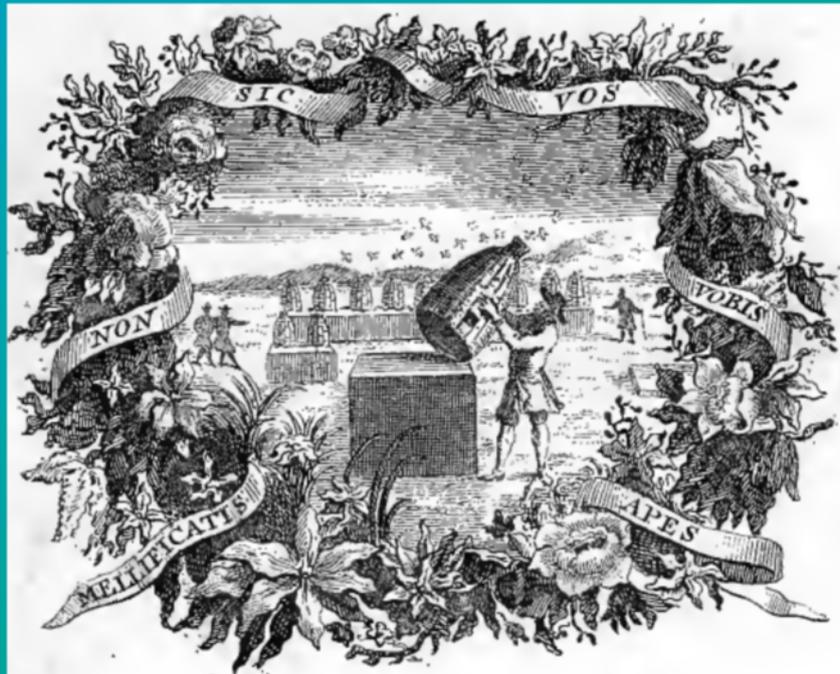


Rapin's History of England



Book 12 Appendix

**The Reign Henry VI
Appendix**

**The History
of
England
Written in French
By
Mr. Rapin de Thoyras**

Translated from French

By

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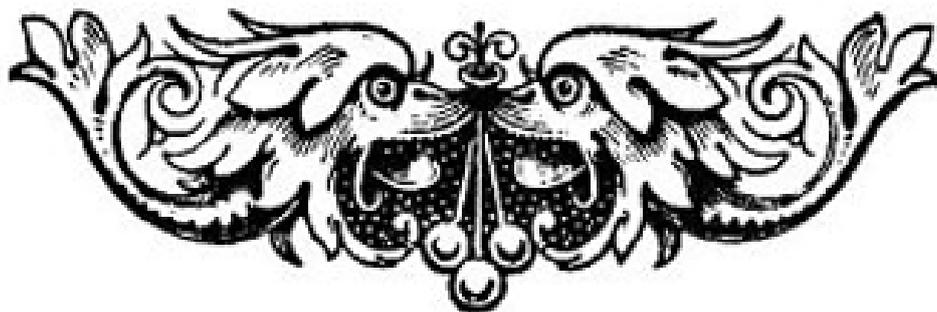
1733



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Book XII

THE REIGN OF HENRY VI SIRNAMED OF WINDSOR

Appendix Joan of Arc



N CONSIDERING THE HISTORY OF THIS EXTRAORDINARY YOUNG WOMAN, it particularly deserves to be remarked, that we have only one contemporary author (Monstrelet) who gives an account of her. All the after writers have added something to what he relates, in order to embellish their history. Monstrelet was one of the retinue of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, and had himself seen this girl. But he is extremely reserved in what he says, he never gives his own opinion, and the reason is very evident. For Joan making her appearance when the Duke of Burgundy was in alliance with England, Monstrelet, with all of that party, did not believe her inspired.

But as he wrote not his chronicle till after the Duke was reconciled to King Charles, he thought it not proper to combat in his writings the general opinion of the French, who were then his master's friends. On the other hand, as probably, in changing his party, he had not changed his opinion of Joan, he took care to say nothing, to make it thought he was under the same prejudice with the rest of the French. It seems therefore that Monstrelet may be taken for a guide, who whatever his opinion was, has said nothing to render him suspected. He never says either that Joan was, or was not inspired.

