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ABSTRACT

BERNARD SHAW: PUBLIC SPEAKER

by Dorothy Skriletz

Although Bernard Shaw achieved a measure of fame as a lecturer in London before becoming a successful playwright, studies of him as a speaker have been few and limited in scope. This study is concerned with this relatively neglected aspect of Shaw's life, particularly with discovering (1) biographical and historical factors related to his speaking, (2) theories of public speaking held by Shaw, (3) availability of speech texts, and (4) nature of his speaking as revealed through the detailed analysis of a speech.

Biographical and historical factors related to Shaw's speaking.---Since biographies of Shaw and histories of the period in which he lived are plentiful, the emphasis in the investigation of this phase of the problem was upon culling out, from the vast amount of material available, information pertinent to understanding Shaw as a speaker. While the narrative, combining biographical and historical factors, covers the period from 1856 to 1950, events having the greatest bearing upon Shaw's speaking are stressed.

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Theories of public speaking held by Shaw.-- Research for this phase of the study focused upon material written by or quoting Shaw which expressed theories of public speaking. Such comments by him appeared in critiques of other speakers, as advice to others on speaking, and in his reports of his own platform experiences. Although observations made by others about Shaw are occasionally included for illustrative purposes, the theories are derived directly from Shaw's statements. These are developed in this paper under the categories of: general comments about public speaking, preparation, content, and delivery. Although Shaw's comments on delivery have often been cited, this study reveals his concern with, and understanding of, a wide range of speech theory. Moreover, though Shaw's speaking career began when "elocution" was in vogue, his theories bear a striking similarity to those held by many present day teachers of speech.

Availability of speech texts.--Although recently published collections of speeches have been invaluable contributions to studies of Shaw as a speaker, they by no means contain all the extant texts. The emphasis in this study was to search through collected writings, biographies, critical studies, and periodicals for Shavian texts or references to specific speeches. The findings are arranged in chronological order, giving for each text, summary, or reported speech the

date, occasion, subject or title, and all known locations of this material. Although only limited conclusions regarding audiences and choice of subjects are possible, the information discovered indicates that a number of additional studies of Shaw as a speaker are feasible and desirable.

Nature of his speaking as revealed through the analysis of a speech. While Shaw's practices in all speech situations are not thereby revealed, the analysis of a speech in depth through the case study method gives another dimension to our knowledge of the speaker. Shaw's 1929 B. B. C. broadcast "On Democracy" was selected for this purpose. For the analysis, two versions of the text were collated and a substance outline prepared. Shaw used a basic pattern of introduction-definition-problem-solution-conclusion, with the first three divisions most fully developed. Frequent use of sign, causal, and inductive reasoning patterns--often remaining at the assertion level; many analogies and illustrations; extensive use of authority of self; and a great amount of sensory proof appear in this speech. The most outstanding element of style is the juxtapositioning of familiar words, phrases, or ideas in unusual combinations, resulting in what is often described as Shavian humor. Unfortunately, comparatively little of note was discovered regarding either the occasion or the response.

Finally, the Appendix contains the collated text and work sheets used in the case study.

BERNARD SHAW:

PUBLIC SPEAKER

by
Dorothy ^{June} Skriletz

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Speech

1966

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DOROTHY SKRILETZ
1966

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My appreciation for the inestimable aid of Dr. Kenneth G. Hance, Department of Speech, in guiding this study and directing my graduate work can best be expressed by a resolve to reflect his influences in my own teaching career.

To thank all who have given unsparingly of their time would be difficult, but I wish to give special thanks to the other members of my committee: Dr. David C. Ralph and Dr. Gordon L. Thomas of the Department of Speech and Dr. Elwood P. Lawrence of the Department of English for their help and guidance; to the Reference Librarians of Michigan State University for their aid in obtaining material through Inter-Library Loan; for the National Voice Library for allowing me access to Shaw recordings; to Dan H. Laurence for sending me material on Shaw; and to the faculty and administration of California State College, Long Beach, for granting a Sabbatical Leave which enabled me to complete this study.

An attempt to say as much as I would wish to my family and friends for their help and encouragement would still be too little: I know that the full meaning of a simple "thank you" will be understood by them.

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INTRODUCTION

Purpose of Study

The name George Bernard Shaw evokes many images, the most common being "playwright;" "humorist;" "critic;" "essayist." Relatively seldom recalled is "public speaker." Yet Shaw was a man described by one of his biographers as a prolific public speaker.

He spoke to audiences of every description from University dons to London washerwomen. From 1883 to 1895, with virtually no exception, he delivered a harangue, with debate, questions, and so on, every Sunday--sometimes twice or even thrice--and on a good many weekdays.¹

Evidence exists, furthermore, that Shaw did not regard his public speaking activity as a mere diversion from his other interests. In a letter dated December 2, 1894, in which Shaw answers a young man who asked how to train himself to become a critic, Shaw includes the following in his remarks on a program of education: "Join debating societies and learn to speak in public. Haunt little Sunday evening political meetings and exercise that accomplishment.

¹Archibald Henderson, George Bernard Shaw: Man of the Century (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1956), p. 228.

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Study of men and politics in this way."¹ Shaw also seemed to link his success as a playwright to his experience as a public speaker. In one letter Shaw instructed H. G. Wells on the techniques of public speaking and concluded his remarks with, "What is more, when you become a rhetorician, you will have acquired a new literary power. Why is it that you can't write a play, and I can? You think it is because you don't choose. Yah!"²

The purpose of this study is to explore this comparatively neglected aspect of Shaw's life--his public speaking. More specifically, this study of Bernard Shaw as a public speaker will include (1) an investigation of the biographical and historical background pertinent to understanding him as a speaker, (2) an examination of the theories of public speaking which he expressed, (3) a determination of the availability and nature of extant speeches, and (4) an analysis in depth of a Shavian speech.

Limitations Imposed

In a presidential address before the Shaw Society of America, Archibald Henderson stated

¹Bernard Shaw, Letters to a Young Critic, notes and intro. by E. J. West (New York: Crown Publishers, 1955), p. 14.

²Letter quoted in St. John Ervine, Bernard Shaw: His Life, Work, and Friends (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1956), p. 419.

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. . . Shaw is a man who has ploughed many furrows. He once told me that he had fifteen different reputations; and actually enumerated them: a critic of art, a critic of music, a critic of literature, a critic of the drama, a novelist, a dramatist, an economist, a funny man, a street-corner agitator, a Shelleyan atheist, a Fabian Socialist, a vegetarian, a humanitarian, a preacher, and a philosopher.¹

Limitations in any study are imperative; this wide range of interests and activities of Shaw makes limitation doubly imperative. The problem is complicated by the inter-relationship of many of Shaw's activities, and by his penchant for dealing with the same subject in a number of different ways. For example, one of Shaw's concerns is proper articulation. He wrote of this in his remarks about public speaking, incorporated his views toward it into his criticisms, made articulation and pronunciation an issue in one of his major plays, and served on the BBC's Committee on the Pronunciation of Doubtful Words. Thus, the major writings by and about Shaw must be consulted to discover points of view related to public speaking; but this paper will not be concerned with the development of ideas as such in the plays, essays, novels, and criticisms of Bernard Shaw.

Biographical and historical background will be a part of this study only insofar as is necessary to understand

¹ Archibald Henderson, "Where Shaw Stands Today," The Shaw Review, I (March, 1951), 5.

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Shaw as a speaker. A number of biographies of Shaw are readily available.¹ An even greater number of histories are available for the period in which Shaw lived. The historic, economic, and social milieu in which Shaw lived and spoke changed radically from 1856 to 1950. While the speaker must be placed in perspective, this paper will not attempt to describe Shaw's life in detail nor to give an extensive description of changes in Great Britain and Ireland in the course of nearly a century.

For a number of years Shaw was active in the Fabian Society, and no study of Shaw as a speaker is possible without some description of that organization. Again, however, no attempt will be made to give the history and influence of the Fabians on British politics except as they might relate to Shaw's speaking activities.

Studies of public speakers often include the tracing of ideas or an attempt to discover what influences led to a speaker's advocating a particular belief or course of action.

¹A partial list of such biographies includes St. John Ervine, Bernard Shaw: His Life, Work, and Friends (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1956); Frank Harris, Bernard Shaw (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1931); Archibald Henderson, George Bernard Shaw: Man of the Century (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1956); Hesketh Pearson, GBS: A Full-Length Portrait (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1942); Pearson, GBS, a Postscript (New York: Harper, 1950); Robert F. Rattray, Bernard Shaw: A Chronicle (New York: Roy Publishers, 1951).

Such will not be a function of this paper except incidentally. As stated earlier, the same subject is dealt with by Shaw in a number of different activities. Furthermore, Shaw concerned himself with a wide variety of political, economic, philosophic, and social problems. More important, however, the development and evaluation of Shaw's beliefs have been made the subject of many critical works which take into consideration all his activities, not merely his public speaking. The reader will be referred to appropriate related studies whenever necessary. Major influences upon his public speaking or those influences which appear to affect his speaking are, of course, within the scope of this paper.

One final limitation is necessary. No attempt will be made to find the original manuscripts of material eventually published by Shaw or of letters attributed to him and published by others. Such work has been undertaken by countless others. Similarly, even though one aspect of this study will be concerned with the problem of locating as many speech texts as possible, emphasis will not be upon consulting original speech manuscripts. Although Shaw is known to have delivered some speeches by reading from manuscript, the fact that the vast majority of his speeches were extemporaneous appears well-established through reports of biographers, friends, and Shaw himself. Thus, an emphasis upon consulting and studying in detail the few manuscripts

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of the speeches which were read could tend to distort the over-all view of Shaw as a speaker. Determining and noting the location of such manuscripts wherever possible will, of course, be part of the study.

Justification of Project

To question whether a man such as Bernard Shaw is worthy of study would appear presumptuous in light of the many critical works published by recognized scholars. To question whether Bernard Shaw is worthy of study as a public speaker does, however, appear appropriate.

A cursory reading of Shaw biographies reveals many references to his speaking activity. He has been described as being sought after as a speaker. At the same time, conflicting evaluative opinions have appeared. Furthermore, the importance Shaw placed on public speaking has been mentioned previously. Thus, this phase in the life of a man known throughout most of the civilized world should not be neglected.

In recent years the speaking activity of Bernard Shaw has been given some attention, as will be noted below, but no study of the type contemplated here has been discovered. Related doctoral or master's theses include such works as:

Bonsall, Yvonne C. "Shaw's Concept of a Great Ruler." Unpublished Master's thesis, State

[illegible]

University of Iowa, 1959.

Dupler, Dorothy. "An Analytical Study of the Use of Rhetorical Devices in Three Selected Plays of George Bernard Shaw: Saint Joan, Androcles and the Lion, and Candida." Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1961.

Hummert, Paul A. "Marxist Elements in the Works of George Bernard Shaw." Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1955.

MacIntyre, Janet J. "The Origins of George Bernard Shaw's Life Force Philosophy." Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Georgia, 1962.

Mills, John A. "Language and Laughter: A Study of Comic Diction in the Plays of Bernard Shaw." Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1961.

Scott, Robert Lee. "Bernard Shaw's Rhetorical Drama: A Study of Rhetoric and Poetic in Selected Plays." Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1955.

Silverman, Albert H. "Bernard Shaw's Political Extravanganzas." Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Tulane University, 1955.

Villeux, Jere S. "An Analysis of the Rhetorical Situation and Rhetorical Character Types in Selected Plays." Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1957.

While these studies noted above may offer material helpful to an understanding of Shaw as a speaker, their primary concern is not that of this study. Furthermore, although Shaw has been the subject of a number of theses and dissertations in addition to those noted, such studies deal specifically with his plays, novels, and essays and are not included in the above list.

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In the published works dealing with Shaw, numerous references to Shaw's speaking are made by biographers and critics. These references not only give the date and place of some of Shaw's speeches, but also include quotations which give reactions of contemporaries to Shaw as a speaker. None, however, concerns itself with a thorough analysis of Shaw as a speaker.

A handful of published material concerned with Shaw as a public speaker should be reported in greater detail, however, to justify this study as distinctive: a collection of speeches edited by Dan H. Laurence,¹ another collection of speeches edited by Warren Sylvester Smith,² and a rhetorical study, "George Bernard Shaw: Rhetorician and Public Speaker," by Marie Hochmuth Nichols.³

The first published collection devoted to Shaw's speeches, Platform and Pulpit edited by Laurence, is a significant and valuable contribution to an understanding of Shaw as a speaker. Although the introduction furnishes an extremely

¹Bernard Shaw, Platform and Pulpit, ed. and intro. Dan H. Laurence (New York: Hill and Wang, 1961.)

²Bernard Shaw, The Religious Speeches of Bernard Shaw, ed. and intro. Warren Sylvester Smith, foreword by Arthur H. Nethercot (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1963).

³Marie Hochmuth Nichols, Rhetoric and Criticism (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963).

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helpful insight into Shaw's practices as a speaker, especially in his early years, and some telling descriptions of audience reactions to his speaking, the comparatively brief essay does not go into the details of Shaw as a speaker proposed for this study, especially in terms of theories, availability of additional speeches, and analysis of a speech in depth.

Similarly, Smith's collection of the speeches on religion delivered by Shaw is an important source of information for a study of Shaw as a speaker. Though the book contains valuable descriptions of audiences and delivery, the emphasis in both Nethercot's foreword and Smith's introduction is upon the development of Shaw's thinking upon religion. Thus, this material does not negate the need for a study such as the one proposed.

While the study by Marie Hochmuth Nichols contributes substantially to Shaw's stature as a public speaker meriting the attention of those in the field of speech, this published work differs in both scope and approach from the one proposed in this investigation. Without attempting to note all such particulars, a chief difference in scope, for example, lies in the proposed attempt of this study to discover and note Shavian speech texts which are available. To understand the chief differences in approach in the two studies, two characteristics of the Nichols paper should be noted: a tendency

to generalize upon Shavian speaking practices from a limited number of available speeches; and the derivation of Shavian theories of public speaking from the limited speeches available and from observations of Shaw as a speaker made by others. While such contributions are noteworthy and although many conclusions reached by the approach contemplated for this study may prove to be very similar to those derived by Nichols, the procedure outlined below appears to differ sufficiently from hers to contribute to an understanding of Shaw as a public speaker.

Materials and Sources

Materials necessary for a study of Shaw as a speaker can be divided into two broad categories: that which furnishes the necessary background for understanding Shaw as a speaker, and that which provides the speeches to be studied.

One kind of material necessary is that giving the historical, economic, and social background in which Shaw spoke. As no difficulty exists in finding sources for this information, it does not appear essential to list histories of Great Britain here. Material also is available which deals specifically with the Fabian Society: Margaret Isabel (Postgate) Cole, The Story of Fabian Socialism (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1961); Edward R. Pease, The History of the Fabian Society (3rd ed. with a new intro. by

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Margaret Cole; London: F. Cass, 1963); A. M. McBriar, Fabian Socialism and English Politics, 1884-1918 (Cambridge, England: University Press, 1962).

Biographies giving background information have already been listed.¹ Further reports of Shaw's speaking activities, as well as reactions to his speeches, are available in biographies, autobiographies, and published journals of the Webbs, Annie Besant, Graham Wallas, William Morris, and others associated with Shaw in his Fabian days. Two periodicals of late Victorian England, Our Corner and To-Day, also have reports of Shaw speeches.

Critical works which have Shaw as a subject will give further necessary background information. Related theses and dissertations are listed on pp. xi-xii. Just a few of the published criticisms which contain pertinent material are: Eric Bentley, Bernard Shaw, 1856-1950 (Amended ed.; New York: New Directions Books, 1957); C. E. M. Joad, Shaw (London: Gollancz, 1949); Louis Kronenberger (ed.), George Bernard Shaw: A Critical Survey (1st ed.; Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1953); Stephen Winsten (ed.), G. B. S. 90 (London: Hutchison & Co. Ltd., 1946).

Finally, and most importantly, background material for understanding the speaker can be found in Shaw's works.

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Of these, the following are especially essential for an understanding of Shaw as a speaker: The Complete Prefaces of Bernard Shaw (London: Hamlyn, 1965); Essays in Fabian Socialism (London: Constable and Company Limited, 1932, 1949); Everybody's Political What's What (2nd ed.; London: Constable and Company Limited, 1945, 1950 and New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1944, 1947); Sixteen Self Sketches (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1949). This last volume contains a chapter titled, "How I Became a Public Speaker."

The second major category of sources is that of the speeches themselves. Two collections of Shaw speeches have already been mentioned,¹ as have been the biographies which contain speech excerpts. Examples of additional speeches² available for study are "Democracy," a radio broadcast of 1929, published in the preface of The Apple Cart; "Do We Agree?" a debate with G. K. Chesterton; "The Future of Political Science in America," address, New York, 1933, the only one given in the United States; "So Long, So Long," radio broadcast of 1937, with both the published manuscript and recording available.

¹See pp. xiii-xiv.

²The few speeches listed here are intended as examples only. An attempt to give a complete listing of speech sources in the body of this paper is one of the goals in this study.

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Plan of Research

The plan of research for this study centers upon the discovery and examination of material by and about Shaw which have bearing on the following questions: (1) What aspects of the biographic information available help us to understand Shaw as a speaker? (2) What are the details of the historical background which enable us better to understand Shaw's speeches? (3) What did Shaw have to say about public speaking in general and about preparation, content, and delivery in particular? (4) What speech texts are available, on what subjects, and to whom addressed? and (5) What does a case study of a speech reveal to us about his speech practices. Although all major works which bear a direct relationship to Shaw's speaking will be investigated, this paper¹ will not purport to study in detail all writing done by Shaw. The process of tracing every "letter to the editor" Shaw wrote or of minutely examining his musical criticisms, for example, promises negligible results in understanding Bernard Shaw the speaker.

¹The volume of Shaw's writing is hinted at by the following statement he made: ". . . Though I cannot say that no day of it [my long life] has been left without a written line, yet I have perhaps brought it as near to that Roman ideal as is healthily and humanly possible." In Sixteen Self Sketches (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1949), p. 21.

Similarly, there will be no pretense of reading all that has been written about Shaw. "Only someone with a fanatic's ardor and an archaeologist's skill could read all the criticism that has been written about Shaw, and even he would need to master several dozen languages, or maintain a staff of resident translators."¹

The material described up to this point in this paper will, of course, be investigated, as well as additional material suggested within the texts of those works. All listings --bibliographies, The Readers' Guide, and The New York Times Index, for example--will be screened to discover those appearing to have a direct relationship to Shaw's speaking activities. Particular emphasis in research will be upon finding published manuscripts of Shawian speeches.

Plan of Report

The body of this report will consist of five major divisions.

Biographical and historical background

Biographical and historical material will be combined in this study. Shaw often drew upon events and conditions of his day for speech subjects, and many historical changes

¹ Louis Kronenberger (ed.), George Bernard Shaw: A Critical Survey (1st ed.; Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1953), p. xiv.

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occurred during his life span. The combination not only will help give the historical, economic, and social background of his speaking activity but will help limit biographical factors to those having a bearing on his speaking. This chapter will, in turn, be divided into the following sections:

1856 - 1876 -- Years of Youth in Ireland

1876 - 1898 -- Years of Fabian Socialism and Essay Writing

1898 - 1914 -- Years of Increased Dramatic Writing

1914 - 1931 -- Years of Political Frustration and Increasing Fame as a Dramatist

1931 - 1950 -- Years of Homage and of Decline

In each biographical period the historical background important to an understanding of his speaking will be incorporated. References to speaking will be made a part of the narrative, but details of such activity will be left for a subsequent chapter.

Shaw's views on public speaking

Comments about the importance of public speaking, approaches to speech-making, development of arguments, and factors of delivery, for example, appear throughout Shaw's writings. Although attempts have been made to derive some of Shaw's theories from his available speeches or from a combination of speeches and some Shavian statements about speaking, a comprehensive study based solely on Shaw's direct

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comments relating to theories of speech has not been made. Such information will be derived from those Shavian writings in which he gives advice about speaking to others, presents critiques of other speakers, or describes his own experiences as a speaker.¹ While comments of those who heard him speak will be incorporated into the study to furnish background information wherever such is applicable, the emphasis will be upon statements published by, or attributed to, Shaw which relate to rhetorical theory in the areas of general comments about speech, preparation, content, and delivery.

Overview of Shaw's speaking activity

As previously stated, the chapter giving biographical information will contain references to Shavian speeches. The purpose and content of this chapter, however, will be substantially different. Here an attempt will be made to list chronologically all speeches for which specific references can be found. Wherever possible the description of speeches will include place delivered and/or audience, the subject of

¹Throughout this chapter, as well as in other portions of the paper, many quotations from Shaw's works will appear. Those familiar with Shaw's writings recognize that he often used unique spelling and punctuation, and noting each of these variations from common procedure would necessitate an interpolation of sic in the majority of direct quotations. Even though Shaw's practices were not always consistent, the unique spelling and punctuation used by him -- and by Laurence -- will appear in this study without the interpolated sic.

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the speech, and the location of the published manuscript of the speech or portion of it. Absence of a published manuscript will not preclude listing the speech: if a citation is found regarding the place delivered or subject without a specific date, such speeches will also be noted. In addition, the implications of these findings upon this and subsequent studies will be discussed.

The case study

Even though no attempt will be made to generalize about Shaw's practices in all speaking situations, a case study can furnish worthwhile information about the nature of decisions made by Shaw in at least one instance of speech-making. Not only can such a case study give a more complete picture of Shaw as a speaker than would be possible with only the material noted above, but tendencies which substantiate or negate generalizations about him made by others might be revealed with such a method.

The procedure typical of rhetorical case studies will be followed: that of basing the discussion upon a substance outline and technical plot. After a description of the speech occasion and the collation of texts in an attempt to determine accuracy, Disposition and Invention will be analyzed. Emphasis will be placed upon discovering the logical, ethical, and sensory proof used by Shaw in the speech selected for

illustrative purposes. Insofar as the accuracy of the text in reflecting the speech as delivered can be established, the Style in this particular speech will then be considered. Finally, audience response to the speech will be discussed to complete the case study.

Although the speech cannot furnish conclusive evidence of Shaw's practice in all situations, this investigation in depth can reveal the tendencies in his speaking, many of which have been subject to generalizations by others.

Summary

The final chapter will be devoted to a summary of findings. Any conclusions warranted by the study will be included in this portion, and areas needing further investigation will be noted.

Nearly a century after Shaw first began his writing and speaking career, critical studies of this active man are still appearing with regularity. There is no reason to believe this will be the last one--even on a limited aspect of his career.

CHAPTER I

BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Public speaking cannot be studied in a vacuum. Both the man and the world in which he lived must be examined if a speaker's communications to his fellow man are to be understood. Admittedly, both the depth and breadth of biographical and historical background must be limited; a rhetorical study must deal selectively with the incidents of a man's life and time if focus is to remain upon his public speaking career.

Such is the case in a study of Bernard Shaw as a public speaker. To facilitate grasping the complex activities of a man whose life spanned nearly a century, the material dealt with in this chapter is divided into five sections. Although the divisions are somewhat arbitrary at times, both biographical and historical events appear to justify the dividing dates selected in this study.

To review briefly, the sections are as follows: 1856-1876--Years of Youth in Ireland; 1876-1898--Years of Fabian Socialism and Essay Writing; 1898-1914--Years of Increased Dramatic Writing; 1914-1931--Years of Political Frustration

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and Increasing Fame as a Dramatist; 1931-1950--Years of Homage and of Decline.

The selection of 1876 as the closing date for "Years of Youth in Ireland" is, obviously, dictated by Shaw's move from Dublin to London when he was approaching his twentieth birthday.

The selection of a date for the end of the period, "Years of Fabian Socialism and Essay Writing," requires more detailed justification, for Shaw continued to be both a Fabian and an essayist throughout his life. Emphasis of activity, then, becomes an important factor. Although it is true that his dramatic writing began to take up more and more of his time as early as 1895, it was not until 1898 that his plays began to appear in published form.¹ Even more important to a study of a public speaker, 1898 appears to mark a change in Shaw's speaking activities: ". . .from that time (about 1898) [Shaw] abandoned his weekly pulpiteering, thenceforth speaking only on special occasions like any other politician."²

Similarly, the closing date for "Years of Increased Dramatic Writing" may be arbitrary in that Shaw's writing of

¹Robert F. Rattray, in Bernard Shaw: A Chronicle (New York: Roy Publishers, 1951), p. 120, points out the uniqueness of such a decision. See pp. 55-56 of this study for amplification.

²Hesketh Pearson, G. B. S.: A Full Length Portrait (Garden City, New York: Garden City Publishing Co., Inc. 1942), p. 57.

plays continued throughout his life. Again, however, other factors which seem to have bearing on Shaw as a speaker must be considered. The year 1914 marks, of course, the outbreak of World War I; and Shaw's reaction to Britain's role during that time prompted comments from him which led to his virtual ostracism by fellow dramatists as well as by the general public. He spent a considerable amount of time during the period attempting to vindicate himself.

The closing date of the period "Years of Political Frustration and Increasing Fame as a Dramatist" also may appear arbitrary. As noted above, this period includes the frustrating events stemming from his writings about the war as well as the high honor of a Nobel Prize. The date 1931 was selected as the end of this phase of Shaw's life, again, for factors which appear to have bearing on his public speaking. In 1931 Britain was feeling the effects of the Depression; a Coalition Government was formed when the Labour Party seemed unable to cope with the problem; and Shaw visited Stalin in Moscow. Although no abrupt changes in Shaw's political philosophy occurred in that year, Shaw's praise of communism became more frequent after his brief Russian trip. For these reasons 1931 appears to be a reasonable closing date for this period and for the opening of the next.

The final years of Shaw's life will be dealt with in

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"Years of Homage and of Decline." Major writing is limited, but he was the center of much attention. Even though there was increased disagreement with his point of view, his remarks received wide publicity. Thus, since there appears to be both a change in his point of view and in the reception of it, this period is separated from the one before it.

While another writer might select other ways in which to present biographical and historical material, these divisions appear to be most satisfactory for understanding Shaw the speaker and his environment.

Years of Youth in Ireland

Life for the average Irishman in the middle of the nineteenth century was one of dreary poverty. The famine of the forties led thousands to migrate to the United States; many others died of starvation. The insurrection by the Irish in Tipperary in 1848 to rid themselves of British control failed, and life in Ireland continued to follow the unhappy pattern which has been described by one writer as follows:

Most of the large Irish estates were owned by absentee English landlords who hardly ever visited Ireland, except for the shooting once a year. They found it more comfortable to live in England, or to travel abroad, and left it to a ruthless bailiff or agent to collect high rents from peasants who were absolutely dependent on the land for a bare livelihood. The peasants had no security of tenure; they were not allowed to own their farms and holdings. As their agricultural implements were still primitive and they knew little of proper husbandry or the planned rota-

tion of crops, the potato harvest--which gave twice the food yield of wheat--was their staple of life. If that failed, starvation followed. . . . If they fell into long arrears of rent they were evicted from their cabins--rendered homeless as well as hungry.¹

Conditions in the city were not much better. Those who were able to find employment as domestics were assured, of course, of shelter and food of some description. Also, there were those who were able to earn a satisfactory living in the retail trade. Even with these advantages, however, life was little better, by and large, for the city dweller than for the peasant. James Joyce's description of Dublin of this period, for example, is well-known; and in later years, when questioned about the accuracy of Joyce's description, Shaw wrote:

James Joyce in his *Ulysses* has described, with a fidelity so ruthless that the book is hardly bearable, the life that Dublin offers to its young men, or, if you prefer to put it the other way, that its young men offer to Dublin. No doubt it is much like the life of young men everywhere in modern urban civilization. A certain flippant futile derision and belittlement that confuses the noble and serious with the base and ludicrous seems to be peculiar to Dublin. . . . To this day my sentimental regard for Ireland does not include the capital. I am not enamored of failure, of poverty, of obscurity, and of the ostracism and contempt which these imply. . .²

¹Janet Dunbar, Mrs. G. B. S.: A Portrait (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1963), pp. 15-16.

²Bernard Shaw, "Preface to Immaturity," Prefaces (London: Odhams Press Limited, 1938), pp. 673-74.

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The impoverished Irishman found two aspects of his life, other than his miserable condition, particularly galling: he could not vote, and he could not own land. Furthermore, though he was Catholic, he had to support the Established Church. His social status, too, was the antithesis of that of members of the Protestant Ascendancy--the descendants of the Englishmen who had been given land for supporting the Government in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. All forces combined to keep Ireland in a ferment for over a century and to plague Parliament as "The Irish Question" for decades.

In this land, but not of these people, George Bernard Shaw was born in Dublin on July 26, 1856. An English-born ancestor, William Shaw, who had been granted land in Ireland by William III for fighting the Irish forces of the deposed James II migrated there in 1689. Although tracing the lineage from William to George Bernard is not germane to understanding Shaw as a speaker, one issue is of importance: though a second cousin was a Baronet, Bernard Shaw was born into a "poor branch" of the family. As Shaw stated it, "I was a downstart and the son of a downstart."¹

Little is known of the boyhood and young manhood of Bernard's father, George Carr Shaw. He came from a large

¹Shaw, "Preface to Immaturity," Prefaces, p. 659.

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family and was twelve when his mother was widowed. He had neither an inheritance nor training in a profession, but seemed to have worked in various capacities appropriate to his "family status" for short periods of time. When he was in his thirties, he received a pension; and upon selling it, entered into a partnership with George Clibborn in a whole-sale grain business. The business did not prosper and little income was left to the family by the 1870's.

In 1852 George Carr Shaw, 38, married Lucinda Elizabeth Gurley, 22. Lucinda was nine when her mother died; her father sent her to her thirty-seven-year-old Aunt Ellen Whitcroft to be brought up as a "proper Irish gentlewoman." She was taught music, French, and how to behave in society. "Of hygienics, simple sanitation, knowledge of foods and proper nourishment, of the usages of money, or parenthood or, in fact, of any subject that could be taken care of by any member of any craft, profession or occupation--that is to say, any solicitor, nurse, servant or parent--Lucinda heard no word."¹ Furthermore, Aunt Ellen ruled with an iron hand. Bernard Shaw wrote that Aunt Ellen's treatment of his mother had ". . . unkind parts of it that could be avoided; and among these were the constraints and tyrannies, the scoldings and browbeatings

¹B. C. Rosset, Shaw of Dublin/The Formative Years (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1964), p. 23.

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and punishments she had suffered in her childhood as the method of her education."¹

Lucinda's family did not look favorably upon her marriage to George Carr Shaw. They pointed to his heavy drinking² and lack of steady income. Whether to escape from Aunt Ellen's harsh regime or in reaction to her widowed father's marriage to a young bride, Lucinda went ahead with the marriage--which also resulted in her being disinherited by Aunt Ellen. Mr. Gurley's second marriage also had an effect on the amount which Lucinda could expect later from her father, but she did eventually receive a small annuity from her grandfather.

Three children were born of the union of George Carr and Lucinda Gurley Shaw: Lucinda Frances (Lucy), Elinor Agnes, and George Bernard.³ The household in which Bernard

¹ Bernard Shaw, Preface to London Music in 1888-89 As Heard by Corno di Bassetto (Later Known as Bernard Shaw) with Some Further Autobiographical Particulars. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1937), p. 5.

² Several sources report that the revelation of George Carr's excessive drinking came as a surprise to Lucinda during the honeymoon. Rosset in Shaw of Dublin, pp. 28-29; 55-56, presents contradictory evidence.

³ Rosset in Shaw of Dublin devotes a large portion of his book to questioning whether George Carr was the father of Bernard. He admits the evidence is inconclusive but maintains that Shaw's concern with certain aspects of parentage found throughout his writings stems from Shaw's unstated uncertainty about his own parentage. No other biographers seem to have considered this possibility, and this study will follow the point of view of the majority. Although conclusions drawn by Rosset are tenuous, his extensive research makes his book a valuable source of information about Shaw's early years.

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Shaw was reared merits examination for the bearing it seemed to have in the development of his attitudes and points of view.

Shaw described one characteristic of his childhood in numerous essays: life in a household in which the children were practically ignored by their parents. Lucinda Shaw, especially, perhaps as a result of her upbringing, paid little attention to her children, most of her time being devoted to her music and to her singing lessons. This interest of Lucinda's led eventually to the addition of another member to the household: George John Vandeleur Lee, a teacher of music. The arrangements eased the financial stresses of the Shaw household.¹

While Lucinda Shaw was busy with her music, the rearing of the children, such as it was, was left to the servants.² One passage by Shaw merits inclusion at length not only for the description it gives of his childhood but also because of the bearing which the incidents have on his attitudes of later life.

We children (I had two sisters older than myself and no brothers) were abandoned entirely to the

¹The platonic nature of the ménage à trois has been described by biographers and by Shaw himself. This unique family situation, along with a questioning whether the situation was entirely platonic, as intimated in the footnote immediately preceding, receives fullest treatment by Rosset.

²Lest this be taken as a contradiction that the Shaw household was comparatively poor, it should be remembered that full-time servants were available then for about seventy-five cents weekly.

servants, who, with the exception of Nurse Williams, who was a good and honest woman, were utterly unfit to be trusted with the charge of three cats, much less three children. I had my meals in the kitchen, mostly of stewed beef, which I loathed, badly cooked potatoes, sound or diseased as the case might be, and much too much tea out of brown delft teapots left to "draw" on the hob until it was pure tannin. Sugar I stole. I was never hungry, because my father, often insufficiently fed in his childhood, had such a horror of child hunger that he insisted on unlimited bread and butter being always within our reach. When I was troublesome a servant thumped me on the head until one day, greatly daring, I rebelled, and, on finding her collapse abjectly, became thenceforth uncontrollable. . . .

My ordinary exercise whilst I was still too young to be allowed out by myself was to be taken out by a servant, who was supposed to air me on the banks of the canal or round the fashionable squares where the atmosphere was esteemed salubrious and the surroundings gentlemanly. Actually she took me into the slums to visit her private friends, who dwelt in squalid tenements. When she met a generous male acquaintance who insisted on treating her she took me into the public house bars, where I was regaled with lemonade and gingerbeer. . . . Thus were laid the foundations of my lifelong hatred of poverty, and the devotion of all my public life to the task of exterminating the poor and rendering their resurrection for ever impossible.¹

Shaw described a number of incidents in which his father played a part and, in particular, pointed to his father's sense of humor. A disturbing element, however, was Bernard's discovery that though his father was a teetotaler in principle, he was a drunkard in practice. Shaw described what occurred after his father pretended to throw him in the canal.

When we got home I said to my mother as an awful and hardly credible discovery "Mamma: I think Papa is

¹Shaw, Preface to London Music in 1888-89, pp. 11-12.

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drunk." This was too much for her. She replied "When is he anything else?"

It is a rhetorical exaggeration to say that I have never since believed in anything or anybody; but the wrench from my childish faith in my father as perfect and omniscient to the discovery that he was a hypocrite and dipsomaniac was so sudden and violent that it must have left its mark on me.¹

As mentioned earlier, the Shaws were of the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland; and Bernard attended the Established Church and Sunday school for a time. "Both in church and at Sunday school he was taught to believe that God was a Protestant and a gentleman and that all Roman Catholics went to hell when they died, neither of which beliefs placed the Almighty in a very favourable light."² At home, of course, he received a different point of view on the matter from the Irish Catholic servants. In all, however, Shaw's religious training as a youth was sketchy, and his church-going came to an end by the time he was ten. His father was comparatively indifferent to religion, his mother was determined to spare her children "the pious horrors" of her own youth, and he himself was reacting to the sheer boredom of his church experiences.³ Although formal church-going lasted a short time, attitudes towards going to church were expressed many times by Shaw throughout his life.

¹ Bernard Shaw, Sixteen Self Sketches (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1949), pp. 27-28.

² Pearson, A Full Length Portrait, p. 9.

³ Pearson, A Full Length Portrait, p. 10.

Earlier also, it was pointed out that members of the Protestant Ascendancy had a social status above that of the Irish Catholics. The Shaws were of the "Gentleman" class--George Carr eschewed certain labors because they were beneath his status--but did not have the wealth associated with "Gentlemen." A description of this phenomenon as well as its implications for subsequent effects on Shaw's political point of view is evident in the following lengthy passage by Shaw:

One evening I was playing on the street with a schoolfellow of mine, when my father came home. He questioned me about this boy, who was the son of a prosperous ironmonger. The feelings of my father, who was not prosperous and who sold flour by the sack, when he learned that his son had played on the public street with the son of a man who sold nails by the pennyworth in a shop are not to be described. He impressed on me that my honour, my self-respect, my human dignity, all stood upon my determination not to associate with persons engaged in retail trade. Probably this was the worst crime my father ever committed. And yet I do not see what else he could have taught me, short of genuine republicanism, which is the only possible school of good manners.

Imagine being taught to despise a workman, and to respect a gentleman, in a country where every rag of excuse for gentility is stripped off by poverty! Imagine being taught that there is one God--a Protestant and a perfect gentleman--keeping heaven select for the gentry; and an idolatrous impostor called the Pope, smoothing the hellward way for the mass of the people, only admissible into the kitchens of most of the aforesaid gentry as "thorough servants" (general servants) at 18 a year! Imagine the pretensions of the English peerage on the incomes of the English lower middle-class! I remember Stopford Brooke one day telling me that he discerned in my books an intense and

contemptuous hatred for society. No wonder!-- though, like him, I strongly demure to the usurpation of the word "society" by an unsocial system of setting class against class and creed against creed.¹

Even though Bernard Shaw had many aunts and uncles and descriptions of them are sprinkled throughout Shavian essays, visiting among the George Carr Shaws and other Shaws dwindled considerably during young Bernard's boyhood. George Carr's excessive drinking seems to have been the chief cause for this, although the unconventional Lucinda, who counted her music teacher a member of the household and did not hesitate to sing with Roman Catholics if she thereby had a chance to perform, may have contributed to the attitude of the Shaw clan.²

A maternal uncle, a ship's surgeon, visited the Shaw household fairly often. Although Shaw made numerous references to his father's sense of humor and to the other members of the Shaw clan to which he could attribute his own sense of ridiculous, some of Bernard's wit and perhaps his style of expression in general might be traced to his mother's brother. He described his Uncle Walter as follows:

¹ Bernard Shaw, "In the Days of My Youth," Mainly About People (London, September 17, 1898). Reproduced in The Living Age, CCCXXXIV (1924), 323 ff. Cited in Henderson, Man of the Century, pp. 15-16.

² Rosset, pp. 111 ff.

His profanity and obscenity in conversation were of Rabelasian exhuberance; and as to the maxima reverentia due to my tender years, he had rather less of it, if possible, than Falstaff had for Prince Hal. To the half dozen childish rhymes taught me by my mother he added a stock of unprintable limericks that constituted almost an education in geography. He was always in high spirits, and full of a humor that, though barbarous in its blasphemous indecency, was Scriptural and Shakespearean in the elaboration and fantasy of its literary expression. Being full of the Bible, he quoted the sayings of Jesus as models of facetious repartee He was a scoffer and a rake. . ."1

Shaw's early education was in the hands of governesses, who taught him reading and the basics of arithmetic. "I cannot remember learning to read; but I do remember a wet afternoon on the quays when I sheltered with my father in a portico plastered with posters, and being small enough to be carried in his arms, electrified the crowd by reading all the posters aloud."2

His reading was encouraged by his father, who knew Scott's novels, although Shaw reported that he never saw his father with a book. One incident which illustrates his father's interest is perhaps the forerunner of Shaw's lifelong concern with articulation and pronunciation: "One of my very earliest recollections is reading the Pilgrim's Progress to him, and being corrected by him for saying grievous instead of grievous."3

¹Shaw, Sixteen Self Sketches, pp. 32-33.

²Shaw, Sixteen Self Sketches, p. 167.

³Shaw, "Preface to Immaturity," Prefaces, p. 666.

Shaw apparently followed his father's advice about reading. Books that he reportedly read in his youth include fairy tales when he was very young, Robinson Crusoe, Swiss Family Robinson, the afore-mentioned Pilgrim's Progress, The Arabian Nights, Great Expectations, A Tale of Two Cities, Little Dorrit, Pickwick, Bleak House, and other novels by Dickens. The Ancient Mariner, the works of Mark Twain, and the poetry of Shelley were familiar to him. Above all, however, he was "saturated" with the Bible and with the works of Shakespeare. Shaw also reported that as a youth he read Mill on Liberty, on Representative Government, and on the Irish Land Question.¹ Even though this list is imposing and appears to be rather heavy reading for a young boy, it should be pointed out that he also read less weighty material. Rosset consulted the reminiscences of a boyhood friend of Shaw's, Matthew Edward McNulty--with whom Shaw continued a correspondence until McNulty's death--and described this side of young Shaw:

While Shaw in his later years somewhat pointedly illustrated his own youthful prodigy by listing his awesomely-mature taste in literature, McNulty's account had it that it was not always so discriminating. They were, he wrote, "not by any means a pair of juvenile prigs" and announced that their favorite reading matter was, in fact, The Boys of England, which, he said, was the first paper for boys ever to be published and was founded by one Edwin J. Brett.

¹ Shaw, Sixteen Self Sketches, p. 95.

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He remembered the first serial they read which was called Alone in the Pirates's Lair, or The Adventures of Jack Harkaway. So enthralled were the lads with these stories that they could hardly wait from week to week for the next installment and would, in the interim, discuss seriously Harkaway's current dilemma and devise schemes for his extrication. They hated the pirates and swore that when they were grown up, they would shoot all pirates on sight.¹

One other important facet of Shaw's home education should be pointed out--his musical education. That Lee, a music teacher, was a member of the household and that his mother was an avid student of singing has already been pointed out. Moreover, Shaw gave extensive credit for his ability to develop and maintain an excellent voice quality to "The Method" which was taught by Lee. This method, later taught also by Shaw's mother, concentrated upon the function of the larynx, which apparently enabled a singer or speaker to minimize the effect of age on vocal quality. Thus in his boyhood he was surrounded by musical interests in general and by the vocal techniques taught by Lee in particular.

While Shaw was not given music lessons--Lee concentrated on Lucinda and her daughter Lucy, Shaw taught himself to play the piano and sang from the musical scores that seemingly filled the house. "I could sing and whistle from end to end leading works by Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti and Verdi."²

¹Rosset, p. 199.

²Shaw, Preface to London Music in 1888-89, p. 13.

Although Shaw wrote repeatedly of the neglect by his parents during his childhood, they did make arrangements for some formal schooling for their son. Following early lessons in Latin from an uncle, William George Carroll, Shaw entered Wesleyan Connexional School for a few months in 1865, then re-entered in 1867, thus being there a total of about fifteen months.¹ Then, in 1869 he was enrolled in Central Model Boys' School. This school was especially abhorrent to Shaw. It was "undenominational and classless in theory but in fact Roman Catholic, where the boys whose parents could afford it brought five shillings to school periodically, and were caned in the Wesleyan manner if they failed."² Shaw later reported that this episode was "formerly so repugnant to me that for 80 years I never mentioned it to any mortal creature, not even to my wife."³ Then, from 1869 to 1871, Shaw attended Dublin English Scientific and Commercial Day School.

School records pertaining to Shaw are sketchy. Even though occasional reports show he was capable of good work, he did not distinguish himself. Furthermore, although young Shaw was not interested in sports, he got into the usual scrapes of young boys.

¹Rosset, pp. 178-79.

²Shaw, Sixteen Self Sketches, p. 42.

³Shaw, Sixteen Self Sketches, p. 39. For a discussion of a contrary point of view, see Rosset, pp. 183 ff.

