunois in Laverdy*, 352, note 26); and from Gien we conjecture that her course must have been directed towards Loches, through Romorantin, Calles, and Saint Aignan, because she subsequently proceeded by that road: this is the more probable, as it is almost in a direct line. The last place at which Jeanne arrived prior to her gaining Chinon, was Saint Catherine de Fierbois. See *Belleforet*, 350; *Villaret*, xiv. 388.)

NOTE 6.

After her arrival at Chinon, Jeanne was, in the first instance, lodged at the castle of Coudray, where she received several visits. (*Laverdy*, 306.)

NOTE 7.

See *Laverdy*, 314 & 315; and *Lenglet*, i. 51.

NOTE 8.

When La Pucelle quitted the court for the city of Blois, from whence she proceeded to Orleans, the king held his court at Chinon: the precise period, however, at which she set out, is not ascertained. *Lenglet*, vol. i. p. 59. fixes her journey to Blois the 18th or 19th of March; and *Tripaut*, at p. 69, states that she gained that city on the 22d. The letter despatched from thence to the English by La Pucelle, bears date from Holy Tuesday or Saturday. (See *Hist. of Jeanne d'Arc*, 308; *Tripaut*, 69; *Belleforet*, 338; and *Lenglet*, vol. i. p. 59.) which makes it either on the 22d or the 26th of March. From an interrogatory put to Jeanne the 10th of March 1431, of the present calendar, it appears from her statement, that she was in the vicinity of Chinon during the first days of April 1429, because she notifies that station two years anterior to the interrogatory, and in the month of April immediately after Easter: (See *Lenglet*, vol. i. p. 159; and *Laverdy*, 69): and the Easter of 1429 fell upon the 27th of March. It is even probable that she was still there on the morning of the 21st of April, from letters patent of the same day quoted in an account, (see *Godefroy*, p. 907,) where the payment of one hundred livres is ordered to one of her officers to defray expenses incurred at Chinon, as well as the disbursements to be made during the journey to be undertaken for the succour of Orleans. We may infer from the narrative of *Laverdy*, p. 315, which was doubtless the result of some deposition, that Jeanne did not arrive at Blois till about the 23d of April. He states, indeed, that she continued there for three days, and that the same number was occupied in journeying to Orleans; so that she must have gained that city on the twenty-ninth.

These narrations, so widely differing at the first glance, may be easily reconciled, if we allow that Jeanne performed two journeys to Blois; one subsequent to the 18th of March, and the other after the 20th of April. During the first it is probable that she commanded her banner to be prepared at Tours; for in that city it was made and painted, and forwarded from Blois

her letters to the English. But, receiving no answer, and her herald being imprisoned, she returned to Tours, there took her banner, and thence proceeded to Chinon, in order to receive the orders of the king, and may have departed from the latter place on the night of the 21st of April, (after the payment made to her squire,) for Blois, and have arrived there on the night of the twenty-third.

NOTE 9.

See *Tripaut*, 88; *History of La Pucelle*, 510; *Chronicles of France*, 838; and *Lenglet*, vol. i. p. 60.

NOTE 10.

This was for the purpose of meeting the second convoy: *Lenglet*, vol. i. p. 64, pretends, without however quoting any authority, that it was conducted, like the first, through Sologne. This is an error. Every author agrees in stating that this convoy proceeded through Beauce; and the *Chronicle of France*, 338, adds, that it was carried very near as far as Pathay.

NOTE 11.

It was during these attacks that the English manifested so much terror, and lost that presence of mind which had previously marked their martial exploits. Upon this memorable occasion, the island from whence the French made their sortie was in front of Saint Jean le Blanc. The English, without quitting their ramparts, might have easily destroyed the bridge of boats and annihilated their opponents: for they were not destitute of artillery, since upon the 17th of October they had a battery behind the fosse of Saint Jean le Blanc: and although the use of cannon was not at that period brought to such perfection as at the present day, it had, nevertheless, enabled the English to beat down all the windmills which stood near the new tower, and consequently beyond the island. The loss

sustained by the English, according to Hume, was six thousand men; and Monstrelet, vol. ii. fol. 43, computes it at six or eight thousand; while the whole of the army was thrown into the greatest consternation. In addition to which, Glasdale, one of the most able commanders, was drowned.

NOTE 12.

Charles was at Chinon on the 21st of April 1429. (See *D. Vaisette*, vol. iv. p. 471.)

According to the Chronicle of France, fol. 340; and Lenglet, vol. iii. p. 345; he was still there when Jeanne came to him after the siege of Orleans: while the same author, vol. ii. p. 135, supports an opposite opinion without being conscious of it. According to Villaret, vol. xiv. p. 394; and Laverdy, p. 325; Charles continued at Loches.

An account of the treasurer at war, preserved in the archives of the chamber of accounts, and published by La Roque, in his *Traité de Noblesse*, ch. xliii. p. 238, has in some measure explained this apparent contradiction. It appears from the document in question, that by letters patent given at Chinon, on the 10th May 1429, Charles ordered the liquidation of certain expenditures made at Tours and elsewhere, for the equipment, maintenance, &c. of Jeanne and one of her companions.

There is no doubt but La Pucelle quitted Orleans the day subsequent to the raising of the siege; that is to say, the 9th of May; for, according to the statement of Dunois, he accompanied Jeanne on her journey to join Charles VII., who was then proceeding to Loches; *dicta puella cum deponente et aliis accessit ad Regem euntem in loco de Loches.*

Allowing it to be the fact, that Jeanne and Dunois met the king between Loches and Chinon, and returned with him to Loches, considering the distance from Orleans to Loches, they could not have met Charles until the *eleventh* or the *twelfth* of May, either that day or the day after his departure from Chinon

to Loches: the king did not decide upon quitting the former town until he had ascertained that the siege of Orleans was raised; for, as soon as that event had taken place, that is to say, on the morning of the *eighth*, the governor of Orleans doubtless expedited a courier to make known an event of such importance, who, although no regular post then existed, could not have been more than a day and a half, or two days at farthest, in performing the journey to Chinon.

This extraordinary apathy accords well with the character of Charles, who never thought of showing himself near the scene of action, being determined to remain for a long period at Loches, at which place the court continued to assemble until the beginning of June, whither the dauphin was conveyed (see the Letters of Gui de Laval in *Godefroi's Collection*, p. 895), then scarcely seven years of age; and, finally, Jeanne was under the necessity of continuing there until that period, constantly soliciting Charles to repair to Rheims, in order that he might be crowned.—*Instantissime et frequenter instigabat regem*, says Dunois, pp. 363 & 367.

NOTE 13.

The History of the Pucelle, page 515, and Tripaut, page 115, make mention of several councils being held at Tours, from whence Jeanne, in all probability, accompanied Charles to Loches; for it appears from the letter of Gui de Laval, quoted in the foregoing note, that she preceded the king by about one day's march.

NOTE 14.

The route here designated is fully explained in the letter above adverted to, and, under the head of Alençon, in *Loverdy*, p. 363, note 49, Jeanne quitted Selles on the sixth June; where she arrived at least as early as the third. See the same Letter, p. 895, &c.

NOTE 15.

All these journeys are indicated in *The History of La Pucelle*, p. 519, with the exception of that of St. Benoit on the Loire, spoken of by the president Charles (*Laverdy*, p. 367, note 58), who states that he had ocular demonstration of Jeanne's exhorting the king, *when at St. Benoit*, in regard to his coronation, &c. This could only have occurred during one of the excursions from Sully to Châteauneuf, St. Benoit being situated between those two places. During this interval (the 26th of June), admiral Culant besieged and took Bony on the Loire.

NOTE 16.

Sepsaux is a castle belonging to the archbishop of Rheims.

NOTE 17.

These names are indifferently employed. See *Tripaut*, 146; *History of La Pucelle*, 524; and *Monstrelet*, ii. 47.

NOTE 18.

At Vailly, the keys of Soissons and of Laon were delivered up to Charles.—*Tripaut*, 146; *History of La Pucelle*, 524.

NOTE 19.

At Soissons the submission of Chateau Thierry; of Crecy en Brie; of Provins; of Coulommiers, and many other places, was announced. (See *Tripaut*, and *Histoire de la Pucelle*, *ibid.* as well as *Monstrelet*, ii. 49 and 50; who, independently of the preceding, enumerates fourteen cities or castles, concluding also with these words: "*et plusieurs autres*," and many others.)

Upon calculating the various epochs indicated by *Tripaut*, page 146, it appears that the king's arrival at Soissons must have been from the twenty-third to the twenty-fifth of July. He adds, that Charles continued there "*par aucun tems*," for some time.

His residence at that place was, doubtless, prolonged until the commencement of August, because at that period the king caused an horse to be presented to Jeanne, as appears from the account previously adverted to. Vide Note 12.

NOTE 20.

See *Tripaut*, and *Histoire de la Pucelle*, *ibid.*

NOTE 21.

A castle near Nangis. (See *Histoire de la Pucelle*, 524; *Chronicle of France*, 342; *Tripaut*, 147, who denominates it *Maugis*, which is a fault in the printing.) Charles advanced to give battle to the duke of Bedford, who had proceeded to Corbeil and Melun (and even as far as Montereau, according to *Monstrelet*, vol. ii. page 47,) but the regent returned to Paris. On the seventh of August the duke sent a defiance to the king. See *Monstrelet*, *ibid.*

NOTE 22.

This retrograde movement on the part of the king, after the retreat of the duke of Bedford, who, on the contrary, ought to have been followed, was the result of the advice of his courtiers, at the head of whom figured la Trimouille. It was fortunate for Charles, that he could not force the passage of the Seine at Bray, by which he was compelled to return and give battle in the Isle of France. See the same authorities.

NOTE 23.

The *Chronicle of France*, at folio 342, fixes this journey to Chateau Thierry, at the middle of August.

NOTE 24.

Dunois (in *Laverdy*, page 369, note 68,) makes mention of this excursion to La Ferté.

NOTE 25.

Relative to these journeys performed at Note 26, see *Tripaut*, 148—150; *Histoire de la Pucelle*, 525; and the *Chronicle of France*, 342.

The contending forces of France and England were then in presence of each other for the second time; Charles was in the environs of Dammartin, and the regent at Mitry, two leagues south-west of that city. After some skirmishes had taken place on either side, the latter marched back to Paris. See the same authors.

NOTE 26.

This is indifferently spelt Mont Piloï, Mont Piloer, or Mont Piloir, being a small hamlet and a mountain a little to the north-west of Baron.

NOTE 27.

With regard to the above excursions, see *Tripaut*, 151—162; *Histoire de la Pucelle*, 525—528; and the *Chronicle of France*, folios 342, 343.

The same armies at this period again approached each other; that of the king was between Baron and Mont Piloï, and the forces of the duke of Bedford on the small stream which runs by Baron. Every disposition was taken for the purpose of delivering battle; and to Jeanne, with Dunois and La Hire, was given the command of the skirmishings, which it appears were hotly carried on, but, at the close of day, the two armies again fell back. See the same authorities.

When at Crépy, the king ascertained the submission of Compiègne and Beauvais, and at St. Denis, the surrender of Lagny. (See *idem.*) Charles entered Compiègne on the twenty-second of August, (*Lenglet*, vol. i. p. 142: vol. ii. p. 160.) and St. Denis on the twenty-ninth, according to the *History of La Pucelle*, 529, and the *Chronicle of France*, folio 343. *Tripaut* states, page 168,

that the king quitted Senlis about *the last day of August* ----- It may, perhaps, have been the first or second of September, because it is stated in the before mentioned account, (vide Note 12.) that Charles caused a second horse to be presented to Jeanne, at Senlis, in the month of September. But it is also possible, that she may have returned from St. Denis to Senlis for that purpose; which would add some leagues to the Itinerary.

NOTE 28.

In regard to these journeys mentioned in note 28 of the Itinerary, consult *Tripaut*, from page 162—167; *Histoire de la Pucelle*, 528—529; and the *Chronicle of France*, folio 343.

On the eighth of September the attack was made upon Paris. (See *Laverdy*, 338; *Journal de Paris*, 127.)

Jeanne traversed the first moat, then entered the second, and sounded it with a javelin. Being suddenly wounded in the thigh by an arrow, she did not desist from her project; for the accomplishment of which, she caused faggots, logs, &c., to be transported to the spot in order to fill up the fosse; nor would she abandon the enterprise, although suffering great anguish from her wound, until the closing in of night, and even this did not take place until after several messages had been sent to her by the duke of Alençon. (See *Tripaut*, 163; *Chartier*, 36; *Histoire de la Pucelle*, 528; *Chronicle of France*, 343; and *Monstrelet*, vol. ii. folio 50.)

NOTE 29.

Bray surrendered to Charles, and allowed him a free passage, which was refused by the city of Sens; (See *Tripaut*, 168;) consequently Villaret (xiv. 458,) labours under an error, when he states the surrender of Sens and Mehun prior to the arrival of Philip, duke of Burgundy, which did not occur until several months after.

NOTE 30.

In respect to the journeys above mentioned, see *Chartier*, 37; *Berry*, 379; *Chronicle of France*, 343; and, above all, *Tripartit*, 168, 169.

Upon a careful examination of the last mentioned writer, and comparing the time requisite for those journeys, the periods of which he omits to mention, together with those bearing data, and at the same time keeping an account of the several stoppages on the road, it appears evident, that the king quitted Saint Denis on the 12th of September and arrived at Gien on the 19th; that he left the latter place about the 20th or the 22d of October, and arrived at Bourges from the 22d to the 25th. Indeed he states that Charles continued at Gien *aucuns jours* (some days,) conceiving that he might come to terms with the duke of Burgundy, and that he returned to Bourges on being informed that the duke had renewed his treaty with the duke of Bedford (merely a truce was granted to Charles,) and had returned into Picardy. But we find from the *Journal de Paris*, pages 127 and 128, that Philip arrived at Paris on the 30th of September, that he quitted it on the eve of Saint Luke, or the 17th of October. Some days were certainly necessary to receive the news and perform the journey to Bourges.

N. B. Various authors remark, that during all the expeditions above described, from Nos. 23 to 29, Jeanne uniformly accompanied the king upon his route.

NOTE 31.

It was at Mebun that the expeditions to Saint Pierre le Montier and La Charité were stopped. The persons constituting the company of Jeanne were afterwards assembled at Bourges, from whence they repaired to Saint Pierre le Montier, (see Daulon in *Lenglet*, ii.—126.) Jeanne displayed in the attacks of Saint Pierre the same courage she had manifested in those of Orleans, Paris, &c. The French having been

repulsed at the commencement of the assault, she continued almost alone near the fosse, and notwithstanding the remonstrances of the officers, exposed herself to the enemies' arrows, (she had taken off her helmet) and continued crying aloud for faggots and logs in order to form a bridge. Her commands were attended to; the moat was passed, and the city taken in a few minutes. (See *Daulon*, p. 126, &c.) Chartier, 39, and the Chronicle of France, 344, equally make mention of this assault, but without entering into any details.

Neither the precise period, nor the duration of this siege, are known. *Daulon*, *ibid.* says, that it lasted *aucun temps*: (for some time.)

As the forces afterwards repaired to La Charité, where they were still sojourning at the end of November, it is probable that Saint Pierre was besieged at the commencement of that month.

NOTE 39.

The siege of La Charité was raised at the end of a month (*Chron. of France*, 344; *Berry*, 381.) Chartier, 39, and Belleforêt, *ibid.* 353, according to the interrogatory of Jeanne, equally make mention of this circumstance. It may be presumed that the failure was owing to a want of resources, and did not originate in a lack of courage. At the end of November, Albret and Jeanne, who had the command, made application for a pecuniary supply, in default of which they stated that the siege must be abandoned. On the 24th, the city of Bourges laid an impost on wine, charging the farmers to send 1300 gold crowns to Jeanne and Albret, for the support of the army employed at the siege. (See *The History of Berry*, by La Thaumapierre, book iii. chap. xxviii. p. 161.)

After the raising of this siege, it is most probable that Jeanne returned to Mehun on Yèvre, in order to give an account of the expedition; for it appears that a council was held in that city during the months of November and December.

NOTE 33.

Jeanne, in her answers, confesses that she was at Gergeau, where she slept several nights with a woman named Catherine, (See *Belleforêt* in the *Chron. of France*, fol. 353.) It is elsewhere stated that she received the sacrament three times at Christmas in that city: (*Polluche*, p. 60; and *History of La Pucelle*, p. 500,) consequently, it was at that period she performed the journey to Gergeau.

From Gergeau, it is presumed, she returned to Mehun, where letters of nobility were delivered to her on the 29th of December. In Godefroy's collection, they only bear the date of the month, page 898; whereas Laverdy, p. 340, fixes the period as on the 29th.

NOTE 34.

From Mehun, Jeanne doubtless proceeded to Bourges. It is well known that she continued there for some time after the expedition to the Isle of France, (see *Laverdy*, 334 and 339 :) and it was probably at this epoch, more particularly as the letters patent of nobility were registered on the 16th of January, (see *Godefroy*, p. 899), in the chamber of accounts, which the king had removed to this city.

All traces of Jeanne are now lost until the end of March; it is, however, presumable that she did not continue stationary at Bourges, because Charles VII., whom she generally accompanied, remained during that interval at Ghinon, (he was there about the month of January, as may be inferred from the *Chronicle of France*, fol. 344;) at Vierzon, (about the 26th of January); at Gergeau (in February); and at Sully (the 6th, 13th, and the 28th of March). See *Fugitive Pieces relative to the History of France*, in quarto, vol. i. p. 94. *General Hist. of Languedoc*, vol. iv. p. 475.

NOTE 35.

Jeanne was *à marches de Berry*, before the expedition of

Lagny, of which we shall shortly have occasion to speak, (see *Chronicle of France*, fol. 345, line 2d.) Chartier, p. 41, says in the *pays de Berry*. The word *Marches*, generally speaking, signifies *frontiers*. Upon the present occasion it should be understood as meaning the southern frontiers of Berry, because the cantons of the *Marche*, which touch the other provinces, were called the *Marches* of such a particular province. For instance, it was customary to say, the *Marches de Limousin*. (See *Encyc. Dic. Géogr.* under the head *Marche*.)

• NOTE 36.

Jeanne, towards Easter, was at Mehun, (See *Lenglet*, vol. i. p. 124. *Bellefort*, in the *Chronicle of France*, fol. 353.) which had recently surrendered itself up to the king. (See *Chartier*, 44; *Berry*, 380; *Monstrelet*, vol. ii. p. 56.) The intermediate points of the shortest route of the *Marches* to Mehun are, Bourges, Gien, and Montargis.

NOTE 37.

N. B. Such historians as Berry, (*Chronicle of France*, fol. 345,) and Monstrelet, (vol. ii. fols. 56 and 58,) do not at all agree, either among themselves or of themselves, respecting the dates and regular order of the journeys or expeditions indicated at the above Notes 33 to 37. It has therefore been necessary to have recourse to the method cited on former occasions, in order to find the most probable itinerary of Jeanne d'Arc. We have, however, in this instance, placed greater reliance in Monstrelet than the other historians, because, having been present at the siege of Compiègne, (see *idem*, fol. 58,) he must have brought to his recollection the events preceding the capture of Jeanne, and the more particularly as they took place in the short interval of less than one month.

