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“What is ‘Personal’ about *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc*?

In December 1905, the renowned actress Sarah Bernhardt wrote a telegram to Sam Clemens congratulating him for his *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc*, which she described as “an admirable work, sincere, full of life and personal. I finished it today.”¹ It is not possible to know with certainty what Bernhardt was referencing by her use of the word “personal,” but for us, over a century later, there are a host of meanings to understand and explore. [Figure 1.]

While the “personal” in Twain’s title refers explicitly to the fictional first-person narrator’s relationship with Joan of Arc, a subject we will come to in some detail toward the end of this article, an equally fascinating subject is Twain’s own relationship over many years to the historic figure of Joan. It includes as well his extensive engagement with multiple texts about Joan that he read and annotated in preparation for writing his own narrative. Finally it also encompasses the ways his immediate family entered into his ultimate judgment that *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc* was the best book he wrote, and his favorite. These topics will be the focus of the first part of this study.

It is fair to say that Clemens had a nearly life-long fascination with Joan of Arc, beginning when he was a boy in Hannibal, Missouri. According to his biographer, Albert Bigelow Paine, in 1849, at the age of fourteen,

he was on his way from the [newspaper]office to his home one afternoon when he saw flying along the pavement a square of paper, a leaf from a book. [. . .] He caught the flying scrap and examined it. It was a leaf from some history of Joan of Arc. The “maid” was described in the cage at Rouen, in the fortress, and the two ruffian English soldiers

had stolen her clothes. There was a brief description and a good deal of dialogue—her reproaches and their ribald replies.²

Paine goes on to say that Clemens felt “a burning resentment toward her captors, a powerful and indestructible interest in her sad history. It was an interest that would grow steadily for more than half a lifetime and culminate at last in that crowning work, *The Recollections*, the loveliest story ever told of the martyred girl.” We now know that this page, which told of some of the roughest treatment Joan received while she was imprisoned and on trial, was most likely from the English translation of Jules Michelet’s 1845 history of Joan of Arc.³ It clearly made a deep impression upon the young Sam Clemens.

The next extant indication of Twain’s interest in Joan of Arc came in about 1866 in the form of a clipping Twain pasted in one of his scrapbooks. It’s a relatively long article from an unknown newspaper, detailing the life of Joan from her time as a “poor shepherd-girl” to her cruel death by fire. This summary of her life is full of passion and written in such a way as to suggest it is a review of a book about her life, but precisely which book is unknown. Nonetheless, the tone of the review foreshadows to some extent the tone Twain’s book would ultimately adopt. It ends with these sentiments:

Her death was agreed on long before the fatal judgment was passed, and thus guileless innocence once more passed to the flame, as it has so often done, at the institution of men bound to a faith whose [word obscured] mercies are bitter cruelty, in whose creed [the] words mercy and justice are unknown. Condemned by such a blood tribunal—at which to their eternal shame an English cardinal and an English bishop were found to preside—she went to the death of terrible agony by burning at the stake in the presence of some ten thousand bewildered, amazed, and pitying spectators, undaunted and undismayed. Every

brutal ingenuity of malice that priestly craft could devise was devised to increase her dying torments; but her gentleness, faith, and peace were to the last unbroken, and she died with the[se] words on her lips, “My voices have not deceived me.”⁴

The next reference we have from Clemens about the historical Joan of Arc came in a letter he wrote to Olivia Langdon a few years later when he was courting her. Livy had evidently expressed regret that she could not be as active or as forceful as her feminist friend, the orator Anna Dickinson, and Sam urged her not to grieve that she

cannot march up & down the troubled ways of life *fighting* wrong & unfettering right, with strong fierce words & dazzling actions. [. . .] Do that which God has given you to do, & do not seek to improve upon His judgment. You cannot do Anna Dickinson’s work, & I can freely stake my life upon it, she cannot do yours. Livy, you might as well reproach yourself for not being able to win bloody victories in battle, like Joan of Arc. In your sphere you are as great, & as noble, & as efficient as any Joan of Arc that ever lived.⁵