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Not only do school records show that Shaw was not outstanding as a scholar, but he claims he learned nothing in school. An explanation of sorts of this attitude toward school is found in his remark, "I cannot learn anything that does not interest me. My memory is not indiscriminate: it rejects and selects; and its selections are not academic."¹ Throughout his life Shaw was critical of formal education and looked upon his own experiences as an unhappy period of his life. He was critical of what was taught and how it was taught.

There was only one method of teaching. Instead of the pupil asking, and the teacher answering and explaining, the teacher asked the questions. If the pupil could not give the book answer, he received a bad mark, and at the end of the week expiated it by suffering not more than six "tips" (slaps across the palm with a cane) which did not hurt sufficiently to do more than convince me that corporal punishment, to be effective, must be cruel.²

Various reasons, from disinterest to need for help with family finances, have been given for Shaw's leaving school at the age of fifteen.³ Although the causes for Shaw's undertaking his first job are somewhat hazy, this action on Bernard's part occurred shortly after Lee went to London to teach music. Further, Bernard and his father soon moved to a rooming house when Lucinda and her daughters also left for England.

¹Shaw, "Preface to Immaturity," Prefaces, p. 671.

²Shaw, Sixteen Self Sketches, p. 41.

³See discussion in Rosset, pp. 217 ff.

Young Shaw's first job, which a relative helped him obtain, was as an office boy at eighteen shillings a month for Uniacke Townshend and Company, estate agents. When within a year the cashier in the office absconded with some company funds, Shaw was asked to fill in and do the man's work. Although Shaw's salary increased to reflect his new responsibilities, he was never "officially" made the cashier. His duties, Shaw reported, included

the receipt and payment of the rents, charges, insurances, private debts, etc., on many estates, with occasional trips to the country to collect rents. My employers acted also as private bankers and, to a certain extent, confidential agents to their clients, and hence I became accustomed to handling large sums of money, meeting men of all conditions, and getting glimpses of country house life behind the scenes.¹

Shaw handled his work well, and by 1876 his salary was £70 or £80. Dissatisfied with the nature of his work, however, he submitted his resignation and left for London.

Two reported incidents which occurred during his employment in the real estate office merit inclusion in a study of Shaw as a public speaker. One took place in the land office, where most of the young employees were university graduates. Discussions arose in which Shaw took part, many of them, incidentally, about religion.

Arguments arose in which I being young and untrained in dialectic, got severely battered. "What is the

¹ Cited in Rattray, p. 24.

use," said Humphrey Lloyd (an apprentice), "of arguing when you dont know what a syllogism is?" I went to the dictionary and found out what it was, learning like Moliere's bourgeois hero, that I had been syllogizing all my life without knowing it.¹

The other incident occurred in 1875, when revivalists Dwight Moody and Ira Sankey visited Dublin. Shaw attended and wrote a letter to Public Opinion--his first published "letter to the editor"--and a letter of interest to this study because it contains his first recorded comments on public speaking.

Sir,--In reply to your correspondent, "J. R. D.," as to the effect of the "wave of evangelism", I beg to offer the following observations on the late "revival" in Dublin, of which I was a witness.

As the enormous audiences drawn to the evangelistic services have been referred to as a proof of their efficacy, I will enumerate some of the motives which induce many persons to go. It will be seen that they were not of a religious, but a secular, not to say profane, character.

Predominant was the curiosity excited by the great reputation of the evangelists, and the stories, widely circulated, of the summary annihilation by epilepsy and otherwise of sceptics who had openly proclaimed their doubts of Mr Moody's divine mission.

Another motive exhibits a peculiar side of human nature. The service took place in the Exhibition building, the entry to which was connected in the public mind with the expenditure of a certain sum of money. But Messrs Moody and Sankey opened the building "for nothing", and the novelty, combined with the curiosity, made the attraction irresistible.

I mention these influences particularly as I believe they have hitherto been ignored. The audiences were, as a rule, respectable; and as Mr Moody's orations were characterised by an excess of vehement assertion and a total lack of logic, respectable

¹ Shaw, Sixteen Self Sketches, p. 56.

audiences were precisely those which were least likely to derive any benefit from them.

It is to the rough, to the outcast of the streets, that such "awakenings" should be addressed; and those members of the aristocracy who by their presense tend to raise the meetings above the sphere of such outcasts, are merely diverting the evangelistic vein into channels where it is wasted, its place being already supplied, and as in the dull routine of hard work, novelty has a special attraction for the poor, I think it would be well for clergymen, who are nothing if not conspicuous, to render themselves so in this instance by their absence.

The unreasoning mind of the people is too apt to connect a white tie with a dreary church service, capped by a sermon of platitudes, and is more likely to appreciate "the gift of the gab"--the possession of which by Mr Moody nobody will deny--than that of the Apostolic Succession, which he lacks.

Respecting the effect of the revival on individuals I may mention that it has a tendency to make them highly objectionable members of society and induces their unconverted friends to desire a speedy reaction, which either soon takes place or the revived one relapses slowly into his previous benighted condition as the effect fades, and although many young men have been snatched from careers of dissipation by Mr Moody's exhortations, it remains doubtful whether the change is not merely in the nature of the excitement rather than in the moral natures of the individual. Hoping that these remarks may elucidate further opinions on the subject,

I remain, Sir, yours, etc.

S.

DUBLIN¹

It was only about a year after writing this letter, and a few months before his twentieth birthday, that Shaw sailed for England, where his public speaking career developed far beyond that suggested by his first published criticism.

¹Cited in Ervine, pp. 52-53.

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Years of Fabian Socialism and Essay Writing

When Bernard Shaw arrived in London in April, 1876, Disraeli was Prime Minister of England. That same month Queen Victoria was declared Empress of India; since shares in the Suez Canal had been purchased a few months before, Great Britain soon would have full control of that waterway: the British Empire circled the globe.

Imperialism caused difficulties, it is true: uprising occurred in India; battles were yet to be fought in Egypt; South African colonization would lead to the Boer War. But since 1815 Britain had been involved in no major wars with other powers (if one discounts the short-lived and poorly-fought Crimean War) and would not be for a number of years to come. By 1876 British expansion abroad was approaching its zenith, and internal conditions were beginning to be the focal point of Parliamentary concern.

"The Irish Question" continued to plague the British. The Irish Reform Bill of 1868 and the Ballot Act of 1872, which provided for the secret ballot, removed the agitation for franchise as a major issue in Ireland. The land problem was still a major issue, however; and the Irish bloc in Parliament under Parnell was a force to be reckoned with. With representation by Tories and Liberals nearly equal, Parnell was in a position to bargain with those who would give the most concessions to the Irish. The power of the bloc was not

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sufficient, of course, to win Ireland the much-coveted Home Rule.

Despite the problems with Ireland and periodic difficulties in the Empire, the average middle-class Englishman of the middle third of the century was pleased with his lot. The Reform Bills of 1832 and 1867 had given him the franchise. Hard work and the "right" moral attitude, he believed, guaranteed success. The prevalent economic philosophy was laissez faire. Based primarily on subtle arguments devised by Ricardo and Malthus, the theory was over-simplified in industrial England to mean that economic problems should be allowed to work themselves out by "natural laws." This point of view, held by the Liberal Party, meant support of free trade and opposition to control of wages, hours of labor, working conditions, and so on. The middle class attitude of individual initiative received impetus from a surprising source: Darwin's The Origin of the Species, published in 1859. His concept of "the survival of the fittest" assured the middle class Englishman that his belief in the direct relationship of hard work to success was correct.

Even though many affluent Englishmen held this point of view, the rumblings of the discontented working class had not been entirely ignored by Parliament. Some reforms had been passed by 1876, the year of Shaw's arrival in London: the Education Bill of 1870 and a bill reforming the civil

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service under the first Gladstone ministry; and the Public Health Act and the Artisans' Dwelling Act in 1875 during the second Disraeli ministry. None of these, however, had much effect on the real conditions of the working man of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. A more detailed description of the workingman's lot is in order, however, since Shaw's Socialist speeches were concerned with this segment of late Victorian England.

In this period under discussion, England was beset by a severe economic depression, caused by a complexity of factors including a drop in world trade. The situation was compounded by the severe agricultural depression of 1879, the year of an extremely poor harvest. The lot of the agricultural worker, already bad, became even worse. "In 1871, the census returns classified three-fifths of the people as urban and two-fifths as rural. By the end of Victoria's reign in 1901 more than three-fourths were urban and less than one-fourth rural."¹ This influx of agricultural workers to the cities where unemployment was often high added to the surplus labor market there.

When the city laborer found employment, he discovered not only that there was little job security in the depressed

¹ Herman Ausubel, The Late Victorians: A Short History (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1955), p. 10.

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industries but also that his wage rate might be cut with little or no warning. Moreover, he had to work long hours to earn a living; and the average work week in 1870 was sixty hours, although by the turn of the century this dropped to about fifty-four.¹ Furthermore, sanitary conditions were poor, and the worker had little protection against industrial accidents until legislation was passed in the course of the period under discussion. Child labor under unbelievable conditions was common. Thus the laborer's situation was further aggravated by lack of security, low wages and periodic wage reductions, long hours, and poor working conditions.

The worst conditions by far were those of "sweating," a system in which manufacturers would contract "sweaters," who in turn doled out menial and back-breaking tasks for workers to complete at low piece rates at home. If the workers complained of wages, there were always others needing the tiny income and willing to do the work. An example of this group of laborers is that of the "hair pullers," who pulled coarse hairs from rabbit skins and separated the soft down next to the skin. A writer of the day described "sweating" in detail; a portion of it is included here because of the graphic description it gives of a condition which prevailed in the nineteenth century.

¹Ausubel, p. 29.

. . .In an endless network of pestilential courts and alleys, into which can penetrate no pure, purging breath of heaven, where the plants languish and die in the heavy air, and the very flies seem to lose the power of flight and creep and crawl in sickly, loathsome adhesion to mouldering walls and ceilings--here. . . we find the miserable poverty-stricken rooms of the fur-pullers. . . .

The room is barely eight feet square, even less, because of its accumulation of dirt; and it has to serve for day and night alike. Pushed into one corner is the bed, a dirty pallet tied together with string, upon which is piled a black heap of bed-clothes. On one half of the table are the remains of breakfast--a crust of bread, a piece of butter, and a cracked cup, all thickly coated with the all-pervading hairs. The other half is covered with pulled skins, waiting to be taken into 'shop.' The window is tightly closed, because such air as can find its way in from the stifling court below would force the hairs into the noses and eyes and lungs of the workers, and make life more intolerable for them than it already is. To the visitor, indeed, the choking sensation caused by the passage of the hairs into the throat, and the nausea from the smell of the skins, is at first almost too overpowering for speech.

The two prematurely aged women--whose unkempt, matted hair is almost hidden under a thick covering of fluff, and whose clothing is of the scantiest, seeming to consist of bits of sacking fashioned into some semblance of garments--are sitting on low stools before a roughly made deal trough, into which they throw the long upper hairs of the skin, reducing them to the fine, silky down growing next to the skin itself, which is afterwards manufactured into felt hats. . . .

What do they get for it? They say each of them can pull 'a turn and a half' working twelve hours. A 'turn' means sixty skins; and the rate of pay is 11 d. per turn--1 s. 4½ d. for the twelve hours. . . . The women provide their own plucking knives and the shields for their hands. . . .¹

¹Edith F. Hogg, "The Fur-pullers of South London" (November, 1897), Nineteenth-Century Opinion, comp. and ed. Michael Goodwin (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1951), pp. 19-22.

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Situations such as these were the target of many Socialists, including Shaw.

While Socialists were among the most vehement individuals decrying such conditions, those holding the laissez faire attitude described earlier in this paper did not deny that the condition of the poor was deplorable. Sharp differences arose over the cause and cure of poverty, however. Men of business and industry pointed to depressed economic conditions as a cause of low wages. Some felt the workers themselves were often at fault.

For a great deal of it they have themselves been directly and exclusively responsible. Work has been deplorably scarce, but they have made it, by their own voluntary action, far scarcer than it would otherwise have been. In many instances masters have been ruined and their works unavoidably closed and the men they employed have been thrown upon their own resources, and not infrequently reduced to destitution, by no fault of their own. But in many other instances the men have voluntarily thrown themselves out of work by refusing to accept it at the reduced rate of wages which was all their impoverished employers could afford to offer them. They deliberately deprived themselves of employment, and their consequent privations, however severe, were entirely gratuitous.¹

Herbert Spencer was even more pointed in blaming the poor for their own condition.

As far as he was concerned, the poor deserved, for the most part, to be poor. The authors of their own misery, they were paying the price of their

¹W. R. Greg, "A Grave Perplexity Before Us" (March, 1879), Nineteenth-Century Opinion, ed. Goodwin, p. 68.

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misconduct--their refusal to work or to hold on to a job. Spencer regarded them simply as good-for-nothings whose main ambition was to live at the expense of the good-for-somethings. To Spencer it was absurd for people to think that all hardships either could or should be prevented. He viewed suffering as a cure that would encourage the poor to help themselves.¹

Although many individuals expressed the point of view that the poor had only themselves to blame for their wretched condition, the intent of these descriptions is not to condemn any one segment of Victorian society, nor to elicit sympathy for the causes which Shaw espoused. Furthermore, the Socialists were not the only ones attempting to rectify conditions which existed during this time; reforms which were instituted in England during the last decades of the century and later were the results of the efforts of many. Brief as this foregoing description is, however, it indicates the conditions and attitudes Shaw was to find and attack in London.

Upon his arrival there, Shaw went directly to Victoria Grove, where his mother and sister Lucy were living--his younger sister had recently died. He found that the financial conditions of his family was precarious: Lucinda received a small amount regularly from her grandfather's estate, George Carr sent about a pound a week to his family, and Lucinda had a few music students which helped a little in meeting expenses. Lucy was studying voice, hoping for a career in

¹Ausubel, p. 45.

concert singing.

After taking a little time to become acquainted with London, Shaw began looking for employment and took a civil service "cram course" in the summer of 1876. He did not find any employment to speak of, however, until 1879, when he went to work for the Edison Telephone Company of London. Although he was a showroom demonstrator at one point, Shaw's primary work, on a commission basis, was persuading the people of London to allow the phone company to erect poles and other structures on their property. In 1880 the company merged with Bell Telephone, and all employees were released. Even though all of them were given the opportunity to reapply and were promised every consideration in employment, Shaw did not choose to continue with the phone company. He later wrote:

This was the end of my career as a commercial employee. I soon dropped even the pretence of seeking any renewal of it. Except for a day or two in 1881, when I earned a few pounds by counting votes at an election in Leyton, I was an Unemployable, an able-bodied pauper in fact if not in law, until the year 1885, when for the first time I earned enough money directly by my pen to pay my way. . . . My penury phase was over.¹

Although Shaw was unemployed much of the time after his arrival in London, he was not idle. For one thing, he began writing. He ghosted some music reviews and a pamphlet,

¹Shaw, "Preface to Immaturity," Prefaces, pp. 675-76.

How to Cure Clergyman's Sore Throat, for Lee; and under his own name he wrote magazine articles and earned a little money with those he was able to sell. His most ambitious literary undertakings, however, were his novels: in 1879 he wrote his first novel, Immaturity, and followed that with another novel each year for the next four years. Publishers returned his submitted manuscripts, however, and the novels were not published in book form till years later. As noted above, it wasn't until 1885 that he began to earn his living by writing.

Shaw also utilized his time by studying. He continued with his music education, studying harmony and counterpoint. He sometimes served as accompanist at musical functions in which his mother was involved. He visited art galleries. Most important to this study, he was a regular visitor at the British Museum. He "taught himself" French, studied shorthand and phonetics, investigated physics, reading Tyndall and Helmholtz. More will be said of his extensive reading later, but at this point an event which occurred in 1879 should be described.

During his early years in London, Shaw met James Lecky, whom he described as an "exchequer clerk from Ireland, and privately interested in phonetics, keyboard temperament, and Gaelic, all of which subjects he imposed on me."¹ Lecky

¹Shaw, Sixteen Self Sketches, p. 93.

persuaded Shaw to go with him to a meeting of the Zetetical Society in the winter of 1879, and at that point began that phase of Shaw's life which is of prime interest to this study. Years later Shaw wrote of the event:

When I went with Lecky to the Zetetical meeting I had never spoken in public. I knew nothing about public meetings or their order. I had an air of impudence, but was really an arrant coward, nervous and self-conscious to a heartbreaking degree. Yet I could not hold my tongue. I started up and said something in the debate, and then, feeling that I had made a fool of myself, as in fact I had, I was so ashamed that I vowed I would join the Society; go every week; speak in every debate; and become a speaker or perish in the attempt. I carried out this resolution.¹

Twenty-three-year-old Bernard Shaw then began to carry out that resolution to become a public speaker.

I persevered doggedly. I haunted all the meetings in London where debates followed lectures. I spoke in the streets, in the parks, at demonstrations, anywhere and everywhere possible. In short, I infested public meetings like an officer afflicted with cowardice, who takes every opportunity of going under fire to get over it and learn his business.²

He had little difficulty in finding opportunities to speak, for at that time in England there were numerous societies that debated issues of the day. "For decades The Times was filled with announcements of meetings. . . . Science, religion, art, literature, history, politics, the living habits of the mastodon, and the legislative powers of Anglican convocation--

¹Shaw, Sixteen Self Sketches, p. 94.

²Shaw, Sixteen Self Sketches, pp. 95-96.

everything was debatable."¹

A common format of the societies was to have a speaker lecture, then allow members of the audience to question the speaker or present opposing arguments on his subject. When he attended such meetings, Shaw often sent a note to the chairman's desk with the notation, "Mr. Bernard Shaw would like to ask a question." In the early days of Shaw's attendance at such meetings, the chairman usually had not the vaguest notion who Bernard Shaw was, but called on him at the earliest opportunity.

Instantly Shaw would come forward and ask a question exasperating enough to make a worm turn and a rabbit fight. Before the smoke of the engagement had blown away, everyone in the hall would know that the red-headed, red-bearded stranger had demolished the speaker of the evening, and would never forget the name of Bernard Shaw. The result . . . was that in a comparatively short time, among the hole-in-corner debating societies, Bernard Shaw was the best known man in London.²

Many of these societies at which Shaw spoke no longer exist, nor are their names even known, but records are available of a number of groups Shaw joined and in which he became an active member.³ He prepared papers when asked to, but he

¹William Irvine, The Universe of G. B. S. (New York: Whittlesey House, 1949), p. 36.

²Henderson, Man of the Century, pp. 138-39. Shaw denied the accuracy of this report to Pearson (G. B. S., a Postscript, p. 23), stating, "One just got up and spoke; and the chairman was only too glad to have the debate kept going. There was no fame to be got out of it."

³Shaw was a great "joiner" of groups throughout his life but avoided joining organizations "in name only."

far preferred to spend his time participating in the debate periods which followed the papers and lectures of others.

One of the first groups which Shaw joined was the Zetetical Society, mentioned earlier in this paper. This group, an off-shoot of the Dialectical Society, was "strongly individualistic, atheistic, Malthusian, evolutionary, Ingersollian, Darwinian, Herbert Spencerian."¹ The third time he attended the Zetetical Society he was invited to take the chair, and at a meeting in the Winter Session, 1881-82, spoke "On what is called 'The Sacredness of Human Life,' and its bearing on the question of Capital Punishment."² Since at first he did not feel he had an adequate background, he spent hours at the British Museum studying and familiarizing himself with subjects discussed. He seemed to realize the need for knowledge for effective speaking and believed his one success of that period with the Zetetical Society,

. . . was when the society paid to Art, of which it was stupendously ignorant, the tribute of setting aside an evening for a paper on it by a lady in the 'aesthetic' dress of the period. I wiped the floor with that meeting; and several members confessed to me afterwards that it was this performance that first made them reconsider their first impression of me as a discordant idiot.³

¹Shaw, letter to Henderson, January 17, 1905, cited in Henderson, Man of the Century, p. 136.

²Henderson, Man of the Century, p. 137.

³Henderson, Man of the Century, p. 138.

Shaw did not limit his membership to the Zetetical Society and the Philosophic Section of that group. Some time in the early eighties, he joined the Dialectical Society, originally founded to discuss John Stuart Mill. Also, he became a member of a debating group called the Bedford, founded by Stopford Brooke. In 1883 he joined the Browning Society and was elected to the Executive Committee. In the mid-eighties, also, he joined the New Shakespeare Society; and in 1886 he became a member of the Shelley Society and was elected to that group's Committee in 1888. Although he did not have a burning interest in all of the subjects selected by the various societies, he took an active part in the proceedings and studied assiduously the subjects upon which the societies focused.

While the most famous group to which Shaw belonged was, of course, the Fabian Society, the incidents which reveal his growing interest in Socialism should first be described.

Although Shaw has stated that his boyhood experiences furnished a "fertile soil" for his Socialism, he attributes the real impetus for his political point of view to hearing Henry George, an American, speak at Memorial Hall on September 5, 1882, on the nationalization of land. After George's speech he purchased and thoroughly studied George's Progress and Poverty, and began to attend societies which concentrated

on Socialist views. One such group he attended was Hyndman's Socialist Democratic Federation. At one meeting he was chastised for trying to speak knowingly about Socialism without having read Marx. He was taken aback by the criticism, but immediately went about remedying the situation. Since Das Kapital was available at the British Museum at that time only in a French translation, the task was not an easy one. Shaw admitted he did not understand the economic argument completely at first, nor did he ever completely agree with Marx; but he did become a convert, a position which influenced his activities for the rest of his life. Of the influence on his speaking Shaw said, "From that hour I was a speaker with a gospel, no longer only an apprentice trying to master the art of public speaking."¹

Even though Shaw used every opportunity to promote the Socialist cause at literary societies, the various Socialist groups provided a fertile field for his speaking. In addition to the S. D. F., he frequented meetings of the Land Reform League; and he often shared the platform with William Morris, who originally belonged to H. M. Hyndman's Socialist Democratic Federation, then withdrew and formed the Socialist League, and at one point tried--unsuccessfully --to unite the various socialist groups. Shaw was a frequent

¹Shaw, Sixteen Self Sketches, p. 97.

guest of Morris's and often spoke at the regular Sunday night meetings of the Hammersmith Socialist Society, a group which seceded from the Socialist League and met in the coach house of Morris's home, Kelmscott.

The group with which Shaw is most readily associated first met on October 24, 1883, with Havelock Ellis to discuss a "Fellowship of the New Life." On January 4, 1884, the group adopted the name, "The Fabian Society," with the purpose "to help on the reconstruction of Society in accordance with the highest moral possibilities" and a plan which included the presentation of papers by members. The first printed "Fabian Tract" entitled, "Why Are the Many Poor?" contained the motto of the Fabian Society: "For the right moment you must wait, as Fabius did most patiently, when warring against Hannibal, though many censured his delays; but when the time comes you must strike hard, as Fabius did, or your waiting will be in vain and fruitless."¹

The minutes of the May 16, 1884, meeting have a pencilled note in the margin: "This meeting was made memorable by the first appearance of Bernard Shaw." Shaw became a member of the Society on September 5, 1884, and was elected to the Executive Committee on January 2, 1885.² In March of

¹Attempts to trace this quotation were fruitless, but the Society decided to keep it nevertheless.

²Shaw remained on the Executive Committee until 1911, when he resigned in favor of "younger blood."

that year Shaw invited Sidney Webb, whom he had met at the Zetetical Society, to the Fabian Society, for he felt that the association could be beneficial to all. Shaw had great respect for Webb's ability, particularly for his analytical and encyclopedic mind, and often gave credit to Webb for his own development as a speaker. Shaw and Webb made a formidable team as Fabians, and Shaw, always generous in his praise of his colleague, described his appreciation of Webb's contributions many years later:

The difference between Shaw with Webb's brains, knowledge, and official experience and Shaw by himself was enormous. But as I was and am an incorrigible histrionic mountebank, and Webb was the simplest of geniuses, I was often in the centre of the stage whilst he was invisible in the prompter's box.¹

These two members of the Fabian Society were soon joined by Sydney Olivier, Webb's colleague at the Colonial Office, and by Graham Wallas, thus completing the "Big Four" of Fabian thought,² those who were primarily responsible for the writing of the well-known Fabian Essays.

Although the growth and development of the Society, along with a discussion of Shaw's contributions, are discussed in detail in histories of the Fabian Society,³ a brief

¹Shaw, Sixteen Self Sketches, p. 108.

²Margaret Isabel (Postgate) Cole, The Story of Fabian Socialism (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1961), pp. 7-8.

³See pp. xvi-xvii for appropriate histories.

description of Shaw and his Fabian friends in the formative years of the organization seems in order.

As was true of many Socialist groups, the early years of the Society were marked by many disagreements among members as they debated the issues and directions to be pursued. Although other groups floundered and even dissolved due to internal disagreements, the Fabians, aided a great deal by Shaw, managed to overcome such differences of opinion. Shaw's techniques as peacemaker were unorthodox but effective; the following comments, corroborated in other sources, reveal his procedure:

I believe that some of my own usefulness lay in smoothing out these frictions by an Irish sort of tact which in England seemed the most outrageous want of it. Whenever there was a quarrel I betrayed everybody's confidence by analyzing it and stating it lucidly in the most exaggerated terms. Result: both sides agreed that it was all my fault. I was denounced on all hands as a reckless mischiefmaker, but forgiven as a privileged Irish lunatic.¹

Even though discussions may have become heated enough to require a peacemaker at times, great value existed in the spirit of enquiry which led members to debate ideas among themselves. The young men of the Fabian Society--Webb and Olivier, for example, were three years younger than Shaw--spent a great deal of time together, for the most part heatedly discussing the Socialist program. They used one another as "sounding

¹Shaw, Sixteen Self Sketches, p. 112.

boards" and were quite frank in analyzing and criticizing one another's arguments. Moreover, to further develop an understanding of the issues involved in Socialism, Shaw, along with other members of the Society became members of the Hampstead Historic Society, originally a Marxist reading group.

. . . [It] began as a sort of mutual improvement society for those ambitious Fabians who desired to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest Marx and Proudhon. Eventually it was turned into a systematic history class, in which each student took his turn at being professor. . . . Thus they taught each other what they themselves wished to learn, acquiring the most thorough and minute knowledge of the subject under discussion.¹

Shaw attended meetings of the group regularly once a fortnight for a number of years and later reported, "They knocked a tremendous lot of nonsense, ignorance, & vulgarity out of me."²

At the same time, and on alternate weeks of the Hampstead meetings, Shaw attended meetings of the Economic Club, or Beeton group, which later became the Royal Economic Society. This group, which "bore a formidable resemblance to a university seminar,"³ concerned itself with a thorough study of economics, an understanding of which Shaw felt was

¹Henderson, Man of the Century, pp. 224-25.

²Shaw, letter to Henderson, January 17, 1905, cited in Henderson, Man of the Century, p. 225.

³Irvine, p. 78.

essential to Fabianism.

Shaw entered into all of these activities with relish, even though he had to overcome a basic feeling of insecurity. He often referred to the agonies of shyness he suffered as a young man in London, which is exemplified by a passage in which Shaw describes his reactions when invited to visit friends of his mother and sister. "I suffered such agonies of shyness that I sometimes walked up and down the Embankment for twenty minutes or more before venturing to knock at the door: indeed I should have funk'd it altogether, and hurried home asking myself what was the use of torturing myself when it was so easy to run away, if I had not been instinctively aware that I must never let myself off in this manner if I meant ever to do anything in the world."¹

As is often true of basically shy individuals, Shaw tended to be rather loud and raucous in his early relationships with his contemporaries.

Perhaps--though Shaw would be loathe to admit it--he felt at a disadvantage with his Fabian colleagues because of his lack of formal education. Even though Shaw in later years blamed poverty for some of his social weaknesses, a description by Olivier reveals a kind of condescension towards Shaw not attributable to poverty alone:

¹Shaw, "Preface to Immaturity," Prefaces, p. 679.

Needless to say we [Webb and I] delighted in Shaw's society--his talk was a continual entertainment; and he regarded it, we tolerantly considered, as his duty to talk wittily, if only for practice. And the transparent generosity and liberality of his character had an irresistable charm. But Webb and I were university graduates, I from Oxford, and we often judged Shaw's education and his appreciation of academically and socially established humanities to be sadly defective.¹

While Shaw's outspokenness may have been one characteristic causing comment among his contemporaries, another was his appearance during this period. The picture Shaw presented in the early eighties was far from imposing. He was tall, thin, and extremely pale. His beard, which became a "trade-mark" in later years, was in its scraggly beginnings. That beard--red--and his red hair accentuated the pallor of his face. Olivier later described him as "having a dead-white complexion and orange patches of whisker about his cheek and chin (a face, as Champion described it, 'like an unskillfully poached egg.')"²

Shaw's clothes did little to enhance the picture. Until 1885 he seemed to rely almost exclusively on the wardrobe he acquired while still working in Ireland. Shaw later wrote that he trimmed his "cuffs to the quick with scissors, and wore a tall hat and soi-disant black coat, green with

¹Lord Sydney Olivier, letter to Henderson, June 8, 1931, cited in Henderson, Man of the Century, p. 212.

²Letter to Henderson, June 8, 1931, cited in Henderson, Man of the Century, p. 212.

decay."¹

After his income increased in 1885, Shaw began to wear Jaeger suits, one-piece knitted garments invented by a German doctor. While the visual image he created was strange, the sound accompanying that sight was even stranger: Olivier said that in one outfit Shaw sounded like a giant cricket when he moved.²

Despite such factors which might have been handicaps to others, Shaw was soon recognized not only as a valuable member of the Fabian Society but also as a speaker for the Socialist cause. Shortly after a major address to the Industrial Remunerative Conference in 1885, Shaw found himself sought after as a speaker. Although as a neophyte he had found it necessary to search for places to speak, he eventually was in the position of having so many requests that he accepted invitations on a first come, first served basis. Incidentally, even in his most impoverished days he followed a policy he maintained all his life: no remuneration except a third-class return fare from the site of the speaking engagement in the days when transportation costs were beyond his means.

¹Clarence Rook, "George Bernard Shaw," The Chap-Book, November 1, 1896, cited in Henderson, Man of the Century, p. 110.

²Irvine, p. 111.

Although not all of either Shaw's speaking or Fabian activities can be recounted in detail here, a few should be described. One incident, which concerned a number of Socialist groups but which involved Shaw as a Fabian representative, occurred in 1887.

During the previous year the unemployed demonstrated and got out of hand. The Socialists made an issue of the right of free speech and the right to hold demonstrations, a bone of contention throughout the eighties.¹ Prior to a demonstration planned by the Socialist groups, Shaw studied the Act under which the police planned to prevent the demonstration and pointed out that the Act gave the police power to regulate, not prohibit, such demonstrations. Armed with this legal defense should he be arrested, Shaw spoke at the northern section of the London gathering. The marchers, including Shaw, then proceeded to Trafalgar Square. The forward section of the marchers was turned back by police, but Shaw "escaped" by mingling with a crowd of sightseers. He made his way to the Square and found that the southern section fared even worse. Blood was shed and a number of arrests made--the day was named Bloody Sunday--but Shaw came out of it unscathed, physically. While Shaw was branded for a time

¹The periodical, Our Corner, makes repeated references to the harrassment of Socialist speakers and compares their situation with that of evangelists who were permitted to hold meetings freely in public places.

as "coward," he did not seem particularly troubled by the label. More important, it impressed upon him the impotence of the "common man"--for whom he never seemed to have a great deal of admiration--against the police force of the established government.

Another important incident occurred in the early months of 1888 concerning the role the Fabian Society was to play in politics. In essence, the majority decided to support any candidate who would best advance the cause of Socialism.¹ In addition to being a member of this Parliamentary League which was formed, Shaw also participated in the Charing Cross Parliament, in which the members practiced framing proposed legislation into bills, as President of the Local Government Board.

The speaking activity of members of the Society was also stepped-up in 1888. A Lecture Sub-Committee "decided that the time had come for an organized attempt to present Socialism to the intelligent British public. . . ."² Members were scheduled for speaking engagements not only in London

¹The discussion at the meeting at which the issue was voted upon was apparently so heated that the minutes contained the comment, "Subsequent to the meeting, the secretary received notice from the manager of Anderson's Hotel [where the meeting had been held] that the Society could not be accommodated there for any further meetings."

²Cole, p. 24.

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but throughout England. One year, according to Fabian records, 721 public lectures--not counting speaking engagements made by individuals on their own--were presented through the auspices of the Society.¹ Shaw participated willingly in these speaking activities, traveling from one end of London to the other and to other towns and cities in England.

As part of the decision in the late eighties to participate more fully in the national political arena, the Society invited outstanding politicians of the day to address members of the group. After such speeches the Fabians descended upon the speaker with a vengeance. One such speaker was R. B. Haldane, M. P., who answered an invitation by speaking on "Radical Remedies for Economic Evils." First came an attack on Haldane's arguments by Webb and Annie Besant. "Then up rose George Bernard Shaw, and as he spoke, his gestures suggested to me the idea that he had got Mr. Haldane impaled upon a needle, and was picking him to pieces limb by limb, as wicked boys disintegrate flies. . . ."²

Although Socialist pursuits monopolized Shaw's time in the decade following his conversion by Henry George, Shaw's opportunity in 1889 to schedule Fabian meetings and papers for

¹Cole, p. 24.

²George Standring, The Radical, II, No. 8 (March 17, 1888), cited in Henderson, Man of the Century, p. 236.

the coming year foreshadowed the career which eventually made him world-famous. Believing that a Socialist program should not neglect the role of art, Shaw proposed a series of lectures which is noteworthy in that on July 18, 1890, at St. James Restaurant in London, Shaw delivered a lecture later published as the well-known The Quintessence of Ibsenism.

A climax of Fabian influence during this period was reached in the early nineties, when Society members participated actively in the election campaign of 1892. At that time the Conservatives under Salisbury, who after alternating in control with the Liberals, were the incumbents. Although Liberal social legislation was, by Socialist standards, limited--the First Employers' Liability Act in 1880, the Franchise Bill of 1884, and the Redistribution Bill of 1885; the Fabians felt that working through an established political party such as the Liberals offered a greater opportunity for Socialism's success than running independent candidates. Consequently, they "permeated" the Liberal Party. The Fabians, including Shaw, concentrated their efforts upon promoting the Newcastle Program, which advocated "disestablishment of the Church of England in Wales, and of the Church of Scotland; local veto on liquor sales; abolition of plural voting; extension of the Employers' Liability Act; restriction of hours of labor."¹ Although Gladstone also made Home Rule for Ireland

¹William L. Langer (comp. and ed.), An Encyclopedia of World History (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1952), p. 618.

a major issue, many Fabians believed that the Liberals won the election of 1892, "largely on local issues supplied by the Fabians."¹ When Gladstone then repudiated the Newcastle Program shortly after his election, Shaw and Webb launched an attack against the government. With the unmasking of "under-cover permeation" which accompanied the attack, the political influence of the Fabians ended for the time being.²

Although there is some question as to the actual influence wielded by the Fabian Society in the fortunes of the Liberal Party in 1892 and the years following,³ there is little doubt that the Fabians had entered actively into politics and addressed themselves to influencing the voters of England in that election. The extensive speaking and political activities of Fabians, including Shaw, continued through the decade. In 1892, the Fabian Society issued its Election Manifesto, Tract #40 written by Shaw, which urged the formation of the Independent Labour Party. In January of 1893 Shaw was one of twelve delegates from the Fabian Society at the Bradford Conference, which resulted in the I. L. P., although the eventual establishment of the Labour Party, did not occur until the next period discussed in this

¹Henderson, Man of the Century, p. 242.

²Henderson, Man of the Century, p. 242.

³After repudiating the Newcastle Program, Gladstone concentrated on the Irish question and was defeated on the Home Rule issue in 1894.

study.

Before closing this period of Shaw's life, however, it is necessary to point out that although Socialist activities seemingly consumed enough time to prevent an average man from doing anything else, such was not the case with Shaw. That he continued his novel writing until 1883 and that after 1885 his contributions to periodicals enabled him to earn his living by writing has already been mentioned. Furthermore, it has been indicated that he wrote a number of Fabian Tracts and papers presented at societies other than the Fabian. A brief review of his other writing is in order, but the intention is not to deprecate his writing activities by mentioning them only briefly here; a comprehensive report of them is not the province of this study.

The major writings of this Fabian period include: a column, "Art Corner," in Our Corner in 1885-86; book reviews from 1885 till 1888 for the Pall Mall Gazette; art critic for The World from 1885 to 1889; a weekly column of music reviews in The Star beginning in 1888, then continuing in The World from 1890 until 1894; drama criticisms for The Saturday Review from January, 1895 until 1898. It should be kept in mind that these criticisms required regular reading of books, visitations of art galleries, and attendance at concerts and plays, as well as supplementary reading a conscientious writer such as Shaw insisted upon.

In addition to the above named reviews and other contributions to a number of periodicals, Shaw revised and published The Quintessence of Ibsenism in 1891, completed his first play, Widower's Houses, in 1892, The Philanderer and Mrs. Warren's Profession in 1893, Arms and the Man and Candida in 1894, The Man of Destiny and The Sanity of Art in 1895, You Never Can Tell in 1896, The Devil's Disciple in 1897, and Caesar and Cleopatra and The Perfect Wagnerite in 1898. During this decade, also, Shaw spent much time attempting to get his plays staged, which was necessary not only for copyright purposes but also for realizing an income from royalties. Although difficulties with the censor constituted the greatest handicap he faced in this matter, his "paper battle" with the popular actor Henry Irving also created problems and consumed much time as he attempted to get his plays produced.

Not all his time was taken up with work, as diaries kept from 1885 to 1897 have revealed. For example, he played card games and chess with his mother; he frequented boxing matches and even sparred on at least one occasion with another boxer; he hiked, bicycled, golfed, and went annually to the Boat Race.¹ In all, he had a wide range of interests.

Furthermore, Shaw spent considerable time with his

¹Ervine, P. 151.

friends--both men and women. Perhaps as a result of comments and emphasis placed upon his speaking and writing by many biographers, the general impression of Shaw may be of an ascetic young man who had neither the time nor interest in young women. Although his contact with women may have been limited in his early years in London, such was not always the case. Thereafter, he had numerous friendships with women, of varying degrees of "seriousness"--though not aimed toward marriage. Ervine states, "It is remarkable that all the women who fell in love with G. B. S., and they were many, were either beautiful or exceptionally intelligent, and were usually both."¹ Beatrice Webb, Sidney's wife, considered Shaw a philanderer and warned Charlotte Payne-Townshend, who later became Shaw's wife, about his habits.

With all of these activities, it is little wonder that Shaw began to feel the effects of such a frenzied pace. On January 29, 1898, Shaw, who was also an avid and prolific correspondent, wrote Ellen Terry of his busy life:

What a week! Nay, a fortnight! Three first nights, two County Council election meetings, four Vestry committees, one Fabian committee, a pamphlet to write about the Southwark police business, an adaptation of a novel, the Julius Caesar article, and one frightful headache!²

¹Ervine, p. 167.

²Christopher St. John, ed., Ellen Terry and Bernard Shaw; A Correspondence (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1931), p. 213.

In the same year that he wrote that letter, Shaw developed an infection in his foot, attributed to a tight shoe. Since he attempted to keep up with his many activities rather than take proper care of his foot, the condition worsened.

Shaw was hobbling about on one foot when Charlotte Payne-Townshend, whom Shaw met some two years previously and who had performed some secretarial services for him, returned from a trip to the Continent to find him ill and living in miserable conditions:

He worked in a very small room which was in a perpetual state of dirt and disorder. He kept the window wide open, day and night, winter and summer, and the dust and smuts that entered thereby settled on books, furniture and papers, being scattered over a wider area whenever attempts were made to remove them. The mass of matter on the table was chaotic: heaps of letters, pages of manuscript, books, envelopes, writing-paper, pens, inkstands, journals, butter, sugar, apples, knives, forks, spoons, sometimes a neglected cup of cocoa or a half-finished plate of porridge, a saucepan, and a dozen other things, were mixed up indiscriminately, and all undusted, as his papers must not be touched Part of the awesome accumulation was due to his method of dealing with literature: "Whilst I am dressing and undressing I do all my reading. The book lies open on the table. I never shut it, but put the next book on top of it long before it's finished. After some months there is a mountain of buried books, all wide open, so that all my library is distinguished by a page with the stain of a quarter's dust or soot on it."¹

¹ Pearson, A Full Length Portrait, p. 182.

Charlotte immediately made plans to move him out of that chaotic room and to arrange for proper care for him. In a manner not unusual for him Shaw announced the ensuing incidents in an unsigned newspaper article as follows:

As a lady and gentleman were out driving in Henrietta-st., Covent-garden yesterday, a heavy shower drove them to take shelter in the office of the Superintendent Registrar there, and in the confusion of the moment he married them. The lady was an Irish lady named Miss Payne Townshend, and the gentleman was George Bernard Shaw.

. . .Mr. Bernard Shaw means to go off to the country next week to recuperate, and this is the second operation he has undergone lately, the first being conducted, not by a registrar, but by a surgeon.¹

Although the marriage of these two, who were no longer in the "bloom of youth" and both previously on record as opposing marriage, came as a surprise to friends who knew them both as Fabians, Shaw's letters to Ellen Terry indicate that he had been considering the marriage for some time and his illness seemed to be the catalyst which led to a seemingly sudden decision.

After the ceremony, Charlotte concentrated upon limiting the activities of G. B. S. and nursing him back to health. She was not immediately successful in achieving this goal: in all, Shaw sustained operations for necrosis, sprained ankles (three times) from trying to bicycle or otherwise use

¹Shaw, unsigned notice in the Star, June 2, cited by Dunbar, p. 151.

the foot before it was properly healed, and a broken arm before he was finally restored to health.

The efforts of Shaw's wife to insure that he not overwork, however, were only partially responsible for the changing nature of Shaw's activities, for not all of the decisions Shaw made regarding changes date from his marriage. In general, however, and without attempting to pinpoint the various causes or specific dates, several important changes in Shaw's life came in 1898: resignation from The Saturday Review as drama critic, thus eliminating not only a weekly article but regular attendance at the theatre; initiation of play publishing, reducing the pressure of looking for producers for his plays; and curtailment of his speaking activities.

A number of factors probably led to Shaw's decision to limit his speaking, and a closer look at possible reasons for it seems in order here. Certainly time and health were important factors. Perhaps, too, he felt that although nearly two decades of speaking garnered him the satisfaction of a growing and appreciative audience, he was effecting little visible social and economic change in the actions of his audiences. Pearson presents still another reason:

The little societies calling themselves Leagues and Federations, with their local branches, mostly in debt over rent, subsisted on precarious penny-a-week subscriptions and coppers collected in their

hats at their meetings, with scraps of profit from the sale of Justice (Hyndman's paper), The Commonwealth (Morris's paper), and sundry tracts. For some years they provided Shaw with the audiences he wanted: weekly wage-earning working-class folk in the open air or in cheap little halls where the seats were all free. But they sooner or later made the discovery that when Shaw was the attraction not only were the little halls too small for the audience, but that most of these were not heroes of the horny hand and the fustian coat (an obsolete description formerly current among the Chartists) but people who were quite well able to pay half-crowns and even five shillings for reserved seats. Shaw, to his disgust, found himself speaking in fashionable concert halls to rows of ladies in cart-wheel hats, escorted by very obvious young city men and professionals, with shopkeepers in the shilling seats and the proletariat uncomfortable and shy in the free seats (if any) at the back. Some of the local societies lived for years on a single Shaw lecture. He had to drop the poorer workers, and put forward a new set of arguments for socialism in the middle classes. But he had no fancy for being used in this fashion as a money-maker. He threw his whole budget of applications for lectures into the waste paper basket; and from that time (about 1898) abandoned his weekly pulpитеering, thenceforth speaking only on special occasions like any other politician.¹

Although Shaw curtailed his speaking after 1898 for reasons which can only be conjectured, his platform appearances did not by any means come to an end, as this paper will subsequently show; but other interests "took center stage."