NOTE 38.

See *Chartier*, 41; *Lenglet*, vol. i. p. 195, and vol. iii. p. 150; *Chronicle of France*, 345; *Bellefort*, *ibid.* 352; and *Monstrelet*, vol. ii. p. 57.

Monstrelet places the recital of the defeat and execution of Franquet after the expeditions to Noyon and the capture of Soissy; but, as we have already observed, there is a want of regularity throughout his work. In the first place, at p. 56, he announces; 1st, that the duke of Burgundy celebrated the festival of Easter at Peronne (Easter fell upon the 16th of April); 2dly, that at the commencement of 1430, (that is to say, after Easter) he repaired with his armed forces to Montdidier, *ou il fut aucuns jours*, (where he continued some days;) 3dly, that he besieged Gournay on the Aronde (at six leagues south-west of Noyon) and entered into a speedy treaty with the garrison, in order that he might march to afford succour to a castle, of which the French raised the siege on being made acquainted with his intention; 4thly, that he went to spend eight days at Noyon; 5thly, that he besieged Soissy. Monstrelet then relates, fols. 56 and 57, the attack of Pont L'Eveque, and afterwards the encampment of the duke's army in villages that were in the vicinity of Compiègne; and lastly, he passes on to the defeat of Franquet, dating the same as having occurred at the beginning of May.

If we calculate the time requisite for the performance of the various marches from Peronne to Montdidier; from thence to Gournay; from Gournay to Noyon; from that town to Soissy; the siege of Gournay, &c.; and if we add thereto the time spent at Montdidier and Noyon, it will be obvious that the duke could not commence the siege until the month of May, after the defeat of Franquet. This particular occurrence being once determined, it is easy to fix, with a degree of certainty, the periods of the final expeditions of Jeanne, and even to

make the historians agree in their several statements, as will appear from the following notes.

N. B. Villaret, xv. p. 7, and those ensuing, has been guilty of numerous errors, as regards these expeditions of Jeanne or of Philip. Among other statements, he places them as having occurred anterior to the landing of Henry VI. at Calais (Saint George's day, which occurred on the 23d of April Monstrelet, vol. ii. fol. 58.) which was prior to the major part of these occurrences.

NOTE 39.

The circuitous route by Chateau Thierry was necessary in order to cross the Marne; and Lenglet (vol. i. p. 128.) conjectures that she passed by Crepy, since he announces that she returned thither from Soissons.

The object of this expedition was to succour Soissy (or Pont à Soisy, or Choisy on the Oise), which was besieged by the duke of Burgundy, and situated between the Aisne and the Oise, very near their junction. It was requisite to cross the Aisne at Soissons; of which the governor refused a passage, (see *Lenglet, ibid.; Chronicle of France*, fol. 345.) which compelled Jeanne to return to Crepy in order to compass a passage at Compiègne, and annoy at least the convoys of the besiegers. (See the following note).

Remy, at 381, says, that Jeanne was received at Soissons, at least to pass the night there, and that she afterwards went to Compiègne.

NOTE 40.

Although Monstrelet, (fols. 56 and 57), alone speaks of this expedition, we do not hesitate to give it insertion at this place, for the reasons alleged in notes 37 and 38, as well as because it was necessary the French should attempt it, in order if possible to effect the raising of the siege of Soissy, a most important post, which would have made them masters of the courses of

the rivers Oise and Aisne, above Compiègne, and would have equally placed an impediment to the enterprises which Philip might have formed in regard to that city, or such places as Ligny, situated to the south of the Aisne. Philip, well aware of the necessity there was to become possessed of this place, had adopted measures in order that the garrison of Compiègne should not intercept the transport of provisions, (see *Monstrelet, ibid.*) procured from Montdidier, Noyon, and other cities of Picardy; and which got to him, as it appears, by the bridge or pont of Pont L'Eveque, situated about six hundred toises to the south of Noyon, and defended by a detachment of the English army. He had in consequence stationed a detachment of troops in the suburbs of Noyon, for the purpose of yielding assistance to the English in case of aggression.

The sequel justified his foresight; for Jeanne d'Arc, Chabanne, Xantrailles, &c. with two thousand men, marched to attack the English at Compiègne, and they were upon the point of forcing them, when the Burgundians, posted at Noyon, flew to their aid, placing the French between two fires, and compelling them to fall back upon Compiègne.

This expedition confers the greater honour upon the magnanimity of Jeanne, as she thereby exposed herself to be cut off by the Burgundian forces charged with the blockade of Gournay. But, if her effort in this instance had been crowned by success, the whole plan of the campaign of Philip would have proved abortive.

NOTE 41.

This departure of Jeanne from Compiègne, on the very eve of a siege, appears rather singular at the first glance. But so long as Soissy was not taken, it was difficult to ascertain for a certainty what were the projects of Philip. On passing through Soissons, which place had been just sold to him by Bournel, its governor; (*Berry*, 381; and *Chronicle of France*, 345), he might have marched upon Lagny, which his party had already endeav-

voured, several times, to take from Charles VII. Independent of this, Jeanne's expedition to Lagny explains one of her answers, (see *Belleforêt* in the *Chronicle*, fol. 352.) where she states that the tribunal of Lagny employed fifteen days in the process of Franquet. Otherwise, had she not marched back to Lagny after the journey to Noyon, it would have been impossible that she could have returned at the termination of the process. In short, Chartier, at p. 42, and the *Chronicle of France*, fol. 345, state positively, that she quitted Lagny for Compiègne, when she had learned that the latter city was already *un peu à l'estroit*, (a little straitened.)

NOTE 42.

See the termination of the preceding note; and, as regards the route, the commencement of Note 39.

NOTE 43.

After what has already been observed at the conclusion of Note 41, Jeanne was perhaps necessitated to give the enemy battle, in order to effect her entrance into Compiègne. On the very day of her arrival (*Villaret*, xv. 18.) she made the sortie at which she was captured, as, during the retreat, *she gallantly closed in person the arrière guard.*

NOTE 44.

It may not be amiss once more to remark how necessary it is to compare the calendars, in order to facilitate the study of ancient history; for, if an implicit reliance were placed upon the old calendar, as these journeys began at the end of February, 1428, and did not conclude until the twenty-fourth of May, 1430, the reader would be led to infer that they occupied a space of *twenty-seven months*, instead of *fifteen*.

DESCRIPTION
OF AN
ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT
IN
THE PUBLIC LIBRARY AT GRENOBLE,
CONTAINING
THE POEMS
OF
ANTONIO ASTEZAN,
PRIVATE SECRETARY OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS, 1461.

VOL. II.

D

DESCRIPTION
OF AN
ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT,
ETC. ETC.

As it has been the Editor's strenuous endeavour, in collecting materials for the present work, to communicate as much novelty as possible to his pages, he will proceed to give an authentic document respecting Jeanne d'Arc, which was only discovered some few years back in the public library at Grenoble, containing the poems of Antonio Astezan, who, according to his biographer Muratori, was born in 1412, at Villeneuve d'Ast, at which place his ancestors, driven from Ast by a faction, had retired to seek an asylum since the year 1329. If we are to credit the poet's own assertion respecting his family, prior to that unfortunate æra, it was of noble descent, and particularly famed for eloquence; when those sudden reverses of fortune deprived it of mental energies and splendour at the same time. Peter Astezan, father of the poet, filled the post of public amanuensis, that is to say, chancellor or notary of the university of Villeneuve, being at the same time professor of grammar and mathematics. In 1427, he sent his son Antonio to Turin, and, in 1429 to Pavia, in order to be instructed in grammar

and rhetoric. The preceptors of Astezan were Valla, Veggio, and Antonio Ferrari; the two first mentioned being celebrated literary characters of that period, and the latter, a monk of the fraternity of the Carmelites.

Astezan, fearing to be attacked by the plague, left Pavia in 1431; but, from the same apprehension, he also quitted Genoa, which city he had selected as an asylum. Antonio then, by the advice of his parent, established himself at Ast, where he undertook to give instruction in literature.

To this account Muratori adds, that he could not clearly ascertain what was the subsequent fate of the poet Astezan: he infers from a passage in his book, that the duke of Orleans having recovered the city of Ast about the year 1447, appointed him captain of the castle of Mont Raynier, and his first secretary in that city; and lastly, he conceives that the poem, *De Varietate Fortunæ*, was written about the year 1450.

We will now venture to make a few remarks on this biographical sketch of Muratori.

It certainly appears probable that Astezan was born in 1412; for, in the lately discovered manuscript of the poet, at the end of the book of Elegies, at folio 122, he states the having attained his thirtieth year, and the epilogue whereto he affixes this announcement is dated in 1441.

In the epitaph on his father Peter Astezan (fol. 158), Antonio confirms the statement respecting the nobleness of his family, and his having been professor at Villeneuve; to which he adds, that Peter his father left several daughters and four sons, all very enlightened men.

At fol. 155, of his manuscript, Astezan states, that Antonio Ferrari, the Carmelite, one of his preceptors, had just been nominated to the bishopric of Tortona, when he died.

Independent of these facts, the manuscript contains some details which were unknown to Muratori. It was at Pavia that he composed the major part of his light pieces of poetry (fol. 122.) In 1441, he abandoned a playful style of composition, at which period he married the daughter of Barthelemy Carrari, a surgeon of Ast. (MS. page 156.) Towards the year 1450, he undertook a journey to France, where he continued during the two succeeding years, residing for the most part at Blois and Tours. He then returned to his native country, and was still living towards the end of 1461, as appears evident, since the manuscript concludes with two epitaphs upon Charles VII. who died on the 22d of July of that same year.

Muratori labours under an error when he states, at p. 1008, that the book *De Varietate Fortunæ* was written by Astezan about the year 1450; for in the ninth chapter of the first book, at p. 1019, Astezan reproaches the Genoese on account of their permitting the young girls to be too familiar with the boys. On this occasion he narrates an adventure of which he had been an eye-witness in France, near the city of Orleans. *Quod ego vidi per gallica rura Ager Aurelianensi paulum semotus ab urbe :* consequently, as we have before stated, he was still in France in 1452, the poem published by Muratori is of a subsequent date.

The document now under review is singularly curious,

as containing a short account of Jeanne d'Arc, which differs in many striking points from the great mass of evidence already extant, respecting that extraordinary woman; and, as the writer was private secretary to the duke of Orleans, half-brother of the Bastard Dunois, and became possessed of his intelligence just as the scenes had been transacted, there can be no reason to doubt the authenticity of the report handed down by Antonio Astezan.

THE MANUSCRIPT.

On the first column of the opening page appears the following title in red letters: —

“ Ad illustrissimum principem et excellentissimum dominum Karolum, ducem Aurelianensem et Mediolanensem, Antonii Astezani, civis Astensis, libellus incipit de admirabili terre motu qui in regno Neapolitano accidit anno Christi millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo sexto, die quarto Decembris, nec, non de apparitione crucifixi apud Capuam dicti regni civitatem.”

The manuscript is written on very beautiful vellum, containing 158 leaves, or 316 pages, each divided into double columns of 32 to 34 lines. The opening pages of the major part of the books are surrounded by a golden border, embroidered with flowers of various colours and burnished with gold; and the first letters of the principal *alinéa* are grand majuscule letters alternately decorated with blue and red.

The only figure that appears is, that of an angel supporting the armorial bearings of the house of Orleans, quartered with those of Valentine of Milan, representing

a peacock and two other birds, being the arms of the wife of Louis duke of Orleans, brother of Charles VI. and daughter of the duke of Milan. The angel, so delineated, appears in the first letter of the translation by Astezan, of the Latin poems of the duke of Orleans, a specimen of which is given in the notes to the Diary, in vol. i. page 140.

No doubt can be entertained in regard to the date of this manuscript, as the final page contains two epitaphs on Charles VII. of France, who died in 1461, when the art of printing had been discovered, very shortly after which this volume must have been written.

Although the manuscript of Astezan's poems, like those of the fifteenth century, contains numerous abbreviations, yet the perusal of it is easily accomplished with a little attention, the letters being well formed and perfectly distinct; nor can the authenticity of this manuscript be disputed; a circumstance further proved from Muratori's account of the works of Astezan, (*Scriptor. Rer. Italicarum*, vol. xiv. p. 1008,) not making mention of many poems which it contains.

At page 135, of Astezan's manuscript, under the title of *Lettres Heroïques*, being No. VIII., there are three pieces.

The first is a eulogy upon Charles VII. This book Astezan dedicates to that monarch, and felicitates him upon the recovery, in one year, of the province of Normandy, and more recently of Guienne*;

* Normandy was reconquered in 1449 and 1450, and Guienne in 1451.

in conclusion, he expresses a hope that the taking of Calais will soon purge the French territory of its enemies.

The second piece is dedicated to the duke of Orleans, and contains the abridged history of Jeanne d'Arc, being the curious document that has prompted the present notice respecting this poet; whose testimony, as we have before stated, may not only be regarded as authentic, but of some importance.

Astezan wrote in 1435, between five and six years after the adventures of Jeanne d'Arc had taken place; and his employment of first secretary to so illustrious a prince as the duke of Orleans, half-brother of the Bastard Dunois, so intimately connected with the Pucelle, must have afforded him facilities, which very few writers were enabled to compass; neither could he have ventured to present a series of falsehoods to his employer, who must have been well aware of the truth of his secretary's recital.

ASTEZAN'S Account of LA PUCELLE.

JEANNE d'ARC was born on the day of the Epiphany, in a village situated near the frontiers of Champagne, her parents being industrious and pious labouring people. Even on that very day the natives of the village, agitated by a joy, the cause of which was unknown to them, ran in different directions, singing during the space of two hours. The Pucelle was named after a holy fountain of the place."

"At the early age of seven years her father confided to Jeanne the guardianship of his flocks. One day, being thus occupied, she was then twelve years old, at the

invitation of a shepherd, she repaired to a meadow where her associates were vying with one another in running races; upon which occasion, Jeanne was so rapid in her speed, that the universal cry was, that her feet did not appear to touch the ground. While reposing herself from her fatigues, a young man presented himself before her, and informed her, that she must repair to her mother, who had been making inquiries after her. Convinced in her own mind, that it was her brother or some neighbour, who conveyed to her this summons, Jeanne bent her steps towards the paternal dwelling; when on a sudden, her mother came towards her and expressed dissatisfaction that she should have abandoned the superintendance of her flock. Upon this, Jeanne, astonished, returned to her occupation. In a few seconds after, the clouds assumed a brilliant appearance, and a voice was heard to issue from thence, telling her that she must abandon that course of life; that God had selected her to save the kingdom of France; that she must repair near to the person of Charles VII. and enjoin him to conform to such counsels as she should give.

Jeanne, bewildered with this vision, which she frequently recalled to mind, nevertheless maintained a strict silence during the lapse of five years.* During this period, the miseries wherewith France was assailed attained their acmè, when the same voice again addressed itself to Jeanne, uttering reproaches for the negligence of her conduct.

* Thus, according to *Astezan*, Jeanne was between seventeen and eighteen years old when she presented herself to *Baudricourt*; a circumstance that coincides with her own declaration.

However authoritative this command might be, Jeanne continued undecided; she recalled to her mind the numerous obstacles which it was necessary she should surmount; as she neither knew the king nor the route that was requisite to be pursued in order to gain the court " *God commands it,*" the voice then exclaimed, " *go thy ways to the city of Champagne, the only one still remaining faithful to the king; the governor will conduct thee to the prince.*"*

Jeanne at length yielded, and presented herself before the governor, who, either impelled from a motive of humanity or forewarned by some divine impulse, received her with courtesy, † and conducted her to the king, without any

* This account of the visions of Jeanne differs from those transmitted to us by other authors, as well as from the account given during the legal proceedings against her; which affords another proof that the marvellous statements accompanying her history, were the fruits of the imagination of her contemporaries. Nearly all the accounts extant, relative to the Pucelle, demonstrate that the wish of every writer was to attach something supernatural to the mission of Jeanne; of which, however, there is not the least occasion; since it is merely necessary to peruse the writings of those authors with attention, to discover that they may be divested of the wonderful, without weakening, in the smallest degree, the extraordinary feats of this heroine as handed down to us by the historian.

† This does not appear to have been the case, as Baudricourt, in the first instance, paid no attention to her story, but dismissed Jeanne and her uncle, who accompanied her; subsequent to which he merely made known to Charles VII. what the Pucelle had

accident having occurred,* although the road which he took was through the country occupied by the enemy.

*“ Illius adventum rex senserat. Atque suorum
Consilio procerum minime decreverat illam
Audire ANTE DIES TRES † dum venisset ad ipsum.”*

No sooner had Jeanne presented herself to the king, than the minds of all his advisers were changed, and her mission was sanctioned by theologians.

*“ Post hæc rex prudens astutè fungitur ejus
Colloquio ut meliùs nympham dignoscere possit.
Mox per non nullas mulieres quærit honestas
Ipsius mores agnoscere virginis omnes.
Omnibus in rebus virgo reperitur honesta.”*

required. Neither was a second journey, afterwards undertaken, (the period of which, however, is not specified in history), attended with any better success.

* It was not Baudricourt who accompanied Jeanne, for, upon her third expedition to Vaucouleurs, about the month of February, which lasted for three weeks, when she had attained her object, two gentlemen furnished her with male accoutrements, together with arms and a horse, and also undertook to escort her. Neither was the journey to Chinon authorized by Baudricourt, until he had received a notice to that effect from the court, upon which he gave her a letter addressed to the king.

† Laverdy, at page 352, note 26, says, that only *two* or *three* days intervened before the introduction of Jeanne to the king. Is it therefore probable, that, during such a short interval of time, she could have learned to wield a lance with ease and elegance, as well as to manage a horse like the most expert cavalier?

Not satisfied with this research, the king further ordered —

————— “ *Quadráginta diebus*
Illam servari mulieres inter honestas.”

And it was then ascertained —

..... “ *Nulla penitus levitate movetur.*”*

* The precise day when Jeanne arrived at Chinon is not ascertained; but, as Baudricourt did not consent to her departure prior to his receiving the news of the battle of Herrings, which, at the earliest, could not have reached him till between the fifteenth and the twentieth of February, and as the journey occupied eleven days, consequently it must have been the end of the month when the Pucelle arrived at Chinon.†

The period of her quitting the court in order to repair to the siege of Orleans is also unknown; at least, various opinions have been hazarded upon the subject. Admitting that which retards the departure of Jeanne to the latest moment, the government would have had fifty days to train her mind for war, as well as for that courage and intrepidity of which she subsequently gave so many signal and extraordinary proofs!..... Even this, however, was not much; what must then be said, when we find that this lapse of time, instead of being employed in teaching her horsemanship, the use of arms, and other manœuvres, whereby she might acquire the method of influencing the soldiers in the hour of peril, &c., was, on the contrary, occupied in harangues with the council, researches of matrons, examinations of theologians, and

† It was probably later, for, according to a passage in an old manuscript chronicle, we find, “ *The sixth of March, 1428, the Pucelle came to the king:*” and Serres, in his inventory, at page 224, equally asserts, that it was the *sixth of March*.