After this letter, Twain’s references to Joan of Arc appear in a smattering of speeches and sketches, none of them of a serious nature. For example, in a speech called “To the Ladies,” Twain toasts a number of prominent women in a purely humorous context. He says “Who was more patriotic than Joan of Arc? Who was braver? Who has given us a grander instance of self-sacrificing devotion? Ah! You remember, you remember well, what a throb of pain, what a great tidal wave of grief swept over us all when Joan of Arc fell at Waterloo. [laughter]”⁶ Even in such lame humor, it is clear that she was in his consciousness.

Then the record is silent for a number of years. Only much later in his life, with his career and international fame as America’s foremost humorist firmly established, did Twain once again

turn his attention to the historic figure Joan of Arc. On a trip floating down the Rhone River in France in 1891, he made a note in his notebook about Marius Sepet's history, *Jeanne d'Arc*, which he was apparently reading. As Ronald Jenn and I have argued, "Sepet obviously acted as a trigger and made Twain eager to find more information about Joan because a few days later, on September 25, near the town of Valence, still on the Rhone, he records a memo to himself to make a request from his London publisher, Chatto & Windus: 'Chatto send me—Joan of Arc books.'" ⁷ Chatto & Windus indeed sent a series of books to him over time, which marked the beginning of a remarkable period in his writing life.

In 1893 while the Clemens family was living in Florence, where they had retreated due to Livy's failing health, Twain began intensive study of eleven historical sources as he carefully prepared to write his own novelistic history of Joan's life. ⁸ He read carefully in both English and French; fortunately for the modern scholar, a number of those initial sources are still available in the Mark Twain Papers in the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley. He made extensive notes in the margins of his sources about literally all the details of Joan's life: her first encounter with the voices that guided her throughout her short life; her insistence upon visiting Charles VII to persuade him to grant her leadership of the French armies; the location of the various fortresses at Orleans, which she ultimately liberated; her capture by the British and imprisonment and trial at Rouen; and her self-defense before legions of prelates who relentlessly attempted to convict her of heresy and of witchcraft, leading to her death by being burned at the stake. ⁹

Throughout all the historical sources, Twain repeatedly notes references to Joan's wearing men's clothing. At times his notes read "use this," or "her male attire," or "the clothes trap again." These comments are particularly relevant to any study of the life of Joan of Arc, but

they are especially pertinent because of Twain's long-standing fascination with characters who crossed traditional gender boundaries, both male and female, and characters who cross-dressed, thereby challenging in his writing well-established sexual and gender codes and norms.¹⁰ He "played" with issues of gender in this fiction, while maintaining in his personal and family life strict Victorian standards. That he was drawn to the historic figure of Joan of Arc seems almost inevitable. She was (and is) the most famous cross-dresser of all time. Yet her purity was above reproach, and Twain insisted upon that.

Twain gave repeated attention to Joan's dress in his own telling of her story. Critically, before she assumed command of the French army and before she went into battle, she asked to have male clothing and armor made for herself.

There had been grave doubts among the priests as to whether the Church ought to permit a female soldier to dress like a man. But now came a verdict on that head. Two of the greatest scholars and theologians of the time—one of whom had been Chancellor of the University of Paris—rendered it. They decided that since Joan must do the work of a man and a soldier, it is just and legitimate that her apparel should conform to the situation.

It was a great point gained, the Church's authority to dress as a man.¹¹

Whereas battle conditions could be said to have dictated Joan's dress while in war, the fact that Joan clothed herself entirely in men's clothing while in prison ultimately became the centerpiece of her trial when all other charges against her failed to be fully substantiated. Unable to make any headway on charges of witchcraft, on charges that she was in league with the Devil, on charges that her "voices" were satanic, Joan's inquisitors returned again and again to the fact that Joan cross-dressed, which they saw as a sin against Nature and the Church and as proof that her voices were not divine.

