JOAN OF ARC AND THE FRANCO-BURGUNDIAN RECONCILIATION

by

Ryan Andrew Schaff

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Ryan Andrew Schaff

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David M. Walker, Ph.D.	Chair, Supervisory Committee
Lisa McClain, Ph.D.	Member, Supervisory Committee
Nicholas Miller, Ph.D.	Member, Supervisory Committee

The final reading approval of the thesis was granted by David M. Walker, Ph.D., Chair of the Supervisory Committee. The thesis was approved for the Graduate College by John R. Pelton, Ph.D., Dean of the Graduate College.

ABSTRACT

In the year 1429, France was a torn kingdom with Burgundy, a vassal and valuable ally to France, assisting the English in the war that historians would later dub the Hundred Years War. The war had been fought since the early-mid fourteenth century and France had seen little success in those years save for a brief period towards the end of the fourteenth century. France's heir, who hid in southern France, was disinherited as a result of the Treaty of Troyes in 1420, which passed the throne to the English. With Burgundy as an enemy, France faced a two-front war with Burgundy in the east and England in the north and west. Joan of Arc accompanied a relief army to the besieged city of Orléans in May of 1429. For the next three months, the French would win a string of victories against the English, be welcomed by towns and villages occupied by Burgundy and England, and see the disinherited dauphin Charles crowned King of France. Little over five years later, Burgundy would sign a peace treaty with France in 1435 securing an alliance and putting France back on track to win the long conflict known as the Hundred Years War. Joan of Arc, despite being executed in 1431, profoundly impacted the course of events that led to a treaty between Burgundy and France. This thesis attempts to show how she made such a reconciliation possible.

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French

Joan of Arc – A peasant girl from Lorraine who claimed God sent her to reclaim France from the English. She was given armor, a sword and a banner and sent with the army to relieve the Siege of Orléans. Led at the battle inspiring troops and commanders alike, and later was given command. Influential in seeing Charles crowned king at Rheims.

Charles VII – Son of Charles VI and heir to the throne of France. He was disinherited by the Treaty of Troyes in 1420 and was known as the dauphin until his army marched to Reims and he was crowned in 1429, becoming King of France.

Jean de Dunois – Illegitimate son of the Duke of Orléans, Louis, who was assassinated in 1407 by Burgundians. His half-brother, Charles, was captured by the English, which made Dunois the acting Duke of Orléans in his place. Dunois was in charge of the defense of the city when Joan arrived.

Jean II, Duke of Alençon – Known to Joan as her "gentle duke," Alençon was Charles VII's cousin and military commander during the years Joan was with the army. He and Joan led the army against three major cities in the Loire Valley in the aftermath of Orléans.

La Hire – A French military commander of low birth who was a castellan. La Hire led several campaigns against the English before Joan's arrival to Orléans and after her death.

Jean d'Aulon – Joan's squire who accompanied her almost everywhere she went.

Gilles de Rais – French military commander and baron who was granted the title Marshal of France in 1429 after Orléans.

Jean Froissart – French chronicler for the first half of the Hundred Years War. Known for his accounts of the start of the war, the Battle of Crécy in 1346, the Battle of Poitiers in 1356, and the Peasant's Revolt in England in 1381.

Charles VI – King of France from 1380-1422. He was the father of Charles VII and signed the Treaty of Troyes, which named the son of Henry V as King of France. Also known as the "Mad King" for his bouts of insanity later in life.

Charles V – King of France from 1364-1380. Charles took back much of the land lost under the campaigns of Edward III.

Jean II – King of France from 1350-1364.

Philip VI – First King of France from the Valois line. Philip ruled from 1328-1350.

Louis, Duke of Orléans – Duke from 1392-1407. He was assassinated in 1407 by Burgundians under orders from his cousin John, Duke of Burgundy. Louis was a major figure in the Armagnac party, which is the reason the Armagnac and Burgundian conflict was started.

Burgundian

Philip III, Duke of Burgundy – Duke of Burgundy from 1419 to 1467. Philip was Charles VII's cousin and signed the Treaty of Arras in 1435, which created peace between France and Burgundy.

John II, Duke of Burgundy – Duke of Burgundy from 1404-1419. John ordered the assassination of his cousin and rival Louis in 1407. John brokered a peace with the English, which started the Anglo-Burgundian alliance. John was later assassinated by those loyal to Charles VII, the dauphin at the time.

Enguerrand de Monstrelet – Burgundian chronicler who covers the latter half of the Hundred Years War. Monstrelet was known for his accounts of Agincourt in 1415, for Orléans in 1428-1429, the rise and fall of Joan of Arc, the Franco-Burgundian alliance, and the end of the Hundred Years War in 1456.

English

Henry V – King of England from 1413-1422. Henry led the English invasion of France in 1415 and led the English at the Battle of Agincourt that same year. Henry conquered all of Normandy and large portions of northern France until finally settling a truce with Charles VI at Troyes in 1420, which secured the French crown for his heir, Henry VI.

Edward III – King of England from 1327-1377. Edward was the first English king of the Hundred Years War. He led the English invasion of France in 1340 and commanded at the naval Battle of Sluys in 1340 and the Battle of Crécy in 1346.

Richard II – King of England from 1377-1399. While Richard was king, the French took back most of their lands lost under Edward III. Richard was deposed in 1399 and later executed by his own people.

John, Duke of Bedford – Bedford was the brother of Henry V, and regent of France for his nephew Henry VI during the campaigns of Joan of Arc.

INTRODUCTION

Joan of Arc is a complex historical figure to understand, mainly because of the aura that surrounds her image. She is mentioned in numerous texts of the fifteenth century, such as letters, chronicles, and poems, yet the two most popular primary sources that deal with Joan are from her two trials: her initial trial in 1431 and her rehabilitation trial in 1456. As a result of primary sources meant to either demonize or exalt her, the historian has a problem trying to differentiate between what is accurate and what is exaggerated or fabricated. Secondary sources are numerous, and she remains one of the most recognized figures of medieval European history. Yet many of the secondary sources on her are incomplete, hagiographical in nature, or completely focused on debunking her myth. In the context of the drawn out Hundred Years War, Joan of Arc spent two years involved in the conflict. To some historians, chief among them Edouard Perroy who looked at the entire scope of the Hundred Years War, Joan of Arc's two year role seemed miniscule. The notion that a teenage peasant girl altered the tide of war in a conflict that was, by 1429, nearly a hundred years old seemed unbelievable. Yet France, with Joan in her role as "savior," turned the tide of the war in their favor, and put France on the road towards reconciliation with their former ally, Burgundy.

Burgundy held the power to decide whether England or France won. Whichever side Burgundy chose gained their wealth and military. For the French, the split with Burgundy represented an internal threat that not only gave the English an advantage, but

divided France in such a way that it threatened to completely eradicate the French monarchy in place of a foreign one. To England, Burgundy represented a means to ending a long, costly war with France, and securing the lands held long before the war broke out. It also presented the King of England with the opportunity to hold both crowns. By the 1420s, England was exhausted, yet still in command of most of northern France. However, that control would disappear without the support of Burgundy. France, even with Joan, needed Burgundy because the possibility of a two-front war between England and Burgundy meant a defeat. Burgundy in the fifteenth century became the key to winning or losing the war for both sides. Since 1340, the war had been fought in France, and except for a brief period of success under Charles V, the French knew mostly defeat. After the devastating losses suffered at the hands of Henry V, Joan of Arc found an audience receptive to her message of God's intervention in the war. The language Joan spoke resonated not only with the French, but with those loyal to Burgundy as well, for they also felt the impacts of the war.

While most historians have acknowledged that Joan had the ability to inspire, those writing about the Hundred Years War as a whole do not connect the dots between her contribution to the French revival and the Burgundian reconciliation. Edouard Perroy, Desmond Seward, Jonathan Sumption, Alfred H. Burne, and Christopher Allmand are considered the authorities on the Hundred Years War. While Sumption is exempt because his fourth volume which covers the fifteenth century is still underway, none of the others gave Joan much attention. Allmand wrote a book that covered the years 1300-1450, and

within that he dedicated two pages to Joan.[1] Desmond Seward allotted more space than that, but even his account remained brief and argued that Joan's presence made "little stir."[2] Edouard Perroy's account remains the most critical out of the group, but his work gave Joan considerable attention. Although he argued that she mattered little in the war effort, he described the narrative of her story nonetheless.[3] The depiction of Joan, despite the critical analysis historians place on her overall impact, stays relatively the same. While there is clear evidence that proves Joan's involvement made a big stir and contributed to the war effort for France, the historians writing about the Hundred Years War tend to diminish Joan's role and focus more on the monarchs such as Edward III, Charles V, and Henry V. Other historians, such as Alfred Burne, argue that Joan caused the pendulum to swing in France's favor but leave it there. An incomplete observation permeates many of the secondary sources on Joan's role in the Hundred Years War. Certainly causing the pendulum to swing in France's favor meant it paved the way for a Franco-Burgundian reconciliation. However, like the chroniclers during the war the historians on the Hundred Years War look at the nobility, and the men rather than the women.

Battles such as Agincourt and Crécy receive more attention than others during the war, despite the fact that neither battle decided much. Andrew Ayton's *The Battle of Crécy, 1346,* looks at the battle with great detail, focusing on all aspects from causes, to tactics, and equipment.[4] Similarly, Juliet Barker's *Agincourt: Henry V and the Battle that*

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[1] Christopher Allmand, *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War 1300-1450* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 33.
[2] Desmond Seward, *The Hundred Years War: The English in France, 1337-1453* (New York: Penguin Books, 1999), p. 220.
[3] Edouard Perroy, *The Hundred Years War* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1951), p. 282.
[4] Andrew Ayton and Philip Preston, *The Battle of Crécy, 1346* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2005)

Made England looks at the other romanticized battle of the Hundred Years War.[5] While those two are some of the more recent additions to a large list of books on the subjects of Agincourt and Crécy, no English language volume on Orléans exists to this day. It was Joan's first military victory, and it opened up the Loire River Valley for the French. Outside of French secondary sources, the battle receives little attention. While Orléans lacked the "epic" story of Agincourt that Shakespeare romanticized even further, Orléans accomplished more for France than Agincourt did for England.

Biographers on Joan, in more recent years, have begun to focus on her military career with more objectivity. Kelly DeVries, Marina Warner, Mary Gordon, and Larissa Juliet Taylor all wrote highly praised, and scholarly, works on Joan within the last twenty years. Prior to that, Régine Pernoud dominated Joan's biographies with her two most notable works being *Joan of Arc: By Herself and Her Witnesses*, and *Joan of Arc: Her Story*.[6] However, few of the works solely written about Joan contained references to Burgundian views and interests in the war. Little attention was given to the attempted talks at peace during Joan's height of popularity and the Treaty of Arras in 1435, which resulted in an alliance between Burgundy and France. Although DeVries and Taylor mentioned the reconciliation with Burgundy, they did not credit Joan with that success. Since most of them agree that she sparked a nationalistic surge in France, it should also indicate her actions laid the groundwork for, and assisted in, putting Charles and Philip of Burgundy at the negotiation table.

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[5] Juliet Barker, *Agincourt: Henry V and the Battle that Made England* (New York: Back Bay Books, 2007)
[6] Régine Pernoud, *Joan of Arc: By Herself and Her Witnesses* (Lanham, MD: Scarborough House, 1994) Régine Pernoud and Marie-Véronique Clin, *Joan of Arc: Her Story* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1999)

Other biographies tend to focus on her gender, spirituality, and mental state rather than her military and political contributions. *Joan of Arc and Spirituality* by Bonnie Wheeler and Ann Astell, one of the more recent biographies, focused on her divine image.[7] Those written around or prior to the 1970s contained more hagiographical presentations of her, without proper citation methods, making it very difficult to find truth from myth.[8] Works such as Perroy's recognized her as an individual acting of her own free will. The one biography that examines Joan as an independent woman, aware of politics and the power of symbolism, is Anne Barstow's *Joan of Arc: Heretic, Mystic, Shaman*.[9] Barstow uses other females of the time to highlight how women spoke about political and cultural issues, without the influence and assistance of educated men, or those in powerful positions. Barstow's argument is very important, since Joan has been categorized by historical skeptics, such as Perroy, as not acting on her own freewill, but as someone being manipulated. If she truly was Charles's puppet, manipulated by him to create a following, then Joan rarely should have disagreed with him in public or carried out tasks without Charles's support. If she was only Charles's actor who delivered the lines he wanted and who knew she was playing a role on a grand stage, why attack Paris against his wishes? Why focus so much on the coronation at Reims when the war council suggested other plans? Clearly Joan made her own decisions, and Charles had little control over her. He had control over propaganda that made her appear more important, but her speech and her actions were not micromanaged by Charles or his court.

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[7] Ann W. Astell and Bonnie Wheeler, editors, *Joan of Arc and Spirituality* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003)
[8] Henri Guillemin, *Joan, Maid of Orléans*, trans. Harold J. Salemson (New York: Saturday Review Press, 1973) Jules Michelet, *Joan of Arc*, trans. Albert Guerard (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1967)
[9] Anne Llewellyn Barstow, *Joan of Arc: Heretic, Mystic, Shaman* (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1986)

The purpose of this thesis is not to praise Joan or endorse an image of her as acting without assistance, for she had military training along the way and received advice. The purpose is to highlight how, through her two years serving Charles, she contributed to the reconciliation with Burgundy, which was vital to ending the war. That is something for which Joan never gets credit, when it is very apparent that she swayed opinions in France, but also in Burgundy as well. She also put the Duke of Burgundy in a position where siding with France was Burgundy's best option against a weakened England. While Joan has her fair share of congratulatory biographies and accounts, she also has a fair share of detractors, specifically from males writing about the Hundred Years War. This paper does not set out to call her a nationalist or an experienced and effective diplomat. Joan's impatience and her lack of understanding in royal politics still show themselves through her behavior and words. However, her actions sparked results that were not always intended or contemplated beforehand. No one suggested that she set out to meet Charles knowing her actions would result in an alliance with Burgundy. However, in 1435, four years after her death, that is exactly what happened at Arras. Without the public support Joan garnered, without an icon that resonated with so many people across Europe, without Charles's coronation, and without military victories, peace with Burgundy would not have happened. The war would have arguably lasted longer, past 1456. For Joan, someone credited with prompting the emergence of a national identity and for crowning Charles at Reims, those events dramatically changed the situation in France, and Burgundy. Not only did the tide of war shift but the ideologies the citizens of France and Burgundy held also shifted from one of division to one of unity based on the events in which Joan of Arc participated. The long war, the need of a savior,

the seemingly invincible French army, the weakened English position, all served in changing the minds of the people, and allowed Joan of Arc to pave the way for peace with France and Burgundy.

PART ONE

The Hundred Years War started in 1337 and lasted until 1456. Although a series of treaties were signed during that long period of time, the fighting did not necessarily subside. There were instances where a temporary peace was declared and the armies went home, but mercenaries, brigands, and soldiers who wanted to stay behind still roamed the French countryside. By the year 1429, the war had lasted almost a hundred years. The English saw much success during the first half of the war from 1337 to 1399. The first invasion was devastating for the French who lost the naval battle at Sluys in 1340, the Battle of Crécy in 1346, and the Battle of Poitiers in 1356. Despite being outnumbered, the English were able to defeat the French heavy cavalry with longbowmen and infantry. The English not only humiliated the French on the battlefield, but they sacked valuable port cities on the northwestern coast of France. For nearly thirty years, the war went dismally for France due to an inability to organize efficiently and recognize the need for new tactics against longbows and disciplined infantry. France also lacked charismatic leaders and commanders on the battlefield.

After the deaths of England's two most arguably successful and confident rulers, Edward III and Edward the Black Prince of Wales, Richard II (1377-1399) became the King of England. Not long after Richard was crowned, Charles V (1364-1380) took advantage of the new king. The two kings were completely different. Richard deplored matters of warfare and was not engaged in the campaign his father, The Black Prince of

Wales, and his grandfather had devoted their time and resources towards. Charles V grew up in a humiliated France and wanted to restore the lands lost to the English. As a result of Richard's poor leadership, his refusal to accompany the troops on the campaigns, and unrest back in England, Charles V was able to take back much that was lost.

Burgundy remained a loyal vassal to the King of France for the entire first half of the war. France was starting to turn things around militarily when Charles VI became France's new king. Charles developed an illness that affected him mentally and cost the French, for they needed a king that could handle the problematic affairs at hand. The French and Burgundian nobility saw the illness and weakened state of their king as a sign to take matters into their own hands. Tensions between nobles escalated due to the inability of Charles VI to mediate them. Louis of Orléans and John of Burgundy feuded while Charles VI was ill, and this split between Burgundy and France took away the momentum France previously gained under Charles V. Not long after the split, Henry V launched his invasion of France and the need for France to reconnect with Burgundy was apparent.

CHAPTER ONE: THE BURGUNDIAN PROBLEM: BURGUNDY'S LONG HISTORY WITH FRANCE

The key to a victory for either the French, or the English, in the Hundred Years War lay with Burgundy. To both sides, Burgundy held the power to decide who won or lost. Securing a peace with them remained of tantamount importance throughout the war. The two parties pitted against each other in France were the Burgundians and the Armagnacs. The Burgundians were either people ruled by the Duke of Burgundy, or sympathizers to his cause. The Armagnacs were the supporters of the Dauphin and Louis, the Duke of Orléans, who was assassinated in 1407 by John Duke of Burgundy. With the changes to France's position in the war, Burgundians and Armagnacs began to unite for Charles due to the proclamation of his coronation in 1429. Without a peace with Burgundy, Charles faced a potential two-front war with England in the west and Burgundy in the east. Burgundy also had established itself over the years as a wealthy ducal state that sought to expand its boundaries. Therefore, Burgundy made a powerful ally to both sides.

In order to understand how Joan's involvement in the war led to a Franco-Burgundian reconciliation, one must consider how Burgundy fit in with the rest of France and what factors impacted Philip of Burgundy's decision to make peace in 1435. The duchy of Burgundy, like France, started out as part of the Frankish Kingdom. In the eighth century, it was taken by Charles Martel and made part of the Carolingian

Empire.[10] While the Burgundians were subjects of the King of France, they still held their own traditions and kept a distance that suggested a slight difference between them and France due to their Germanic influences.[11] Since Burgundy rested between the German kingdoms and France, there was a conglomerate of influences between the two. However, the Duke of Burgundy was the vassal of the King of France. Although Burgundy became the King of France's greatest ally due to a marriage between Joan of Burgundy and the French King, Philip VI of House Valois, they owed allegiance to the King of France. The chain of Burgundian dukes that ruled through the Hundred Years War came from the Valois line. Dukes John II, Philip II, John the Fearless, and Philip III, all came from that line, which they embraced. The problem that troubled Charles VII in his mission of peace with Philip came as a result of assassinations. The assassination of Louis, Duke of Orléans, the uncle of Charles VII, in 1407 by John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, resulted in retaliation from Charles VII. That retaliation cost John his life and led to further tensions between Burgundy and the Armagnacs who supported Louis. Both Charles VII and Philip fought one another out of a family rivalry that turned bloody, not because of any claim to the throne. Philip never entertained the idea of becoming King of France, but the murder of his father turned him against his cousin. However, Burgundy and France had a long history of cooperation due to family relationships.

