

ing to cut from 18 to 16; and above all France, as a result of the ending of the Indo-China war, is beginning to show faint signs of restiveness at its military commitments.

More important, the potential political pulls on the NATO alliance are no longer concerted and in the same direction, but are diverse. "Peaceful coexistence," to the NATO European partners,

means "live and let live," while to the U.S. it means a recognition of the permanency of Communist conquest of part of Europe and nearly all of Asia. Here is a basic, underlying difference of approach which the Molotov tactics are designed to exploit—cleverly and well.

Yet the U.S. cannot "disassociate" itself from "peaceful coexistence" any more than it can roll back the Iron Cur-

tain. As the subtle pressures—the attractiveness of the new Soviet tactical doctrine—are played upon by Molotov, they are going to call for subtle responses from the U.S. if America is to continue to play a role of leadership. Neither disassociation nor petulance nor refusal to face the realities of Moscow's tactical advantages will advance the cause of freedom.

European Union Reports

TWO PHASES of the long and tortuous but nevertheless historic struggle for European union are the subjects of two interesting pamphlets which have recently made their appearance. One is entitled "Balance Sheet of the Work of the Council of Europe (1949-1954)," and was issued in English by the Council's Directorate of Information; the other, a "Report from Strasbourg," prepared by the American Committee on United Europe, details the history and currently tentative provisions of the draft constitution for a European Political Community. Both contain information on certain events which have been little publicized and even less appreciated in this country.

Council of Europe Activity:

A reading of the Council of Europe's 62-page booklet shows that this body's Consultative Assembly (lower house) not only has adopted numerous resolutions initiating important discussions and projects of a constructive nature, but also has been responsible for the adoption of six conventions and agreements affecting West Europe's political and social life. It seems safe to say that, to a considerable extent, these activities have had a definite constructive effect similar to that accomplished by the United Nations specialized agencies such as UNESCO and those handling technical assistance, which likewise have received little publicity.

The wide scope of the Assembly's discussions and decisions is made clear by a few figures. In five years (the Assembly meets twice a year with each session averaging two weeks), it adopted 155 recommendations, 62 resolutions, and 7 opinions, or a total of 224. The greatest number—86—dealt with political and

constitutional questions such as problems of internal organization and functioning, the political authority of the Council of Europe, specialized authorities, and cooperation with international organizations and national parliaments. Then there were 33 recommendations and resolutions on economic problems, covering such particular issues as the pooling of industries (steel, transport, agriculture, etc.), the convertibility and liberalization of trade, overseas territories and raw materials, tariffs, and postal questions. Social matters were involved in 27 pronouncements, cultural questions in 31, defense in 12, legal problems in 11, and refugees, human rights and information in the remainder.

The pamphlet, in the comprehensive tables which form its bulk, notes the actions resulting from the various recommendations.

As previously noted, the Council of Europe has also sponsored the drawing up and ratification of six conventions. The most significant of these is the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, the main body of which came into force September 3, 1953, upon the deposit of ten nations' ratifications. The Convention, along with its protocol, which was about to be completely ratified, protects various rights, such as liberty and security of person; freedom from torture or servitude; freedom to marry; freedom of thought, religion, speech and assembly, and education; and the right to free elections by secret ballot. The highly-important but optional provisions for individual right to petition (otherwise only a Government may submit a complaint) and for compulsory jurisdiction by a Court of Human Rights have not yet been accepted by enough countries.

The other conventions deal with the equivalence of diplomas leading to admission to universities; social and medical assistance; social security (two conventions); and formalities required for patent application. Not all of these had come into effect as of May 1954. Other proposed conventions are in the drafting and study stages.

Draft Constitution:

Basil Karp, research analyst of the American Committee on United Europe, is author of the 22-page analysis of the draft constitution for a European Political Community. He emphasizes the fact that politicians, rather than scholars or government technicians, drew up the draft, which thus "represents the thinking of an imposing group of parliamentarians as to the scope and character of political union that is workable and attainable today."