Years of Increased Dramatic Writing

Shaw's attention during this period focused upon writing and producing plays, but since this paper is concerned with activities which have bearing on Shaw as a public speaker,

¹Pearson, A Full Length Portrait, pp. 56-57.

only a very brief summary of his activities as a dramatist will be given here.

Full-length plays completed after 1898 and before 1914 include Captain Brassbound's Conversion (1899), The Admirable Bashville (1900), Man and Superman (1903), John Bull's Other Island (1904), How He Lied to Her Husband (1904), Major Barbara (1905), The Doctor's Dilemma (1906), Getting Married (1908), The Shewing-Up of Blanco Posnet (1909), Misalliance (1910), Fanny's First Play (1911), Androcles and the Lion (1911), Overruled (1912), and Pygmalion (1912). In addition, he wrote several short plays.

Since as stated earlier, Shaw had already made the decision to publish his plays, he proceeded with the added task of preparing them for publication. This action was unusual for this era, for "up to this time, publication of plays had been of two kinds: (1) that of a poet like Tennyson or Browning (2) "acting" editions with professional technicalities and reliance on technical interpretation."¹ Furthermore, not only was Shaw departing from usual procedure in publishing plays, but his point of view toward a writer's functions in such situations led to additional work on three counts. First, believing that the reading public should not be expected to understand technical stage

¹Rattray, p. 120.

instructions, Shaw, therefore, incorporated detailed descriptions of characters and settings into the plays. Second, he supervised all aspects of publication, from choice of paper and type to kind of binding; he did his own proof-reading and insisted that his punctuation and spelling instructions be followed exactly. Third, the publication of the plays gave him another opportunity for expounding his ideas in prefaces, and essays were written which may have had only a tenuous connection with the theme of the plays.

Another activity connected with his career as dramatist concerned the production of his plays. Throughout his life, G. B. S. was concerned with performances of his plays, and he engaged in much correspondence with actors and managers in the United States as well as in England about who should play which roles in his plays. In addition, during the years of the Vendrenne-Barker productions at the Court Theatre early in the twentieth century, Shaw directed several of his own plays, a time-consuming activity.

Although Shaw concentrated on dramatic writing during this period, he also continued with his political activities, particularly on the local government level. In a non-contested election on May 18, 1897, Shaw had gained a seat on the St. Pancras Vestry, the local governing body. When St. Pancras became a Borough in 1899, Shaw was elected a member of the Borough Council on November 1, 1900.

There are conflicting reports of Shaw's effectiveness as a Vestryman and Councillor, but there seems little doubt that Shaw was conscientious in fulfilling his duties. The records show that he was regular in attendance,¹ attending 192 meetings during the six years he was a member. "These attendances were not merely nominal; each of them involved at least two hours' work at the Town Hall, and often three or four, Mr. Shaw being admittedly one of the most active and diligent of Committee Men."²

In the Vestry and later in the Council, individuals could bring up matters by means of a Notice of Motion. Even though the minutes show that in his six years Shaw gave more notices than anyone else,³ he apparently did not monopolize the meetings. As another Vestryman and Councillor who attended regularly during Shaw's period of service later wrote:

All the Vestrymen and women, and the officials whose duty it was to be in attendance, revelled in the fortnightly entertainments, for such they became whilst G. B. S. was there. Owing to his humorous, pungent and witty style of speech we were delighted to listen, and were attracted by an exquisite personal distinction and quality of voice. G. B. S. did not reign supreme over

¹His illness, of course, resulted in a number of missed meetings, as some reporters have pointed out.

²Leaflet by the Progressive Committee announcing the nomination of Shaw and Sir W. N. Geary, cited in Henderson, Man of the Century, pp. 265-66.

³Henderson, Man of the Century, p. 262.

the proceedings, nor did he take more than his fair share of time. . . .

G. B. S. performed his due portion of municipal duties, and although at first he was looked upon as a jester and theorist with an alarming audacity, he soon proved that he was a practical administrator as well. . . . He was essentially a gentlemanly and respectable rebel, although he shocked and rebuked his Victorian colleagues. Many of them held G. B. S. in the highest esteem, and recognized that he raised the standard of the Council. . . .¹

Shaw repeatedly spoke and wrote of the importance of committee work and always participated actively on committees for a number of organizations. As a Vestryman and Councillor he was a member of the Electric Lighting, Health, Parliamentary, Housing, and Drainage Committees. "His services on the committees were so valuable that the unique step was taken of extending him a vote of thanks, an honor usually reserved for chairmen and vice-chairman."²

After the expiration of his term in 1903, St. Pancras Borough was given representation on the London County Council, and Shaw and Sir W. N. M. Geary were nominated as candidates for the posts by the Progressives.

In his campaigning in the early months of 1904, Shaw spent half of his time dealing with the issue of religious instruction in the schools.³ He was particularly concerned

¹Alfred G. Corrick, "George Bernard Shaw: St. Pancras Vestryman and Councillor," St. Pancras Journal, IV, No. 6 (November-December, 1950), cited by Henderson, Man of the Century, pp. 261-62.

²Henderson, Man of the Century, p. 262.

³Rattray, p. 155.

with the Education Act of 1902, which included subsidies to Church schools whenever necessary so that new schools need not be built. Although there was much opposition to this policy, Shaw did not hesitate to speak in favor of it. With this stand as well as with comments on other issues Shaw tended to alienate the voters throughout his campaign. On February 27 Beatrice Webb wrote in her diary:

. . .He [Sidney Webb] is now turning his attention to getting G. B. S. in for St. Pancras. What effect G. B. S.'s brilliant slashing to the right and the left among his own nominal supporters will have, remains to be seen--the party organizers¹ have long ago given up the seat as lost. . . .¹

The election results were:

Gastrell (Municipal Reformer)	1,927
Goldsmith (Municipal Reformer)	1,808
Shaw (Progressive)	1,460
Geary (Progressive)	1,412

On March 7 Beatrice Webb's diary had the following entry:

G. B. S. beaten badly; elsewhere the Progressives romping back with practically undiminished numbers. . . . He certainly showed himself hopelessly intractable during the election: refused to adopt any orthodox devices as to address and polling cards, inventing brilliant ones of his own; all quite unsuited to any constituency but Fabians or "Souls". Insisted that he was an atheist; that, though a teetotaler, he would force every citizen to imbibe a quartern of rum to cure any tendency to intoxication; laughed at the Nonconformist conscience; chaffed the Catholics about transubstantiation; abused the Liberals, and contemptuously patronized the Conservatives--until nearly every section was equally disgruntled.²

¹Beatrice Webb, Our Partnership, ed. Barbara Drake and Margaret I. Cole (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1948), p. 282.

²Webb, p. 284.

Shaw's own report, written in the third person at a later date, had him stating that he alienated

. . . the Nonconformist by insisting on the need of the Church schools for rate support, the Church by having himself nominated by the wife of an eminent Methodist minister, and both the licensed victuallers and Temperance extremists by urging the municipalization of the trade in drink, besides his personal notoriety as a leader and preacher of Fabian Socialism.¹

Perhaps Shaw wasn't completely disappointed at losing the election, his first and last full-fledged candidacy before the electorate for public office.² On June 30 of that year he wrote Florence Farr:

I am off on Saturday to The Old House (my new house), Welwyn, Herts, to write a play, and if I come up [to London], it is only Fabian Committees, etc., that will drag me from my work. I have spent a month in Rome and have done nothing but election business and Candida rehearsal since February, the result being acute unhappiness at my wasted life. I will do nothing but write for the rest of the year.³

Following his defeat at the polls, Shaw concentrated on his writing, although, as his letter indicates, he continued with his Fabian activities. A noteworthy feature of his Fabian work during this period occurred in the years 1906-1907, when he was closely involved with the controversy centered upon H. G. Wells.

¹Shaw, St. Pancras Journal, May, 1947, cited in Rattray, p. 156.

²Before his local government experiences he had been approached to stand for election to Parliament but did not choose to become a candidate.

³Cited in Rattray, p. 156.

Wells, who had joined the Fabian Society a few years earlier, began to express disagreement with Society policies; and on February 9, 1906, he read "Faults of the Fabians" to the Society.

The faults of the Fabian Society, as seen by Wells, were comprehensive. 'It is small, it is shabbily poor, it is collectively inactive.' . . . It is 'remarkably unbusinesslike, inadapt-able, and uninventive in its ways.' It does not welcome members; it puts them through a stern test, . . . and when they have joined orders them to do fantastic things--lecture, write letters to the local paper, give away tracts, hold meetings, riot, rebel.¹

Wells particularly objected to the "tone of levity" of the Old Gang, as they came to be called, and singled out Shaw as the worst offender in this respect, although he denied he was attacking Shaw: ". . . I do assail the strained attempts to play up to Shaw, the constant endeavors of members devoid of any natural wit or wildness to catch his manner, to ape his egotism, to fall in with an assumed pretence that this grave high business of Socialism, to which it would be a small offering for us to give our lives, is an idiotic middle-class joke."²

Wells then asked for a special committee to consider his proposals, a request which the Society granted. The Ex-

¹Cole, p. 119.

²H. G. Wells, Remarks to the Fabian Society, cited by Henderson, Man of the Century, p. 253.

ecutive Committee also gave him the privilege of nominating anyone he chose "up to a reasonable number" to sit with him on the special committee.¹ After the committee was appointed, however, Wells left for America, and the report was not finished till October. An answer was then prepared by the Executive Committee, chiefly the writing of Shaw, and both reports were distributed to members of the group. From December, 1906, through March, 1907, in a series of seven meetings, the Society discussed the two reports.

Although the report of the Special Committee did not differ a great deal from Wells's original charge, his oral presentation of it before the assembled Fabians was poor. Furthermore, his "all or nothing" approach--even going so far as to suggest expulsion of the Old Gang from the Society--alienated many. Shaw, selected by the Executive to answer Wells, was infuriated by Wells's poor taste in name-calling, by his failure to respect the procedure of meetings, and by his failure to respect the function of a chairman. Shaw took advantage of his experience as a speaker to annihilate Wells and was ruthless in dealing with the young author. Pearson reports that Shaw's final remarks, which resulted in the withdrawal of Wells's proposal, ran as follows:

"Mr. Wells in his speech complained of the long delay by the Old Gang in replying to his report.

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Cole, p. 121.

But the exact figures are: Wells ten months, the Old Gang six weeks. During his committee's deliberations he produced a book on America. And a very good book too. But whilst I was drafting our reply I produced a play." Shaw paused; for several moments his eyes glanced vacantly round the ceiling; he seemed to have lost his train of thought; members began to fidget uncomfortably; at last he went on: "Ladies and gentlemen, I paused there to enable Mr. Wells to say, 'And a very good play too.'" The audience shouted with laughter, burst following burst, each louder than the last. Wells smiled self-consciously. Shaw sat down. Fabius had won.¹

Even though not all of Wells's criticisms were without foundation, and the Society subsequently adopted some of the Special Committee recommendations, the methods used by Wells were objected to by many. Nevertheless, Wells remained in the Society only a short time and after being appointed to one or two committees and desultory activity, he resigned in 1908.

In 1911 another controversy developed in the Society, though not of the same proportions as the Wells issue. Shaw, then fifty-five, resigned from the Executive Committee to make room for new blood.² "He was until the mid thirties

¹Cited in Pearson, A Full Length Portrait, p. 229.

²Edward R. Pease, in The History of the Fabian Society (3rd ed.; intro. Margaret Cole; London: F. Cass, 1963), p. 223, expressed pleasure that Shaw continued to be active in the Society but noted a difficulty which came from his resignation. "His freedom from office does not always make the task of his successors easier. The loyalest of colleagues, he had always defended their policy, whether or not it was exactly of his own choice; but in his capacity of private member his

the star turn at the annual series of six lectures by the Fabian Society in London; but his Fabianizing period closed with his resignation; and thereafter he spoke for himself alone. The political wirepuller, conciliator and committee man was dead: the solitary prophet remained."¹

Although biographers appear to accept at face value Shaw's explanation for resigning from the Executive Committee as simply to make room for younger members, other factors may also have played a part in this decision. There was, of course, the increased time spent with his work in the theatre. Also, since the near-complete breakdown in his health some twelve years previously, Shaw had limited his activities somewhat, occasionally pressured into respite from work by Mrs. Shaw and her desire to travel. Furthermore, his resignation may have been a reflection of his growing dissatisfaction with the ability of men to govern themselves, and, in particular, he seemed at odds with the direction being taken by the Labour Party. Although he did not turn away from the needs of working men, he found little in the working man's political organization, the Labour Party, to please him. In 1914 he wrote Augustin Hamon:

unrivalled influence is occasionally something of a difficulty. If he does not happen to approve of what the Executive proposes he can generally persuade a Business Meeting to vote for something else!"

¹Henderson, Man of the Century, p. 283.

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The Labour Party is good in that it represents labour, but bad in that it represents poverty and ignorance, and it is anti-social in that it supports the producer against the consumer and the worker against the employer instead of supporting the workers against the idlers. The Labour Party is also bad on account of its false democracy, which substitutes the mistrust, fear and incapacity of the masses for genuine political talent, and which would make the people legislators instead of leaving them what they are at present, the judges of legislators.¹

One further set of circumstances should be considered before leaving the question of the reasons for Shaw's resigning from the Executive in 1911. Since 1905, when Campbell-Bannerman and then Asquith were Prime Ministers, Parliament passed such social legislation as a Trade Disputes Bill and a Workingman's Compensation Act in 1906, followed by The National Insurance Act in 1911 and a Minimum Wage Law in 1912. Although a resulting budget which shifted "the tax burden from producers to possessors of wealth, in the form of income and inheritance taxes, levies of unearned income, heavy rates on monopolies (such as liquor licenses) and on unearned increments of land,"² resulted in mixed reactions from Shaw, the issue of importance here is that while the Socialism advocated by Shaw and the Fabians had not been accomplished, some of the chief arguments which had been used were weakened by social legislation. Thus these events, also, may have

¹Cited in Ervine, pp. 472-73.

²Langer, p. 620.

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played a part in Shaw's decision to change the nature of his Fabian activities.

While Shaw became relatively less concerned with domestic conditions during this period (except for the Irish Question), he began to pay increasing attention to the international situation. Growing interest in such affairs can be said to date from the beginning of the century, when England became involved in the Boer War and Shaw was asked to write a Fabian Tract upon it. To the surprise of Fabians and those of the Liberal persuasion, Shaw expressed his agreement with England's position in the conflict. In essence, though he didn't agree with all the methods used by England throughout the Empire, he believed that it was better for the larger nations to exert influence over under-developed countries than to let them go on their own at that point and that a strong army and universal conscription was necessary to insure this situation.

With this foreshadowing of interest in international affairs, Shaw's activities at the close of this period just prior to the outbreak of World War I are not surprising. Although the average Englishman probably paid little attention to the events in Europe which were setting the stage for a major conflagration, Shaw in the second decade of the twentieth century began to fear the outbreak of war.

Two articles, in particular, are of interest at this point: "Armaments and Conscription: A Triple Alliance Against the War" in The Daily Chronicle, March 18, 1913, and "The Peace of Europe and How to Attain It" in The Daily News, January 1, 1914. In both articles the arguments were essentially similar: England, France, and Germany should enter an agreement whereby if any one of them violated the neutrality of either of the other two, the remaining two would align against the aggressor; further, if any other party attacked any one of the three nations, the three would unite against the aggressor. In addition, Shaw spoke out in favor of conscription for England, for he felt the agreement would be worthless without the force of arms behind it.

The articles caused little comment. Indeed, Shaw later complained that his decision to have an actress utter, "Not bloody likely," on the stage¹ caused a much greater stir.

As war threatened all of Europe, Shaw again changed the emphasis of his efforts: he temporarily suspended his dramatic writing as he turned his attention to the conflagration.

Years of Political Frustration and Increasing Fame As a Dramatist

The political and military situation selected as a demarcation point in Shaw's career is familiar, but a recapitu-

¹In April, 1914, Pygmalion was presented for the first time in London. Eliza Doolittle spoke the line which caused such a controversy.

lation of a shortened timetable of events leading to the outbreak of World War I would be helpful. In 1914, the following events occurred¹ after the first war declaration:

- July 28 - Austria declared war on Serbia; Germany hoped for negotiations with Russia; France agreed to support Russia
- July 29 - Germany tried to bring pressure on Austria; bid for British neutrality rejected; Russians first ordered general mobilization, then mobilization against Austria only
- July 30 - Russia ordered general mobilization
- July 31 - Germany issued ultimatum to Russia; inquired into French attitude; refused British request for Belgian neutrality
- Aug. 1 - French reply to Germany: would be guided by own interests
 3:55 - French mobilization
 4:00 - German mobilization
 7:00 - German declaration of war on Russia
- Aug. 2 - The British cabinet, after much disagreement, voted to assure France she would protect coast against attack; Germany began invasion of Luxemburg and requested permission to cross Belgian territory, which was refused
- Aug. 3 - Germany declared war on France on flimsy pretext; invaded Belgium
- Aug. 4 - England declared war on Germany, the invasion of Belgium giving Sir Edward Grey a welcome argument in the cabinet and in Parliament

Shaw, who had decided to concentrate on pamphleteering during the war, contributed an appeal for Belgian relief,

¹Dates and descriptions are from Langer, pp. 762-63.

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which appeared in The Nation on November 7, 1914, as an "Open Letter to the President of the United States."¹ An article containing substantially the same arguments appeared about two weeks later as a supplement to The New Statesman, a Socialist periodical founded by the Webbs. Although first reactions to this essay, entitled Common Sense About the War, were negligible, repercussions from the United States and, more important, the use of certain of Shaw's arguments by the Germans for propaganda purposes, raised a furious reaction in Britain.

The first of two major points in the essay which enraged the British was Shaw's vituperative attack on the British Foreign Office in general and Sir Edward Grey in particular. He criticized his adopted countrymen for secret alliances, and particularly for not making absolutely clear to Germany that England would come to the support of Belgium and France. He blamed the war on the churches, the press, and the party system.

The other point which infuriated the British and which was used by the Germans for propaganda purposes was Shaw's argument that the Germans had no choice but to invade Belgium. This, in effect, relieved Germany of the onus of responsibility for the war.

¹In some sources titled "Open Letter to President Wilson."

Shaw, whose loyalty to the Allies has since been well established, was hurt by the personal attack which followed, for he believed such revelations as well as suggestions for postwar treatment of the enemy,¹ was essential.

Furthermore, the points of view expressed by Shaw in Common Sense About the War haven't been completely negated and are still a subject for controversy. Many historians for example, point out that Germany could not fight a war on two fronts (Russia declared war on Germany before Germany invaded Belgium), and that the Schlieffen plan, calling for a flanking movement through Belgium, had to be completed before Germany could attend to the Eastern front. Whether an outspoken attitude on the part of Britain would have deterred Germany is a moot question, however.

A more cogent argument against Shaw's attack on Grey and the Foreign Office is in regard to timing. Shaw can be admired for having the courage of his convictions, but the events prior to the outbreak of the war could not be undone by his criticisms of those actions.

Shaw's reaction to the sinking of the Lusitania in 1915 intensified the antagonism of many people in England.

¹Biographers point out the similarity of Shaw's proposals to Wilson's Fourteen Points but admit there is no direct evidence that Wilson was familiar with Shaw's writings on the issue.

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He was impatient with the fuss over "killing saloon passengers;" and many people objected to his outspoken and irreverent references to the tragedy and did not listen to his explanation for his point of view:

To me, with my mind full of the hideous cost of Neuve Chapelle, Ypres, and the Gallipoli landing, the fuss about the Lusitania seemed almost a heartless impertinence, though I was well acquainted personally with the three best-known victims I even found a grim satisfaction, very intelligible to all soldiers, in the fact that the civilians who found the war such splendid British sport should get a sharp taste of what it was to the actual combatants.¹

This last statement was aimed at those who tended to glorify the war, an attitude which was fairly prevalent, especially in the early years of that struggle,² but Shaw's hatred of war was interpreted as pro-German feeling.

One other incident which aroused indignation was an outgrowth of the Irish Easter Rebellion of 1916. One of those involved was Roger Casement, an Irish-born former British officer who had gone to Germany, offered to recruit Irish for the Germans, and was put ashore in Ireland from a German submarine. He was subsequently captured, tried for treason, and hanged by the British. Although the defense

¹Shaw, "Preface to Heartbreak House," Prefaces, p. 388.

²Shaw sent a letter to two newspapers early in the war asking for government bomb shelters. Editors refused to publish it, feeling that such action was unnecessary and that Shaw's letter was merely another attempt to arouse the public.

Shaw wrote for Casement was not used at the trial, Shaw's position in the sordid case--Shaw held that Casement was Irish, not English, and thus could not be guilty of treason --upset many citizens.

The combination of these circumstances resulted in Shaw's being flooded with vituperative and obscene letters. In addition, some members of the press suggested that his plays should be boycotted, friends avoided him, the Dramatists' Club expelled him, people walked out of the room when he entered, and Asquith was heard to say, "The man ought to be shot!"

Many who treated Shaw in this manner later apologized for their actions, of course, but even more noteworthy was his reactions to the unpleasant situation; he wrote later to Pearson:

. . . But this phase of war delirium soon passed off. Locke and Squire came to me and mutely invited me to shake hands, which of course I did. To me war fever is like any other epidemic, and what the patients say or do in their delirium is no more to be counted against them than if they were all in bed with brain fever.

My public meetings were crowded and successful. The Daily Mail sent a reporter to see me mobbed. He found me being bombarded with questions about the soldiers' allowance by a friendly audience.¹

Thus Shaw, despite his outspokenness, again began to be accepted by the British public. Furthermore, even though

¹ Pearson, A Full Length Portrait, p. 295.

the former Prime Minister, Asquith, had censured Shaw for his comments earlier in the war, the Government honored Shaw in 1917 with an invitation tendered by the British Commander-in-Chief, Sir Douglas Haig, to visit the front. Shaw did so; and although he previously had some difficulty in getting a hearing in the newspapers, his impressions of the visit to the Continent were subsequently published by the press.

The frustrations he felt in the early years of the war were not yet at an end, however, for in 1917 he suffered another disappointment. Lloyd George, then Prime Minister, was naming an Irish Convention to resolve the problem with that country, and Shaw hoped to be appointed. Ervine reported:

. . . Meeting the wife of an eminent politician in Bond Street one afternoon, he mentioned his ambition to her, in the hope that it would be repeated to her husband, and was angered by seeing a look of amazement in her eyes as if she could not believe her ears. She hurriedly fled from him, and no more was heard of the matter. When he related this incident to me, his resentment was deep. 'I could see she regarded me as an amiable buffoon who was welcome at her parties in Downing Street, but would be out of place in a serious committee.'¹

Although Shaw's essay writing continued throughout the war and after--none raising quite the storm as his 1914-16 efforts, his dramatic writing during the war was limited to a few short plays and Heartbreak House, completed in 1916. His next play was the monumental pentateuch, Back to Methuselah,

¹Ervine, p. 416.

completed in 1921, followed by the 1925 Nobel prize-winning¹ Saint Joan completed in 1923, and, after a seven-year gap, The Apple Cart. The other major work of this period was The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism (1928), on which the septuagenarian spent three years.

Shaw's public speaking also continued throughout the period, including addresses over the new medium, radio. Although invited to speak over B. B. C. as early as 1924, he did not make a radio address until 1929. Since his first invitation stipulated that his speech must be free of controversial material, Shaw refused to participate until the regulation was removed.²

Even before starting to give radio speeches Shaw looked upon radio as an important means of communication. In a 1926 speech he stated:

I will ask you to try and imagine what the next general election will be. Here we shall be, a

¹He had hitherto declined titles and honors; when he accepted the Nobel prize for literature he donated the £7000 award for the establishment of the Anglo-Swedish Literary Foundation.

²Although censorship of the B. B. C. was originally under the jurisdiction of the Post Office Department, these functions were transferred to the B. B. C. in 1926 with the stipulation that "the prohibition of political, industrial, and religious controversy" was to be maintained. The Government removed this ban in 1928, although the B. B. C. was expected to use discretion, and gradually the new policy was put into effect. See "Controversy in Broadcasting," The B. B. C. Handbook 1929 (London: The B. B. C.), pp. 39-41.

handful of men, tired out of our lives of public speaking and travelling; we shall be rushing about the country, going into stuffy meetings which will perhaps vary from sixty to seventy in number to perhaps, 3,000 to 4,000; and we shall know that 90 per cent of those audiences are our supporters. But the people we want to get at are the people who never go to public meetings. Consequently public oratory and public speaking, owing to this scientific discovery of broadcasting, has now acquired an importance it never had before.¹

His respect for this medium was such that in his later years he remarked to Henderson, "If I were beginning my career today, I would never step on a platform; I would speak only on the wireless."² In 1929 Shaw was appointed to the B. B. C. committee on the pronunciation of English words, and in 1933 he became chairman of that committee.

In the post-war years Shaw saw the Allies, and England in particular, exacting the type of peace he warned against earlier. Furthermore, a depression such as Shaw predicted beset England, accompanied by considerable labor strife. When the Labour Party came into power for a short and ineffectual period of time in 1924, Shaw's disillusionment with man's ability to govern himself grew; and he became increasingly critical of democracy. Not until the next period, however, did he take the ultimate stand that brought him so much adverse criticism in his late years.

¹Bernard Shaw, The Socialism of Shaw, ed. with an intro. James Fuchs (New York: Vanguard Press, 1926), p. 149.

²Henderson, Man of the Century, p. 193.

Years of Homage and Decline

On his return from a 1931 visit in Russia which included an audience with Stalin, Shaw extolled the Communist system, even excusing Russian policies of "liquidation" as necessary. Since for years Shaw had made a distinction between the Socialism he advocated and the kind of Communism in effect in Russia, even his closest friends and his Socialist colleagues found it difficult to understand his espousal of the Communist cause.

Another Shavian point of view in this era, when the world was in the midst of depression, when dictators were assuming power in Europe, and when the threat of war was once again in the air, caused consternation: Shaw, who had long had an admiration for the strong man who could "lead" others, lauded the dictators. Even though he was much maligned for this attitude, in all fairness it should be pointed out that his praises of Mussolini, Hitler, and Stalin received more publicity than his occasionally stated reservations about the dictatorships.

Another assault upon Shaw's character came after the 1932 publication of The Adventures of the Black Girl in Her Search for God, written by Shaw in South Africa while his wife was recovering from an automobile accident. The unorthodox views expressed in this controversial book resulted in

attacks from all quarters, including that of clergymen from their pulpits. Even though Shaw had been concerned for a number of years with religious problems--in plays, essays, and speeches--the public was not ready to accept his unique views. They accepted at face value his declaration of atheism, although in reality he was a deeply religious man; and they often neglected to note that his sharpest assaults were aimed at established churches and at those who professed religious belief but did not act in accordance with religious principles.

Although many of Shaw's views were unpopular, as a personality he was unrivaled, and many in the United States looked forward to a visit Shaw often said he'd never make. While on a cruise around the world, the Shaws landed on the West Coast, staying overnight with William Randolph Hearst at his home north of Los Angeles, and then, after travelling to the East Coast via the Panama Canal, stopped in New York City for one day. On April 11 Shaw delivered a speech in New York City before the American Academy of Political Science, the one invitation of scores that he accepted.

As Shaw approached eighty, he began to limit his activities more and more. He resigned his committee chairmanships on his eightieth birthday, and on his eighty-sixth birthday resigned from all committees.¹

¹Henderson, Man of the Century, p. 868.

On the other hand his "retirement" from public speaking is more difficult to pin-point. Henderson, after stating that Shaw retired from the platform at the age of sixty-seven added this footnote:

This is the earliest date he ever gave for that of retirement. No doubt he was referring to public debates and set lectures of a propagandist character. In June, 1936, then almost eighty, he said at Newcastle: "I have retired from public speaking." In Sixteen Self Sketches, p. 105, he says of his "acquired technique as a platform artist": "It lasted until my final retirement from personal performances in 1941, my eighty-fifth year." Like the operatic diva, Shaw made farewell appearances on the platform from his sixty-seventh until his eighty-fifth year.¹

Actually, however, Shaw's speaking continued even beyond 1941. For example, when on October 9, 1946, he was made the first honorary freeman of St. Pancras, his scheduled speech, which he was unable to deliver in person, was recorded by the B. B. C. at Shaw's flat and then broadcast later that evening. At a still later date, when he was ninety-two, Shaw spoke at the religious service dedicating a new gate at the ruins of the abbey at Ayot St. Lawrence.² Thus, though he "retired" from public speaking more than once and even had to use printed cards to send his regrets for the many invitations to speak, the lure of the platform

¹ Henderson, Man of the Century, p. 868.

² Rattray, p. 290.

was apparently so great that not even his "retirement" prevented him from appearing before the public.

Nevertheless, the pace of his work slowed considerably in the thirties and forties. He continued to write plays until the last year of his life, though none of them reached the heights of Saint Joan. He also continued to write prefaces, and he spent much of his time editing and revising material he previously wrote. Although he became quite feeble, he continued his daily walks and his log sawing until the final tumble which eventually led to the complications causing his death. He could not, and would not, give up his writing, no matter how difficult it became for him: "I cannot hold my tongue nor my pen. As long as I live I must write. If I stopped writing I should die for want of something to do."¹

Although in his younger days Shaw complained that his ideas were ignored by the press, in his later years he had more than his share of publicity; the press sought him out for his opinion on a wide range of subjects, for he always seemed to have something "quotable" to say. So many anecdotes exist that it is often difficult to separate fact from fiction.

¹Shaw, "Preface to Buoyant Billions, Farfetched Fables, & Shakes versus Shaw," The Complete Prefaces of Bernard Shaw (London: Hamlyn, 1965), p. 891.

In addition, Shaw knew many of the great and near-great of two vastly different centuries: he counted as friends such diverse personalities as Sidney Webb and Gene Tunney. Although opinions they have expressed of him are as diverse as Shaw's friends and acquaintances the overwhelming portrait which emerges is one highlighted by a vitality and intellectual curiosity which lasted throughout a long and active life.

Shaw the political thinker, the playwright, the philosopher--to name but a few of the labels attached to him --has been evaluated by a succession of critics. Their conclusions appear on both sides of the ledger, some denouncing him but more of them pointing to his greatness.

As a person Shaw has been described as generous, considerate, thoughtful, shy, humble--and parsimonious, ruthless, insensitive, domineering, egotistical. Each adjective can be substantiated by illustrations from his life; again, however, his assets appear greater and more influential than his liabilities.

Shaw believed in speaking out, but, as others have pointed out, Shaw concentrated his attack on institutions, not individuals; his greatest enemies were poverty, stupidity, and cruelty. Chesterton, with whom he had as many "battles" as with anyone, wrote in his autobiography:

It is not easy to dispute violently with a man for twenty years, about sex, about sin, about sacraments, about personal points of honour, about all the most sacred and delicate essentials of existence, without sometime being irritated or feeling that he hits unfair blows or employs discreditable ingenuities. And I can testify that I have never received a reply by Mr. Bernard Shaw that did not leave me in a better and not a worse temper or frame of mind; which did not seem to come out of inexhaustible fountains of fairmindedness and intellectual geniality; which did not savour somehow that native largeness which the philosopher attributed to the Magnanimous Man. It is necessary to disagree with him as much as I do in order to admire him as much as I do; I am proud of him as a foe even more than as a friend.¹

Shaw is invariably described as being extraordinarily witty--but disagreement exists as to whether his sense of humor was, in the long run, an advantage or a handicap. St. John Ervine, in a broadcast on the day of Shaw's death, described this side of Shaw and also his enigmatic nature:

He was a great laugher and he laughed with his whole body. He threw his shoulders about while the laughter ran up his long legs and threatened to knock his head off. He was a kindly laugher. There was not a sneer in his whole composition.

He set you thinking even when he was wrong, as he frequently was; though he was always wrong in a great and magnificent manner. He was a good companion. His affectation of concept upset people who failed to observe that he laughed at it more than anybody else. He was infinitely kind and generous. He would do more for his friends than his friends would do for themselves. It was his strong sensitivity to other people's sufferings which sometimes made him seem awkward and unkind: he could keep control of himself when he

¹G. K. Chesterton, Autobiography, pp. 227-28, cited in Rattray, p. 256.

was distressed only by uttering the first flippancy that came into his head. It was his eagerness to promote the general welfare that made a socialist of him: no man known to me was more individualistic in his nature. He hated untidiness and he regarded ill-health and ignorance and poverty and unmerited suffering as part of a slovenly world he wished to abolish. He did not withhold his hand even from his bitterest enemies.¹

Although Shaw had written earlier of the wisdom and greatness which mankind could achieve if only he could live long enough to learn and profit from his experience, during his final years he often remarked that his time on earth was near its end. The end came when, after injuries suffered in a fall seemed to be healing, complications set in. Shaw's death in 1950, at the age of ninety-four, was announced to the world by F. G. Prince-White of the Daily News, who attached to the gate of Shaw's home a piece of paper with this handwritten message:

Mr. Bernard Shaw passed peacefully away at one minute to five o'clock this morning, November 2.

From the coffers of his genius he enriched the world.²

¹ Cited in Rattray, p. 295.

² Henderson, Man of the Century, p. 877.

CHAPTER II

SHAW'S THEORIES OF PUBLIC SPEAKING

The volume of Shaw's speaking, from the eighteenthies when "for about twelve years. . . [he] sermonized on Socialism at least three times a fortnight average"¹ to his late years, when he showed more interest in broadcasts than in personal appearances, has been indicated in the previous chapter. Noting the extent of his public speaking, those familiar with Shaw's penchant for airing his views on a variety of subjects could well expect him to expound upon theories of public speaking; Shaw does not disappoint those having such expectations.

While only one portion of his published work is devoted specifically and exclusively to Shaw's comments on public speaking, a chapter entitled "How I Became a Public Speaker" in Sixteen Self Sketches, an investigation of other published works reveals a much more complete theory of public speaking than indicated by this one chapter; and the function of this portion of this paper is to collect the many observations made by Shaw on public speaking.

¹Shaw, Sixteen Self Sketches, p. 98.

Although observations and evaluations made by those who have heard Shaw speak will be incorporated at times into this portion of the study, emphasis will be upon Shaw's recorded statements related to speaking. Such statements by Shaw which furnish the bulk of information for this chapter are from the following kinds of material: (1) Shaw's critiques of speeches of others, (2) his advice¹ to others, and (3) comments Shaw made of his own speaking experiences.²

Shaw's views on public speaking will be divided into the following categories: (1) general comments about public speaking, (2) preparation, (3) content, and (4) delivery. Although overlapping cannot be avoided due to the difficulty of categorically separating each of these aspects of public speaking, these are the basic divisions which will be utilized here.

¹ Shaw apparently was not hesitant about giving advice! After describing Shaw's helpfulness as a guest, Pearson in A Full Length Portrait, p. 122, goes on to quote one hostess's reservations about Shaw. "You invite him down to your place because you think he will entertain your guests with his brilliant conversation, and before you know where you are he has chosen a school for your son, made your will for you, regulated your diet, and assumed all the privileges of your family solicitor, your housekeeper, your clergyman, your doctor, your dressmaker, your hairdresser, and your real estate agent. When he has finished with everybody else, he incites the children to rebellion. And when he can find nothing more to do, he goes away and forgets all about you."

² Although Shaw also commented about speaking on a number of occasions in his dramatic writing, such statements will not be incorporated into the study, since the intent of the reference to public speaking may have been influenced by the dramatic situation.

General Comments About Public Speaking

The general comments about public speaking which Shaw made can be organized into the following categories: (1) the value of public speaking to the individual, (2) public speaking as a function of a free society, (3) the responsibilities of a speaker, and (4) the effectiveness of public speaking in achieving a particular goal.

The value of public speaking to the individual

Public speaking, according to Shaw, has value for one intending to become a dramatist, as remarks made to H. G. Wells regarding the relationship of public speaking to playwriting indicate.¹ Along the same line he stated at another point, in a criticism of A. W. Pinero's play, The Notorious Mrs. Ebbsmith, "I strongly recommend to him to air his ideas a little in Hyde Park or 'the Iron Hall, St Luke's' before he writes his next play."² While these statements indicate that he believed public speaking is valuable to a dramatist, it must be pointed out that Shaw realized that such experience is not always necessary for all playwrights:

It is significant that many successful writers for the stage have never written for anything else.

¹ See p. vii.

² Bernard Shaw, Our Theatre in the Nineties (London: Constable and Company, Limited, 1932), I, 64.

Others have excelled as public speakers or in conversation. . . . [But other playwrights] might have succeeded if only they had understood that as the pen and the viva vox are different instruments, their parts must be scored accordingly.¹

That Shaw believed the effects of his public speaking experience to have permeated his dramatic writing has been related in a number of sources. Not quite so common are the references to its effect on his non-dramatic writing; yet one finds these, also. In the Preface to Immaturity, written many years after the completion of that first novel which was written before he undertook public speaking, Shaw stated that in that early novel there was "nothing of the voice of the public speaker in it: the voice that rings through so much of my later work."² Further, in his long book explaining Socialism written in his later years, he reflected, "I became a little rhetorical at the end of the last chapter, as Socialists will when they have, like myself, acquired the habit of public speaking."³

Although Shaw did not state explicitly in either of these remarks that his writing improved after undertaking public speaking, the intent of them seems in keeping with Bentley's evaluation that the formality of his early prose

¹Bernard Shaw, Shaw on Theatre, ed. E. J. West (New York: Hill and Wang, 1958), p. 166.

²Shaw, "Preface to Immaturity," Prefaces, p. 677.

³Bernard Shaw, The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism (New York: Brentano's Publishers, 1928), p. 145.

limited the expression of his ideas and that

the change came when Shaw the socialist speaker and journalist began to write more nearly as he talked Colloquialism opened the gates to his humor, his passion, his torrential Irish eloquence, his polemics, to everything in fact that forms a part of his prodigious dialectic skill.¹

Shaw also believed public speaking to be of value to individuals intending to do political work, although in such statements he seemed to limit his advice to would-be Socialists, such as the individual cited earlier in this study.² Additionally, throughout a paper addressed to new members of the Fabian Society in 1892 are remarks indicating the value of public speaking to an individual in becoming an effective member of the Society.³ Among other things, Shaw believed, for example, that speaking upon a subject could lead to a better understanding of that subject:

Every Sunday I lectured on some subject which I wanted to teach to myself; and it was not until I had come to the point of being able to deliver separate lectures, without notes, on Rent, Interest, Profits, Wages, Toryism, Liberalism, Socialism, Communism, Anarchism, Trade Unionism, Co-operation Democracy, the Division of Society in Classes, and the Suitability of Human Nature to Systems of Just Distribution, that I was able to handle Social Democracy as it must be handled before it can be

¹Eric Bentley, Bernard Shaw, 1856-1950 (Amended ed.; New York: New Directions Books, 1957), pp. 213-14.

²See pp. vi-vii.

³Bernard Shaw, Essays in Fabian Socialism (London: Constable and Company Limited, 1932, 1949), pp. 123-160.

preached in such a way as to present it to every sort of man from his own particular point of view.¹

It should be kept in mind, however, that the situations to which Shaw referred invariably included a discussion period in which the speaker had to defend his views under close questioning of others. Learning issues and arguments, apparently, is most likely to occur in situations such as were found at Fabian meetings:

We knew that a certain sort of oratory was useful for "stoking up" public meetings; but we need no stoking up, and, when any orator tried the process on us, soon made him understand that he was wasting his time and ours. I, for one, should be very sorry to lower the intellectual standard of the Fabian by making the atmosphere of its public discussions the least bit more congenial to stale declamation than it is at present. If our debates are to be kept wholesome, they cannot be too irreverent or too critical. And the irreverence, which has become traditional with us, comes down from those early days when we often talked such nonsense that we could not help laughing at ourselves.²

Furthermore, Shaw believed that once a person learned to speak in public, other abilities useful to public life would develop:

My public speaking brought me a very necessary qualification for political work: the committee habit. Whatever Society I joined I was immediately placed on the executive committee. At first I did what authors usually do in their Bohemian anarchism and individualism. When they are defeated on any issue they resign. I did this when the Land Restora-

¹ Shaw, Essays in Fabian Socialism, p. 144.

² Shaw, Essays in Fabian Socialism, p. 128.

tion League refused to add Socialism to its program on my suggestion. I never did it again. I soon learnt the rule Never Resign. I learnt also that committees of agitators are always unanimous in the conviction that Something Must Be Done, but very vague as to what. They talk and talk and can come to no conclusion. The member who has something definite to propose, and who keeps it up his sleeve until the rest are completely bothered, is then master of the situation even when nobody quite agrees with him. It is that or nothing; and Something Must Be Done. This is how a man in a minority of one becomes a leader.¹

Thus, Shaw's comments reveal that public speaking could be useful to an individual whether he wanted to become a writer or to make useful contributions in civic life.

Public speaking as a function of a free society

Since Shaw's admiration of dictators and espousal of restrictions of individuals in totalitarian societies in the nineteen-thirties received wide publicity, the concept of "free society" must first be examined. Although his approval of certain aspects of dictatorial methods cannot be ignored, such comments came late in his life after many of his statements on the function of speech in a free society had been made. Furthermore, even though it may be pointed out that Shaw continued to speak of speech as a function of free society after his advocacy of dictatorships

¹Shaw, Sixteen Self Sketches, p. 103.

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offers support for the dominance of belief in such freedom, a more cogent explanation for this contradictory position assumed by Shaw may be that described by Bentley, who believes that such action was part of Shaw's technique to reform his adopted country.

Certainly his most noble characteristic is his passionate and lifelong attempt to reform the country in which he pretends to be an aloof foreigner. If Shaw finds something to admire in one of his quick trips abroad (Russia is the obvious example) he uses it as a stick to beat England with. If he finds something in a foreign country to dislike he is quick to add that you mustn't imagine England is any better. . . .¹

Finally, Shaw's belief in a free society, despite his questioning of the effectiveness of democratic processes, is implicitly supported by the comments of the function of speech which follow.

The view that speech performs an important function in a free society is perhaps most clearly stated by Shaw in a Fabian essay:

Our whole theory of freedom of speech and opinion for all citizens rests, not on the assumption that everybody is right, but on the certainty that everybody is wrong on some point on which somebody else is right, so that there is a public danger in allowing anybody to go unheard.²

Moreover, he maintained this position in later years when he wrote:

¹ Bentley, p. 25.

² Shaw, Essays in Fabian Socialism, p. 116.

The barrister who in court strives "to make the worse appear the better cause" has been held up as a stock example of the dishonesty of representing for money. Nothing could be more unjust. It is agreed, and necessarily agreed, that the best way of learning the truth about anything is not to listen to a vain attempt at an impartial and disinterested statement, but to hear everything that can possibly be said for it, and then everything that can possibly be said against it, by skilled pleaders on behalf of the interested parties on both sides.¹

This conviction that all sides be given the opportunity to be heard is further reflected in his attitude toward a properly conducted meeting which should allow for questioning of the speaker by those in the audience. In addition to frequently stating his approval of the opportunity offered by such situations, Shaw disapproved of societies which did not allow for this aspect of speaking. This is evident in the remarks he made of a meeting of the Wagner Society where there was "no opportunity whatever of raising any question connected with the evening or of the society."²

Another evidence of Shaw's belief in the important function of speech in a free society is his participation in the "Bloody Sunday" riots, which had free speech as one of its rallying points. Moreover, Shaw's view that a speaker can operate to the fullest of his responsibilities within a

¹Shaw, The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism, pp. 202-203.