Prior to the assassination of Louis, the relationship between Burgundy and France remained stable. The Burgundians viewed the English as usurpers, and Edward III as a pretender. The duke of Burgundy understood, like the French, that a male could not inherit the French throne through the line of a woman based on the Salic law put into

[10] Joseph Calmette, *The Golden Age of Burgundy: The Magnificent Dukes and their Courts*, translated by Doreen Weightman (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1963), p. 3.
[11] Calmette, *The Golden Age of Burgundy*, p. 19.

place by the Franks.[12] The dukes of Burgundy supported the French king during the first stages of the Hundred Years War. The Duke of Burgundy, Philip II remained by Charles V's side for most of the war from 1364 to 1380.[13] After Charles V of France and during the reign of Richard II of England, Charles VI made plans to invade England in 1386 and had the full support of Philip II of Burgundy.[14] Both Charles V and Charles VI showed the confidence and the ability to command that other French kings lacked. Charles V also started to experiment with permanent armies and paid some soldiers a wage rather than expecting them to fight because he was their king.[15] While he experimented with it and it did not really take hold in France until the later stages of the war, it created a climate that gave soldiers more of a reason to risk their bodies in combat.[16] That extra money went a long way for a peasant in France, and they received that money only if they won. In addition to ambitious invasion plans, the French recaptured what Edward III took in the first campaigns of the war. Edward III died in 1377 with Richard II taking his place. Arguably one of the weakest kings England ever knew, Richard disliked matters of warfare. He preferred to worry about his noble friends who surrounded his court and gave him advice. While other kings led their armies in campaigns, Richard stayed in England. Richard had difficulty in appeasing Parliament, and due to his poor handling of the war

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[12] Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years War Vol. 1: Trial by Battle* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), p. 103.
[13] Calmette, *The Golden Age of Burgundy*, p. 30.
[14] Jean Froissart, *Chronicles* (New York: Penguin Books, 1978), p. 303. Froissart claimed that the "young King Charles of France was eager to lead his army of invasion across to England, and in this he had the backing of his knights and squires, and particularly of the Duke of Burgundy."
[15] Nicholas Wright, *Knights and Peasants: The Hundred Years War in the French Countryside* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 1998), p. 4. Up to six thousand soldiers were in permanent paid service for a time in the 1360s and 1370s.
[16] Wright, *Knights and Peasants*, p. 4. Under Charles VII when they were recruited into the *compagnies d'ordonnance*, a permanent group of cavalry units.

funds, he was denied the power to levy new taxes for that purpose.[17] The Peasants Revolt in the 1380s also fell under the reign of Richard and eventually led to his abdication in 1399. Clearly, Charles held the advantage in terms of leadership, confidence, and military matters. Chronicler Jean Froissart displayed the confident arrogance of Charles, and stated that Charles referred to England as "a little country," and "was amazed at how they had ever mustered the strength to achieve the conquests that they had."[18] Although Edward started the war strongly for England, Richard lost to Charles, and the duke of Burgundy benefitted from the alliance with France. England clearly had a false claim in minds of the Burgundians, and the bloodline shared between Charles V and Burgundy helped to strengthen an alliance.

When Charles VI became king, Philip of Burgundy stood by his side as well, and supported him in the war against England. Even when Charles showed his deteriorating mental state, and attacked his own nephew with a sword, Philip supported him as the King of France.[19] Froissart described the illness of Charles in great detail. When Charles lay ill in bed, Philip questioned the doctors incessantly, asking them what he had to eat, who fed him, among other questions.[20] While the dukes still had their own goals in mind, they supported the King of France, and risked their lives and the lives of their men to fight England. The kinship ties, combined with the understanding that the Valois line was established as the royal line, created a bond that was stronger than any Anglo-Burgundian

[17] Seward, *The Hundred Years War,* p. 132. Parliament denied Richard II the ability to levy war taxes in 1381, 1382, and 1383.
[18] Sumption, *The Hundred Years War Vol. 1*, p. 61.
[19] Froissart, *Chronicles*, p. 393.
[20] Froissart, *Chronicles*, p. 397. Froissart stated that the doctors were closely questioned by the Duke of Burgundy. The King was still considered young, so foul play was thought as a possibility.

alliance. While the kinship was strong, the assassinations that occurred with John of Burgundy, put that bond aside.

When things looked unfavorable for the French while Henry V campaigned in 1415, the duke of Burgundy John the Fearless, pursued a strategy of best interest for himself and for Burgundy. That policy extended to his son Philip as well, and although Philip was married to Charles VII's sister,[21] the best interest of Burgundy lay with an Anglo alliance rather than a French one. At the start of the war with England, the King of France had the richest and most populous country in Europe.[22] Having three times the population of England, the France that existed in 1328 had been the creation of fourteen Capetian kings from the previous dynasty since 987.[23] The Capetian dynasty ended in 1328 with Charles IV, and the Valois line of kings started. Capetian France had a reputation for its wealth, pious monarchy, and its formidable cavalry. The kings, anointed with the holy oil, which propagandists claimed had miraculous healing powers[24], conducted their ceremonies with a spectacle seen in few courts at the time. For Burgundy, supporting France clearly presented the best opportunity at first. England was smaller, their kings poorer, and their armies less romanticized. In the eyes of the duke of Burgundy, the English were destined to lose. However, once the fifteenth century came about, and Charles VI, with his mental illness, had an heir too young to rule, the English successes made Burgundy question their alliance with France. Although more political reasons existed as well, such as the arguments between Louis and John over regency of France, John the Fearless saw France as the weak link.

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[21] Calmette *The Golden Age of Burgundy*, p. 128.
[22] Sumption, *The Hundred Years War Vol. 1*, p. 10.
[23] Sumption, *The Hundred Years War Vol. 1*, p. 15.
[24]Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de St. Louis*, ed. N. Wally (1868), taken from Sumption, *The Hundred Years War Vol. 1* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), p. 15.

Henry V proved himself a leader beyond anything the French, or even the Burgundians, had in their ranks. Henry understood how to organize his military effectively, as Agincourt showed. His experience fighting the Welsh prior to his invasion of France gave him the respect he needed from his soldiers, and he gained experience in using siege weaponry.[25] Unlike the French king, Henry was able to draw more from his subjects because of the control the English king had over his kingdom.[26] Henry had an organized, experienced military when he came to France, and the effectiveness of his campaigns proved that. With the Treaty of Troyes in 1420, which caused the disinheritance of Charles as King of France, the Armagnac party was humiliated. Although John of Burgundy died before the Treaty of Troyes was signed, his son Philip inherited the favorable position his father left him. On Henry V's deathbed, he granted the young duke most of northern France, except for Normandy.[27] Philip came into the war when Charles was hiding in Chinon and the dominance of the English ran throughout northern France. Philip of Burgundy, like his father, adopted a pro-Burgundian strategy rather than a pro-Anglo strategy. Philip expanded his state more than any duke before him and he did so as a result of the French and English war.

When Henry V died in 1422, his brother John Duke of Bedford became regent of the English held lands in France. In order to keep the alliance strong between Burgundy and England, Bedford married Philip's sister, Anne of Burgundy.[28] From 1422 to around

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[25] Barker, *Agincourt*, p. 32.
[26] Sumption, *The Hundred Years War Vol. 1*, p. 45. English king was dependent on the support of local communities, which meant their support was enormous when they agreed with the king's policies.
[27] Enguerrand de Monstrelet, quoting King Henry V from Peter E. Thompson, ed, *Contemporary Chronicles of the Hundred Years War: From the Works of Jean le Bel, Jean Froissart & Enguerrand de Monstrelet* (London: The Folio Society, 1966), p. 290. Henry V said to his brother John Duke of Bedford, future regent of England, "If our fair brother of Burgundy [Philip] should wish to undertake the regency of this realm of France, I advise you grant it to him."
[28] Calmette, *The Golden Age of Burgundy*, p. 140.

1428, Philip concentrated completely on the Low Countries, and securing lands in Holland.[29] Philip fought there for a number of reasons. One reason was it allowed him to take lands while the French and English busied themselves fighting, and Philip looked to expand the Burgundian territory. The other reason centered on a problematic marriage that involved Philip's cousin, the Duke of Brabant. His wife Jacqueline, the Countess of Hainault in modern day Belgium, fled to England in order to marry the Duke of Gloucester. As a result, Brabant took Jacqueline's lands in Hainault, which she wanted returned to her. That conflict caused a significant amount of friction between England and Burgundy because an important English noble, the Duke of Gloucester, wanted to fight against the Duke of Burgundy. This led to an actual battle against English troops in 1426 at the Battle of Brouwershaven.[30] Although they were Jacqueline's troops, they were still English, which caused further strain on the alliance with Bedford. Philip, by 1426, was more interested in his own goals than in the English-French conflict. He continued to add titles to his name, including the Duke of Lothair, Brabant, and Limburg, as well as Marquis of the Holy Empire.[31] In the 1420s and 30s, Philip greatly expanded the boundaries of Burgundy.[32] Clearly obsessed with spectacle, Philip used lavish ceremonies, and titles, to showcase his wealth and power.[33] While Philip reveled in his successes, the once depleted and humiliated dauphin Charles grew more confident as Joan campaigned towards Reims in 1429. The cities that the French took on their way to Reims were not in English hands, but Burgundian. Henry V submitted those lands to the

[29] Calmette, *The Golden Age of Burgundy*, p. 141.
[30] Calmette, *The Golden Age of Burgundy*, p. 141.
[31] Calmette, *The Golden Age of Burgundy*, p. 143.
[32] Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *The Artistic Patronage of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy 1419-1467* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Microfilms International, 1984), p. 3.
[33] Smith, *The Artistic Patronage of Philip the Good*, p. 4.

Duke of Burgundy on his deathbed. Philip of Burgundy either saw no use for those lands, or was too preoccupied with his wealthier acquisitions in Holland to care about the war in France. However, what made him grow disinterested in the war that once had his full attention? Clearly the alliance with England was wearing thin. Bedford, while a capable commander, did not hold the same confidence his brother Henry had. Also, Henry's long years of expensive campaigning took their toll on the English economy, making it harder for Bedford to acquire enough troops and equipment to hold a dominant presence in France. It appeared England was slowly becoming a burden for the Duke of Burgundy. With Charles on the rise and with his coronation accepted by even Philip's subjects, an alliance with England began to lose its appeal.

The tensions between Bedford and Philip steadily grew over time. It started with the Countess of Hainault, and her short-lived marriage with the Duke of Brabant. That put English men and Burgundian men in battle against each other. Although Bedford tried to make peace with the two, it eventually led to war in the Low Countries between Jacqueline's English mercenaries, and the army of her new husband, the Duke of Gloucester. For two years the war took Philip's full attention, and finally ended with the Treaty of Delft in 1428, which gave him the Brabant inheritance because he rushed to the aid of the Duke of Brabant.[34] Philip also argued with Bedford over who took Orléans in 1428. The citizens of Orléans, fearing the dauphin gave up on them, appealed to the Duke of Burgundy for assistance when the English attacked. If they had a choice between English occupation or Burgundian occupation, they chose the latter because they did not want a foreign occupation of the city. However, the English refused to give the city to

[34] Calmette, *The Golden Age of Burgundy*, p. 142.

Philip, and he took his 1,500 troops away from the siege.[35] That left Bedford in a vulnerable position, for the French outnumbered him and Orléans remained intact. Arguably, Philip's decision to remove his troops cost the English the city. Once Joan arrived with fresh troops, Philip was long gone, and their English enemies were tired and spread thin around the Loire Valley. However, the final piece that distanced Burgundy and England came when Bedford's wife, Anne of Burgundy, died in 1432.[36] The support for the English died with her for according to Burgundian chronicler Monstrelet, Philip looked to make peace with Charles. By 1432, Charles was king, Joan was dead, and Henry VI ruled over England. The time seemed ripe for a Franco-Burgundian alliance, because Philip of Burgundy risked all he had accomplished if his own subjects recognized Charles VII as the rightful king. Philip risked losing favor with his own people by pursuing a hostile strategy against the King of France, because Burgundy was still a vassal to France. Prior to 1429, Burgundy technically did not commit treason since there was no French king. He also noticed that the power shifted towards France, and even attempted to convince Henry VI to make peace with Charles.[37] With the successful coronation of Charles, the seeming invincibility of Charles's forces, and the loyalty of both Charles's and Philip's subjects recognizing a new king, Philip had a decision to either continue supporting England or reconcile with France.

Although Joan died before the Treaty of Arras was signed in 1435, by the time of her death the people of France and Burgundy grew tired of the Valois rivalry between the

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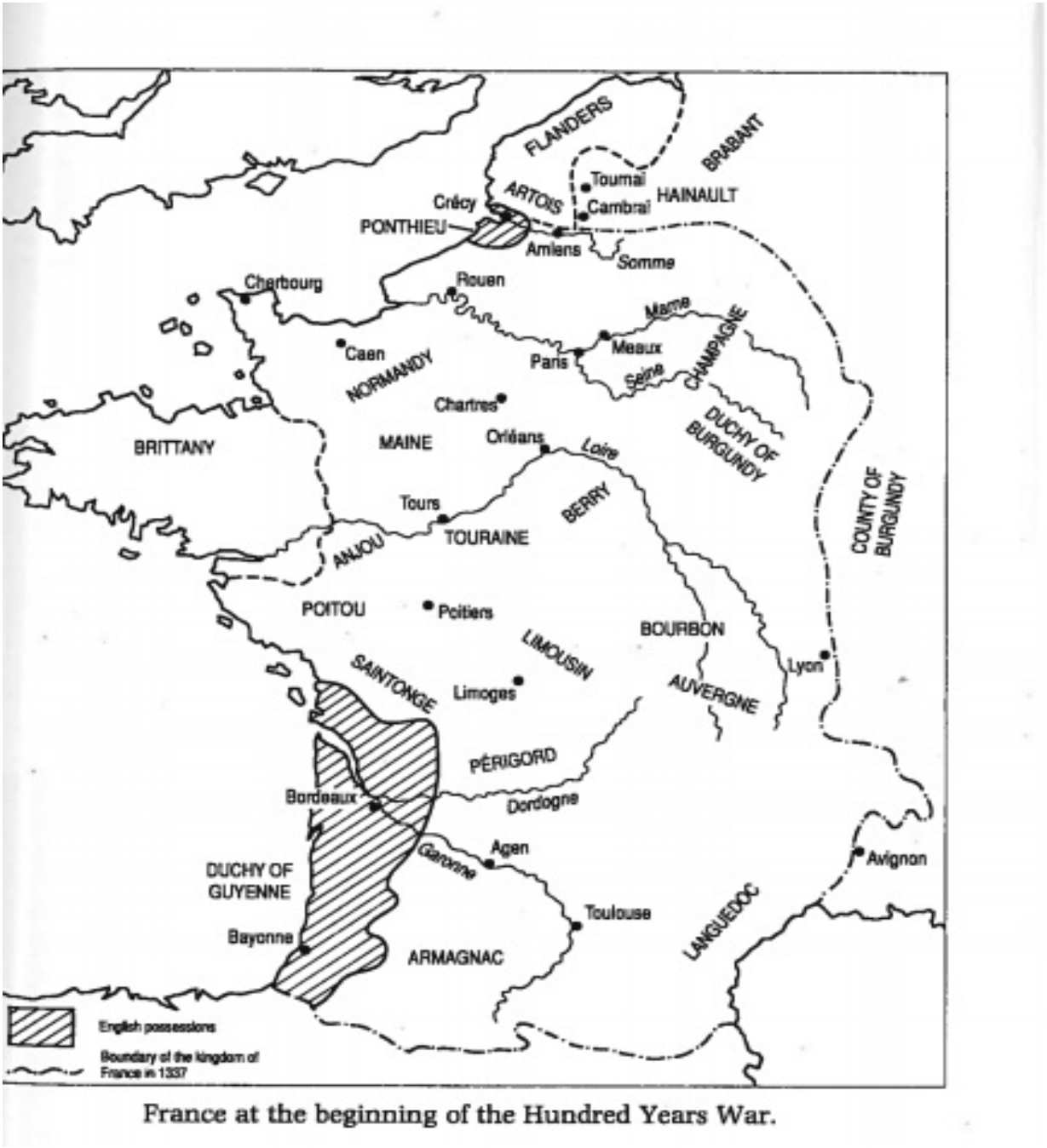
[35] Larissa Juliet Taylor, *The Virgin Warrior: The Life and Death of Joan of Arc* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 60. Philip of Burgundy told his 1,500 troops to depart for Flanders without harming any of the citizens of Orléans.
[36] Calmette, *The Golden Age of Burgundy*, p. 147.
[37] Enguerrand de Monstrelet quoting Philip Duke of Burgundy from Thompson, *Contemporary Chronicles*, p. 318. Monstrelet wrote "The duke tried to persuade the king to conclude a peace with the crown of France, and explained how he had been reconciled by a treaty with his sovereign lord King Charles."

two cousins.[38] For twenty years the conflict between the two split France apart, and the citizens of France and Burgundy were the ones paying as a result. Even Paris, which was a city overwhelmingly loyal to Philip, hated the English occupation and wished for a peace between Charles and Philip. Philip definitely felt the pressure of his subjects, but also from his court. Both the constable Richemont, and Duke John of Brittany urged Philip to side with Charles before Joan even appeared.[39] Once Joan arrived, the situation became more crucial for Philip. Not only did she inspire Armagnac loyalty, but Burgundians, as evident from the works of Monstrelet, were enamored with her as well. The spectacle at Reims, which saw Charles crowned King of France, no doubt made an impression on the Burgundian duke who knew the power of ceremonies himself. The pressures from his own subjects, and witnesses to the coronation, also contributed to the notion that peace with Charles presented the best course of action.

While Burgundy allied with England in the fifteenth century, the alliance lasted for only twenty years. The roots of Burgundy were tied more closely with those of France. However, tensions in the alliance with England, along with a lack of interest in the war on Philip's part made it easier for a Franco-Burgundian alliance to emerge. Joan, riding on the wave of anti-English sentiment and support of Charles, pressured Philip to choose between the King of France or a poorly funded English regent. Joan of Arc's arrival created a fervor that placed the Duke of Burgundy in a difficult position, and one where his alliance with England was put to the test. It also showed the opinion of his subjects, and where their loyalties lay when it came to England or France. In the end,

[38] Calmette, *The Golden Age of Burgundy*, p. 149. When Philip passed through Paris, he found that the anti-Armagnac city was hostile to English occupation, and would not accept the antagonism between Charles and Philip any longer.
[39] Calmette, *The Golden Age of Burgundy*, p. 141.

Burgundy sided with France again due to a problematic alliance with England and the resurgence of a French monarchy.



Map 1. France at the start of the Hundred Years War. Kelly DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader* (Stroud, UK: The History Press, 2011)

CHAPTER TWO: A HISTORY OF WAR: THE FRENCH SITUATION PRIOR TO JOAN OF ARC

In order to better understand the environment of the 1420s, the previous fifty plus years need somewhat of a review. Without understanding the level of destruction both physically and mentally to the morale of the French, the importance of a figurehead like Joan cannot be appreciated. The start of the fifteenth century marked the start of more trouble for France. It marked the arrival of Henry V as King of England, the start of the Armagnac-Burgundian Civil War, and the disinheritance of the French heir Charles VII due to the Treaty of Troyes signed by England and France in 1420. The devastation caused during the early fifteenth century created a chaotic, distrustful atmosphere, and forced many Frenchmen and women in the north to abandon hope of a strong liberating French army. Joan arrived on the scene during that chaos. Tensions between England and Burgundy also began to show during her arrival. With both parties showing signs of problematic relations, and France in need of a push, Joan's role as savior was made that much easier and believable.