Mr. Karp gives a succinct account of the history of the draft constitution up to May 1954, and then reviews the major issues discussed in the six-nation Ad Hoc Assembly which put its stamp of approval on a most complex document. Chief issues were the basis for representation in the parliament, the independence of the executive council, the necessity for a council of national ministers, economic powers, and direct elections. The author views the 117-article draft as a compromise which is "hardly the picture of simplicity and clarity." He points out, however, that the draft will undoubtedly undergo considerable revision, and discussions apparently are still going on behind the scenes preliminary to still another conclave to prepare a more satisfactory draft. The pamphlet concludes with a five-page summary of the principal features of the draft as then in existence. (See FREEDOM & UNION, March 1954, page 19.)

—FRANK H. BLUMENTHAL

{ The Human Venture }

JEANNE d'ARC AT THE STAKE



Translated by JEANNE DEFRANCE

This is the fourth and final installment in a series of excerpts from the trial of Jeanne d'Arc, which began in Rouen on Feb. 21, 1431, and ended with her being burned alive on May 30. The inquisition denounced her as a witch and found her guilty of heresy, mainly on the grounds that she insisted she had visions, wore men's clothes, participated in warfare, was confident of salvation, and refused to submit her actions and her faith to the jurisdiction of the Church.

At 17 this peasant girl turned the tide of the 100 Years' War for the French by driving the English from Orléans. When she was captured by their Burgundian allies, the English bought her and had her tried by Pierre Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais, who, seeking to curry favor with the English, packed the Court with English partisans and allowed her no

counsel. Week after week, from four to seven hours daily, Jeanne was questioned by these crafty clerics, some 40 strong. With neither "Fifth Amendment" nor "Senatorial immunity" to protect her, this 19-year-old girl was bold and heroic in her testimony. The weakling King Charles, who owed her so much, did nothing to save her. He did, however, sponsor an investigation in 1449 (the Rehabilitation Trial), which annulled the sentence of 1431 and condemned instead the Bishop of Beauvais, then dead. In 1920 Jeanne was formally canonized by the Catholic Church.

These excerpts are from *Le Procès de Jeanne d'Arc* by Robert Brasillach (Gallimard, Paris, 1941), translated by special permission.—J.D.



On Wednesday, May 2, 1431, Bishop Cauchon of Beauvais told the judges over whom he presided that, because of Jeanne's stubbornness, he had decided that she should be admonished publicly by Jean de Châtillon, archdeacon of Evreux. Jeanne was brought in.

Wednesday, the 2nd of May, 1431.

Châtillon: Do you mean to say that you recognize no judge on earth, and that His Holiness the Pope is not your judge?

Jeanne: I will tell you no more. I have a good master, Our Lord, on whom I count for everything. I have no other master.

Châtillon: If you refuse to believe in the Church and in the article on the *ecclesiam sanctum catholicum*, you will be a heretic, and other secular judges will sentence you to be punished by fire.

Jeanne: I will tell you nothing more. If I was seeing the fire, still would I say what I have said, and nothing else.

Châtillon: If the General Council, and our Holy Father, the Cardinals and other men of the Church were here, would you trust them and make your submission?

Jeanne: You will get nothing more.

Châtillon: Will you submit to our Holy Father the Pope?

Jeanne: Lead me to him, and I shall answer him. Otherwise, I will not answer.

Châtillon: We will send the record of your trial to the Pope so he can judge for himself.

Jeanne: I do not know what you will put in the record of the trial. I want to be taken to the Pope and questioned by him.

The Bishop: Will you submit to the Church?

Jeanne: What is the Church? As for you, I will not submit to your judgment, for you are my worst enemy.

Friar Ysambart (who favors her): You must submit to the General Council of Basel.

Jeanne: What is the General Council?

Ysambart: It is the congregation of all the Universal Church and Christendom, and in it there are many on your side as there are on the side of the English.

Jeanne: Oh! Since there are some on my side in it, I am willing to give in and submit to the Council at Basel!

The Bishop: Be still! The devil take you! Who has spoken to this woman since yesterday? (*He calls the English guard and ask him:*) Who spoke to her?

The Guard: Master de la Fontaine, your lieutenant, and the two friars (Ysambart and Ladvenu).

Guillaume Manchon (a scribe): Should I note this submission?

The Bishop: No, it is not necessary.

Jeanne: Ha! You write what is against me, and won't write what is in my favor.