²Shaw, London Music in 1888-89, p. 324.

free society, where not only the designated speaker but anyone in the audience could state his case, can be inferred from his often-stated preference for open-air meetings.¹ There are the audience is free to come and go, free to interrupt a speaker if he so elects; the burden is upon the speaker not only to hold attention but also to answer any and all objections raised by the audience.

Within this context of free speech in a free society, the speaker may maximize his arguments in order to make the audience aware of a problem. As Shaw often said, ". . . in this world if you do not say a thing in an irritating way, you may just as well not say it at all, since nobody will trouble themselves about anything that does not trouble them."² Overstatement whenever necessary, combined with a system allowing for all points of view to be expressed, provides, in addition, an excellent learning situation. ". . . No controversial subject can be taught dogmatically. He who

¹In his nineties Shaw still looked back fondly on his experiences as an open air speaker. In Sixteen Self Sketches, pp. 98-99, he wrote: "One of my best speeches was delivered in Hyde Park in torrents of rain to six policemen sent to watch me, plus only the secretary of the Society that had asked me to speak, who held an umbrella over me. I made up my mind to interest those policemen, though as they were on duty to listen to me, their usual practice, after being convinced that I was harmless, was to pay no further attention. I entertained them for more than an hour. I can still see their waterproof capes shining in the rain when I shut my eyes."

²Shaw, Our Theatre in the Nineties, II, 85-86.

knows only the official side of a controversy knows less than nothing of its nature."¹

Thus, Shaw appears to hold the view that a reciprocal situation should exist: society must provide the opportunity for free speech, and public speaking performs an important function in a free society.

The responsibilities of a speaker

While Shaw believed that a speaker is free to overstate in a situation where all sides could eventually be heard, he did not neglect the issue of a speaker's responsibilities. For example, although he had no hesitancy in attempting to refute any other platform lecturer, he held that as an experienced speaker he should not take advantage of an untried opponent. "I never challenged anyone to debate publicly with me. It seemed to me an unfair practice for a seasoned public speaker to challenge a comparative novice to a duel with tongues, of no more value than any other sort of duel."²

In addition, implicit in Shaw's preferences for open-air meetings or for well-conducted group sessions is, apparently, the point of view that the speaker thus fulfills

¹Shaw, "Preface to Misalliance," Prefaces p. 59.

²Shaw, Sixteen Self Sketches, p. 101.

a responsibility to his audience by being subjected to direct questions. That meetings should be conducted in a way requiring a speaker to meet such conditions is evident in his complaint of the Wagner Society, where "nobody present seemed to have the least idea of how such meetings should be conducted. There was no chairman, no orderly procedure, no opportunity whatever of raising any question. . . ." ¹

While a first requisite is a properly conducted meeting, the responsibility then is directly upon the speaker to respect procedures of public meetings, as he revealed in a letter written to H. G. Wells:

. . . When you address a public meeting, you must do so according to the forms of public meeting, and not publicly insult the chairman by not only assuming his duties and privileges, but actually thrusting him bodily out of his place. You may do that with impunity with worms who know no more about "order" than you do. But have you any idea what would happen to you if you tried it on with, say, Lord Courtney, or with the Speaker of the House of Commons? Learn, rash egotist, that if you were a thousand H. G. Wellses, there is one sancrosanct person who is greater than you all, and that is the chairman of a public meeting. To be ignorant of this, to fail in respect to The Chair, is the lowest depth of misdemeanour to which a public man can fall. ²

Therefore, in addition to responsibilities which stem from careful attention to preparation, content, and delivery,

¹ Shaw, London Music in 1888-89, p. 324.

² Letter quoted in Ervine, p. 418.

which will be described later, Shaw believed that a speaker should meet these obligations in the public speaking situation.

The effectiveness of public speaking
in achieving a particular goal

If Shaw believed that public speaking in a free society is valuable, and indeed necessary, provided all sides can eventually be heard, the question then arises, "What evaluation, if any, did he make of the effects of speaking in general and his own in particular in persuading audiences?"¹

Although an examination of Shaw's writings reveals no conclusive statement regarding the effectiveness of a public speaker in persuading audiences to accept the ideas he puts forth, his actions and the advice already cited indicate that in his early and middle years, at least, he put great faith in the usefulness of public speaking in changing society. While it is difficult to pinpoint the time at which Shaw began to have doubts about the effectiveness of persuasive speaking, Joad believes that sometime be-

¹Evaluations made by others of Shaw's persuasive ability vary from ". . . Shaw's indefatigable political thinking on national and international questions has had no perceptible results" by Jacques Barzun, "Bernard Shaw in Twilight," Kronenberger (ed), p. 175; to "The striking socialist victories in the November 1945 elections were not the outcome of a sudden volte face, but the cumulative result of thousands of speeches and publications during the past few decades, in the making of which Bernard Shaw's numerous Fabian Tracts and other works. . . have played an important part," by A. Emil Davies, "G. B. S. and Local Government," Stephen Winsten (ed.), G. B. S. 90; Aspects of Bernard Shaw's Life Work (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1946), p. 157.

tween the beginning of the century and World War I, Shaw began to falter in his faith in educating people (public speaking being one of the ways of bringing about that education) and in democracy.¹ Supporting Joad's point of view is Shaw's 1917 statement: ". . . I realize as I never did before what a mistake I have made in trying all my life to argue and amuse the English out of their follies instead of simply kicking them."² Further, Blanche Patch, who became his secretary in 1920, stated that, to her knowledge, never "did he ever speak in an election campaign. He was often asked to do so, but he always replied that his electioneering days were over, sometimes adding a crisp note to the effect that, in the days when he did speak, 'all my candidates failed to get in.'"³ Finally, we have a remark made by Shaw in his nineties "correcting" the comments of an early biographer, Henry Charles Duffin, stating: "I never 'realized the futility of preaching to empty pews.' The pews were never empty: what I did realize was the futility of preaching to full ones. Crowded meetings butter no parsnips."⁴

¹C. E. M. Joad, Shaw (London: Gollancz, 1949), p. 149.

²Bernard Shaw, The Matter with Ireland, ed. with an intro. Dan H. Laurence and David H. Greene (New York: Hill and Wang, 1962), p. 136.

³Blanche Patch, Thirty Years With G. B. S. (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1951), p. 204.

⁴Shaw, Sixteen Self Sketches, p. 160.

Thus we see that Shaw had doubts--serious ones--of a public speaker's ability to persuade audiences to his point of view. On the other hand, there appears the reluctance of Shaw to give up opportunities to speak and, perhaps, thereby convert some in his audience to his point of view. It is true that some critics have said that Shaw's continued acceptance of speaking engagements was merely the result of his desire for publicity. Without completely eliminating this as a factor, it should nevertheless be pointed out that Shaw found speaking engagements physically taxing in his later years. Furthermore, he expressed a wish that he not be remembered only as a playwright: ". . . for every play I have made hundreds of speeches. . ." ¹ Also, Winsten reports that during the 1945 elections Shaw listened to the speeches of candidates on the radio, "awarded marks for delivery, sense and sincerity," ² and stated, "Well, I've lived to see the paradox of yesterday become the platitude of today. There must have been some intrinsic merit in what I say because my sentences sound equally good on the lips of Attlee, Eden, Bevin and Dalton." ³ This observation attributed

¹ Shaw, Sixteen Self Sketches, p. 159.

² Stephen Winsten, Days With Bernard Shaw (New York: Vanguard Press, 1949), p. 220.

³ Winsten, Days With Bernard Shaw, p. 221.

to Shaw indicates that even in his late years Shaw looked back upon his speaking experiences as having some positive effects.

In summary thus far, then, we can say that Shaw believed in the value of public speaking to an individual: it seemed to help his own writing style; it could be particularly useful, though not essential, to a dramatic writer; and it was valuable to those aspiring to enter public life. Moreover, he viewed public speaking as important in a free society, provided certain conditions were met, including that of a speaker's accepting his responsibilities in the public speaking situation. Finally, his expressed view toward the persuasive effect of public speaking, particularly his own, upon an audience is often pessimistic even if somewhat inconclusive.

Preparation

Although Shaw does not appear to have described the step-by-step process which he followed in preparing a speech, an investigation of his writing indicates that he held underlying assumptions about the nature of public speaking and advocated a number of factors of preparation. The material from Shaw's critiques of others, his advice concerning speaking, and reports of his own experiences relating to preparation will be presented in the following order: (1) underlying

assumptions related to preparation; (2) analysis of the audience, including time and place; (3) selection of the subject; (4) getting the necessary information; and (5) preparing for delivery.

Underlying assumptions
related to preparation

One underlying assumption which has a bearing on theories of preparation and which is held by Shaw is that public speaking is a learned art. His own determination to learn to be a public speaker and his exhortations to others to achieve competence in speaking in public have already been mentioned. Although Shaw's success in teaching others to speak may be open to further study, his belief that such can be done is epitomized in a statement to H. G. Wells: "I will make a decent public man of you yet, and an effective public speaker, if I have to break your heart in the process."¹ One statement, however, does contradict the point of view that public speaking is learned; in an evaluation of Henry George, Shaw referred to him as a "born orator."² For the most part, however, Shaw's statements reveal that he believed that an individual could learn to speak in public and that

¹Cited in Ervine, p. 419.

²Letter to Hamlin Garland dated December 29, 1904, cited in Henderson, Man of the Century, p. 215.

in-born talent was not a prerequisite.

A second assumption, closely related to the first, is that actual experience in public speaking is the best method of learning the art. Of many statements made to this effect, the following is typical:

I do not hesitate to say that all our best lecturers have two or three old lectures at the back of every single point in their best new speeches; and this means that they have spent a certain number of years plodding away at footling little meetings and dull discussions, doggedly placing these before all private engagements, however tempting. A man's Socialistic acquisitiveness must be keen enough to make him actually prefer spending two or three nights a week in speaking and debating, or in picking up social information even in the most dingy and scrappy way, to going to the theatre, or dancing or drinking, or even sweethearting, if he is to become a really competent propagandist--unless, of course, his daily work is of such nature as to be in itself a training for political life; and that, we know, is the case with very few of us indeed. It is at such lecturing and debating work, and on squalid little committees with perhaps a deputation to the mayor thrown in once in a blue moon or so, that the ordinary Fabian workman or clerk must qualify for his future seat on the Town Council, the School Board, or perhaps in the Cabinet.¹

While this is true it seems erroneous to conclude that Shaw believed that the mere repetition of platform appearances is sufficient to learn public speaking: "I must not leave incipient orators to suppose that my technique as a speaker was acquired by practice alone. Practice only cured my nervousness, and

¹ Shaw, Essays in Fabian Socialism, p. 145.

accustomed me to speak to multitudes as well as to private persons."¹

Since Shaw admits that practice alone was not sufficient to develop public speaking techniques, the question which arises at this point is: did Shaw read and study any body of rhetorical theory available in his day, and did he feel that such would be helpful to a future speaker?

While Shaw in material examined gave no credit to anything that he might have read dealing with any aspect of rhetorical theory, this does not discount the probability of his having read such material nor of the possibility of his views being influenced by such study.² That Shaw spent hours reading every day in the British Museum for a number of years

¹ Shaw, Sixteen Self Sketches, p. 104.

² Although Nichols, p. 126, states that in answer to direct questions, Shaw denied having consulted any rhetorical theorists, certain aspects of Shaw's reply must be considered before drawing conclusions from it. First, Shaw was 93 when he wrote the letter; in other correspondence from this period found in biographies Shaw complained of faulty memory: it would be surprising if he remembered the title of every book he read as a young man. Second, Shaw may have preferred to reply in an overstated fashion in order to stress the value of practical experience; such reaction to questionnaires is not unprecedented. Third, the wording of the questions as cited by Nichols ("consult," "lessons," "study") would tend to elicit immediate negation from Shaw, who repeatedly spoke of the worthlessness of formal education. Finally, as Bentley points out (Chaps. 1, 2), Shaw often attached very specific meanings to words; thus he may have "read" certain books on rhetorical theory even though he did not "consult" them.

is well-known; yet only a relatively few authors or books have been noted in detail by either Shaw or his biographers; works on rhetorical theory could be among his unnamed reading activities. Statements made by Shaw reveal that the works of Aristotle and Plato were familiar to him, even though he did not refer to them in connection with public speaking. Furthermore, scattered throughout his writing are such terms as "syllogism," "a priori," "reductio ad absurdum," "prima facie," "peroration," "extemporaneous," "articulation," "Delsartism"--terms associated in some manner with aspects of rhetorical theory.

While it is possible that he became familiar with such terms solely through speaking and listening or through "non-rhetorical" reading, the strong possibility also exists that at some time an investigation of rhetorical theory was a part of his own preparation process in becoming a public speaker. The only conclusion that can be made, however, is that Shaw primarily credited his own practical experiences and observations for his knowledge and skill regarding public speaking and for the theories which he propounded. Perhaps in addition to practice, the understanding of the theories of preparation, content, and delivery was a requisite for the public speaker; but Shaw did not suggest that speakers study rhetorical theorists to learn the art.

Analysis of the audience, including time and place

As will be shown later, Shaw spoke often of the need for the speaker to consider the audience. Although he did not use the term "audience analysis" as such when speaking of speech preparation, recognition of the nature of a particular audience before speaking is found throughout a letter entitled, "How to Lecture on Ibsen," to Janet Achurch, a well-known actress of the day.¹ Preliminary audience analysis is also implied in the following advice to new Fabians:

When we [Fabians] go to a Radical Club to inveigh against the monopolies of land and capital, we know perfectly that we are preaching no new doctrine, and that the old hands were listening to such denunciations twenty-five years before we were born, and are only curious to know whether we have anything new in the way of a practical remedy.²

Furthermore, at another time he related difficulties he had as a public speaker which he attributed to failure to consider sufficiently the nature of the audience:

I was so full of it [Socialism] at first that I dragged it in by the ears on all occasions, and presently so annoyed an audience at South Place that for the only time in my life I was met with a demonstration of impatience. I took the hint so rapidly & apprehensively that no great harm was done; but I still remember it as an unpleasant & mortifying discovery that there is a limit even to the patience of that poor helpless long-suffering animal, the public, with political speakers. It had never occurred before; and it never occurred again.³

¹Shaw, Shaw on Theatre, pp. 53-58 passim.

²Shaw, Essays in Fabian Socialism, p. 153.

³Letter to Henderson, January 17, 1905, quoted in Henderson, Man of the Century, p. 223.

He considered time and place of speaking, as well as audience background and attitudes, to be a part of the preparation process, although seldom referring to such matters except in terms of the avoidance of certain types of situations. Since he particularly disliked after-dinner speeches, his letter to Janet Achurch telling her how to prepare for speaking included the suggestion: "If there is any artistic club that you can address, get them to ask you to address them. Don't let it be a dinner, because after-dinner speaking is difficult and inconvenient; and the audience is always half drunk."¹ That prior knowledge of the physical aspects of the audience situation is an understood prerequisite for the speaker can be inferred from a comment found in a criticism of a dramatic production which had been held in a large hall: ". . . it was plain that the actors were not eminent after-dinner speakers, and had consequently never received in that room the customary warning to speak to the second pillar on the right of the door, on pain of not being heard."²

Selection of the subject

Shaw had comparatively little to say about selecting the subject for a speech, although on this point, also, we

¹Shaw, Shaw on Theatre, p. 53.

²Shaw, Our Theatre in the Nineties, III, 243.

do find a few comments. His belief that a speaker should be free to select his speech subject was a part of his refusal to accept fees for speaking, a practice referred to elsewhere in this paper.¹ A second point he made about a speaker and his choice of subject is that the choice made is dependent on the speaker's knowledge and experience. It is in this light that he advised Miss Achurch in the previously-mentioned letter:

First, you hope nobody expects that you are going to deliver a lecture. For that, it is necessary to be a critic, an essayist, a student of literature [and] if people want a lecture on the drama or the stage, they must not come to you for it, but to one of the dramatic critics. The subject that you are really going to talk about is yourself--a favorite subject of yours.²

Getting the necessary information

Although Shaw advised others to speak on subjects familiar to them, there seems to be no evidence that Shaw ever turned down an opportunity to speak due to his feeling that he did not have the necessary background! There is evidence, however, that Shaw's own process of preparation included some research for the subject of his speech and that much of it occurred as part of general seeking out of information rather than preparation for a particular speech:

¹ See p. 42.

² Shaw, Shaw on Theatre, p. 54.

his reading, his participation in study clubs, his testing of ideas through informal discussion, which have already been mentioned.

While he read and studied widely, in one article Shaw minimized the research he did:

I am not a complete apriorist, because I always start from a single fact or incident which strikes me as significant. But one is enough. I never collect authorities nor investigate conditions. I just deduce what happened from my flair for human nature, knowing that if necessary I can find plenty of documents and witnesses to bear me out in any possible conclusion.¹

In contrast, however, we have the following information from the 1899 program of Antony and Cleopatra. Although the illustration is concerned with playwriting, it seems indicative of a work habit:

The Play follows history as closely as stage exigencies permit. Critics should consult Manetho and the Egyptian Monuments, Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo (Book 17), Plutarch, Pomponius Mela, Pliny, Tacitus, Appian of Alexandria, and perhaps, Ammianus Marcellinus.

Ordinary spectators, if unfamiliar with the ancient tongues, may refer to Mommsen, Warde Fowler, Mr. St. George Stock's Introduction to the 1908 Clarendon Press edition of Caesar's Gallic Wars and Murray's Handbook of Egypt. Many of these authorities have consulted their own imaginations, more or less. The author has done the same.²

¹ Bernard Shaw, "The Webbs and Social Evolution," New York Times Book Review, November 18, 1945, pp. 1, 19-20, quoted in Henderson, Man of the Century, p. 335.

² Cited in Rattray, p. 135.

Similarly, a reviewer in The Times Literary Supplement stated:

The enormous amount of information on which Mr. Shaw bases his opinions has time and again proved to be of scrupulous accuracy. That his versatility of thought owes both its vigour and practical character to what must be ultimately described as imaginative power is perhaps obvious; but that fact should not distract attention from the variety of his scientific studies and the breadth of his knowledge of history, art, and philosophy.¹

Further, Chesterton, who had appeared on the platform with Shaw and debated against him, wrote:

. . . His apparent exaggerations are generally much better backed up by knowledge than would appear from their nature. He can lure his enemy on with fantasies and then overwhelm him with facts. . . . [After hearing a wild exaggeration a scientist would] engage in a controversy with Shaw about (let us say) vivisection, and discover to his horror that Shaw really knew a great deal about the subject, and could pelt him with expert witnesses and hospital reports.²

Thus, although Shaw said little about research as a specific part of the speech preparation process, there is evidence that Shaw himself did a considerable amount of research, if not for a particular speech, at least upon general topics.

Although commenting extensively on the nature of speech content, which will be described in a later portion of this paper, Shaw had little to say about how a speaker

¹ Cited in Rattray, p. 307.

² G. K. Chesterton, George Bernard Shaw (reprinted ed; New York: Hill and Wang, Inc., 1956), pp. 50-51.

goes about deciding what to say.¹ He did write extensively, however, on preparation for delivery.

Preparing for delivery

From his earliest speaking attempts Shaw relied upon extemporaneous delivery, jotting down a few notes on slips of paper; he described his nervousness during these early attempts at extemporaneous speaking:

During the speech of the debater I resolved to follow, my heart used to beat as painfully as a recruit's going under fire for the first time. I could not use notes: when I looked at the paper in my hand I could not collect myself to decipher a word. And of the four or five points that were my pretext for this ghastly practice I invariably forgot the best.²

His practice, then, for participation in discussions was to concentrate upon a few main points which he noted on pieces of paper.

At first he apparently used this procedure only for relatively short speeches. He was converted to extemporaneous speaking for all situations after being asked to address a Radical Club at Woolwich, one of his first invitations to appear on a platform:

At first I thought of reading a written lecture; for it seemed hardly possible to speak for an hour

¹In his letter to Janet Achurch he told her what to say to particular audiences, not how to go about this phase of the preparation process.

²Shaw, Sixteen Self Sketches, p. 94.

without text when I had hitherto spoken for ten minutes or so only in debates. But if I were to lecture formally on Socialism for an hour, writing would be impossible for want of time: I must extemporize. . . . I spoke for an hour easily, and from that time always extemporized.¹

Although Shaw has referred to making a few notes in preparation for his extemporaneous speeches, apparently he often did not use notes at all. His secretary, Blanche Patch, wrote of: "The occasion [was] for an appeal for the Jews of Eastern Europe, and Shaw, seventy-four at the time, took it so seriously that I got his speech to type out for him beforehand, an unusual request, for generally he spoke without notes."² This also reveals, of course, that on some occasions he spoke from manuscript.

Shaw was not consistent in his manner of preparation for delivery of radio addresses. Reference to one handwritten manuscript for a radio speech³ indicates that on least one occasion he wrote his speech, but a reliance upon "verbatim reports" in several radio addresses available plus an internal reference in one radio address⁴ makes it appear that even in radio addresses the extemporaneous method of delivery was often used.

¹Shaw, Sixteen Self Sketches, pp. 97-98.

²Patch, pp. 234-35.

³"Extraordinary Shaw Collection of Dr. T. E. Hanley," The Shaw Bulletin, I (May, 1952), 13.

⁴Shaw, Shaw on Theatre, pp. 196-97.

The importance of rehearsal as part of the preparation process was not discounted. Winsten reports that Shaw told him, "I am the most spontaneous speaker in the world because every word, every gesture and every retort have been carefully rehearsed."¹ This need not mean that the speech was rehearsed in detail, nor did Shaw give any indication this was his practice. On the other hand, he mentioned often that a speaker should practice the use of the voice and articulation. At various times he attributed his own pleasant voice to the influence of his mother or to Vandeleur Lee; in the following instance he credits Richard Deck, an Alsatian opera singer and pupil of Delsarte:

. . . He taught me that to be intelligible in public the speaker must relearn the alphabet with every consonant separately and explosively articulated, and foreign vowels distinguished from British diphthongs. Accordingly I practised the alphabet as a singer practises scales until I was in no danger of saying "loheeryelentheethisharpointed sword" instead of "Lo here I lend thee this sharp pointed sword," nor imagine that when imitating the broadest dialects articulation is less to be studied than in classical declamation. Lessons in elocution should always be taken by public speakers when a phonetically competent teacher is available. But art must conceal its artificiality; and the old actor who professes to teach acting, and knows nothing of phonetic speech training, is to be avoided like the plague.²

The individual intending to improve his voice should

¹ Winsten, Days With Bernard Shaw, p. 131.

² Shaw, Sixteen Self Sketches, pp. 104-105.

not rely on imitation, for each speaker has his own personal mannerisms and merely to mimic a good voice could be disastrous.¹ Further, the speaker should not try to change his native dialect, but merely to rid his speaking of vulgarities:

All countries and districts send us parliamentary speakers who have cultivated the qualities of their native dialect and corrected its faults whilst aiming at something like a standard purity and clearness of speech. Take Mr Gladstone for instance. For his purposes as an orator he has studied his speech as carefully and with as great powers of application as any actor. But he never lost, and never wanted to lose, certain features of his speech which stamp him as a North-countryman. When Mr T. P. O'Connor delivers a speech, he does not inflict on us the vulgarities of Beggar's Bush, but he preserves for us all the music of Galway, though he does not say "Yis" for "Yes" like a Galway peasant any more than he says "Now" (Nah-oo) for "No" like a would-be smart London actor. It is so with all good speakers off the stage. Among good speakers the Irishman speaks like an Irishman, the Scotsman like a Scotsman, the American like an American, and so on.²

Instead, the individual should learn to improve his voice by developing his own ear; improvement "must be checked by his own ear, not his master's. There is no use in getting other people to listen to him: he must listen to himself with his whole soul until his ear has grown exquisitely sensitive to minute shades of intonation and pronunciation until he cannot go wrong without literally hurting himself."³

¹Shaw, London Music in 1888-89, p. 266.

²Shaw, Our Theatre in the Nineties, III, 108.

³Shaw, London Music in 1888-89, p. 265.

Furthermore, there was awareness of questionable elocutionary training, together with the conviction that the speaker must be careful in studying voice and articulation:

One day when I was expatiating to a friend on the importance of teaching people to speak well, he asked me dubiously whether I did not find that most men became humbugs when they learnt elocution. I could not deny it. The elocutionary man is the most insufferable of human beings. But I do not want anybody to become elocutionary. If your face is not clean, wash it: dont cut your head off. If your diction is slipshod and impure, correct and purify it: dont throw it away and make shift for the rest of your life with a hideous affectation of platformy accent, false emphases, unmeaning pauses, aggravating slowness, ill-conditioned gravity, and perverse resolution to "get it from the chest" and make it sound as if you got it from the cellar. . . . Simply educate your ear until you are fairly skilful at phonetics, and leave the rest to your good sense.¹

These, then, are Shaw's theories regarding the preparation of a speech gleaned from his own writings on the subject. In his views on speech as a learned art, on the role of audience analysis, on the need to know your subject well, on the advisability of extemporaneous delivery, and on the importance of clear articulation he does not differ markedly from material presented in standard beginning speech texts of today. He has almost nothing to say directly about Invention and Style as part of the speech preparation process, but one cannot help but recognize that these are probably

¹Shaw, London Music in 1888-89, pp. 314-15.

the most difficult aspects of speech preparation for even the expert public speaking theorist to describe.

Content

As Shaw's critiques, advice, and his own descriptions of his platform appearances are examined to determine his theories which are concerned with speech content, the following divisions emerge: (1) audience analysis, (2) statement of contentions and attention factors, (3) developing an argument, and (4) refutation. Although obviously these categories are not always mutually exclusive, they provide a convenient method for dealing with the complexities of speech content.

Audience analysis

Even though Shaw's theories of audience analysis as a factor in determining and evaluating speech content are given a prominent place in this portion of the study, an important characteristic regarding his statements about public speaking should be kept in mind: Shaw tends to relate all comments on public speaking to the audience. Whether he is giving advice on speech preparation, describing speech content, or criticizing delivery, references to the audience permeate his remarks. Even though Shaw never explicitly states such a theory, implicit in his actions and statements is his belief in the speech act as a process having the

Aristotelian speech, speaker, audience triangle; and the limitations of categorically separating the various aspects of speaking must be kept in mind. Although this permeation of the importance of the audience¹ through all phases of speech theory makes it difficult to treat audience analysis as an entity, certain theories can be discerned which are more concerned with the role audience analysis plays in determining content than with any other phase of speech theory; and these constitute the basis for this portion of the chapter. Shaw appears to hold the following beliefs regarding audiences, each of which plays a part in determining the content of speeches: (1) the speaker must realize the nature of audiences in general; (2) the speaker must realize the nature of specific audiences; and (3) the speaker must not misinterpret immediate audience reactions.

The speaker must realize the nature of audiences in general. -- Actually, Shaw went further than to advise a speaker to know his audience: he had definite views on the nature of audiences--at least the audiences of the English-speaking world. A speaker should realize, he believed, that most audiences are composed of emotional individuals, misled

¹ Bentley, p. 24, puts it this way: "What he says is always determined by the thought: what can I do to this audience? not by the thought: what is the most objective statement about this subject?"

by their illusions, who must be awakened by extreme means and must be forced to think. A few of Shaw's oft-expressed statements on this theme serve to give evidence of this analysis. For example, he stated, ". . . intellectual subtlety is not . . . [the Englishmen's] strong point. In dealing with them you must make them believe that you are appealing to their brains when you are really appealing to their senses and feelings."¹ At another point he said:

My experience as an enlightener, which is considerable, is that what is wrong with the average citizen is not altogether deficient political capacity. It is largely ignorance of facts, creating a vacuum into which all sorts of romantic antiquarian junk and cast-off primitive religion rushes.²

At still another point the relationship of his general analysis of the audience to the content of the speech is brought out: "The Socialist platform and my journalistic pulpits involved a constant and most provocative forcing of people to face the practical consequences of theories and beliefs, and to draw mordant contrasts between what they professed or what their theories involved and their life and conduct."³

Furthermore, Shaw seemed to think that other speakers would profit from his analysis of the audience in general.

¹Shaw, Our Theatre in the Nineties, III, 323-24.

²Shaw, "Preface to Geneva," Complete Prefaces, p. 879.

³Letter to Henderson, quoted in Henderson, Man of the Century, p. 275.

For example, although praising William Morris's essays on Socialism, he believed Morris's speeches to lack effectiveness because the arguments as he gave them were too subtle for English audiences.¹ At another time he reviewed a lecture by Andrew Lang:

The lecture was, of course, only a Daily News article drawn out to an hour's duration. The ladies giggled resolutely all through, knowing Mr Lang to be a reputed wit of the first water; but there was not much laughter. The fact is that, though it may require surgical operation to get a joke into the head of a Scotsman (Mr Lang is a Scotsman), it requires a sledgehammer to knock one into an English audience.²

Thus, Shaw not only believed that a speaker must know the general nature of all audiences but he had definite views on that nature, views which were part of the theory under which he believed speakers should operate. Coupled with this belief that audiences are complacent and have to be jolted out of their lethargy, however, was a belief that this did not give a speaker unlimited freedom and that he must respect his audience. For example, Pearson reports that in one instance in the writing of his biography of Shaw, he questioned G. B. S. about some anecdotes of him as a speaker. The reply was: "These are pure fiction. They

¹ Bernard Shaw, "William Morris As I Knew Him" in May Morris, William Morris: Artist, Writer, Socialist, II (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1936), pp. xxxviii-xxxix.

² Shaw, London Music in 1888-89, p. 271.

suggest that I habitually trifled with my audiences, which I never did. I knew better."¹

Whether in practice Shaw followed this theory of respect based on audience analysis is open to question, for statements made by those who heard him speak are contradictory.² He did, however, seem to believe in the importance of showing respect for an audience by mentioning it in his letter to Miss Achurch when giving advice on how to prepare a lecture.³

His belief in the theory is further underscored by two incidents described by Shaw. One occurred while giving

¹Hesketh Pearson, G. B. S., A Postscript (1st ed.; New York: Harper, 1950), p. 60.

²Perhaps the lack of agreement on whether in practice Shaw showed respect for his audience was due to individual reaction to factors other than content. For example, Joad, p. 30, states: "This melodious voice was very pleasant to listen to, so pleasant that it enabled its owner to make assertions which, coming from any other speaker, would have been immediately challenged, and to rebuke and even on occasion outrageously to insult his audience without causing a riot. You took the rebukes and the insults in your stride, because the intonation in Shaw's voice took them so obviously for granted. The voice was so fresh, so easy, so bland, so confidential, as if it wanted you to share its confidences, its intonation conveyed so persuasive a suggestion of there being no deception, of Shaw having, as it were, nothing whatever up his oratorical sleeve that, had there been all the deception in the world, you would nevertheless not only have been taken in, but would have been glad to have been taken in.

"At the same time the voice was indifferent, casual, almost nonchalant, as if Shaw did not care a row of pins whether you agreed with him or not."

³Shaw, Shaw on Theatre, p. 57.

testimony before a committee investigating stage censorship, when the discussion became rather heated. Shaw later wrote of his difficulty of keeping his temper before an audience: ". . . the majority of the Committee made no attempt to conceal the fact that they were wildly angry with me; and I, though my public experience and skill in acting enabled me to maintain an appearance of imperturbable good-humor, was equally furious."¹ The other incident, which indicates Shaw's distress when he did not live up to his theory, occurred after a speech on Socialism in Battersea; he told Henderson:

I remember hearing a workman say to his wife as I came up behind them on my way to the station: 'When I hear a man of intellect talk like that for a whole evening, it makes me feel like a WORM.' Which made me feel horribly ashamed of myself. I felt the shabbiest of imposters, somehow, though really I gave him the best lecture I could.²

Thus, although Shaw may have found it difficult to put his theory into practice,³ his analysis of audiences in general included a recognition by the speaker of the need of

¹ Shaw, "Preface to The Shewing-Up of Blanco Posnet," Prefaces, p. 406.

² Henderson, Man of the Century, p. 230.

³ He found it difficult not only to put it into practice, but to evaluate his own practices. Compare Ervine's description of a Shaw speech, p. 345 of Bernard Shaw: His Life, Work, and Friends, with Shaw's remarks about the same incident in Pearson's Postscript, p. 114.

human beings for respect as well as a belief that the audience must be shocked out of complacency.

The speaker must realize the nature of specific audiences.--Although statements referring to the need for a speaker to analyze a particular audience are comparatively few in number, the comments such as those made of the changing nature of his audiences in the late eighteen-nineties cited earlier,¹ indicate that he was aware of the need to adapt to specific audiences. Furthermore, the statement, ". . . there was far too much equality and personal intimacy among the Fabians to allow any member promising to get up and preach at the rest in the fashion which the working classes still tolerate submissively from their leaders,"² reveals that he believed a speaker should adjust his comments to the specific audience situation. Perhaps the most cogent revelation of the need for audience analysis and subsequent adaptation, however, is Shaw's description of a speech of his at St. James Hall, London, in favor of women's suffrage:

Just before I spoke a hostile contingent entered the room, and I saw that we were outnumbered, and that an amendment would be carried against us. They were all Socialists of the anti-Fabian persuasion, led by a man whom

¹ See pp. 53-54.

² Shaw, Essays in Fabian Socialism, p. 127.

I knew very well, and who was at that time excitable almost to frenzy, worn out with public agitation and private worries. It occurred to me that if, instead of carrying an amendment, they could be goaded to break up the meeting and disgrace themselves, the honours would remain with us. I made a speech that would have made a bishop swear and a sheep fight. The leader, stung beyond endurance, dashed madly to the platform to answer me. His followers, thinking he was leading a charge, instantly stormed the platform; broke up the meeting; and reconstituted it with their leader as chairman. I then demanded a hearing, which was duly granted me as a matter of fair play; and I had another innings with great satisfaction to myself.¹

On the other hand, if we turn to the reactions of those who heard him speak to find illustrations of his practice of this theory of audience analysis and adaptation, we again find discrepancies. Joad, for example, whose comments concerning Shaw's speaking ability are, in the main, quite complimentary, reports: ". . . any one of . . . [his arguments] might have been addressed to anybody. 'State, state, state' was his motto, no matter to whom you are making the statement and irrespective of his attitude to yourself."² On the other hand, Chesterton--who took issue with Shaw on a number of counts--stated:

As a rule his speeches are full, not only of substance, but of substances, materials like pork,

¹ Shaw, Sixteen Self Sketches, pp. 100-101.

² Joad, p. 88.

mahogany, lead, and leather. There is no man whose arguments cover a more Napoleonic map of detail. It is true that he jokes; but wherever he is he has topical jokes, one might almost say family jokes. If he talks to tailors he can allude to the last absurdity about buttons. If he talks to soldiers he can see the exquisite and exact humour of the last gun-carriage.¹

Thus, although statements indicating the importance of adapting to specific audiences are not so numerous as those dealing with the general nature of audiences, the need for a speaker's awareness of the characteristics of a particular audience appear to be a part of Shavian theory relative to speech content.

The speaker must not misinterpret audience reactions.--Although it appears unlikely that Shaw meant for this precept to have direct bearing on the content of any specific speech, some evidence exists that Shaw believed it valuable for a speaker to realize that he should not misinterpret the adulation of the listeners. His first "letter to the editor" giving reactions to a Moody-Stankey revival meeting voiced that belief.² Further, his comment, "Crowded meetings butter no turnips,"³ echoes the same thought of a speaker's need to be careful in coming to conclusions of his effectiveness on

¹Chesterton, p. 125.

²See pp. 20-21.

³See p. 96.

the basis of such observable phenomena. In addition, he wrote the following about Gladstone:

The chief difficulty in dealing with Mr. Gladstone as a statesman arises from the fact that his statesmanship, such as it is, has nothing to do with his popularity. . . . It is as an artist, an unrivalled platform artist, that Mr. Gladstone is popular. Jefferson's Rip Van Winkle never attained the vogue of Gladstone's Grand Old Man. Every touch of it delights the public. . . . And Mr. Gladstone, too, is so popular as an artist that it is unpopular to deny that he is a great political thinker. . . . Who dare allude to his speech to his tenants in praise of the eternal fitness of our land system of country gentleman, tenant farmer, and agricultural labourer; or to the paper on the Labour question which he contributed to Lloyd's newspaper; or to his unspeakable views on the wickedness of divorce? The comprehensive infatuation of these utterances could not be exaggerated by the extremest malice of faction; but nobody dares say so because the gallery admires Mr. Gladstone, and the stalls feel that his peculiar type of Retrogressivism (it would be flattery to call it Conservatism) is a strong entrenchment for their privileges. . . . But when there is nothing dramatic in hand, nobody marks Mr. Gladstone except in taking account of his power to prevent Liberalism from avoiding the disastrous collision with Labour which is daily becoming more imminent. At the last election his Midlothian speeches counted for exactly nothing; and the serious reverse which he experienced at the polls excited no sympathy, though the comparatively trivial episodes of the gingerbread nut and the cow brought down the house at once.¹

To repeat, although Shaw does not state that this facet of audience analysis need affect the content of a

¹ Bernard Shaw, "A Symposium: What Mr. Gladstone Ought To Do, IV," Fortnightly Review, LIII (February, 1893), 276-77.

particular speech, his observations of possible misinterpretations of the meaning of audience interest indicate his desire for the speaker to remember it in the over-all plan of persuasion.

In summarizing Shaw's theories of audience analysis as a factor in determining and evaluating content, then, we find him to hold that a speaker must realize the nature of audiences in general, that a speaker should realize the nature of specific audiences, and that a speaker should not misinterpret audience reactions.

Statement of contentions and attention factors

Shaw's theories on contentions are closely related to his theories on the nature of the audience: if audiences tend to be lethargic, then maximizing in stating assertions¹ is a natural consequent. Moreover, he believed that maximizing could be coupled with a style incorporating humor as a distinguishing feature. Thus humor became a technique for the effective stating of serious--even controversial--assertions, a technique which Shaw believed served two important functions: that of gaining attention and that of increasing audience receptivity to his ideas.

While the need for gaining the attention of the audience is implicit in comments by Shaw already recorded

¹ See also pages 92-93.

in this study, one further piece of evidence might be helpful. Although basing the review which follows on a debate which appeared in book form, he recognized that the arguments were originally presented orally, and his criticism does not ignore this factor:

For three hours these two gentlemen debate the question of Home Rule with a self-control, a strict keeping to the point, and an undulled sense of literary form that are beyond all praise. Weaker men would have sacrificed propriety to dramatic opportunity, but not these. James does not sneer nor Andrew swear. There are none of those gusts of wrath in which the raised voice and scornful accent arrest the passer-by with a promise of a fight. The result is that James and Andrew personally impress the reader as a pair of well-conducted and well-informed members of the middle class, whose arguments will serve at secondhand in private wranglings over the question of the hour. Indeed, with Andrew's speeches at his tongue's end, a man might become a finished Gladstonian. But he might also become a finished bore. For the truth is, Andrew, though conclusive, is not convincing. One feels that James, the nether millstone of the debate, might make short work of him by quoting Hegel's dictum that all mistakes are made for good reasons.¹

The theory that attention factors should permeate the entire speech is evident in the following statement:

". . . you cannot listen to a lesson or sermon unless the teacher or preacher is an artist. . . . To read a dull book; to listen to a tedious play or prosy sermon or lecture; to stare at uninteresting pictures or ugly buildings: nothing,

¹ Shaw, The Matter with Ireland, pp. 20-21.

short of disease, is more dreadful than this."¹

Furthermore, the humor which was often a part of his maximizing also served another purpose: that of making the audience receptive. Shaw, who summarized one of his speeches for publication, prefaced the summary with the comment: "A good deal of what I said need not be reported. It served its purpose of keeping the audience in good humor for the moment; and there is no reason why it should survive."² In other words, Shaw believed that in the speech itself it is important to devote a portion of it to the specific purpose of making the audience receptive to him as a speaker.

Although not discounting the need of all speakers to use exaggeration and humor to build audience receptivity, Shaw indicated that the technique was particularly important to one whose speech content might irritate an audience. ". . . Clemens was in very much the same position as myself. He had to put matters in such a way as to make people, who would otherwise hang him, believe he was joking."³ This theory was described in greater detail in the following description of his own experience as a speaker and writer:

¹ Shaw, "Preface to Misalliance," Prefaces, p. 94.

² Bernard Shaw, How to Become a Musical Critic, ed. with an intro. by Dan H. Laurence (New York: Hill and Wang, 1961), p. 276.

³ Archibald Henderson, Table-Talk of G. B. S. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1925), p.73.

Waggery as a medium is invaluable. My case is really the case of Rabelais over again. When I first began to promulgate my opinions, I found that they appeared extravagant and even insane. In order to get a hearing, it was necessary for me to attain the footing of a privileged lunatic, with the license of a jester. Fortunately the matter was very easy. I found that I had only to say with perfect simplicity what I seriously meant just as it struck me, to make everybody laugh. My method is to take the utmost trouble to find the right thing to say, and then say it with the utmost levity. And all the time the real joke is that I am in earnest.¹

The style which a speaker uses to express his point of view, however, should not be separated from what is said. Whether the speaker uses humor or some other technique which serves to gain attention and ensure receptivity, the method should be an integral part of the content, neither superimposed nor technique for the sake of amusement alone. He points out:

I know there are men who, having nothing to say and nothing to write, are nevertheless so in love with oratory and with literature that they delight in repeating as much as they can understand of what others have said or written aforetime. I know that the leisurely tricks which their want of conviction leaves them free to play with the diluted and misapprehended message supply them with a pleasant parlor game which they call style. I can pity their dotage and even sympathize with their fancy. But a true original style is never achieved for its own sake: a man may pay from a shilling to a guinea according to his means, to see, hear, or read another man's act of genius; but he will not pay with his whole life and soul

¹Clarence Rook, "George Bernard Shaw," The Chap-Book, November 1, 1896, p. 539, cited in Henderson, Man of the Century, p. 196.

to become a mere virtuoso in literature, exhibiting an accomplishment which will not even make money for him, like fiddle playing. Effectiveness of assertion is the alpha and omega of style. He who has nothing to assert has no style and can have none: he who has something to assert will go as far in power of style as its momentousness and his conviction will carry him.¹

Since many persons have adversely criticized Shaw for his maximizing and inappropriate use of humor, one statement made by him is particularly interesting. "Confront me with a respectable audience, and my sense of humour gets the better of me: the truths they ignore assume flippant and fantastic disguises in spite of me: the deportment of the truth-teller sinks to the occasion and I become egotistical and shameless."² Thus, though Shaw was explicit in stating his theories of maximizing, attention, and humor pointed out the care with which a speaker should put the theories into practice, he appeared to recognize that he found it difficult to practice his theories.

Developing an argument

Shaw's theories dealing with the development of an argument will be presented in three phases: (1) the speaker should know the steps in reasoning by which his conclusions are reached and should make these clear to his audience;

¹Shaw, "Preface to Man and Superman," Prefaces, p.165.

²From The New Review, January, 1891, quoted in Ratt-ray, p. 81.

(2) the speaker should have an ample fund of factual material to support his contentions; and (3) the speaker should use illustrations, especially those which come from personal experience, to amplify his assertions.