Although the war technically started around 1337, the first engagement between France and England occurred in the English Channel in 1340. Jean Froissart described Edward's army as doing "whatever they pleased, for no one resisted them."[40] The lack of early mobilization by the French showed that they were not only unprepared for Henry V,

[40] Froissart, *Chronicles*, p. 71.

but they were also hesitant about engaging in an open battle. Henry adopted the same principles that Edward had seventy some years prior and focused on similar areas of interest such as Normandy and port cities. Henry, like Edward, pillaged and burnt throughout Normandy causing drawn out and destructive sieges at places like Rouen and Harfleur.[41] At Crécy, England's organization, confidence, and position helped to defeat a highly disorganized, disunited French army, similar to what happened at Agincourt in 1415. Crécy inflicted a humiliating defeat on a numerically superior, and overconfident French army. The French forces at Crécy had no formal chain of command, for the French nobles still viewed themselves as leaders over their own immediate forces. The evolution of the Hundred Years War from devastating English assaults and humiliating victories against the French, to a weak English king that allowed France to retake her lost possessions, to another fifteen year period of devastating French defeats and devastation, took its toll on the populace of France. Petrarch, visiting Paris in 1360, described it as a weed-infested city with untilled fields, and ruined and deserted houses.[42] He remarked, "Everywhere appeared the melancholy vestige of the English passage."[43] Since 1346, the kingdom saw nothing but war. By the fifteenth century, France faced issues within the royal family that split the country apart.

Prior to Joan's arrival, the French nobles were at one another's throats. Charles VI developed a mental illness that prohibited him from ruling effectively, and as a result provincial lords rose in power and reigned over their territories as kings.[44] Each of them held their own personal goals that distanced them from the monarchy, and other nobles,

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[41] Froissart, *Chronicles,* p. 71.
[42] Petrarch, letter detailing Paris, 1360, as cited in Wright, *Knights and Peasants,* p. 29.
[43] Petrarch, letter detailing Paris, 1360, as cited in Wright, *Knights and Peasants* p. 29.
[44] Thompson, *Contemporary Chronicles,* p. 257.

which gave Henry an opportunity to invade. Many of the counties in France constituted semi-autonomous territories that, although owed allegiance to the king, were not directly controlled by him.[45] The illness of Charles VI made them grow more independent and power hungry. Since Charles VI's son was only a child, a struggle over the position of regent ensued between cousins John Duke of Burgundy, and Louis Duke of Orléans. Louis, being Charles VI's brother, seemed the best fit for a regent, but John wanted the position. That struggle for power ended in the murder of Louis in Paris, carried out on orders from John.[46] A group loyal to Louis, the Armagnacs, began a series of violent attacks that escalated into a civil war with the Burgundian supporters loyal to John. Charles VI regained some of his sanity and removed Burgundians from power and replaced them with Armagnacs.[47] This led to a number of outbreaks of violence, and John led an army on Paris. However, he failed in capturing the city. In 1414, France declared war on Burgundy.[48] The initial phases of the civil war were brutal, with the Armagnac armies sacking Burgundian cities such as Soissons, and executing prisoners.[49] Henry V watched the devastation from England, and picked his time wisely, for he invaded in 1415 with 1,500 ships.[50] Henry gained the advantage due to the chaotic situation in France. He faced no opposition when he landed, and the Dauphin Charles refused to oppose his march towards Harfleur, an important port city.[51] No formal command structure existed in the French army like the English had. The French army was

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[45] Seward, *The Hundred Years War*, p. 147. France was divided up into *apanages*, or estates, and were territorial entities which were semi-independent.
[46] Thompson, *Contemporary Chronicles*, p. 259.
[47] Barker, *Agincourt*, p. 57.
[48] Barker, *Agincourt*, p. 58. War was declared on March 2, 1414, with the Armagnacs marching out of Paris with the king and dauphin.
[49] Barker, *Agincourt*, p. 60.
[50] Barker, *Agincourt*, p. 147.
[51] Alfred H. Burne, *The Agincourt War: A Military History of the Latter Part of the Hundred Years War From 1369 to 1453* (Ware, Hertfordshire, UK: Wordsworth Editions Limited, 1999), p. 40.

composed of a multitude of nobles who each had their own agendas. They lacked leadership and organization. At Agincourt, the English showcased a disciplined, well led, and organized force, whereas the French exhibited a disorganized, leaderless, undisciplined military unable to execute a strategic plan of attack. The nobles of the French army attacked first without any orders from the Constable d'Albret who was in command, and rushed the French into an unprepared assault on the English lines.[52] With the French already confused, and pushed into a conflict by their reckless nobles, the English delivered a humiliating defeat on France. As a result, the French lost many of their nobles during the battle. Accounts differ on how many French nobles died at Agincourt, but English chronicler Thomas Walsingham claimed that 3,069 knights and squires, plus a hundred barons perished at the battle.[53] Regardless of the precise number, France lost a good number of its nobles. Agincourt emphasized the disorganization that existed in France during Henry's campaign. By the spring of 1418, Henry captured most of Normandy with little resistance from the French army.[54] Prominent cities such as Rouen, Caen, and Harfleur came under English occupation. The citizens of those cities hoped a French army led by the dauphin would liberate them from English occupation, but it never came. The continuous success of Henry and his English troops led to the Treaty of Troyes in 1420, which disinherited Charles and proclaimed Henry as Charles VI's heir.[55] The French throne passed to a foreigner and marked one of the most humiliating treaties for the French until the armistice with Nazi Germany in 1940. The devastation Henry wrought upon the French countryside broke the French, and although

[52]John Keegan, *The Face of Battle* (New York: The Viking Press, 1976), p. 94.
[53] Barker, *Agincourt*, p. 300.
[54] Thompson, *Contemporary Chronicles*, p. 282.
[55] Barker, *Agincourt*, p. 357.

some resisted at the start, their optimism plummeted once they realized the dauphin was not coming.[56] Christine de Pizan wrote a letter dated 1418 detailing the horrors the war had on French women who lost sons and husbands.[57] One passage in particular highlighted the tragic toll of Henry's campaigns:

> In order somehow to find a remedy and a cure for the severe malady and infirmity caused by a bitter heart and sad thoughts, a remedy which might restrain and dry up a flood of tears that can benefit neither the soul nor be of value to the body, and that has run and runs still-which is a pity-even among the queens, princesses, baronesses, ladies and young girls of the noble royal blood of France, and in general among most of the ladies-in-waiting, who have been stricken by this pestilence in this French kingdom: because of so many various deaths and abductions of kin-husbands, sons, brothers, uncles, cousins, relatives and friends, some killed in battles, others passing away naturally in their beds-and of so many losses and other misfortunes and adventures which have occurred unexpectedly for some time.[58]

De Pizan's letter, or *Epistle of the Prison of Human Life*, contained passages littered with tales of death, discouragement, and suffering. De Pizan only wrote about the years during Henry's conquest, however, the French had experienced a similar, although arguably less brutal, conquest under Edward III at the start of the Hundred Years War. The years of foreign occupation under Henry V, combined with a complete loss of confidence on the part of the French, made Joan's task of being a savior that much easier. Henry's war devastated cities, and broke them not only physically, but mentally as well. The Treaty of Troyes claimed their rightful king a usurper and named a foreigner as their sovereign. Joan arrived at the opportune moment to help a devastated France, for it seemed almost certain that had she arrived at Agincourt less than twenty years earlier she

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[56] Perroy, *The Hundred Years War*, p. 252.
[57] Christine de Pizan, *The Epistle of the Prison of Human Life: With an Epistle to the Queen of France and Lament on the Evils of the Civil War,* edited and translated by Josette A. Wisman, (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1984), p. xvii. However, she claimed she started it a few years prior to 1418.
[58] De Pizan, *The Epistle of the Prison of Human Life*, p. 3.

would have found it difficult to exert command. Highborn nobles still commanded the military at Agincourt, and France had not endured enough of Henry's effective campaigns by 1415.

After Henry's death, the Duke of Bedford served as regent, and continued the war in France. His efforts suffered from lack of funds thanks to Henry's overspending, and there were few decisive battles like Agincourt. The only battle that showcased the strength of the English army was Verneuil in 1424. Verneuil was one of the few times an Anglo-Burgundian army fought together. They faced a Franco-Scottish army and inflicted heavy casualties on them.[59] However, the French dispensed with their previous command structure because so many nobles had fallen at Agincourt, but also because the idea of heavy cavalry as the focus of a military went with the nobility. Foot soldiers had more of a role than cavalry. The French fielded a large army loyal to the dauphin and with a clear hierarchical command structure.[60] While they still lost the engagement, it showed a change within the military that Joan of Arc came to. In addition, Henry V unintentionally helped in that matter when he forced French nobles to either capitulate to his taxation demands as a king or remain in exile.[61] Without a large number of the sovereign nobles, the dauphin's army was able to organize more effectively, and fight for a common cause rather than personal wealth. Although they still lacked an organized leader and encouragement, Joan provided those missing pieces.

Joan's successful missions caused more strain in the Anglo-Burgundian alliance. By 1429, both England and Burgundy dealt with a number of disputes that threatened to

[59] Burne, *The Agincourt War*, p. 209.
[60] Burne, *The Agincourt War*, p. 198.
[61] Perroy, *The Hundred Years War*, p. 252.

end the alliance. While the dauphin lost his field army at Verneuil, the situation between England and Burgundy threatened to undermine any effort of England to capitalize on that momentum. John, Duke of Burgundy, officially developed the alliance with England at the Treaty of Troyes. However, unofficially, John had sent ambassadors to England to negotiate a peace before Henry invaded in 1415.[62] When Henry invaded, John raised no hand to prevent him from taking territory. John even allowed English envoys to recruit ships for the campaign in the Low Countries, which Burgundy controlled.[63] John had chosen the English as his ally years before the Treaty of Troyes. The same passionate dislike for the Armagnacs did not pass to his son, Philip. While John enjoyed peace with England, Philip took issue with a few things that suggested the alliance could break. The campaign fought between Jacqueline of Hainault's English mercenaries and Burgundy from 1426-1428, and the disputes over controlling Orléans pitted the two allies against one another, and gave Charles the chance he needed. The dispute over Orléans outlined the alliance between Burgundy and England had grown tense over the years. The English besieged Orléans, and the Orléanais, certain Charles abandoned them, appealed to Philip of Burgundy for help. Philip tried to negotiate with England and make them hand over Orléans to him, but they refused. Philip, upset with England's demands, withdrew his 1,500 troops from the area and sent them to Flanders.[64] That occurred right before Joan's arrival in April 1429 and gave the French an advantage in manpower. However, Joan provided more than just fresh troops and manpower. She provided a morale boost that lifted the spirits of soldiers, but also brought God into the conflict as a champion for the French cause.

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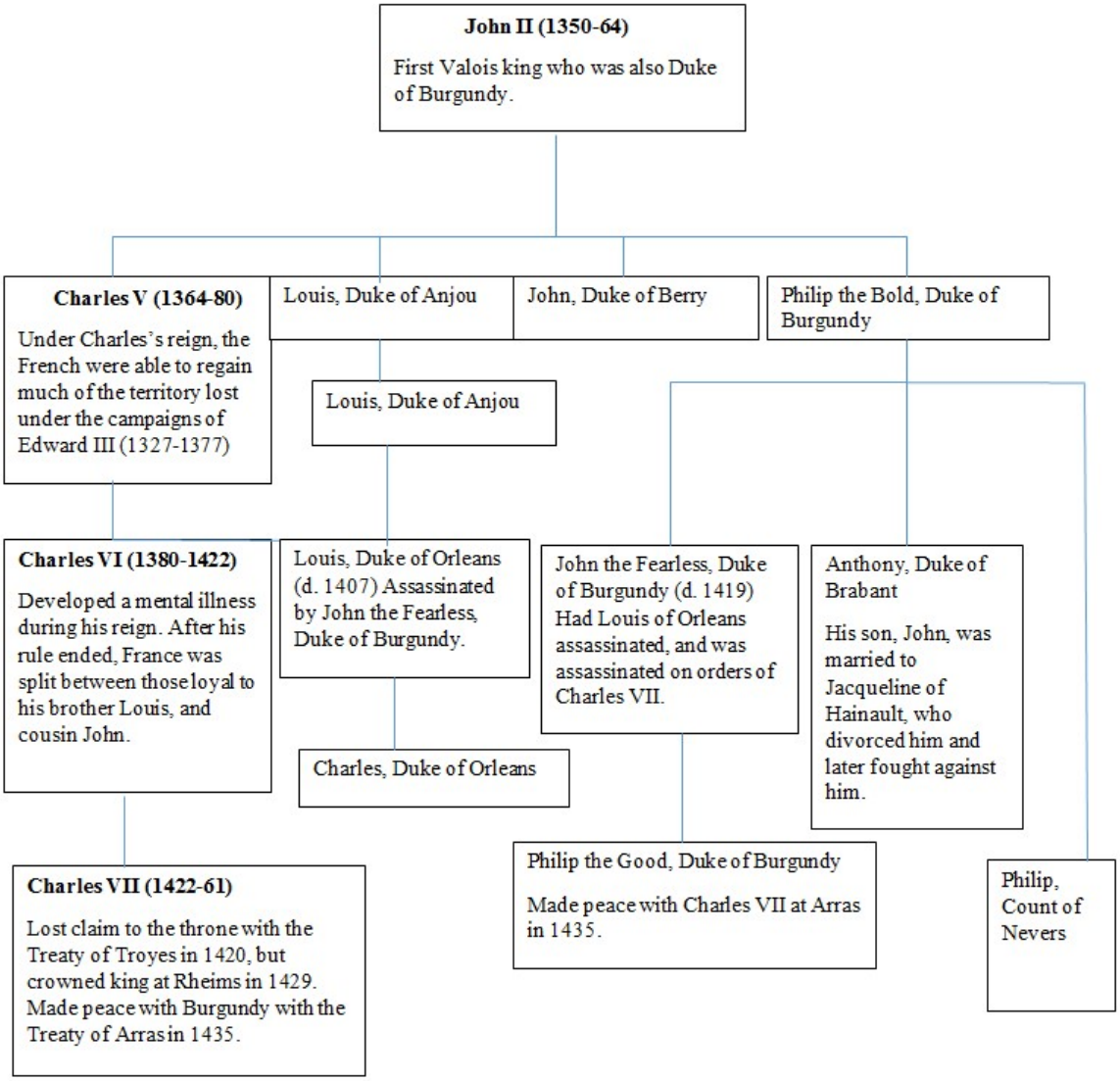
[62] Barker, *Agincourt*, p. 229.
[63] Barker, *Agincourt*, p. 228.
[64] Taylor, *The Virgin Warrior*, p. 60.

Fortunately for France, Joan's birth came at a time when the war changed not only the hearts and minds of the French citizens but the societal structure that forbade class mobility. Although the feudal system still existed, the migration of many people to cities and ports because of opportunities not available in the villages made feudalism in its early rigid form start to subside. Joan found herself able to attempt things previously deemed unacceptable. For example, at the start of the Hundred Years War in the mid-fourteenth century, Joan's attempt to save France and join the army would have been met with more suspicion for France was not in need of a miracle at that moment. The idea probably would not have occurred to her. While Charles VII surely felt some sense of embarrassment because a woman helped secure his crown, by that point he already suffered enough humiliation. However, in the minds of her contemporaries, the assistance Joan provided to Charles did not simply come from a woman, but from God. A major obstacle Joan faced in her own time was the nobility. Joan's assistance would have been met with more scrutiny from the nobles fighting at Crécy in 1346 at a time when France did not feel they needed a savior. The nobles were not united, and they received their nobility and command due to birth, not experience on the battlefield like La Hire and some of the commanders that served with Joan. Lowborn nobles and experienced soldiers started to gain more opportunities in the military. However, in 1346, since France had not faced years of occupation and devastation at that point, the likelihood of Joan rising to the ranks in the military at the Battle of Crécy seems difficult to imagine. By the 1420s, France had no king, and the rightful heir hid south of the Loire River. France had not seen military victories for over twenty years. The French people endured English occupation, pillaging from English brigands, and a divided country that allowed a

foreigner to decide their future. That marked the point where Joan entered into the conflict, and by that time, the same criticisms and obstacles that existed twenty years earlier, although still present, seemed less permanent. Although England enjoyed an organized, seemingly unified, kingdom, France had no leader capable of uniting French nobles. With the nobles pursuing their own goals, unification proved a daunting task. Whether by design, or through happenstance, Joan sparked a surge in unification, and a sense of identity that viewed the English as foreigners to expel. While that does not necessarily mean they were nationalists in a modern sense, commonalities certainly existed that explained why scholars looked to the Hundred Years War as the birth of national identity for both England and France. The English no longer wished to be vassals to the King of France because they did not recognize the Valois line, nor did they wish cultural ties to the French. The significance lay in the fact that Burgundy felt the same. The same passionate dislike between John and Louis, did not necessarily exist between their own subjects. The conflict between the two dukes came as a result of their own personal desires, not out of the best interest of their subjects. Therefore, it made their subjects easier for Joan to influence.

Chart 1: The Valois Line (1350-1461)



CHAPTER THREE-THE SIGNS OF IDENTITY: REASONS FOR AND SIGNS OF A SEPARATE IDENTITY

The war caused a number of sentiments that distanced England from France to emerge, both religiously and culturally. Language, religion, and the name of an individual, all became ways to single out a person as French or English. Although differences between France and England existed well before the Hundred Years War, and their citizens were consciously aware of such things, it never resulted in total separation of the two kingdoms where foreigner became a means to describe one another. Foreigners usually meant people that clearly did not fit within society, such as Jews and Muslims. However, the Hundred Years War brought out xenophobic sentiments towards those who spoke a different language, supported separate Popes during the Great Schism of the late fourteenth century, or even had a different king. Joan of Arc, coming into the Hundred Years War late, found herself in a situation where the long struggle between the two kingdoms already produced a passionate dislike, and mistrust, of one another that made it easier to condemn the other side because of their differences. Those differences in language, and religion, then united people against one another. Joan played upon the means of identification between God and the kingdom that already existed in France for some time, but she used that on a widespread scale to unite factions. Joan's understanding of what the common folk valued gave her the insight to know what resonated with people. Symbols made an impact, because at a time when many could not read or write visual descriptions of events became etched in their minds. Reminding people that God,

the King, and France were related, Joan played upon inherent territorial themes that united large groups of French citizens including those loyal to Burgundy. While nationalism in a nineteenth century form with a nation and centralized government did not exist in France at the time, nationalism did exist in the sense that during the course of the war the French went from identifying themselves based on what county they came from to what kingdom they came from. Instead of simply being a Parisian only, they were French ruled by the King of France.

Prior to the Hundred Years War, England and France squabbled with one another, but they rarely expressed sentiments that separated the two on a territorial level. Their minor conflicts before the Hundred Years War took on the form of civil wars rather than wars between two nations.[65] The Dukes of Normandy fought against other English nobles, the English king, and allied with other nobles in France throughout the years prior to the Hundred Years War in the twelfth century. The wars in the twelfth century between King Henry II of England, and his sons, primarily Richard I, carried over into France because of land disputes, succession issues, and even marriage refusals. The French King, Philip II, sided with Richard in the revolt. Years later, when Richard's brother, John, became king, minor wars with France occurred that were remedied by treaties. Under Edward I in the late thirteenth century, war again broke out, but these wars were settled with marriages, treaties, and concessions of land. The Hundred Years War started out somewhat similarly, however, it eventually took the form of a war fought to preserve a kingdom and to expel invaders, instead of a war just for profit in the case of the leaders. For many English soldiers who were considered poor, the war represented an opportunity

[65] Sumption, *The Hundred Years War Vol. 1*, p. 38.

to find wealth. The importance of pillaging cannot be understated during the Hundred Years War, for it attracted large numbers of soldiers to leave home and join the King of England in his campaign. The Hundred Years War became a conflict that involved all members of society whether they wanted it or not.