Châtillon (reading from the act of accusation): For a long time, in spite of its impropriety for your sex, you have persisted in wearing men's clothes, in the fashion of men in arms, and you continually do this, without any necessity, which is scandalous, contrary to good and honest behavior, and you also have your hair cut short. This is contrary to the will of God, as told in Deuteronomy, Chapter XII: "The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment: for all that do so are abomination unto the Lord thy God."

Jeanne: As for the costume, I am willing to wear a long

dress and a cap to go to Church and receive my Savior, as I have said in the past, on condition that I may take it off right afterward, and wear again what I wear now. . . . When I have done what God sent me to do, I shall wear a woman's dress. . . .

Châtillon: Will you trust and submit to the Church at Poitiers where you were questioned?

Jeanne: Do you think you can catch me in that trap,* and thus lure me on?

Châtillon: To conclude, we again admonish you to submit to the Church, under penalty of being given up by the Church. If the Church renounces you, both your body and soul will be in great peril, and you risk eternal fire for your soul and temporal fire for your body, through the verdict of other judges.

Jeanne: You will not do against me what you say, without danger to your own body and your own soul.

~

On Wednesday, May 9, Jeanne was again admonished to recant, lest she be "subjected to torture." The instruments of torture were shown to her, with the executioners standing by.

Wednesday, the 9th of May.

The Bishop: If you do not tell the truth on this matter you will be tortured.

Jeanne: In truth, even if you were to draw and quarter me and rend my soul from my body I would not speak otherwise. And if I should speak differently, I would say later that it was only because you drew it from me by force. . . .

The Bishop: Seeing the stubbornness of this woman's soul and the way she answers, we, the judges, fearing that torture would be of little avail, decide to postpone torturing her until we have deliberated further.

~

On Saturday, May 19, the judges decided to declare Jeanne a heretic and schismatic on several counts, but it was decided to admonish her once more. This was vainly done on Wednesday the 23rd.

Wednesday, the 23rd of May.

The Bishop: Do you believe that you are not bound to submit your acts and your statements to the Church militant — to anyone but God?

Jeanne: I will maintain what I have always said and done during the trial. If I were condemned, and saw the torches lighted and the executioner ready to set fire to the pyre, and if I were in the fire, still I would not speak other than I have spoken and I would maintain until death what I have said at the trial.

~

On the Thursday after Whitsunday, May 24, the judges met in the cemetery of the Abbaye of Saint Ouen. They

*If she admitted the authority of the Catholic Church at Poitiers (where the King had had her examined) she could not refuse to admit its authority everywhere, and therefore the authority of this tribunal.

were assisted by the Cardinal of Winchester, three bishops, and many priests. A great crowd had gathered. Jeanne stood on a scaffold in front of the Tribunal. Torch in hand, the executioner stood ready to light the pyre.

Thursday, the 24th of May.

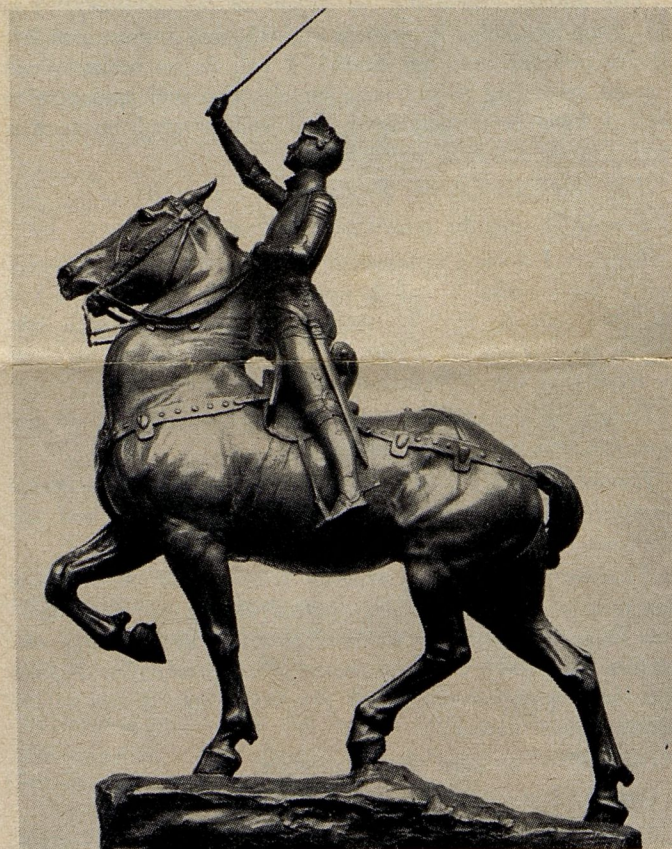
The Bishop: Master Guillaume Erard, doctor in Sacred Theology, will first preach, to admonish Jeanne and all the people.