Twain went to great pains to record how badly Joan was treated in captivity, how she had to defend herself over and over again, without counsel, before a multitude of clerics and bishops and how she was ultimately condemned through gross trickery. Forced to “abjure” wearing men’s clothing in her prison cell—clothes she wore to protect her modesty from the prying eyes of her jailors—she “put her mark” to papers renouncing her male attire. She was then returned to her cell. While she slept her female clothing was taken from her and replaced only by male clothing. She asked for her female clothing back and it was refused her. So she had no alternative but to “put on the forbidden garments, knowing what the end would be. She was weary of the struggle.”¹² Immediately she was condemned to death and executed. [Figure 2.]

By the time Twain was writing about this final betrayal of Joan, he and his family had moved to Paris.¹³ Although Twain traveled back and forth to the United States several times in that year, he resumed writing *Joan of Arc* in Paris. In the late summer of 1894 the family took a break from living in Paris and spent approximately two months in Étretat in northern France, where Twain continued to write.¹⁴ Then they visited the town of Rouen on their way back to the French capital. They had meant to have only a brief stay in the very place where Joan was imprisoned, tried, and burned at the stake, but daughter Susy became ill there and they stayed on for the month of October. When they returned to Paris, Twain completed writing his novel. In an extraordinary letter to his friend and financial advisor Henry Rogers, dated January 29, 1895, Twain recorded his experience completing what was to be his final full length novel:

At 6 minutes past 7, yesterday evening, Joan of Arc was burned at the stake.

With the long strain gone, , but it will be gone tomorrow. I judged that this end of the book would be hard work, & it turned out so. I have never done any work before that cost so much thinking & weighing & measuring & planning & cramming or so much

cautious & painstaking execution. For I wanted the *whole* Rouen trial in, if it could be got in in such a way that the reader's interest would not flag—in fact I wanted the reader's interest to *increase*; & so I stuck to it with that determination in view—with the result that I have left nothing out but unimportant *repetitions*. Although it is mere history—history pure & simple—history stripped naked of flowers, embroideries, colorings, exaggerations, inventions—the family agree that I have succeeded. It was a perilous thing to try in a tale, but I never believed it a doubtful one—provided I stuck strictly to business, & didn't weaken & give up; or didn't get lazy & skimp the work. The first two-thirds of the book were easy; for I only needed to keep my historical road straight; there I used for reference only one French history & one English one—& shoveled in as much fancy-work & invention on both sides of the historical road as I pleased. But on this last third I have constantly used five French sources & five English ones, & I think no telling historical nugget in any of them has escaped me.

Possibly the book may not sell, but that is nothing—it was written for love.¹⁵

Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc was initially published serially in *Harper's Magazine* in 1895, without Twain's name attached to it. He wanted the book to be taken seriously, and he feared that his reputation as *the* American humorist would prevent that.¹⁶ To some degree he was right. Even among his greatest supporters, such as W. D. Howells, there were immediate negative responses to his work once his authorship was made public, because it frankly was not a work of humor. Nevertheless, when publishing the work in book form the following year, Twain made the decision to attach his *nom de plume* to it. Further, in a subsequent edition of *Personal Recollections* he dedicated the book to his wife, Olivia Clemens, to commemorate their twenty-fifth wedding anniversary.¹⁷

Two other important details about Twain's personal and professional commitment to the figure Joan of Arc and his own attachment to *Personal Recollections* deserve attention here. At the time Joan was beatified in 1904, and therefore headed for canonization, Twain wrote a stand-alone essay about Joan, entitled "Saint Joan of Arc," in which he described her as "the Wonder of the Ages."¹⁸ What is not widely known about this essay is that he considered it a "Joan-Eulogy," as he articulated in a letter to Frederick A. Duneka on January 8, 1904, from Florence, Italy. The letter reads in full:

I see by the telegram in the "National" that Joan of Arc was beatified day before yesterday, & that the Holy Father replied in person to the eulogy delivered by the Archbishop of Paris.