However, a sense of identity existed, and to some extent separated England and France before the large-scale conflict occurred, mainly in a religious form for France. Going back to the times of the Carolingian Empire, the Franks were the defenders of the papacy. When Charlemagne rescued the papacy from the Lombards in Italy, that association as defenders of Christendom became permanent.[66] Even before the Italian campaign, Charlemagne's grandfather, Charles Martel, halted the Moorish cavalry at Tours when they invaded France through Spain in the eighth century. As well as defenders of the papacy, the Franks became the face of the Crusades. Muslims in the Holy Land referred to Europeans as Franks, because the attention given to them by the papacy during the Crusades surpassed that of any other kingdom.[67] In addition, most of the Kings of Jerusalem were French, as were most of the military orders such as the Knights Templar, and the Hospitallers, which put them at the front of the Crusader army. France did not exist. In fact the only portion of the Frankish Kingdom that used the term France referred to the domain Ile-de-France within the kingdom.[68] However, the Papacy associated the Franks with piety, and defending Christianity against threats. That association became a generally regarded fact in large portions of Medieval Europe by the

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[66] Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991), p. 172.
[67] Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology*, p. 172. Despite Germanic troops, English troops, Venetian troops, Byzantine troops, the Muslims referred to them all as *Franci* or Franks.
[68] Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 92. The Kingdom of France was referred to as *Francia tota* in the tenth century, which meant Kingdom of the Franks.

thirteenth century.[69] The papacy, and other monarchs, called upon the French kings to end disputes within the Vatican.[70] When the Frankish Kingdom devolved into the Kingdom of France under the Capetian dynasty at the end of the tenth century, that title of "most Christian" went with the Capetians and distinguished them from the rest of Europe. That title did not only separate the kingdom from Europe, but separated the king and his subjects.[71] The notion of the kingdom being the "most Christian" came about during the later Middle Ages and during the Hundred Years War. By that point, the disunited, seemingly independent, territories of France started to slowly unite due to the hostilities towards England and the success of Joan of Arc. Therefore, a kingdom, or a group of people in a specific land, became the "most Christian" kingdom. Joan used that same language in her letters, where she constantly drew parallels between the Kingdom of France and the Kingdom of Heaven. Although not nationalism in the strict modern sense of the term with two nations entrenched with a belief of superiority based on country of origin, it clearly had parallels that separated one group of people from another in regard to boundaries, government, language, and religion. A sense of identity and difference influenced the French to unite and fight for the Kingdom of France.

Arguably the English saw a heightened awareness of identity before the French due in large part to a unified monarchy that successfully garnered allegiance from all subjects. Around the start of the war in 1337, Edward III of England ruled over a kingdom that owed him complete allegiance. Although a sheriff, in the name of the king, ruled each county, or shire, the king had power over each one of them and even made

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[69] Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology*, p. 175. By 1250, the term "mot Christian" stopped being attributed to any follower of Christianity, and the French kingdom carried a superior tittle of "most Christian."
[70] Graeme Small, *Late Medieval France* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 10.
[71] Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology*, p. 173.

decisions for those counties.[72] Also, the common law applied to all of England.[73] The king's authority extended to the entire kingdom, and the laws did not waver through the counties. England also had a simple, yet effective, tax system that allowed the king to exact as much from his subjects as he could. That helped the English kings during the course of the war, for they did the majority of the campaigning and invading, which came at a costly price. The English military also enjoyed a greater sense of unification and organization than its counterpart. Edward's army included a good number of volunteers.[74] Those volunteers either wanted to serve their king, saw financial gain in the war, or both, but it created a more homogenous and organized army than France, or any other European kingdom had at the time.

When Edward came to power in the early fourteenth century, there already existed some clear signs of hostility towards the French culture, but on a more substantial level than usual. Lines were drawn between the two, whereas before, the lines were often blurred due to the fact that many powerful people in England still retained most of their Norman and French heritage. For example, Edward was the nephew of the recently deceased French king, and he held the duchy of Aquitaine, which remained in France and therefore was technically a vassal himself in a way. However, his English subjects started to show a dislike for all things French. Anglo-Norman nobles gave their sons English names such as Thomas, Edward, and Humphrey, whereas names such as Louis, Charles, and Philip, which were common names for the time, carried a negative connotation due to

[72] Sumption, *The Hundred Years War Vol. 1*, p. 44.
[73] Sumption, *The Hundred Years War Vol. 1*, p. 43.
[74] Sumption, *The Hundred Years War Vol. 1*, p. 239. Around 1,400 men-at-arms who were all volunteers, and 3,000 archers.

their French origins.[75] Edward III's father had actually planned to name him Louis, however that decision drew protests from the common English subjects.[76] They clearly saw a need to separate themselves from the French, who seemed like overseers in many ways to the English. The English kings were never given graceful titles by the Papacy the way French monarchs had. Their kingdom also produced little to talk about, whereas the French kingdom, with its wealth and heavy cavalry, garnered respect and fear. The French heroes such as Clovis, Charles Martel, and Charlemagne became icons to admire and point to when Christianity needed to gather the hearts and minds of its followers. The English had few heroes in 1337 for Europe to point to, and felt overshadowed by their neighbor. England also showed a level of xenophobia in that the citizens grew suspicious and hostile towards foreign advisors to the king and foreign clergymen.[77] They started to look at the people in their country, and evaluated their Englishness. It also did not help that years before the war Edward I perpetuated rumors that the French planned to eradicate the English language.[78] English started to show a rise, and became the language of prayer, business, reading, and conversation.[79] Although the nobility still spoke French, it started to slowly decline under Edward I. In addition to language, Edward I took myths and legends that had roots in France and made them English. Edward I also opened the alleged tomb of King Arthur and Queen Guinevere at Glastonbury in 1278.[80] All those attempts to distance England from France, and to craft their own identity started to push

[75] Sumption, *The Hundred Years War Vol. 1*, p. 38.
[76] Sumption, *The Hundred Years War Vol. 1*, p. 38.
[77] Sumption, *The Hundred Years War Vol. 1*, p. 38. Did not want "alien" advisors to the King, or clergymen provided by the Pope.
[78] Sumption, *The Hundred Years War Vol. 1*, p. 39. In 1295 Edward I accused the French king of trying to eradicate the English language.
[79] Sumption, *The Hundred Years War Vol. 1*, p. 39.
[80] Sumption, *The Hundred Years War Vol. 1*, p. 38. Edward also claimed England had been settled by refugees of Troy, and the blood of the English was the blood of the Trojans.

the two further apart, and created an awareness in England that they needed English heroes, a surge in the English language, and only English clergymen. By 1337, England already had formed the beginning stages of an identity, whereas the French still seemed to be finding theirs.

France, during the start of the war, saw little to suggest a territorial identity was in the works. Although the kingdom had a reputation for its wealth, piety, and cavalry, it exemplified all the problems of a strict feudal form of government. Unlike the English military, the French army relied solely on feudal obligations to assemble their soldiers. The king called his nobles, those nobles called on their lesser lords, and they called on their vassals. They had a ladder effect for organizing the military, which meant those at the bottom of the ladder had no choice in the matter. They were not fighting for a paycheck. They fought because it was expected of them, and because their lord provided them with protection on his manor. Due to the ladder effect, the subjects usually obeyed the orders of their immediate lord. While the king reigned at the top of the ladder, he never called on specific vassals from other manors to fight for him. That job he gave to the lord of that particular manor. Therefore, the King of France had direct power over a tenth of his entire kingdom.[81] His manor became his domain, and if the other lords saw the war as an unjust war, or one that they believed offered them nothing in return, their efforts reflected that. Although under Philip of Valois, the French had a more unified nobility than that under Charles VI's last years, they still had problems with unification. The battle of Crécy showed that lack of cohesiveness. Not until the English, under Henry V, dominated the French and laid waste to the countryside, did the French look at

[81] Sumption, *The Hundred Years War Vol. 1*, p. 15.

unification more seriously. By the time Joan arrived, the French military saw a significant change in priority. The heavy cavalry no longer carried the same prestige and invincibility that made France's army so feared due to failures at Crécy and Agincourt. By 1429, common folk were given more of a recognized role, and through leadership and skill, were given more credit in the military. With Charles V experimenting with a semi-professional army before, the French had developed an army that paralleled England's because it was a more cohesive group that relied less on heavy cavalry. However, they still faced the fact that their potential new king came from England, which troubled them for he claimed the crown of the "most Christian" king. Henry V was not welcomed with open arms by the French, which is why his campaigns were some of the most destructive of the entire war. Joan, based on the way she wrote her letters, understood the importance of the title "most Christian" king.

Joan crafted her letters and spoke in a manner that reminded people of the close ties with Christianity. Although the French probably did not need a reminder that their king held the title of "most Christian" king, the years of an unfavorable war with England surely left some in doubt as to the sacredness of the crown. Prior to Charles VI's bout with mental illness, French kings since Philip II in the twelfth century demanded respect, and sought to rise above all other powers in their kingdom, be it nobles or the church.[82] Joan of Arc put Charles VII back in that position to demand respect when she saw his coronation carried out in 1429. Joan understood symbolism, for that was how many saw the crown. The crown was a gift from God, not some object that simply showed someone held the throne. Joan referred numerous times to France as God's kingdom. Combining

[82] Small, *Late Medieval France*, p. 7.

France with the kingdom of God, Joan reminded them that they still carried the title "chosen people" granted to them by the papacy hundreds of years earlier. The Kingdom of France, according to Joan, meant the Kingdom of Heaven. In her letter to the citizens of Troyes, she said, "I promise, and declare to you, upon your lives, that by God's help we shall enter into all the towns which should be of his holy Kingdom."[83] Joan constantly referred to the Kingdom of France, insisting that the English "shall not hold the Kingdom of France from God, King of Heaven, Saint Mary's son, but King Charles shall hold it, the true heir. For so God, King of Heaven, wills it."[84] The French nation became the "most Christian nation" and the "example and a mainstay for Christendom."[85] The French created a line, and those who were not willing to follow a certain king, or who were not considered Christian enough, had no place in the most Christian kingdom. Joan exhibited the sentiments many Frenchmen and women felt towards the English by that point, when she said in her letter to the English at Orléans "You Englishmen, who have no right in this Kingdom of France."[86] By the fifteenth century, both sides viewed each other in a different lens; one that separated the two based on what kingdom they belonged to.

However, for nineteenth century romanticists to claim or suggest that Joan understood nationalism and the idea of a nation with a government taking the place of a monarch seemed a stretch. While the French at the time understood the kingdom in terms

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[83] Joan of Arc, letter to the city of Troyes, July 4, 1429, as cited in Willard Trask, trans., *Joan of Arc: In Her Own Words* (New York: Turtle Point Press, 1996), p. 52.
[84] Joan of Arc, letter to Henry VI, King of England and Duke of Bedford, March 22, 1429, as cited in Trask, *Joan of Arc: In Her Own Words*, p. 29.
[85] G. Picot, *Documents relatifs aux Etats generaux et assemblies reunies sous Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1901) taken from Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology*, p. 175.
[86] Joan of Arc, letter to the English soldiers at the Tourelles, May 5, 1429, as cited in Trask, *Joan of Arc: In Her Own Words*, p. 35.

of lands over which the king ruled, the idea that all those lands would become a nation, with a national army, and with a government similar to Parliament in England, was not Joan's intent. The established order of a hierarchy with ranks still remained intact, and Joan never expressed any displeasure with the status of French medieval society. Her idea of unification did not mean the removal of boundaries and equality, for she still felt there should be those that serve. She did not envision a France without feudal lords where women had equal rights as men. A Twain-like image of Joan as the "Genius of Patriotism" who loved her county and was aware of a nation with clear cut boundaries presents a highly romanticized and inaccurate version of her.[87] While she understood the meaning of a kingdom, she like most people of the time, had no real contemplation of a nation or of patriotism. Works like Twain's used their understanding of nations and applied them to the fifteenth century when there existed few commonalities.

While Joan used a sense of religious and territorial identity when she spoke and dictated her letters, that sense of differentiation between England and France existed earlier. Joan capitalized, either intentionally or unintentionally, on the tensions that already separated the two kingdoms. By imploring Frenchmen to remove the English foreigners, and by acknowledging France as the most holy kingdom, and Charles as the "most Christian" king, she played upon the symbols used hundreds of years earlier. With Burgundy's history as part of France, part of the Frankish kingdom, they fell under the same category of the "most Christian" people. Their monarch was the King of France, therefore their monarch was also the "most Christian" king. While Philip had reservations about Joan, his subjects and Burgundian sympathizers in France understood that

[87] Mark Twain, *Historical Romances: The Prince and the Pauper, A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court, Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc* (New York: The Library of America, 1994), p. 970.

connection with piety. Joan's words, the coronation, the revamped and confident military all served to strengthen the invisible borders of the Kingdom of France. A conscious separation between England and France became more apparent as Joan arrived and started to unite more French people to Charles's cause.

PART TWO

Joan of Arc was born in a small village called Domrémy in 1412. The village was in northeastern France and was situated right next to the Duchy of Burgundy. Domrémy was near Lorraine, which was significant because prophecies many years earlier told of a woman from Lorraine who would save France. Joan was a peasant, but a well-to-do peasant. Her family owned a two-story house and fifty acres of land, including part of the woods.[88] While they were not rich, they were not necessarily poor either. Her father was a farmer and held an office responsible for the defense of the town and collection of taxes.[89] Joan was given a multitude of tasks around the house and she knew how to sew and spin.[90] Joan never received any formal education or any training with a weapon. However, her father held a key position in the town. With Domrémy's proximity to Burgundy, her father probably knew the situation in France because of the raids that hit the area. From an early age, Joan knew the split between France and Burgundy was a part of the war. Whether or not she knew the severity of it is up for debate.

Joan claimed that she heard her voices from God for the first time when she was thirteen. The voices instructed her to go to Chinon to meet the dauphin, Charles, and save France from England. Joan and her visions were not accepted from the start. First she had to convince Robert de Baudricourt, the captain of the town of Vaucouleurs, to escort her

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[88] Taylor, *The Virgin Warrior*, p. 7.
[89] Taylor, *The Virgin Warrior*, p. 6.
[90] Joan of Arc, first session of her trial, Feb. 21, 1431, as cited in Pernoud, *Joan of Arc: By Herself and Her Witnesses*, p. 16.

to Chinon.[91] Once Joan arrived at Chinon, it took more convincing from her to receive Charles's approval to accompany the army to Orléans. However, by that point, the rumors about her that said she was the maid the prophecy spoke of already circulated throughout France.

[91] Taylor, *The Virgin Warrior*, p. 30.

CHAPTER FOUR: "I AM COME FROM THE KING OF HEAVEN" – SPIRITUAL IMPACTS

One aspect of Joan's life that continues to be a source of bewilderment and debate pertains to her "voices" and the spiritual aura surrounding her. According to Joan, she first heard the voice of God telling her to behave when she was thirteen.[92] The voice came from the church and was seldom accompanied without light.[93] Joan presented her work as the Lord's work and not simply her own decisions. She portrayed herself as a pawn in the Lord's will. The voices dictated her every move, but they were not merely voices. Joan claimed to have kissed and seen her voices, whom she described as Saints Michael, Catherine, and Margaret.[94] They were not just voices but images as well. Joan interacted with her voices and had visions. Those that knew her claimed the voices were from God while her detractors claimed they were from the Devil. None of Joan's contemporaries were quoted saying she was mentally unstable. Modern medical journals, such as the *British Journal of Medical Psychology,* focused on her voices from a psychological perspective due to the notion that schizophrenia possibly explained why she heard voices and saw visions.[95] For a modern twenty-first century human being, hearing voices certainly points in the direction of mental illness. For a fifteenth century

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[92] Joan of Arc, second session of her trial, Feb. 22, 1431, as cited in Daniel Hobbins, trans., *The Trial of Joan of Arc* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), p. 53.
[93] Joan of Arc, second session of her trial, Feb. 22, 1431, as cited in Hobbins, *The Trial of Joan of Arc*, p. 53.
[94] Joan of Arc as cited in Hobbins, *The Trial of Joan of Arc*, p. 28.
[95] Roger Money-Kyrle, "A Psycho-Analytic Study of the Voices of Joan of Arc," *British Journal of Medical Psychology* Vol. 13, Issue 1 (June 1933), pp. 63-81.

mind, hearing voices did not point immediately to mental illness or a desire for attention. It meant some spiritual encounter, either good or evil. Joan's mystique resonated with people on a scale few modern minds could comprehend. Some scholars admit that Joan of Arc's larger than life image makes it harder for modern scholars to accept her narrative and the supposed impacts she had on the French.[96] Joan of Arc's effort in the Hundred Years War produced tremendous propaganda, which not only strengthened her claim that she was sent by God, but affected people living in a period where mysticism was sometimes used to explain certain situations. The same mysticism that existed in rural France existed in Burgundy, and therefore meant that Joan's spiritual impact on the French resonated with Burgundians as well. The fact that both sides were still French meant that Joan's language was not foreign to Burgundy and explains why both sides found common ground during the 1420s and 1430s.

Throughout Joan's short life, she impressed individuals in the military and outside it as well. Soldiers, citizens of the towns she visited, even nobles who were initially suspicious of her, wrote and spoke about her with a saintly tone. Although fictional, Mark Twain's novel on the life of Joan, as told by a companion of hers, contained the passage "I came to comprehend and recognize her at last for what she was…the most noble life that was ever born into this word save only One."[97] That description of her fit with the retrial in 1456, and the way people spoke about her as comparable to characters from the Bible. The witnesses of her daily life and those who only heard about her, expressed the same reverence, and fascination towards her. One of Joan's companions, and squire to

[96] Anne Llewellyn Barstow, *Joan of Arc: Heretic, Mystic, Shaman,* p. 22. Historian Marina Warner stated that "we would prefer a heroine closer to modern standards of rationality, but it is Joan of Arc and not some more recent or less religious woman who is our subject."
[97] Twain, *Historical Romances,* p. 554.

Charles, Bertrand de Poulengy, stated that he "would not have dared to approach Joan, because of the great goodness I saw in her."[98] De Poulengy was not the only one to claim he dared not approach Joan because of her "goodness." John de Metz, a companion of hers and noble who escorted her to Chinon to meet Charles, said "I was in such awe of her that I would not have dared go near her."[99] De Metz, along with de Poulengy, referred to her virginity. They dared not touch her, or think lustfully towards her, because of her goodness, but also because of her "innocence." A lot of emphasis was placed on her virginity, and clearly, based on how others referred to her as pure, that image resonated. One of her common nicknames, Joan la Pucelle, means Joan the Virgin. Her nickname Joan the Virgin meant some connection to the Virgin Mary. With the Cult of the Virgin already in place in portions of Europe, Joan's image as a virgin carried with it links to one of the holiest figures in Catholicism.

The emphasis on her virginity was so important that Charles ordered her examined at Poitiers by physicians and clergy before granting her permission to join the army at Orléans. The reasoning for that need came from prophecies years prior that claimed a virgin savior would come to the rescue of France.[100] One of the key pieces that served Joan's claim came from the clergy that examined her at Poitiers. Since the holiest members of society declared Joan a virgin, it had an astounding impact on the laity. One of the clergymen, Jacques Gelu, wrote "If God so desires, He can conquer and vanquish by the means of a woman; doing so confounds human presumption, the pride of those

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[98] Bertrand de Poulengy, the retrial of Joan of Arc, exact date unknown, as cited in J. M. Cohen, trans., *The Retrial of Joan of Arc: The Evidence at the Trial of Her Rehabilitation 1450-1456* written by Regine Pernoud, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1955), p. 92.
[99] Cohen, *The Retrial*, p. 87.
[100] Marina Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), p. 24. Warner adds that the prophecies were "greedily received by the literate and illiterate alike."

who put their confidence in themselves is brought down, and He chooses the weak to confound the strong."[101] Gelu was viewed as a holy and educated man. He gave Joan his approval, which proved Joan's legitimacy to some skeptics that needed clerical validation. For the French, who suffered the devastation wrought by Henry V's campaign and the humiliation of losing their monarch, talk of a savior made a great impression. Saviors typically arose during tumultuous periods in legends, and for a prophecy made years ago to show signs of fruition deeply impacted the French, for it made sense because prophecies were not dismissed by a large portion of the population as irrational claims. While not wholly accepted, the prophecies made a great impression on people in times of peace, but in times of war, the impact increased significantly for they faced harsh times. It speaks to the nature of the time where legend and reality still shared a bridge.