The speaker should know the steps in reasoning by which his conclusions are reached and should make these clear to his audience. -- In a description of William Morris as a speaker, Shaw refers to his own "working his way through a subject" in order to debate upon it.¹ Although references such as this are few, his statements of the uses of reasoning indicate the assumption of understanding the processes as fundamental. For example, he was displeased with a Bradlaugh-Hyndman debate in which neither stuck to the subject;² this indicates a belief that the speaker should know clearly the chain of reasoning implicit in his subject and that a failure to do this might result in straying from the subject. At another point, his comment regarding creativity which must have the reasoning process as a foundation³ indicates that knowing the steps in reasoning is an underlying essential: "As I used to put it prosaically, reason can

¹Letter to Henderson, quoted in Henderson, Man of the Century, p. 181.

²Shaw, Sixteen Self Sketches, p. 88.

³Further discussion of Shaw's creativity and use of the unexpected argument and how it reflected his over-all philosophy can be found in Joad, pp. 77 ff. and in chapters one and two of Bentley.

discover for you the best way--bus or train, underground or taxi--to get from Piccadilly Circus to Putney, but cannot explain why you should want to go to Putney instead of staying in Piccadilly."¹

Furthermore, he believed that the speaker is responsible for making the steps in reasoning clear to an audience. He praised Henry George as a speaker, for example, because among other things his views were explained with clarity.² Similarly, he believed that a weakness in Sydney Olivier as a speaker was that, "Often the ellipses in his reasoning (like the one in his Fabian Essay) made him hard to follow."³

At the same time, however, Shaw recognized not only that there is a difference between oral style and written

¹ Shaw, Sixteen Self Sketches, p. 122.

² Letter to Hamlin Garland, cited in Henderson, Man of the Century, p. 215.

³ Bernard Shaw, "Some Impressions," Sydney Olivier, Letters and Selected Writings, ed. with a memoir by Margaret Olivier (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1948), p. 19. Although Shaw did not give an example from an Olivier speech of such ellipsis, his description on p. 10 of his experience as editor of the Fabian Essays with Olivier's reasoning, referred to in the quotation, sheds light on Shaw's theory: "On reading his manuscript I found a hiatus in his argument which convinced me at first that a couple of pages must have dropped out. . . . [I filled in the gap in the argument and asked Olivier to rewrite it in his own style.] He said that my chain of reasoning was all right; but I could not persuade him that it was not too obvious to need mentioning, nor to take the trouble to translate my version into his own language."

style which might make a difference in what a speaker might have to include, but also that it was impossible for him to theorize exactly how clarity and intelligibility are, in fact, accomplished:

There is a literary language which is perfectly intelligible to the eye, yet utterly unintelligible to the ear even when it is easily speakable by the mouth. . . .

I cannot give any rule for securing audible intelligibility. It is not missed through long words or literary mannerisms or artificiality of style, nor secured by simplicity.¹

In all, there seems little doubt that Shaw believed that a speaker should know the steps in reasoning by which his conclusions are drawn and that these steps should be made clear to the audience.

The speaker should have an ample fund of factual material to support his contentions.--Although this theory has already been described in part in connection with Shaw's theories of preparation,² further investigation of this aspect of speech content is in order since some inconsistencies in Shaw's viewpoint seem to exist. For example, in a critique of William H. Mallock, Shaw wrote that he should ". . . lecture from his imagination at first hand, as I do, and save himself all the drudgery of looking up authorities."³

¹Shaw, Shaw on Theatre, p. 165.

²See pp. 105-108.

³Bernard Shaw, "On Mr. Mallock's Proposed Trumpet Performance (a Rejoinder)," Fortnightly Review, LV (April 1, 1894), 488.

On the other hand, earlier in the same article he admits to having a fund of information at hand to support his point of view: "I cannot say what things were already stored there [in my mind] to help me--scraps of old books, from Piers Plowman to Hakluyt's voyages. . ."¹ This last quoted statement, in addition to those which follow, appears to indicate that although he relied heavily on his memory for information² rather than on research for a particular speech, he regarded specific information as important to a speaker.

This respect for a speaker's fund of information is revealed in comments made about Sidney Webb. Shaw spoke often of his admiration of Webb, particularly for the fund of facts and figures Webb constantly had at hand. His description of the first time he heard Webb speak, apparently when refuting a lecturer, shows his high regard for Webb's approach:

He knew all about the subject of debate; knew more than the lecturer; knew more than anybody present;

¹Shaw, Fortnightly Review, LV, 487.

²Pearson, A Postscript, pp. 120-21, points out a Shavian technique for obtaining information: "Next to his love of clowning and his sense of caution perhaps his most noticeable feature was an almost limitless curiosity. He collected information about everything, as another man collects stamps or coins or first editions. Whenever he met someone who knew all about machinery or voice production or advertising or stained glass or medicine or indeed anything, he pumped that expert dry and stored up whatever knowledge gained by this means might be useful to him in the future."

had read everything that had ever been written; and remembered all the facts that bore on the subject. He used notes, read them, ticked them off one by one, threw them away, and finished with a coolness and clearness that seemed to me miraculous.¹

This theory of the importance of factual information is further exemplified by the description of the weaknesses of Fabian speakers when they first began their activity:

The mischief [of using stock generalizations for speeches] was, not that our generalizations were unsound, but that we had no detailed knowledge of the content of them: we had borrowed them readymade as articles of faith; and when opponents like Charles Bradlaugh asked us for details we sneered at the demand without being in the least able to comply with it. . . . All this is true to this day of the raw recruits of the movement, and of some older hands who may be absolved on the ground of invincible ignorance; but it is no longer true of the leaders of the movement in general.²

A final example can be found in the review of a lecture given by Henry Irving in which Shaw pointed out, ". . . he should be careful to speak from his knowledge and not from his imagination."³

Very closely related to Shaw's theory of the importance of information is his view regarding the use of generalized terms. Although he uses the word "ideals" to describe a speaker's use of general connotative words rather

¹Shaw, Sixteen Self Sketches, p. 107.

²Shaw, Essays in Fabian Socialism, p. 143.

³Shaw, Our Theatre in the Nineties I, 33.

than specific terms which can give meaning to an argument, the position he takes indicates his belief that a speaker should do more than generalize. In his comments as chairman of a debate between Lady Rhondda and G. K. Chesterton, he points out the error of both speakers in doing just that:

I notice also in the course of the debate he [Chesterton] dropped into the habit . . . of dealing with ideals. He used the expression "the home." Whose home?

.

But you know there are other ideals besides the home which you have to be a little careful of. You speak of women in the words "the mother" or "the wife." You had much better talk of Mrs Smith or Mrs Jones or Sally Robinson or something of that kind, because at any rate Mrs Jones and Mrs Smith are human beings, whereas "the wife" or "the mother" means nothing at all.¹

Although Shaw did not state to what extent a speaker should cite the sources of his information, nor were many references to this concept found, a comment on a need for citation in a review of a lecture by Edmund Russell shows awareness of this procedure. After describing some of the statements made by Russell, he went on to say, "No doubt Mr. Russell thinks these tales true; but he was wrong to repeat them without giving sufficient dates, authorities, and circumstances to convince skeptics that truth is sometimes stranger than fiction."² The belief, then, though seldom

¹Shaw, Platform and Pulpit, pp. 168-70.

²Bernard Shaw, "Art Corner," Our Corner, VIII (September 1, 1886), p. 182.

mentioned, concerns the necessity of citing sources whenever needed to achieve audience acceptance of material.

Just as Shaw does not state the extent of citation needed, he does not theorize about how much factual information should be made a part of the speech. The Shavian technique of asserting and saving evidence until directly questioned which was described by Chesterton and quoted earlier in this paper,¹ indicates that Shaw operated under some theory of limitation of the amount of factual material to be incorporated into the body of the speech. This possibility is underscored by his statement which follows a description of the huge audiences enjoyed by Socialist speakers and indicates the need for emotional appeals as well as for information: "Their speeches are crammed with facts and figures and irresistible appeals to the daily experience and money troubles of the unfortunate ratepayers and rentpayers who are too harassed by money worries to care about official party politics."²

On the other hand, concluding that Shaw believed that you should never give information in a lecture³ appears

¹See p. 107.

²Shaw, Essays in Fabian Socialism, p. 293.

³See Nichols, p. 120. The source of this statement attributed to Shaw is not given.

erroneous in light of statements made by Shaw already cited.

Shaw, then, regarded factual information in a speech as highly important, recognized that citation is necessary at times, and yet felt that facts and figures alone are not sufficient for persuasiveness.

The speaker should use illustrations, especially those which come from personal experience, to amplify his assertions.--This theory is a natural consequent to Shaw's statements about attention factors and the quotation cited immediately above. That he held this precept and followed it in practice is illustrated by Winsten's remark: "I have heard him lecture, long ago, in my own youth, to learned audiences: a very serious analysis of our social system; but the part which moved bald head and blue stocking was his account of his experiences as a child. . ."¹

The letter to Janet Achurch with Shaw describing which of her personal experiences as an actress to incorporate into her speech, and which follows his advice of selecting subjects making possible the speaking from experience, affords evidence of the belief that illustrations should be used for amplification:

¹ Stephen Winsten in Bernard Shaw, The Quintessence of G. B. S., selected and with an introduction by Stephen Winsten (New York: Creative Age Press, 1949), p. vii.

Now here I (G. B. S.) must leave you (Janet) to make the real stuff of your speech for yourself. The idea is to quote the sham womanly stuff from *The Lady of Lyons*, *Adrienne*, and so on, and contrast it with passages from Ibsen's plays. A comic performance of the death scene from *Adrienne* would be good. . . . Then give them the sharp, businesslike death scene at the end of *Hedda Gabler*. . . . Allude to Dicken's *Edith Summerson* and *Agnes Wickfield*. . .¹

Shaw was even more emphatic on this point of use of personal experiences in a criticism of a lecture given by Henry Irving: "I do deliberately want to make it impossible for Mr Irving, or any other member of his profession, ever hereafter to get on the Royal Institution or any other platform, and, with stores of first-hand experience to draw on for a sincere and authoritative, and consequently enormously interesting and valuable lecture on his art, to put us off with two columns of stereo. . . ." ²

In summary, then, Shaw held that a speaker, in order to develop an argument, should know and make clear his reasoning process, should have ample factual material to support his contentions when necessary, and should make use of illustrative material for amplification.

Refutation

The final phase of speech content considered by Shaw

¹Shaw, Shaw on Theatre, p. 56.

²Shaw, Our Theatre in the Nineties, I, 35.

in his critiques, advice, and reports of his own speaking experiences was that of refutation. Shaw was famous for his repartee; and remarks which indicate the importance he put upon refutation appear throughout this chapter and the previous one and will not be reiterated here. His comments about the nature of this phase of speaking, however, should be noted.

Although the major adverse criticism leveled at Shaw in this regard was his tendency to avoid direct answers¹ to questions, he never stated any theory of refutation advocating equivocation. He did report one incident, however, which indicates no objection to the principle of stock answers. He wrote that a professional speaker "was hired at £3 a week to follow me to all my meetings and confute me by the Duke of Argyll's Liberty & Property Defence League. He always made the same speech and I always made the same smashing reply."²

¹Two examples of many available illustrate this point. Once after a speech a lady asked Shaw whether he believed in the Immaculate Conception; Ervine, p. 96, described the situation which followed: "The words scarcely left her lips than she received this answer. 'Yes, I believe that all conceptions are immaculate!' which was neither a reply to her enquiry nor in accordance with his own plea for better births and the production of a finer race than we possess." Another incident, reported by Pearson, A Postscript, p. 42, was in reply to the question, "Do you approve of violence in politics: "The politicians have never waited for my approval."

²Shaw, Sixteen Self Sketches, p. 100.

His most specific statement regarding refutation was that a special approach and point of view are needed for effectiveness with this aspect of speaking. He makes this comment in the process of describing William Morris as a speaker:

I must add, however, that though Morris was rich in the anormous patience of the greatest artists, he went unprovided with the small change of that virtue which enables cooler men to suffer fools gladly. The provocations and interruptions of debate, which give experts such effective opportunities for retort that they are courted rather than resented, infuriated Morris, especially when they were trivial and offensive (he could bear with any serious and honest utterance like an angel); so that at last the comrades, when there was a debating job to be done, put it on me, knowing that I could play cat and mouse with any ordinary opponent whilst Morris, in the background, could only devastate his moustache and supply a growled basso continuo of 'Damfool! Damfool!'¹

Just as in the summary of Shaw's theories of preparation, we find that his ideas on speech content do not vary markedly from those noted in present-day texts on speech making. He saw the need for audience analysis, advocated maintaining audience attention and good-will and stating arguments with clarity, pointed to the importance of evidence and illustration in developing arguments, and recognized the special demands of the refutation situation.

¹ Shaw, "William Morris As I Knew Him," William Morris: Artist, Writer, Socialist, II, xxxix.

Delivery

Although evaluation of Shaw as a practitioner of speaking is not the function of this chapter, a description of Shaw's delivery by one of his contemporaries serves as an interesting background for Shaw's theories of delivery:

The first fact that one realises about Shaw . . . is his voice. Primarily it is the voice of an Irishman, and then something of the voice of a musician. It possibly explains much of his career; a man may be permitted to say so many impudent things with so pleasant an intonation. But the voice is not only Irish and agreeable, it is also frank and as it were inviting conference. This goes with a style and gesture which can only be described as at once very casual and very emphatic. He assumes that bodily supremacy which goes with oratory, but he assumes it with almost ostentatious carelessness; he throws back the head, but loosely and laughingly. He is at once swaggering and yet shrugging his shoulders, as if to drop from them the mantle of the orator which he has confidently assumed. Lastly, no man ever used voice or gesture better for the purpose of expressing certainty; no man can say "I tell Mr. Jones he is totally wrong" with more air of unforced and even casual conviction.¹

There is little wonder that a man who could elicit such comments about his delivery--and the one cited above is but one of many which convey the same impression--would have something to say about what constitutes effective delivery. Some of these comments have already been recorded in that portion of this chapter dealing with preparation.² Additional

¹Chesterton, pp. 67-68.

²See pp. 108-111.

statements concerning delivery will be described via the categories of (1) the extemporaneous method, (2) bodily action, and (3) voice and articulation.

The extemporaneous method

Although theories dealing with extemporaneous speaking are being discussed in this section entitled "delivery," it should be kept in mind that the term "extemporaneous" refers to more than simply a kind of delivery: it encompasses a procedure of preparation and decisions regarding content as well. Therefore, although these theories are given a prominent place as a method of delivery, the reader should keep in mind the usual bearing these comments which follow would have on other phases of the speech-making process.

Shaw's personal preferences for extemporaneous delivery have been amply noted. Furthermore, espousal of extemporaneous delivery has a direct relationship to his theories of audience adaptation. That it also is related to a speaker's ability to interest an audience was indicated in a review of the lecture of a Mrs. Russell.¹ Moreover, the strength of Shaw's belief in the theory that extemporaneous speaking is the ideal method for a public speaker can be gleaned from these remarks made to Janet

¹Shaw, Our Corner, VIII, 183.

Achurch:

To begin with, don't write your speech. If you attempt to read a lecture on Ibsen, you will embarrass yourself and bore your audience to distraction. If you haven't sufficient courage and simplicity of character to chatter away pleasantly to an audience from a few notes and your own experience, then let the platform alone.¹

Thus, he seemed to believe that if a speaker could not, or would not, attempt extemporaneous speaking, he should not call himself a speaker.

Bodily action

Although Shaw seldom wrote of bodily action except when he was disturbed by speakers who, he felt, violated basic principles, the few statements he made indicate he was cognizant of the basic techniques. For example, a letter to Florence Farr on April 27, 1893, contains a reference to the need for proper posture on the platform and off it.² Shaw's sharpest remarks on proper posture, however, were addressed to H. G. Wells:

I have yet another technical lesson to give you. When you first spoke at a Fabian meeting, I told you to hold up your head and speak to the bracketed bust of Selwyn Image on the back wall. To shew that you were not going to be taught by me, you made the commonest blunder of the tyro: you insisted on having a table; leaning over it on your knuckles; and addressing the contents of

¹Shaw, Shaw on Theatre, p. 53.

²Bernard Shaw, Florence Farr, Bernard Shaw, W. B. Yeats; Letters, ed. Clifford Bax (London: Home & Van Thal Ltd., 1946), p. 9.

your contracted chest to the tablecloth. I will now, having tried to cure you of that by fair means in vain, cure you of it by a blow beneath the belt! Where did you get that attitude? IN THE SHOP. At the New Reform Club, when your knuckles touched the cloth, you said unconsciously, by reflex action, "Anything else to-day, madam?" and later on, "What's the next article?" fortunately you were inaudible, thanks to the attitude. Now I swear that the next time you take that attitude in my presence I will ask you for a farthing paper of pins. I will make a decent public man of you yet, and an effective public speaker, if I have to break your heart in the process.¹

A published critique of a lecture on Delsarte by Mr. and Mrs. Edmund Russell contains details which not only give evidence of what he considered proper posture but also deal with bodily movement on the platform. First, of Mrs. Russell he says:

Her normal attitude, instead of being one of equilibrium, was not even upright. She constantly swayed and stooped, sometimes with a lateral movement which was distressing and unmeaning; and she held her arms downwards, with the forearms turned outward at an ungraceful oblique angle which was exactly equal at both sides (a curiously elementary blunder). Further, she was draped and made up to so little advantage that I hardly recognized the remarkably interesting and attractive young lady who had been pointed out to me in private as Mr. Russell's wife.²

He adds comments about the use of gesture, also:

My impression of the lecture was that its delivery would not have satisfied del Sarte

¹Letter to H. G. Wells, quoted in Ervine, pp. 418-19.

²Shaw, Our Corner, VIII, 182.

except at a few points. . . Mr. Russell's delivery lacks spontaneity. He is preoccupied with this method; betrays that he is repeating by rote a prepared address; and adopts as his normal facial expression a sort of tragic mask which may have been appropriate enough to del Sarte in the act of declaiming a recitative by Gluck, but which was extremely ill-chosen by a strange lecturer with a suspicious audience to win over. A still greater error, and one into which Mrs. Russell subsequently plunged, was that of acting the lecture as if it were a dramatic monologue, and even accompanying it with imitative gestures. Imagine a temperance lecturer quaffing imaginary goblets and reeling about the platform; or a Socialist orator influencing the moral of the factory acts by imitating the motion of a power loom! How the people would laugh! How del Sarte's ghost, if present and capable of utterance, would unravel the confusion between representation and persuasion, concentration and irrelevance, which had led the speaker astray.¹

Above all, Shaw stressed naturalness in delivery. He disliked "staginess" on the platform and said ". . . acting is the one thing that is intolerable in a lecturer."²

As we attempt to summarize these remarks, we discover that Shaw's theory of bodily action incorporates the following injunctions to the speaker: assume an upright posture which has been made natural to you by constant use of it; keep movement on the platform meaningful; and avoid distracting imitative gestures: keep in mind that you are not acting.

¹Shaw, Our Corner, VIII, 182.

²Shaw, Our Theatre in the Nineties, II, 35. He dislikes the excesses of acting on the stage, also the sentence which follows the one just quoted reads: "Even on the stage it is a habit that only the finest actors get rid of completely."

Voice and articulation

As we consider all that Shaw has to say about the technical aspects of speaking, the greatest proportion of his comments are concerned with the proper use of the voice, even though only a few of his remarks are given here. His concern for adequate volume, for proper voice training, and for developing listening habits which would enable a speaker to use his voice to its maximum effectiveness has already been presented. A few additional comments relating to theory, however, seem in order.

First, as indicated in a letter to Florence Farr, care should be given to the articulation of consonants.¹ Then, though the sounds should be carefully produced, they should appear natural; and provincialisms should be avoided:

First, there was Mr. Russell's excellent enunciation, unforced and perfectly clear. A few obscure vowels were suppressed, as in galry for gallery; a final r introduced, as in arenar for arena; and an occasional Americanism-- jahschoor for gesture, for example--let slip. . . . Mrs. Russell . . . neither speaks nor stands so del Sarteanly as her husband; but she, too, makes herself audible without the least effort.²

At the same time, Shaw admitted that standards for the stage, the platform, and the street are not identical: "I am myself desposed to insist on the right of the individual to the widest latitude; but obviously a line must be drawn

¹Shaw, Florence Farr, Bernard Shaw, W. B. Yeats; Letters, p. 16.

²Shaw, Our Corner, VIII, 182-83.

somewhere; and it should be drawn higher for one who professes speaking as an art than for a private person or a propagandist lecturer."¹ Furthermore, in another instance he concentrated on distinguishing between the care needed on the platform as compared with that necessary in conversation.² To Shaw, however, this admission of varying standards does not seem to excuse the speaker from taking care to improve his use of the voice.

Pronunciation, closely allied with articulation and sometimes difficult to separate from it, also received Shaw's attention.³ Here again he realized that an individual should not make a fetish of "proper" pronunciation: "I hold that the man who regards an intelligibly spelt or prettily uttered word as 'wrong' because it does not conform to the dictionary is a congenital fool."⁴ Yet he believed that standards are necessary; when a reader took him to task for a review in which failure to maintain standards had

¹Shaw, London Music in 1888-89, p. 381.

²Bernard Shaw, "Spoken English and Broken English," On Language, ed. with intro. and notes by Abraham Tauber; foreword by James Pitman (New York: Philosophical Library, 1963), pp. 60-62.

³His interest in proper pronunciation is also revealed in his membership--later chairmanship--on the B. B. C. Committee on the Pronunciation of Doubtful Words.

⁴Shaw, Our Theatre in the Nineties, II, 38.

been decried, Shaw replied by asking the letter writer which he would prefer, ". . . the adoption of average colloquial pronunciation by Mr. Irving, or the adoption of Mr. Irving's pronunciation by the average man?"¹ Though Shaw's remark is in the form of a question, his position on the matter seems quite clear.

Although making many comments on the technical aspect of voice and articulation, Shaw insisted that meaning not be neglected by paying undue attention to sound. In a letter to Florence Farr, for example, he warned her to give attention to meaning.² Furthermore, the following criticism of political speakers he had heard on the radio implies that some of the speakers neglected to pay sufficient attention to meaning:

Most of the politicians are awful. . . . Someone ought to tell them that their House of Commons style, with long pauses between every word to think out what they are going to say next, is pitiful through the mike, especially when they pronounce their prepositions and conjunctions as if they were speaking oracles.³

In conclusion, then, although Shaw began his speaking at a time when the "elocutionary manner" was rampant, his theories on delivery, with emphasis on controlled naturalness, are strikingly like the ones which are dominant today.

¹Shaw, London Music in 1888-89, p. 270.

²Shaw, Florence Farr, Bernard Shaw, W. B. Yeats; Letters, p. 16.

³Pearson, A Postscript, p. 83.

Summary

The theories of public speaking which have been presented here have been derived from Shaw's own statements, from statements which came from critiques of speeches of others, from advice given to others on public speaking, and from comments he made regarding his own speaking experiences. Although a few evaluations by contemporaries of Shaw have been incorporated into the chapter for purposes of illustration, the emphasis has been upon actual statements attributed to Shaw.

Even though Shaw's theories of the art of public speaking are scattered through a wide range of materials, they represent an unusual degree of thoroughness in dealing with the various facets of speech theory. He expressed himself on the nature and function of the art of public speaking, on preparation, on speech content, and on delivery.

Furthermore, although he nowhere states indebtedness to a study of rhetorical theory, Shaw's remarks on public speaking demonstrate an understanding of principles which are comparable to those of classical rhetoric. Also, despite the fact that he did the bulk of his speaking at a time when elocutionary approaches to public speaking were in vogue, his theories bear a striking resemblance to present-day instruction in speech, both in scope and nature. While

his theoretical statements add nothing new to the body of knowledge about public speaking, it is important to note that a man whose primary concern with public speaking was that of a practitioner was cognizant of the theory upon which platform speaking is based.

CHAPTER III

SHAW'S SPEECHES

Purpose and Nature of Entries

Although studies of Shaw as a public speaker have been overshadowed by concentration upon Shaw the dramatist, increasing attention, as previously mentioned, is being given to his rhetorical activities. Furthermore, as stated earlier, this study is not intended as a final evaluation of Shaw's speaking; his speeches merit additional investigation employing a variety of methodologies.

Since such additional studies are possible and desirable, a list of speeches by Shaw could serve a useful function. Although excellent Shaw bibliographies exist, they do not make a distinction between speeches and other types of Shaw material. This factor, coupled with the formidable mass of material by and about him provides justification for a listing of speeches attributed to G. B. S.

Providing assistance for future Shaw studies is secondary, however, to a function implicit in the study of Shaw as a public speaker: even though the listing of speeches represents only a small fraction of the total

output, it can provide evidence of the number of appearances by Shaw before an audience; furthermore, such material can also reveal the kinds of subjects Shaw selected for his speeches. These considerations led to the decision to incorporate into the body of this paper information about speeches available rather than making it a part of the bibliography.

Additional advantages accrue from including such information in the main portion of the paper rather than in the bibliography: a chronological listing, which may be of use in noting tendencies in subject choices, can be used; multiple sources of the same speeches can be made readily apparent; and information not normally included in a bibliography can be made a part of the listing.

Although a diversity of material could be made a part of this chapter, certain kinds of references have been excluded. First, general references, such as statements in in Shavian correspondence mentioning briefly that he had given a speech the past week, will not be included since conclusions derived from such information would be limited. Second, participation in discussions will be excluded; while such references are frequent--even where the content of Shaw's statements might be available--their value in a study of Shaw as a public speaker would be minimal without the

original speeches prompting Shaw's reply. Third, reports of interviews will not be included since Shaw's remarks, though they might be oral, were presented to an audience through an intermediary.

On the other hand, as complete a description as possible of the availability of texts will be attempted. In addition to giving the sources of known texts,¹ summaries of speeches will be listed, but a distinction between text or summary will be noted in the listing wherever such information is known. Texts of papers read, as well as extemporaneous speeches, will be included; but again the distinction will be noted in the description wherever such

¹ Verbatim reports of Shaw speeches are relatively limited, and such material will be duly noted. Since Shaw appeared to submit speech manuscripts for publication after oral delivery and since evidence exists that he often revised other types of published material, the label "text" should not be misconstrued. No attempt will be made to evaluate the amount of revision between delivery and publication of speeches even in obvious cases of alterations such as with "The Quintessence of Ibsenism."

The usual care must be exercised, of course, in relying upon the accuracy of verbatim reports. In a letter in answer to a criticism of a point made in a speech, Shaw pointed out that he had been reported inaccurately. He absolved the reporter of guilt in a typical Shavian fashion: "In the matter of newspaper reporting I suffer from two serious disadvantages. One is that as I am a fairly rapid speaker, the reporter who does not stretch his powers to the utmost soon gets left behind. The other is that reporters almost invariably pay me the high compliment of finding me so interesting that they give themselves up recklessly to the enjoyment of listening to me and throw their duties to the winds." See Shaw, The Matter with Ireland, p. 59.

information is available. Radio addresses will be described as such, not to indicate the type of delivery (extemporaneous or manuscript), but to reveal the nature of the audience addressed.

Since some speech texts can be found in more than one source, all sources which are known will be reported in this chapter except where duplication stems from various editions or collections of "standard" works."¹ In instances meriting the inclusion of various sources, primary position is given to recent collections² with other sources given as they are stated by the collectors even when one of these sources may have been discovered by this writer before consulting the collection.³

¹For example, the Preface to The Apple Cart, which contains a speech text, appears not only in single editions of The Apple Cart but also in Shaw's Prefaces and in the later Complete Prefaces. A similar situation occurs with Fabian papers which have been published individually, as part of Fabian Essays, and in Shaw's collection, Essays in Fabian Socialism. Since such duplication is familiar to those making even a cursory study of Shaw's works, notations of various sources of this type will be omitted from this study. In such cases the text source ordinarily will be a volume which is a collection made by Shaw.

²The basic reason for this decision is simply that such material appears to be more readily available to the reader.

³This should not be construed to mean that every speech source listed by collectors has been verified. While such might be a part of a detailed study of specific speeches, in this portion of this study such an approach appears to be an unnecessary duplication of such scholarly work as that already done, for example, by Dan L. Laurence.

Also included in this chapter are references to speech texts or summaries cited by biographers and critics¹ but not examined by the writer--that is, texts or summaries merely reported as existing but not quoted in entirety in the reference listed. For the most part the citations refer to material in private collections or in newspapers not readily available; the inclusions of information indicating the existence of such material could be of assistance in future Shavian studies.

Finally, some references to speeches which give only the date or a specific audience/occasion description are also listed although no mention is made of the existence of either texts or summaries. This material is included in hopes that such information may help lead to the location of additional speech texts.

The Speeches Listed

Since a few sources appear frequently in this list, the following abbreviations will be used:

MC Archibald Henderson, George Bernard Shaw:
Man of the Century.

NYT New York Times.

PP Bernard Shaw, Platform and Pulpit

¹The practice of multiple listing of sources for this material or of the material described in the paragraph which follows will not be followed since they are sources of information rather than sources of texts.

RS Bernard Shaw, The Religious Speeches of Bernard Shaw

January, 1884 portion of remarks available

Browning Society

discussion of Caliban

MC, p. 143, quotes portion and cites W. G. Kingsland, Browning Society Abstracts.

February 29, 1884 paper prepared, read by another;
abstract available

New Shakespeare Society

on Troilus and Cressida

MC, p. 153, cites Society's Transactions (1880-1885), No. 2, for full abstract.

January, 1885 address reported

Dialectical Society

advocating Socialism

Reported in Arthur H. Nethercot, "G. B. S. and Annie Besant," The Shaw Bulletin, I (September, 1955), p. 4.

January 30, 1885 speech; text may be available

Industrial Remuneration Conference, Prince's Hall, Piccadilly

Hesketh Pearson, G. B. S.: A Full-Length Portrait, p. 59, quotes introduction; MC, p. 232, cites Report of the Industrial Remuneration Conference (London, 1885), p. 400. Brief portion reprinted from Fabian News in C. E. M. Joad (ed.), Shaw and Society (Long Acre, London: Odhams Press Limited, n. d.), pp. 157-58.

February 26, 1885

speech text available

before the Liberal and Social Union at the rooms of
the Society of British Artists, London

"Proprietors and Slaves"

PP, pp. 1-12. Credited source: The Christian
Socialist, April, 1885; reprinted in Liberty (Boston),
May 23, 1885.

March 13, 1886

debate against Rev. F. W. Ford
reported

South Place Institute, South Place, Finsburg, E. C.

"That the welfare of the community necessitates the
transfer of the land and existing capital of the
country from private owners to the state."

reported in MC, p. 224. May be an error in date; cf.
March 13, 1887 reference.

October 1, 1886

reading of paper reported

before the Fabian Society

reported in "The Fabian Society and Socialist Notes,"
Our Corner, VIII (November 1, 1886), 316.

November 9, 1886

paper read; text available

before Economic Circle

"Interest"

"Concerning Interest," Our Corner, X (September and
October, 1887), 162ff. and 193ff. MC, p. 275, states
that this article is "presumably this paper in
expanded form."

Fall, 1886

lecture reported

Fabian Society

"Socialism and the Family"

Reported in E. R. Pease, The History of the Fabian Society, p. 69.

December 17, 1886 speech reported

Fabian Society

"Why we do not act up to our principles"

Reported in "The Fabian Society and Socialist Notes," Our Corner, IX (January 1, 1887), 62. (Scheduled lecturer ill; Shaw substituted.)

March 4, 1887 speech reported

Fabian Society

"Surplus Value"

Reported in "The Fabian Society and Socialist Notes," Our Corner, IX (April 1, 1887), 253. (Scheduled lecturer unable to read promised paper; Shaw substituted.)

March 13, 1887 speech reported

South Place institute

with Rev. W. Ford on Individualists and Socialists

Scheduling of speech reported in "The Fabian Society and Socialist Notes," Our Corner, IX (March 1, 1887), 189.

October 14, 1887 speech reported

South Place Institute

"to protest against the execution of the seven men known as 'the Chicago Anarchists'."

Reported in "The Fabian Society and Socialist Notes," Our Corner, X (November 1, 1887), 317.

November 4, 1887

speech reported

Hampstead, Vestry Hall, Haverstock Hill

"Some Illusions that Blind us to Socialism"

Scheduling of speech reported in "The Fabian Society and Socialist Notes," Our Corner, X (October 1, 1887), 253, and reported in the December 1 issue, page 381.

March 16, 1888

speech; partial summary of
contents reported available

small group, primarily Fabians

reply to R. B. Haldane, M. P.: "Radical Remedies
for Economic Evils"

MC, pp. 235-36, cites George Standring, The Radical,
II, No. 8 (March 17, 1888).

September 7, 1888

speech; text available

Economic Section of the British Association at Bath

"The Transition to Social Democracy"

Shaw, Essays in Fabian Socialism, pp. 31-61, and
Our Corner, XII (November 1, 1888), 257-75.

For Shaw's report of this and for related comments
see Pease, The History of the Fabian Society, pp. 273-
83.

October 5, 1888

paper read; text available

Fabian Society

"The Economic Aspect of Socialism"

Our Corner, XII (December 1, 1888), 352-69. Summary
in To-Day, X (November, 1888), 150-52, with notation
that full report appears in Church Reformer.

February 5, 1889

paper read; text available

at meeting of the Reverend Stewart D. Headlam's
Church and Stage Guild, London

"Acting, By One Who Does Not Believe In It"

PP, pp. 12-23: "Shaw himself drafted the report of
the meeting (reproduced here) for publication in
The Church Reformer, March, 1889."

July 18, 1890

paper read; text available

Fabian meeting, St. James Restaurant, London

"The Quintessence of Ibsenism"

Shaw, Major Critical Essays (London: Constable and
Company, Limited, 1932), pp. 1-150.

September 20-

lectures reported

October 27, 1890

"Lancashire Campaign"

Described in Pease, The History of the Fabian Society,
pp. 95-97.

January 14 & 15, 1891

debate; verbatim text reported
available

Hall of Science, London, G. Standring and E. R.
Pease presiding

"The Legal Eight Hours Question"

MC, p. 229, cites The Legal Eight Hours Question:
A Two Nights' Public Debate between Mr. G. W. Foote
and Mr. George Bernard Shaw, Verbatim Report (Lon-
don, 1891).

Letter from Dan H. Laurence, November 25, 1957, refers
to a three-night debate with same title but dated 1889.

October 16, 1891 paper read; text available

Fabian Society

"The Impossibilities of Anarchism"

Shaw, Essays in Fabian Socialism, pp. 63-99.

February 6, 1892 paper read; text available

Conference of the London and Provincial Fabian
Societies at Essex Hall

"The Fabian Society: What it has done and how it
has done it"

Shaw, Essays in Fabian Socialism, pp. 123-60.

1892 speaking reported

Town Hall of Dover

election speech

Reported in MC, p. 229

June, 1892 speech reported; very brief
summary available

Vegetarian banquet at the Wheatsheaf, London

on vegetarianism

"A Feast for Faddists," The Pall Mall Gazette,
June 27, 1892.

August 4, 1892 speech content described by Shaw

Hall of Science, St. Luke's Parish

on Shelley

Described in Shaw, "Shaming the Devil About Shelley,"
Pen Portraits and Reviews (rev. ed.; London: Con-
stable and Company Limited, 1932), pp. 236-46.

August, 1892

speech reported by Shaw

Manchester

on Socialism

MC quotes a letter on page 362 from Shaw to Webb in which Shaw says: "I have preached an open air sermon & an indoors one--the former in heavy rain--at the Labor Church, Manchester. . . . On Tuesday about 40 female Clubs in the G. P. O. [General Post Office] took a room in the Memorial Hall & got me to lecture to them on Socialism."

December, 1892

speech reported

to the Socialists of Hammersmith

on the controversy over Widowers' Houses

Rattray, Bernard Shaw: A Chronicle, pp. 89-90, cites The Era of December 24, 1892, for this information.

April 28, 1893

speech reported by Shaw

at Bow

Shaw, Florence Farr, Bernard Shaw, W. B. Yeats; Letters, p. 10.

Summer, 1893

paper read; text available

Fabian Society

"The Importance of Anarchism"

Joad, Shaw and Society, pp. 120-25. Joad reports that this tract (No. 45 of July, 1893) first appeared as a paper read to Fabians.

October 13, 1894

extract of speech reported
available

at Westbourne Park

"Mr. Bernard Shaw and the Liberal Party"

Letter from Laurence, November 25, 1957. Source cited: Liberal Magazine, II (November, 1894).

July 12, 1896 lecture; text available

before the Hammersmith Socialist Society at William Morris's Kelmscott House, Hammersmith

"What Socialism Will be Like"

PP, pp. 23-31. Credited Source: The Labour Leader, December 19, 1896.

May 22, 1900 speech text available

the Queen's Large Hall, Langham Place, London;
annual meeting of the National Anti-Vivisection Society

"Queen's Hall Speech"

Bernard Shaw, Are Doctors Really Inhuman? (Michigan City, Indiana: Fridtjof-Karla Publications, 1957), pp. 12-18.

May 30, 1900 speech; text available

Annual Meeting of the London Anti-Vivisection Society, London, the St. Martin's Town Hall.

"The Dynamitards of Science"

PP, pp. 31-36. Credited source: Monthly Record and Animal's Guardian, June, 1900; reprinted as a pamphlet by the Society, 1900.

November 20, 1901 speech reported; very brief
section quoted

before The Article Club, London

described as "first on a Zionist platform"

Reported in MC, p. 180.

January, 1902 lecture; summary may be available

Fabian Society at Clifford's Inn

"Drama"

Content report in MC, pp. 692-93; cites The Daily Chronicle, January 24, 1902.

November, 1902 summary of speech

St. Pancras Council meetings

Portion quoted in H. M. Geduld, "Bernard Shaw, Vestryman and Borough Councillor," The Shavian, II (June, 1964), pp. 12-13. Source credited: St. Pancras Gazette, November 15, 1902. Brief summaries from the following issues of the Gazette are also noted: December 1, 1900; June 10, 1901; December 21, 1901; October 13, 1902; and June 20, 1903. All entries on page 5.

October 2, 1903 summary of speech; text may be available

Glasgow Fabian Society, City Hall, Glasgow, Scotland
on free trade

Summary in MC, pp. 267-68; source cited: Shaw, Is Free Trade Alive or Dead? Printed for Private Circulation by George Standring (London, 1906).

Letter to John Burns, a copy of which Shaw sent to the Webbs, appears in MC, pp. 369-72, and contains Shaw's description of what he intended to say on this occasion.

February (?), 1904 may be speech; text reported available

Election address, St. Pancras

Cited in MC, p. 266. Geoffrey H. Wells, A Bibliography of the Books and Pamphlets of George Bernard Shaw, Supplement to "The Bookman's Journal," London, 1925, lists the pamphlet, Election Address (London: McCorquodale and Co., Ltd., 1904), on p. 13.

April, 1905 speech abstract reported
available

Kensington Town Hall

on Shakespeare: "Bernard Shaw Abashed"

MC, p. 563 and 696, cites London Daily News, April 17, 1905. Letter from Laurence, November 25, 1957, indicates that this was reprinted in part in Tolstoy on Shakespeare.

October 24, 1905 address reported; text may be
available

Guildhall School of Music, London

"Shakespeare on the Modern Stage"

Described in MC, pp. 708-709; credited source: "Shakespeare on the Modern Stage," London Shakespeare League, Guildhall School of Music, London, 1905. Second edition of pamphlet, 1915, pp. 22-26, 38-42.

December 13, 1905 notes from an address

to the Students' Union at the London School of
Economics and Political Science

"Life, Literature, and Political Economy"

The Shaw Review, VIII (September, 1965), 104-110.
Cited source: The Clare Market Review, I (January, 1906), 27-32.

October, 1906 speech summary; includes
contemporary account of method

Onward Buildings

"What is a Fabian Society?"

The Shaw Review, VIII (January, 1965), 25-28. Cited source: Harry Beswick, "G. B. S.--The Orator," The Clarion (London), October 26, 1906.

November 22, 1906 speech text available

City Temple

"The Religion of the British Empire"

RS, pp. 1-8. Credited source: The Christian Commonwealth, November 29, 1906.

November 29, 1906 speech summary available

Guild of St. Matthews at Essex Hall, Rev. S. D. Headlam presiding

on religion

Summary in The Times (London), November 30, 1906, p. 10. See reference to this speech in RS, p. 9.

According to The Shavian, No. 13 (September, 1958), an account of this speech is in The Regional, No. 4 (May, 1958), the bulletin of the New York Regional group of the Shaw Society.

December 16, 1906 speech summary available

Fabian Society

reply to H. G. Wells

MC, p. 253, quotes from S. G. Hobson, Pilgrim to the Left (Edward Arnold Ltd., London, 1938), pp. 106-107. Resume also in F. E. Loewenstein, "The Shaw-Wells Controversy of 1904-1908," Fabian Quarterly, No. 46 (April, 1944), pp. 15-20. Pease, The History of the Fabian Society, p. 174, states that a "toned down" report by Shaw of his remarks

appears in Fabian News, January, 1907. Reprints from Fabian News in Joad, Shaw and Society, pp. 158-165.

May 16, 1907 speech text available

Kensington Town Hall

"The New Theology"

RS, pp. 9-19. Credited source: Christian Commonwealth, May 23, 30, 1907, and shortened form in Los Angeles Examiner, July 21, 1907.

July 7, 1907 speech text available;
transcript

at dinner honoring the managers of the Court Theatre, Criterion Restaurant, London.

reply to toast by the Earl of Lytton: "The Court Theatre"

PP, pp. 36-41. Credited source: souvenir brochure of the proceedings, Complimentary Dinner to J. E. Vendrenne and Mr. H. Granville Barker, 1907. The brochure, which describes the contents as a "transcript, is reprinted in The Shaw Review, II (May, 1959), pp. 17-34.

October 8, 1908 speech text available

pulpit of the Reverend R. J. Campbell's City Temple, London

"Literature and Art"

PP, pp. 41-49. Credited source: The Christian Commonwealth, October 14, 1908.

November 18, 1908 part of debate reported
available

Surrey Masonic Hall, Camberwell

debate on Socialism between Shaw and Chesterton;
Belloc in chair

Letter from Laurence, November 25, 1957. Source
cited: The New Age, March 18, 1909.

February 16, 1909 paper read; text available

Medico-Legal Society, London

"Socialism and Medicine"

PP, pp. 49-74. Credited source: Transactions of
the Medico-Legal Society, 1908-1909.

1909 transcript of testimony

Parliament hearing on censorship

Shaw, in Preface to The Shewing-Up of Blanco Posnet,
p. 400 of Prefaces, refers to the Report from the
Joint Select Committee of the House of Lords and the
House of Commons on the Stage Plays (Censorship)
together with the Proceedings of the Committee,
Minutes of Evidence, and Appendices. Bluebook
#214, pp. 46-53. Wells, in A Bibliography of the
Books and Pamphlets of George Bernard Shaw, p. 23,
reports that Shaw's remarks also appear in "Censor-
ship and Licensing (Joint Select Committee) Verbatim
Report of Proceedings," The Stage, London, 1909.

1909 address; text and extract
reported available

annual meeting of the British Union for the Abolition
of Vivisection

Letter from Laurence, November 25, 1957. Source
cited: New York Anti-Vivisection Society, 1909;
extract in The New Age, 1909.

July 15, 1909 speech reported; text may be
available

second Erewhon dinner

Single sentence quotation in Rattray, Bernard Shaw: A Chronicle, indicates possible existence of text or summary.