Erard: I shall take for text the word of God, brought to us in Chapter XV of St. John: "As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine." From this we must deduce that Catholics must remain within the vine of our Mother the Church which the Lord has planted. Jeanne severed herself from it through numerous and grievous errors; she often scandalized Christian people. We admonish and exhort you, and all the people, to follow the doctrines of salvation.

Never in France was there such scandal as there is about this Jeanne, sorceress, heretic, schismatic. The King who cherished her is guilty, too, for having sought to conquer his kingdom with the help of this heretical woman. . . . Ah France! You have been much abused! You were always a very Christian land. . . . It is to you I speak, Jeanne, and I tell you your King is a heretic and schismatic.

Jeanne: On my faith, Sir, with all due respect, I dare say and swear, if it costs me my life, that he is the noblest of all Christians, and that he loves the Faith and the Church, and is not what you say! . . .

Erard: You acted against the majesty of the King, against



—Anna V. Hyatt, Sculptress (*American Magazine of Art*)

"Forward With God": statue of Jeanne on Riverside Drive, N.Y.

For Miss Boerich

God and against the Catholic faith. You sinned several times, and if you do not make amends, you will be burned. You wore men's clothes. . . .

Jeanne (interrupting): I wore men's clothes because I had to stay among men, with whom it was safer and more convenient to dress as a man than as a woman, and I did well to do it. . . .

Nicholas Loyseleur (Canon from Chartres): Jeanne, believe me, if you wish, you can be saved. Agree to wear a dress, and do everything you are told. Otherwise you are in danger of death. If you do as I say, you will be saved. . . .

The Bishop: Since this woman will say nothing more, we shall read the final judgment. (*He starts to read.*)

Jeanne (interrupting): I have done nothing wrong. I believe in the Ten Articles of the Faith and the Ten Commandments. I submit to the Council in Rome, and want to believe everything the Holy Church believes.

Erard: Recant what you said.

Jeanne: You take great pains to convince me. . . .

Erard: Recant what you said.

Jeanne: I will do everything you wish. (*To the Bishop who interrupts his reading of the sentence*): I will accept everything the Church and the judges decide, and obey their will in everything.

Erard: You will abjure and sign this statement. If you do what I advise, you will be set free from prison. . . .

An English cleric to the Bishop: Hurry up! You are too favorable to her! It is wrong to accept such a recantation, and it is a mockery!

The Bishop (throwing his papers to the ground): You lie! I am the judge in matters of faith, and I must seek her salvation rather than her death! I will do no more today! I acted according to my conscience! You will apologize to me! I have been misjudged, and will proceed no further until I have received apologies!

The Cardinal (to the Englishman): Be still!

Erard: Here is the recantation. (*He reads it.*)

Jeanne: I do not understand what is meant by "abjure," and I need counsel. . . . I do not know how to sign. . . . Let the statement be read by the clerics and the Church into whose hands I am to be put. If they advise me to sign and do what they say, I will gladly do it.

Erard: There will be no further delay. If you do not sign, you will be burned immediately. . . .