Rural Christians blended folk and pagan beliefs and traditions. Legendary prophecies and Arthurian type folklore co-existed with Christian dogma. For the majority of Europeans, that kind of religion remained the most popular, arguably, until the eighteenth century.[102] With high rates of illiteracy, people relied on oral tales that gave them a more personal experience to the spiritual world. Instead of reading it in a book, they interacted with someone who might have witnessed an event. They looked at themselves and the saints they worshipped and found commonalities that made them relate to their saintly heroes more personally. In the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, both St. Catherine and St. Michael appealed to soldiers and prisoners.[103] Joan said she was approached by both of them, claiming that Catherine spoke to her the

[101] Jacques Gelu, unknown letter and date, as cited in Taylor, *The Virgin Warrior,* p. 45.
[102] Barstow, *Joan of Arc: Heretic, Mystic, Shaman*, p. 1.
[103] Taylor, *The Virgin Warrior*, p. 26.

most.[104] It made sense for Joan to adopt Catherine as her patron saint, because Catherine remained a virgin until her death, and refused marriage due to her vow to Christ.[105] For Joan, that represented the image she put forth, of this virgin dedicated to her divine mission. For France, Michael was a symbol of resistance.[106] Joan's two saints fit her mission, and personality, therefore making her visions more believable to common folk. To them, the fact that Joan exhibited merely one quality of Catherine or Michael gave credence to her claims that they spoke to her, or it strengthened the claim others made that she represented a living saint. To citizens of Orléans such as Jean Luillier, Joan seemed "an angel of God."[107] Although she did nothing to warrant such a title, other than arrive at Orléans and lift the siege, the Orléanais clearly heard the prophecies of the last fifty years and applied them to Joan as rumors of her connection to the prophecy of a virgin savior spread. The *Brevarium Historiale,* a chronicle compiled by an anonymous author with loyalty to the Valois claim, compared Joan to Esther and other female heroines from the Bible.[108] Also, when news and rumors spread about Joan, they did not spread to just camps loyal to the dauphin. These rumors, tales, and prophecies spread outside of France and they most likely traveled to Burgundy as well based on the curiosity Burgundians had of Joan. Charles's counselor, Perceval de Boulainvilliers, wrote to the Duke of Milan describing Joan of Arc. The letter he wrote contained Christ-like comparisons, such as "Her family had her watch the sheep. Under her care not even the smallest animal was lost; not one suffered the bite of wild animals. As long as she

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[104] Barstow, *Joan of Arc: Heretic, Mystic, Shaman*, p. 27.
[105] Barstow, *Joan of Arc: Heretic, Mystic, Shaman*, p. 27.
[106] Taylor, *The Virgin Warrior*, p. 27. The traditional saints of France were St. Louis and Charlemagne, but since both of the sites most closely associated with them were under enemy occupation Charles picked Michael in 1418 to represent France and their resistance.
[107] Jean Luillier, retrial of Joan of Arc, unknown date, as cited in Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism*, p. 91.
[108] Anonymous as cited in Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism*, p. 61.

was in her father's house, she protected them so that they lost nothing, either from evildoers, surprise attacks, or violence from brigands."[109] That comparison with Christ as the shepherd, although little evidence suggests that she watched over sheep, served to strengthen that image of her as chosen by God. Throughout her short time as the heroine of medieval France, Joan reminded everyone where she came from. During her examination at Poitiers, Joan told them "I am come from the King of Heaven."[110] Similar, in a way, to how Jesus Christ in the Bible constantly reminded his disciples, and followers, where he came from. He did not come from Bethlehem, or Nazareth, but from Heaven. In a similar way, Joan reminded those around her that she came from God, not from Domrémy.

Although skepticism about Joan existed, especially from theologians and those in positions of power within the church, prophecies and mysticism was nothing out of the ordinary. Mystical tales of spirits excited people but also were accepted by many as possible truth. For example, Joan, and the villagers of Domrémy, had a tree in the forest called the Lady's tree. That tree, also called the tree of the fairies, was believed to hold powers of healing.[111] A common legend in Burgundy told of women bending men to their will by placing the male's shirt under the altar on Good Friday.[112] In the same period, around the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, female Christian mystics and prophets rose in number. To single Joan out as the only individual with a divine mission, or message, during that period ignores the numerous women who claimed God spoke to

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[109] Perceval de Boulainvilliers, letter to the Duke of Milan, June, 1429, as cited in Taylor, *The Virgin Warrior*, p. 1.
[110] Joan of Arc, said to her examiners at Poitiers, March or April, 1429, as cited in Trask, *Joan of Arc: In Her Own Words*, p. 25.
[111] Joan of Arc, third session of her trial, Feb. 24, 1431, as cited in Hobbins, *The Trial of Joan of Arc*, p. 62.
[112] Small, *Late Medieval France,* p. 92.

them. While Joan took that to a new level by actually accompanying the army, and standing by the side of the King of France, others echoed similar messages that they were sent from God, and were not afraid to challenge current leaders and structures. God spoke to everyone, not just men. A woman that claimed herself as the savior of France without God's backing would receive few supporters and a significant amount of ridicule. With God's blessing, mystics and prophets were able to shed certain gender restrictions and had opportunities not allotted to the common woman. Marguerite Porete wandered throughout France in the mid to late thirteenth century, preaching about no longer needing good works to reach heaven.[113] She even wrote a book called *A Mirror for Simple Souls,* which focused on that state of grace where works, and dependency on the church, mattered little in the big picture.[114] She claimed God spoke to her through visions, and she put her life on the line by attacking the established order of the church. In some sense, she risked more than Joan, because while Joan donned men's armor and hair style, she never attacked the authority of the Catholic Church. In fact, Marguerite faced execution if she continued to spread her word.[115] However, she and the other prophets paralleled Joan in that they challenged a certain idea or situation, and risked their lives for that belief. Going along with the Bible, prophecy was clearly open to women with characters such as Deborah, who helped the Israelites defeat the Canaanites in the Old Testament.[116] Although dangerous, for many in clerical positions disagreed with the messages that were spread by those women, it presented women with a temporary opportunity to shed the traditional role of the powerless woman. Colette of

[113] Barstow, *Joan of Arc: Heretic, Mystic, Shaman*, p. 37.
[114] Barstow, *Joan of Arc: Heretic, Mystic, Shaman*, p. 37.
[115] Barstow, *Joan of Arc: Heretic, Mystic, Shaman*, p. 37.
[116] Taylor, *The Virgin Warrior*, p. 19.

Corbie had visions that told her to reform the Franciscan order of Poor Clares, an order of nuns.[117] Prophecies even came in the form of trivial things such as which gate a king would enter on his return to the city, which Jeanne-Marie de Maille predicted in the late fourteenth century.[118] That prediction presented her with an opportunity to meet King Charles VI. Prophets also used their claims to influence society, like Joan did. St. Hildegard wrote *Scivias,* which contained passages of apocalyptic devastation, and influenced the perceptions of gluttony and sin.[119] Elizabeth of Schonau, who claimed the Virgin Mary visited her, influenced the laws of Assumption and spoke out against the need for material wealth.[120] Like Joan, women of the Middle Ages found ways to break the chains of gender roles and influence people with their messages. Therefore, the impact of Joan on France should not come as a shock, because of the abundance of females claiming God spoke to them. Joan took her role to a whole new level than most of the other female prophets or messengers of God. Joan broke gender barriers they never could or even attempted. Her claim that God sent her to save France, however, came at a time when mysticism still existed within the society, and legends of divine heroes and prophecies not only provided entertainment but also represented reality.

As with many cultures of the Middle Ages, harkening to the past for inspiration, and looking to heroic figures to provide wisdom and courage presented an opportunity to merge reality with legend. Legends of the past, which took on an Arthurian style, were used to describe certain leaders or nobles. Kings of France often drew comparisons to Clovis, or Charles Martel, and especially Charlemagne. The story of Joan's sword and

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[117] Taylor, *The Virgin Warrior*, p. 19. Joan never met Colette, but she traveled in the same region with the emblem "Jesus Maria" used in her letters just like Joan.
[118] Taylor, *The Virgin Warrior*, p. 19.
[119] St. Hildegard as cited in Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism*, p. 86.
[120] Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism*, p. 87.

how it came into her possession became a legend of itself. Joan needed a sword but she did not want a normal weapon. She sent for a sword that she claimed was under the altar in the church of Saint Catherine of Fierbois.[121] Not only did her knowledge of the sword at the cathedral of St. Catherine de Fierbois astound people, and make them refer to the event as miraculous, but somehow Charlemagne became associated with the sword. The sword represented a miracle for Joan knew the location of the sword buried inside the cathedral.[122] Other everyday occurrences were also described as miracles for Joan. In some cases, impressive feats and traits were displayed by Joan, such as her motivational skills, boldness, and ability to withstand battle wounds, but merely her presence somehow constituted a miracle to people. Simple events were given miraculous descriptions such as her knowledge of a sword's location and her arrival at Orléans. Due to the nature of the war and the culture at the time, those descriptions found acceptance.

That acceptance found its way to Burgundy where Burgundians believed in Joan's sanctity just like the French did.[123] The curiosity about Joan reached those considered enemies as well, due in large part to the chroniclers, but also to oral tales. Brugundian chronicler Enguerrand de Monstrelet always called her the Maid and gave her credit for the military victories, whereas Englishmen such as the Duke of Bedford credited the devil with such victories.[124] Monstrelet also described Charles as king. Not usurper, or any other derogatory epithet one might expect from a Burgundian. Joan's spiritual image spoke to Burgundy as well, and the coronation of Charles, as evident from the aftermath of Reims, caused many loyal Burgundian towns to embrace him as their king. Once Joan

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[121] Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism*, p. 89.
[122] Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism*, p. 89.
[123] Enguerrand de Monstrelet as cited in Thompson, *Contemporary Chronicles*, p. 298. Monstrelet refers to Joan as "the Maid" and Charles VII as "King Charles" prior to the Treaty of Arras.
[124] Thompson, *Contemporary Chronicles*, p. 299.

was captured by an Anglo-Burgundian army in 1430 during the Siege of Compiegne, even Joan's captors did not truly hate her. She initially came to John of Luxembourg, a vassal of the Duke of Burgundy. Joan did not experience the harshness and hostility one might expect as a prisoner in an enemy camp. She drew the curiosity and hospitality of the duke and his aunt.[125] The duke and her other captors held no hatred towards her. Although they were skeptical of the mysticism that surrounded her, they still showed curiosity towards her. While Luxembourg eventually handed Joan over to the inquisitors in the service of the English, they did so for a hefty sum.[126] That price rivaled a king's ransom or at least a high noble's ransom. However, the death of Luxembourg's aunt, who became charmed by Joan, allowed for the exchange to take place in the first place for she held a significant amount of influence on Luxembourg and had opposed the exchange.[127] The Burgundian sympathizers and subjects were just as enamored with Joan's saintly status and showed a sense of awe.

Although chroniclers, clergymen, and nobles vouched for Joan and wrote letters and pieces that successfully validated her position, Joan also did that herself with her own words. Until her death, Joan claimed God sent her to save France. She never wavered from that claim, and at her trial, continued to remind her judges that she answered to God, not to them. She even threatened her judges and said, "You say that you are my judge. Take care what you do, for in truth I am sent from God, and you put yourself in

[125] Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism*, p. 44. The two ladies of the castle of Beaurevoir were supporters of the French cause.
[126] Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism*, p. 47. 10,000 *livres* was the price, which was considered a king's ransom.
[127] Taylor, *The Virgin Warrior*, p. 123.

great peril."[128] Joan showed few signs of wavering from her position, even under threat of death.

People took Joan seriously, and although skepticism existed, it did not hinder Joan from achieving a saint-like image of herself that impacted Western Europe. The culture of the time, which ascribed divine origins to events in the material world, made Joan's claims literal to those who heard them. The propaganda, which helped to recruit members to Charles's banner, made its way to the Italian city-states, to the Holy Roman Empire, and Burgundy. Those cultures, although different in many ways, still contained the same mystical acceptance of seemingly normal events because God intervened in human affairs. While Philip of Burgundy held reservations about Joan, his subjects clearly felt that, due to Monstrelet's descriptions and their reactions towards the march to Reims, Joan's claims carried enough truth to show God's support of Charles VII. The impacts Joan had on the spiritual landscapes of the Armagnacs, Burgundians, and Burgundian subjects united former enemies to support Charles and pressured Burgundy into an alliance with France.

[128] Joan of Arc, third session of her trial, Feb. 24, 1431, as cited in Hobbins, *The Trial of Joan of Arc* , p. 59.

CHAPTER FIVE: JOAN'S ROLE AS A SOLDIER AND MILITARY LEADER

Joan of Arc's military role is often sidelined because, to scholars, she appeared more as a figurehead than a traditional military commander. Although Joan had no formal military training and no education on military strategy, she succeeded at leading troops into battle victoriously no matter how short lived the success. She served as a leader, a commander, and as an inspiration. She led at Orléans and was given command after the battle. While she acted on impulse and felt speed trumped most other strategies, she succeeded as a commander in the sense that she provided the best course of action at a time when hesitant commanders led a discouraged army. She also had the benefit of an evolving military that was moving slowly away from the traditional highborn leaders in favor of lesser nobles. The changing structure of the military during the Late Middle Ages resulted in unexpected members of society gaining entrance into the military elite.

Men like La Hire, a French military commander during the 1420s and 1430s, became high ranking leaders within the military despite their lesser nobility. One possibility is due to the fact a number of the nobles died at Agincourt. According to a letter from Paris to Venice five days after the battle, twenty-six barons were listed as dead and thirteen were captured.[129] With the large number of the highborn nobles killed at Agincourt, it became necessary to stretch the rules as to who could lead. Although the term knight was often thrown around to define the armored soldier on horseback, the

[129] Barker, *Agincourt*, p. 299.

appropriate term was man-at-arms. The man-at-arms, while still armored and on horseback, was not a knight because he was not given that title. The changes going on within the military shifted who could fight, and the level of success one could achieve without being a knight. Men of lesser birth such as La Hire made careers out of the military, which was not a common occurrence during the earlier periods of Medieval Europe. Prior to the fifteenth century, most soldiers were only temporary soldiers that were ready to fight for a lord when called upon. That meant they would join their king, or lord, to fight on a campaign that lasted rarely over a year and returned to their farms. By the fifteenth century, the temporary army shifted away from heavy cavalry and towards a more professional army that cared more about combat proficiency than pure nobility. Those who wanted to fight were given the opportunity. Joan of Arc arrived in that transition, which explains one of the many reasons such a role was possible for her.

The role Joan of Arc played in military engagements has confused historians because she did not meet the expectations many had of a soldier and commander. Also, most of the descriptions about her role at the battles contained accounts of miraculous events on her part, which led modern skeptics to criticize and understate her role and others to exaggerate it. However, enough evidence exists to craft a fairly accurate image of Joan in battle. She emerges as more than a bystander. When Joan arrived on the scene in 1429, the rules of military leadership had begun to change due to costly engagements such as Agincourt and the dire nature of the war for France. Some scholars questioned Joan’s role as a solder or military commander because of her gender, but also because of

her background as a peasant with no experience in anything military related.[130] While that seemed a reasonable conclusion, how many commanders in the French army at the time had an understanding of military strategy and the art of war at all? Very few of them were educated in military strategy or tactics. Few of them grasped any strategy that allowed them to win. While the English used longbows, the real defeat lay with France's inability to organize into an effective fighting force with beneficial strategies to counter the effect of the longbow. A noble birth did not equate to an immediate understanding of military strategy, nor did an education in military tactics equal an excellent field commander and soldier. Joan did not need an understanding of military tactics and the art of war to succeed as a military leader. Rather than placing troops in specific positions and developing a tactical plan of attack, Joan instilled confidence into soldiers, and through the invocation of God made the battles into something more than another engagement to fill the pockets of greedy nobles and kings. While she is not considered one of history's greatest military leaders, for those brief engagements with the English, she succeeded as one, due in large part to the changing definition of a soldier and leader combined with the support of God.

Joan, like other companions of hers, played upon the changing structure of leadership in the sense that she was not a noble yet found a way to engage in the actions of nobles. Although Joan was a stretch in what many felt a military leader and soldier was supposed to be, the idea that God sent her changed those misgivings. Courage, confidence, and boldness characterized a leader more than an education in strategy and

[130] Perroy, *The Hundred Years War*, p. 283. Edouard Perroy argued that Joan knew nothing of the art of war and questioned her role as a soldier.

tactics.[131] While she definitely had those traits, Joan was not a man. Being a soldier was a man's job. No woman, no matter how courageous or smart was a soldier during the Middle Ages based on those characteristics. Joan had the blessing of God, which allowed her to be there in the first place. In addition, the military had tensions between the old nobility and the new.[132] The old nobles gained their positions in the military because of noble blood, whereas the new nobles gained it through military victories, and other accomplishments on the field of battle. A companion-at-arms of Joan, Jean de Bueil, wrote on what it meant to be a noble, and his words showed the change that the military went through during the medieval period in France. He wrote: "Those who are not noble by descent are noble by the practice of the profession at arms they follow, which is noble in itself. I tell you that as soon as a man-at-arms has a helmet on his head, he is noble, noble enough to fight a king. Arms ennoble a man, whoever he may be."[133] Most of the soldiers who fought in the Hundred Years War, especially by the fifteenth century, were not knights but infantry.[134] However, Charles still had the traditional nobility in command, such as Jean de Dunois, the son of Louis of Orléans, and the Duke of Alençon. He also had men such as La Hire and Ponton de Xantrailles, who were lowborn military commanders, based on long careers as soldiers and basically due to their ability to survive battles.[135] Joan came into an army in which the leadership consisted of uneducated nobles, given their positions because of who they were, and military veterans who understood what it took to win a battle. A common peasant, who looked the part of a knight and claimed to represent God, meant more than a person born of noble blood.

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[131] Perroy, *The Hundred Years War*, p. 283.
[132] Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism*, p. 160.
[133] Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism*, p. 160.
[134] Wright, *Knights and Peasants*, p. 9.
[135] Kelly DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader* (UK: The History Press, 2011), p. 51.