The same author has inserted in his chronicle a letter written in the name of Henry VI to the Duke of Burgundy, to acquaint him with what passed at the trial and condemnation of the Maid of Orleans. This letter might be justly suspected of partiality, if the facts it contains did not, for the most part, agree with the records of the trial mentioned hereafter.

We have a third means which is both the amplest and most considerable, namely, Joan's examination and answers, of which the famous Stephen Pasquier has given us the particulars. Pasquier says, he had Joan's original trial four whole years in his hands, and what he has related was faithfully extracted. But we must carefully distinguish what Pasquier says as of himself, from the records of the trial. He was so prejudiced in favour of Joan, that he could not help being angry with those of his countrymen who did not believe her inspired.

He says, they were worse than the English, and extremely injurious to the honour of France. So, considering only his private opinion, he may be said to have justly rendered himself suspected to one of the parties. But the trial itself is an original piece beyond all suspicion, since we find there word for word, Joan's own answers to the articles she was examined upon.

Monstrelet's Chronicle, the King of England's letter to the Duke of Burgundy, and the trial of the Maid, are the three evidences which must be examined, in order to pass a true judgment upon

this affair. As to the facts dispersed in the Histories of France and England, which are not drawn from these three fountains, they ought not to be much regarded. If some are to be credited, Joan worked miracles, foretold future events, knew secrets unknown to all but the King, her heart was found whole and entire amongst the ashes of her funeral pile, and out of the flames which consumed her body, was seen to fly a white dove, the emblem of her chastity.

According to these historians, Joan had the command of the convoy which entered Orleans, and led the besieged to the assault of the English forts. By her sole advice the battle of Patay was fought, and to her valour the French were indebted for their victory. In a word, they pretend Joan did all, and leave King Charles's generals only the honour of following her, and fighting under her banner. In all this they doubtless exceed The truth.

Monstrelet states, that, in the year 1429, there came to the King at Chinon where he resided, a young damsel about twenty years old,[1] called Joan, clothed and dressed like a man. She was born in the parts between Lorraine and Burgundy, at a place called Droimy[2], not far from Vaucouleur. This Joan was long a servant at an inn, and had the courage to ride the horses to water, and likewise to perform other feats which young girls are not used to do.

Being turned away she was sent to the King by a certain Knight called Sir Robert de Baudrencourt, captain, under the King, of Vaucouleur, who furnished her with horses, and four or five attendants. She stiled herself Punelle, or Maid, inspired with Divine Grace, and said she was sent to the King to put him in possession of his kingdom, of which he was wrongfully deprived.

She was in a very mean condition. She was about two months in the King's palace, whom she several times admonished to furnish her with men and aid, and she would repulse his enemies, and exalt his dominion. In the mean time, the King and his council gave no credit to whatever she said, but took her for a madwoman. All her words were in the name of God; and therefore many of those that saw and heard her speak, were strongly persuaded she was, as she herself said, inspired by God.

She was several times examined by notable clerks and other learned men of great authority, that her intention might be more fully known. But she always kept to her point, saying, if the King would believe her, she would restore him to his dominions.—When she came before the King, there were present the Duke of Alarçon, the King's Marshal, and several Generals. For the King had held a council concerning the siege of Orleans, and from thence went to Poitiers, and this maid with him.

Shortly after, the Marshal was ordered to carry provisions and other necessaries to Orleans. Joan would go with and requested she might have a suit of armour and man's clothes, which she was furnished withal. Presently after she set up her standard and went to Blois, where the rendezvous was, and from thence to Orleans with the rest. She was always completely armed. In this expedition many came and listed under her. And when she was arrived at Orleans, she was made very welcome, and many people were overjoyed at her coming.

This is all Monstrelet says of the Maid, regarding her entry into Orleans. It may be observed, it was not she that commanded the convoy, but only that she attended the Marshal with some who had, listed under her. As to the storming of the forts, it seems at first from what he says of it, that Joan commanded in all the sallies. But afterwards he says: "and notwithstanding that in these three assaults, Joan is reported by common fame to have had the chief command, yet all or most part of the noble Knights and captains were in them, who during the siege, were in the city of Orleans, and behaved, each for his part, valiantly, as warriors ought to do on such occasions."

He does not fail however highly to commend her valour in several places. For instance, speaking of the march of the French army after the raising of the siege of Orleans, he says: "Joan was ever

in the front before her standard. And in all the marches, her fame was spread, as if there had been no other warrior but herself."