The king then despatched Jeanne to succour Orleans, which had sustained a very long siege. She rescued the city, although the English were in great force, while she had few troops; many were killed or fled, and she captured a great number (*innumeri*) of prisoners.

After this the Pucelle repaired to the king, who advanced to receive her, welcoming her with transport, and causing her to sit beside him for a length of time.* She then supplicated that he would despatch her to combat against the remainder of his enemies; upon which, troops were furnished, and, at their head, she took various cities, fought and beat the English, captured numerous prisoners, put to flight the most experienced generals, recovered in a short time a vast extent of territory; in short, to her was universally attributed the salvation of the country.

*“Tantus erat pudor huic et tanta modestia ut ipsa
Esse videretur miræ Lucretia famæ.”†*

interrogatories by the magistrates; the last of which alone continued for three weeks, the same taking place at Poitiers, at fifteen leagues from the court.

* No other author makes mention of these circumstances, which are, however, by no means improbable, when the astonishing benefits derived from the conduct of Jeanne are taken into consideration.

† There was uniformly but one statement, during the process of Jeanne, in regard to her piety, her charity towards the poor, her humanity with regard to the sick and wounded soldiers, the severity of her morals, her bravery, &c. We will now content ourselves by adducing a testimony no less certain in the person of Hume, who, when speaking of the proceedings instituted by the regent duke of Bedford against Jeanne, styles it an action which,

She ate, drank, and slept, but little, continuing for the space of six days and nights under arms, without retiring to rest. She carried herself well on horseback, took delight in the conversation of men, and despised that of her own sex. (*Verba vana fugiens.*)

God at length perceiving that France could maintain herself, deprived the kingdom of the assistance of Jeanne.

This chapter, dated Ast, in 1435, terminates with an eulogy of the duke of Orleans, and an exhortation to that prince to support his captivity with patience.

whether originating in vengeance or policy, was equally barbarous and dishonourable. To this he adds, that she was a prisoner of war; that she had been guilty of no breach of faith or cruelty during her campaigns, nor of any crime in the course of her civil life; that she had rigidly observed the practice of every virtue, and the propriety of conduct requisite in her sex . . . that the English never impeached the rigid purity of her morals . . . and, where he speaks of the death of the duke of Bedford, the same historian remarks, that his memory was without blemish, except as regarded the barbarous execution of the Pucelle. Snollet equally declares that the conduct of the regent in this point cannot be justified. And lastly, Carte, who is silent in regard to the atrocious iniquity of the judgment, avows that, "The chastity of Jeanne was never called in question, not even by her most implacable enemies, and that her courage could not be too much admired."

On the score of *humanity*, Jeanne herself affirmed, and no author has denied the assertion upon this point, that, if she carried a banner, it was from a desire to kill no one, nor even to make use of her sword. — *Villaret*, xiv. 389, *after the manuscript process.*

CATALOGUE,
Historical and Descriptive,
OF THE
MOST INTERESTING MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED
WORKS EXTANT,
RESPECTING
THE LIFE AND EXPLOITS
OF
JEANNE D'ARC,
COMMONLY CALLED
LA PUCELLE D'ORLEANS.

CATALOGUE.

THE number of works extant, as well in manuscript as printed, relative to the History of Jeanne d'Arc, most of which have been referred to in the progress of the present undertaking, afford incontestable evidence of the extraordinary part performed by our heroine on the page of history, and are so many sterling records of the fame she acquired, which must be handed down to the latest posterity.

In arranging the following catalogue, the writer's object has been to present to the public a systematic nomenclature of all the bibliographical notices hitherto published appertaining to La Pucelle, from the period of her birth, to the melancholy close of her magnanimous career; and, as no such summary has hitherto appeared in England, it is conceived, that in the event of any new history of our own country being intended by the Government, the following pages may serve to point out documents worthy the attention of those literary characters to whom may be confided the charge of such a noble undertaking.

CATALOGUE.

Jacobus Gelu, Archiepiscopus Ebrodunensis, de Puella Aurelianensi ; Manuscript in quarto, inter Latinos, No. 6199, in the Royal Library at Paris.

VOL. II.

E

The author of this work, who had been archbishop of Tours, was transferred to the see of Embrun in 1427, where he died in 1432. As he was consulted in 1429, by command of Charles VII. he replied to the five questions proposed to him, by writing this treatise. The manuscript contains seventy-two pages; written in the ancient scholastic manner, the style being very confused: a succinct extract has been given by Lenglet du Frenoy of this work.

Sibylla Francica, seu de admirabili Puella Johanna Lotharinga, pastoris filia, ductrice exercitus Francorum sub Carolo VII. Dissertationes aliquot coactorum scriptorum, ex Bibliotheca Melchioris Haiminsfeldii Goldasti, in 4to. Ursellis 1606.

This little work, consisting only of seventy-nine pages, contains several treatises written during the lifetime of Jeanne d'Arc, viz.

I. *Laudayani cujusdam anonymi clerici de Sibylla Francica, Rotuli duo.*

The author was a German, in all probability of Landau in the vicinity of Spire.

In the first part of his work, he compares La Pucelle to the ancient Sibyls; and in the second, he seems to believe that she possessed some knowledge of the occult sciences. He wrote prior to the capture of Jeanne in 1429.

II. *Henrici de Gorckeim propositionum de Puella militari in Franciâ, libelli duo.*

This writer, who was a Flemish theologian, and conse-

quently of the Burgundian party, wrote upon the very first appearance of La Pucelle. His treatise comprises twelve propositions, the whole of which are contained in six pages. The first six are in favour of La Pucelle, and the last are against her. The production was written previous to the capture of Jeanne.

III. *Joannis Gerson, Cancellarii Parisiensis, Apologia pro Johannâ Puellâ.*

This is a species of apology for the Pucelle, written a considerable time before her incarceration. Goldast, as well as father Berthier, entertained doubts respecting this treatise being composed by Gerson.

IV. *Joannis Gerson veritas ad justificationem Puellæ ductricis exercitus Francorum.*

We have here an apology for the Pucelle having adopted male attire.

V. *Petri Episcopi Cameracensis et S. R. E. Cardinalis dialogi duo, de querelis Franciæ et Angliæ, et jure successionis in Regno Franciæ.*

These two dialogues, which merely occupy twenty-six pages, are the production of cardinal Peter Ailli, who died in 1425, four years prior to the appearance of La Pucelle.

Processus Condemnationis Joannæ d'Arc Puellæ Aureliensis, factus anno Domini 1431, Rothomagi, in folio. Manuscript preserved in the Royal Library, among those in Latin, numbered 5965. Seculo XV. exaratus; the

four following numbers in the same collection are repetitions of the above. Independent of these there was a more modern transcript of this work, but imperfect, in the Brienne collection, No. 180; and another, among the manuscripts of Mr. de Cotte, president of the second Chamber of Requests of the Palace; being a square folio, of undoubted authenticity, as every page was collated and signed by the keepers of the records employed during the commission; while at the end had originally been affixed the seals of the bishop of Beauvais and the vice-inquisitor, which were however torn off.

Processus Condemnationis Johannæ d'Arc, dictæ la Pucelle, a very large folio volume of the fifteenth century in the Royal Library at Paris.

Procès ou Histoire de la Pucelle d'Orléans, in folio, large but rather short, collated by some more modern hand to the hundred and thirtieth leaf, making 260 pages. This manuscript was written at the close of the fifteenth century: it contains many very essential and original documents, penned in the natural style, and not a translation, which is the case with the other manuscripts.

This curious work was in the library of cardinal de Rohan or the prince of Soubise.

Processus Justificationis Johannæ d'Arc, Puellæ Aurelianensis, in folio maximo, inter Latinos, No. 5970, in the Royal Library at Paris.

This manuscript, which is authentic, contains, in part the 8th, the following eight treatises; viz.

I. *Joannes Gerson, de Puella Aurelianensi*, fol. 110 of the Manuscript 5970.

The present is an original transcript of the process, every leaf bearing the signatures of the two keepers of the records during the commission, being a very large folio. This treatise was written before the incarceration of Jeanne. It is attributed to Gerson, and dated from Lyons, the 14th May 1429; being six days after the English had raised the siege of Orleans. There are also, upon the subject of La Pucelle, two other treatises attributed to this theologian, which are to be found at the end of the fourteenth volume of his works, edit. 1706.

II. *Helias Petracoriensis Episcopus, de Puella Aurelianensi*.

The present ample treatise was penned at the period when the justification of La Pucelle took place. The author, who possessed great acumen, was subsequently Archbishop of Tours, and named Elie de Bourdeilles; there is also a treatise by the same writer concerning the *Pragmatic Sanction*, being a regulation respecting ecclesiastical matters which took place in the reign of Charles VII.

III. *Thomas Bazin, Episcopus Lexoviensis, de Puella Aurelianensi*.

IV. *M. Berruyer de Puella Aurelianensi*.

V. *Joannes Episcopus Lexoviensis, de Puella Aurelianensi*.

VI. *Joannes de Mo doctor in utroque jure, de eodem*.

VII. *Magister Mattæus decanus, de Joannæ Puellâ.*

VIII. *Fratris Joannis Brehal, ordinis prædicatorum, inquisitoris in regno Frauciæ, recapitulatio prædicatorum tractatum.*

After which follows the sentence of the justification of Jeanne d'Arc.

IX. At the termination of these treatises is, *A Latin poem consisting of seven hundred verses.* The eight treatises above enumerated, merely appertain to the visions, apparitions, and prophecies of La Pucelle; which were the leading causes of her condemnation as a sorceress; in some of these treatises mention is also made of her adopting man's attire.

Processus Justificationis Johannæ d'Arc, Puellæ Aurelianensis; in fol. at the Royal Library in Paris.

This document of more modern date, formerly in the collection of M. de Lomenie, No. 181, when collated with the manuscript No. 5970 in the Royal Library, was not found very exact. It is also deficient in regard to the eight treatises just described, which are in the authentic copy of the king.

A similar manuscript must also be preserved in the archives of the church of Coutances, the bishop of which, named Richard Olivier, was one of the commissioners appointed by Pope Calixtus III. for the revival of the process of Jeanne d'Arc.

Processus Justificationis Johannæ d'Arc, Puellæ Aure-

lianensis, in folio: magno ex Bibliotheca insignis ecclesie Metropolitanæ Parisiensis, littera II, No. 10.

The above manuscript is authentic, every leaf being witnessed by the two keepers of the records; it belonged to William Chartier, then bishop of Paris, from the year 1447, until 1472, at which period he died. It comprises one hundred and eighty leaves, written according to the custom of that period, alternately upon vellum and paper; the general tenor of this document is similar to the manuscript No. 5970, in the Royal Collection, excepting the eight treatises, and the poetic production noticed above. At folio 153, are the letters of Henry VI. king of England, being a guarantee to the bishop of Beauvais and his colleagues, appointed for the judging of La Pucelle, and at fol. 178 is the sentence of Jeanne's justification.

Petit Traité en maniere de Chronique, contenant en brief le siege mis par les Anglais devant la cité d'Orleans, &c. in 1428, short folio, No. 417, in the Library of the Abbey Royal of Saint Victor. This chronicle occupies seventy leaves, or 139 pages; and in it is found the letter addressed by La Pucelle to the English, precisely as it was penned. It is at folio 20 *verso*, and at the first page of fol. 21. At fol. 73, begins the process of condemnation, which continues to fol. 348; after this, in the same volume, at fol. 350, begins the process of justification, concluding at fol. 370; and at fol. 531 *verso*, commences the deposition of Lord Daulon. The eight treatises before described are wanting, as well as in the copy preserved in the metropolitan church of Notre Dame at

Paris. This manuscript, which is a transcript, appears to have been executed at the termination of the fifteenth century, written, as was customary, partly on vellum and part on paper.

N. B. *This chronicle of the Siege of Orleans differs from the Diary contained in the present work.*

Opus collativum, de quadam Puella quæ olim in Franciâ equitavit, cujus editio mag. Joanni de Gerson adscribitur, sed magis apparet stilus mag. Henrici de Gorickem.

This work is printed in the second volume of the writings of Gerson, page 870; Parisii, 1606, in folio, and page 854, Antverpiæ, 1706, in folio.

Manuscript ; Processus Puellæ Aurelianensis ; in folio.

This process was preserved in the Library of Notre Dame at Paris, but is now in the Royal Collection. It was also in that of M. de Mesme, under this title: *Processus Joannæ Puellæ*. It is similar to that in French described under the ensuing head.

In the revisal of this process, six Latin treatises were produced, for the purpose of stigmatising and contradicting the acts and pretended accusations of the adversaries of Jeanne. The first is a small work, written by John Gerson, in favour of La Pucelle, immediately after the siege of Orleans was raised; the second is by Elie de Bourdailles, a cordelier, bishop of Périgueux, afterwards archbishop of Tours, and a cardinal; the third is signed M. E. N.; the fourth is by John Brehal, a Dominican monk and doctor of theology; inquisitor of the faith for the kingdom of France, by commission from

the Holy See of Rome; the fifth is by Robert Ciboles, doctor of theology, and chancellor of the university of Paris; and the sixth is by William Bouielle, a doctor of theology, and deacon of the cathedral at Noyon.

These authors declare, that Jeanne was not subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop of Beauvais, and that consequently her trial was altogether illegal.

MS. *Procès fait à Jeanne d'Arc de Vaucouleurs, vulgairement appelée la Pucelle d'Orleans, in 1430 and 1431, in folio.*

This process is preserved in the Royal Library among the MSS. of M. de Brienne, No. 180, and those of M. de Baluze and M. Colbert, No. 1642; the latter being the original. There was another copy in the Library of the Jesuits' College at Paris, Nos. 62 and 63, which fell into the hands of M. Meerman of Rotterdam.

MS. *Processus contra Joannam dictam la Puzil, (La Pucelle.)*

This process is preserved in the library of Bennet's College, Cambridge.

Processus pro eadem Johannâ. In the foregoing collection.

Processus et sententia justificationis Johannæ d'Arc, vulgo dictæ Puellæ Aurelianensis, in folio.

This manuscript belonged to the treasure of the Royal Charts. It is noticed by du Tillet, at p. 364, of his *Recueil des Rois de France*, second part, edition of 1618.

John Hordal, at p. 205, of his Latin treatise upon La Pucelle d'Orleans, makes mention of having read it in that depôt.

MS. *Processus condemnationis et absolutionis in causa fidei contra quamdam mulierem dictam Johannam, vulgariter la Pucelle, anno 1430.*

These were preserved in the library of president Bouhier at Dijon, A. 22.

There is but one very recent copy of the manuscript which follows.

MS. *Le Proces de la Pucelle, sur vélin, (which is the property of Harry d'Urfé) grand folio, with wooden covers, bound in green velvet, with enamelled ornaments.*

This most precious manuscript, which is of the time, and one of the most beautiful as well as the most perfect, constituted an article in the library of M. Fevret de Fontette, counsellor of the parliament of Dijon. It had previously belonged to Mr. Thomas d'Issan, who procured it from Mr. de Chevannes.

It came into the possession of the celebrated Honoré d'Urfé, author of the romance of Astrea; being ornamented with his armorial bearings on a gilt brass plate.

The volume now under review contains the following documents.

I. A short treatise in form of a chronicle, briefly detailing the siege of Orleans by the English, together with the sallies, assaults, and skirmishings which were daily carried on during the siege; the arrival and valiant feats of arms performed by Jeanne la Pucelle,

and the manner in which she caused the English to depart, and raised the siege by grace divine and force of arms.

This is probably the same account as that which was in the library of Saint Victor, quoted above, and differing materially from the Diary in this volume.

II. *In nomine Domini, amen. Incipit processus in causa fidei, contra quamdam mulierem Johannam, vulgarter dictam la Pucelle.*

This document, which is not so perfect as the following, contains part of the documents of the process and of the interrogatories of La Pucelle, half in Latin and half in French.

III. *In nomine Domini, &c., ibid. the preceding.*

This document, which is nearly throughout in Latin, contains the entire proceedings of the process of Jeanne d'Arc. At the end appear these words: *Finis processus condemnationis libri sancti Victoris. Hic est initium libri absolutionis.*

In the first place begins the preamble of the notaries Perimitis and Fereboucq, to whom we are indebted for this collection, respecting the original documents, after which follows this title:

“Continet istud opus processum judicialem gravi maturitate digestum, juris ordine definitum mandato æquissimo sanctæ apostolicæ sedis, ac universalis ecclesiæ summi pontificis spectabilis, indictum reverendissimis presbyteris electissimis, et disertissimis iudicibus directum infra scriptis per justitid prævolente. Iniquus ille, detestabilis,

falsus et calumniosus processus generaliter damnatus, cessatus et revocatus est, quo mediante Johanna d'Arc, dicta Puella, subdolo factique fidei suspitione causata, violenta manu inique damnata, igna feroce tandem consummata, in fide solida persistens post pias exclamationes sancti nominis Jesus spiritum creatoris, in conspectu populi lacrimosis suspiriis condolentis, palam reddere edita est, post latam ante hujus: Processus celebris definitivam in Archiepiscopali palatio Rotomagensi sententiam; executio publica processionibus generalibus et prædicationibus publicis solemniter et devotissime celebratis subsequuta est: ubi palam universæ plebi precedentis iniqui processûs abominatio revelata est."

At the termination of this part appear these words:

"Acta fuerunt hæc in palatio archiepiscopali, anno Domini 1456, die septimâ mensis Julii, sic signatum: Peremittis et Ferebowcq. Hic est finis libri absolutionis Johannæ, dictæ vulgariter la Pucelle."

Then follow the six treatises in Latin before mentioned, and which were produced upon the revival of the process.

MS. Processus in causâ Johannæ de Arca Puellæ Aurelianensis, autoritate Calisti III., confectus cum aliis ad Puellam spectantibus.

This process is preserved in the library of the Vatican, among the manuscripts of the queen of Sweden; No. 256.

Processus justificationis Puellæ Aurelianensis.

There exist three copies of this work in the same

library, among the manuscripts of the celebrated Petau, Nos. 237, 744, and 836.

MS. *Procès de Jeanne d'Arc, Pucelle d'Orleans, tiré d'un manuscrit donné à M. le Cardinal d'Armignac, le 25 de Mars, 1569. in quarto.*

This work contains a very abridged account of the process of La Pucelle, and at the end are two consultations respecting Jeanne, together with her process. The first bears the following title:

“*Aucunes allégations de Messire Paul Dupont, avocat consistorial en parlement.*”

The second is thus entitled :

“*L'Extrait de vénérable personne M. Théodore, des auditeurs de la rote en cour de Rome.*”

At the commencement is inserted an abridged life of Jeanne d'Arc, and at the conclusion the sentence of justification pronounced at Rouen in 1456, by the archbishop of Rheims, the bishops of Paris and of Coutances, assisted by the bishop of Mans, and several others.