October 11, 1909

speech text available

Progressive League Demonstration, City Temple, London

"The Ideal of Citizenship"

PP, pp. 74-82 and RS, pp. 20-28. Credited source: appendix to "popular edition" of the Reverend R. J. Campbell's The New Theology, London, 1909.

September or

October, 1910

portion of speech quoted; summary
or text may be available

Memorial Hall, London

on the abolition of destitution and unemployment

MC, p. 785, quotes portion and cites Shaw, "The Final Ideal for Civic Life," The Christian Commonwealth, October 12, 1910. A description of Shaw on the platform and summary of content in John J. Weisert, "Bahr Describes GBS on the Platform," The Shaw Review, II (January, 1959), 13-15, apparently refers to the same speech.

October 3, 1910

description of speech

Antient Concert Rooms, Dublin

"Poor Law and Destitution in Ireland"

Michael J. O'Neill, "Some Shavian Links With Dublin As Recorded In The Holloway Diaries," The Shaw Review, II (May, 1959), 5-6.

December 6, 1910

speech text available

Musical Association

"The Reminiscences of a Quinquagenarian"

Bernard Shaw, How to Become a Musical Critic, ed. with an intro. by Dan H. Laurence (New York: Hill and Wang, 1961), pp. 267-78. Credited source: Proceedings, 37th Session, 1910-11; reprinted in part in The New Music Review, New York, August, 1912. Shaw provided the published report.

May 29, 1911 speech text available

the Heretics Society, Cambridge

"The Religion of the Future"

RS, pp. 29-37. Credited source: based on news reports reprinted by the Heretics in a pamphlet dated July 11, 1911.

June 13, 1911 speech text available

Annual Meeting of the Coal Smoke Abatement Society, London

"Smoke and Genius"

PP, pp. 82-85. Credit source: the Society's annual transactions, 1910-11; reprinted in Smokeless Air, Winter 1950.

November 30, 1911 speech text available; debate

Memorial Hall, London

"Shaw vs Chesterton"

PP, pp. 86-93. Credited source: The Christian Commonwealth, December 6 and 13, 1911. Portion reprinted from Fabian News in Joad, Shaw and Society, pp. 168-69.

1911 lecturing reported and summarized
on education

Educational Review, XLII (December, 1911), 533-38.

1911 summary of lecture reported
available

to London Schools Musical and Dramatic Association

"Art in Education"

Letter from Laurence, November 25, 1957. Source
cited: reprinted as leaflet.

March 21, 1912 speech text available

New Reform Club, London

"Modern Religion I"

RS, pp. 38-49. Credited source: The Christian Commonwealth, April 3, 1912; apparently prepared for publication by Shaw based on reporter's notes. Also reprinted in The Shavian, II (October, 1961), 11-20.

June 6, 1912 speech text reported available

annual meeting of the British Union for the Abolition
of Vivisection, Caxton Hall, Westminster

"Mr. Bernard Shaw on the Uselessness of the
Vivisection Inspector"

Letter from Laurence, November 25, 1957. Source
cited: pamphlet, London (1912).

October 11, 1912 speech text available

at the War Against Poverty Demonstration, under the
joint auspices of the Independent Labour Party and
The Fabian Society, Albert Hall, London

"The Crime of Poverty"

PP, pp. 93-96. Credited source: The Labour Leader,
October 17, 1912.

December 6, 1912

speech text available

Memorial Hall, London

"What Irish Protestants Think" or "The Protestants of Ireland, II"

RS, pp. 50-53, and Bernard Shaw, The Matter with Ireland, ed. with an intro. by Dan H. Laurence and David H. Greene (New York: Hill and Wang, 1962), pp. 71-74. Credited source: pamphlet, What Irish Protestants Think: Speeches on Home Rule, London, 1912.

January 28, 1913

speech text available; debate with Hilaire Belloc

Queen's Hall, London

"Property or Slavery?"

PP, pp. 96-99. Credited source: Arthur Charles Fox-Davies (ed.), The Book of Public Speaking (London: 1913), Vol. V. According to Shaw in the speech "The Case for Equality," this speech was reported in all papers except the Times and Daily Mail. Portion reprinted from Fabian News in Joad, Shaw and Society, p. 170.

May 1, 1913

speech text available; includes critiques of four others and Shaw's rejoinder

National Liberal Club, London

"The Case for Equality"

Bernard Shaw, The Socialism of Shaw, ed. with an intro. by James Fuchs (New York: Vanguard Press, 1926), pp. 49-83. Credited sources: publication of the National Liberal Club Political and Economic Circle (London, 1913) and Metropolitan Magazine (New York), December, 1913.

May, 1913

speech reported; text may be available

meeting of the General Committee of the Shakespeare Memorial Fund

MC, p. 156, cites the Yorkshire Observer, May 16, 1913.

1913 speech reported

Oxford University

public lecture on the origin of the drama

Reported by Joad, Shaw, p. 29.

October 20, 1913 verbatim speech text reported available

"Economics of the Three Arts"

Letter from Laurence, November 25, 1957. Source cited: The Three Arts Journal, I (November, 1913).

October 30, 1913 speech text available

City Temple

"Christianity and Equality"

RS, pp. 54-59. Credited source: Commonwealth, November 5, 1913; "in the syllabus of the City Temple Literary Society for the years 1913-1914, it was referred to under the title, 'Christian Economics.'"

February 28, 1914 speech reported

Examination Hall at Oxford

on drama, in which he "extolled Brieux as the Sophocles of the time"

Reported by Rattray, Bernard Shaw: A Chronicle, p. 188.

March, 1914 speech text or summary
reported available

"The Art and Craft of Playwriting"

E. J. West, editor of Shaw on Theatre, p. 296, cites
the Oxford Chronicle, March 6, 1914, p. 7.

March 26, 1914 brief summary of speech

at a demonstration held for the purpose of advocating
Socialist unity

NYT, March 27, 1914, p. 1.

June, 1914 small portion of speech quoted;
text may be available

Congress at the Imperial Institute on Next Steps
in Education

on sex education

Quoted, with no source given, by T. F. Evans, "Shaw
in 1914," The Shavian, II (June, 1964), p. 18.

November 4, 11, speech texts or summaries reported
18, 1914 available

Kingsway Hall

"Income, Equality, and Idolotry;" "An Examination
of Idolotry;" "Equality and Incentives"

Letter from Laurence, November 25, 1957. Source
cited: special reports of Shaw's Kingsway Hall
Lectures, 1914, Christian Commonwealth.

1914 lecture reported

Kingsway Hall

"Redistribution of Income"

Reported by Pease, The History of the Fabian Society,
p. 233.

October 26, 1915 summary of speech; text may be
available

Fabian Society, King's Hall, Covent Garden

"Illusions of the War"

NYT, October 28, 1915, p. 3, with briefer report on
October 27. Article states that fullest report is
to be found in The Manchester Guardian.

November 24, 1915 summary of address available

King's Hall

"The World after the War"

NYT, November 25, 1915, p. 1.

December 2, 1915 long summary with excerpts quoted
available

mother's meeting, East London Federation of
Suffragettes, Sylvia Pankhurst presiding

"The Nation's Vitality"

NYT, December 19, 1915, II, 12. Brief report of
this speech is also found in NYT, December 3, p. 1.

October 27, 1916 speech reported

King's Hall, Covent Garden

"Life"

Reported by MC, p. 848.

1916 text available; "ghosted" speech

for trial of Roger Casement; delivered in court
after verdict delivered

Shaw, The Matter with Ireland, pp. 119-22.

April 23, 1917 paper read; text available

before the Aristotelian Society

"Ethical Principles of Social Reconstruction"

PP, pp. 99-110. Credited sources: Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society 1916-1917 and The New York American, July 1 and 8, 1917.

October 20, 1918 brief summary of speech

Abbey Theatre, Dublin

"Equality"

O'Neill, The Shaw Review, II (May, 1959), 7.

October 26, 1918 brief summary of speech

Dublin Literary Society at Little Theatre

"Literature in Ireland" (reading of O'Flaherty, V.C. originally scheduled)

O'Neill, The Shaw Review, II (May, 1959), 7.

June or July, 1919 speech text available

British Music Society

"The Future of British Music"

Shaw, How to Become a Musical Critic, pp. 303-309.
Credited source: "Starved Arts Mean Low Pleasures" in The Outlook, July 19 and 26, 1919.

October, 1919 text of very short speech available

before drama critics assembled at performance of Heartbreak House at Royal Court Theatre, London

MC, p. 627. Credited source: The Daily News, August 19, 1921. A discrepancy exists, however, in that

Henderson also stated the play opened October 18 and critics assembled the following Wednesday.

November 13, 1919 speech text available

under auspices of the Hampstead Ethical Institute,
Hampstead Conservatoire, London

"Modern Religion" or "Modern Religion II"

PP, pp. 110-130, and RS, pp. 60-80. Credited source:
The New Commonwealth, Supplement, January 2, 1920.

November 21, 1919 speech text available

Ruskin Centenary Exhibition, held at the Royal
Academy of Arts, London

"Ruskin's Politics"

PP, pp. 130-144. Credited source: book of that
title issued by the Ruskin Centenary Council,
London, 1921.

November 28, 1919 speech text available

The Fabian Society

"Socialism and Ireland"

Shaw, The Matter with Ireland, pp. 214-232. Credited
source: published as Supplement to The New Common-
wealth, December 12, 1919.

March 18, 1920 text of speech available

Union Society of University College, London

"Foundation Oration"

PP, pp. 144-61. Credited source: verbatim report
issued by the Society as a pamphlet in 1920 with
corrections made by Shaw in 1929 incorporated into
the text.

Donnay, the lecturer of the day

The Times (London), January 19, 1922, p. 8.

September, 1922 speech summarized with portions
quoted

Abernethia Society of St. Thomas's Hospital

"The Advantages of Being Unregistered"

NYT, September 17, 1922, II, 10. Account sent to
NYT by correspondent of the American Medical
Association.

October 4, 1922 text reported

University College, London

on phonetics

MC, p. 858, cites The Morning Post, October 5, 1922.

November 18, 1923 lecture reported

Crosby Hall, London

"Saint Joan of Arc"

MC, pp. 599-600, refers to this speech.

late 1923 excerpts of speech available

Vegetarian Society of London University

NYT, December 9, 1923, IV, 10.

May 31, 1924 text of address reportedly
available

annual assembly, the English Association at Bedford
College, Regent's Park, London

MC, p. 858, cites the Manchester Guardian, June 2,
1924.

Shaw, The Socialism of Shaw, pp. 147-55, and Lewis Copeland (ed.), The World's Great Speeches (2nd rev. ed.; New York: Dover, 1958), pp. 208-11.

at British Theatre Museum according to "Other Intelligence Theatrical," The Shavian, II (February, 1960), pp. 35-36.

NYT December 12, 1926, IX, 3; brief extracts also in NYT, November 25, 1926, p. 27.

Summation in PP, pp. 168-171. Credited source:
Time and Tide, February 4, 1927.

February 11, 1927 summary with excerpts available
 at opening of the Osteopathic Clinic for the poor
 NYT, February 12, 1927, p. 4.

March 18, 1927 speech text available

BBC broadcast

"Beethoven's Centenary"

Shaw, Pen Portraits and Reviews, pp. 30-35; reprinted
 from The Radio Times, March 18, 1927. MC, p. 199,
 reports it also appeared in the New York American,
 March 20, 1927.

May 20, 1927 speech text available

in behalf of the Cecil Houses Fund, in the King's
 Theatre, Hammersmith

"Woman--Man in Petticoats"

PP, pp. 172-78. Sources credited: New York Times
Magazine, June 19, 1927; reprinted in the Cecil
Houses (Inc.) Report 1927/8.

June 16, 1927 speech summary available

International Conference on English, Royal Society
 of English

spoke on "no such things as correct English speech"

The Times (London), June 17, 1927, and NYT, June
 17, 1927, p. 27.

The speech referred to by MC, p. 858, given before
 the Anglo-American Conference on the Preservation of
 the English Language, for which Henderson cited NYT,
 January 2, 1927, and which could not be found in
 the paper of that date, may be the same one noted
 above.

NYT of June 17, 1927, p. 27, also reports another speech by Shaw the same night as the one above, but one which was not completed. As he attempted to speak for the British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection, he was "howled down" by medical students and could not finish his speech.

November 18, 1927 text available

delivered before a demonstration of Secrets of Nature films, in the London Pavilion Theatre

"A Relief from the Romantic Film"

PP, pp. 178-83. Credited source: The Illustrated London News, December 3, 1927.

November 23, 1927 summary of speech by Shaw
available

Kingsway Hall, Kingsway, Holborn

"Democracy as a Delusion"

Advertisement of Fabian Society; reproduced copy by courtesy of Dan H. Laurence.

late 1927 or
January, 1928 recording and text available

"Spoken English and Broken English"

Commercial recording: Linguaphone, SHIE; also brochure with text

Text is also available in NYT, January 15, VIII, 14, and in Shaw, On Language (ed., with an intro. and notes by Abraham Tauber; foreword by James Pitman; New York: Philosophical Library, 1963), pp. 56-64.

February 11, 1928 speech text reported available

at opening of Osteopathic Association Clinic

"G. B. S. on Osteopathy"

Letter from Laurence, November 25, 1957. Source cited: pamphlet.

1928 debate with Chesterton; text available

"Do We Agree?"

Published as separate volume: Chesterton, G. K. and Bernard Shaw, Do We Agree? Hartford, Conn.: Mitchell, 1928, and London: Palmer, 1928.

June, 1928 (?) brief comments summarized and available

Movietone appearance

NYT, June 26, 1928, p. 28.

June 8, 1928 speech text available

before the Special General Conference of the Chief Constables' Association, held at Harrogate

"Censorship As a Police Duty"

PP, pp. 183-200. Credited source: Conference Reports, 1928.

November 22, 1928 Shaw's summary and stenographic report in part (full newspaper page) available

The Fabian Society, Kingsway Hall, Kingsway, Holborn

"The Future of Western Civilization"

Shaw's summary in advertisement of Fabian Society; reproduced copy courtesy of Dan H. Laurence. Text in NYT, December 9, 1928, XI, 5.

December 7, 1928 text (excerpts) available

The Royal Academy of Dramatic Art at the Academy

Theatre, London; BBC broadcast

"Bernard Shaw Talks about Actors and Acting"

Shaw, Shaw on Theatre, pp. 186-198. Credited source of verbatim report: NYT, January 6, 1929.

August 5, 1929 extensive excerpts available

British Independent Labour Party's Summer School
at Welwyn in Herfordshire

"Defines Socialism As Work for Everybody"

NYT, August 25, IX, p. 4, 9. Shorter summary with
excerpts appears in NYT, August 6, 1929.

September 13, 1929 text available

the third International Congress of the World
League for Sexual Reform, held in the Wigmore Hall

"The Need for Expert Opinion in Sexual Reform"

PP, pp. 200-207. Credited sources: Sexual Reform
Congress, ed. Norman Hare, London, 1930; an unauthor-
ized verbatim report, at variance with the official
text as approved by Shaw, appeared in Time and Tide,
September 20, 1929. Text also published in The
Regional, II (December, 1959).

October 11, 1929 text available

"Speech as Guest of Honor at London Critics Circle
Annual Luncheon"

Shaw, Shaw on Theatre. Source credited: NYT,
October 12, 1929.

October 14, 1929 stenographic text available

BBC address

on Democracy

Shaw's summary in advertisement of Fabian Society;
reproduced copy courtesy of Dan H. Laurence. Text
in NYT, December 15, 1929, XI, 8.

NYT, February 1, 1930, p. 14. Letter from Laurence, November 25, 1957, reports that this also appears in Drama, VIII (March, 1930).

RS, pp. 81-88. The editor states that the next day's New York Times and Manchester Guardian carried somewhat differing abridgements and that the recording made of the speech had lapses in it; the text in this collection is based on all three sources.

"Mansfield House Settlement: A Speech by George

November 14, 1930 speech reported; text may be
 available

on art

November 28, 1930 brief excerpts available

on defects in Labour Government

early 1931 text or summary may be available

May, 1931 speech text available; described
 as verbatim report

London, Institute of Journalists

"G. B. S. and the 'Time Lag'"

May 16, 1931 brief excerpts available

Letchworth

"Libraries and the English Language"

NYT, May 17, 1931, p. 22.

May 30, 1931 speech text available

BBC

"Saint Joan"

PP, pp. 208-216. Credited source: The Listener,
June 3, 1931. Reprinted in The Listener, January 14,
1954.

July 25, 1931 small portion of speech available

Leningrad

on Lenin

NYT, July 28, 1931, p. 6.

July 27, 1931 text available

speech for simultaneous radio broadcast and motion
picture filming, Moscow

"Lenin"

PP, pp. 216-18. Credited source: The Left Review,
December, 1934.

August 5, 1931 speech text available

Independent Labour Party National Summer School,
Digwell Park

"The Only Hope of the World"

PP, pp. 218-26. Credited source: The New Leader
(London), August 7, 1931. Summary with excerpts
also appears in NYT, August 6, 1931, p. 11.

August, 1931 speech reported; text may be
available

National Theatre Guild, Winter Gardens, Malvern

MC, p. 156, cites Worcester Daily News, August 20,
1931.

October 11, 1931 speech text available

Shortwave broadcast to the United States from London

"Look, You Boob! A Little Talk on America"

PP, pp. 226-34. Credited source: pamphlet by the
Friends of the Soviet Union, London, December 15,
1931; unexpurgated text was published in New York
American, October 12, 1931. Text also in NYT,
October 12, 1931.

October 23, 1931 speech reported; text may be
available

Caxton Hall, Westminster, London

"Drink"

MC, p. 776, cites the Manchester Guardian, October
23, 1931.

November 26, 1931 speech excerpts available

Fabian Society

on Russia

NYT, November 27, 1931, p. 19.

February, 1932 speech text available

first broadcast relayed throughout Union of South
Africa

"The Dangers of a 'Sun Trap'"

PP, pp. 259-261. Credited source: The New York Times,

March 26, 1933.

April 11, 1933 speech text available

American Academy of Political Science, New York City

U. S. publication: Bernard Shaw, The Future of Political Science in America (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1933).

British publication: The Political Madhouse in America and Nearer Home; a Lecture (London: Constable, 1933).

Text also in NYT, April 12, 1933.

Shaw's notes for this lecture are at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

September 23, 1933 speech text available

Friends House, Euston Road, London

"Bradlaugh and Today"

RS, pp. 89-93. Credited source: pamphlet issued for the Centenary Committee by C. A. Watts & Co., Ltd., and The Pioneer Press.

November 23, 1933 extensive excerpts from the
stenographic report available

Fabian Society

"The Politics of Unpolitical Animals"

NYT, December 10, IX, 2. Brief excerpts in NYT, November 24, 1933, p. 14.

November 28, 1933 text (verbatim report) and
recording available

British Drama League Conferences, Edinburgh

"Playwrights and Amateurs"

Recording report in Bosworth, The Shaw Review, VII, 43: Lit. No. 130; total i' 12" (12 (RM6607)).

Published text in Shaw, Shaw on Theatre, pp. 228-236. Credited source: Drama XII, December, 1933.

February 6, 1934 recording text available

BBC broadcast

"Whither Britain"

Recording report in Bosworth, The Shaw Review, VII, 43-44: Lit. No. 120; total 32' 13" (12RM65221). Bosworth also reports this was published by the Labour Party in 1934 under the title "Are We Heading for War?"

Published text: The Listener, XI (February 7, 1934), 215-16+. Script: archives the The Shaw Society, London, according to The Shavian, No. 4, N.S., p. 27.

1934 test reported available

New Zealand

"What I Said in New Zealand"

Letter from Laurence, November 25, 1957. Source cited: What I Said in New Zealand (Wellington, New Zealand, 1934); Rare Books of New York Public Library.

1934 summary of speech with excerpts

Ayot St. Lawrence Women's Institute

"How to Quarrel Properly"

Allan Chappelow (ed.), Shaw the Villager and Human Being; A Biographical Symposium (London: Charles Skilton Ltd., 1961), pp. 98-100.

August, 1934 text reportedly available

Great Malvern

"How Shaw Writes his Plays"

MC, p. 748, quotes from Sheffield Daily Telegraph,
August 15, 1934.

January 20, 1935 text available

BBC broadcast

"Film Censorship"

PP, pp. 261-62. Credited source: The Listener,
January 30, 1935.

June 18, 1935 text available

BBC broadcast

"Freedom"

PP, pp. 263-70. Credited sources: The Listener,
June 26, 1935; reprinted in Freedom, London, 1936.

December 7, 1935 text available

Congress of Peace and Friendship with the U. S. S. R.,
London

"Britain and the Soviets"

PP, pp. 270-73. Credited source: Britain and the
Soviets, London, 1936.

July, 1936 text available

special talk filmed for the motion picture, "B.B.C.,
the Voice of Britain"

"Truth by Radio"

PP, pp. 273-75. Credited source: amended for
publication in World Film News, July, 1936.

June 11, 1937

recording and text available

BBC broadcast for Sixth Form students

"School"

Recording report in Bosworth, The Shaw Review, VII, 44: LP 26401, 16' 03" (12FR0106289).

Text: PP, pp. 275-82. Credited source: The Listener, June 23, 1937.

November 2, 1937

recording and text available

BBC shortwave broadcast to the Empire from London

known under various titles: "As I See It," "So Long, So Long", "This Danger of War," "Shaw Speaks on War," "Religion and War"

Recordings available: commercial by Heritage; Bosworth, The Shaw Review, VII, 44 reports that the BBC recording is of better quality: Lit. No. 9600, (12RH37920). Recording of good quality also available at National Voice Library, Michigan State University.

Texts: PP, pp. 282-86. Credited sources: The Listener, November 10, 1937 and Vital Speeches of the Day, November 15, 1937. Also, RS, pp. 94-99. Additional credited sources: Sarett & Foster (eds.), Modern Speeches on Basic Issues (1939) and The Shavian, I (December, 1953).

April 18, 1938

text of speech and recording of extracts available, manuscript

BBC broadcast; The National Theatre; Handing over deeds of Site

"Prologue to The Dark Lady"

Recording of extracts: Bosworth, The Shaw Review, VII, 44: Lit. No. 1794, (BBC2743).

Text: The Listener, XIX (April 27, 1938), 883, 914;

"Goodbye, Goodbye"

Recording: Bosworth, The Shaw Review, VII, 45: Lit No. 10595, 12RH43418.

Text: PP, pp. 292-94. Credited source: edited from an unpublished transcript of the verbatim text.

October 9, 1946

recording available

recorded for broadcast by BBC (Shaw too feeble to attend ceremonies)

"Receives the Freedom of the Borough of St. Pancras"

Bosworth, The Shaw Review, VII, 45: Lit No. 9822, (12RM39366). MC quotes a portion of this speech, pp. 263-64. Recording also available at National Voice Library, Michigan State University.

November 12, 1947

recording of extracts of a dialogue available

BBC broadcast

London Theatre; with C. B. Cochran

Bosworth, The Shaw Review, VII, 45-46: Lit. No. 11312 (12RH46883).

1948

verbatim speech text available

religious service dedicating a new gate at ruins of abbey at Ayot St. Lawrence

Chappelow, Shaw the Villager, pp. 267-68.

date unknown

portion of speech reported available

on political intervention in local government:
"Discard the Party System"

Letter from Laurence, November 25, 1957. Source cited: "Party Welfare or Public Welfare?" Citizen, II (January-February, 1948).

Summary

Although this list of speeches may appear impressive, the number falls far short of the total of approximately 2000 usually attributed to Shaw.¹ Of the entries numbering nearly 175, approximately two-thirds are verified texts, portions of texts, or summaries of speeches. In addition, nearly half of the remaining entries are of text or summaries which are reported available but are difficult to obtain, primarily because they are in private collections or in British newspapers. The remaining entries are, for the most part, of speeches for which date and occasion have been found and which may furnish a guide for future tracing of texts as well as for observations regarding audiences and selection of subjects.

Even though these entries constitute less than ten percent of the total number of speeches attributed to Shaw, however, certain observations regarding the audience, subject choices, and suggestions for further study can be made.

Audiences

While only limited conclusions can be drawn regarding audiences, the entries tend to bear out statements made in biographies and critical studies of Shaw: that he spoke

¹ Laurence in "Introduction," Shaw, Platform and Pulpit, p. xiv.

to diverse audiences. The only generalized classification of audiences which appears with any regularity is that of the Fabian Society, although even such situations constitute less than a fifth of the entries noted. The factor of greatest interest, then, in examining the speech listings in detail is the range of audience situations which are represented.

Selection of subjects

Subjects represented by the entries can be put into the following broad groups: politics, the arts, religion, education, and medicine (including vegetarianism and vivisection). Conclusions regarding proportionate relationships among subject choices indicated by the entries are difficult to make for two basic reasons: more than one subject is dealt with in a single speech; and subjects could not be determined for all entries made. Within these limitations, however, we can note that over one-half of the entries deal basically with political subjects, nearly one-third with the arts, and the rest with the other three categories. Before any estimate can be made as to whether these subject choices indicated by the entries are representative, the entries should be examined in light of statements made in Chapter I of this study.

The chronological divisions of Chapter I important

at this point are: 1898, the year Shaw decided to curtail his public speaking; 1914, the year World War I began and Shaw's political expressions became extremely unpopular, although he eventually reached great heights of popularity; and 1931, the year of his Moscow visit and apparent change in his avowed political point of view.¹

Although the bulk of Shaw's speaking, according to biographers and Shaw himself, occurred in the pre-1898 period, only a small portion of the entries on the list belong to this period. Even more important, only 10% of the established texts are from this period; and cursory examination reveals very few, if any, verbatim reports.² Although political speeches dominate this portion of the entire, the number is too few to make any judgment of subject choice; Shaw's own statements regarding subjects are just as valid. Furthermore, this very limited sampling of speeches available for the years prior to 1898 means that all studies of Shaw as a speaker must approach with great

¹Another date which might have had an effect on this study if Shaw had acted on his statement was that of Shaw's "retirement" from public speaking. It is fortunate that Shaw did not retire on his sixty-seventh birthday (see p. 87), for over 40% of all entries and over half of the verified texts are post-1923.

²As pointed out earlier, detailed examination of all entries to determine the extent of revisions in published texts was not a part of this study. Nevertheless, verbatim reports were noted whenever the speech source made a statement to that effect.

care conclusions drawn from the speeches themselves.

A characteristic of both the 1898-1914 and 1914-1931 periods regarding subject choices should be pointed out, for they may have bearing on the over-all balance of subject choice. Even though the early years of each period were dominated by political activity, either as borough councillor or as a critic of the government, in both periods, non-political subjects outnumber political ones in the entries. Furthermore, since the greatest number of total entries is for these two periods, they have the greatest effect on the proportions represented by the full list.

Next, Shaw was seventy-five years of age when he made the Moscow visit, the point selected for the last chronological division mentioned earlier. The extent speeches for this period, however, are disproportionate to Shaw's overall speaking activity: considering verified texts and recordings only, the post-1931 entries constitute nearly 30% of the total. Thus, although the presence of a greater number of verbatim texts and recordings in this period offers the most material for studies emphasizing factors of style and delivery, they represent neither 30% of all his speeches nor his "prime" years; and great care must be exercised in drawing conclusions from them.

In summary regarding subject choices, then, only limited conclusions can be drawn. The entries indicate Shaw's wide range of subjects covering political matters, the arts, religion, education, and aspects of medicine. Although political speeches account for only slightly more than fifty per cent of the entries, this does not appear to be an accurate proportion: in the light of other information available, political speaking seems to have been much more dominant. Finally, entries from the post-1931 period account for a disproportionate number of available speech texts.

Suggestions for further study

The most obvious suggestion which can be made, of course, is that of continued search for Shavian speeches, particularly from the early period of Shaw's life. It is hoped that entries of reported speeches can aid in this search.¹

The second suggestion is for a textual study of the speeches. The entries indicate that for a few speeches, at least, both verbatim reports, as well as recordings, and texts approved by Shaw do exist. Although such instances

¹The publication of Dan H. Laurence's proposed bibliography of Shaw should prove to be extremely helpful in the completion of the list of Shaw speeches.

are minimal, they may give some indications of the nature of changes which he made when preparing speech texts for publication.

If such a study is made, further stylistic studies can be attempted. Although many have commented on Shaw's speaking style, no study in depth has been made, primarily because textual accuracy must first be determined.

The next suggestion for further study is coupled with observations made in the preceding chapter, where Shaw's theories of speech as derived from his comments on public speaking were described. Although a number of his stated theories might be selected, two in particular suggest fertile ground for determining whether he practiced those theories: audience adaptation and supporting material. Even though the number of available speeches is not extensive and even though the limitations indicate earlier must be kept in mind, the sampling may prove sufficient to warrant a study to determine Shaw's practice regarding audience adaptation and supporting material.

Finally, enough material may be available to trace possible changes in Shaw's presentation of the subject of Socialism to an audience. While it is unfortunate, of course, that so few of his early speeches on Socialism are available, nevertheless, speeches on this subject appear

with such adequate frequency, it seems as to make possible a study of the alterations he may have made due to changes in prevailing opinions or, perhaps, to adjustments in his own point of view.

Thus, the speeches of Shaw suggest at least the following additional studies: textual investigations, more complete inquiries into speaking style, theory-practice questions (concerning audience analysis, the use of evidence, etc.), and detailed analyses of his speeches on Socialism.

CHAPTER IV

A CASE STUDY: "ON DEMOCRACY"

B. B. C. RADIO BROADCAST, OCTOBER 14, 1929

Although case studies of speeches can serve a number of functions in the study of public speakers, this case study of a speech by Bernard Shaw is presented for one basic purpose: to analyze a Shavian speech through the case study method for purposes of discovering all of the elements which are commonly revealed by the process of complete rhetorical criticism. While care must be exercised that the conclusions which result from this case study are not interpreted as Shaw's practices as a public speaker in all situations,¹ a case study of a single speech can serve a useful function in the study of a speaker. Of primary importance is the opportunity it affords for noting the nature of the decisions made by a speaker as revealed by the analysis of the speech in depth; such information can add greater dimensions to an understanding of the speaker as described in

¹Conditions which prohibit at this time a thorough sampling and, subsequently, complete evaluation of speeches are discussed on pages 195-201.

the previous chapters, particularly in relationship to theories developed in Chapter II. Secondly, since a man of such world-wide fame stimulated numerous judgments of him, a case study can serve to corroborate or refute judgments, often stated absolutely, about Shaw as a speaker which have been unaccompanied by studies in depth. Although the results of a single study, of course, cannot be taken with absolute finality regarding Shaw's practices, they can provide a basis for comparison with conclusions made by others.¹

With this basic limitation in mind--that the following analysis does not purport to hypothesize about Shaw's speeches on all occasions--this case study will attempt to illustrate various aspects of Shaw's speaking in one instance as the following matters are presented: (1) justification for selection of "On Democracy;" (2) the speaking occasion; (3) textual variations; (4) the substance outline; (5) Disposition; (6) Invention, including use of proofs; (7) Style; and (8) response. In addition, a collated text and work sheets used in the preparation of this chapter are included in the Appendix.

¹This paper will not attempt to make such direct comparisons with judgments of Shaw as a speaker for two reasons: agreement with or refutation of other judgments may be interpreted as giving an air of finality to observations made in this case study; and comments about Shaw as a speaker are so widespread that any selective process employed could easily distort the purpose of this study.

Justification for Selection of
"On Democracy"

Since only one speech has been selected for analysis, the reasons for the choice of "On Democracy" should be explained.

A first, though comparatively minor, reason is the relative accessibility of the speech text: it is found in the Preface to The Apple Cart and, in a slightly different version, in The New York Times of November 3, 1929. Furthermore, since one is a stenographic report and the other a version published by Shaw himself subsequent to the delivery of the speech, an opportunity exists for noting the type of revisions which Shaw may have made in the text.

Moreover, although no claim is made that the speech is typical of its genre, the political topic makes it a part of that broad category of political speeches which formed the bulk of Shaw's subject choices during his speaking career.

Finally, the speech represents Shaw's first broadcast address devoted to political issues after the lifting of the ban on B. B. C.'s broadcasting of controversial subjects, although as noted in Chapter III, this was not Shaw's first experience before the radio microphone.

For these reasons, this speech was selected for the

case study.

The Speaking Occasion

Shaw undoubtedly looked forward to the opportunity to address a nationwide audience on the subject which concerned him so greatly. As evidenced in the speech he gave on his seventieth birthday, he had been chafing under the restrictions against the broadcasting of political controversy.¹ His objections pertained not only to the theoretical matter of the censorship controversy, but also to the effect which such restrictions had upon him personally, as is evidenced in the following excerpt from his broadcast remarks as chairman of a debate on "The Menace of the Leisured Woman" between Lady Rhondda and Gilbert K. Chesterton:

Now the condition on which broadcasting is conducted in this country is that nothing of a controversial nature must be spoken from the platform or anywhere else, except by members of the Government. How an animated and possibly embittered controversy is to be carried on this evening without either of the speakers becoming controversial, I cannot tell you. I am sorry to say that I cannot undertake to keep order in that respect, because one of the conditions of broadcasting in this country is that I myself individually and personally am not to be allowed to broadcast on any terms whatever.² Therefore my own task is somewhat difficult.

¹ See pp. 74-75.

² Cited in Ashley H. Thorndike (ed.), Modern Eloquence, Vol. XV (Rev. ed.; New York: P. F. Collier & Son Corporation, 1936), 157.

It is equally probable that Shaw was optimistic about the advantageous effects which could result from this opportunity to speak on a controversial political subject. He often commented on the advantages of radio speaking, particularly for reaching a large and heterogeneous audience that might never make any effort to come to hear him speak in person.¹ Although the specific make-up of the listening audience on this particular occasion is not known, it appears quite likely that Shaw regarded the situation as an opportunity to speak to a broad spectrum of society. Furthermore, even though no statement by Shaw has been found to this effect, to conjecture that Shaw looked upon this as an opportunity to speak directly to the workingman as he had in his early speaking days is not entirely out of the realm of probability.

Since Shaw was addressing the entire nation on a political subject, it is important to note the general political situation of the time, especially since Shaw refers to many of these incidents in his speech.

Although the first Labour Government under Ramsay MacDonald in 1924 was short-lived, primary as a result of the notorious Zinoviev letters, which supposedly comprised a Communist attempt to instruct British subjects to provoke revolution, the Conservatives under Stanley Baldwin's Second

¹ See pp. 74-75.

Ministry did not survive the 1929 elections; and the Labour Party again was in the majority in Parliament when Shaw spoke. Diplomatic relations with Russia, which had been severed during Baldwin's ministry, were resumed under Ramsay MacDonald's Second Ministry and were in effect at the time of Shaw's speech.

Although the General Strike of the mid-twenties was over, economic conditions were still a problem and were destined to worsen considerably with the imminent Wall Street crash in the United States and the Great Depression. The occasion of the speech was further colored by the international situation: although Hitler's 1923 beer hall putch was abortive and several years were to pass before he assumed the Chancellorship of the Third Reich, Mussolini was already in control in Italy. In all, however, it is unlikely that the vast majority of the British audience to which Bernard Shaw addressed himself on October 14, 1929, was particularly concerned with international events.

Textual Variations

As a collation of two versions of Shaw's radio broadcast of October 14, 1929, shows,¹ many discrepancies exist between the two texts selected: that found in Shaw's Preface

¹See Appendix, pp. 274-307.

to The Apple Cart (hereafter called the Preface text) and the stenographic report appearing in The New York Times of November 3, 1929 (hereafter called the Times text). Although the implications of textual variations will be discussed subsequently as they apply to Disposition, Invention, and Style, two points should be considered at this stage: the nature of the variations in the two texts and the relative accuracy of each text in recording the speech as delivered.

The nature of the variations

Especially because even a cursory glance at the collation indicates a number of differences, a classification of the types of variations can be helpful in focusing upon changes which affect the analysis of the speech.

First, a few of the differences are concerned with variations in single words wherein the root is the same but the form varies, such as in the case of "democratic" and "Democrats," "Tory" and "Tories," "while" and "whilst," and "opposite" and "opposition." Other single-word variations are more extreme, and involve words with noticeable changes in meaning, such as "proud" and "prodigious," "presence" and "perils." Many of these differences could be accounted for by errors in either recording or transcribing the stenographic report, since the initial sounds

of each word are similar.¹

Another category of difference in the two texts is that of words, phrases, and even clauses which appear in the Preface text but not in the Times text. These differences, which are numerous, cannot be accounted for easily and conclusively. Some of these differences could be the result of the failure of the stenographer to record every word of Shaw's: many references have been made of the difficulty of taking Shavian dictation.² On the other hand, not all of the added material in the Preface text appears to be the result of lapses in transcription: it is likely that some material was added by Shaw when the manuscript was being prepared for publication. While it is impossible on the basis of textual analysis to determine the circumstances of the added material in the Preface text in many cases, the parenthetical reference to Lincoln on pages 280-281, for example, appears to have been added after delivery; and the same may be true of other shorter pas-

¹ It is unlikely that differences would be the result of misunderstanding Shaw. As one listens to a Shaw recording, the absolute clarity of his articulation is immediately noticeable.

² Although Shaw himself has said that he speaks rapidly, one does not get that impression from listening to a recording. It is only as one listens carefully and realizes that rate is determined by both time devoted to pauses as well as sounds, does it become noticeable that Shaw's pauses are extremely short. This characteristic of Shaw's speaking could account for the difficulty in taking stenographic reports of his speeches.

sages which occur in the Preface text but not in the Times text.

While they are not as numerous, a few passages appear in the Times text which are not in the Preface text. Consisting largely of references to recent speeches, they were probably deleted or altered to exclude reference to the specific occasion when Shaw prepared the manuscript for publication.

The final category of differences in the two texts consists of passages in which there is a series of discrepancies involving words, phrases, and even full sentences which alter the style in the limited sense of word choice and sentence structure and, in a few instances, the content of the compared statements. Although differences in individual words, such as "ghastly" and "monstrous" in one passage and "gentlemen" and "candidates" in another, are stylistic changes undoubtedly made by Shaw for publication of the Preface text, the difference between "cent" and "thousand" on page 304 affects the meaning though not the intent of the passage; and it is difficult to determine which statement actually represents Shaw's statement when the speech was delivered. On the other hand, there seems little doubt that the series of differences, such as those in the passage on pages 297 and 298 which alter the style,

both in use of words and in sentence structure, are primarily the result of changes in the text made by Shaw subsequent to the delivery of the speech and prior to the publication of the Preface.

Although many of the differences of this nature in the two texts affect only the style in the limited sense as noted above, the content of one passage in particular varies considerably in the two versions. This passage is near the end of the speech where Shaw gives suggestions for remedying the problems, as he saw them, which are a part of the democratic process. While in the Times text the suggestions made by Shaw are limited to general statements of reforms needed, in the Preface text these suggestions are accompanied by a few details describing the nature of those reforms. Since in the passage under consideration there are changes in words, sentence structure and minor changes in arrangement even though content is similar, it is unlikely that the differences are due to transcription lapses; the text was probably changed by Shaw for publication.

Thus, the differences in the two texts center in (1) material in one text and not in the other, with the greater number of additions in the Preface text; (2) stylistic differences; and (3) a few differences in content

which seem to be attributable only to changes made by Shaw for publication.

The relative accuracy of each text

Unfortunately, no recording of the speech seems to exist to help clarify the matter of textual discrepancies. Although no statement regarding Shaw's method of delivering this particular speech has been found, it is likely that Shaw extemporized, then used a stenographic report of the speech as the basis for revisions for publication in the Preface. This conclusion is based on several factors: the absence of any reference to a prepared manuscript, an exception to Shaw's practices which is usually mentioned; Shaw's practice of using verbatim reports for preparing speeches for publication; and the number of differences which are in the realm of style. Although evidence for the first two factors has been presented elsewhere in this paper, the last point merits further attention.

In the Times text we find examples of Shaw's using combinations such as "extraordinary," "ordinary" and "vest," "vast" in the same sentence, repetitions of similar sounding words which do not appear in the Preface text. Furthermore, not only have a few verb tense discrepancies been altered, but some compound sentences have been changed to complex ones. It is unlikely that such differences were

the result of stenographic lapses. Since many such stylistic changes probably would have been made by Shaw before delivery had he used a manuscript, it is unlikely that Shaw delivered this radio speech from one.

In conclusion, although errors in the stenographic report undoubtedly exist and these errors cannot always be pinpointed, the Times text approximates more closely the speech as delivered than does the Preface text. Even though the verbatim report will be given precedence, however, the Preface text cannot be disregarded completely in the analysis which follows.

The Substance Outline

A procedure similar to that used in the collation of texts will be used in the substance outline: material in the Preface text but not in the Times text will be bracketed, and that in the Times but not in the Preface will appear above a caret which marks the inserting and which will be underlined. In harmony with common practice, although Shaw's exact words will often be used, at times the language, though not the content, may have been altered in the preparation of the substance outline.

Purpose sentence

Stated: We must examine democracy in order to understand it, provide against its

dangers as far as we can, and then consider whether the risks of democracy are worth taking.

Implied: The risks of a democratic form of government are not worth taking.

Introduction

- A. I am going to talk to you about Democracy objectively.
- B. No matter what our points of view may be, let us view it objectively.
 - 1. We are capable of speaking of the sea, which is in some respects rather like democracy, objectively.
 - a. We all have our own views about the sea.
 - (1) Some hate it, others love it.
 - (2) Some regard it as a natural defense, others as an inconvenience in getting to the Continent.
 - b. Certain facts of the sea are quite independent of our feelings towards it.
 - (1) I can take it for granted that the sea exists.
 - (2) I can say the sea is sometimes violent [and those who are most familiar with it trust it least.]
 - (a) You don't conclude that I do not believe in the sea.
 - (b) You don't conclude that I am an enemy of the sea.
 - (c) You don't conclude that I want to abolish the sea.
 - (d) You don't conclude I am going to make bathing illegal.

(e) You don't conclude I am out to ruin our carrying trade.

(f) You don't conclude that I am out to lay waste all our seaside resorts.

(g) You don't conclude that I am out to scrap the British Navy.

(3) I can tell you that you cannot breathe in the sea.

(a) You will not [take that as a personal insult and] ask me indignantly if I consider you inferior to a fish.

2. You must please be equally sensible when I tell you some hard facts about Democracy.

a. I tell you that it is sometimes furiously violent and [always] dangerous and treacherous, and those who are familiar with it trust it least.

(1) You must not at once denounce me as a paid agent of Benito Mussolini.

(2) You must not declare I have become a Tory Die-hard in my old age.

(3) You must not accuse me of wanting to take away your votes and make an end of parliament, and free speech, and public meeting, and trial by jury.

(4) You must not cheer me as a champion of medieval monarchy and feudalism.

C. Whether we are Democrats or Tories, Communists or Fascists, we are all face to face with a certain force in the world called Democracy.

1. We must understand the nature of that force [whether we want to fight it or to forward it.]

2. Our business is not to deny the presence [perils of]

Democracy, but to provide against them as far as we can.

3. Then we can consider whether the risks we are pro-
viding [^] [cannot
 provide] against are worth taking.

Body

- I. Since most of us don't really know the meaning of the term, we should first attempt to define Democracy (to show that government by the people is impossible).

- A. One possible way to do so is to ask very many
 searching questions such as Who
[^] [What] are you?
 and Where are you?

1. Let us put forth possible answers.

- a. My name is Demos.
- b. You, my friend Shaw, are a unit of Democracy: your name is also Demos.
- c. I live in the British Empire, the United States of America, and wherever the heart of liberty burns in man.
- d. You are a citizen of a great democratic community: you are a potential constituent of the Parliament of Man.