After his description of the battle of Patay, he adds these words "and especially Joan acquired on such occasions so great praise and, reputation, that all people imagined, the King's enemies would be no longer able to resist her, and that shortly by her means the King would be restored to his whole kingdom." Not to cite too many passages of this author, it will suffice to observe, that when he mentions the inspiration of the Maid, he never says what he himself thinks, but always, that she called herself inspired.

He relates moreover, that a few days before Joan threw herself into Compiegne, she had fought a captain of the Duke of Burgundy's called Franquet d' Arras, and having taken him prisoner, cut off his head. But he does not say, whether justly or not, contenting himself with relating the fact, without giving his opinion.

When he comes at last to her condemnation, he so expresses himself, that he does not discover his own sentiments. He only transcribes the King of England's letter to the Duke of Burgundy upon that occasion. As that letter is an original, of some importance and curiosity, it will be proper to insert it at length.

Most Dear and well-beloved UNCLE

"**THE** fervent affection which we are sensible you have, as a true Catholic, for our holy mother church, and for the advancement of our faith, justly exhorts and admonishes us to notify to you in writing, what, to the honour of our said holy mother church, to the strengthening of our faith, and to the extirpation of pestilent errors, has been lately in this our city of Rouen solemnly transacted.

"It is now well known almost every where by common fame, how the woman who called herself Joan the Maid, had, for above these two years, contrary to the Divine law, and the condition of her sex, wandered about in man's clothes, a thing abominable to God, and in such dress brought to our and your mortal enemy; to whom and to those of his party, churchmen, nobles and commons, she frequently intimated, she was sent from God; presumptuously boasting to have personally and visibly conversed with St. Michael, and great numbers of angels and saints of paradise, as St. Catherine and St. Margaret.

By this false intimation, and the promise of future victories, she turned the hearts of many men and women from the truth, to fables and lies. She likewise wore arms appointed for Knights and Squires, and set up a standard. Moreover, she demanded with great boldness, pride, and presumption, to bear the most excellent arms of France, which she partly obtained, and bore in several incursions and assaults, as did her brothers also, according to report: namely, Azure, two fleur-de-lis, or, and a sword, the point upwards, formed with a crown.

In this state, she took the field, and led men at arms, and archers in bands and great companies, to commit and exercise inhuman cruelties, by shedding human blood, by raising seditious and commotions among the people, leading them into perjury, rebellion, superstition, and erroneous opinions; by disturbing all true peace, and renewing mortal wars; by suffering herself to be honoured and revered of many as a Saint; and by working other damnable deeds, too tedious to relate, which however were well known in several places, and at which almost all Christendom was offended.

But God taking pity on his faithful people, and not suffering them to remain long in danger, nor to continue in vain, pernicious, and novel opinions, which they had rashly embraced, has permitted, through his great goodness and mercy, that this woman should be taken in your army at the siege you were carrying on at Compiegne, and by your good means put into our power.

And because we were immediately required by the bishop of the diocese where she was taken, to deliver over to him as her ordinary ecclesiastical Judge, this same Joan branded with the crime of high-treason against the Divine Majesty; we, as well out of reverence to our holy mother church, whose ordinances we justly prefer to our own will and pleasure, as also for the honour and exaltation of our holy faith, delivered her to him to be brought to her trial, without suffering our secular Judges to take vengeance upon her, as we might lawfully have done, considering the great damages and mischief, the horrible murders, and detestable cruelties with innumerable other crimes, she had committed against us and our dutiful loyal people.

The Bishop joined with him the Vicar and Inquisitor of errors and heresies: and calling in with them a great and notable number of solemn masters, and doctors in divinity and canon law, commenced with great solemnity and due gravity the process of this Joan. After he and the inquisitor, Judges in the cause, had for several days examined her, they ordered her confessions and assertions to be maturely considered by the masters and doctors, and in general by all the faculties of our most dearly beloved, daughter the University of Paris, before whom the confessions and assertions were laid.

By their opinion and determination, the Judges found Joan guilty of superstition, witchcraft, blasphemy against God and his saints, schism, and of greatly erring in the faith of Jesus Christ. And in order to restore her to the union and communion of our holy mother church, to cleanse her from her horrible and pernicious crimes and wickedness, and to preserve her soul from eternal damnation, she was frequently and long, very charitably and calmly admonished, to reject and cast away all her errors; and humbly return to the way and paths of truth, or otherwise she would endanger both soul and body.