Joan, in a sense, fit in with the structure of the military at the time, because she had the confidence a commander needed and was credited with military victories, specifically Orléans. Although she was accepted because God sent her, she displayed traits that many capable commanders and soldiers had. The only part about her that shocked, and seemed to upset, the proud nobles in the military was her sex. Jean Chartier, a French artist and chronicler, wrote that "it was a very strange thing to see a woman fight in such an army."[136] Although the women of Orléans assisted in combatting the English when they attacked-some even pushed soldiers from their ladders- none of them were in soldier's positions at the head of command.[137] However, prior to Orléans, Joan had never commanded any troops.[138] One of the common misconceptions about her is that she led the military from the start, which never happened. Joan had to convince everyone that she deserved to have any involvement in military matters. Initially, at Orléans, the war council led by Dunois virtually ignored her and kept her out of their plans.[139] That was evident when the French attacked the Bastille de St. Loup while Joan slept.[140] No one informed her of the decision to attack, and she arrived late at the battle, but the French took the fort after she arrived.[141] In that sense, she considered it a victory on her part, as did many of the soldiers. However, she still faced opposition to her presence, and the commanders never sought her advice prior to Orléans. For someone such as Dunois, who began his military career at the age of fifteen, and fought campaigns against the English for the past twelve years, Joan represented an irritant at first.[142] Her

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[136] DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, p. 53.
[137] Pernoud, *Joan of Arc: By Herself and Her Witnesses*, p. 73.
[138] Perroy, *The Hundred Years War*, p. 283.
[139] Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism*, p. 64.
[140] DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, p. 74.
[141] DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, p. 75.
[142] DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, p. 75.

lack of experience, her gender,her age, and her social rank all combined to make her an unlikely candidate for command to someone like Dunois. Although she convinced the common soldiers much more easily, as seen through their loyalty when they attacked the Tourelles, the old nobles in the military presented her with a greater challenge.

In a way, Joan already convinced the soldiers that she was a leader before Orléans. She looked the part, and she appeared to act the part of a military commander. A soldier meant someone in military service.[143] Joan, by definition, was a soldier. Charles ordered a suit of armor made specifically for her. [144] The amount of money Charles invested in Joan spoke to his level of seriousness in the matter. Two hundred *livres tournois* went to Jean de Metz, who escorted Joan to Chinon to meet Charles.[145] One hundred went to the master armorer for a suit of armor, 125 more to Jean de Metz for serving Joan on the journey, and twenty-five to an artist to pay for her standard that she carried.[146] In addition to armor, Joan was given a number of helmets for different tasks. She had the full helm, which covered the face, accompanied by a visor, the steel cap, and the brimmed steel helmet used for scaling ladders.[147] Joan received more than a typical soldier did. She intended, or others intended for her, to look the part, and in order to do that she needed the equipment of a knight. The amount of equipment given to her showed that she was meant for more than observing. No armorer gave a soldier a steel helmet for show, because they were expensive. Someone who received that sort of helmet expected to climb a ladder during a siege or at least stand against the walls. From the start, Joan meant to involve herself in the action.

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[143] Wright, *Knights and Peasants*, p. 12.
[144] Taylor, *The Virgin Warrior*, p. 52.
[145] Taylor, *The Virgin Warrior*, p. 52.
[146] Taylor, *The Virgin Warrior*, p. 52.
[147] Taylor, *The Virgin Warrior*, p. 52.

Joan argued with the commanders on multiple occasions, even swaying their opinions on how to engage the enemy and when. Although the war council initially informed her of few things, Joan insisted that she take part in planning each engagement. Her strategies, if one could call them strategies at all, relied on speed. Everything with Joan revolved around haste and not waiting for things to occur. Based on Dunois's account on her arrival to Orléans, Joan showed impatience. He also complained that she had no concept of the terrain or the layout of the English forts around Orléans.[148] At her retrial in 1456, Dunois claimed that when they arrived on the riverbank of the Loire, the winds blew against them, which made it impossible to cross to the right bank where Orléans sat. Since the river flowed west towards the Atlantic, crossing meant possible disaster on the fast flowing river. Joan would hear none of it and ordered that they cross in the name of God.[149] Fortunately for Joan, the wind changed direction and made it possible for them to cross the river. Her haste almost cost them supplies and opened them up for an attack by the English. While the war council waited and talked strategy, Joan demanded action and seemed to offer no strategy other than a full frontal attack on the English at God's instruction.[150] She felt waiting and planning cost them precious time and benefitted the English, because the French commanders had done that countless times before her arrival. It achieved nothing.

She did take an interest in reconnaissance. Joan scouted the area when Dunois left Orléans briefly, and apparently she found weaknesses in the English fortifications. The Duke of Alençon disagreed, reporting that the fortifications were strong and would

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[148] Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism*, p. 65.
[149] Cohen, *The Retrial of Joan of Arc*, p. 121.
[150] DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, p. 71.

require a few weeks to capture.[151] Joan never explained the weakness of the forts either, which suggested there existed no true weakness other than God's disfavor with the English. Joan's strategy of speed proved effective when the French attacked the English on the south side of the Loire, which forced them into the fort in front of the river called the Tourelles. She never drew up and discussed a plan but simply roused the soldiers and attacked.

Joan also showed that the possibility of high casualties meant little to her as most leaders of the time felt. She told the French captains concerned about the number of English, "Fear not, however many they be! Neither weigh difficulties. God guides our work!"[152] Although she displayed confidence in their ability to win, she never seriously considered the cost of each military engagement nor how outnumbered or outmatched the French were. The first attack on the Tourelles showed Joan's disinterest in the potential loss of French lives. While the war council debated their next plan of attack, Joan immediately roused the troops and pressured the army into a direct assault on the well-fortified fortress. The attack lasted all day and was very costly for the French.[153] The battle was divided into two stages. Although the first stage seemed to fail, eventually the battle was won for France. The attack displayed Joan's lack of understanding when it came to risk and reward in battle. Although the French commanders seemed hesitant and required some sort of push to get involved in military affairs, Joan seemed to push blindly. While that worked for Orléans, that plan proved a disaster when she attempted to take Paris following Charles's coronation. In a few months, Joan went from meeting the

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[151] Duke of Alençon, date unknown, as cited in DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, p. 73.
[152] Joan of Arc, said to the French captains at Jargeau, June 11-12, 1429, as cited in Trask, *Joan of Arc: In Her Own Words*, p. 45.
[153] DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, p. 82.

dauphin of France, to encouraging an assault on the English forts surrounding Orléans, to taking Charles to Reims for his coronation, and ended with a failed assault on the capital of France. As with the Tourelles, Joan showed no consideration for the strengths of her enemies and the weaknesses of her army. Paris, a large city by the fifteenth century, represented an imposing challenge to an army, especially an ill-equipped one such as Joan's. The army she commanded at Paris was not one endorsed by Charles, and therefore the financial support was not there. After the coronation, the army Joan was in charge of disbanded, and she acted without Charles's blessing.[154] Without that support, Joan faced a siege that seemed impossible to win. Her strategy still remained a full frontal assault on the city.[155] No evidence indicated that Joan looked over maps of the city or did any planning for the siege. While that indicated her shortcomings as a commander, it also spoke to her confidence that she displayed since Orléans. The short amount of time it took to accomplish what she already had showed her impatience and her belief in rapid action. Joan pushed for those events, and without her insistence, other courses of action would have taken place, or more time would have been spent planning out the steps for Orléans and Paris. By that time, Joan's arrival had sparked a fervor the French lacked throughout most of the war. Orléans, Troyes, Patay, and the coronation at Reims, all occurred within a few months. Momentum shifted to the French, and confident leadership replaced the hesitant, feeble commanders that once led the army.

Joan's strength lay in her ability to rally troops to a common goal. She already had the soldiers and the citizens of Orléans behind her since she arrived in 1429. It took more to gain the confidence of the nobles and other military commanders. However, in

[154] Warner *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism*, p. 179.
[155] Timothy Wilson-Smith, *Joan of Arc: Maid, Myth, and History* (Stroud, UK: Sutton Publishing, 2006), p. 47.

order to gain the full trust of the soldiers, she had to appear as a soldier. She had a suit of armor, her sword, a horse, and her banner, but she needed to actually get involved in the military engagements the way a soldier did. If Joan was truly not involved in military affairs and was simply an onlooker, it seems likely her influence would have remained limited. In order to effectively lead during the Middle Ages, kings and nobles had to join their troops in the thick of combat. A king who claimed the throne, needed to legitimize that claim through military prowess. Without that prestige, the throne represented a target sought by others who felt, through battle, they could take it. Although Joan had no crown, and never sought one, she needed that prestige to convince the army that she fit the role of a soldier and commander. That position was not secure until after Orléans, and even then, it wavered.[156]

Joan risked her life for the ideals she believed in the same as any soldier. She was not someone watching from afar. Before the attack on the Tourelles, Joan stepped on a spiky trap laid in the ground by the English.[157] Although no record showed how badly that injured her, she carried on with the attack against the Tourelles. During the first attack on the Tourelles, Joan suffered her second injury when an arrow struck her. Dunois claimed that the arrow struck her in the neck, whereas others claimed it happened towards her left breast.[158] While they disagreed on the area of her injury, they agreed that an arrow was the culprit. Within a few days, Joan suffered two injuries that needed medical treatment. For a common soldier who saw a teenage woman risking her life, taking injuries, and attempting to back up her claim that God sent her. That easily encouraged the soldiers and replaced the doubt many of them faced prior to her arrival.

[156] Taylor, *The Virgin Warrior*, p. 69.
[157] Taylor, *The Virgin Warrior*, p. 69.
[158] Jean de Dunois, retrial of Joan of Arc, 1456, as cited in Cohen, *The Retrial of Joan of Arc*, p. 123.

She faced two other wounds in her military endeavors. At Jargeau, while she scaled a ladder, a rock fell on top of her head and cracked her steel cap.[159] Towards the end of her military career, at Paris, a crossbow bolt pierced Joan in her thigh.[160] Joan took her share of punishment, and her wounds indicated someone in the heart of the battle, not a person who watched from afar. That made her more respected amongst the soldiers, and surely caught the attention of hesitant leaders, and soldiers, who expected much less from her.

Oddly enough, Joan, although wounded multiple times in battle, showed a distaste for blood and violence. While she was horrified by the effects of war, she still carried on the way a commander would. Despite the fact her decisions caused French soldiers to die, the overall goal remained more important. In several passages, her companions mentioned that she became horrified in the aftermath of a battle. Jean Pasquerel, her confessor, remarked that she "grieved mightily…she wept for the men who died without confession."[161] Jean d'Aulon, her bodyguard, stated that Joan was so horrified after seeing a wounded Frenchman, that she never saw French blood spilled without her hair standing on end.[162] Clearly squeamish at the sight of the dead and wounded, Joan displayed a trait few military leaders showcased publicly. She felt compassion towards her enemies. However, she never experienced battle before Orléans, so it seems reasonable that the sight of the wounded and dying troubled her, but it clearly did not dissuade her from pursuing costly military plans that resulted in more dead and wounded Frenchmen. Although she probably felt squeamish and even distressed at the sight of dead French soldiers, she still pressed on with attacks and with her campaign to see

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[159] Cohen, *The Retrial of Joan of Arc*, p. 140.
[160] Edward Lucie-Smith, *Joan of Arc* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1977), p. 178.
[161] Jean Pasquerel, unknown date, as cited in Marie-Veronique Clin, *Joan of Arc: Her Story*, p. 44.
[162] Jean d'Aulon, retrial of Joan of Arc, unknown date, as cited in Taylor, *The Virgin Warrior*, p. 68.

France liberated from English occupation. In that sense, she exhibited more traits of a military commander.

What truly distanced Joan from being credited as a capable military commander had to do with the spiritual context for her victories. God won the battles, not Joan herself. Charles, when he wrote to the town of La Rochelle, attributed the victory at Orléans to Joan, yet never mentioned her military achievements within the battle.[163] Similarly, at her retrial in 1456, Dunois stated that it was through divine intervention she convinced him, not through any military prowess of her own.[164] Although Dunois stated how Joan impressed him when she took the arrow wound, yet managed to carry on with the fight, he mentioned them in a spiritual context, as if they were miracles.[165] In fact, no one really attributed the military victories to her through anything outside of spiritual intervention until 1456, when the Duke of Alençon mentioned her keen knowledge at placing artillery pieces.[166] Even the hostile accounts from England and Burgundy attributed Joan's victories to devilry or some form of supernatural ability, not to any military capability on her part. Although military victories were often attributed to God during the medieval era, chroniclers explained how battles were won through logical means. Froissart gave a detailed account of the Battle of Crécy in 1346 and discussed what conditions led to a victory for the English and a defeat for the French. Similarly, Monstrelet wrote about Agincourt with a detailed look at troop placements and what factors enabled a French defeat. While God certainly played a role for these authors, they

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[163] Charles VII, a letter to the town of La Rochelle, unknown date, as cited in Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism*, p. 66.
[164] Jean de Dunois, the retrial of Joan of Arc, 1456, as cited in Cohen, *The Retrial of Joan of Arc*, p. 123.
[165] Jean de Dunois, the retrial of Joan of Arc, 1456, as cited in Cohen, *The Retrial of Joan of Arc*, p. 123.
[166] Duke of Alençon, the retrial of Joan of Arc, 1456, as cited in Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism*, p. 65.

also gave credit to the commanders. Since Joan was a woman and knew no strategy other than haste, how else would Charles and the commanders of the army credit her with a victory? Divine intervention seemed the best method of explaining her success. Giving Joan credit for Orléans through military means lacked the appeal of divine intervention that drew so many people to her. Joan deserved credit for spurring men into action, but they did not recognize that as a strategy or anything worth noting.

Joan already looked the part of a soldier. She needed to have the aura of a warrior saint as well. Many steps went into her looking the part of a warrior saint, and two of them were her sword and banner. Joan's banner carried strong symbols, which, at a time when literacy remained low, resonated with the people she fought with. The words "Jesus Maria" were written on her banner along with the fleur-de-lys.[167] The fleur-de-lys originated from the first Christian kingdom in France.[168] By carrying these symbolic objects, and the normal knightly gear she owned, Joan quite literally portrayed herself as a warrior saint. Accrediting her with miraculous victories was made much easier when she looked the part. In many ways, Joan's banner was her main weapon, for she rarely used her sword. Joan told the inquisitors at her trial that she loved her banner forty times more than she did her sword and that she held it during an attack in order to avoid killing anyone.[169] However, the sword still remained important in her arsenal, because of the story that surrounded it. When her judges asked how she found it there, she claimed her voices told her about it, and she sent someone to find it.[170] Inscribed on the blade were

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[167] Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism*, p. 165.
[168] Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism*, p. 167.
[169] Joan of Arc, fourth session of her trial, Feb. 27, 1431, as cited in Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism*, p. 165.
[170] Hobbins, *The Trial of Joan of Arc*, p. 68.

the words Jesus and Maria, words Joan used to start her letters.[171] The sword itself brought with it a sense of divinity, and strengthened Joan's claim, because relics, and other divine objects, legitimized their possessors. A good example was when Peter Bartholomew during the First Crusade claimed he found the Holy Lance that pierced Christ's side, Joan's sword of St. Catherine proved to many, who wanted reassurance, the validity of her visions. People of her time viewed her as a military leader. Joan's association with the victory at Orléans extended beyond France as well. Although she had detractors who minimized her impact, her exploits were significant enough to attract the attention of Pope Pius II.[172] Pius wrote, in an passage from his *Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae temporibus suis contingerunt*:

> The woman was made the leader of war. Arms were brought to her, horses led; the girl mounted with defiance, and burning in her armor, her lance quivering, she compelled her horse to dance, to run, and in no way to turns from its course.[173]

The Pope viewed her as a military leader, as did many of the people after Orléans. After Orléans, Joan received partial command of the army. Prior to Orléans, she did not have command. After Orléans, she was given command of the army that took the cities around the Loire River Valley. She also advised Charles, the war council, and the other commanders of the army, which meant she held a position of confidence and leadership. Dunois, La Hire, Gilles de Rais, Alençon, and the other military leaders listened to her advice after Orléans, and considered her a leader in the army.[174] After all, she convinced the soldiers long before the nobles, since they provided her most formidable obstacle when it came to convincing. At Jargeau and Meung, Joan and Alençon were in command

[171] Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism*, p. 164.
[172] Perroy, *The Hundred Years War*, p. 279.
[173] DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, p. 53.
[174] DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, p. 111.

of the army.[175] At both sieges, the French won, and attributed the victories to Joan. Dunois, Alençon, her confessor, and her bodyguard all gave her credit for Orléans.[176] Alain Chartier, a French poet at the time, compared Joan to Hector, Alexander, Hannibal, and Caesar.[177] Although those comparisons are a huge stretch because Joan had little in common with them, it was effective propaganda that was not necessarily wholly accepted but it added to her unusual aura. Word of Joan as a military leader spread throughout Europe. Even the English and the Burgundians gave Joan credit for Orléans. John, Duke of Bedford, told King Henry in a letter that "the Maid, under false enchantments and sorcery, by which stroke discomfiture lessened in great part the number of your people there, and also withdrew the courage of the remnant in marvelous wise."[178] Although associating her victory with witchcraft, Bedford still credited her with it nonetheless. Her image was more than just a soldier but that of a holy warrior, and this resonated deeply with the people of France. Joan was a leader, a figurehead, an adviser, and a commander throughout her two year career with the military. She led troops in battle, she inspired and raised morale, counseled Charles when she felt his war council was going against the wishes of God, and commanded troops at the sieges of Jargeau, Meung, Beaugency, the Battle of Patay, Siege of Paris, and the Battle of Compiègne. This fascination with her legend extended to her enemies, who no doubt included Burgundians. Burgundian chroniclers such as Monstrelet credited her with Orléans and for turning the tide in the war.

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[175] Tayor, *The Virgin Warrior*, p. 81.
[176] Pernoud, *Joan of Arc: By Herself and Her Witness*, p. 90-92.
[177] Alain Chartier, letter to an unknown prince, July, 1429, as cited in DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, p. 88.
[178] Taylor, *The Virgin Warrior*, p. 73.

Joan, although she seemed an odd candidate for a military leader, fit in with the fluctuating role of a leader at the time despite the fact that women were not soldiers. While she did not show an understanding of military strategy, she found ways around that to effectively lead troops into an engagement. Her image as a warrior saint sparked curiosity and fear that resonated throughout Europe. While she showed flaws as a military commander, she provided the best course of action at the time. In a sense, Joan helped to further the change of what a military leader looked and acted like. Even though she was a woman, she displayed traits that astounded and impressed hardened military commanders like La Hire and Dunois. She showed that a person did not need to kill, have noble blood, or receive an education in military tactics to lead an army. While it could be argued that her lack of knowledge in military affairs caused her defeat at Paris and ultimately led to her capture at Compiegne, she brought confidence with her that she fed to the troops, which paved the way for victories. In that way, Joan fit in as a leader. Criticizing her leadership based on her knowledge of warfare, or lack thereof, and her peasant background, is unfounded and ignores the other abilities she had. Her impact on the military during the French revival pressured Burgundy into taking the French more seriously for now they were faced with a much stronger and cohesive army.

France in 1429.

Map 2. France in 1429 when Joan arrives at Orléans. Kelly DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader* (Stroud, UK: The History Press, 2011)

CHAPTER SIX: RAISING THE SIEGE OF ORLÉANS – THE SIGNIFICANCE AND IMPACTS OF ORLÉANS

Although the victory at Orléans saw her employing few innovative strategies, it legitimized Joan's reputation as a leader and gave the French a morale boost that they carried with them until they signed the Treaty of Arras with Burgundy in 1435, which ended the conflict between them. The city of Orléans, with walls seven feet wide and thirty feet high, sat on the Loire River in the center of France.[179] With 20,000 citizens, the city was one of the largest in France.[180] On the south side of the river was the Tourelles, a fortress built by the French and later captured by the English. South of the Loire lay the territory of the dauphin, Charles, and the Armagnacs, while the English and Burgundians occupied the territory north. A true buffer zone, both sides considered Orléans essential to winning the war. However, some historians have said that relieving the siege on Orléans did little for the French. Some scholars, critical of Joan of Arc in the large scope of the war effort, claimed that Orléans decided nothing since the war lasted another twenty years.[181] They claimed that the battle for the Tourelles, the main fort surrounding the city, determined nothing.[182] While the victory at Orléans remains Joan's first and arguably most popular military victory, it was romanticized by the French for a reason. Its importance lay not solely in geography, but a victory there meant a morale boost for the French who, up until that point, faced multiple setbacks. Joan never received a title of

[179] Taylor, *The Virgin Warrior*, p. 57.
[180] Taylor, *The Virgin Warrior*, p. 56.
[181] Perroy, *The Hundred Years War*, p. 280.
[182] Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism*, p. 67.

command that most military leaders held. It was not until after Orléans that she gained the confidence of the commanders and received a more official role as a commander. Most importantly, Orléans set in motion a series of events that led to the coronation of Charles VII as King of France. For those reasons alone, Orléans decided much in the course of the Hundred Years War.