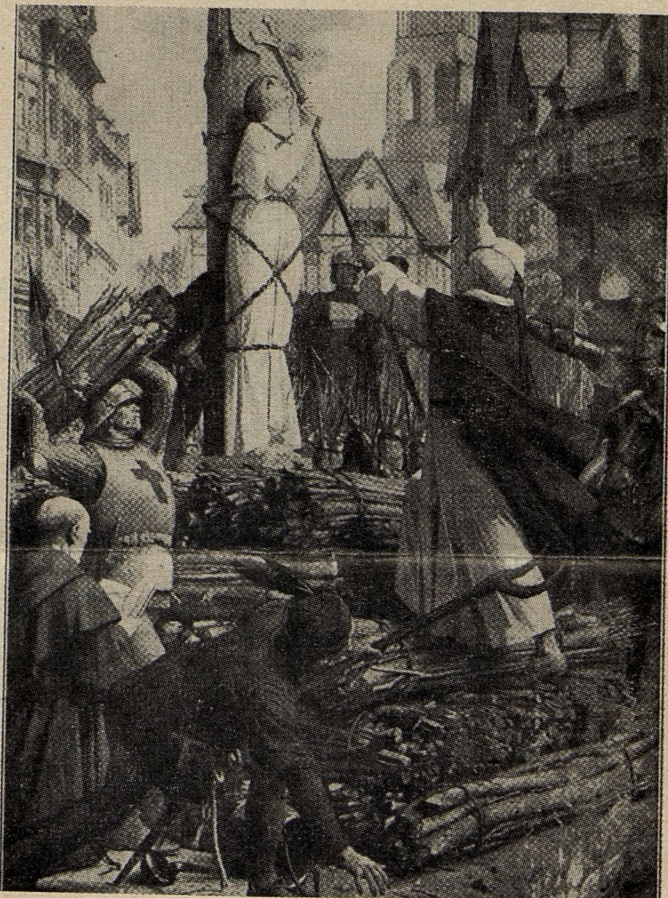
Jeanne: I would rather sign than be burned. (*The crowd manifests its anger by throwing rocks at Jeanne and the Tribunal.*)

Thereupon, a text was read to Jeanne, and she repeated it as it was read. (Witnesses asserted during her Rehabilitation Trial 20 years later that this text was not the long and detailed one which is in the record of the trial; they implied that the recantation she signed concerned only a few of the counts against her.)

Jean Massieu: Sign the recantation.

Jeanne: I can neither read nor write.

Jean Massieu gave the pen to Jeanne and she drew a circle. He then held her hand and made her trace her name. The sentence condemned her to life imprisonment. She was then



—Pantheon, Paris

"My Voices were from God," cried Jeanne at the stake in Rouen.

taken back to prison. People screamed abuse at her on the way. The English were furious, threatening the clergy with their swords, and saying the King of England had wasted his money on them. The Count of Warwick charged the Bishop with leniency.

Warwick: The King's affairs are in a bad way: Jeanne got away!

The Bishop: Don't worry, milord; we shall catch her yet.

On Sunday, May 27, the judges learned that Jeanne was again wearing men's clothes. They went to her prison, but a group of Englishmen stopped them, yelling that churchmen were liars and traitors. The next day, ten of them were able to see Jeanne.

Sunday, the 27th of May.

The Bishop: You promised and swore not to wear men's clothes again.

Jeanne: Never did I mean to swear not to wear them.

The Bishop: Why have you worn them again?

Jeanne: I did so because promises made to me were not kept—promises that I could attend Mass and receive my Savior and that my chains would be removed. The English did me much harm and violence in the prison when I was wearing a woman's dress. (*She wept.*) I did it to defend my honor, which was not safe when I wore a dress and the guards wanted to take advantage of me. I complain strongly

about it. After I recanted, I was tormented, beaten and stamped on in my prison. And an English milord tried to violate me. That is why I wore men's clothes. . . .

The Bishop: Since Thursday, have you not heard your Voices?

Jeanne: Yes.

The Bishop: What did they tell you.

Jeanne: They said that God was telling me, through Saint Catherine and Saint Marguerite, that I had consented to disgraceful treason by the recantation and revocation I made to save my life. Before Thursday, my Voices had told me what I would do and did, on that day. They told me that on the scaffold, in the presence of the people, I should answer that preacher boldly; he is a lying preacher, and charged me with things I have not done. I would damn my soul if I said that God did not send me. My Voices have told me since then that I did wrong to confess to what I had not done. By fear of the fire, I recanted what I said. . . .

I would rather do penance all at one time, and die, rather than to suffer in prison any longer. I did nothing against God and the Faith, no matter what they made me say. I did not understand the terms of the recantation. I said then that I did not mean to revoke anything if it did not please Our Lord. If the judges want, I will again wear women's clothes; for the rest I will do no other.