2. I say these answers are nonsense.

- a. My name is Bernard Shaw; I don't believe your name is Demos.
- b. My address is at such and such a number in such and such a street in London; you have no address.
- c. It will be time enough to discuss my seat in the Parliament of Man when that celebrated institution comes into existence.

- B. Although I am too polite to call Demos a wind-bag,
a gasbag
[^] or a hot air merchant, I think you will admit that

the balloon as an image of Democracy corresponds to the actual

^ [parliamentary facts.]

1. A big balloon is filled with gas or hot air.
2. It is sent up so you shall be kept looking up at the sky whilst other people pick your pockets.
3. It is true you can have a place in the basket, but only by throwing out somebody else.

3. When the balloon comes down to earth every five years or so, you are invited to get into the basket if you can throw out one of the people who are in it.

a. There are forty million of you and hardly room for six hundred in the basket.

b. You can afford neither the time nor the money.

(1) The balloon goes up again with much the same lot in it and leaves you where you were before.

C. Let us examine the subject by means of Lincoln's definition.

1. Whenever a modern statesman has to find an excuse for something, for instance a war, he usually declares it is being urged to make the world safe for democracy.

a. Lincoln is represented as standing amid the carnage of the battlefield of Gettysburg, and declaring that all that slaughter of Americans by Americans occurred in order that Democracy should not perish from the earth.

b. Lincoln did not really declaim it on the field of Gettysburg; and the American Civil War was not fought in defense of any such principle, but, on the contrary, to enable one half of the United States to force the

other half to be governed as they did
not wish to be governed.

2. Let us examine each of the three articles of Lincoln's definition.

a. It is government of the people.

(1) That, evidently, is necessary.

(a) A human community can no more exist without a government than a human being can exist without a coordinated control of its breathing and blood circulation.

(2) All the monarchs, all the tyrants, all the dictators, all the Die-hard Tories are agreed that we must be governed.

b. It is government for the people.

(1) This is most important.

(2) Dean Inge interprets this idea of 'for the people' in his statement that Democracy is a form of society which means equal consideration for all.

(a) He believes it as a Christian and so do I.

(b) Therefore, I insist on equality of income.

(c) Equal consideration for a person with a hundred a year and one with a hundred thousand is impossible.

c. It is not government by the people.

(1) The people cannot govern.

(a) The thing is a physical impossibility.

- i. Every citizen cannot be a ruler any more than every boy can be an engine driver or a pirate king.
 - ii. A nation of prime ministers or dictators is as absurd as an army of field marshals.
- (b) Few people are capable of governing.

- i. They cannot write their own plays.
- ii. It is much easier to write a good play than to make a good law.
- iii. There are not a hundred men in the world who can write a play good enough to stand daily wear and tear [as long as a law must.]

- (2) It is not and never can be a reality; it is only a cry by which demagogues humbug as into voting for them.

II. We should attempt to save ourselves from being at the mercy of those who can govern, some of whom may possibly be grafters and scoundrels.

A. The primitive answer, that as we are always in a huge majority and can, if rulers oppress us intolerably, burn their houses and tear them to pieces, is unsatisfactory.

- 1. Decent people never do it until they have quite lost their heads.
 - a. When they have lost their heads, they are likely as not to burn the wrong house and tear the wrong man to pieces.
 - b. Judgment and execution of a ruler or his scapegoat are acts requiring a high

degree of political intelligence.

2. When we have what is called a popular movement, very few people who take part in it know what it is all about.

a. I once saw a real popular movement which appeared quite impressive.

(1) People were running excitedly through the streets.

(2) Everyone who saw them doing it immediately joined in the rush.

b. I ascertained afterwards that it was started by a runaway cow.

c. In similar fashion, most general elections are nothing but stampedes.

(1) The last but one was a stampede.

(2) The cow was a Russian one.

Democracy cannot be

A. (REPEAT) [Neither mob violence nor popular movements can be] depended on.

1. The cases of Nero and Tsar Paul of Russia both illustrate the failure of people to take action.

a. Both of them, when they were invested with absolute powers over their fellow-creatures, did such appalling things they had to be killed like mad dogs.

b. However, it was not the people who rose up and killed them; they were dispatched quite privately by their own bodyguards.

2. The case of the DeWitt brothers illustrates how mobs can kill the wrong person, the unpopular ones.

a. They were neither tyrants nor autocrats.

(1) One had been imprisoned and tortured for his resistance to the

despotism of William of Orange.

(2) The other met him as he came out of prison.

b. The mob was on the side of the autocrat and tore them to pieces.

3. Direct action by the revolutionary proletariat is neither direct nor revolutionary and is usually controlled by police agents.

a. A tyrant can get rid of a troublesome champion of liberty by raising a hue and cry against him as an unpatriotic person.

b. The mob takes care of that individual when the tyrant supplies them with a well tipped ringleader.

B. Even when we define democracy as government by the consent of the governed, problems arise.

1. We want as little government as possible without getting murdered in our beds.

rates and

a. We regard [^]taxes and [rents and] death duties as intolerable burdens.

b. We notice that savages, unruly Arabs, and Tartars get along with little governmental imposition.

c. The civilized way of getting along involves corporate action, which involves more government.

III. Government, which used to be a comparatively simple affair, today has to manage an enormous development of Socialism and Communism.

A. Our industrial and social life is set in a huge communistic framework.

1. We have public roadways, streets, bridges, water supplies, power supplies, lighting, tramways, schools, dockyards, and public aids and conveniences.

2. We employ a [^]proud [prodigious] army of police, inspectors, teachers, and officials of all grades in hundreds of departments.
- B. We have found by bitter experience that it is impossible to trust factories, workshops, and mines to private management.
1. We had to enforce by constant inspection an elaborate code of [^][stern] laws to stop monstrous waste of human life and welfare.
 2. During the war our attempt to leave the munitioning of the army to private enterprise led us to the verge of defeat and caused an appalling slaughter.
 - a. Private firms had to be taught how to do their work economically.
- C. Our big capitalist enterprises cannot manage by themselves and now run to the Government for help as a lamb runs to its mother.
1. They cannot even make an extension of the Tube railway in London without Government aid.
 2. Unassisted private capitalism is breaking down or getting left behind in all directions. Without government help
 3. [^]Our private enterprises would drop like shot ; Socialism and Communism is what we have stags [^][, and we should all be dead in a month, already.
if all our Socialism and Communism and the drastic taxation of unearned incomes which finances it were to stop.]
- D. When Mr. Baldwin tried to win the last election by declaring that Socialism had been a failure, Socialism went over him like a steam roller and handed his office to a Socialist Prime Minister.
1. Nothing could save us in the war but [a great extension] of Socialism.

2. Now it is clear enough that only still greater extension of it can repair the ravages of the war and keep pace with the growing requirements of civilization.

IV. The question before us is whether Democracy can keep pace with the developments of Socialism and Communism that are being forced on us by the growth of national and international corporate action.

A. Corporate action is impossible without a governing body.

1. It may be the central Government, a municipal corporation, a county council, a district council, a parish council.
2. It may be the board of directors of a joint stock company.
3. It may be the board of directors of a trust made by combining several joint stock companies.

B. We are more at the mercy of boards that organize stock companies than we are at the mercy of parliament.

1. We are consumers of their services.
2. Several active politicians who began as liberals and are now Socialists have said to me that they were converted because of this choice.
 - a. The choice is not between governmental control of industry and control by separate private individuals [kept in order by their competition for our custom.]
 - b. The choice is between governmental control and control by gigantic trusts wielding great power without responsibility, and having no object but to make as much money out of us as possible.
3. Our government is having much more trouble

with the private corporations on whom we are dependent for our coals and cotton goods than with France or the United States of America.

- C. We are in the hands of our corporate bodies, public or private, for the satisfaction of our everyday needs.

- 1. Their powers are life and death powers.
- 2. I need not labor this point: we all know it.

- D. What we do not all realize is that we are equally dependent on corporate action for the satisfaction of our religious needs.

1. Dean Inge realizes this.

a. He tells us that our general elections have become public auctions at which the contending parties bid against one another by promising us a larger share of the plunder [of the minority.]

b. The Dean's profession obliges him to urge his congregation always to vote for the party which pledges itself to go farthest in enabling those of us who have great possessions to sell them and give the price to the poor.

2. My own case illustrates that we cannot do this as private persons.

a. I am an old man paying enough in income tax and surtax to provide doles for hundreds of [unemployed and old age pensioners.]

(1) I have not the slightest objection to this.

(2) On the contrary, I advocated it strongly for years before I had any income worth taxing.

b. I could not do this if the government did not arrange it for me.

(1) I could send my war bonds to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and invite him to cancel the part of the National Debt they represent.

(a) He would undoubtedly thank me [in the most courteous official terms] for my patriotism.

(b) The poor would not get any of it.

(c) The other payers of surtax and income tax and death duties would save by it.

(2) I could burn all my share certificates and inform the secretaries of the companies that they might write off that much of their capital indebtedness.

(a) This would result in a bigger dividend for the rest of the stockholders.

[(b) The poor would be out in the cold as before.]

(3) I could sell my war bonds [and share certificates] for cash and throw my money out into the street to be scrambled for.

(a) It would be snatched up, not by the poorest, but by the best fed [and most able-bodied] of the scramblers.

(b) Anyway, such a course of action would be impossible to carry out.

i. Christ's advice to give to the poor was not addressed to me alone but to all who have great possessions.

ii. Then there would be a market of all sellers and no buyers.

- c. Therefore, my spare money is invested where I can get the highest interest and the best security.
 - (1) Then I can make sure it goes where it is most wanted and gives employment.
 - (2) Any other way of dealing with my spare money would be foolish and demoralizing.
 - (3) But the result is that I become richer and richer and the poor become relatively poorer and poorer.
- V. Our dilemma is that ^{we} [men in the lump] cannot govern ourselves, but we need to be governed.
 - A. Giving the necessary power to an absolute monarch or dictator causes him to go more or less mad unless he is a quite extraordinary and therefore seldom obtainable person.
 - B. A committee or parliament of superior persons can be resorted to.
 - [1. This might be necessary because modern government is too big for a one-man job.]
 - 2. They will set up an oligarchy and abuse their power for their own benefit.
 - C. Setting up a system of control of governors is not a satisfactory solution.
 - 1. The best governors will not accept any control except that of their own conscience.
 - 2. We who are governed are also apt to abuse any power of control we have.
 - a. Our ignorance, our passions, [our private and immediate interests] are constantly in conflict with the knowledge, the wisdom, and the public spirit and regard for the future of our best qualified governors.

VI. We cannot solve the problem of controlling governors by choosing and changing our governors if they do not suit.

A. Many government functions are in the hands not of elected officials but of a permanent staff.

1. Let me give you an imaginary example of democratic choice which actually results in paid civil servants.

a. We have to elect someone as postmaster of a village.

b. One stands out conspicuously from among several candidates.

(1) He has frequently treated us at the public house.

(2) He has subscribed a shilling to our flower show.

(3) He has a kind word for the children when he passes.

(4) He is a victim of oppression by the squire because his late father was one of our most successful poachers.

c. We elect him triumphantly.

d. He is duly installed, provided with a red bicycle, and given a batch of letters to deliver.

e. He cannot fulfill his duties.

(1) His motive in seeking the post was pure ambition.

(2) He cannot read.

f. He then hires a boy to fulfill his responsibilities.

(1) The boy does the reading and conceals himself in the lane whilst the postman delivers the letters

at the house.

- (2) The man gets the whole credit for the transaction.

g. After the postmaster dies, the process is repeated.

- (1) Equally illiterate successors are elected [on similar grounds.]

- (2) The boy grows up and becomes an institution.

- (a) He presents himself to the new postman as an [established and] indispensable feature of the postal system, and finally becomes recognized and paid by the village.

2. You have a picture of our national government

a. It may work very well.

- (1) The postman, though illiterate, may be a very capable fellow.

- (2) The boy who reads addresses may be quite incapable of doing anything more.

b. On the other hand it may not work out well.

- (1) The boy [, when he has ability to take advantage of the situation,] is really the master of the man.

- (2) The elected official is merely doing what a permanent official tells him to do.

3. A comparable situation exists in our national government, where we are governed by a Civil Service.

a. They have enormous power.

- (1) Its regulations are taking the place of the laws of England.
- (2) Some of its regulations are made for the convenience of the officials without the slightest regard to the [convenience or even] the rights of the people.

b. We have little choice in the selection of them.

- (1) They are selected mostly by an educational test which nobody but an expensively schooled youth can pass.

(a) Thus the system makes the most powerful and effective part of our government an irresponsible class government.

B. Furthermore, an example will show that our votes give us little control in democratic government.

1. When the election approaches, two or three persons of whom I know nothing write to me soliciting my vote.

a. I have no guarantee that the political addresses which are enclosed are written by the candidates or are an indication of their beliefs and character.

- (1) One reads like an article in the Morning Post, has a Union Jack on it [, and may have been compiled from editorial waste baskets of a hundred years ago.]
- (2) Another is like the Daily News or Manchester Guardian [and indicates a similar use of old discarded ideas.]
- (3) A third address, more up-to-date and much better phrased, convinces me that the sender has had it written for him at the headquarters of the Labour Party.

- (4) A fourth [, the most hopelessly out of date of them all,] contains scraps of the early English translations of the Communist Manifesto of 1848.
- b. The half-tone photographic portraits do not even tell me their ages, having been taken twenty years ago.
- 2. Attending a meeting at which a candidate is speaking does not extend either my knowledge or my control.
 - a. The meeting is held at a schoolroom which is packed with people who find an election meeting cheaper and funnier than the theatre.
 - b. Faithful party workers are in charge.
 - (1) They ought to be the candidates; but they have no more chance of such eminence than they have of possessing a Rolls-Royce car.
 - (2) They move votes of confidence in the candidate.
 - (a) The candidate is really a stranger to them and to everyone else, and no one feels much confidence.
 - [(3) They lead the applause for him.]
 - (4) They prompt him when questions are asked.
 - (5) When he is completely floored, they jump up and cry 'let me answer that, Mr. Chairman!' [and then they pretend that he has answered it.]
 - c. Old shibboleths are croned over.
 - d. Nothing has any vitality [^sense or reality] in it except the vituperation of the op-

posing party, which is nothing but an exhibition of bad manners.

3. I cannot see that this constitutes Democracy, a control.

a. If this is Democracy, who can blame Signor Mussolini for describing it as a Putrefying corpse?

VII. What I would like to see is a system whereby we could determine and select the best qualified candidates.

A. First we should need a real test of their capacity.

1. Shortly before the war a doctor in San Francisco discovered that if a drop of a candidate's blood can be obtained on a piece of blotting paper, it is possible to discover within half an hour what is wrong with him physically.

2. What I am waiting for is [the discovery of a process by which on delivery of] a drop of his blood or a lock of his hair we can ascertain what is right with him mentally.

B. Then we could have a graded series [of panels of capable persons for all kinds of employment.]

C. We would be limited to select only from among the qualified for the various levels.

1. At the lower end of the scale there would be a panel of persons qualified to take part in a parish meeting.

2. At the higher end there would be a panel of persons qualified to act as Foreign Ministers, for example.

a. My choice of candidates might be more restricted.

(1) At present not more than two per
cent
[thousand] of the population would
^

be available for the highest panel.

(2) I do not desire liberty to choose windbags and nincompoops to represent me in parliament.

- b. My power to choose between one qualified candidate and another would give me [as as wide as is possible in much] control [as is either possible or the present state of affairs. desirable.]

D. The voting and counting should be done by machinery.

1. I should connect my telephone with the proper office.

2. I should touch a button.

3. The machinery would do the rest.

VIII. We must do the best we can under our present system [but several reforms are possible without any new discovery.]

A. Our present parliament is obsolete [: it can no more do the work of a modern state than Julius Caesar's galley could do the work of an Atlantic liner.]

1. We need two or three central parliaments and several regional ones to correlate the work and maintain contact.

1. We need two or three additional federal legislatures, working on our municipal committee system instead of our parliamentary party system.

2. We need a central authority to co-ordinate the federal work.

B. Our obsolete little internal frontiers must be obliterated, and our units of local government enlarged to dimensions compatible with the recent prodigious advances in facility of communication and co-operation.

- C. Commonwealth affairs and supernational activities through the League of Nations or otherwise will have to be provided for, and Cabinet function to be transformed.
- D. All the pseudo-democratic obstructive function of our political machinery must be ruthlessly scrapped, and the general problem of government approached from a positive viewpoint at which mere anarchic national sovereignty as distinguished from self-government will have no meaning.

Conclusion

A. But no system will be of any use except in the final resort we have good consciences and good public spirit on the part of both the government and the voter.

1. We are prevented from being good citizens and governors by all sorts of personal prejudices.

2. We have been badly brought up as citizens.

B. We must set to work to bring up our children to be better citizens than we are.

1. Russia is doing it.

C. That is my last word; pray go home and think of it.

A. Even with these reforms, civilization will still be dependent on the consciences of the governors and the governed.

B. We must teach our children to be better citizens than ourselves.

1. We are full of anti-social personal ambitions and prejudices and snobberies.

a. Our natural dispositions may be good.

b. We have been badly brought up.

2. The Russians are doing this.

C. That is my last word; think over it.

Disposition

As the substance outline indicates, the textual variations of Shaw's speech do not materially affect the arrangement of major issues: only a few stylistic discrepancies exist in these assertions. Furthermore, the outline shows basically a conventional problem-solution arrangement of material.

An examination of the arrangement of the speech in detail shows that Shaw's first remarks include the material usually incorporated into an introduction: statement of subject, statement of importance of subject, and statement of the speech purpose. The speech purpose, according to Shaw, has three parts, which he presents in the following order: (1) to examine democracy in order to understand it, (2) to provide against its dangers as far as possible, and (3) to consider whether the risks of democracy are worth taking. Whereas the first two purposes are developed explicitly by propositions in the problem-solution arrangement of the speech, the third, is merely suggested by the content and does not appear in direct statements in the substance outline of the body of the speech.

At the end of his introduction, Shaw defines the key term, "democracy," in three ways: etymologically; by comparison with a familiar process; and by development of an historical definition--Lincoln's statement of "government of,

by, and for the people." Shaw alters the order of the Lincoln quotation and develops "by the people" last and thus introduces his first statement of the problem: democracy as government "by the people" is impossible.

Although the earlier definitions also introduce aspects of the problem stated in the speech purpose, the position "that democracy by the people" is impossible serves as a foundation for the major assertions which Shaw makes in describing the problems of the democratic process. The first major assertion following the definition is that it is necessary for people to protect themselves against the misgovernment which could easily occur in a democracy. The next two propositions which set the stage for complicating the problem, are then presented: modern government is extremely complex and carries out a number of functions, including many of a socialistic nature; and functions of government continue to increase, adding to the burdens faced in the democratic process. The next major assertion is primarily a restatement of the problem as complicated by modern developments: modern civilization requires a complex system of government, but control of governors is extremely difficult.

The next major assertion serves two functions: additional description of the problems existing, and a

negation of a possible solution for controlling those selected to govern. This issue, concerned with the limited effectiveness of choosing and changing elected officials, first deals with Shaw's interpretation of the lack of any real change in government policy by changing elected officials and then with his point of view regarding the lack of real choice in electing candidates for office.¹ In the process of refuting ways of solving the problem he attempts to re-establish an assertion made in the definition portion of his speech: government by the people is an illusion.

Then Shaw concentrates on his stated solutions to the problem, first presenting an idealistic solution, and then presenting a solution possible under the present situation. Although this last major assertion dealing with solutions to the problem varies in the two texts as far as thoroughness of development is concerned, its position in the basic arrangement of the speech as a whole remains the same.

Finally, while he has no summary, Shaw concludes with a brief peroration emphasizing individual responsibilities and also with an extremely short statement that his speech is finished.

¹The absence of a clear-cut division of this phase of the problem is dealt with under "Invention."

In summary, we note that Shaw follows this basic pattern in this speech on democracy: an extensive introduction, which also contains the stated speech purpose; definitions of the principal term, "democracy," which also serves to present part of the problem on which the speech focuses, extensive development of various facets of the problem, attempted refutation of possible solutions which also endeavors to re-establish a phase of the problem introduced earlier in the speech, limited solutions, and a brief conclusion.

Invention

Although a typical discussion of Invention as demonstrated in a particular speech is often organized in terms of kinds of proof, a somewhat different pattern will be used in this analysis. Since Shaw's uses of logical, ethical, and sensory proof are often closely related, an organization showing Shaw's development of ideas in each of the portions of the speech described in the previous section will be used. With the work sheets found in the Appendix as a basis, Shaw's use of logical proof, authority of self and of others, and sensory materials will be discussed as they apply to (1) the introduction, (2) the definition of the key term "democracy," (3) the description of the problem, (4) the refutation of possible solutions and re-

establishment of the problem, (5) the solutions to the problem, and (6) the conclusion. Unless otherwise stated, the Times text is used as the basis for analysis.

The introduction

Shaw, probably well-known to his audience as a humorous commentator and avowed Socialist, begins his speech with a formal salutation to his audience and a brief statement of his subject. Further, although he begins using the first person singular immediately, his change to the first person plural seems to serve the purpose of negating his personal point of view and of stressing the importance of the subject to all. In the remainder of the introduction, however, he uses "I" and "you," relying on personal authority in a series of assertions that need little support in describing the sea.

The use of sensory appeals is increased after an indication that a comparison will be made between democracy and the sea. In making this comparison, Shaw seemingly focuses attention on the sea rather than upon a word to which his audience was likely to have highly emotional reactions. Further, the analogy gives Shaw the opportunity to attempt to capture, by means often recognized by speech theorists, the attention of the audience: through the humor of comparing a neutral force with a process devised by human

beings; through the use of extremely familiar and highly colorful phrases to describe the sea; and through humor by concluding, offering sign reasoning as evidence, that pointing to the dangers inherent in the sea should not lead to obviously absurd proposals for retaliation against the perils found in nature. He further attempts to maintain audience good-will by a direct plea for good sense, and in the process appears to compliment his listeners by intimating that reasonableness in viewing the sea can carry over into an evaluation of democracy. He makes further use of ethical appeals in describing himself in such apparently erroneous statements as a "paid agent of Mussolini" in the process of asking the audience to listen to him rather than ascribe such epithets to him. It is only at this point that he states the purpose of his speech, couching what might be a direct appeal for possible rejection of democracy in a request for understanding and for conclusions drawn by individual listeners, not by the speaker.

The definition of the key term, "democracy"

Although Shaw's arrangement of material in which he has definitions following the introduction is conventional, his development of the definitions is not. Further, even though the first definition is basically etymological, he does not indicate to the audience that he is concerning

himself with that method of definition. Rather, he refers immediately to the Greek stem, personifies it, and puts himself into a hypothetical situation carrying on a dialogue with "Demos." Logical proof is limited to a series of assertions; authority of self is heavily relied upon; and extensive use of sensory appeals, including trite and emotional phrases as well as the vivid dialogue format, is the noteworthy feature of the first definition, which Shaw's statements seem to negate as satisfactory to him.

In the second definition of democracy, Shaw again makes use of analogy and relies on his own authority rather than upon evidence beyond the comparison for proof. In addition, sensory appeals are stressed: epithets and highly colorful statements revealing the problems of the parliamentary system, problems which are familiar to the audience. In this situation the audience is asked to make the direct comparison of the balloon with the election procedure; Shaw merely gives the description which includes such statements as "hardly room for six hundred in the basket" and "the balloon goes up again with much the same lot as before." Although this definition, too, allows him to inject his interpretation of problems in a democracy, his conclusion is somewhat different from that in the first definition: the comparison with a balloon, he believes, is much more accurate.

The third definition which Shaw presents is based on a familiar quotation, although he changes the order of Lincoln's statement to: of the people, for the people, and by the people. While he digresses in giving the circumstances of Lincoln's speech, he uses this opportunity to endeavor to make a point about illusions under which people operate when they use catch phrases such as "make the world safe for democracy." Then, as he returns to the quotation from Lincoln, the reason for the change in order emerges. Shaw expresses his agreement with the first phrase and does not develop the issue beyond the assertion and a very brief analogy. Although he also agrees with the second phrase, he uses an enthymeme to put an unusual interpretation upon it. To this interpretation he adds authority of another, presumably to strengthen belief. The choice of Dean Inge as this authority not only gives Shaw the opportunity for a reference to a recent occasion but also for associating himself with an exponent of Christian principles, thus adding another type of sensory appeal, that of attempting to associate his cause with that of commonly held charitable ideals. By first pointing out areas of agreement, he uses a familiar persuasive technique in an endeavor to minimize audience opposition to his denial of the last phrase, "by the people." After asserting "that government by the people is impossible,"

Shaw relies on comparisons, both brief, for support. The first, based on familiar experience of children's hopes, relies on sensory appeals; while the second, based on Shavian experiences as a playwright--familiar to the audience, relies primarily on ethical proof. Thus, Shaw depends on the culminating effect of the three definitions in his attempts not only to clarify the term democracy as he uses it but also to try to gain acceptance of his first issue: government by the people as such is impossible. He has set the stage, so to speak, for presenting the problems of governing people by democratic means.

The description of the problem

Although the initial statement of the problem not only is based on acceptance of the assertion regarding the impossibility of direct government but also is qualified to the effect that he is referring to most, not all, rulers, Shaw's first major proposition dealing directly with the problem is "that control of those governing is necessary." He attempts to prove this assertion by contending that past methods are impractical. This impracticality, as he sees it, is dealt with in two phases, both relying heavily on extended illustrations and short examples for support. In developing the first portion of the argument, Shaw relies on an extensive illustration, undoubtedly hypothetical, of his own

experiences which led him to conclude that popular movements are unreliable. Although the story of the runaway cow is an old one, Shaw puts it on a personal level, and in addition uses it to illustrate a recent British political situation, the Zinoviev letters. While Shaw turns to examples from history for the second argument in endeavoring to show the questionable effect of direct control, he again uses authority of self extensively, for the audience must rely on the accuracy of Shaw's own statements for the reliability of this proof.

In all, Shaw uses three historical examples in his attempt to prove the inefficacy of popular movements to exert control over rulers. Although he uses the all-inclusive "we" in pointing to historical examples, he moves from the most familiar to the least familiar in describing these examples, which seems to indicate an awareness of and adjustment to the probable background knowledge of the audience. Furthermore, his use of words which appear calculated to evoke emotional responses increases with each example, until in the restatement his assertion is highly colored by such words. At this point, also, he summarizes and injects a direct barb at the attitudes of individuals making up his audience. While tempering this fault-finding by including himself in the remark and by a humorous refer-

ence, he nevertheless points out the error of believing that control of government is to be dealt with lightly.

Even though the next issue raised by Shaw-- "that government has become more complex" --may appear to be a digression, it helps set the stage for a subsequent portion of the speech. Supporting his point by a series of undeveloped and familiar examples and by statements of past events relying upon his own observation, Shaw asserts that increasing government action is necessary. Even though relying heavily upon the acceptance of his personal testimony in showing the growth of government action in private industry, he does not neglect the added weight of sensory material in describing past action and uses such terms as "bitter experience," "ghastly waste of human life," and "appalling slaughter" to emphasize the need for government's assuming responsibilities heretofore the function of private industry. He further supports his contention and extends its implications of popular approval by pointing to the results of a recent election. Though the causes for the election results may have been complex, Shaw uses the event, familiar to his audience, to substantiate his assertion.

The next assertion then unites the two previously made ones as he develops the point that the increasing com-

plexity of modern life adds to the problems faced in a democratic system. After pointing out again "the need for governing bodies" by relying for proof on brief statements serving as examples, Shaw then concerns himself with showing the effects of government action on individuals. Although using unspecified testimony for initial support in showing the need for government action, he emphasizes other methods of support as he develops the point that government assistance is needed for fulfillment of religious needs. While in this contention he uses the inclusive term, "religious needs," it soon becomes apparent that he is speaking of only one aspect of religion, that of "charity."

In the development of this assertion, reliance is placed on two basic logical proofs: testimony by Dean Inge and an extended illustration drawn from personal experience. Although an illustration can be classified as logical proof, other types of proof predominate in the actual development of the illustration. First, of course, there is extensive ethical proof as Shaw uses personal experiences, especially an aspect of his life which is well-known to his audience: that as a successful playwright he is an old but wealthy man and subject to heavy taxation. Further, in this speech he does not object to the taxes he must pay but lauds the action as a necessary one by government in modern society,

thus exhibiting further use of ethical proof which could help project a favorable image and add weight to his position. In addition, in the development of the illustration he uses many sensory words as he describes extreme actions he might take in redistributing his money among the poor. He uses unusual cases and the method of residues in leading his audience to believe that charity is possible only through government action.

Shaw then abruptly leaves this aspect of his speech, using only a brief transitional statement, "Now let us get down to our problem," and repeats, in different terms, an assertion he made earlier: "men cannot govern themselves but need to be governed." He makes use of causal reasoning in what appears to be an attempt to re-establish his point, but he does not go beyond the generalization level in supporting his assertion. As is true throughout the speech, he relies on the word "we" to include his audience in his point of view; but he uses only a limited number of sensory words in this portion of the speech.

The refutation of possible solutions and re-establishment of the problem

The next assertion, introduced with a rhetorical question, seems best described as an attempt to refute a possible solution while trying, at the same time, to re-

establish the problem as he states: "the problem of control of governors cannot be solved through the election process." The assertion, developed in considerable detail, is divided into two parts: the limited value of elected officials, and the limited choice available in any election.

After the rhetorical question mentioned above there is immediate movement into an illustration of the elected postmaster who cannot read, which is presented in support of the idea of the limited value of elected officials without stating that assertion. Although his side comment on the reason for selecting an imaginary example seems superfluous, it may be interpreted as an attempt to conciliate an audience which might object to statements that could reflect adversely upon the democratic process. Use of the narrative could fulfill two functions often ascribed to this technique: that of helping develop audience goodwill and achieving increased audience attention. Although he uses logical development in the hypothetical illustration, with need, solution, evidence, and causal relationships carefully set up, the fact remains that he is relying on a single illustration for his proof.

Nor does Shaw depend on the logical aspects of his supporting material to promote acceptance of his contention: the illustration is full of familiar references to actions

of potential candidates and of descriptive details to make the visualization of the situation vivid to the audience. The interest Shaw attempts to generate in the illustration might result in the audience's paying more attention to it than to his simplification of the situation. Only after the completion of the illustration is a direct comparison made with the Civil Service, using the narrative as proof of the ineffectiveness of changing elected officials.

While again using causal and sign reasoning in applying the illustration, Shaw nevertheless depends on the analogy for gaining acceptance of the assertions made.

Although Shaw is careful, for the most part, in building one argument upon the other, the inclusion at this point of his next sub-assertion, that control of governors through election is impossible, appears questionable. While now the concern is with the limited value of the vote in electing officials because we know so little of their abilities, the point seems anti-climactic since he has already attempted to show that a change in elected officials is meaningless because of the power of appointed officials. Nevertheless, Shaw now deals with the limited value of the vote, even though acceptance of the previous point would make this issue superfluous. Furthermore, the relationship of these two points is not made clearer in the Preface

version of the speech: the transition, "Now what control have you or I over the Services? We have votes," comes after his assertion that changing elected officials has no effect on changing Civil Service personnel.

Since examining the internal evidence (as opposed to a direct answer from Shaw) does not reveal whether the seeming inappropriateness of this issue under discussion was the result of oversight on Shaw's part or a purposeful attempt to strengthen his argument on the limited value of the franchise, the development of his assertion should be considered. Again we note heavy reliance upon the acceptance of Shaw as an authority in relating a situation to the audience. Although the sequence of events described is hypothetical, his inclusion of specific refers to newspapers, for example, adds reality to the situation. Furthermore, the illustration, which is developed in a logical pattern primarily using sign and causal reasoning, consists of personal observations. Also, as is true in so many other instances, Shaw relies heavily on vivid language, narration, dialogue, and familiar instances to maintain interest and achieve agreement. He selects incidents for his narration which could be true, and from these somewhat limited events generalizes that voting does not constitute control of the government. It is only at this

point that Shaw makes what could be interpreted as an open condemnation of democracy in its entirety by asking whether Mussolini can be blamed for calling it a "putrefying corpse," although even at this point he does not explicitly state his agreement with that point of view.

The solutions to the problem

With the problem thus set forth and common controls repudiated, Shaw now turns to possible solutions. The first, introduced by means of an analogy, is presented as being in the realm of "wishful thinking." While carefully setting forth the advantages of a means by which capabilities for political office can be determined, he does not indicate that such a procedure is imminent. This possible solution contains material which seems designed to carry high audience interest but due to its idealistic nature does not aid in the solution of the problem.

The next solution presented in the Times text is limited to a generalization relying upon ethical proof and offering no details. The Preface version adds details, still on an assertion level, but does not deal with the implementation of any specific plan. Although the Preface text contains some words of high emotional content, this section of the speech does not use sensory proof as extensively as do other portions of the speech already described.

The conclusion

The conclusion of Shaw's speech is relatively brief. Not summarizing, he relies on a final exhortation to the audience. While the two texts appear to differ greatly in that interpolative methods of insertion and deletion can be used only with great difficulty, closer analysis shows they are much alike in content. Even though Shaw continued to use authority of self for acceptance of his view, he adds a point apparently designed to conciliate his audience by following his advice that we must become better citizens with the statement: "we are not to blame, for we have been badly brought up." Then, as he exhorts the audience "to bring up our children to be better citizens than we are," he adds as supporting material his first and only reference to the superiority of Communist Russia, which he presents as evidence to show the possibility for improvement. He develops the statement no further, and closes abruptly with, "That is my last word," and a caution to think about his remarks.

Summary of Invention

A brief summary of the analysis of Shaw's practice in the area of Invention discloses the following conclusions regarding logical proof, ethical proof or authority of self, and sensory proof:

As we summarize the logical proof used in this speech, we note heavy reliance on analogy and illustration in this aspect of invention, and extensive use of causal and sign reasoning in developing them. Furthermore, although Shaw also occasionally uses testimony of others, there is a notable absence of evidence of other kinds in supporting his assertions. Even though there is dependence on other types of proof for acceptance of his contentions, the assertions are developed with careful attention paid to the patterning of causal and sign reasoning. Also, Shaw frequently uses the inductive pattern of assertion-evidence when presenting the material summarized above.

Shaw depends upon ethical proof to a great extent in the development of analogies and illustrations. He shows no hesitancy in using the first person singular throughout the speech, and his own observations of the implications of such incidents are offered as proof in a number of instances. Although he occasionally refers to his audience as "you," this appears to be done only when he attempts to establish himself as having the same points of view as the audience (as in the introduction); and he much more frequently aligns himself with the audience through an extensive use of "we."

The kind of proof Shaw uses to the greatest extent, however, is that classified here as sensory materials.

Although analogies and illustrations can correctly be described as part of logical proof, the use made of them must also be included here, partly because of his reliance upon a single case for each assertion and more because of the manner in which he develops them. With great frequency he uses narration, vivid language, unusual comparisons, and humor stemming from the unexpected choice of illustration and description. The illustrations used, whether hypothetical or historical, are based on possible situations, which may have an effect of adding to the credibility of the arguments. Through the use of all of these sensory materials, audience attention seems to be focused on the single case. Shaw appears to depend upon this acceptance as the path for agreement with his major assertions.

This apparent dependence upon the acceptance of single cases may have some relationship to the comparative shortness of the solution and the conclusion, particularly if we keep in mind that although Shaw's stated purpose is to persuade the audience to understand democracy and to consider whether its risks, as Shaw sees them, are worth taking, his unstated purpose seems to be to persuade the audience to reject democratic practices. His concentration of proof, especially sensory, upon the presentation of the problem stresses that unstated purpose, and the

audience may thus tend to remember that aspect of the speech. Furthermore, since a summary often tends to focus attention on the assertions rather than upon the illustrations which are more likely to enhance the unstated purpose, the brief conclusion may have been a factor in his persuasive design.

In all, Shaw's use of Invention in this speech appears to indicate careful consideration of his speech purpose and probable audience reactions.

Style

One of the most elusive and difficult concepts in rhetorical criticism is that of Style: if given too limited a definition, the resulting analysis of that aspect of speaking is a sterile and inadequate description of the unique aspects of a speaker's use of language; if given too broad a definition, the analysis encompasses the totality of the thought processes of the speaker. Furthermore, a thorough examination of Style necessitates an authentic speech manuscript if such a study is to be complete. Thus, a dual problem exists in the analysis of the Style of Bernard Shaw in this speech under discussion.

Although the many discrepancies in word choice and sentence structure in the two speech manuscripts, as pointed out earlier in this study, make it necessary to limit and qualify stylistic judgments, certain tendencies in Shaw's

use of language should be noted. First, general tendencies in sentence structure will be pointed out, followed by similar remarks concerning the use of words. Finally, an attempt will be made to describe what appears to be a unique factor of the style.

While the caution against final judgment because of textual discrepancies is particularly applicable to sentence structure, one or two general observations of tendencies can be made. First, although Shaw uses a number of complex sentences, they are not as numerous in the Times text as in the Preface text. Furthermore, many of these complex sentences in the Times text tend to be introduced by adverbial clauses. Compound and simple sentences, occasionally very short ones, appear more frequently. In general, the sentences tend to be short, and undue complexity is avoided.

Another aspect of Style which appears in Shaw's speech and which seems to merit attention is the use of antithesis and repeated phrases in the construction of his sentences. In the introduction, for example, two sets of such phrases appear: "some of us" followed by "others," and "if I say" combined with "you will not." Although the terms vary slightly in phraseology and have a greater amount of intervening material, a similar pattern is discernible

in that portion of the speech where Shaw speaks of ways of distributing money using the words, "I could" and "but it would." Occasionally the repetition occurs without the antithesis, such as in the use of "it may be" when describing corporate bodies which exert control over individuals.

Some observations regarding Style are concerned with both sentence structure and word choice. For example, although transitions and similar guides to the listener in this speech are occasionally full sentences such as, "Now let us get down to our problem," more often a single word or a phrase is used, such as "well," "now," "but," "so," and "now let us." As we note other guides for the listener, we discover that even though two instances of specific enumeration appear in the speech, there are several other series which are not enumerated but seem to be stressed as being part of a series by words such as "another," conjunctions, or perhaps delivery.¹

Turning to further word choices, we note the fairly frequent use of the terms "I" and "we." Although this characteristic is discussed in the section dealing with Invention,

¹This final point is obviously tenuous and is based solely on recordings of other speeches and upon the implications of punctuation marks used in both texts.

it is mentioned here since such observations are often incorporated into stylistic evaluations but will not be developed in detail. Similarly, the use of personal experiences is discussed in the previous section.

Thus far, though certain tendencies in sentence structure and use of language have been noted, nothing which is stylistically unique to Shaw has been revealed. Further, when we look at individual words which are used, we find that they are, for the most part, relatively common; few appear to be beyond the comprehension of an "average" listener. In addition, we find that some words and phrases verge upon the trite: "three rousing cheers," "windbag," "pick to pieces," "repair the ravages of war," "hue and cry." Since individuality does not seem to stem from these factors, one further observation regarding the style must be discussed which is neither simply structural or merely a matter of single word choice: the observation that the distinctiveness of the style stems from the unusual placement or juxtapositioning of otherwise common words and ideas. Although this element is closely related to Invention--if, indeed, it can be separated from it--, this seems to be a Shavian characteristic which can be called part of Style.

As examples, let us first take three phrases: "never accept anything reverently;" "abolish the sea;" and "ordi-

nary professional fiddler." None of the foregoing words taken individually is unusual or distinctive. On the other hand, we are not likely to associate the adverb "reverently" with the verb "accept," nor use the verb "abolish" in connection with the "sea," nor dignify "professional" with "fiddler." This same characteristic of the unexpected choice appears in such associations as "runaway cow" with "political philosophy," in brief comparisons such as "government of the people" with "every boy . . . an engine driver or a pirate king;" and in extended analogies such as "the sea" and "democracy." Furthermore, the use of the ordinary or trite phrases mentioned earlier not only tends to highlight the extraordinary ones but also takes on the aura of unexpectedness in that they are so common and are interspersed with those which tend to strike us as unusual. Moreover, this tendency which is a part of Style (and/or Invention) also seems to play a part in that complex phenomenon of humor found in Shavian discourse.

In summary, then, it is difficult to make extensive conclusive judgments regarding certain aspects of Shaw's Style because of the nature of the discrepancies in the collated text. A few general tendencies in sentence structure, however, can be noted: a number of simple and compound sentences; complex sentences beginning with adverbial

clauses; and a use of antithesis and repetition. In general, also, transitions tend to be single words or very brief phrases. Although the use of "I" and references to personal experiences are also stylistic features, they are discussed in detail as matters of Invention. Finally, the distinctive feature of Shaw's Style is not due to single words, which have few noteworthy characteristics, but to his tendency to use fairly common words in unusual ways and to make unexpected comparisons. Although this feature, which also seems to account for the humor of Shaw, is presented as an element of Style, its extremely close relationship to Invention cannot be over-emphasized.

Response

While audience reaction to a speech is an important facet of speech criticism, almost no evidence exists regarding the reception accorded this speech. Polls for obtaining radio audience reaction were virtually unknown in 1929, and individual published reactions would reveal the response of only a very minute segment of the probable audience. Therefore, two other sets of factors must be used in noting response: return invitations to broadcast, and acceptance of proposals made in the speech.

Although "return invitations to broadcast" appears to be a questionable criterion, it should be kept in mind

that this was Shaw's first radio speech on a controversial subject. The B. B. C., which had been given permission to broadcast controversial subjects only the year before, proceeded cautiously under the new policy.¹ While subsequent appearances could conceivably have been denied, Shaw broadcast a number of times in succeeding years. Therefore, it would seem that the authorities of B. B. C. apparently believed that this speech met their standards of appropriateness.²

With respect to the standard concerned with the acceptance of proposals made in the speech, two sets of factors should be considered: stated and implied purposes, and immediate and long-range results. If we rely on Shaw's stated purpose--"that we should understand democracy"--, the answer is simple: we don't know whether that purpose was achieved either immediately or on a long-range basis. Since no action is implied, only a sophisticated attitude test would give results; and no such test was made.

On the other hand, a somewhat different answer is possible regarding the unstated thesis, "We must reject democracy," for overt action reflecting such rejection would be necessary as an indication of "success." Although Britain

¹See p. 74

²In 1940, however, the British Ministry of Information "cancelled" a Shaw speech. See Shaw, Platform and Pulpit, p. 286.

had its Mosleyites for a time in the mid-thirties, and although Socialism has increased in Britain since World War II, neither can be attributed to this speech nor are they a fulfillment of the proposals which Shaw put forth as solutions to the problems of democracy. Thus, even though the ending date of "long-range goals" is impossible to fix, we must say that up to this point there seems little indication that Shaw achieved success in fulfilling his unstated purpose.

Conclusions regarding audience response to this speech of Shaw's, then, are extremely scanty. Although we can recognize that he was allowed to continue broadcasting on controversial subjects by B. B. C., few conclusive statements are possible regarding the effectiveness of this speech in achieving its purposes. Since little in the way of immediate, specific action was called for, however, long-range effect has to be examined; and at the present time there appears little indication that this single speech of Shaw's resulted in any appreciable change in either attitude or action.¹

¹ This question regarding the effectiveness of persuasion remains unanswered for all of Shaw's speaking. See the footnote, p. 95.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

Bernard Shaw, world-famous as a playwright, filled his life with countless interests and activities. One aspect of his life which is often overlooked, particularly by scholars in the area of public address, is Shaw's extensive and life-long appearances on the public platform and, in later years, before the radio microphone. The purpose of this study was to (1) note the biographical and historical background related to a study of him as a speaker, (2) discover what theories of public speaking, if any, were expressed by him, (3) investigate the sources and nature of extant speech texts, and (4) analyze a speech in depth by use of the case study method.