It may be that this event will presently start up a run of magazing concerning Joan. I being her American literary representative, & author of the *first* historical novel story in our late long list of that kind of books, I don't quite want to be silent & seem indifferent in case the run occurs; therefore I am going to send you a Joan-Eulogy & be ready.

If you presently find you need it, use it in one or another of the periodicals. If it shall turn out that you don't need it, put it where you can find it when I ask for it; for it might come handy as an Introduction to a new or holiday edition of the "Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc," & as an advertising-detail for the same.¹⁹

Because of a number of unusual circumstances, it is quite possible that the Clemens family was more involved during the writing of this novel than any other. It is well known among Twain scholars and biographers that when Twain was writing in the summer at Quarry Farm he would sometimes read the day's work to the family after dinner. In those days, the three

girls were relatively young and presumably served only as active listeners while Livy was often enlisted to scrutinize and edit his writing. In his own mischievous way, Clemens sometimes inserted passages that he knew Livy would take out.²⁰

The situation when he was writing *Joan of Arc* was quite different. The family, especially in Florence but to some extent in Paris, was relatively isolated, with Livy forbidden to have visitors because of her illness, with two of the daughters, Clara and Susy, on the verge of adulthood and Jean aged fifteen. Clara, in fact, was studying music in Germany for much of the time, reducing the size of the household on a daily basis to just four people. Initially, Livy continued to play her role as her husband's editor, according to one of Twain's reminiscences in his autobiography:

In the story of "Joan of Arc" I made six wrong starts, and each time that I offered the result to Mrs. Clemens she responded with the same deadly criticism—silence. She didn't say a word, but her silence spoke with the voice of thunder. When at last I found the right form I recognized at once that it was the right one, and I knew what she would say. She said it, without doubt or hesitation.²¹

Increasingly, however, the "editor" role shifted to Susy. Her relationship with her father during this period was somewhat vexed. She had been pulled from Bryn Mawr to travel with the family to Europe and she sorely missed her relationship with fellow student Louise Brownell.²² She envied her sister being in Germany and upon occasion made an effort to avoid contact with her father.²³ Still, there is ample evidence that the practice of reading to his family continued. In one of Susy's letters to her sister Clara, she tells her that "'Papa' cried when he read one of Joan's speeches to his assembled family, and at one point Susy held up the reading so she could go fetch a handkerchief in anticipation of her own crying."²⁴

In retrospect, Twain granted to Susy a special role in the creation of the book. He claimed at one point that the physical portrait of Joan was based in part on Susy herself, and given that Susy's age then, and Joan's age during her captivity roughly corresponded, the notion has credibility. However, a close scrutiny of the text reveals that there is *no* physical description of Joan. Of her armor and her clothing, yes, of her remarkable presence, yes, of the effect on the French people and the French army, yes, but not of her physicality. The source books, in fact, are characteristically silent on this as well. In 1902, while drafting a memorial to Susy, Twain wrote:

Susy at 17—Joan of Arc at 17. Secretly I drew Joan's physical portrait from Susy at that age, when I came to write that book. Apart from that, I had no formally-appointed model for Joan but her own historical self. [Yet there were several points of resemblance between the girls: such as vivacity, enthusiasm, precocious wisdom, wit, eloquence, penetration, nobility of character. In Joan the five latter qualities were of a measure that has not been paralleled in any other person of like age in history; but I comprehended them in her all the better from comprehending them in their lesser measure in Susy.]²⁵

What is important to note here is that all the post-facto association of Susy with Joan took place after Susy's untimely, tragic death in 1896. By then the serialized version of the novel had been published and the book version of the novel had been released. Even if Twain's association of Susy with Joan had an overlay of sentimentality, it likely did represent in part how he "saw" the two young women when he was writing. Unfortunately, for a period of time in Mark Twain criticism, Susy was "blamed" by the critics who did not appreciate the novel for what they perceived as its failures. Let a few examples stand for the whole.