The Bishop: You are then an obstinate heretic; you have sinned anew.

On leaving the prison, the Bishop spoke to the English who were waiting outside.

The Bishop: You may feast! It is done! She is caught!



On May 30, two friars were sent by the Bishop to exhort Jeanne to face death. She cried piteously and tore her hair.

Wednesday, the 30th of May.

Jeanne: Alas! Why am I so horribly and cruelly treated that my whole body, which was never corrupted, must be consumed today and reduced to ashes! I would rather be beheaded seven times than burned! . . . I call God to witness the injury that is being done me!

She was allowed to receive the Sacrament in her cell. At eight o'clock, she was dressed in a tunic, and on her head was placed a miter with the words: Heretic, Apostate, Idolator. The executioner's cart took her to the Old Market Square of Rouen where a huge crowd had gathered. In front of her was a pyre built purposely so high, by order of the English, that the executioner could not reach to strangle her and shorten her agony as was customary with victims burned at the stake.

Nicolas Midi (Doctor of Theology): Jeanne, go in peace, the Church can no longer protect you, and delivers you into the hands of the secular authorities.

The Bishop: We admonish Jeanne again to think of the salvation of her soul, to remember her sins, by making penance and showing true contrition. . . .

Jeanne: Blessed Trinity! Blessed glorious Virgin Mary! Blessed Saints in Paradise! Saint Catherine! St. Marguerite! St. Michel! Saint Gabriel! Saint Denis!

Rouen! Rouen! Shall you be my last abode! Rouen! Rouen! Must I die here?

Of all manner of people, of whatever condition or class, whether on my side or the other, I humbly ask mercy. May they pray for me; I forgive them the evil they have done me. I beg the forgiveness of the English and the Burgundians, for those who through me have been slain or put to flight, and suffered great loss.

I ask every priest here present to say Mass for me.

She continued to implore for half an hour. Many in the crowd were crying; a few Englishmen tried to laugh. Finally, the Bishop read the sentence, casting her out of the Church, and abandoning her to the secular authorities "although urging them to moderate their verdict and exclude death and mutilation."

Jeanne: I entrust my soul to God, the Blessed Mary, all the Saints. I invoke them. I beg the forgiveness of the judges, the English, the King of France, all the princes of the realm. I have never been induced by my King to do what I have done, whether good or bad. I ask that I be given a cross.

An Englishman who heard her made one with a stick and gave it to her. Later a consecrated cross was given her.

Jeanne was taken down from the scaffold and led to the Bailiff, Le Bouteiller, who alone had power to sentence her to death at the stake. But he did not pass legal sentence on her; all he did was address the guards:

The Bailiff (to the guards): Take her there! Take her there! (Then, to the executioner): Do your duty.

Jeanne was tied to the stake.

Jeanne: Ah, Rouen! I greatly fear you will suffer for my death!

The executioner lit the faggots.

Jeanne: Saint Michel! Saint Michel!

Jeanne (concerned for the safety of the two friars near her, said to them): Go down, and lift high the cross of the Lord, that I may see it! Some Holy Water! *Jésus!* (As the flames rose) *Jésus! Jésus! Jésus! Jésus! Jésus! Jésus!*

Jeanne (enveloped in flames): The Voices I heard came from God! All I have done, I have done by God's will! No, my Voices did not deceive me! The revelations I had came from God!

Jeanne (just before she died, in a loud voice): *Jésus!*



At the Rehabilitation Trial, Friar Ysambart testified that the executioner, desperate with remorse at the exceptionally long ordeal Jeanne had been made to suffer, came to him immediately after the execution, and affirmed that "despite the oil, sulphur and coals" he had applied to her heart and other organs they would not burn at all; he could not reduce them to ashes, which amazed him as a self-evident miracle. Her remains were thrown in the Seine river.

The crowd dispersed after the execution, murmuring that a great injustice had been done. The general feeling was expressed by Jean Tressart, secretary of the King of England: "We are all lost! We have burned a saint!"