There existed also a copy of this manuscript in the library of M. Fevret de Fontette, counsellor of the parliament at Dijon.

MS. *Opinio et concilium Thomæ Lexoviensis Episcopi, super processus Johannæ Puellæ Aurelianensis.*

This volume is in the library of the Vatican, No. 1832.

M. S. *Procès tant de la condamnation, que de la justi-*

scation de Jeanne d'Arc, dite la Pucelle d'Orleans, in folio.

This manuscript is written upon paper, and was preserved in the library of the chapter of the cathedral of Orleans (afterwards united to the library of the department): it was written by order of Louis XII. and admiral Grasville, and contains some very interesting documents.

De la Pucelle d'Orleans et de son Procès, par Estienne Pasquier.

This discourse is printed in the fourth and fifth chapters of the sixth book of his researches respecting France. It contains an ample detail of the process; Pasquier having had a manuscript of the time to consult, signed by Bosquille, then keeper of the records, to which were affixed the seals of the bishop of Beauvais. Abbé Lenglet has given a very favourable account of these two chapters, in his history of Jeanne d'Arc, vol. i. part 2d, p. 197.

MS. Démonstration très-claire que Dieu a plus de sollicitude de la France, qu'il n'a de tous les états temporels, et principalement déclaration qu'elle fut la Pucelle Lorraine, Jeanne de Vaucouleurs; par Guillaume de Postel, in folio.

This document was preserved in the library of Mr. Baluze, but now forms a part of the royal collection at Paris.

Les très merveilleuses victoires des femmes, et comme elles doivent à tout le monde par raison commander, et même à

ceux qui auront la monarchie du monde vieil. Livret écrit par G. Postel, à Madame Marguerite de France; Paris, de l'imprimerie de Jean Goullard, à l'enseigne du Phanix, près le college de Rheims, 1553, in 24mo.

This very singular production is particularly spoken of in the *Mémoires de Littérature de Salengre*, vol. ii. par. 1, page 196, &c. : and is, according to that writer, *one of the most rare productions and the least known*; upon which account he deemed it necessary to insert a copious extract. From thence it appears, that Postel ranked La Pucelle d'Orleans among the number of the most illustrious heroines; for she constitutes the subject matter of an whole chapter. He inveighs against all those who regard the history of La Pucelle as a fable, and goes the length of wishing such incredulous persons were put to death, or at least banished. It appears that the reason of his introducing Jeanne d'Arc, who has in reality no connection whatsoever with his subject, is, for the purpose of deducing some consequences favourable to his own mother Jeanne; but all he says is so obscure, that it is impossible to convert it into common sense; even the very title of the chapter is in a manner unintelligible.

“Resolution de ce qu'il faut tenir tant de Jeanne la Pucelle, comme de la souveraine puissance feminine en ce monde.”

Johannæ d'Arc, Aurelianensis liberatricis, res gestæ, imago et judicium, Latine et Gallicè, à Leone, Trippault; Aureliæ 1583, 12mo.

This, properly speaking, is only the judgment of the

commissioners appointed for the justification of Jeanne d'Arc, translated into French by Trippault; at the commencement of which are three pages in Latin and in French, detailing the exploits of that heroine, which had been inserted in another work previously published; edition 1606 and 1611.

La vie et la mort de la Pucelle d'Orleans; Lyon 1619, in 12mo.

This work is little more than a repetition of those before described, with an altered title. It contains 251 pages, whereto are subjoined some speeches never delivered by La Pucelle, but detailing what, under circumstances, she might have uttered.

La Pucelle d'Orleans restituée, par l'industrie de François de Beroalde, lord of Verville; Tours, Guillemot, 1599, in 12mo.

According to Lenglet, the works of this writer, although very scarce, are but indifferent; the present is nothing but a poor romance, of no utility. Bayle, under the article Beroalde, in his Dictionary, entertains a similar opinion. Note F.

Aureliæ urbis memorabilis obsidio, anno 1428, et Joannæ, Virginis Lotharingæ, res gestæ: autore Joanne Ludovico Miquello, juventutis Aureliæ moderatore; Aureliæ, 1560, in 8vo.; Parisiis, Wechel, 1570, in 12mo.

This production is dedicated to the cardinal of Lorraine, in the course of which its author, Miqueau, has collected together, with infinite exactitude, every thing

that appeared to him most true in various manuscripts, the author having equally arranged in due order the principal events of this celebrated siege. From the fragment of a letter of Gentian Hervet, inserted at the beginning of the work, it is apparent that the latter communicated to Micqueau several observations, and many of the statements contained in his volume.

Idem. Opus recognitum accepit historię supplementum seu innocentid et fortitudo Puellę plurimis et gravibus testimoniis comprobata, contra hostiles calumnias Petri Cauchonii, Episcopi, et Ducis Bedfordiensis, Anglorum prefecti, cum adjuncta sententia delegatorum a Calisto III. Pontifice maximo, de Joannę Puellę innocentid Rothomagi, anno 1456, data; Parisiis, Auger, 1631, in 12mo.

This second edition, dedicated to Messires the Mayor and Authorities of the city of Orleans, by an anonymous writer, signing himself R. L. M., is preferable to the former; for, besides the work of Micqueau, the editor has added a supplement, wherein he demonstrates the falsehood of the accusations wherewith Jeanne was charged, and he adduces several proofs in her favour, together with the sentence of her justification, pronounced at Rouen, by the Pope's legates, on the 7th of July 1456.

La historia della donzella de Orleans, y de sus grandes hechos, sacados de la chronica real: por un cavallero discreto, embiado per Embaxador de Castilla en Francia por los Rēes Ferdinando y Isabel, en Burgos, 1562, in 8vo.

The Abbé Lenglet states, that he was never able to discover this work.

L'histoire et discours vrai du siège qui fut mis devant la ville d'Orléans par les Anglais, &c. &c.

Concerning this production, which is a description of the Diary contained in the present volume, M. Chaussard thus expresses himself at p. 349 of his historical collection respecting Jeanne d'Arc.

“ This history of the Siege of Orleans is taken from an old manuscript discovered among the archives of the town-house of Orleans, written in the old style according to the language of that period. Simpliorien Guion has inserted a part in his History of Orleans, part ii. page 182, Nos. 68 and 146, omitting some statements and adding others, which he conceived necessary.”

“ This little work is one of the most interesting that has been handed down to us upon the subject under review ; it is a very exact journal, containing day by day, from the 12th October 1428, till the 8th May 1429, the principal events of the siege. To these are added the advantages that accrued in consequence of the siege of Orleans being raised ; viz. the expulsion of the English from the principal cities of the kingdom, the successive advantages obtained by Charles VII. over his enemies, his coronation at Rheims, and the various happy results which concurred to place the kingdom at his disposal, &c. : independent of this, the present production abounds with naïve and singular traits, and in spite of the obsolete language in which it is dressed, there reigns throughout

the expressions, a certain originality which renders its perusal of singular interest."

Livre de la Pucelle native de Lorraine, qui reduisit la France entre les mains du Roi. Ensemble de jugement et comment elle fut brulée au vicil marché à Rouen, l'an 1431, avec les procédures et interrogatoires.

This work is printed with the Chronicle of Normandy, in 8vo; Rouen 1580, as well as with the history of that province; Rouen 1610, in 8vo.

Histoire du Siège d'Orléans et de la Pucelle Jeanne, mise en notre langue, par Du Breton; Paris, Villery, 1631, in 8vo.

This work, which we have frequently quoted in the course of the notes annexed to the Diary, is a modernized publication of that journal, with variations and additions; Du Breton in his preface states, that the Diary was originally written by one of the Directors of the college at Orleans, in the time of Charles VII.; nor is it by any means unlikely that Louis Micqueau was the personage in question.

Histoire du Siège d'Orléans et des faits de Jeanne la Pucelle, Guillelmi Cardinalis Destouteville et Theobaldi (Thibault d'Aussigny) ac Francisci (François de Brilhac) Aurelianensium Episcoporum, et Johannis Rolin, (Episcopi Augustodunensis et Cardinalis) Diplomata, de processione pro libertate ejusdem urbis.

These acts are preserved in the Vatican library, No. 770, among those of the queen of Sweden. The Abbé Leng-

let has inserted them at the end of the third part of his history of Jeanne d'Arc, page 267, from the originals in the mansion-house of Orleans.

Histoire mémorable du Siège d'Orléans par les Anglais, &c. enrichie de la vie de Jean d'Orléans, Comte de Dunois et de Longueville, Général des armées du Roi Charles sept, Grand-maître de France, &c. ornée des noms de Messieurs le Maire et Echevins de ladite ville, depuis leur création, avec le temps de leurs exercices; Orléans, Jacob, 1739, in 8vo.

This work, which opens with a description of the city of Orleans, is from the pen of Stephen Barrois, who dedicated his labour to the mayor and magistrates of the city. He gives a pretty exact and regular account of the siege of Orleans; but does not display any great research. The only original document which it contains, is the letter forwarded by La Pucelle to the English, at p. 18. The writer, notwithstanding, seems to have consulted some good authorities, and the journal published by Trippault in 1576, was of great utility to him. What Abbé Lenglet states is certainly correct, when he observes, that the perusal of this work is insufficient for such persons as might be anxious to enter deeply into the subject; who would necessarily have to consult other sources. It must however be confessed, that the account of the siege is methodical, but the style poor, and abounding in vitiated expressions.

The life of the famous Count Dunois is of a similar description, being compiled in a mediocre manner.

La Parthénie Orléanaise, ou l'histoire de la ville d'Orléans assiégé par les Anglais, tiré de l'histoire d'Orléans de M. Symphorien Guyon ; Orléans, Borde, 1654, in 8vo.

Consult the Abbé Lenglet in respect to the present work, which is very uncommon; History of La Pucelle, vol. i. part 2. p. 203.

Puellæ Aurelianensis causa, adversariis orationibus disceptata : autore Jacobo Jolio, Parisiis, 1608, in 8vo.

The present volume consists of eleven pleadings, which the author causes his scholars to recite, the one being accusatory, and the other in defence of La Pucelle. The accusation forms four heads; namely, change of female attire, bearing arms, libertinism, and magic; all which points are disputed for and against; at the conclusion of which, the judge, who is an Englishman, pronounces the sentence of death. There are, besides, two pieces of poetry in this volume; the writer also promising to produce an apology for Jeanne, which does not, however, appear to have been written. The work itself is but very mediocre, although it was recited in the college of Navarre at Paris.

See Lenglet's History of Jeanne d'Arc; vol. i. p. 198, and vol. ii. p. 297.

Heroïnæ nobilissimæ Joannæ d'Arc, Lothringæ, vulgo Aurelianensis Puellæ, historia, ex variis gravissimæ incorruptissimæ que fidei scriptoribus excerpta, ejus que innocentia à calumniis vindicata: auctore Johanne Hordal, J. U. doctore et professore in alma civitate Ponte Mussana, Ducis à Lothuringia consiliario, in 4to. Ponti Mussi.

The author of this work undertakes an apology of Jeanne d'Arc. In the first part he draws out a summary of the state of France at the period when the Pucelle presented herself before Charles VII. He compares her to the most renowned heroines that have figured in history, and quotes, as his authorities, the several writers who have written respecting her. In the second part he proves her innocence. The work is well written, and contains extracts from upwards of fifty documents, comprising historians, theologians, physicians, poets, &c.

See *Le Genre*, vol. ii. p. 61. *History of Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. i.

At the commencement there are engravings representing La Pucelle as an Amazonian warrior. John Hordal, the author of this production, was a relative of Jeanne d'Arc, being descended from the daughter of one of her brothers. It was owing to this, that he undertook to write her history; added to which, he was incited thereto by Charles Dulys, advocate-general of the Court of Aids of Paris, who was a descendant of Peter Arc, third brother of La Pucelle, who, while he lived, suffered nothing to escape him which could tend to illustrate the memory of that heroine.

The author has subjoined at the end of the first part, pages 153—157, a notice of all the works written upon the subject of Jeanne d'Arc; wherein more than sixty productions are enumerated, among which, however, there are many altogether unworthy of notice; the best we shall now proceed to cite.

Innocence opprimé par des juges iniques.

This document concerning La Pucelle may be found in

vol. ix. of *Les Causes Célèbres*; Paris, 1750, in 12mo. pages 1, 2. It abounds with errors, particularly in regard to proper names and some of the most essential facts; added to which, it savours of romance, and that of a mediocre cast.

Histoire mémorable de Jeanne d'Arc, appelée la Pucelle, extrait du procès de sa condamnation et des dépositions des témoins ouïs pour sa justification en 1455, publiée par Jean Masson; Paris, 1612, in 8vo.

This history is divided into one hundred and seventy-seven short chapters, containing every thing that is or can be ascertained respecting La Pucelle, as well from the interrogatories put to her, as the depositions of the witnesses. It begins at her birth, and terminates with the sentence of absolution, given at Rouen the 7th of July 1456, by the judges delegated from the See of Rome: the style is, however, fastidious and disagreeable.

La Pucelle d'Orléans et ses frères, extrait des titres et autres bonnes preuves; Paris, 1612, in 8vo.

This work, which is badly written, contains a portion of the genealogy of Jeanne d'Arc. See the History of La Pucelle, by Abbé Lenglet, vol. i. p. 209, and vol. ii. p. 297.

Traité sommaire du nom, des armes, naissance et parenté de la Pucelle d'Orléans, avec les preuves; Paris, 1633, in quarto.

It appears that this publication is but a second impression

of the preceding work, with additional proofs, and more ample in the detail ; according to Abbé Lenglet ; *ibid.*

The armorial bearings of La Pucelle, her brothers, and her posterity, were, on an azure ground, a silver sword in pale, the point upwards, crossed and powdered with gold, having on either side a golden fleur de lys, surmounted by a crown of gold ; according to the testimony of Monstrelet, who was a cotemporary of the Pucelle ; see Book ii. of his Chronicles, as well as Wassebourg, Belleforest, Stephen Pasquier, Andrew Thévet, Claude Paradin, La Roque, and others. The last mentioned writer, in chapter xliii. of his *Traité de la Noblesse*, after having dwelt upon that of Jeanne d'Arc, recites the most striking occurrences of her life and her death. He then enters into a detail of the principal authors who have written respecting her, and refuted the crimes which were alleged against her by calumny. La Pucelle was ennobled, together with all her relatives, by letters patent of King Charles VII. ratified at Meung near Orleans, in the month of December, 1429. Nobility in the female descendants of the brothers of La Pucelle was, however, suppressed by a decree of the parliament in 1614.

The family of this famous woman became extinct in the person of Messire Henry François de Coulombe Dulys, a canon of Champeaux and prior of Coutras, who died on the 29th of June 1760 : he was the last male representative ; and with him the pension allowed by the Court also ceased.

This treatise concerning the name and the armorial bearings of La Pucelle, &c. is also printed at the termination of the ensuing work.

Recueil d'Inscriptions proposées pour remplir les tables d'attente, étant sous les statues du Roi Charles VII., et de la Pucelle d'Orléans, qui sont élevées également armées et à genoux sur le pont de la ville d'Orléans, dès l'an 1458, avec le discours sommaire tant du nom et des armes que de la naissance et parenté de la Pucelle, &c. ; Paris, 1613, in quarto.

This same production, considerably augmented by numerous poetic compositions, written in honour of Jeanne d'Arc, of her brothers, and of their posterity, was also printed at Paris, in 1628 ; in quarto.

The present collection, extremely rare and very curious, is preferable to the other edition, inasmuch as it contains several documents not inserted in the prior impression. It was written by Charles Dulys, counsellor of state and advocate-general of the court of Aids at Paris, being a lineal descendant of one of the brothers of La Pucelle. It contains a great number of inscriptions and the poetic effusions of a variety of celebrated authors, such as, Charles de la Saussaie, Nicholas Rigaud, James Goutier, &c. &c. See more upon this subject under the article of Inscriptions, contained in the present volume.

Histoire de la Pucelle d'Orleans, en quatre livres ; par Edmond Richer, docteur en théologie, manuscript, in folio.

Abbé Lenglet, who states his having perused and well examined this work, does not speak much in its commendation. He says, that prior to reading the two processes of La Pucelle, and the other documents of the period, he thought well of this production ; " but," continues

he, "as soon as I had glanced at the originals, I found that Edmund Richer had not written in a luminous or instructive manner:" this assertion, however, is not strictly correct, nor does it render that justice to Richer, to which he is really entitled.

The present manuscript was preserved in the library of Mr. Thuillier, of Orleans, doctor and physician of the faculty of Paris. Book the first contains the history of La Pucelle; the second her process and condemnation, with reflections upon every article and each sitting, together with the original documents that were brought forward; the third book gives the revisal of the process, with the original matter produced as proof; and in the fourth are enumerated the names of all those who have written concerning Jeanne d'Arc. — The author died in 1633.

This volume, the original of Richer's work, is now in the Royal Library at Paris, and an account of it may be found in the *Memoirs of Abbé d'Artigny*, vol. vii. p. 324, &c. This history obtained the approbation of the doctors in 1630, and a privilege for its being printed in 1691. See also Mr. Laverdy's notice respecting the manuscripts in the Royal Library, vol. iii. pages 186—189. Lenglet Dufresnoy's production is nothing more than a plagiary from the labour of Richer.

Histoire de la Pucelle d'Orleans, par Francis Lemaire.

This history is printed in that which he wrote concerning the history of Orleans, pages 185 and 304: Orleans, Maria Paris, 1648, in folio. The author develops every thing concerning La Pucelle which redounds to the

honour of the city, and he dwells at large upon the procession which annually takes place on the 8th of May, in honour of its deliverance.

Remarques sur la Pucelle d'Orleans, par l'Abbé Nicolas Lenglet.

These are printed in a work entitled *L'Histoire justifiée contre les Romans; Amsterdam, Paris, 1735*, in 12mo. pages 263 and 288. Among the documents at the conclusion, pages 45—50, is the extract of a work written by Postel upon the same subject.

Essai sur la question; Jeanne d'Arc a-t-elle subi réellement l'arrêt qui la condamnait au supplice du feu; par M. de Laneverre, ancien Mousquetaire: Mercure, 1764, November, page 44.

Another letter upon the same subject, by Lemoine, *ibid.*

Lettre écrite de Munich, sur la bataille d'Azincour et sur la Pucelle d'Orleans, à l'occasion des tomes xiii. et xiv. de l'Histoire de France, par M. Villaret: Gazette Littéraire, 1764, tome iii. page 63.

Letter from M. Villaret in reply to the preceding, *ibid.* page 263.

L'Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc, Vierge, Heroine et Martyre d'Etat, suscitée par la Providence pour retablir la Monarchie Française, tirée des Procès et autres pièces originales du tems, par M. l'Abbé N. Lenglet Dufresnoy: Paris, 1753, in 12mo. 2 vols.

Volume the first comprises two parts: the first con-

taining an ample preface, with reflections of the author on the exploits of La Pucelle, and the proceedings instituted against her; the second part contains the process of her justification, and an extract from some documents relating to the two processes. At the end is a list of manuscript and printed accounts of Jeanne d'Arc, with remarks upon each, by M. Lenglet.