Orléans truly represented an important location for the English, and for the French. Orléans's location remained a site of major importance, because the English intended to attack in the heart of Dauphinist territory.[183] Bedford also meant to stab at the heart of Dauphinist opposition to Anglo-Burgundian occupation in the north.[184] Orléans remained the only large city in Charles's control, and without it, his chances of repelling further English attacks in the south were slim. To an already discouraged Dauphinist force, English occupation of their greatest remaining city meant a strategic and moral disaster in the war. Taking Orléans also meant the English could link their northern territories with Guyenne, their ancestral territory in the southwest.[185] With the link, the English could supply their soldiers and occupied towns in the south more efficiently. The city also represented a formidable challenge for the English. Orléans walls were so high that the English did not even have enough troops to take the town.[186] The city garrison, commanded by Sir de Gaucourt, had 2,400 troops and 3,000 militia, and seventy guns.[187] With a loss at Orléans, the French faced the possibility of losing seventy guns, and their strongest garrison.

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[183] Seward, *The Hundred Years War*, p. 209. The Earl of Salisbury wanted Orléans, Bedford preferred to take a different city.
[184] DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, p. 54.
[185] Seward, *The Hundred Years War*, p. 209.
[186] Seward, *The Hundred Years War*, p. 209. The English relied on patrols around the city.
[187] Seward, *The Hundred Years War*, p. 209.

The mood was already dismal for France, because they felt Orléans would fall at any moment and give the English an even greater advantage.[188] Before Joan arrived, La Hire and Dunois attempted to relieve the siege but failed. Joan brought to Orléans new troops, but also a renewed confidence based on the rumors already circulating around France of her holy mission. Although the English did not have enough troops to take the city, they found ways to make the citizens suffer through repeated attacks, and attempts to deny supplies. When Joan arrived, hundreds of Orléanais greeted her. One of the men who witnessed her arrival into the city spoke at her retrial in 1456. He claimed that "the citizens and inhabitants of the town were so hard pressed by the enemy who were besieging them that they did not know where to turn for help except to God."[189] None of the commanders, nor Charles himself, carried God's mandate as Joan did. Based on the accounts of her companions, and how she carried herself throughout the engagements with the English, she held an implied leadership title that went above just a normal participant. She arrived when the army needed supplies and encouragement, maybe even a change in tactics. To assume that the English were strong, and the French weak during that siege, ignores the reality of the situation. While the French citizens of Orléans were dealing with supply shortages, no evidence suggested they starved. The English did not have enough troops to prevent supplies from entering the city completely. Every arrival of supplies was noted in the *Journal of the Siege*, which stated "The 3rd January arrived before Orléans one hundred and fifty-four swine large and fat, and four hundred sheep, and passed these cattle in by the Saint-Loup gate."[190] According to Monstrelet, the

[188] Perroy, *The Hundred Years War*, p. 275.
[189] Jean Luillier, the retrial of Joan of Arc, unknown date, as cited in Cohen, *The Retrial of Joan of Arc*, p. 129.
[190] Paul Charpentier, ed., *Journal du siege d'Orléans, 1428-1429* (Paris: Hachette Livre, 2012), p. 108.

English artillery caused "distress and damage within the town."[191] They did not face the same devastating siege that Harfleur or Rouen faced when Henry V invaded France fifteen years earlier. The English army that surrounded Orléans was weakened due to the disagreement with Burgundy. Although the English held no true advantage at Orléans in terms of numbers, they held the overall advantage of the war effort at the time. While they were unable to take Orléans due to a lack of forces, they still made things difficult for the French, who could not afford to lose the city.

Joan understood the importance of the city for the French, which is why relieving the English siege was one of the first goals God instructed her to complete. Joan arrived in the city with a relief force sent by Charles. Although she was not initially welcomed by most of the commanders, Joan found ways to include herself in the conflict without their consent. Although the leaders were hesitant about attacking the English, Joan tried to spur an engagement. While Joan slept, a French force commanded by Dunois attacked the Bastille St. Loup, which was a fortress outside Orléans. Joan arrived late to the fight, but once she arrived, the French started to win the battle. Without anyone heeding her advice, or including her in the war discussions, Joan took matters into her own hands, and wrote letters to the captains of the English. She wrote to the English "You Englishmen, who have no right in this Kingdom of France, the King of Heaven sends you word and warning, by me Jehanne the Maid, to abandon your forts and depart into your own country, or I will raise such a war-cry against you as shall be remembered forever."[192] Joan already threatened the English, and she had been in Orléans only a few days. Whether or not she informed the council of her decision to send letters remains unknown,

[191] Enguerrand de Monstrelet as cited in Thompson, *Contemporary Chronicles*, p. 299.
[192] Joan of Arc, letter to the English at the Tourelles, May 5, 1429, as cited in Trask, *Joan of Arc: In Her Own Words*, p. 35.

but she clearly felt dejected and found ways to include herself in the war. In that same letter, she later wrote "I should send you my letter more decently, but you detain my heralds. For you have kept my herald Guyenne. Send him to me, and I will send some of your men who were taken at Saint-Loup, for not all were killed."[193] She probably held no authority to let those prisoners go, but she already showed her willingness to involve herself in the military effort at all possible levels. In that letter to the English, she showed a diplomatic Joan, willing to exchange hostages. She later wrote a letter to Glasdale, the captain in charge of the siege at the time, and told him to yield.[194] In a way, Joan seemed as if she wanted to provoke an action one way or the other. If her French captains would not attack, she was willing to provoke the English into attacking them. The impatience of Joan at Orléans showed her military mindset that continued for the rest of the march to Reims. Her involvement at Orléans, although different and not the typified soldierly method, carried its own importance that made her role more than an onlooker.

Joan meant to take an active role in the battle. Eventually, Joan forced the assault on the Tourelles when she defied the war council's wish to regroup and make a new strategy.[195] People in Joan's own period were convinced of her soldierly nature. They did not see a soldier and a hand-to-hand combatant as the same. Joan showed the ability to fight but not in a physical sense. She risked her life the same as a soldier. She dressed as a soldier, led like a soldier, and gained the trust of other soldiers. Joan seemed more of a soldier than a banner-lady. At Orléans, she displayed enough traits in the eyes of soldiers, and commanders, to accept her as a member of the military. She led a group of men that

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[193] Joan of Arc, letter to the English at the Tourelles, May 5, 1429, as cited in Trask, *Joan of Arc: In Her Own Words*, p. 35.
[194] Joan of Arc, letter to the English captain Glasdale in charge of the siege, May 7, 1429, as cited in Trask, *Joan of Arc: In Her Own Words*, p. 37.
[195] Charpentier, *Journal du Siege d'Orléans*, p. 101.

saw her as a true leader into the assault, which forced the commanders to join and commit the rest of the troops to the engagement. That bold step, which defied the wishes of the war council, meant she was not content to simply follow orders. Joan did what God told her to do, at least in her own eyes, and had no issues questioning military policy with the commanders. Upon her arrival at Orléans, she immediately argued with Dunois about where to cross the river. She did not fear the commanders, and she certainly was not content to sit on the sidelines at Orléans. Jean de Mâcon, an eyewitness at the siege, said he had great confidence in the decision of Charles to allow Joan's involvement.[196] Thibault de Termes, a knight and captain of Chartres, stated:

> Except in matters of war, she was simple and innocent. But in leading and drawing up armies, and in waging war, in ordering an army for battle and motivating the soldiers, she behaved like the most experienced captain in all the world, one who had been educated in warfare for an entire lifetime.[197]

Her wounds suffered at Orléans proved her close proximity to the action. While her banner remained more vital than her sword, according to Joan, she still placed herself in the thick of the action. Joan knew her limitations though. Although she felt she had God's assistance, she understood that she was not a skilled fighter. However, her proximity to the action, and her injuries from the conflict, gave her credibility as a soldier. Joan of Arc, the Maid of Orléans, did the most to save the city, according to the Orléanais, and to witnesses of her deeds.

The aftermath of Joan's victory at Orléans proved the city's significance as well, because it led to a multitude of possibilities for Charles and Joan. For Joan, a victory at

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[196] Bonnie Wheeler, "A Woman as Leader of Men: Joan of Arc's Military Career," in Kelly DeVries *Guns and Men in Medieval Europe, 1200-1500* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2002), p. 7.
[197] Thibault de Termes, unknown date, as cited in Wheeler, "A Woman as Leader of Men: Joan of Arc's Military Career," p. 9.

Orléans gave her even more respect within in the military and served to strengthen her divine mission. She garnered respect not only from the common soldiers but from the commanders as well. That gave her the opportunity to take more initiative. Despite what Joan or other sources at her retrial might have said, her role prior to Orléans resembled a probation. She did not hold command of the army officially, and she grew frustrated because no one listened to her. She really had no authority at first. After Orléans, the war council sought her advice. For Charles, Orléans gave him a stronger following, and renewed the confidence of his subjects in him. Even in the north, Charles had loyal subjects under English control. As seen from the march to Reims, no towns, even the strongest like Troyes, fought his progress. Whether out of fear, out of support, or a mixture of both, the result remained the same. Charles could take leadership of France, its army and its people after the English were expelled from the Loire Valley.

The spark at Orléans ignited the fire that led to a coronation, and to a Franco-Burgundian alliance in 1436. Before the coronation, Charles had no bargaining room with Philip of Burgundy. Since Philip wanted to side with the winning army, a deposed dauphin hiding in the south presented little appeal to the Duke of Burgundy. Prior to Orléans, Charles had no way to reach Reims, located in English held territory north of the Loire. For a dauphin hiding in Chinon, it was too dangerous. While pitched battles in medieval combat were rare, and sieges typified medieval warfare, Orléans gave Charles and his military commanders that confidence to take risks as seen on the march to Reims, and the campaigns that led to the end of the war in 1456.

The impact Joan had at Orléans resonated with Burgundy as well, increasing ordinary Burgundians desire to renew traditional ties with the French monarchy.

Monstrelet, the most popular Burgundian chronicler of the time, described her endeavors from Orléans to her death. While Monstrelet wrote from a Burgundian viewpoint, his descriptions still contained the pomp and heroism of Joan that other French chroniclers presented. He referred to her as the Maid, mentioned her leading troops, and ultimately credited her with victory at Orléans. For a Burgundian to describe Joan in such a light showed how her image crossed barriers and resonated with people who were against her. While Philip of Burgundy still opposed Charles, he already showed that the alliance with England was strained when he pulled his 1,500 troops from Orléans. On the march to Reims, the cities that surrendered to Charles belonged to Burgundy, which meant Burgundians found Charles as their rightful king or they feared a destructive siege.[198] For some cities like Troyes, fear of a siege caused them to cooperate, but other Burgundian cities such as Laon and Soissons celebrated the arrival of Charles.[199] In addition to the town's submission, Philip had been in peace talks with Charles's advisor, La Trémoille, since Orléans.[200] Philip and Charles even struck a temporary truce for fifteen days after his coronation.[201] Joan's success at Orléans, which led to a path to Reims, opened the doors for a Franco-Burgundian reconciliation.

Joan's role at Orléans greatly furthered French war efforts. After Orléans, Joan attracted such curiosity that men fought for Charles' army without pay.[202] By the time the march to Reims began, Joan's army swelled to nearly 12,000.[203] For a European army in the fifteenth century, 12,000 was a large sized army. Prior to that, Joan worked with

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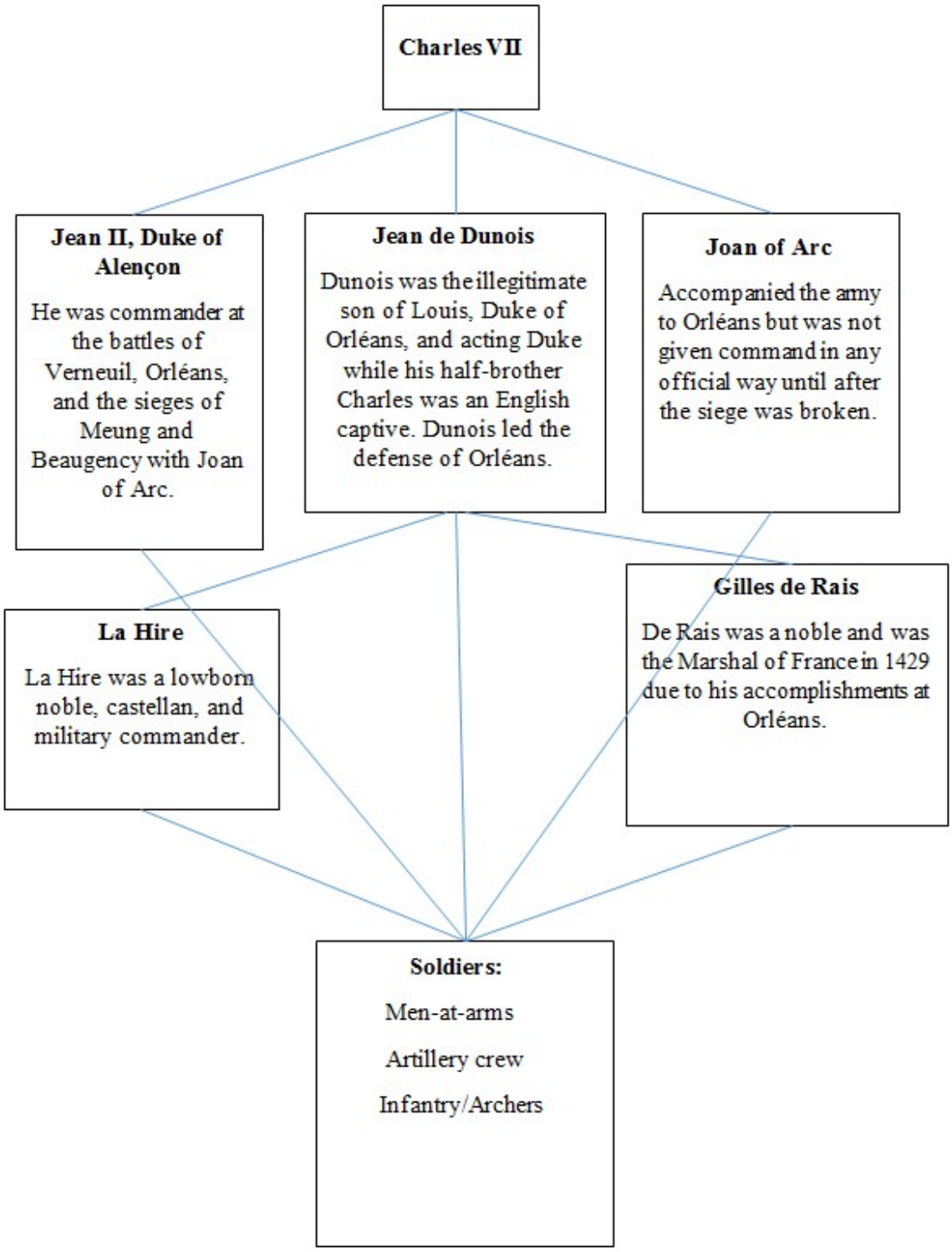
[198] DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, p. 132.
[199] DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, p. 132.
[200] DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, p. 133.
[201] Ferdinand de Liocourt, *La mission de Jeanne d'Arc: L'execution* as cited in DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, p. 134,
[202] Taylor, *The Virgin Warrior*, p. 85.
[203] DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, p. 121.

anywhere from 1,500 to 3,000 soldiers. It showed that news of Joan, and her military victories, spread throughout France and attracted large numbers of Valois loyalists willing to fight for her, and ultimately for Charles. Charles had no money to pay, but for the soldiers who literally believed this part of the war was a holy war, Joan's divine mission was sufficient enough. There existed a number of reasons as to why the march to Reims ended with no violence, and one of them pertained to the amount of followers Joan attracted. News of Orléans, the Battle of Patay where the French surprised the English and only suffered a handful of casualties, and the retreat of the English out of the Loire Valley spread to those towns, and they understood the large following Joan and Charles acquired. With no sign of English, or Burgundian assistance on the way, those towns faced the possibility of a siege. She did not need to slaughter her enemies to beat them. Her intent was not to bloody her sword but to bloody the swords of the soldiers that followed her. She effectively inspired an army that knew few victories up until that point. She brought new troops from Charles and encouragement that were instrumental in taking back Orléans. She should not be judged based on how effective a combatant she was or on how efficient she was at placing trebuchets and other siege equipment. Joan's tactics at Orléans dealt with speed and motivation, and for the time, when hesitant commanders led, it worked. The victory at Orléans opened the door to a coronation and a reconciliation with Burgundy, changing the war's momentum in favor of the French.

Chart 2: French Chain of Command after Orléans 1429



CHAPTER SEVEN: THE ROAD TO REIMS – THE CORONATION OF CHARLES AND JOAN'S ROLE

The coronation of Charles in 1429 at Reims marked Joan's greatest achievement and end of Joan's success. While her military victories were significant, the coronation showcased the power Charles and his army held. The coronation also showed to the French that God favored Charles and was rewarding him. Joan believed the coronation was more important than anything at that time and insisted countless times that the coronation at Reims would shatter the power of France's enemies.[204] While it could be argued that Joan hoped to shock the English more than anyone else, it seemed that the events leading up to the coronation had more of an impact on Burgundy. The ceremony at Reims strained the Anglo-Burgundian alliance. It created widespread support of Charles's crown, used sacred and traditional methods that were known and revered throughout the kingdom of France, and put the Duke of Burgundy in a position of abetting treason. The coronation meant more to Joan than any military victory.