But the most pernicious and divided spirit of pride and outrageous presumption, which is always endeavouring to destroy the union and safety of Christians, so strongly possessed this same Joan, that notwithstanding all the holy doctrine or counsel, or other mild exhortation, administered to her; her hardened and obstinate heart would not be humbled or mollified.

She still boasted, that all she had done was performed by the command of God, and the holy virgins, who had visibly appeared to her. And what is worse, she would recognize no judge on earth, except God alone, and the saints in Paradise; rejecting the judgment of our holy father the Pope, and of a general council, and the universal church militant. Whereupon, her ecclesiastical Judges seeing her persevere so long, and so obstinately in her resolution and purpose, ordered her to be conducted to the church, before the clergy and people, there assembled in great multitudes; in the presence of whom her wicked purposes were set forth, exposed, and declared, solemnly and publicly, by a notable doctor in divinity; to the exaltation of our faith, the extirpation of errors, the edification and amendment of Christian people.

After that, she was charitably admonished to return to the union of holy church, and reform her faults and errors, wherein she was hardened. And therefore, the Judges proceeded to denounce upon her, the usual and customary sentence in such cases. But before the sentence was fully declared, she seemingly began to relent, crying out, she would return to holy church. This was readily and gladly heard by the Judges and clergy, who kindly received her, hoping by that means, her soul and body would be saved from perdition and torment. Then she submitted to the ordinance of holy church, abjured with her own mouth her errors and detestable crimes, and made a public recantation, signing the instrument with her own hand.

And thus, our compassionate mother holy church, rejoicing over this penitent sinner, glad to find and restore this strayed and lost sheep, to the rest of the fold, condemned her to do penance in prison. But hardly was she there, before the fire of her pride, which seemed to be extinguished, rekindled into pestiferous flames by the suggestions of the enemy. And presently, the unfortunate Joan relapsed into her former errors and follies, lately abjured and recanted.

For this reason, according to the decrees and orders of holy church, she was again publicly preached, that she might not hereafter infect the rest of the members of Christ. And, as she was relapsed into her wonted wretched crimes and faults, she was delivered over to the secular arm; and condemned to be burnt.

Perceiving her end to approach, she plainly owned and confessed, that the spirits which, she said, appeared to her several times, were evil and lying spirits, and that their frequent promises to free her, were false. So she acknowledged, she had been deceived and mocked by these spirits, and pursuant to her sentence, was carried bound to the old market place in Rouen, and publicly burnt in the sight, of-all the people.

According to John de Serres, a French historian, Joan sent the following letter to the King of England and his Generals, before the siege of Orleans was raised.

King of England,

Do justice to the King of Heaven, in his royal blood. Restore to the virgin the keys of all the good cities you have forced. She is come from God to demand the blood royal, and is ready to make peace, if you are willing to do justice, and restore what you have taken away. King of England, if you will not do thus, I am chief of the war.

In what place soever I find your men in France, I will make them depart, whether they will or no. If they will submit, I will take them to mercy. The virgin comes from the King of Heaven, to drive you out of France. If you will not obey, she will make such a havoc, as has not been known in France this thousand years. And be assured, the King of Heaven will send to her and her good men at arms, greater strength than you can have.

Go in God's name into your own country. Persist not obstinately in your opinion; for you shall not hold France of the King of Heaven, son of the Holy Mary. But King Charles the right heir shall possess it, to whom God has given it, and he shall enter Paris with a noble train. You, William Poulet Earl of Suffolk, John Lord Talbot, Thomas Lord Scales, Lieutenants of the Duke of Bedford, and you Duke of Bedford, stiling yourself Regent of France, spare innocent blood.

Leave Orleans at liberty. If you do not justice to those von have injured, the French will perform the noblest exploit that ever was done in Christendom. Hear this advice from God and the Virgin.

This letter, written in a prophetic style, by a girl who pretended to be sent from God, ought to contain nothing but what was afterwards found to be exactly true. Yet, there are predictions in it, which were never accomplished. For instance, it is not true, that she drove one single Englishman out of France: she afterwards affirms, she will make so great a havoc, as had not been known this thousand years in France. These words can relate only to the raising of the siege of Orleans, and the battle of Patay. But the first of these actions has nothing in itself extraordinary. That a garrison should make a sally and drive the besiegers from their posts, is a thing too common to be reckoned a miracle.