Volume the second contains the third part, comprising several testimonies or extracts from various authors, respecting La Pucelle, with notes and refutations of some writers. Different systems imagined to explain the phenomena of the Pucelle d'Orleans. An heroic parallel of the courage of Jeanne d'Arc, with that of several other illustrious heroines. Immunities granted to the city of Orleans. Letters of nobility given by Charles VII. to La Pucelle, her whole family and posterity. Additions to the list at the conclusion of the second part.

This work is nothing more than an abridgement of a manuscript history of La Pucelle, composed by Edmund Richer, a doctor of the Sorbonne, celebrated for his writings, and still more, on account of his misfortunes.*

* Edmund Richer, a French divine, was a native of Chaource, in the diocese of Langres, in 1560. He became grand master of the college of Le Moine, and afterwards syndic of the faculty of divinity at Paris. Richer opposed the papal authority, in a treatise, "On the Civil and Ecclesiastical Power," which created so much noise, that the author was deposed, and sent to prison, from whence he was not released until he had made his submission. He died in 1631. Richer was also the author of "A History of the General Councils," 4 vols. 4to., and other works.

The manuscript, which is in folio, had been arranged by Richer himself, in order to go to the press, but he died without causing it to be printed. A publisher, (Debure, the elder,) about the year 1750, gave this manuscript to be inspected by the Abbé Lenglet and Mr. Burigny, well known as the writers of the lives of Grotius, Erasmus, and Cardinal Perron, who entertained a very high opinion of this work on the Pucelle of Orleans; and conceived that, with some trifling alterations, it would meet a favourable reception from the public. Instigated by these suggestions, the bookseller engaged M. l'Abbé d'Artigny to undertake the arrangement of Richer's work, and make the necessary changes and corrections: with which demand M. d'Artigny acquiesced, and had began his literary labour when the production of the Abbé Lenglet made its appearance.

During the three or four months that the manuscript of Richer continued in the hands of the latter gentleman for the purpose of undergoing examination, he had extracted the most essential parts, and from thence completed his undertaking. He then returned the manuscript to the publisher, without making mention of the transcripts he had made, and immediately afterwards his work was issued into publicity. This history, therefore, is nothing more than an extract, or abridgement of Richer's manuscript. Without the precipitancy with which Abbé Lenglet arranged his manuscript, he might have given to the world an excellent account of Jeanne d'Arc; for, with more research, and aided with the precious manuscript of Richer, he would have formed

a complete history ; but it was necessary that he should expedite his sheets under the fear of being superseded, and this consideration prevented him from consulting all the authorities which were open to him. The divisions and the order observed by Abbé Lenglet, in the progress of his history, differ very little from that composed by Richer, as the Abbé d'Artigny positively affirms; whereto he adds, that " Abbé Lenglet does not record a single act, which is not to be found in the manuscript of Richer," which he states having had in his own possession. The arrangement of the feats recorded is the same in both histories, from the birth of Jeanne d'Arc, until the period of her death.

For an ample detail of this history, see *L'Année Littéraire*, for 1754, vol. i. p. 217; *Mémoires d'Artigny*, vol. ii. p. 41, and vol. vii. p. 326; *Le Journal des Savans*, for November, 1753; and *M. De L'Averdy*, p. 185 of vol. iii. of the manuscripts in the Royal Library at Paris.

Lenglet Dufresnoy, in the second volume of his History of La Pucelle, enumerates the several testimonies in favour of Jeanne d'Arc, extracted from a great number of foreign authors. These he produces, in chronological order, from the period when La Pucelle was presented to Charles VII., until nearly the end of the fifteenth century.

Those of a subsequent date, says Abbé Lenglet Dufresnoy, are merely copyists of the former writers; while others, in order to deviate from the beaten track, have deemed it necessary to follow the dictates of their own imaginations; "but with regard to myself," continues he,

"I have consulted the historians of the English and the Burgundian party, as the favourable testimony of one enemy outweighs that of a dozen friends."

The authors whom he quotes in the third part of his history, are, *Philelfus*, an Italian writer, in an epistle which he addressed to Charles VII., about the year 1450; *Saint Antonin*, archbishop of Florence; *Encas Silvius*, raised to the papal chair, in 1458, under the title of *Pius II.*, who speaks of La Pucelle in the forty-third chapter, containing his description of Europe; *Baptist Fulgosus*, doge of Genoa, in his collection of the most remarkable traits in modern history; *Philip of Begarnus*, *Augustin*, in his work *De Claris Mulieribus*, cap. clvii.; *John Nider*, the famous German monk, of the Dominican order, who died in 1438, and consequently a cotemporary of La Pucelle, concerning whom he treats in his book *De Maleficiis*, chap. viii.; *Polydore Virgil*, the English historian; *Hector Boetius*, the chronicler of Scottish annals, at book xvi. of his history of that country; *Larrey*, the historian of England; *Paulus Jovius*, bishop of Noreras, to the kingdom of Naples; *John Ferrier*, the Piedmontese, libro xviii. *Historiæ Scotorum*; *Jacques Meyer*, of Flanders, who speaks of the arrival of La Pucelle at the court of Charles VII., libro xv. *Annalium Flandriæ*; *Pontus Henterus*, provost of Arnheim, in Guelders; and *Mariana*, the Spanish Jesuit, who has written an eulogium of La Pucelle in book xx. of his History of Spain.

Freron, in his *Année Littéraire* for 1754, vol. i., p. 217, in giving an account of the work of Lenglet du Fresnoy en-

titled *Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc, Vierge, Heroine, et Martyre d'Etat, &c.*, proposes this question : Was this girl delegated by the Omnipotent to maintain Charles VII. on the throne? or was she only the instrument of a court intrigue, being found capable of counterfeiting the character of an inspired woman, for the purpose of invigorating the courage of the French, and drawing the king from his lethargy? This problem is supposed to be unravelled in a work entitled *Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc, &c.* After the extract from the work, containing the interrogatories of the judges, and the answers of La Pucelle, the criticism concludes in the following manner :—

“ The English had attributed crimes to Jeanne d'Arc, because it was their interest to find her guilty, and it was no less the interest of the French to believe her inspired ; is it therefore astonishing that miracles should have been attributed to her? consequently no more credence should be placed in the one than in the other. It must ever remain uncertain whether Jeanne was an instrument delegated by the Supreme Being, and it is more uncertain still whether she had supernatural revelations, on which the author too lightly places dependence, relying upon the veracity of his manuscripts.

“ Thus the problem which the Abbé Lenglet had flattered himself he should unravel, continues a problem still, as regards those who cannot come to a decision upon the point in question. Notwithstanding this, the work is extremely interesting and curious, being replete with undoubted anecdotes.”

Mémoire sur un Projet qu'avait formé l'Auteur des Mémoires d'Artigny, de donner au Public une Histoire de la Pucelle d'Orléans, composée par Edmond Richer, préface et commencement de cette Histoire.

This production forms the twelfth article of volume the seventh of the Memoirs of Abbé d'Artigny, page 323, Paris, Debure the elder, 1749—1756, in 12mo. 7 vols. We have previously stated, in speaking of the history of Jeanne d'Arc, by Abbé Lenglet, that Debure, the bookseller, had engaged Abbé d'Artigny to consult the manuscript of Richer, upon which the Abbé thus expresses himself:—

“ I began to work with all the application which the importance of the subject demanded, being no less desirous of satisfying the wish of the public: but, when I learned that Abbé Lenglet was printing an history of La Pucelle, I discontinued my labour. To give the public some idea of the manner in which Richer handled the subject, I will transcribe the preface and the opening of his history, with such alterations in the style as an editor is warranted in adopting.” This forms the subject matter of the *Mémoire* under review, which certainly gives a favourable idea of Richer's production. Abbé d'Artigny accords him all the justice due to his labour, which is not the case with Abbé Lenglet, who had his motives for disguising the truth.

Examen de deux Articles des Mémoires de M. l'Abbé d'Artigny (vol. ii.) touchant la Pucelle d'Orléans ; par M. Daniel Polluche, Mercure, 1750, Mai.

Le même, avec les Notes de M. l'Abbé d'Artigny dans les Mémoires, tome vii. p. 57.

M. Polluche's production originated in the following circumstance ; Abbé d'Artigny seemed to approve what is stated by M. de Labarre at page 119 of the first volume of his Memoirs, concerning the histories of France and Burgundy (Paris, 1729, quarto). The following is the subject matter of the article in question. It is stated that there existed at the time of La Pucelle, one father Richard, a Cordelier, a celebrated preacher and a missionary, who had in his retinue and under his care, three or four devotees, of which number Jeanne d'Arc was one. It is further stated, that this director amused them with detailing visions and revelations, and thus filling their imaginations with a thousand fantastical and extravagant ideas. It is added, that La Pucelle, in whom father Richard perceived a strong disposition to nurture enthusiasm in her mind, was preferred before her companions ; so that, aided by the instructions of the Cordelier, she was ushered upon the grand scene where she performed the most astonishing part ever yet undertaken by a female ; it is also further stated, that one of her companions was burnt on a Sunday, being the third of September, 1430.

The object of M. Polluche is to destroy this connexion, supposed to have existed between La Pucelle and the monk Richard, under the conviction that it is

highly essential to the honour of our heroine, as well as to her memory, that it should be clearly proved she was never under the tuition of the Cordelier. To effect this, M. Polluche adduces statements tending to show that Jeanne d'Arc never could have known father Richard; and that even in case she had listened to his instructions, such circumstance could not have taken place until long after La Pucelle had performed the most celebrated of her exploits, and in particular, the causing of the Siege of Orleans to be raised; and that consequently it is not reasonable to suppose that Jeanne d'Arc was tutored by the monk, before she figured upon the grand scene of action. This memoir is addressed to M. d'Artigny, who seemed to approve of M. de Labarre's account, and therefore to give credence to this statement so injurious to the reputation of Jeanne. In offering to justify the Maid of Orleans in this respect, M. Polluche, however, does not attempt to apologize for father Richard: on the contrary, he represents him as a subtle character, very well formed to conduct and bring his artifices to a fortunate termination.

Dissertation sur la Pucelle d'Orléans, par Rapin de Thoyras.

This is printed in his History of England; the author supposing, that Monstrelet is the only contemporary writer whose statements are deserving of credit. This supposition is, however, completely erroneous, as father Berthier has proved in the first article of the following dissertation; even allowing that Rapin has treated the matter at length, and that his dissertation is well digested.

Discours sur la Pucelle d'Orléans, par le Père Guillaume François Berthier, Jesuit.

This Discourse is printed in the History of the Gallican Church, vol. xvi. p. 449; it is handled at great length, and was written by way of reply to the dissertation of Rapin just quoted. It is divided into four parts, in which the different opinions entertained respecting La Pucelle are scrupulously examined. In the first article, testimonies and reasons are adduced, to show that she was inspired by God; a sentiment upheld by three principal reasons; in the second article are adduced the testimonies upon which it was pretended she had been guilty of sorcery; in the third, are the statements that have prompted some to believe that this girl was the tool of a political intrigue practised for the benefit of Charles VII.; and lastly, in the fourth, are those assertions tending to demonstrate that La Pucelle laboured under an illusion, which is in particular the opinion of Rapin.

The marquis de Luchet, in his history of the Orleanais, 2 vols. in 4to. 1766, refutes father Berthier, and all the authors whom he has quoted, one after the other. He gives him every credit for profound erudition and an extraordinary facility in the art of persuading. I confess, says M. Luchet, that he has replied to many of the difficulties adduced by his adversary (M. Rapin), but these knotty points were those of M. Rapin, and not of the generality of Jeanne's historians; who do not perceive any thing of the marvellous in this historical phenomenon. The real doubts, which it is very difficult not to form, are by no means explained: see this very philosophic work, which is, however, somewhat severe in regard to La Pucelle.

Nouveau Mémoire pour l'Histoire, vol. ii. p. 52, vol. vii. p. 57, by the Abbé d'Artigny.

The writer maintains that Jeanne had a director named brother Richard, a Cordelier, who had journeyed to Jerusalem and passed through Vaucouleurs, before the departure of La Pucelle, to whom he gave instructions conjointly with Baudricourt.

Lettres Sérieuses et Badins, vol. iii. p. 26.

According to M. de Beaumarchais, Jeanne was an enthusiast who, associated with three other women, Perronne, and her companion Catherine de Laroche, had been worked upon by the celebrated preacher brother Richard; who, having operated upon their minds by the recital of visions and revelations, heated their imaginations, which were naturally weak. In consequence of this, they thought, upon his assertion, that they were saints, and from that period conceived that all the phantasies their brains engendered were really inspirations. La Pucelle, says our author, was preferred before her companions, and the king converted her pious folly to his own profit; affecting to entertain the most profound respect towards her, in order to invigorate his adherents in making them believe that the Omnipotent had despatched this second Deborah for the purpose of driving his enemies out of the kingdom.

The journal of Charles VII. expressly states, "That father Richard governed these four women, for that he was their *father-in-law*, that is to say, their father confessor."

Vie des Femmes Illustres de la France ; Paris, 1762, in 12mo, avec cette epigraphe ; " Soutenez vos droits au bon sens, et montrez aux hommes que la raison n'est pas faite pour eux seuls."

This notice is peculiarly interesting, and the author reasons in the following manner :

" I have before stated, that it is not my intention to satirize, nor stand forward as a panegyrist; as my history of La Pucelle will sufficiently demonstrate. I shall not, with the English, proceed to call her a magician or a sorceress, &c. ; neither is it my intention, conjointly with some Frenchmen, to make her hold converse with Saints Michael and Catherine; nor to represent her every instant as a girl who undertook nothing but under the immediate impulse of a divine inspiration. I relate her life as an historian, consequently nothing shall be recorded but authentic facts; and my conclusion is, that whatsoever La Pucelle might be, Charles VII. and the realm of France owed her the greatest obligations."

" Jeanne d'Arc was an extraordinary female: her actions have elevated her above her sex; she had her weak points, and who is without reproach? Do not let us deceive ourselves, nor require that every thing should be virtuous."

" It is folly to inveigh against the English; posterity has condemned them without appeal; it has branded them more than lies within the scope of our ability; and in such cases we should never exhaust the subject. Were I led to adopt this plan, I should fall into the error of an author of our day (the Jesuit Berthier) who being solely

occupied in the production of a volume, no matter how acquired, states the greatest absurdities in order to refute Rapin. We must place ourselves above certain prejudices, by which means we are exposed to the attacks of a set of individuals, who, blinded by a mistaken zeal, and divested of rational perception, are always ready to exclaim, that God or the Devil were concerned in the exploits of La Pucelle."

After this preliminary address, the writer proceeds to detail the events of Jeanne's life in a very perspicuous manner; and, at the coronation of Charles at Rheims, he states, that the king testified his gratitude, and caused a medal to be struck in honour of her, on one side of which appeared her effigy, while on the reverse was a hand bearing a sword with this inscription, *Consilio firmata Dei*.

When the author adverts to the final sortie from Compiègne, whether it was that Jeanne had noticed or heard something by chance, he states that she uttered this exclamation; *I am betrayed!* but, continues he, "That which appears incomprehensible is, that the king should have adopted no measure to extricate her. The French drew out no form of complaint in regard to the treatment she experienced when a prisoner; they were in possession of English captives of the first rank, yet no exchange was proposed, nor were any threats held out as to adopting a similar mode of proceeding. The historian, although a Frenchman, cannot conceal the base ingratitude with which the services of La Pucelle were required. No sooner was she captured, than nothing more

was thought respecting her; the envy and jealousy of courtiers might close the ears of the king, and render him insensible to the sufferings of Jeanne; but was he on that account the more excusable? Had he forgotten all that she had performed for him? When the news of the taking La Pucelle arrived, the English had recourse to extraordinary rejoicings; the duke of Bedford, in thus aloud proclaiming her capture, conceived that he should revive the courage of his partisans; he forgot that such a step was only proclaiming his own shame. For what did he possess? a girl of eighteen years of age; "No," said the English; "we rejoice, because this sorceress had enchanted the arms of the chevaliers of France." In conclusion, our author gives this statement.

"The sight of the stake made no dread impression upon her mind; she marched with a firm step, and mounted the pile with the same courage she had demonstrated when rushing to the assault. She was chained to a post, and in that situation was still an object worthy to be admired. Scarcely was the fire communicated to the faggots, than she was suffocated. *"Such was La Pucelle; her death has covered the English with shame,"* and, continues the writer, *"disgraced them by a crime familiar only to that sanguinary nation."*

"Jeanne was merely a stranger to the English; her only crime consisted in being a prisoner of war; and as such she ought to have been treated. No record can be produced of an individual having been legally condemned for defending his country and using every legitimate means to combat against an enemy. The pretended

crimes of sorcery, heresy, &c. only afford so many proofs of the weakness of the measures resorted to by the English to compass her condemnation; nor had the judges either temporal or spiritual jurisdiction over the destiny of this magnanimous woman."

Histoire de l'Orléanais, depuis l'an 703 de la fondation de Rome jusqu'à nos jours; par le Marquis de Luchet; Amsterdam et Paris, 1766, in quarto.

The production of this writer is bold and philosophical, and he appears to search for truth with infinite zeal. He refers to, and combats the opinion of father Berthier, as well as those of the writers whom he has quoted, and also enters into a detail of the anniversary festivals which take place at Orleans on the eighth of May, in commemoration of the raising the siege of that city.

The account of the siege, and that of La Pucelle, will be found at pages 307 and 418.

Lettres d'un Orléanais, sur la Nouvelle Histoire de l'Orléanais, par le Marquis de Luchet; Bruxelles, (Paris) in 12mo.

This small volume, containing only forty pages, is a critique upon the last mentioned work by the Marquis de Luchet; in which the author points out several errors and omissions which had escaped the writer of that production, as well in his preface as throughout the account of the origin, topography, description, and history of the Orleanais.

Dissertation sur Jeanne d'Arc, vulgairement nommé La Pucelle d'Orléans, par M. Luchet, ancien officier de cavalerie, 1776, in 8vo.

In the present work the author frequently contradicts assertions which he has made concerning La Pucelle, in his History of the Orleanais of 1766; and generally speaking, in this dissertation, as in his *first work*, he does not always agree in his own statements. He, however, repeats in part what is printed in his prior History; and the result, which I have transcribed, is precisely the same.

“But to return,” says he, “to what we have written respecting this extraordinary woman, we are of opinion, that she neither deserved the eulogies which have so incessantly accompanied her memory, nor the cruel destiny which awaited her; there appears about her more to pity than admire. *It is not proved that she was made the tool of a gross and unenlightened policy; which is of all the opinions disseminated hitherto, that never yet disproved, and in which there certainly is the least share of improbability.* Her death affords a serious lesson, and the justification of La Pucelle is a consolatory example. The Church herself destroys these errors, and repairs the evil as much as lies in the power of mortals. The variety of histories extant respecting this singular woman, afford a most irrefragable proof of the little progress we have made in eliciting veracity; how few writers there are who venture to think for themselves: and we are firmly of opinion, that, if history in general was examined with as much scrupulous attention as this one particular record,

we should be under the necessity of reforming our ideas in a manner very little expected."