In 1962, the esteemed critic Henry Nash Smith in *Mark Twain: The Development of a Writer* unfortunately and uncharacteristically dismissed the work out of hand: "Near the end of

his life Mark Twain declared that *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc* was ‘the best’ of his books, but this tribute to a ‘stainlessly pure’ child is little more than an outpouring of dated sentimentality.²⁶ The harshest judgment came from one of Twain’s notable biographers, Justin Kaplan, who evidently took an extreme dislike to the book:

In 1893, he had turned instead to the distant yesterday of Joan of Arc’s Domremy. Having been betrayed by the dynamo, [the failure of the Paige typesetter] he threw himself at the feet of the virgin and wrote an idealization of nonsexual (and as he understood it, constitutionally non-nubile) young womanhood which was so single-mindedly devout and so unabashedly sentimental that for once even Susy (from whom he secretly drew Joan’s physical portrait) was thoroughly proud and pleased. It promised to be “his loveliest book,” she told Clara, “perhaps even more sweet and beautiful than *The Prince and the Pauper*;” to hear him read aloud from his manuscript was “uplifting and revealing.”²⁷

Mark Twain did indeed believe his Joan of Arc was his best book, and his favorite book, a fact which he stated in writing several times, and which he asserted without an overlay of sentimentality. For instance, in a lengthy letter dated February 22, 1902, to one Helene Elisabeth Picard, Twain described a rather mysterious club he had organized with only one member from each country, telling her he had enrolled her as the representative from France.²⁸ At the end of his letter to Picard, he wrote in obvious answer to a question she had posed to him:

My favorite? It is ‘Joan of Arc.’ My next is “Huckleberry Finn,” but the family’s next is “The Prince & the Pauper.” (Yes, you are right—I am a moralist in disguise; it gets me into heaps of trouble when I go thrashing around in political questions.)²⁹

Again in 1904 he apparently declared to his biographer Paine that *Personal Recollections* was his favorite in a statement Paine emphasized by including a copy of the statement in Twain's own handwriting. In it he says not only that he liked "Joan of Arc best of all my books," but that "it is the best. I know it perfectly well."³⁰

We turn now to the book itself, to the "personal" embedded in the construction of this historical novel, the novel that he insisted "was written for love." The book has come in for some criticism over the years, and most centrally the critics have focused on the book's first person narrator, "The Sieur Louis de Conte (Joan's page and secretary)."³¹ From the beginning, Howells had harsh words to say about Twain's narrator:

It would be impossible for anyone who is not a prig to keep to the archaic attitude and parlance which the author attempts here and there, and I wish he had frankly refused to attempt it at all. I wish his personal recollections of Joan could have been written by some Southwest American, translated to Domremy by some mighty magic of imagination as launched by the Connecticut Yankee into the streets—toward Camelot. [. . .] I am not at all troubled when he comes out with a bit of good, strong, downright modern American feeling; my suffering begins when he does the supposed medieval things. Then I suspect that his armor is of tin.³²

This was not the last time that an otherwise sympathetic critic had to come to terms with Twain's choice of a fictional childhood friend of Joan's as the central narrator of her life. For Howells, it seems, the problem was that de Conte was convincing as a spokesperson for Twain's nineteenth-century views, but problematic when seen as a fifteenth-century spokesperson. Susan K. Harris, in her characteristically balanced and nuanced reading of the text, also had problems with Twain's narrative structure. She rightly points out that de Conte, as a narrator, embodies the

tensions inherent in Twain's own anti-Catholicism and his commitment to writing a reverent biography of Joan of Arc.³³ Harris understands, too, that Twain's own contemporary ambivalence about the sexual codes of his day makes its way into this novel. While his own avowed embracing of Victorian standards of behavior for women (and especially young girls) was deeply rooted in his outlook, in his deep admiration for Joan of Arc he embraced a heroine whose masculine behavior and dress as the leader of the French army co-existed with her "feminine sensibility," to use Harris' phrase.