As to the battle of Patay, supposing Joan had commanded the French army, which she did not, can that action be said to deserve to be expressed in the terms she uses? The English had only six thousand, and lost two thousand five hundred. That defeat hardly bears any proportion to those of the French at Cressy, Poitiers, Agincourt, the first of which, was but a hundred years before Joan's time, and the last but thirteen or fourteen. These, and several other reasons; induce the belief, that this letter was composed after the event, by some person, that knew the Maid had really written to the King of England, or the Duke of Bedford. Let us proceed now to the process of Joan of Arc, as we find it in Pasquier.

In the first place, being charged to speak the truth, she replied, she would say what concerned her father and mother, but not disclose the Revelations she had told King Charles, though in eight days she should know whether she might or not.

To the second question concerning her name and family, she answered, she was of the village of Dompne, was called in her own country Joan Jeannette, but in France, Joan of Arc. That her father's name was James of Arc, and her mother's Isabella, &c.

That she was then about twenty-nine years old.

That she was by trade a seamstress and spinster, and not a shepherdess.

That she went every year to confession

That she frequently heard a voice from heaven, and in the place where she heard it, saw also a light, which she took for an angel. That the voice had often warned her to go into France, and raise the siege of Orleans. That she should go to Robert de Baudricourt, Captain of Vaucouleur, who would give her a guard to conduct her, which she did accordingly.

She added, she knew, God loved the Duke of Orleans, and she had received more Revelations concerning him, than any person living, except the King.

Item. She confessed she was engaged in a skirmish before Paris, on a holy-day, and being asked whether that was right, she answered, Go on.

Being, asked when she heard the voice last, she replied, yesterday, three times, in the morning, at the time of Vespers, and when the Ave-Maria bell rung in the evening.

Being asked, whether she had ever seen any fairies, she answered no; but that one of her godmother's pretended to have seen some at the fairy-tree, near the village of Dompne.

Being examined who they were that spoke to her, she answered, St. Catherine, and St. Margaret, and she had frequently seen and touched them since she was in prison, and kissed the ground on which they trod. Moreover, that she consulted them about her answers.

She said further, she had put on man's clothes by the express command of God, and was wounded in the neck before Orleans.

Item. That, within seven years, the English should leave a greater pledge than that before Orleans, and lose all they possessed in France.

That they should sustain in France a much greater loss, than what they had yet done, by means of a great victory, which the French should gain over them.

Being asked, whether she bore any coat of arms, she answered, no; but only her standard. That it was true, the King had given her brothers a coat of arms; namely, in a field Azure, two fleurs-de-lis, or, and a crown in the middle.

She added, that her father dreamed she would go with the soldiers, and for that reason kept her short, and said, he had rather see her drowned.

Then she was charged with throwing herself headlong from the Tower, in order to kill herself, whilst she was prisoner at Beaufort. She confessed the fact, but said, her design was not to kill herself, but make her escape.

Whilst her process was in hand, she desired leave to hear mass, and communicate at Easter. This was granted her, upon condition, she would put on woman's clothes; but she chose rather not to communicate, than do it on that condition.

She was taxed, with suffering herself to be worshipped; but she replied, if some people had kissed her hand, or clothes, it was without her consent.

After these answers, came several others, which give occasion to believe, they were made to as many interrogations, suppressed by Pasquier. And are as follows.

That she had talked with St. Catherine, and St. Margaret, at the fairy-tree, and not with the fairies, as she had been accused. That she began at thirteen years of age, to converse with these saints.

That at twenty years old, she hired herself at Neufchatel in Lorraine, to a woman that kept an inn, called La Rousse, and there led the beasts to grass, and watered the horses, and so learned to ride.

That whilst she was there, she had a law, suit about a marriage, before the official of Thoul, and carried her cause.

That after serving five years, she returned to her father, and, against his will, went to Baudrencourt, who made no account of her for the two first months, but in the third gave her a guard of twenty knights, a squire, and four servants, to conduct her to Chinon, where the King was.

The judges earnestly pressing her to put on woman's apparel: she replied, she desired to have-none of her sex's clothes, but a shift after she was dead.