Acte de la donation du Chapeau de la Pucelle, faite à la maison de l'Oratoire d'Orléans, par le Père Mézeteau, prêtre de ladite congrégation, du 22 Avril, 1631.

The act here alluded to, is inserted at the end of the third part of the History of Jeanne d'Arc, by Abbé Lenglet, page 278. This bonnet is stated to have been preserved in the said mansion; we may, however, be permitted to doubt the authenticity of the relic.

Valerandi Varani, Galli, Doctoris theologi Parisiensis, de Gestis Joannæ Virginis egregiæ, libri quatuor versu heroico, in quarto; Parisiis, 1516.

This poem respecting La Pucelle, is also printed in the collection of John Ravisius Textor, entitled, *De Claris Mulieribus, in folio, Parisiis, 1521 and 1529.* This theologian of the faculty of Paris was a native of Abbeville, and lived in the reign of Louis XII.

The work, consisting of upwards of three thousand heroic verses, passable for the period, describes the birth, manners, life, actions, and death of La Pucelle, terminating with the revisal of the process of the heroine, made by order of the Pope in 1456. The poem contains no fiction, and is divested of all those auxiliaries that give eclat to an epic production.

Histoire tragique de la Pucelle de Domremy, autrement d'Orléans, nouvellement départie par actes et représentée par personnages, avec chœurs des enfans et filles de France,

et un avant-jeu en vers, et des épodes chantées en musique, dédiée par Jean Barnet à M. le Comte de Salms, Seigneur de Domremy la Pucelle; Nanci, Veuve Sanson, 1581, in quarto.

John Barnet, above named, was not the author of this piece; but only revised and edited the same. It is extremely rare, and Father Nicéron attributes it with every semblance of probability to Father Fronton le Duc, a learned Jesuit.

It was performed on the seventh of September, 1580, at Pont-à-Mousson, in presence of Charles III. Duke of Lorraine, who was so gratified with the representation that he ordered a considerable sum to be given to the poet, for the purpose of buying him a new robe, as that which he wore, like the costume of poets in general, smelt somewhat of evangetic poverty. This anecdote appears in a fragment of the manuscripts of Father Oudin inserted in the Memoirs of M. Michault; Paris, 1654, vol. ii. page 277. See also Father Nicéron, vol. xxxviii. page 114: Hist. of Jeanne d'Arc, vol. iii. page 296: and the Historical Dictionary.

Jeanne d'Arc, dite la Pucelle d'Orléans, native du village d'Épernay, près Vaucouleurs, en Lorraine, tragédie anonyme en cinq actes en vers, sans distinctions de scènes, avec un prologue et des chœurs: Rouen, Raphaël du Petitval, 1603, in 12mo.

The subject matter of this piece is thus represented: Charles VII. groaning under the weight of his misfortunes in presence of the duke of Alençon, the latter seeks to raise his drooping hopes. Jeanne quits her village

and repairs to tender her services to the king, when the Bastard of Orleans, surprised to witness in her so much courage, demands if it is by her personal charms she intends to subdue the enemy; to which interrogatory she replies with becoming modesty and firmness. This adventure is immediately construed into a miracle, and the command of troops is awarded to Jeanne, when she marches to the English, whom she overthrows, gaining a complete victory; she is subsequently made to fall into the hands of her enemies, who, treating her as a sorceress, make her suffer an ignominious death; the supposed representation of which execution concludes the tragedy.

This piece has nothing to recommend it but extreme rarity; the plot and language being alike poor and void of interest. There was another edition at Rouen, in 1611; and a third at Troyes, Nicolas Oudot, 1626, in 8vo.

La Pucelle, tragédie en prose; Paris, 1642, in 12mo.

Upon this subject, consult Lenglet's History of Jeanne d'Arc, part iii. page 297. Paul Boyer, in his Universal Dictionary, page 167, attributes this piece to Benserade; but Samuel Chapuzeau, in his account of the French theatres, names, as its author, Hippolite Jule de la Menardiere, an officer of the king's household, of whom some mediocre performances in poetry are handed down to us. The writer of the Theatrical Dictionary places more reliance on the opinion of Boyer, than that of Chapuzeau.

La Pucelle d'Orléans, autre tragédie en prose, de l'Abbé d'Aubignac (François Hedelin), represented in the same year 1642.

It must be obvious that these productions are of little utility for history; we have only given them insertion, as they are few in number, and to show every species of composition that has been made a vehicle for commemorating the heroine of the Siege of Orleans.

N. B. In the Vatican at Rome is preserved, among the manuscripts of the Queen of Sweden, a dramatic work, entitled, "*Le Mystère du Siège d'Orléans.*"

Les trois Etats de l'Innocence, par le Sieur de Cériseurs, aumonier du Roi: Paris, Camusat et Lepetit, 1646; Toulouse, 1650, in 8vo.

From the contents of the privilege granted to publish this work, we learn that René de Cerisiers was of the Company of Jesus. In the first part, afflicted innocence appears under the form of Jeanne d'Arc. Abbé Lenglet observes, that this production was a rhapsody of the time, in every respect worthy to be coupled with the article of La Pucelle, inserted by Father Caussin the Jesuit in his *Saintly Court*. The views of both these writers might have been very praiseworthy, and their compositions received some applause at the time they appeared; but, at the present day, their merit is very much diminished.

La Pucelle d'Orléans, ou la France délivrée; poème héroïque de Jean Chapelain, de l'Académie Française, avec

les figures de Bosse ; Paris, 1656, in folio, ibid. 1656, in 12mo. and a third edition in 1657.

Chapelain consumed thirty years in composing, or rather promising his work to the public, which at length made its appearance as above; all France had been on the tiptoe of expectation; but the sale of the poem sealed its doom; since it would be difficult to find any thing more intensely stupid than the perusal of this epic; the versification of which is hard in the extreme, and the composition forced and abounding in the most monstrous transpositions. *Vid. Brossette in his notes on the works of Despreaux, vol. i. p. 70.*

Aurelia, ou Orléans délivré, poème Latin, traduit en François par M. Roussy ; Paris, Merigot, 1738, in 12mo.

This poem, produced in prose, had never any original in Latin verse, as would be inferred from the title; at least from all that I have hitherto been able to ascertain. *Vid. Le Journal des Savans, for November, 1738.*

Abbé Lenglet speaks concerning this work, like a person who had never inspected it.

Aurelia liberata à Puellâ vulgô dictâ Jeanne d'Arc.

Dominus mecum quasi
Bellator fortis.

Aurelia, typis Couret de Villeneuve, typographi, Vid Regiâ, 1782.

This Latin poem is from the pen of M. Charbuy, pro-

fessor of rhetoric, the translation being by one of his former scholars, then professor of the third class. The latter is certainly preferable to the original poem, the Latin of which is obscure, and very unlike the versification of the elegant writers during the Augustan age; it is also interspersed with numerous Gallicisms.

La France sauvée, ou le Siège d'Orléans levé.—*Épître suivie d'une autre, sur le bon usage de la poésie, et d'une ode tirée du psaume Misereere, par M. Servant, d'Orléans:—Orléans, Le Gall, 1772: under the preceding work.*

L'Amazone Française, poëme nouveau, contenant l'histoire de Jeanne d'Arc, dite La Pucelle d'Orléans, par le Père Néon, dit le Philopole; Orléans, Jacob, 1721, in 4to.

It is difficult to say which predominates most in this work dedicated to the magistrates of Orleans; the bad taste of its author, and his little talent for poetical composition, or the ridicule which characterizes its pages. The author, a regular canon of the congregation of France, then resident at Orleans in the monastery of St. Euverte, was called Father Lejeune, but he thought fit to change his name into Greek, under the signature Néon. This poem contains about twelve hundred verses.

Father Lemoine also celebrated La Pucelle, in his *Galérie des Femmes Illustres*; and in the *Mercure* for September, 1776, p. 25, is an *Heroïde*, entitled *Jeanne d'Arc à Charles VII.*

La France délivrée par La Pucelle d'Orléans ; poëme qui a remporté le prix des jeux floraux en 1734, par Charles Simon Favart.

This poem, consisting of an hundred verses, is reprinted in the second volume of the *Trésor du Parnasse, ou le plus joli des recueils* ; printed at London, and Orleans, Couret de Villeneuve, 1762, in 12mo. This composition is well deserving of perusal.

Poëme Français, et Cantique Latin, sur la Délivrance d'Orléans ; Orléans, Rouzeau, 1729, in 4to. containing six pages.

The author was M. Perdoux de Laperrière, who, in the dedicatory epistle to the mayor and authorities of the city, concealed himself under the name of Roussel. This writer holds a very mediocre rank among the sons of Parnassus, nor does his poem convey any instruction to the reader.

Ode aux Habitans d'Orléans, pour les engager à rétablir le Monument de la Pucelle ; Orléans, Couret, in 12mo.

This pamphlet, consisting of eight pages, appeared in 1758.

M. Beauvais the younger, author of this composition, was member of the congregation of the oratory, and Greek professor at the college of Dijon. The lines are correct, and the versification chaste and polished ; but there is a deficiency of warmth and of information ; neither does it contain any historical facts.

La Pucelle d'Orléans, tragédie de Schiller, translated from the German into French by *Mercier*.

The drama is replete with beauties, and abounds in defects.

La Pucelle d'Orléans, tragédie représentée sur le Théâtre d'Orléans le 8 Mai 1805, par M. H. F. Desmolard.

This piece possesses some eloquent lines, but the poet has not been able to get the better of the difficulties attached to his subject. The author of the tragedy of the Templars also composed a piece upon the same subject.

Among the discourses or panegyrics which have appeared, should not be forgotten that of M. Loyseau, a canon of St. Croix, who therein examines the revolution effected by La Pucelle. Abbé Gery, and some other canons of St. Genevieve, also exercised their talents on the topic of Jeanne d'Arc.

Discours sur la Pucelle d'Orléans, prononcé le 8 Mai, 1759, (Mulierem fortem quis inveniet, Prov. 31,) Orléans, Couret ; Paris, Expilly, 1759, in 12mo.

This discourse, or rather panegyric, was written by Father Marolles, of the Company of Jesus.

Discours sur la Délivrance d'Orléans, prononcé le 8 Mai, 1760, by the same, in 12mo. (Habebitis hanc diem in monumentum, et celebrabitis eam solempne unis generationibus vestris, Esod. chap. xii.)

Both these productions, which have been by far too

much eulogized, are similar to all the other writings of the Jesuits; containing a great deal of mind with very little truth,— words in the place of facts. The author feared, and was right in dreading, an explanation; from whence originated this singular division of the leading discourse:—

“ I shall in the first instance endeavour to justify our forefathers, for what is termed their extraordinary simplicity; and, in the second vindicate providence, since men are led to speak of its rigorous decrees: in fine, I offer an apology for the conduct of our ancestors and that of God, on account of the brilliant commencement and the melancholy catastrophe of Jeanne d’Arc.”

The style of Father Marolles, generally speaking, is brilliant, but savours of affectation; he is lively, but his images are incoherent; for it is by no means uncommon in his discourses to meet with quotations from Virgil and Horace, beside those of the prophets, the psalmist, and the fathers of the church, &c.

In the opening he proposes an inscription for the monument of Jeanne d’Arc, which is not Latin; it runs as follows:— “*Aureliæ Gloria, Franciæ Felicitas, Johanna victrix Anglorum.*” Now, for a certainty, the words *gloria* and *felicitas*, taken in this sense, were never before applied to a woman; this may be called psalm Latin. He should have written *Aureliæ decus et Galliæ præsidium*, after Horace: *O et præsidium et dulce decus meum.*

The Eulogy of La Pucelle has also been proposed by several academies; the last prize tendered by the most ancient Athenæum, namely, the Academy of the Immacu-

late Conception, was upon this question: *What was the influence produced at the period of Jeanne d'Arc, by the condemnation and execution of that heroine?* A discourse entitled *Lilia cum Rosis*, deserved honourable mention, but the prize was not awarded.

The academy of Palinods, at Rouen, received several compositions on La Pucelle; one of the most ancient being the sonnet of Rault, of that city, to which the prize was adjudged, in 1667. A poetic compilation, somewhat similar, embellished with plates, was also printed at Orleans, in 8vo.

Eloge historique de Jeanne d'Arc, surnommée La Pucelle d'Orléans, suivi de notes, des pièces justificatives de son procès, et de diverses remarques historiques, par Ph. J. Et. Vt. Guilbert, with this motto: —

“ Plus le péril est grand, plus doux en est le fruit ;
La vertu nous y jette, et la gloire nous suit.”

CORNEILLE.

A Rouen, de l'imprimerie de Vincent Guilbert, Rue Nationale, No. 29; brochure de 84 pages.

What are called the documents justifying the process, only contain 28 pages, and the author does not indicate the sources from whence he derived them. It appeared to me, that he had transcribed the extract from an ancient manuscript, very curiously written, containing the process of Jeanne d'Arc, called La Pucelle of Orleans; some

leaves of which are deficient, the commencement being faulty, and beginning with these words: "In the city of Rouen, in consequence of her demerits," and terminating thus: "the which process I have extracted by command of the king, Louis the XII. of that name, and of M. de Gravelle, admiral of France." The writer appears to have had no knowledge of M. Laverdy's work, and has equally neglected to have recourse to the manuscript of the process of condemnation, as well as that of revisal, (vide Nos. 5965 and 5970 of the Royal Library, at Paris,) that is to say, the most authentic documents, and which should necessarily have formed the basis of such an undertaking.

The eulogy is more declamatory than historical. "The French heroine," says M. Guilbert, "possessed the courage of Clelia, the virtue of Lucretia, the stoicism of Portia, and, above all, the intrepidity of a French chevalier."—*Antiq. Nat.* 1791, in 4to. No. 9, pages 1—3.

M. Millin, in the above work, expresses himself to the following effect:—

"A gentleman on the frontiers of Lorraine, named Baudricourt, discovered in the person of a young woman of Vaucouleurs, a female calculated to act the part of a warrior, and one inspired. She was passed off for a shepherdess of eighteen, although she had attained her twenty-seventh year. This enterprise, which would have been ridiculous in case of failure, became heroic in consequence of success. The matrons declared Jeanne d'Arc a virgin, and the doctors and parliament proclaimed her inspired; her courage stood in the stead of education, and

she performed prodigies.....The Pucelle, habited as a man, and conducted by skilful captains, undertook to relieve Orleans; while the soldiers, conceiving that a supernatural agent combated for them, followed her with courage: she proceeded at their head, beat the English, and delivered the city."

These assertions are laconic and decisive, but it is necessary to consider some of them. Jeanne d'Arc was, for a certainty, born in 1412; consequently she was only eighteen. The learned antiquary should have adduced the proofs upon which he founded this spontaneous anachronism; and, secondly, it appears from the documents produced on her trial, that Baudricourt, for a considerable time, refused to yield to the enthusiasm of Jeanne d'Arc.

AN
HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL ACCOUNT
OF
THIRTY-ONE MANUSCRIPTS,
RESPECTING
THE LIFE AND CRIMINAL PROCESS
OF
JEANNE D'ARC,
SURNAMED
LA PUCELLE D'ORLEANS.

PROCESS OF CONDEMNATION.

MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ROYAL LIBRARY,

AT PARIS.

No. I.

THE first manuscript of the process and condemnation of Jeanne d'Arc, is in Latin, occupying a small folio volume, bound in calf, and in excellent preservation. On the back is inscribed, *Processus Joannis Puellæ*, No. 5965. The paper is of a brownish hue, and the characters in a running hand, towards the close of the fifteenth century.

The style throughout this process is perspicuous, and its author was *Guillaume Colés*, surnamed *Bos-Guillaume*, one of the notaries appointed by the bishop of Beauvais. The bottom of the first folio, *recto*, contains his signature and flourish, which is regularly continued on the *recto* page of each leaf, until the hundred and fifty-eighth page, certifying, that it is conformable with the original minutes, while, on the last-mentioned leaf, appear these words: *Affirmo et subscribo* (I affirm it and sign it); this attestation being followed by the same original autograph and

flourish ; consequently, the volume in question may be regarded as authentic.

At folio 158, is an attestation of the truth of this transcript, separately subscribed by three notaries, namely, the said *Colés*, called *Bos-Guillaume*, *Guillaume Manchon*, both appointed by the bishop of Beauvais ; and *Nicolas Tacquel*, named by the Vice-Inquisitor ; with their signatures and flourishes, which tend still more to validate the authenticity of this document.

Then follows an official account, written after the death of Jeanne, but without signature, attestation, or flourish : a process instituted against the member of a religious order, who had spoken disrespectfully of the judgment pronounced against the Pucelle. Two letters of the king of England, one addressed to the sovereigns of Europe, and the other to the bishops, nobles, and inhabitants of the principal cities of France ; and, lastly, two letters of the university of Paris, one to the pope, and the other to the college of cardinals. These additional documents are merely copies, and apparently written by the same hand that penned the body of the manuscript.

No. II.

The second manuscript relating to the process, is in Latin, occupying a small folio, numbered 5966 ; the paper is thick, and the penmanship of the fifteenth century, rather wider than that of the preceding manuscript. This volume contains two hundred and twenty leaves, being also an authentic transcript of the process, accom-

panied by the same attestations, signatures, and flourishes of *Colés*, surnamed *Bos-Guillaume*, to each leaf, and two other notaries on the *verso* of folio 206. After this are found the same statements posterior to the demise of Jeanne: the prosecution instituted against the same brother of a religious community, together with the letters of the king of England, and those of the university of Paris.

No. III.

The third manuscript of the process in Latin, is in folio, being a collated copy by *Messrs. Pithou* and *Petau*, dated fifteenth January, 1652, No. 180, forming a part of the Brienne collection. On the first leaf are subscribed the signatures of those two magistrates, after which, five follow without superscription, while on the seventh appears this title; *Procès Criminel fait à Jeanne d'Arc de Vaucouleurs, commonly called La Pucelle, in the years 1430 and 1431*; after which, three leaves follow without any signatures.

The first page, according to the regular order of the signatures, begins with these words: *Processus in causa fidei contra quamdam mulierem, vulgariter dictam La Pucelle*. It would appear from a casual glance to contain 445 leaves, because, after folio 209 the transcriber has numbered 230; and after folio 232, he has in like manner regularly continued to calculate to the termination of the volume, so that the work only contains 648 written pages, and concludes with seven blank leaves. It is requisite to remark, that these errors in the paging do

not display any omissions in the text, which has been verified ; therefore the manuscript is entire.

This document appears to be a transcript from one of the preceding ; the marginal notes indicating the contents are inserted in the title ; the *alinea* occupy their proper places, as well as the attestations and the signatures of the three notaries.

No. IV.

The fourth manuscript of the process in Latin, is a small folio volume, in a parchment cover, on the back of which is lettered *Procès de la Pucelle Jeanne, No. 5967* : it is transcribed upon strong paper ; the penmanship is of the fifteenth century, and the marginal notes are all inserted. It contains 267 leaves regularly numbered, besides which, there are three leaves at the end not paged, containing a table of the process, indicating the pages in the volume where the several heads are to be found.