Whatever the limitations and challenges for the reader having de Conte as the narrator of Joan's life, Twain gained significant advantages with his choice. How he came initially to de Conte as his narrator is an interesting story in itself. While reading and annotating the historical texts, Twain made marginal references to "the boy," as though he was already contemplating having a young male narrator. He read right past a number of references to the historical de Conte, who was a page appointed by Charles VII to assist Joan of Arc.³⁴ For example, in Chabannes' *La Vierge lorraine Jeanne d'Arc*, de Conte is mentioned three times, without provoking any marginal notations by Twain. This all changes when he reads Ronald Gower's *Joan of Arc*.³⁵

It is in the Gower marginalia that de Contes [sic] seemingly strikes Twain like lightning and we literally see the writer pounced on him at the first occurrence; 'Michelet discovered this story in the deposition of Joan of Arc's page, Louis de Contes, who was probably an eye-witness to the scene,' Gower writes, and the marginalia immediately assumes the most unusual form of two conspicuous asterisk-type marks. One is drawn directly in the margin from this statement, the other at the bottom of the page. No other

mark like this being found anywhere in the book (or in any other marginalia), it's safe to assume that that's where Twain really took notice of de Contes.³⁶

In Twain's telling, de Conte is imagined as relating the whole story to his young great-great-grandnieces and nephews in the year 1492, many years after the events, and well after Joan's Rehabilitation trial, which took place three years after her death. The Rehabilitation cleared her of all charges for which she had previously been condemned. His perspective is as an old man, looking back at his own life and that of his friend Joan. The choice of such a narrator offered Twain a number of advantages. The first is obviously the fact that he is presented as an eyewitness to Joan's whole life, from childhood on. Indeed he is imagined as being present at her trial itself as a scribe. Further, because de Conte so loved and admired Joan, it allowed Twain to editorialize, often passionately, about the way she was ill-treated by King Charles VII, by Charles' generals, by her English captors, and by the Catholic Church.

Having fictionalized de Conte's childhood friendship with Joan, it also freed Twain to create other fictionalized childhood friends, especially in the earlier parts of the story. Like de Conte, they followed her into battle. The most prominent such character is a friend nicknamed as a child "the Paladin" because of his continual boasts about how we would behave if he *were* a soldier. Twain uses the Paladin as a figure of comic relief in a novel without many such moments. The Paladin is represented as a hopeless braggart, a comic self-promoter, and a highly entertaining raconteur. He joins Joan's army most reluctantly, and his initial skills in battle are slim indeed, but he turns his own defeats into great accomplishments in the public re-telling of his battles. De Conte describes him as having "the narrative gift":

It was most stirring and interesting to hear him tell about a battle the tenth time than it was the first, because he did not tell it twice the same way, but always made a new battle

of it and better one, with more casualties on the enemy's side each time, and more general wreck and disaster all around, and more widows and orphans and suffering in the neighborhood where it happened. He could not tell his battles apart himself, except by their names; and by the time he had told one of them ten times he had to lay it aside and start a new one in its place, because it had grown so that there wasn't room enough in France for it any more, but was lapping over the edges. (116)

While Joan is not witness to this particular scene, she knows the Paladin well, and at other times listens to his stories with great delight. In turn, her pleasure in his bluff and bluster helps humanize Joan. Once she is appointed by the king to lead his armies, she calls all her Domremy friends together and "appoints them to places in her household." Of the Paladin she says,

"I watched you on the road. You began badly, but improved. Of old you were a fantastic talker, but there is a man in you, and I will bring it out. . . . Will you follow where I lead?"

"Into the fire!" he said.

"I believe you," said Joan. "Here—take my banner. You will ride with me in every field, and when France is saved, you will give it me back."

He took the banner, which is now the most precious of the memorials that remain of Joan of Arc." (137)

The Paladin remained true to his vow and was at her side in every battle until she was captured and he was killed in the final conflict. De Conte, however, is with her to the end.