Whereupon she was told, she should be received to communion, only in woman's clothes; but she refused to comply with that condition. However, she consented at last to take a woman's habit to hear mass, provided she should be allowed to put on man's clothes again. But as that favour was refused her, she declared, she would rather die than be dressed like a woman, contrary to God's express command.

She said likewise, she had promised the King to raise the siege of Orleans, and cause him to be crowned.

She was taxed with being always against a peace; which she owned, affirming, there could be no peace concluded, unless the English would leave France.

The proctor charging her with causing a sword to be concealed in St. Catherine's church at Fierbois, and sending for the same, after she had talked with the King, she denied she had ever used any frauds. She owned however, she had heard three masses in that church. Upon being accused of saying, she was sent from God to wage war, which was directly contrary to the will of God, she answered, that in the letter sent by her, to the King of England and the Princes of the blood, she had first offered them peace. Pasquier says, the letter is copied in the trial. But as he thought not proper to transcribe it himself, we cannot be sure it is the same inserted by de Serres in his history.

Upon being charged with putting to death Franquet d' Arras her prisoner; she replied, he was a known robber, and condemned to die by the bailiff of Senlis.

Upon the charge of having several times communicated in man's clothes, and kneeled to the voice which spoke to her; she confessed it all.

The proctor accused her also of having seduced many people to such a degree, that they revered her as a saint; caused prayers to be said in the church to her honour, maintained that, next to the Holy Virgin, she was the greatest of saints, and wore about them her image in lead or other metal. To this charge she replied, that God Should be judge.

Upon the. accusation of usurping dominion over men, by making herself chief of the war, she answered, she had done it to beat the English. Adding, her standard was of linen or fustian, bordered with velvet, with a field semee of fleurs-de-lis, and in the middle, the image of God holding the world, supported by two angels in white, and underneath, Jesus Maria.

Whereupon her judges upbraided her, that she was in the wrong to ascribe unto God such vanities, contrary to the reverence due to him, and asked her, whether she put her confidence in her standard : to which she replied, she placed her confidence only in him whose image it bore.

After this, she was asked, why she held alone her standard at the coronation of King Charles. She answered, it was but just, that he who had been in trouble, should be likewise in glory.

She was further told, that being wounded before Paris, she caused her armour to be hung up in the church of St. Dennis, out of ostentation; she replied, she did it from a motive of piety, according to the custom of those that were wounded in war.

Lastly, she was asked, if she would submit to the judgment of the church militant. She answered, she would, provided the church did not enjoin her what was impracticable. That she could not in any wise revoke what she had said concerning her visions and revelations, and if the church affirmed, they were illusions, in that case, she would not refer it to the judgment of men, but to God alone.

The examination being ended, the judges drew a summary of her confessions. Containing:–

I. That being thirteen years old, she saw St. Michael, St. Catherine, St. Margaret, and a great company of angels.

II. That these saints advised her to go to King Charles, and to wear men's clothes,

III. That she chose rather not to hear mass and communicate, than put on women's apparel.

IV. That she refused to submit to the judgment of the church militant.

V. That she pretended to foretell future contingencies.

VI. That she knew saints by their voices, whom she had never seen or heard before.

VII. That she was expressly commanded by God to wear men's clothes.

VIII. That she cast herself headlong from a Tower, chusing rather to die, than remain in the -hands of her enemies.

IX. That she not only saw and heard, but likewise touched bodily St. Catherine, and St. Margaret, and kissed the ground on which they trod.

The proctor having taken his conclusions upon these articles, it was said by the judges, that what Joan of Arc had done, was all a cheat, and the invention of the devil, to delude the poor people: that she was guilty of disobedience to her parents, and of idolatry, to the dishonour of the church. particularly, for chusing rather to deprive herself of the body of our Lord, than lay aside men's clothes. At this sentence were present the Bishops of Coutance and Lisieux, the chapter of the

cathedral of Rouen, sixteen doctors, six licentiates, or bachelors in divinity, and eleven advocates of Rouen.

This sentence being sent to the university of Paris, was confirmed by the faculties of divinity and the decrees, and Joan pronounced heretic and schismatic. Then, the university wrote to the King and the Bishop of Bayeux, to desire she might be put to death. It does not appear in Pasquier, to what punishment she was condemned by this first sentence. All that can be said, is, she was at least excommunicated.