No. V.

The fifth manuscript, in Latin, occupies a small folio, written on paper bound in sheep, and decorated with the armorial bearings of France, being numbered 5968. The paper is less stout, but the writing is of the same date as the foregoing ; while the concluding words indicate, that it formed an article of the library of Thou, *Thuani*. It is accompanied by the marginal notes.

No. VI.

The sixth manuscript of the process in Latin, is another copy, not collated; being a small folio bound in calf, and the first leaves worm-eaten. It is numbered 5969; the writing is of the fifteenth century, but running and difficult to decipher. The volume is on paper, and the *alinéa* are strictly attended to.

Manuscript preserved in the Chamber of Accompts.

No. VII.

The volume in this collection is a folio containing the same process in Latin, being neither attested nor collated. From the armorial bearings stamped upon it, this manuscript has been pronounced as coming from the library of Caumartin.

Manuscript in the Library of St. Germain des Près.

No. VIII.

A folio manuscript from the library of *Harlay* is in this collection, containing the process in Latin, neither collated nor attested; this, as well as the former, appears to be very correct, and in every respect perfect.

Manuscript in the Library of M. de Flandre de Brunville.

No. IX.

This manuscript of the process, in Latin, came from the collection of *M. le President Duret de Menières*, being a folio volume. It also contains the condemnation and the absolution. The transcript of the first, although neither attested nor collated, appears to be very correct.

Manuscript of M. de Saint Genis, Auditor of Accounts.

No. X.

The manuscript volume now under review came from the library of *M. Dulys*, solicitor-general of the court of Aides, a descendant of the family of the *Pucelle* of Orleans. This document is a folio, not collated, of the proceedings at the condemnation, and appears to be very correct.—

Manuscript of the Library of Saint Victor.

No. XI.

No. 417, in this collection, is a thick folio volume, being an entire copy of the process of the condemnation of Jeanne d'Arc, not collated, which occupies from folio 73 to folio 342.

Manuscript preserved in the dépôt of Legislature, and Historical Charters and Monuments, in the Place Vendôme, at Paris.

No. XII.

In a very thick volume, *Maxima Carta*, written upon vellum, in the fifteenth century, under the third article, neither attested nor collated, is a copy of the process of condemnation of Jeanne d'Arc, being in every respect complete.

OBSERVATIONS

RESPECTING

THE FOREGOING MANUSCRIPTS.

THESE twelve documents, whether originals or copies, and verified or not, of the proceedings at the condemnation of Jeanne d'Arc, are by no means calculated to furnish the information so ardently required; because, they do not even specify those *minutes of the process*, in Latin, which must have been originally transcribed in French; that is to say, the interrogatories of Jeanne, and other acts that transpired during the proceedings, when she herself spoke, or was spoken to, because she did not comprehend the Latin language. It is also unknown what became of such minutes, as well as of those that took place at the two proceedings of condemnation and absolution, in Latin. *M. Le Baron de Bréteuil* instigated Louis XVI. to issue orders that every research on this interesting subject might be made; but the most strenuous endeavours were attended with no success whatsoever.

PROCESS OF ABSOLUTION.

MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ROYAL LIBRARY

AT PARIS.

No. XIII.

THE seventh manuscript respecting Jeanne d'Arc, is the first appertaining to the process of absolution or revision; being a very magnificent document in every respect. It consists of a folio volume twenty inches high, bound in red morocco, embellished with the arms of France, and is contained in a case ornamented with gold. This is certainly one of the most interesting relics extant, and served as the groundwork of the valuable production of M. de Laverdy. On the back of the manuscript are these words: *Processus Justificationis Jeannæ d'Arc* (Proceedings on the justification of Jeanne d'Arc), being numbered 5970. This process is in Latin throughout, even to the depositions of the witnesses, one only excepted, that is written in French. The vellum is of the most beautiful texture, and consists of 140 leaves, after which there are three not paged, containing a Latin poem in praise of Jeanne d'Arc.

The writing, which is of the time, is beautiful for that

period, but so fine, that it becomes fatiguing to peruse it; the majuscule letters of the *alinéa* are in many places designed with the pen, and the gilding is rich. Every page is signed and verified by two of the notaries, clerks of the judges delegated by the pope, whose names were *Denise le Comte, Comitis, and François Ferrebouc*, followed by these words: *Sic Affirmo* (I thus certify it). At the termination of the principal acts of the process appear the attestations, signatures, and flourishes of the keepers of the records, and of a third, apparently named by the inquisitor, who gave instructions, and judged with the judges delegated: consequently, this is a document in every respect authentic.

The manuscript commences with a long preface by the keepers of the records, forming, in some degree, a species of process, which they have continued in transcribing the acts of the proceeding in the form of intermediate recitals, necessary to assist the reader in comprehending the subject, as well as to transmit to posterity all that passed relating to each separate act of instruction, and in some measure even going beyond the regular matter referred to; a line of proceeding, since that period, most severely prohibited, and with very just cause.

The title runs thus: *Commissio et Ordinatio Notariorum Delegatorum* (commission and ordinance of the process, by the notaries' secretaries).

This process, according to their statement, was instituted by order of pope Calixtus III., the judges delegated by him upon that occasion having been the archbishop of Rheims, the bishops of Paris and of Goutances, and John

Brehal, a brother preacher, and one of the inquisitors of France.

After this, they state that proceedings were entered into at the request of Isabella d'Arc, widow, and mother of La Pucelle, as well as of her brothers John and Peter d'Arc; and that the judgment delivered in consequence, declared the former process carried on against her invalid and without a precedent, containing errors in act and in deed, as that judgment was passed, to the prejudice of the submission to the holy see of Rome, pronounced by Jeanne, which, in itself, had all the force of a true appeal, &c.

No. XIV.

The eighth manuscript in the king's library, and the second, containing the process of revisal, written in Latin, originally belonged to the library of the chapter of Notre Dame, at Paris, having been presented to that body by Chartier, bishop of Paris, as appears from a note written on the inside of one of the covers; this prelate having officiated as one of the commissaries of the holy see of Rome. It is numbered H 10, and it was some few years back removed from Notre Dame to the royal collection.

The work is in folio, and bound in calf, bearing this title: *Processus Puellæ Aurelianensis* (process of the maid of Orleans).

The first leaf is not written upon, being of parchment, of which material also is the second, whereon the transcript commences: the whole volume is so formed, that the first and last leaves of every sheet are of parchment,

the remainder consisting of remarkably strong paper. The whole volume forms 181 leaves ; and at the bottom of each, on the *recto* side, appear the signatures and the flourishes of the two notaries, Le Comte and Ferrebouc ; which circumstance proves this transcript equally authentic with the manuscript described in the foregoing article. There is good reason to conclude, that the present document was that remitted to the bishop of Paris, he having officiated as one of the judges ; a circumstance that tends to enhance its value.

No. XV.

The ninth manuscript preserved in the royal library at Paris, being the third process of the revisal, is transcribed in Latin, having formed part of the Brienne collection, No. 181 ; the binding and armorial bearings accompanying the same, are similar to the volumes in that collection which contained criminal proceedings. It is in folio, the copy being collated similar to all those of which we have hitherto spoken.

This collated copy is entitled : *Procès de Justification de la Pucelle*, 145 ; and on the seventh white leaf is written : *Procès de l'Innocence de Jeanne d'Arc, dite La Pucelle d'Orleans*.

Manuscript in the Chamber of Accounts.

No. XVI.

A copy in folio, neither signed nor collated, of the process of absolution of Jeanne d'Arc, which appears to

have originally belonged to the library of Caumartin; this is similar to the collated copy in the Brienne collection.

Manuscript from the Library of M. de Saint Genis.

No. XVII.

A folio volume, neither attested nor collated, of the process of absolution of La Pucelle; and like the last-mentioned, similar to that of the Brienne library.

Manuscript from the Collection of M. de Brunville.

No. XVIII.

A copy, neither collated nor attested, of the process, which appears very correct. This is bound with the copy of the proceedings instituted at the condemnation of Jeanne.

Manuscript from the Library of Saint Germain-des-Près.

No. XIX.

A manuscript of the process of justification, neither attested nor collated, being numbered 336; this volume came from the Harley collection.

Manuscript from the Library of Saint Victor.

No. XX.

A copy neither collated nor signed, comprising part of No. 417, indicated in article xi., above enumerated. This appears conformable with the collated copy in the

Brienne library; and the penmanship is of the close of the fifteenth century.

Manuscript in the Depôt of Legislation and of Historical Charts and Monuments, in the Place Vendôme at Paris.

No. XXI.

The manuscript in folio, *marimâ cartâ*, of which we have spoken above, under article xii., contains, for the fourth and last document, the process of absolution, and that of revisal entire, with the treatises of the doctors consulted by the judges who had been appointed by Calixtus III.; but these treatises, or doctrinal opinions, are not complete, neither is the manuscript attested nor collated. The writing is of the fifteenth century, except the four last sheets, where the penmanship is of the sixteenth century, together with some sheets that have been interpolated in the course of the manuscript.

THE
HISTORY OF JEANNE D'ARC.

MANUSCRIPTS PRESERVED IN THE ROYAL LIBRARY

AT PARIS.

No. XXII.

Is a very interesting manuscript of Edmund Richer, celebrated syndic of the faculty of theology. It was composed, according to his own words, in part the second, folio 4, in the year 1628, and came from the literary stores of *Fontanieu*, having the following title: *Histoire de la Pucelle d'Orléans*; the number is page 285. The volume is a very thick folio, and appears to be in the handwriting of the author,—the notes are certainly from his pen. Richer composed this work in French, with the greatest care, from the authentic manuscript of the two processes in Latin, of which he makes mention in the advertisement. It is certain, from consulting the work itself, that the intention was to cause it to be printed in 1694, by a letter of privilege, which, although loose, has been preserved in the volume; and that its publication was still intended in 1740, we find indicated in the approbation of the censor.

N. B. The work of Abbé Lenglet Dufrenoy, entitled, *Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc, Vierge, Héroïne, et Martyre*

d'Etat, &c. 1753, three vols. in 12mo. is, as previously stated, but an ill written extract from the work of Richer, of which, however, Lenglet speaks amiss, to mask his own plagiary. He even endeavours to throw a doubt as to the authorities upon which Richer founded his work, for the sole purpose of deterring others from consulting the manuscript; so that this literary theft is not easily detected. It is certain, that were the work of Richer to be now printed, the scholastic turn and antique style of phraseology would tend to its prejudice; the manuscript is not, however, the less precious, and it may prove of the greatest utility to any one who may in future undertake to write an elaborate history of Jeanne d'Arc.

In the advertisement, comprising eight leaves, the author has enumerated all the authentic sources from whence his work is compiled; and he therein intimates the great desire he has to see the two processes printed entire, and even offers his care and his labour to effect this purpose.

Manuscript from the Library of Rohan Soubise.

No. XXIII.

Is a French manuscript of small folio dimensions, but very wide, bound in calf, and worm-eaten, even through the first leaves, which are of vellum: the writing appears of the fifteenth century, and in other respects this is a very beautiful specimen of ancient caligraphy.

The first page presents an engraving of Jeanne d'Arc, in female costume, holding a sword in the right hand; under which are printed two pieces of poetry; the first, consisting of eight verses, is attributed, according to a

manuscript note, to P. Patris, a gentleman of Caen; the second, being the lines of Malherbe, so well known, wherein he compares the species of death suffered by Jeanne d'Arc to that inflicted upon Hercules.

The author then enters upon the subject matter; and begins by descanting on the personages who distinguished themselves, only making mention however of two: namely, "Messire Peter Brezé, who in his time performed many fine feats against the English, driving them back, even to their very dunghills and territories; and Jeanne la Pucelle, true honour of ladies and young maidens, who avenged Frenchmen of the insupportable injuries which the English, their old enemies, had made them suffer, and who were compelled to fly, or to make the soil of France their burying-ground."

The following is the manner in which the writer explains the object of his labour:—

"In this little book is contained the treatise of the process of Jeanne la Pucelle, the which was judged at Rouen, by the bishop of Beauvais, favourable to the English. I have, in a summary manner, ascertained and verified the country, the nativity, and the names of the father and the mother of the Pucelle, with her ancient prowess, and the miraculous works which she performed."

Manuscript from the Library of M. de Paulmy.

No. XXIV.

This document is in 4to., having for title *Histoire de Jeanne la Pucelle*, being precisely the same work as that from the library of Soubise, which we have previously noticed.

Manuscript from the Library of Saint Genevieve.

No. XXV.

The only object concerning La Pucelle contained in this collection, is a quarto manuscript, comprising a poem in Latin stanzas, divided into four books; the author being named Valerranus Variantius; the title of the work is, *De Gestis Johanne Puella Lotharingæ* (Of the feats of Jeanne of Lorraine). This poem is below mediocrity, although some stanzas which occur from time to time are passably well written; the sole interest therefore of the present production, consists, in its having been penned by an author who lived very shortly after the heroine of his tale.

Manuscript from the Dépôt of Historical Charts and Monuments preserved in the Place Vendôme at Paris.

No. XXVI.

The first manuscript enclosed in this thick volume, *maximâ cartâ*, of which we shall treat more at length under Number XXVIII. is entitled: *Petit Traité par manière de chronique, contenant en brief le Siège mis par les Anglois devant la ville d'Orléans, la venue et les vaillans faits d'armes de Jehanne la Pucelle, et comment feist partir les Anglois, et enleva le siège par grace divine et force d'armes.*

This recital, occupying thirty leaves in folio, commences on Wednesday, the 12th of October, 1428, with the siege of Orleans, of which it gives a daily account, as well as of the arrival and the exploits of Jeanne d'Arc in that city. It then continues, but with much less detail, until the submission of Paris to Charles VII. in 1435. The

writer of this chronicle appears to have been wise, reserved, and void of enthusiasm; the style of writing is of the sixteenth century.

Manuscript from the Library of St. Victor.

No. XXVII.

This same, *Traité brief ou Chronique du Siège d'Orléans*, is the first manuscript comprised in the volume of the collection of Saint Victor under 417, of which we have spoken at the previous articles XI. and XX. It occupies seventy leaves, and is merely a transcript.

Minutes, in French, of the Process of Condemnation, in the Dépôt of Historical Charters and Monuments, Place Vendôme, at Paris.

No. XXVIII.

The manuscript now under review deserves the most scrupulous attention, as it is presumable, that it contains a transcript of the major part of the minutes of the process of condemnation passed upon Jeanne d'Arc, written in French.

It is a very thick volume, transcribed upon the most beautiful vellum, the penmanship being of the fifteenth or early in the sixteenth century; the letters are well formed and to be read with facility; it contains two hundred and ninety leaves, one hundred only being paged. At the bottom of every sheet contained in this document, are inserted as catch-words, the first sentence of the ensuing sheet; the volume is fourteen inches and a half high by twelve in width.

The binding is of wood, covered with green velvet, in a very tattered condition ; and in the centre of each cover are the armorial bearings of Honoré Durfé, the famous author of *Astrea*. At the four corners of each cover are triangular brass ornaments, which appear to have been formerly gilt.

It is not ascertained in what manner this volume, containing four manuscripts, came into the *Depôt* of Legislation and of the Historical Charts and Monuments in the *Place Vendôme* ; but it appears from the *Historical Library of France*, vol. ii. page 184, that it was formerly the property of M. Fevret de Fontette, who describes it in few words. He states, that before it became his property, it belonged to Thomas d'Istan, who had it from M. de Chavannes, and that it had originally been in the possession of Honoré Durfé, upon which account it is decorated with his arms engraved on gilt brass.

M. de Fontette gives an account of the four manuscripts which the volume contains ; relative to the second, he states, that the part comprising the process of condemnation is not so complete as the following, and that it condenses a portion of the documents of the process and of the interrogatories of *La Pucelle*, half in Latin and the other moiety in French.

On this subject I must observe, that in speaking of the fourth article in this volume, which contains the process of revisal, M. de Fontette calls one of the notaries *Perimitis*, stating that his real name was *Dionysius Comitis*, which should mean *Dennis le Compte* ; the other notary was *Franciscus* (*Francis Ferrebouc*).

This large volume encloses four manuscripts ; the first is the *Chronicle of the Siege of Orleans* ; the second contains,

to all appearance, the minutes of the process of revisal in French; the third, the process of condemnation; and the last, the act of revisal or absolution.

The whole manuscript consists of two hand-writings, one of the fifteenth, and the other apparently of the sixteenth century; it begins with the more modern writing of the two; that of the fifteenth century commencing precisely at the sheet where are found the minutes of the condemnation, at the end of the 13th interrogatory of the sitting of the third of March 1430: the whole that occurs subsequently is of the same penmanship, not only to the termination of the minutes in French, but also the entire process of absolution and that of revisal, comprising the opinions of the doctors down to a certain epoch, at which a new sheet commences with writing of the sixteenth century. The conclusion of the opinion of a doctor consulted, which was begun, is not terminated. The vellum is of a more recent date than that upon which the ancient penmanship appears.

Thus, the six first sheets of the volume, comprising the Chronicle of the Siege of Orleans, and two sheets of the process of condemnation in Latin, are of a penmanship and transcribed upon vellum of the sixteenth century; from whence we may infer, that it was copied from some old mutilated manuscript which was afterwards perfected.

The four concluding sheets of the volume are precisely the same; the writing and the vellum being of more modern date, with a void in the opinion of the doctors consulted during the process of revisal. Some leaves had also been lost in the manuscript, which have

been substituted by transcripts of the sixteenth century, but they bear no reference whatsoever to the leading object, namely, the minutes written in French. Thus, the manuscript would be of no utility whatsoever, if it did not comprise at least a portion of the minutes of condemnation in French, which renders it of inestimable value, especially if the original should never come to light, or at least some transcript in a perfect condition.

The Twenty-ninth and the Thirty-first Manuscripts, inclusive.

Preliminary Observations.—“ Upon application being made by M. de Breteuil and through the care of Cardinal de Bernis, as a substitute for the defects in the minutes of the process, new extracts were made from manuscript documents in the library of the Vatican at Rome.”

The baron de Breteuil addressed the manuscripts to the Royal Library at Paris, the whole being labelled 5970; this number having been chosen in order that the new manuscript at the Royal Library might serve as a supplement to No. 5970, which is the process of revision and justification of Jeanne d'Arc, being a large folio.

The volume last alluded to comprises three manuscripts, the first occupies to folio 47, the second to folio 103, at which page the third begins, and concludes the volume.

First Manuscript.—This document and the succeeding may throw some light upon the steps pursued by Charles VII. before he entered upon the proceedings of

revisal in the case of the process of Jeanne d'Arc; which we intend to explain in the observations at the end of the notice of the two manuscripts contained in the present volume.

The first document in this folio contains only two heads taken from No. 3878 of the Vatican Library; the first is a consultation for the defence of Jeanne d'Arc on the points contained in the proceedings against her, and the second a summary of the whole process of her condemnation; which two manuscripts appear to have been written by *Theodore de Leluis*.