While Joan's warrior mythos already spread through Anglo-Burgundian held France with fearful reactions, many cities on the road to Charles's coronation gave up willingly due to their loyalty to the cause. Joan constructed letters to most of the towns the army visited, however few of them survived. One of the few letters that did survive she wrote to the city of Tournai. Although Tournai lay further north than Reims, it

[204] Joan of Arc, to Charles's war council, June, 1429, as cited in Trask, *Joan of Arc: In Her Own Words,* p. 51.

showcased the style in which Joan wrote to the cities she wished to join in Charles's march. Her letter stated:

> Noble loyal Frenchmen of Tournai town, the Maid sends you news from these parts: that in one week she has chased the English out of all the places that they held along the River Loire, either by assault or otherwise, in which encounters many English were killed and captured, and she has routed them in a pitched battle. Know too that the Earl of Suffolk, his brother La Pole, Lord Talbot, Lord Scales, with Sir John Fastolf and many other knights and captains have been captured, and a brother of the Earl of Suffolk's and Glasdale were killed.[205]

A list of her accomplishments, including the list of important leaders who fell, littered Joan's letters to the various towns and cities on the march to Reims. Clearly she meant to intimidate, but they also encouraged those who had been waiting for a strong French army to release them from English occupation. Although many of the cities along the way surrendered without issue, Troyes proved a difficult city to acquire because of its strong Burgundian garrison.[206] However, Joan's letter to the citizens of Troyes remained similar in style as the Tournai letter. Joan wrote to them:

> Very dear and good friends (if you do not prevent it), nobles, burgesses, and townsmen of the town of Troyes: Jehanne the Maid, on behalf of the King of Heaven, her rightful and sovereign Lord, in whose royal service she daily goes, sends this and bids you render true obedience and fealty to the noble King of France, who will very shortly be at Reims and Paris, whoever may come against him, and in his good towns of this holy Kingdom, by the help of King Jesus Loyal Frenchmen, come out to meet King Charles and let there be no defaulting.[207]

Like with the Tournai letter, Joan boasted about her duties; however, this letter focused heavily on a correlation between Charles and Jesus. Serving Charles meant

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[205] Joan of Arc, letter to the city of Tournai, June 25, 1429, as cited in Trask, *Joan of Arc: In Her Own Words*, p. 47.
[206] Taylor, *The Virgin Warrior*, p. 86.
[207] Joan of Arc, letter to the city of Troyes, July 4, 1429, as cited in Trask, *Joan of Arc: In Her Own Words*, p. 52.

serving Christ, which was another theme to her letters. Although it took a bit more persuasion, Troyes surrendered as well. When she encountered areas that seemed more hostile towards Charles and the Valois claim, Joan used Christian rhetoric to persuade. Her letters to the Duke of Burgundy reflect the same tone as her letter to Troyes. She wrote her first letter to him just before the march to Reims urging him to join Charles and pay homage to the King of France.[208] After the coronation, she penned another letter to Philip, Duke of Burgundy. She wrote "High and redoubted prince, Duke of Burgundy, the Maid requires you, on behalf of the King of Heaven, my right and sovereign Lord, that the King of France and you make good firm peace which last long."[209] She continued to play upon Philip's Christianity with, "Forgive each other heartily and wholly, as loyal Christians should do; and, if it is your pleasure to make war, then go against the Saracens."[210] Joan used her letters as weapons, filling them with propaganda, threats, compliments, and predictions. For towns situated on the road to Reims, submitting to a large army led by Joan, combined with her intimidating and thoughtfully crafted letters, surrender seemed a perfect solution to avoiding disaster.

Joan clearly influenced towns to drop their defenses and submit to Charles, however her main contribution to the march on Reims was her ability to understand the significance events such as taking Troyes and the coronation had, or would have, on the common citizens. She spurred both the siege and the coronation, despite Charles's war council's objection. After securing the Loire Valley, the war council wanted to pursue the

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[208] Regine Pernoud, *Joan of Arc: By Herself and Her Witnesses* translated by Edward Hyams (Lanham, MD: Scarborough House, 1994), p. 120.
[209] Joan of Arc, letter to Philip Duke of Burgundy, July 17, 1429, as cited in Pernoud, *Joan of Arc: By Herself and Her Witness*, p. 128.
[210] Joan of Arc, letter to Philip Duke of Burgundy, July 17, 1429, as cited in Trask, *Joan of Arc: In Her Own Words*, p. 54.

English to Normandy and take lands in the west.[211] They reasoned that since the momentum shifted to their side, it was best to pursue the English. Joan felt that Charles needed his crown first. She felt that without his crown, England and Burgundy would work to discredit his claim to the French monarchy further. Joan understood the political and religious significance of the crown, for it represented a return to order that France lacked for many years.[212] With the crown claimed by the English through the Treaty of Troyes and much of the French land occupied by the English, a coronation seemed the best method to restore a sense of order in France. Joan saw the crown as a symbol, like much of France did, because the kingdom was absorbed with the divine right of the king that manifested itself in the crown.[213] Even Burgundy, which still considered itself part of France, did not join England until Charles VI died. They believed in that same symbolism the rest of France did. Joan understood this, and urged Charles to "go to Rheims as soon as possible to receive a fitting crown."[214] That marked the first time on the road to Reims Joan went against the war council because she saw a bigger picture they did not.

Joan's achievements were not localized and limited to the borders of France. Europe's fascination with Joan, especially the kingdoms that bordered France, added more pressure to the Anglo-Burgundian alliance as well. In the Holy Roman Empire, the emperor showed an interest in Joan's actions and required chroniclers to inform him of her latest news.[215] Various dukes and duchesses throughout Italy were also intrigued by Joan, specifically the duchess of Milan who wanted Joan to take command of her own

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[211] DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, p. 120.
[212] Taylor, *The Virgin Warrior*, p. 93.
[213] Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism*, p. 61.
[214] Joan of Arc, said to Charles, 1429, as cited in Pernoud, *Joan of Arc: By Herself and Her Witness*, p. 110.
[215] Clin, *Joan of Arc: Her Story*, p. 54.

duchy.[216] Since the Holy Roman Empire, and Italy, bordered France, the curiosity of those kingdoms towards Joan meant possible involvement in the conflict.

A second time she disagreed with the war council on policy during their travel pertained to the city of Troyes. The war council urged Charles to abandon Troyes and head for Reims. Joan saw Troyes as an important city, arguably the most important on the march. Troyes was stronger than the other cities on the path and held a historical significance because it was the location of the Treaty of Troyes where Henry V took Charles's inheritance and gave it to his own son. She told Charles and the war council, "Noble dauphin, order your people to come and besiege the town of Troyes, and stay no longer in council. For, in the name of God, before three days are out, I will lead you into the city of Troyes, by love or strength or courage, and the false Burgundians will be amazed."[217] With the surrender of Troyes, the treaty became null and void in the hearts and minds of the French.

In the march to Reims, Charles gained the cooperation of most of the cities and towns on the way. One of the reasons the road to Reims carried so much significance to Joan, and the outcome of the war, had to do with its location. The city of Reims and the road that lead to it was deep in Burgundian territory.[218] Along the road were well fortified cities and towns, some with garrisons of troops. The commanders of the army and Charles himself felt apprehension because of the Anglo-Burgundian alliance and the dangers on the road, yet the road to Reims was accomplished with relative ease.[219] The towns and cities along the way submitted to Charles, and provided his army with

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[216] Bona Visconti as cited in Clin, *Joan of Arc: Her Story*, p. 54.
[217] Joan of Arc, said to the war council, 1429, as cited in DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, p. 126.
[218] Taylor, *The Virgin Warrior*, p. 88.
[219] DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, p. 119.

provisions. The citizens of the towns, aware of the victories at Orléans and Patay, recognized the abilities of this new French force.[220] They also understood what awaited them if they resisted, but they were also French. Charles was closer than ever to attaining the throne of France and the Burgundian sympathizers still owed allegiance to the French king.

Many of the people in the towns along the way to Reims were no friends of the English and were pleased to return to French loyalty. The English captured those areas as a result of conquest, and Charles retook them without bloodshed. Although the English held lands in Guyenne, it was governed feudally.[221] Therefore, those lands were not in a position to harbor hostility towards the English, whereas the cities in northern France that Charles visited would hold such feelings. Cities such as Troyes feared their own garrisons, which were made up of foreigners, if they surrendered.[222] After the French army showed signs of promise, and Charles marched towards Reims, those towns finally saw the strong liberating force they wished for since the English took their cities.

Philip of Burgundy did not bear the same hatred towards the Armagnacs that John did. During his rule the alliance with England fell apart and the Treaty of Arras brought Burgundy back to the King of France again. His court even contained members who opposed the alliance with England.[223] Compared to John, Philip adopted a pro-Burgundian policy rather than a pro-English one.[224] He also concentrated his military efforts in the Low Countries instead of France in order to expand the influence and

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[220] DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, p. 116.
[221] Clin, *Joan of Arc: Her Story*, p. 55.
[222] Pernoud, *Joan of Arc: By Herself and Her Witness*, p. 122.
[223] Calmette, *The Golden Age of Burgundy*, p. 130.
[224] Calmette, *The Golden Age of Burgundy*, p. 138.

territory of Burgundy.[225] Ultimately, Philip wanted the best for France, and saw the Armagnacs as demoralized and discouraged, so he sided with a winning card in England.[226] Once the Armagnac army grew and Charles moved towards Reims, the Duke of Burgundy realized the fervor that swept France put him at odds with the majority of his own people. Philip also saw that siding with France while England was weak meant preserving his power and future. Even in Burgundy, people were caught up in the fervor that Joan spurred.[227] Chroniclers from Burgundy, such as Monstrelet, attributed recent French victories to Joan, resulting in the creation of a more unified kingdom.[228] At the Battle of Patay, the English lost 2,000 soldiers.[229] Burgundy panicked because England never lost that many troops in any battle of the war.[230] Following the English defeat at Patay, and after the majority of the towns switched their allegiance to Charles, England became dismayed and discouraged at their losses.[231] With a French army that seemed invincible at the time and England's disorganization, Burgundy re-assessed their alliance more carefully. Although not prepared to swear fealty to Charles, it certainly crossed Philip of Burgundy's mind. The coronation eliminated the Armagnac party because they were no longer rebels of a political party but loyal subjects to the king.[232] For Philip, being labeled as a traitor by the King of France seemed likely if he continued on his present course. Due to the coronation ceremony, widespread acceptance of Charles as King of France permeated the landscape. The coronation brought order to the succession crisis, both to the Armagnacs and later to the Burgundians.

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[225] Calmette, *The Golden Age of Burgundy*, p. 138.
[226] Calmette, *The Golden Age of Burgundy*, p. 131.
[227] Calmette, *The Golden Age of Burgundy*, p. 146.
[228] Taylor, *The Virgin Warrior*, p. 92.
[229] Clin, *Joan of Arc: Her Story*, p. 53.
[230] Taylor, *The Virgin Warrior*, p. 119.
[231] Pernoud, *Joan of Arc: By Herself and Her Witness*, p. 112.
[232] Perroy, *The Hundred Years War*, p. 285.

After the coronation, Charles's legitimacy could not be questioned. Joan stated that multiple times to Charles and his war council. She stated "We must go to Reims. When once the King is crowned and anointed, his enemies' strength will steadily grow less, and finally they will have no power to harm him or the Kingdom."[233] The symbolic importance of the coronation did not escape individuals due to a lack in education or the inability to read and write. Joan had none of these skills, yet she understood the importance of the coronation ceremony to ordinary subjects, which is why she pushed for it when educated advisors to Charles told him otherwise. She also pushed for the location at Reims. Charles, arguably, could have been crowned in any cathedral, but the location at Reims meant Charles followed in the footsteps of some of France's most respected and holy kings. The historical and religious significance of Reims was common knowledge throughout the kingdom.[234] The French understood, through stories and art, that the first Christian King of France, Clovis, was crowned at Reims in 496 and anointed from a vial of sacred oil.[235] According to French legend, the oil used to anoint Clovis was carried by a dove from heaven.[236] A kingship gifted from God, or a Mandate of Heaven, still presided over the crown.[237] The fact that Charles's army won continuous victories, strengthened his mandate. Other kings used the mandate to justify a rebellion, and that divine sponsorship became clear when that side won. Charles's mandate carried that same aura when he won battle after battle. He demonstrated his divine right to sit on the throne. The sacred vial of oil also, according to propagandists of the monarchy, contained

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[233] Joan of Arc, to the war council, June, 1429, as cited in Trask, *Joan of Arc: In Her Own Words*, p. 51.
[234] Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism*, p. 62.
[235] DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader*, p. 127.
[236] Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism*, p. 61.
[237] Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism*, p. 63.

healing powers.[238] Since the Capetian kings, the French monarchy regarded themselves as the superiors of every mortal man, and that sentiment echoed throughout the kingdom.[239]

Not only did the coronation provide a sense of stability to a chaotic situation, but it legitimized Charles as a king. According to Burgundian chronicler Monstrelet, the coronation did wonders for Dauphinist morale.[240] With Joan proclaiming that God was against the English and for France, the war took an even greater religious turn. Monstrelet stated "The French believed that God was against the English."[241] By emphasizing which side God had chosen, the Hundred Years War, during the early-mid fourteenth century became a holy war. Joan used spirituality in most everything she did, and her letters were no exception. She once told the French captains that "We must fight them. Did they hang from clouds we should have them! For God is sending them to us for us to punish."[242] All of the events that took place from Orléans to the coronation supported Joan's words that divine intervention was behind Charles's success, and it also supported England's position as acting against God's will.

The coronation was an extravagant event that was widely celebrated around France. Chronicler D'Antonio Morosini described the event in his chronicles, and claimed "the town gates were opened to him without opposition and Saturday 17th he was crowned with great pomp. The ceremony lasted from the hour of tierce until Vespers."[243] The ceremony was an all-day event and not some localized simplistic moment. Not only

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[238] Sumption, *The Hundred Years War Vol. 1*, p. 15.
[239] Sumption, Vol. 1, p. 15.
[240] Enguerrand de Monstrelet as cited in Seward, *The Hundred Years War*, p. 218.
[241] Seward, *The Hundred Years War*, p. 218.
[242] Joan of Arc, to the French captains at Patay, June 18, 1429, as cited in Trask, *Joan of Arc: In Her Own Words*, p. 46.
[243] Pernoud, *Joan of Arc: By Herself and Her Witness*, p. 128.

was Charles crowned behind enemy lines, which was rare in itself, but he did it in the coronation city of kings. That kind of an affair attracted a lot of attention. In addition, Joan's letters make it clear that she spread word throughout the kingdom.

Prior to the coronation, France had no king, therefore Burgundy committed no treason. Following the coronation, Burgundy found itself in a position that not only went against France but against God as well. Since the two were interwoven, a crime against one meant a crime against the other. Philip was aware of that treason he faced, and aware of the fervor France found itself in when Charles claimed his birthright. Although not at peace yet, soon after the coronation Charles and Philip began peace talks. Six years later, at Arras, Charles signed a treaty with Philip that forced Philip to recognize him as king in exchange for land.[244] However, without Joan's involvement, Charles's coronation at Reims seemed highly unlikely. Before Joan arrived on the scene, Charles's troops were in full retreat around France.[245] Joan arrived at Orléans on April 29, 1429.[246] By June 18 of that same year, the French lifted the siege on Orléans, forced the English out of the Loire River Valley, took Troyes, Auxerre, Chalons, and Reims, and saw their king crowned. Joan's persistence, maybe even her impatience, clearly impacted the strategy of the army and how Charles operated. Prior to her arrival, he shut himself away in southern France. After Orléans, he felt safe to venture around, but it still took motivation from Joan for him to travel to Reims. A truce with Burgundy without a crown would have been hard to achieve. Since Burgundy looked out for itself initially, England proved its best ally. A powerless dauphin posed no challenge or interest for the Duke of Burgundy. It took someone powerful to negotiate a peace with Burgundy, and the King of France held that

[244] Seward, *The Hundred Years War*, p. 233.
[245] Calmette, *The Golden Age of Burgundy*, p. 145.
[246] Seward, *The Hundred Years War*, p. 212.

power, but without Joan there might not have been a King of France to negotiate with Philip of Burgundy, or a Burgundian populace pressuring the duke to renew traditional ties with the French monarchy.

CONCLUSION

By 1435, England and France had been fighting for almost ninety-five years. Both sides spent enormous amounts of money on the campaigns, sometimes leading to bankruptcy and revolts as exemplified by the Peasant Revolt that took place in England in the late fourteenth century. For the English, the war caused financial and economic strains. For the French, however, the war resulted in physical devastation. At the time of the Treaty of Arras in 1435, which allied France with Burgundy again, both French and Burgundian subjects breathed a sigh of relief. The treaty recognized Charles as king, but it also gave Philip the cities of Mâcon, Auxerre, and Ponthieu along with lands along the Somme.[247] It unified the two factions that created such a rift in France, and they stayed allied to the end of the war in 1456.[248] However, Joan of Arc was executed by the English at Rouen in 1431. Though she clearly turned the tide of the war, she did not win the war for France.

Joan's real contribution to the end of the war was she helped turn the tide of the war and put further strain on the Anglo-Burgundian alliance, creating necessary conditions for the renewed Franco-Burgundian ties. The years before Joan arrived featured disorganized, disunited French armies attempting to defeat a homogenized English force and failing. While Joan should not receive credit for eliminating the disorganization, she happened to arrive when leaders in the military were indecisive. Joan

[247] Seward, *The Hundred Years War*, p. 233.
[248] P.S. Lewis, ed., *The Recovery of France in the Fifteenth Century* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), p. 225.

knew what she wanted and believed it was what God desired. The other leaders showed a lack of confidence and motivation, and their soldiers took notice of those shortcomings. Joan provided a sense of purpose. There was a reason to repel the English that went beyond typical desires for victory such as prestige and wealth. According to Joan, God wanted the English out of France. That mission was more important than expanding territory and gaining wealth.

Joan sparked confidence, a sense of pride in the French monarch and kingdom, and helped to unite fractured portions of France such as Burgundy. In that sense, Joan of Arc did play a crucial role in bringing about the end of the conflict. However, it was through influencing Burgundy's alliance with France by insisting upon Charles's coronation that made her biggest contribution to concluding the war. While the Treaty of Arras took place four years after her execution, the two years she spent campaigning with the army shifted the war's momentum dramatically for all three sides. The impact of the coronation, France's military victories, the propaganda spread from Charles's camp about her, and the fervor she stirred up all contributed to the formation of a peace with Burgundy, which helped France win the war.

Charles found it difficult to recruit members to his cause without an inspirational leader to draw attention. Through Joan, he found the audience he wanted and needed in order to stand a chance in the war. The curiosity people had about Joan certainly contributed to the war effort because many new recruits joined the army due to Joan's presence. An individual claiming to have spoken with God was not uncommon and had been a recurring theme in European society for hundreds of years before Joan was even born. For many in the fifteenth century, it did not require a large leap of faith to believe

Joan's statements. With Joan's claims that Charles had the Mandate of Heaven, or the medieval equivalent, the only missing piece remained military victories.

Joan provided those military victories. She showed herself as a capable commander, she clearly garnered support, and raised recruitment. Without military victories, Charles's army held no advantage. Up until 1429, the English held every advantage militarily. The only way for Charles to gain the advantage was by defeating the English in military engagement and the only way to accomplish such a task lay in able commanders, proper support, and enough committed and motivated troops. Joan provided those missing pieces. Without a crown, Philip had little reason to bargain with a beggar king who murdered his father and hid in southern France. Without some sense of unity-a method of separating the French from the English-Charles had a problem separating his enemies from his allies. Although Joan did not invent the national fervor, she certainly egged it on and used religious messages drawing parallels between France and God to create a clear difference between the English and the French. God favored France not England. Through the events that occurred in the two years she spent contributing to the war, France found herself in a position where a peace with Burgundy became a possibility. In the thirty years that France and Burgundy were enemies, from the start of the fifteenth century to around the 1430s, France had no French king and found themselves defeated and humiliated by England. They had few inspirational leaders. They lacked hope. By 1435, most of that had changed, and the person who oversaw most of that transition was Joan of Arc.

The fact that France changed their strategy from defensive to offensive during Joan's involvement was not a coincidence. That does not provide a sufficient and logical

explanation. Yet the story of Joan should not come as a shock. While Joan achieved incredible feats for a teenage girl in a fifteenth century society, she came at a time when her visions and messages were accepted. That timing allowed her to capitalize on prophecies that prepared the French population to accept her. She also had excellent timing in terms of the desperate stage of the war for France and the lack of leadership. Finally, she arrived when Burgundy and England were falling apart as allies. The strong Anglo-Burgundian alliance that was such a thorn in Charles's side showed signs of decay, and Joan capitalized on opportunities to break this alliance and forge a new one between France and Burgundy. Without Joan's involvement in the Hundred Years War, the treaty between France and Burgundy seemed unlikely. With Charles fighting both England and Burgundy, his chances of becoming king and restoring the Kingdom of France seemed slim. Joan of Arc put the missing pieces into play that influenced an alliance between France and Burgundy and put France on a path to winning the war.

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