However that be, Joan being carried into the church, and placed on a scaffold, was publicly preached, as it was called in those days. All these preparations striking her with great dread, she cried out aloud, she would submit to the judgment of God and the Pope. But finding what she said was not sufficient to revoke her sentence, or stop the publication, she declared, she would stand to the church's determination: that since so many wise and learned men affirmed, her visions came not from God, she was willing to believe so too, which she repeated several times. Then she made a public abjuration, inserted in the trial, but Pasquier thought not fit to give the contents.

Upon this abjuration, another sentence intervened, absolving, her from the bond of excommunication, and condemning her to perpetual imprisonment by way of penance. After that, she put on woman's apparel. But as she had all along been very tenacious of men's clothes, which she wore, as she said, by God's express command, it was thought proper to try whether her abjuration was sincere, by leaving a man's habit with her in prison.

This expedient, to her misfortune, succeeded but too well, since she was no sooner alone, than she resumed the male attire. On the morrow, being found in that dress, she was asked the reason: to which she answered, she had put on her former habit by the express order of St. Catherine and St. Margaret, and had rather obey God than man. Whereupon, an information was entered against her in the ecclesiastical court, and she was declared a heretic relapse, and delivered over to the secular arm. Pasquier says nothing of her confession, according to the King of England's letter, that she was seduced by lying spirits, who had promised to set her free.

Indeed, this confession is directly contrary to the inferences Pasquier would draw from the records of the trial, namely. that Joan was inspired by God. He only says, she was sentenced to be burnt, May the 31st 1431. All the rest of the facts, however, mentioned in the King's letter, exactly agree with the records of the process. Most of the French writers maintain, that Joan was really inspired and sent by God, and found their opinion upon these four principal reasons.

The English as obstinately maintained, that Joan of Arc was a witch, and acted only by the instigation of the devil. But, there is a third opinion, much more consonant with truth and common sense. If it be supposed, that in King Charles's extreme distress, himself, his Queen, Agnes Sorel, or some one of his ministers, invented this contrivance; nothing will be more easy; than to reconcile the events with such a supposition.

The business was to revive the courage of the French, disheartened by so many losses, and perhaps, of the King himself, who was thinking of retiring into Dauphine. Is it any wonder, that such an artifice should be used for that purpose? A country girl of good sense, (as there are many) of an undaunted courage, and who knew how to ride, may have been chosen. She may have been taken from out of the kingdom, that she might be the less known, and impertinent neighbours not obstruct, by discovering her, the execution of the project.

This being supposed, it will be easy to account for most of the things, which appear extraordinary in the maid. All the King says of her, and the secrets she discloses, will be only a consequence of the cheat. Those that are in the plot will not fail to extol her, and the rest will be carried away by their authority.

There are French writers who have defamed Joan of Arc, and said, she was corrupted by Baudrencourt, or according to others by the Bastard of Orleans, or by Xaintrailles, and that these three Lords, with the Duke of Alencon, contrived the whole plot. Polydore Virgil says, when Joan found she was condemned, she pretended to be pregnant and for that reason her execution was delayed for some months. In a word, among all the historians who have spoken of the maid, there are no two to be found that agree in the facts concerning her.

Supposing Joan's inspiration to be a human invention, it is not easy to determine, whether the King was in the secret, or was himself cheated. It may be Joan herself was deceived, by certain means but too frequently practised.

Before we close this subject, we cannot help reflecting on the barbarity exercised upon Joan. It is not possible to give any colour to this injustice. As Joan was not a native of France, Henry could not pretend she was his subject, and consequently could treat her only as a prisoner of war. Upon this supposition, he could much less punish her for a schismatic, heretic, or witch, though she had been convicted. If the rule which the English would then have established, was once received, every prisoner of war would be in danger of being condemned by his enemies for forged crimes, and sacrificed to their malice. Charles VII. caused the sentence to be reversed by other judges, and Joan's honour to be retrieved, which by several is alleged in proof of her innocence.

But this is a weak argument, since, without strong prejudice, the last sentence can be no more depended upon than the first. This was passed by her enemies, whose interest it was to defame her, and the other by her friends, who found their glory and advantage in proving her innocent.

Notes to The Appendix

1) She was then twenty-seven years of age; for in her examination in the year 1431, she declared she was twenty-nine years old, consequently when she came to the King in 1429, she was twenty-seven years of age.

2) It should be read Dompré



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**"For out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the
Word of the Lord from Jerusalem"
(Isaiah 2:3)."**