This consultation, undertaken in favour of Jeanne, and which very forcibly attacks the condemnation pronounced against her, is extant in French among the manuscripts in the Library of Soubise, under the name of *Theodore*.

The second work is entitled, *Sommaire de tout le Procès fait contre Jeanne, dite la Pucelle*; it begins at folio 147 of the same manuscript. *De eodem codice manuscripto chartaceo, No. 3878, page 147.*

This is certainly a very exact summary of all the proceedings at the condemnation, composed by Theodore, in order that he might afterwards arrange his consultation; he takes the whole process in regular routine, annexing from time to time some critical observations: he also gives a detail of all the interrogatories and admonitions during the sittings; but he is very laconic in regard to the rest of the proceedings.

It has not been precisely discovered at what period of time Theodore composed these two works; all we have ascertained for a certainty is, that they date anterior to the process of revisal, which commenced in 1455, and

subsequent to the informations made by Guillaume Bouillé in 1449. It must be remarked, that there is no punctuation whatsoever in the manuscript at the Vatican.

Second Manuscript.—This commences at folio 42 of the new volume, and contains a greater number of documents than the foregoing.—The following is the title: *Codex 2284, Joannæ Aurelianensis, vulgo dictæ la Pucelle, Processus.* There are eight different heads in this new transcript.

The first subject matter is thus designated in the inventory of the Vatican: "A defence and consultation in favour of Jeanne, by Theodore de Leliüs, auditor of the apostolical palace;" this is the same as the transcript contained in the preceding manuscript. The document numbered 3878 is original, being the rough draught by the author himself; and the manuscript in question is the fair copy.

The third head of the Vatican manuscript, folio 31, is a consultation for the defence of Jeanne, dictated by *Paul Pontanus Dupont*, advocate of the consistory; it is anterior to the revisal of the process of Jeanne, as well as that of Theodore, and for the same reasons. This is also found translated into French in the Soubise Collection.

The fourth production contained in the manuscript, is the memoir to be referred to, upon which the consultations were formed: this did not exist with the other manuscripts in the Royal Library at Paris, being only in French among the Soubise Collection.

The present memoir traces the principal features of

the process; and at the termination of each the writer proposes the question which results to be decided.

It is this most important document that forms the basis upon which was built every thing that ensured the process of revisal, and the re-establishing the honour of Jeanne and of her family, which the Jacobin author of the preface attributed to the English, whereas it must have been that which Charles VII. caused to be prepared for the purpose of being advised, and having also well discussed consultations. It is peculiarly fortunate, that this manuscript, which was deficient in the Royal Library, should have been discovered among the treasures contained in the Vatican.

The last document in the manuscript is, a letter of John Bréhal, Dominican Inquisitor of the Faith in France, addressed to brother Leonard, another Dominican of Vienna, as appears from the statement in the inventory at the bottom of the first page, this being in a note which was not copied by those who were charged with making the transcript, by Cardinal de Bernis: the following is the statement that appears in the inventory of the Vatican here alluded to: *Codex pertinuit olim ad Convantum Viennensem, uti ad calcem prioris paginae notatur.* This manuscript is deficient in punctuation, and presents countless faults of the transcriber.

Bréhal, in this letter, acquaints his Dominican brother, that the king of France is well convinced that his enemies the English have very pointedly attacked his honour, by proceeding upon an article of faith against a young girl, a virgin full of simplicity, who had carried on

the war in his behalf: and still more, adds he, by the judgment pronounced in this matter, since they caused her to be burnt, from an impulse of hatred, to the disgrace of the king and of the kingdom.

It is on this account that the prince most ardently desires, continues the writer, to ascertain what ought to be thought of the judgment awarded against her. That the king has therefore deputed him, however unworthy and insufficient he may esteem himself, to forward the true and necessary documents for the purpose of receiving the advice of competent persons, and above all, of strangers residing out of the kingdom, in order to demonstrate that any desire of obtaining his especial favour may be regarded as nothing in this inquiry.

Bréhal in consequence despatches to Leonard every thing connected with this affair; he requests him to answer and to communicate his opinion, after which he proceeds to descant on points connected with the Dominican order.

This letter is written from Lyons, and bears date the 31st of December, but without any year being designated.

Third Manuscript.—This transcript was made from four documents inserted in the manuscript, No. 507, in the Vatican Library, called *Alexandrine*, or at the end of that of Christina queen of Sweden. The four works in question are from the pens of unknown authors, and were composed at the very period when Jeanne d'Arc was covered with glory, on account of her having caused the siege of Orleans to be raised, as well as the forced

submission of several cities upon the Loire, and lastly, on account of the victories obtained by her over the English.

These treatises, produced at such a period, are very precious, since they make known what were the then reigning opinions upon an event of such a singular nature.

It is, therefore, with good reason, that these documents have been placed in the Royal Library at Paris, as we are thereby led to form a just conclusion as to the ideas then reigning, and the effect which the appearance and exploits of Jeanne d'Arc had produced upon the human mind, as well as the species of taste that predominated at the commencement of the fifteenth century: they may even serve as documents to refer to upon this subject, by writers who may occupy themselves upon the rise and fall of human opinions during a succession of centuries in various countries.

Fourth Manuscript.—The following is the only title annexed to this document in the inventory at the Vatican: *Songe de la Pucelle d'Orléans; codex 1323, folio 1441; Aurelianensis Puellæ somnium.* This work is in verse, and written in the French language.

A young maiden is therein represented as yielding herself to sleep; when Love appears to her on one side, and Shame upon the other.

What may be regarded as a certainty, is, that this poem has no connexion whatsoever, either direct or indirect, with Jeanne d'Arc, notwithstanding the title of the manuscript in the Vatican might lead some persons to conjecture the contrary; these two characters

are merely common and trivial moralities. The writer may have thought fit to apply them to Jeanne d'Arc by affixing the title *Songe de la Pucelle*, and annexing thereto *d'Orléans* solely upon that account.

The last manuscript was the property of M. Laurent, director at Orleans, who died in that city about the year 1783, and contains the process of condemnation.

This manuscript is a collated copy of the process of condemnation of Jeanne d'Arc in Latin; and is of particular value, inasmuch as it is in every respect complete, in excellent condition, and witnessed at every page by the two notaries Touchet and Patarin; added to which, it was copied in the very century when the judgment was passed, that is to say, in the year 1475, after the original minutes, or at least from an authentic rough draught, signed at every page by the notary Bos Guillaume, and which, upon the final page, bore the signature and the public seal of *Guillaume Bos Guillaume, Guillaume Manchon*, and *Nicolas Taquet*, the three notaries and keepers of the records of the process; as appears from the acts of verification at the conclusion of the manuscript. On the margins of the two preceding articles are the names of the two notaries *Patarin* and *Touchet*, bearing the marks and emblems of the seal with which they stamped their public documents.

Finally, this manuscript was very carefully examined some years back by M. Chevreuil, keeper of the royal records, who found it one of the most perfect, and authentic, as well as the best preserved document he had ever perused.

In regard, however, to the researches of the academy,

he states nothing, except that in 1475, that is to say, forty-four years after the execution of Jeanne d'Arc, there existed at Orleans, if not the original minute, at all events an authentic rough draught, or, as we may say, an autographical instrument, such as is said to exist in the Royal Library, of the process of condemnation, signed, delivered, and certified by the notaries and keepers of the records who had officiated throughout the proceedings. The number of these different rough draughts leads one to presume, that the original minute remained for a length of time in the office of these notaries, since they issued so many transcripts testified by themselves conformable to the original.

This collated copy is so perfect in every respect, and approximates so nearly to the period of the process, that it is almost equivalent to an original rough draught taken down at the examinations: it is, beyond all doubt, the best and the most perfect transcript that is to be found in any of the public collections, excepting only the authentic instruments preserved in the Royal Library at Paris.

The Thirty-first Manuscript respecting Jeanne d'Arc, constituted a part of the library of the chapter of Orleans.

M. L'Abbé Lenglet Dufresnoy, in his history of La Pucelle, makes mention of this manuscript, which he describes as being a folio volume; in this, however, he labours under a mistake, as it is a quarto size. The work is not signed by any author, nor does any signature occur: the writer, whosoever he was, states, that it was com-

posed by order of Louis XII., at the desire of admiral De Graville.*

The writer of this manuscript, while engaged in its compilation, referred to various copies of the process, in which some differences might occur; which tends to prove that, while engaged in his labour, he had not under his eye the minute in French, nor the original in Latin.

Properly speaking, it is not the process of our heroine, but an abridgment of her acts and deeds, composed by order of Louis XII. and admiral Graville. It is true that the process of condemnation and the act of reversal constitute a portion of the manuscript, but they are both incomplete. The process is rather written in an historical than a judicial form; they are not the judges who speak; it is the writer who relates in his own way what was said and done during each sitting. The verbal process which precedes each interrogatory is suppressed, notwithstanding which, all the essential points agree, and the interrogatories in all that is quoted, are, with some trifling exceptions, conformable to the Latin text of the authentic copy.

The French text of the manuscript is in the ordinary style, and not in the constrained language of a translator. The date of this manuscript is unknown, equally with the name of the writer; however, from the general character of the writing, it would appear to be of the fifteenth, or

* Extract from the notice compiled by M. D'Autroche de Talay, deacon of the church of Orleans, and from the observations of M. Laurent.

the commencement of the sixteenth century. I must beg to remark on this head, that it rather appears to be of the beginning of the sixteenth century, an epoch that coincides with the period of the reign of Louis XII., who was crowned in 1498.

The library at Geneva possesses a manuscript in folio, the pages of which are not numbered; it contains a journal of the siege of Orleans, conformable with that which is in the royal library at Paris, and the process of condemnation in Latin, all written by the same hand, but without any erasure or collating.

The major part of the manuscripts above mentioned, belonging to the libraries of Saint Germain des Près, Sainte Genevieve, Colbert, Baluze, Chamber of Accounts, &c., have been removed to the Royal Library at Paris.

DISSERTATION

RESPECTING THE ORIGINAL MINUTES OF THE PROCESSES OF THE
CONDEMNATION AND ABSOLUTION OF JEANNE D'ARC.

THE examination of the thirty-one manuscripts concerning this celebrated affair, has necessarily led to the search after the two original minutes of the proceedings, which has hitherto proved altogether unsuccessful.

Three opinions have been disseminated respecting the loss of these minutes: some have conceived that the English clandestinely got possession of these documents; others pretend that they were committed to the flames by the judges who presided at the revisal; while a third party have suggested, that they were successively deposited with those of the last process, in the dépôt of the Historical Charters, or in that of the Chamber of Accounts.

In regard to the first opinion of the minutes having been conveyed away, it is an ill-judged idea to suppose that the English, ashamed of the flagrant injustice they had committed in dooming Jeanne d'Arc to the stake through the medium of Frenchmen, should have been desirous to conceal from posterity a knowledge of such an infamous proceeding; for it is obvious they never once dreamt of such a measure: on the contrary, the notaries who acted as keepers of the records in this

affair, the principal of whom was named *Guillaume Manchon*, delivered several copies of this process, the authenticity of which was ratified by their signatures, *all being now collated and preserved in the Royal Library at Paris*. Now if the English had been desirous of suppressing these minutes, they would never have suffered so many transcripts to be published, unless they had been purposely garbled with falsehoods; while it appears on the contrary that these copies are faithful and exact in every respect.

This is indeed only presumptive, but it is not necessary; for the proof of the minutes having been taken down during the process of condemnation, is formally certified in the process of revisal.

We find that on the 15th of December, 1455, at Rouen, Guillaume Manchon, accompanied by his two colleagues, Guillaume Colés, otherwise surnamed *Bos-Guillaume*, and Nicholas Tacquel, appeared before Juvenal des Ursins, archbishop of Rheims, Etienne Chartier, bishop of Paris, and Jean Bréhal, the Dominican inquisitor of the faith in France, who were the judges appointed to preside at the revisal of the sentence.

Manchon then declared that he had been the depository of the two minutes of the former process, the one written in French, and the other in Latin; that he had written the commencement of the minute in Latin, but at a certain period, in the progress of the interrogatories, he found himself compelled to adopt the plan of writing in French; and that it was not until a length of time had transpired after the execution of Jeanne, that the whole was translated

into Latin, in order to form the second minute. The French minute he describes in the following terms: *certum codicem, in quo continetur tota notitia processûs quondam facti contra dictam Johannam la Pucelle, in Gallico, manu sua propria factum*; and he represents it to the judges.

Speaking of the minute in Latin, he stated: *in libro conscripto*, which he declared was corrected from the original in French, *et super quod asserit à Latino in libro conscripto ostenso fuisse facium*: the signatures, superscriptions, and the seals of the judges, at the condemnation, were affixed to the Latin copy. The judges at the revisal had them immediately verified, by persons appointed for that purpose; and the audience continued its sittings during the whole time. The writing of the minute in French was equally attested as being from the hand of Manchon, and one of the witnesses recognised it from a note which he had himself written upon the margin of this minute, by order of one of the assessors whom he served in the capacity of a clerk.

The judges at the revisal gave orders that the two minutes in French and in Latin, produced by Manchon, should be deposited in the depôt of their archives; in order to be examined without removal, by the parties interested in these proceedings.

It is consequently proved beyond the possibility of a doubt, that the English left the original minutes of the process in the office of the notary and keeper of the records; and that they were from thence transferred to the record office of the judges appointed for the revisal. Upon this subject there can be no doubt; and the only

point to ascertain is, what subsequently became of these important documents?

Upon this question,—what became of the French and Latin minutes of the process of condemnation of Jeanne d'Arc, after they had been deposited in the archives of the judges of the revisal? the notaries and keepers of the records on this occasion, named Denis le Comte and François Ferrebouc, inform us in the interrogatories which were placed at the head of the process, that they united, by virtue of the order of the judges, the minutes of the condemnation with those of the revisal; from whence it is apparent that all the minutes of the two processes were collected together by the express command of the judges at the revisal: and, above all, from the conclusive reason of the notes affixed by them to the minutes of the condemnation, which, in some measure, made those minutes integral parts of the process of revisal; consequently, there is no longer but one body of minutes, so that the whole mass of documents must have shared the same fate.

A third question now occurs; what has become of the manuscripts forming the two proceedings so united together?

It may be necessary to remark, in the first instance, that the value attached to the procuring these manuscripts is not of so much importance as might appear at the first glance.

The minute of the process of revisal is completely supplied by the authentic rough draughts which are preserved of the process. It is impossible to conceive that any fraud was practised, or that there are any gross inaccuracies, since this process contains every allegation

tending to the detriment of Jeanne d'Arc, as well as all that was advanced in her favour; consequently the loss in question is of no such material consequence.

The same argument holds good as regards the Latin minute of the process of condemnation; it is merely a translation from the original minute in French, made by the notaries and keepers of the records, with the assistance of Thomas Courcelles, who died a deacon of the church at Paris, leaving after him, at his demise, the reputation of a learned doctor in theology; the authentic rough draughts of this first process, delivered by the keepers of the records, are still preserved, being all united together in the Royal Library at Paris.

After these statements, it must be allowed that the real interest is attached to the French minute of the process of condemnation, since that document alone would enable us to decide whether the Latin translation is faithful, or, if in certain parts, statements are added prejudicial to the character of Jeanne d'Arc, which did not appear in the French minute; a circumstance by no means probable, since the original was not made away with, because the appellants at the revisal, and the judges, who had both the Latin and the French minutes before their eyes, did not impeach their fidelity in any one point.

It was for the express purpose of elucidating this subject, that M. Laverdy made every research in his power, without discovering any thing in the Royal Library, as well as in those of Saints Genevieve, Germain des Près, Victor, La Doctrine Chrétienne, of Louis le Grand, of the Faculty of Médecine, of the College Mazarin, of Saint

Martin des Champs, of the Advocates, and of the Oratory, which bore the smallest reference to the minutes in question.

The inquiries of M. Laverdy were attended by no better success after inspecting the private collections of the marquess de Paulmy: M. de Brunville, who united those of the president Darcy de Mainières, and M. de Saint Genis, auditor of accounts, a portion of whose manuscripts came from the library of M. Dulys, advocate-general of the Court of Aids, and a descendant of Jeanne d'Arc's family.

The same ill success attended the examination of the dépôts in the Louvre, in the Cabinet of Royal Orders, of the Genealogies in the king's library, and lastly of the duchy of Lorraine, so contiguous to Domrémy, the birth-place of Jeanne d'Arc.

It was only in the dépôt of the Legislation of Charters and other historical monuments, that M. Laverdy discovered the manuscript containing four articles, one of which appeared to be a copy of the major part, at least, of the French minutes.

A singular opinion has gone abroad respecting the minutes of the process of condemnation; it having been imagined that they were burnt after the judgment of revisal; but this is an error solely originating in the want of attention with which manuscripts are frequently hurried over, instead of being studiously attended to.

The mother and the brothers of Jeanne d'Arc, who appeared as the appellants at the revisal of the judgment of La Pucelle, demanded in this proceeding, according to the pleasure of the judges, that the process of condemna-

tion should be burnt by the hands of the executioner; while the process of revisal was to be deposited among the charters of France. This was sufficient to lead persons to imagine that the demand respecting the burning of the first process was complied with; whereas, on perusing the manuscript throughout, it will be found, on the contrary, that the judges issued orders that all the minutes of the two proceedings should be united; that they were scrupulously careful in avoiding any line of conduct that might lead to a conjecture of their having sought to remove the minutes of the condemnation from the eyes of posterity; a proceeding which of itself demonstrates the iniquity of the judgment that followed, and which they themselves retracted. If, therefore, the judges did not order the deposit of the minutes, it was on account of that proceeding not being discretionary with them, and that, consequently, it remained with the king to issue such orders upon that point as he deemed expedient.

Some writers have conceived that Charles VII. caused the minutes to be placed in the treasury containing the charters, and that Louis XI. subsequently removed them from thence to the Chamber of Accounts. If such was the fact, the documents in question were consumed to ashes, when the whole of that structure was burnt to the ground; the devastation being so dreadful, when that fire took place, that not even a catalogue exists to prove what were the stores contained in that edifice prior to the conflagration.

In fine, after the research made in the *dépôt* of Historical Charters and Monuments, Place Vendôme, at Paris, and the examination of the manuscripts therein preserved,

there is every reason to believe that the French transcript of the manuscript in the Royal Library, is that of the original minute in French of the process of condemnation. If, therefore, it should be found impossible to trace out the minute in French, as taken down during the trial, by Guillaume Manchon, the copy in the royal collection, Place Vendôme, may, in some measure, supply the deficiency, as it agrees in every respect with the Latin transcripts extant, containing all the true and most essential interrogatories, and affording, in short, the most convincing testimonies of its fidelity throughout.

Under every consideration, therefore, this manuscript may be regarded as a unique document in its kind, since it contains, and at the same time serves to support the truth of the allegations made by the three notaries; that the minute of the process of condemnation was revised with fidelity: such having been the document uniformly consulted during the present work, in many essential statements concerning the life and exploits of Jeanne d'Arc.

THE END.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY J. MOYNS, GREVILLE STREET.

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