With her throughout all her life, and indeed narrator of that life, in the end de Conte cannot bring himself to witness Joan's actual death by fire. Her death at the stake was brutal and unusually cruel and de Conte cannot bring himself to watch: "the latest image recorded by my

eyes in that desolating hour was Joan of Arc with the grace of comely youth still unmarred; and that image, untouched by time or decay, has remained with me all my days” (450). Here, I believe, de Conte and Twain are one. De Conte’s inability to watch Joan’s death is surely Twain’s own as well and he does not show us Joan’s death at the stake.

Like de Conte’s last image of Joan of Arc, “untouched by time or decay,” so Twain’s personal love and admiration for Joan remained with him all his life. The last words Twain wrote about her were in his 1904 essay, “Saint Joan of Arc.” Here is how he characterized her in this essay:

Taking into account, as I have suggested before, all the circumstances—her origin, youth, sex, illiteracy, early environment, and the obstructing conditions under which she exploited her high gifts and made her conquests in the field and before the courts that tried her for her life,—she is easily and by far the most extraordinary person the human race has ever produced.³⁷

This judgment of Joan echoes perfectly a statement Twain articulated at the outset of his research for *Personal Recollections* in the margins of one of his original sources. It speaks eloquently of his profound personal admiration for this remarkable woman: “If the 10 greatest of earth be chosen, she must be of the 10; if 2, she must be of the 2; if there is but one supremely great then she is that one.”³⁸

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NOTES

1. The telegram was apparently a thank you for Twain sending Bernhardt an autographed copy of his book on December 17, 1905, including an inscription in which he says the book “has one large merit: it puts no words into Jeanne’s mouth which she did not say. With the homage of

Yours very truly the Author. To Madam Sarah Bernhardt.” Telegram and first edition in the Mark Twain Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; with special thanks to Victor Fischer. Subsequent references to the Mark Twain Papers will be cited as MTP.

2. *Mark Twain: A Biography* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1912), pp. 81-82.

3. Cited in Ronald Jenn and Linda A. Morris, “The Sources of Mark Twain’s *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc*,” *Mark Twain Journal*, 55 (Spring-Fall 2017), 64-65. The full French version of Michelet’s history of Joan was one of the major sources Twain consulted in preparing to write his own history of the maid.

4. Scrapbook #4, p. 36, MTP. While the clipping is not dated, the pieces that surround it are, and all are from 1866.

5. *Mark Twain’s Letters*, eds. Victor Fischer and Michael B. Frank (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1992), III, 63. Laura Skandera-Trombley’s *Mark Twain in the Company of Women* addresses Livy’s early friendship with Anna Dickinson and Twain’s subsequent antagonism toward her (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), pp. 143-50. Even if her famous lecture on “Jeanne D’Arc” was first presented in 1870 (later than the Clemens letter to Livy quoted here), Anna Dickinson was already dubbed America’s Joan of Arc during the Civil War (for her commitment to the Union cause and her public speeches) and identified with the French heroine, which probably explains Twain’s allusion to Joan here.

6. *Mark Twain Speaking*, ed. Paul Fatout (Iowa City: Univ. of Iowa Press, 1976), p. 79.

7. “The Sources,” 58.

8. The books include Quicherat, *Condamnation et Réhabilitation de Jeanne d’Arc*; Fabre, *Procès de Condamnation de Jeanne d’Arc*; Wallon, *Jeanne d’Arc*; Sepet, *Jeanne d’Arc*; Michelet, *Jeanne d’Arc*; Saint Prix, *La Famille de Jeanne d’Arc*; Chabannes, *La Vierge Lorraine*; Ricard,

Jeanne d'Arc la Vénérable; Gower, *Joan of Arc*; O'Hagan, *Joan of Arc*; Tuckey, *Joan of Arc the Maid*.

9. "The Sources," 70.

10. Linda Morris, *Gender Play in Mark Twain: Cross-Dressing and Transgression* (Columbia: Univ. of Missouri Press, 2007), p. 136.