[[U. N. Review]]

Quieter Assembly in Prospect

By THOMAS J. HAMILTON
U.N. Correspondent for the N.Y. Times

United Nations, N. Y.
THE 1954 session of the General Assembly which opens this month promises to be the quietest since the comparative peace and harmony that prevailed in 1946 and 1947. After all, this is the first time since the end of World War II when no shooting is going on, and the Assembly debates should reflect this welcome development. The question of Chinese representation will, of course, be brought up at the very start of the session, but all the indications are that the United States will rally enough support to vote down the seating of the Peiping representatives, no matter what the British do.

Once that is disposed of, the question of paying compensation to the Americans dismissed from the United Nations secretariat will emerge as perhaps the most hotly disputed issue of the session—that, or the Greek demand that the British give up Cyprus. These are no doubt important questions, but the debates they will produce are a far cry from those on atomic control, disarmament, Korea, and other critical problems that have distinguished Assembly sessions since the onset of the cold war.

Stalemates

The Soviet Union, to be sure, can be expected to capitalize on the Geneva agreement on Indo-China by proposing some new approach toward settlement of other problems. Bad as the Indo-China terms are for the free world, they could have been a lot worse; there were a number of reasons for the relative restraint of the Communists, but one of the most compelling was their evident belief that an Indo-China settlement would help them to force equally profitable negotiations on Germany and other deadlocked issues.

As things now stand, there appears to be no reason to anticipate a settlement of the remaining outstanding issues. The

basic fact at Geneva was that the democratic powers were negotiating from weakness: the situation in Indo-China itself was highly unfavorable, and united action by the U.S., Great Britain, France, Australia and New Zealand was blocked by the unwillingness of all except the U. S. to take a public position that might result in converting the Indo-China fighting into a world war.

The deadlock on Korea at the same conference showed what happens when the situation is stabilized and both sides can live with it. Neither had any particular reason to make concessions, and in fact no concessions resulted. Korea no doubt will be debated again in the Assembly, but even the verbal ingenuity of Krishna Menon, Prime Minister Nehru's ubiquitous observer at Geneva, can hardly conjure away these immovable facts.

As for Indo-China, it now appears doubtful whether it will be debated at the coming session of the Assembly; Thailand never pushed its proposal for a special Assembly session to send out military observers to the area, and it



would hardly be worth the trouble to have an Assembly debate until the timetable of the Communist program for taking over what is left of Indo-China becomes more clear.

The U. N. in general, and the Assembly in particular, is left to deal with the hard core of international disputes—those that have defied a solution all through the years and will continue to do so until one side or the other feels it necessary to give way. Foremost

among these is the question of disarmament, and particularly that of international control of hydrogen and atomic weapons.

Although the U. N. had no part in calling the Geneva conference, it held a simultaneous Great Power conference on disarmament. The discussions were held in London in complete secrecy. Before they opened, however, it was disclosed that the Soviet Union had refused even to take part in the Eisenhower atomic-pool proposal unless and until the U. S. agreed to a prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons. This stand, which was precisely the same that the Soviet Union had maintained in all the barren debates on atomic control, of course doomed the London talks to complete failure. British, Indian and French neutralists, who keep saying that there must be negotiations on all such East-West issues, please note.

Hardy Perennials

There is no reason why the U. N. should be held responsible for the continued deadlock on disarmament and atomic control. This, like the Korean deadlock, is simply due to the fact that neither side is sufficiently disturbed by the situation to see the necessity for compromise. But it so happens that many of these intractable problems are before the U. N. and will remain there for the simple reason that there is no prospect for a settlement—and there is nowhere else for them to go. Inevitably, such unsettled issues reflect upon the prestige of the organization.

Other examples are the Palestine and Kashmir questions, not to overlook the hardest perennial of them all, India's complaints against South Africa's treatment of Indian residents. With the exception of Guatemala, Palestine was about the only issue that the Security Council attempted to deal with this year, and it did nothing in particular. The Kashmir problem is in such complete stalemate that it was not even mentioned in the Secretary General's report.

As for the dispute between Indians and South Africans, this ought to be good for several days' debate in the Assembly, if nothing else. But surely it is time that Mr. Nehru, Mme. Pandit and Krishna Menon decided that enough is enough, even if they still don't like Mr. Malan.