11. *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc* (1896 ; rpt. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1996), 130-31. Subsequent citations to *Personal Recollections* indicated parenthetically.

12. *Ibid.*, 441.

13. Twain wrote the first third of *Personal Recollections* between January and June 1893.

14. Paula Harrington and Ronald Jenn, *Mark Twain and France* (Columbia: Univ. of Missouri Press, 2017), p. 168.

15. *Mark Twain's Correspondence with Henry Huttleston Rogers, 1893-1909*, ed. Lewis Leary (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1969), p. 124.

16. Tracy Wuster has established beyond any reasonable doubt that the term "*the American humorist*" belonged exclusively to Mark Twain. *Mark Twain, American Humorist* (Columbia: Univ. of Missouri Press, 2016).

17. "To my wife, Olivia Langdon Clemens, this book is tendered on our wedding anniversary in grateful recognition of her twenty-five years of valued service as my literary adviser and editor. The Author." On 9 March 1897, Twain noted in a letter to Chatto & Windus, his British publishers, that he had intended to dedicate the novel to Livy, but he "forgot to attend to that detail. . . . Let us rectify" (UCCL 06171, MTP).

18. *Mark Twain: Collected Tales, Sketches, Speeches, & Essays, 1891-1910*, ed. Louis J. Budd (New York: Library of America, 1992), p. 591.

19. Mark Twain to Frederick Duneka, UCCL 08236, MTP. Duneka was an editor at Harper & Brothers and a friend of Twain's.

20. Daughter Susy reported that "Papa" would leave parts of his *Huckleberry Finn* manuscript for "Mamma" to expurgate [sic]. Cited in *Mark Twain: Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, ed. Victor Fischer and Lin Salamo (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2003), p. 531. The editors go on to say that "Clemens admitted in 1906 that it was his practice to include a 'dreadful' passage in his manuscript just to elicit the family reaction, and 'not with any hope or expectation that it would get by the expurgator alive.'"

21. *Autobiography of Mark Twain*, ed. Benjamin Griffin and Harriet Elinor Smith (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2013), II, 197.

22. For a fuller exploration of the relationship between Susy and Louise, see Morris, *Gender Play in Mark Twain*.

23. "I have to go down to breakfast now," she wrote to Clara, "and I don't enjoy this one bit, although Papa hasn't stormed yet. Still I feel constrained and *he pierces me thru with his eyes* as if he were determined to see whether I am embarrassed or not." Quoted in *Gender Play in Mark Twain*, pp. 120-21.

24. *Ibid.*, 120.

25. Quoted in Everett Emerson, *The Authentic Mark Twain* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), p. 213. Brackets in Emerson.

26. Smith, *Mark Twain: The Development of a Writer* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1962), p. 185.

27. Kaplan, *Mr. Clemens and Mark Twain* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1966), p. 315.

28. The club was called the Juggernaut Club, and each member was furnished with a copy of the constitution and by-laws, typed by his daughter Jean. Details cited by Barbara Schmidt in “www.twainquotes.com.”

29. Mark Twain to Helene Elisabeth Picard, UCCL 08236, MTP.

30. Quoted in Paine, *Mark Twain: A Biography*, p. 1034.

31. Title page, *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc*, n.p.

32. Howells, *My Mark Twain* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1910), pp. 152-53.

33. “Afterword,” in Oxford edition, pp. 1-12.

34. De Conte’s name appears at least three times in Michelet’s *Joan of Arc*, which Twain annotated heavily. Jules Michelet, *Jeanne d’Arc* (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1841).

35. Gower, *Joan of Arc* (London: John C. Nimmo, 1893).

36. “The Sources,” p. 62. In the original sources, de Conte is usually spelled “de Contes,” which this quotation references.

37. “Saint Joan of Arc,” 595-96.

38. Twain’s marginalia in John O’Hagan, *Joan of Arc* (London: Kegan Paul, 1893), p. 94.