Shaw, a Protestant in Irish Catholic Dublin, was born in 1856 to a family who lived in "genteel poverty." After an unconventional childhood and youth marked by a permissive home atmosphere, little formal schooling, and a responsible position in a land agent's office, Shaw moved to London at the age of nineteen. Although he was employed briefly in his early years in that city, he concentrated

upon reading at the British Museum and writing five novels, which met with little success. At the same time he undertook minor writing projects; and after a number of years he was able to earn his living by writing art, music, and dramatic criticisms.

Shortly after his arrival in London, Shaw became interested in the many societies which existed in the city and in which debating was the order of the day. A depression and social problems which were rampant in late nineteenth century England furnished the subject-matter for the deliberations of many of these groups. Although Shaw resolved early to become a speaker and set about searching for situations which would give him experience, he believed that it was only after hearing Henry George speak and becoming converted to Socialism that he had a "cause" which gave the impetus to his development as a speaker. For years Shaw spoke at numerous debating societies, on street-corners, at the docks, and wherever he could find an audience willing to listen to him speak about Socialism.

The group with which Shaw's name is most closely associated is, of course, the Fabian Society. While his most famous contribution as a member of that group is probably his part in the Fabian Essays and in helping to make policy decisions as a member of the Executive Committee,

he was also active in both the lectures the Society presented at regular meetings and the speaking engagements the Society arranged in London and surrounding areas to promote Socialism.

In the last decade of the century he was in great demand as a speaker and achieved a measure of fame in London as a journalist and a lecturer. Near the end of the century, however, he decided to curtail such activities and concentrate on his playwriting. Although the first years of the century mark his most productive years as a dramatist, he did not completely forego his platform activities; and during World War I his essay writing and his speaking again took precedence over playwriting.

His fame grew steadily after the war years, and his dramatic writing won him the Nobel Prize in 1925. Although he was nearly seventy years of age his writing and speaking continued. He received much publicity, his penchant for "quotable" remarks apparently encouraging newspapers to devote a considerable amount of space to him, even though his position on many issues irritated a great number of readers. When he died at the age of ninety-four after a full and active life, his passing was mourned throughout the world.

In his lifetime, Shaw delivered approximately 2000

speeches. Furthermore, an examination of his writing on the subject of public speaking indicates that through experience and perhaps early exposure to some rhetorical theory, he evolved a fairly complete formulation of principles. Although in this study, observations of those who heard Shaw speak was utilized for illustrative purposes, Shavian theories as presented here were derived from statements made by Shaw in his critiques of other speakers, in advice he gave others, and in his reports of his own public speaking experiences.

Statements found in such Shavian material were classified under: (1) general comments about public speaking, (2) preparation, (3) content, and (4) delivery.

In his general comments about public speaking Shaw pointed out the value of public speaking to an individual, indicating that the experience can be helpful to a writer or to one intending to enter public life in some way. Further, investigation shows he looked upon public speaking as performing an important function in a free society provided that all sides eventually have an opportunity to present their points of view. In addition, Shaw believed that in order for this function to be performed adequately, the speaker should not neglect his responsibilities, particularly in the matter of observing the formalities of public

meetings. Finally, although he made only a few remarks about the persuasive effect of public speaking, particularly his own, his view was often pessimistic even if somewhat inconclusive.

Shaw dealt with a number of aspects of preparation in the material examined. First, his comments indicate that he viewed public speaking as a learned art in which some degree of proficiency could be attained through practice. Although his remarks reveal his belief that practice alone is not sufficient, it is only through examining additional statements made in other sources that the factors influencing this view become apparent. For example, he commented extensively on the role of audience analysis (though he did not use that rhetorical term) and on the need for a speaker's knowing his subject well. Furthermore, he consistently advocated extemporaneous speeches. Although he did not refer at any time to rehearsing the speech before delivery, he commented frequently on the need for speakers to practice articulation and voice production as part of the preparation process.

Content of speeches received a great deal of attention in Shaw's critiques of speakers, advice to them, and reports of his own experiences as a speaker. In particular, his comments indicate that he believed consideration of the

audience is basic to the content of the speech. Although references to the audience tend to permeate all phases of his theories, he expressed the following about audience analysis which has bearing upon content: (1) the speaker must realize the nature of audiences in general; (2) the speaker must realize the nature of specific audiences; and (3) the speaker must not misinterpret immediate audience reactions. The principal feature of Shaw's statement regarding the nature of contentions is the view that maximizing serves an important function in gaining attention and, perhaps, in permitting a speaker to present a point of view which the audience might otherwise find objectionable. Shaw's theories regarding the development of an argument appear to be three-fold: (1) the speaker should know the steps in reasoning by which his conclusions are reached and should make them clear to the audience; (2) the speaker should have an ample fund of factual material to support his contentions; and (3) the speaker should use illustrations, especially those which come from personal experience, to amplify his assertions. Finally, Shaw's comments in the area of content also include references to refutation, which he seemed to regard as requiring a special approach and point of view.

Perhaps Shaw's comments regarding delivery are most

familiar, partly because they also appear in his essays on drama and partly because Shaw spoke of them so often.

Briefly, he advocated the extemporaneous method of delivery; careful attention paid to natural and meaningful bodily action; and particular emphasis given to adequate volume, articulation of consonants, and absence of distracting provincialisms.

In all, though Shaw began his speaking at the time when "elocutionists" were the vogue, his comments about public speaking greatly resemble in many respects theories of speech advocated by the majority of the teachers of speech today.

Since one of the problems facing any study of Shaw as a public speaker relates to the availability of texts, this study represents an attempt to compile a list of all known speech sources. Although the number--just under 175--falls far short of the total delivered by Shaw, the compilation seems to add to our knowledge of Shaw as a public speaker.

First, the description of speeches appears to substantiate observations of others that Shaw spoke to a wide variety of audiences. Second, even though few speeches are available from Shaw's early years as a Socialist, political subjects dominate the list, with speeches pertaining to the

arts occurring with the next greatest frequency, followed by religion, education, and medicine--as subjects selected by Shaw. Third, the list of speeches suggests other studies of Shaw which appear desirable and feasible: careful textual analyses of speeches, particularly an attempt to determine the nature of revisions which Shaw made when submitting a speech for publication; after such textual studies, an investigation of the extent to which Shaw put into practice his theories of public speaking; and detailed analysis of possible changes in Shaw's speeches on Socialism as a result of possible differences in his audiences or adjustments in his own point of view.

Although the biographical and historical background, Shaw's theories of speech, and the listing of extant speech texts aid in understanding Shaw as a speaker, one further approach seemed necessary to make this study complete: the analysis of a speech in depth. The speech, "On Democracy," was selected for the case study. Delivered before a radio audience in October, 1929, it represented Shaw's first appearance before a microphone in which he was permitted to speak on a "controversial" subject. While little is known of the specific make-up of that audience, there is ample evidence regarding the factors effecting the "climate of opinion": Facism had gained a foothold in Italy and Com-

munism in Russia, economic conditions were precarious in Britain, and the Labour Party had not distinguished itself in the short time it had been in power.

Two texts, one from The New York Times and the other from the Preface to The Apple Cart, were first collated. While there are many discrepancies in the two texts, many of the differences are relatively minor. Although the newspaper text seems to approximate more closely the speech as delivered, its accuracy could not be established with finality. Many of the differences in which probable accuracy could not be determined were related to matters of Style, necessitating care in the process of analysis.

The collated text, a substance outline, and work sheets formed the basis of the analysis. A study of Disposition revealed that Shaw used the following basic pattern: (1) an introduction, which also has a statement of his speech purpose; (2) definitions of the key term "democracy"; (3) the development of the problem; (4) the refutation of possible solutions; (5) the presentation of his recommendations; and (6) a conclusion. Furthermore, the analysis shows that the recommendation and conclusion portion of the speech are short compared with the other divisions.

The analysis of Invention revealed the following:

a heavy reliance upon personal experiences and illustrations for evidence often combined with reasoning from analogy; frequent use of the frameworks of causal and sign reasoning and the inductive pattern; extensive use of personal authority for proof, with the use of "I" and "we" throughout the speech; and very frequent use of that type of material classified as sensory proof.

In addition to such matters of Style which are closely related to Invention, such as use of the first person and extensive use of illustrations, the following characteristics were noted: in the area of sentence structure, a dominance of simple and compound sentences, with complex sentences tending to be introduced with adverbial clauses; use of antithesis and repetition; brief transitions; use of comparatively common words and a few trite phrases; and an unusual juxtapositioning of words and phrases which seems to account for much of the Shavian humor.

Because little information, unfortunately, is available on the audience response to this speech, the persuasive effect of this single speech cannot be measured accurately with the information available.

The over-all conclusions regarding Shaw as a speaker may be listed as follows: (1) Shaw, who achieved fame in more than one sphere of activity, made an estimated 2000

speeches during a speaking career that spanned nearly three-quarters of a century; (2) while his theories of public speaking, which deal with general comments about speech, preparation, content, and delivery, present nothing unusual or new, they appear in a number of sources, deal with many aspects of public speaking, and are very similar to theories held by many present day teachers of speech; (3) although only about one-tenth of his delivered speeches seem to be extant, they afford some basic information concerning audiences and choice of subjects, and appear to provide a basis for additional studies of him as a speaker; and (4) the case study of a speech reveals a fundamentally careful organization of material in a basic problem-solution pattern with emphasis upon the problem; the use of causal, sign, and inductive reasoning pattern with a dependence upon analogies, illustrations, authority of self, and sensory materials for proof; and a style noteworthy, in particular, for its juxtaposition of ideas not commonly associated.

Bernard Shaw, whose many talents combine to make him a complex and fascinating individual, merits recognition in the area of public address as an able theorist and skillful practitioner of public speaking.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX

PART I

Text: "On Democracy"

Explanatory Note: The basic text used is from Bernard Shaw, Preface to The Apple Cart (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1956), pp. 14-28. Collation is from a stenographic report which appeared in The New York Times, November 3, 1929, X, 3, 9. Material appearing in the Preface text but not in the newspaper text will be bracketed; material in the newspaper text but not in the Preface will be placed on the line immediately above and underlined, starting at the caret mark and occasionally continuing to the next line. Punctuation changes are not noted unless they are a part of the interpolated material.

Your Majesties, your Royal Highnesses, your Excellencies, your Graces and Reverences, my Lords, Ladies and
Gentlemen, and
^ fellow-citizens [of all degrees] : I am going
to talk to you about Democracy , not from my point of view,
^ objectively: that is [, as
but
it exists and] as we must all reckon with it equally, no

matter what our points of view may be. Let me illustrate
 ^ Suppose I were to
what I mean by this.

talk to you not about Democracy, but about the sea, which is

in some respects [rather] like Democracy! We all have our

own views of the sea. Some of us hate it and are never well

when [we are] at it or in it
 ^ or on it. Others love it, [and are

never so happy as when they are in it or on it or looking at

it.] Some of us regard it as Britain's natural realm and

surest bulwark: others want a Channel Tunnel. But cer-

tain facts about the sea are quite independent of our feel-

ings toward it. If I [take it for granted] say
 ^ that the sea

exists, [none of you] will not
 ^ contradict me. If I say that

[the sea] it occasionally , dangerous and
 ^ is ^ [sometimes furiously] violent ^ [and always

treacherous

uncertain, and that those who are most familiar with it

trust it least,] you will not [immediately] shriek out that

[I do not believe in the sea; that] I am an enemy of the sea;

that I want to abolish the sea; [that I am going to make

bathing illegal;] that I am out to ruin our carrying trade

steal the sea.
and ^ [lay waste all our seaside resorts and scrap the

British Navy. If I tell you that you cannot breathe in the

sea,] you will not [take that as a personal insult and]

ask me indignantly if I consider you inferior to a fish.

Well, you must [please] be equally sensible when I relate
^

[tell you] some hard facts about Democracy. [When I tell

you that it is] sometimes democracy is
^ furiously violent [and always]

dangerous and treacherous, and that those who are familiar

with it as practical statesmen trust it least, . When I
^ you must

say this
not at once denounce me as a paid agent of Signor
^ Benito

nor think of me as
Mussolini, ^ [or declare that I have become] a Tory Die-

hard in my old age, [and accuse me of wanting to take away

your votes and make an end of parliament, and the franchise,

and free speech, and public meeting, and trial by jury.

Still less] nor must you rise up
^ ^ in your places and give me

three rousing cheers as the
^ [a] champion of medieval monarchy

and feudalism. [I am quite innocent of any such extrava-

gances.] All I mean is that whether we are democratic
 ^ [Democrats]

Tory whether we are communistic
 or ^ [Tories], ^ [Catholics or Protestants,] ^ [Communists] or

Fascistic
 ^ [Fascists] , we are all face to face with a certain force

in the world called Democracy; and we must understand the

nature of that force [whether we want to fight it or to

forward it]. Our business is not to deny the presence
 ^ [perils] of

Democracy, but to provide against its dangers
 ^ [them] as far as we can,

are providing
 and then consider whether the risks we ^ [cannot provide]

against are worth taking.

As Mr. Lowes Dickinson introduced democracy at the
 ^ [Democracy, as you know it, is seldom] more than a

first of these broadcast talks it was no he knew most
 long word beginning with a capital letter, which ^ [we] accept

of us would
 reverently [or disparage contemptuously] without asking [any]

But
 questions. ^ [Now] we should never accept anything rever-

without asking
 ently ^ [until we have asked it] a great many [very searching]

of all, "Who
 questions, [the] first ^ [two being What] are you? and

secondly, If
 ^ Where do you live? ^ [When] I put these questions to

Democracy the reply
 ^[answer I get] is 'My name is Demos; and I
 live in the British Empire, the United States of America,
 and wherever the love of liberty burns in the heart of man.
 You, my friend Shaw, are a unit of Democracy: your name is
 also Demos: you are a citizen of a great democratic com-
 munity: you are a potential constituent of the Parliament
 of Man, the Federation of the World.' After
 ^[At] this I usually
 burst into loud cheers, which do credit to my enthusiastic
 nature. Tonight, however, I shall [do nothing of the sort:
 I shall] say 'Dont talk nonsense. My name is not Demos: it
 is Bernard Shaw. My address is not the British Empire, [nor]
 the United States [of America,] and
 ^[nor] wherever the love of
 liberty burns in the heart of man: it is at such and such
 a number in such and such a street in London; and it will
 be time enough to discuss my seat in the Parliament of Man
 when that celebrated institution comes into existence. I

do not , further, that , or that you have any
 ^[dont] believe ^ your name is Demos ^[: nobody's name is
address."

Demos; and all I can make of your address is that you have

no address, and are just a tramp--if indeed you exist at

all.']

You will notice that I am too polite to call Demos

, a gasbag . Nevertheless,
 a windbag ^ or a hot air merchant ^[; but] I am going to

tonight
 ask you to begin our study of Democracy ^by considering it

first as a big balloon, filled with gas or hot air, and sent

on high all the people of the country will be
 up ^so that ^[you shall be kept] looking up [at the sky

at it while their It
 whilst] ^other people [are] pick ^[ing your] pockets. ^[When

is true you can have a place in
 the balloon comes down to earth every five years or so you

, but only by ing
 are invited to get into] the basket ^[if you can] throw ^out

somebody else.
 ^[one of the people who are sitting tightly in it; but as

you can afford neither the time nor the money, and there are

forty millions of you and hardly room for six hundred in the

basket, the balloon goes up again with much the same lot in

it and leaves you where you were before.] I think you will admit that the balloon as an image of Democracy ^{does} correspond[s] ^{roughly actual} to the ^[parliamentary] fact[s].

Now let us examine ^{the subject a little further.} [a more poetic conception of Whenever a modern statesman has to find an excuse for some-Democracy.]

thing, for instance a war, he usually declares it is being

waged to make the world safe for democracy.
Abraham Lincoln [is represented as] standing amid the

carnage [of the battlefield] of Gettysburg, [and] declar^{ed} ^[ing]

that all that slaughter of Americans by Americans ^{was} ^[occurred]

in order that Democracy, defined as government of the people

for the people by the people, should not perish from the

earth. [Let us] pick ^{that} ^[this] famous peroration to pieces and

see what there ^{actually} ^[really] is inside it. [(By the way, Lincoln

did not really declaim it on the field of Gettysburg; and

the American Civil War was not fought in defence of any such

principle, but, on the contrary, to enable one half of the

United States to force the other half to be governed as they

did not wish to be governed. But never mind that. I mentioned it only to remind you that it seems impossible for statesmen to make speeches about Democracy, or journalists to report them, without obscuring it in a cloud of humbug.))]

Take

^ [Now for] the three articles of the definition.

First,

^ [Number One:] Government of the people; that, evidently,

is necessary: a human community can no more exist without

a government than a human being can exist without a co-

ordinated control of its breath[ing] and blood circulation.

Secondly,

^ [Number Two:] Government for the people, .That ^ is most impor-

tant. Dean Inge put [it perfectly for] us all right in his ^ [when] he called

broadcast talk last Monday.

Democracy a form of society which means equal consideration

for all. He added that it is a Christian principle, and

[that,] as a Christian, he believe^d[s] in it. So do I. That ^

is why I insist on equality of income ^s . , because ^ Equal considera-

tion for one man ^ [a person] with a ^x hundred a year and one man ^ with a

^f hundred thousand a year / quite Thirdly ^ [But Number Three:] ^ is ^ impossible.

Government by the people, . That
 ^ is quite [a] different [matter].

All the monarchs, [all the tyrants, all the] dictators, and
 ^ [all
 the] Die-hard Tories are agreed that we must be governed.

[Democrats like the Dean and myself are agreed that we must
 be governed with equal consideration for everybody.] But we

this third part of the definition
 repudiate ^ [Number Three] on the ground that the people can-

It
 not govern. ^ [The thing] is a physical impossibility.

Every citizen cannot be a ruler any more than every boy can

be an engine driver or a pirate king. A nation of governors
 ^ [prime

ministers] or dictators is as absurd as an army of field

marshals. Government by the people [is not and never can

be a reality: it] is only a cry by which demagogues humbug

us into voting for them. [If you doubt this--if] you ask

[me] 'Why should not the people make their own laws?' To
 ^ [I

that question I reply by asking another:

need only ask you] 'Why should not the people write their own

The people write their own plays.
 plays?" ^ [They] cannot . [It is much easier to write a good
 ^

play than to make a good law.] And there are not a hundred men in the world who can write a play good enough to stand daily wear and tear [as long as a law must].

[Now comes the question,] If we cannot govern ourselves, what can we do to save ourselves from being at the mercy of those who can govern, and who may quite possibly be graspers and scoundrels [thoroughpaced grafters and scoundrels]? The primitive
 ^
 answer is that [as] the people [we] are always in a huge majority
 ^
 , and our
 ^ we can, if ^ rulers oppress us intolerably, burn their
 houses and tear them to pieces. That, however,
 ^ [This] is not satisfactory.
 Decent people never do it until they have [quite] lost their heads; and when they have lost their heads [they are] as
 likely as not they will down
 ^ [to] burn ^ the wrong house and tear the
The judgment and the execution of a
 ^ wrong man to pieces.
ruler, or a ruler's scapegoat, is an act which requires a

high degree of political intelligence.
 When we have what is called a popular movement very few

people ^{taking}
 ^ [who take] part in it know what it is all about. I

once saw a [real] popular movement [in London]. People

^{rushing}
 ^ [were running excitedly] through the street [s]. ^{,every-}
 ^ [Every-

^{body joining}
 one who saw them doing it immediately joined] in the

^{movement}
 ^ [rush. They ran simply] because everyone else was

ⁱⁿ
 ^ [doing] it. It was most impressive [to see thousands of

people sweeping along at full speed like that. There could

be no doubt that it was] literally a popular movement. I

ascertained afterward[s] that it was started by a runaway

cow. That cow had an important share in my education as a

political philosopher; [and I can assure you that] if you

will study crowds[, and lost] and terrified animals [, and

things like that, instead of reading books and newspaper

articles,] you will learn a great deal ^{of}
 ^ [about] politics

^{Parliamentary}
 from them. Most ^ general elections, [for instance,] are

^{The} ^{election was}
 ^ [nothing but] stampedes. ^ [Our] last but one ^ [was] a conspic-

a stampede and
uous example of this. The cow was a Russian cow!
[one].

[I think we may take it that neither mob violence nor popular movements can be depended on as checks upon the abuse of power by governments.] One might suppose that democracy in the [at least they] would act [as a] last resort when an autocrat goes mad and commits outrageous excesses of tyranny and cruelty. But it [is a curious fact that they] does. signal never [do.] Take two [famous] cases: those of Nero and Tsar Paul [the First] of Russia. If Nero had been an ordinary professional fiddler no one would ever have heard of [he would probably have been no him, and worse a man than any member of the wireless orchestra.] If

Paul had been a lieutenant in a line regiment no one would
 ^ [we should
ever
 never] have heard of him. But when [these two poor fellows

creatures ^{these men} [they] went mad, and did such appalling things that
they had to be ^{dealt with} [killed] like mad dogs. Only, it was not the

people ^{who} [that] rose up and ^{dealt with} [killed] them. They were dispatched

quite privately by [a very select circle of] their own body-

On the other hand, take the execution of the un-
 guard[s]. ^[For a genuinely democratic execution of un-

popular

popular statesmen we must turn to the] brothers DeWitt,

[who were] torn to pieces by a Dutch mob in the seventeenth

century. They were neither tyrants nor autocrats. [On the

contrary, one of them had been imprisoned and tortured for

his resistance to the despotism of William of Orange; and

the other had come to meet him as he came out of prison.]

The mob was on the side of the autocrat s
^. We may take it

that the shortest way for a tyrant to get rid of [a] trouble-

talkers
 some ^[champion] of liberty is to raise a hue and cry

against them
^ him as [an] unpatriotic person s
^, and leave the

mob to do the rest after supplying them with a well tipped

ringleader. Nowadays that
^[this] is called direct action

. The proletariat

^[by the revolutionary proletariat. Those who put their

faith in it soon find that proletariats] are never revolu-

tionary, [and] [that their] direct [action, when it is con-

trolled at all, is usually controlled by police agents.]

Democracy [, then,] cannot be government by the people: it can only be government by consent of the governed. Unfortunately, when democratic statesmen make as-
 ^ [propose
surances to that effect do not
 to govern us by our own consent,] they find that we ^ [dont]
 want to be governed at all, and that we regard rates and taxes [and rents] and death duties as intolerable burdens. What we want to know is how little government we can get along with without being murdered in our beds. [That question cannot be answered until we have explained what we mean by getting along. Savages manage to get along. Unruly Arabs and Tartars get along.] The only rule in the matter is that the civilized way of getting along is the way of corporate action, not individual action; and corporate action involves more government than individual action.

[Thus] government [, which] used to be a comparatively

simple affair, but it
 ^ today ^ has to manage an enormous develop-
 ment of Socialism and Communism. Our industrial and social
 life is set in a huge communistic framework of public road-
 ways, streets, bridges, water supplies, power supplies,
 lighting, tramways, schools, dockyards, and public [aids and]
 conveniences, of all kinds and proud
 ^ employing a ^ [prodigious] army of police,
 inspectors, teachers, and officials of all grades in hun-
 dreds of departments. We have found by bitter experience
 that it is impossible to trust our mines, and
 ^ factories, ^ workshops [, and
 mines] to private guidance an elaborate code of
 ^ [management]. Only ^ [by stern] laws
 enforced by constant inspection have [we] stopped the
ghastly they used to
 ^ [monstrous] waste of human life and welfare ^ [it cost]
cause
 when [it was] left uncontrolled by [the] Government. During
 the war our attempt to leave the munitioning of the army to
 private enterprise led us to the borders
 ^ [verge] of defeat and
 caused [an] appalling slaughter [of our soldiers]. When

[the Government took] the work ^{was} _^ [out of private hands and
 had it] done in national factories it was at once success-
 ful. The private firms [were still allowed to do what little
 they could; but they] had to be taught to do it economically,
 and to keep their accounts properly, by Government officials.
 Our big capitalist enterprises now run to the Government for
 help as a lamb [runs] to its mother. They cannot [even] make
 an extension of the Tube railway in London without Govern-
 ment ^{help} _^ [aid]. Unassisted private capital[ism] is [breaking
 down or] getting left behind [in all directions. If all
 our] Socialism and Communism ^{is what we have already. With-} _^ [and the drastic taxation of
out government help all
 unearned incomes which finances it were to stop,] our pri-
 vate enterprises would drop like shot stags [, and we should
 all be dead in a month]. When Mr Baldwin tried to win
this
_^ [the] last election by declaring that Socialism had been a
 failure whenever [and wherever it had been] tried, Social-

ism went over him like a steam roller and handed his office
to a Socialist Prime Minister. Last month my friend, Dean
Nothing

Inge, repeated the statement. I have only one question to
ask him: Where does he expect to go when he dies.

have d
could save ^ us in the war but [a great extension of]

Socialism; and [now] it is clear [enough] that only a ^ still

greater extension[s] of socialism ^ [it] can repair the ravages of the

war and keep pace with the growing requirements of civili-
zation.

What we have to ask ourselves [, then,] is not
whether we will have Socialism and Communism or not, but
whether Democracy can keep pace with the developments of
both that are being forced on us by the growth of national
and international corporate action.

Now corporate action is impossible without a govern-
ing body. It may be the central Government: it may be a
municipal corporation, the ^ [a] county council, the ^ [a] district

[council,] or [a] parish council. It may be the board of directors of a joint stock company, or of a trust made by combining several joint stock companies. All these governing bodies are ^ [Such boards,] elected by the votes of the shareholders, [are little States within the State, and very powerful ones, too, some of them.]

If they have not actually ^ laws [and kings] , at least ^ they have by-laws and [chairmen. And] you and I, the consumers of their services, are more at the mercy of these ^ [the] boards and the company they ^ [that organize them represent than] we are at the mercy of parliament. [Several active] politicians who began as Liberals and are now Socialists have said [to me] that they were converted by seeing that the nation had to choose, not between governmental control of industry and control by [separate] private individuals [kept in order by their competition for our custom,] but between governmental control and control by gigantic trusts wielding great power but no ^ [without] responsibility, and having no object but to make as much money out of us as possible.

Our Government is [at this moment] having much more trouble with the private corporation[s] at home ^ on whom we are dependent for [our] coals and cotton goods than with France or the United States [of America]. We are in the hands of our corporate bodies, public or private, for the satisfaction of our everyday needs. [Their powers are life and death powers. I need not labor this point: we all know it.]

But what we do not all realize is that we are equally dependent on corporate action for the satisfaction of our religious needs. The told us last Monday ^ Dean ^ [Inge tells us] that our [general] elections had ^ [have] become public auctions at which the contending parties bid against one another [for our votes] by [each] promising [us] a larger share [than the other] of the plunder [of the minority. Now] that is perfectly true. , though ^ The contending parties do not [as yet] venture as yet ^ to put it exactly in those words[; but that is what it comes to. And] the Dean's profession obliges him to urge his congregation,

[Can you suggest anything?] I could send ⁱⁿ
 ^ [my] war bonds
 to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and invite him to cancel
 the part of the National Debt that they represent ^{ed}
 ^; and he
 would undoubtedly thank me [in the most courteous official
 terms] for my patriotism. But the poor would not get any of
 it. The [other] payers of [surtax and] income tax and
super-tax
 ^ [death duties] would save ^{by it.}
 ^ [the interest they now have to
 pay on it: that is all.] I should [only] have made the
 rich richer and ^{the poor}
 ^ [myself] poorer. I could burn all my share
 certificates and ^{enable}
 ^ [inform the secretaries of] the companies
 to
 ^ [that they might] write off ^{the}
 ^ [that much of their] capital
 indebtedness ^{they represent.} But ^{only}
 ^ the ^ result would be a bigger
 dividend for the ^{other}
 ^ [rest of the] shareholders [, with the poor
 out in the cold as before]. ^{No doubt also I could}
 ^ [I might] sell my war bonds
 [and share certificates] for cash, and throw the money into
 the street to be ^{snatched up}
 ^ [scrambled for;] but it would be snatched

up, not by the poorest, but by the best fed [and most able-bodied] of the scramblers. Besides, if we all sold [^][tried to sell] our bonds and shares--and [this is what you have to consider; for] Christ's advice was not addressed to me [alone] but to all who had [^][have] great possessions--the result would be [^][that they would all go for their value would fall to] nothing, [as] the Stock Exchange would be [^][immediately become a market in which there were] all sellers and no buyers. Accordingly, any spare money of mine [^][that the Government leaves me] is invested where I can get the biggest [^][highest] interest and the best security and [^][, as thereby I can] make sure that it goes where it is most wanted and gives the greatest amount of [^][immediate] employment.

[This is the best I can do without Government interference: indeed] any other way of dealing with my spare money would be foolish and demoralizing; but the result is that I become richer and richer, and the poor become relatively poorer and poorer. So [you see] I cannot even be a Christian except

through Government action; and neither can the Dean.

Now let us get down to our problem. We cannot gov-

ern ourselves; yet we see that vest others
 ^if we [entrust the immense] ^powers
with the vast
 [and revenues] which are necessary [in an effective modern
 Government] to an absolute monarch or dictator, they go
 ^ [he goes]
they happen to be
 more or less mad unless ^ [he is a] quite extraordinary and
ordinarily
 ^ [therefore very seldom] obtainable person s. [Besides,
 ^

modern government is not a one-man job: It is too big for

that.] If we resort to a [committee or] parliament of

superior persons, they will [set up an oligarchy and] abuse

their power for their own benefit. Our dilemma is that if we
 ^

[men in the lump] cannot govern ourselves
 ^ [themselves; and yet, as

William Morris put it, no man is good enough to be another

man's master.] We need to be governed, and [yet] to control

our governors. But the best governors will not accept any

control except that of their own consciences; and, as we

[who are governed] are [also] apt to abuse any power of

control we have, our ignorance ^{and} _^ [, our] passions, [our private and immediate interests] are constantly in conflict with the knowledge ^{and} _^ [, [the] wisdom, and [the] public spirit and regard for the future of our best qualified governors.

^{But} _^ [Still,] if we cannot control our governors, can ^{not we} _^ [we not] at least choose [them] and change them if they do not suit?

Let me invent a primitive example of democratic choice.

It is always best to take ^{an} _^ imaginary example ^{because no one} _^ [s: they offend nobody.] can then be offended. Imagine [then that] we are the inhabitants of a village ^{and} _^ [. We] have to elect somebody for the office of postman. There are several candidates; but one stands out conspicuously, ^{for} _^ [because] he has frequently treated us at the public-house, has subscribed a shilling to our [little] flower show, ^{and he is also able to pose as} _^ [has a kind word for the children when he passes, and is] a victim of oppression by the squire be-

cause his late father was one of our most successful poach-
 ers. We elect him triumphantly; [and he is duly installed,
him with an office, a suit and a badge
 uniformed,] provide [^][d with] a red bicycle, and [given a
and give him the But not much has been thought
 batch of] [^]letters to deliver. [^][As his motive in seeking
 the post has been pure ambition, he has not thought much
 beforehand] about his duties; and it now occurs to him for
 the first time that he cannot read. So he hires a boy to
 come round with him and read the addresses. The boy [^]is con-
cealed while goes to the
~~ceals~~ himself] in the lane [^][whilst] the postman [^]delivers
house, and
 the letters [^][at the house,] takes the Christmas boxes
 [, and gets the whole credit of the transaction] . In course
 of time the postman
[^][he] dies with a high reputation [for efficiency
 in the discharge of his duties;] and we again an
[^]elect [^][another]
person,
 equally illiterate [^][successor on similar grounds.] But by
 this time the boy has grown up and has
[^]become an institution.
 He presents himself to the new postman as an [established
 and] indispensable feature of the postal system, and finally

becomes recognized and paid by the village [as such].

Here you have a picture [^][the perfect image] of the [^][a popularly
elected] Cabinet Minister and the Civil Service department
over which he presides. It may work [very] well; for our
postman [, though illiterate,] may be a very capable fellow;
and the boy who reads the addresses [for him may] be [quite]
incapable of doing anything else [^][more]. But this does not
always happen , and [^]. Whether it happens or not, the system
is not a democratic system [^][reality]: it is a democratic illu-
sion. The boy [, when he has ability enough to take advan-
tage of the situation,] is [the] master of the man. The
person elected to do the work is not really doing it: he
is a popular humbug he [^][who] is merely doing what a permanent
official tells him to do. That is how it comes about that
we are now governed by a Civil Service which has such an [^]
enormous power that its regulations are taking the place of
the laws of England, though some of them are made for the

convenience of the officials without [the slightest] regard to the [convenience or even the] rights of the public.

[And] how are these officials [^] [our Civil Servants] selected? Mostly by an educational test which nobody but an expensive[ly] school[ed] youth can pass [, thus making the most powerful and effective part of our government an irresponsible class government] .

[Now,] what control have we? The vote! [^] [your or I over the Services? We have votes. I have used mine a few times to see what it is like.] Well, [it is like this.] When an [^] [the]election approaches, two or three persons of whom I know nothing write to me soliciting my vote and enclosing a list of meetings, an election address, and a polling card. One of the addresses reads like an article in The Morning Post [^] with the [, and has a] above Union Jack [^] on it. Another is like a series of ex- [^] The Daily News tracts from or Manchester Guardian. [Both might have been compiled from the editorial waste paper baskets of a hundred years ago.]

A third [address], more up-to-date and much better written
 ^ [phrased],

convinces me that the sender [has] had it written for him at

Eccleston Square, There is perhaps
 ^ the headquarters of the Labor Party. ^ A fourth,

which
 ^ [the most hopelessly out of date of them all,] contains

apparently some
 ^ scraps of the early English [translations] of the Com-

munist Manifesto of 1848. I have no guarantee that any of

are
 these documents ^ [were] written by the candidates. They

convey nothing [whatever] to me as to the [ir] character

of those from whom they are supposed
 or political capacity ^ . The half-tone photographic por-

to emanate. Even does
 trait [s which adorn the front pages do] ^ not [even] tell

for the portraits have generally
 me their age ^ [s, having] been taken twenty years ago. If

I go to one of the meetings I find a schoolroom packed with

funnier and cheaper
 people who find an election meeting ^ [cheaper and funnier]

the there are a few
 than ^ [a] theatre. On the platform ^ [sit one or two poor]

men who have worked hard to keep [party] politics alive in

themselves
 the constituency. They ought ^ to be the candidates; but

they have no more chance of such eminence than [they have]
 of possessing a Rolls-Royce car. They move votes of confi-
 dence but
 ^ [in the candidate, though] as the candidate is a
 stranger to them and [to] everybody else how can any one
 ^ [present nobody
 can possibly] feel any [such] confidence in him?
 ^ [They lead the
 applause for him;] they prompt the candidate
 ^ [him] when questions are
 asked; and when he is completely floored they jump up and
say
 ^ [cry] 'Let me answer that, Mr Chairman!' [and then pre-
 tend that he has answered it.] The old catch words and
 ^ shibboleths are
turned vitality
 ^ [droned] over; and nothing has any ^ [sense or reality] in
 it except the vituperation of the opposite
 ^ [opposition] party, which
 is [received with shouts of relief by the audience. Yet it
 is] nothing but an exhibition of bad manners. If I vote
gentlemen
 for one of these ^ [candidates], and he [or she] is elected,
have exercised the right of
 I am supposed to ^ [be enjoying a democratic control of the
 government--to be exercising] government of myself, and
 ^ for
and
 myself, ^ by myself. Do you wonder that the Dean cannot

believe such democracy?
 ^ [nonsense? If I believed it I should not be
 fit to vote at all.] If this is Democracy, and liberty
 ^ who can blame
 Signor Mussolini for describing it as a putrefying corpse?

[The candidates may ask me what more they can do for
 me but present themselves and answer any questions I may
 put to them. I quite admit that they can do nothing; but
 that does not mend matters.] What I should like is a real
the candidates
 test of [their] capacity. Shortly before the war a doctor
 in San Francisco discovered that if a drop of a candidate's
could
 blood ^ [can] be obtained on a piece of blotting paper it
would be
 ^ [is] possible to discover within half an hour what was
 ^ [is]
 wrong with him physically. What I am waiting for is [the
 discovery of a process by which on delivery of] a drop of
a candidate's . which will enable us to
 ^ [his] blood or a lock of his hair ^ [we can ascertain] what
say
 is right with him mentally. We could then have a graded
 series [of panels of capable persons for all employments,

public or private,] and not allow any person [, however popular,] to undertake ^{public} ^ [the] employment [of governing us] unless he [or she] were ⁱⁿ ^ [on] the appropriate panel. At the lower end of the scale there would be a panel of persons qualified to take part in a parish meeting; at the higher ^{there would be/those} end ^ a panel of ^ [persons] qualified to act as [Secretaries of State for] Foreign [Affairs or Finance] Ministers. At present not more than ^{cent} two per ^ [thousand] of the population would be available for the ^{higher} ^ [highest] panel. ^{But there} ^ [I should ^{would be} ^{under such a system} then be in no danger ^ of electing a postman and finding that he could ^{not} ^ [neither] read ^{or} ^ [nor] write. My choice [of candidates] would be [perhaps] more restricted than at present: but [I do not desire liberty to choose windbags and nincompoops to represent me in parliament; and] my power to choose ^{as} ^ between one [qualified] candidate and another would ^{be as} ^ [give ^{wide as is possible in the present state of affairs.} me as much control as is either possible or desirable. The] ^{should} voting and counting ^ [would] be done by machinery: I should

be able to

^ [connect my telephone with the proper office;] touch a

button; and the machinery would do the rest.

this,

Pending ^ [such a completion of the American doctor's

discovery,] how are we to go on? The
^ [Well, as] best we can,

we have.

with the sort of government ^ [that our present system pro-

duces. Several reforms are possible without any new dis-

system of in a modern
covery.] Our present ^ parliament is obsolete ^ [: it can

state.

no more do the work of a modern State than Julius Caesar's

galley could do the work of an Atlantic liner.] We need [in

central parliaments and several
these islands] two or three ^ [additional federal legisla-

regional ones to correlate the work and maintain contact.
tures, working on our municipal committee system instead

of our parliamentary system. We need a central authority to

co-ordinate the federal work. Our obsolete little internal

frontiers must be obliterated, and our units of local govern-

ment enlarged to dimensions compatible with the recent prodigious

advances in facility of communication and co-operation.

Commonwealth affairs and supernational activities through the League of Nations or otherwise will have to be provided for, and Cabinet function to be transformed. All the pseudo-democratic obstructive functions of our political machinery must be ruthlessly scrapped, and the general problem of government approached from a positive viewpoint at which mere anarchic national sovereignty as distinguished from self-government will have no meaning.]

But no system will be of any use except in the final
 ^ [I must conclude by warning you that when everything
resort we have good consciences and good public spirit on the
 has been done that can be done, civilization will still be
part both of the government and voter. We are prevented
 dependent on the consciences of the governors and the
from being good citizens and our governors are prevented from
 governed. Our natural dispositions may be good; but]
being good governors by all sorts of personal interests
and prejudices. The fact is not as citizens should have
 we have been badly brought up, ^ [and are full of anti-
been brought up. We must set to work to bring up our child-
 social personal ambitions and prejudices and snobberies.
ren to be better citizens than we are. There is one country
 Had we not better teach our children to be better citizens
that is doing it, and that country is Russia.
 than ourselves? We are not doing that at present. The

Russians are.] That is my last word. Pray go home and
^ [Think over it.]
think of it.

PART II

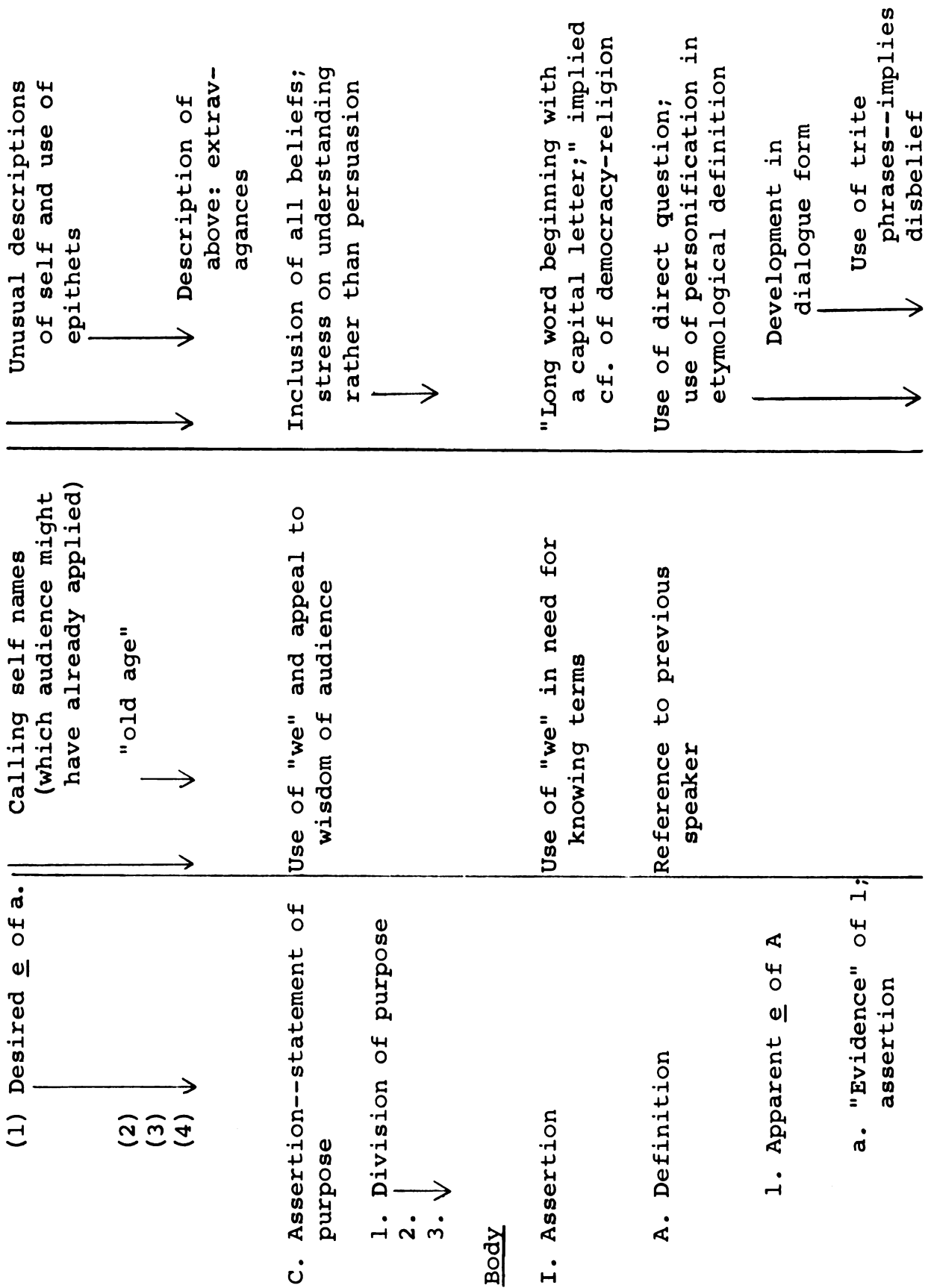
Work Sheets: "On Democracy"

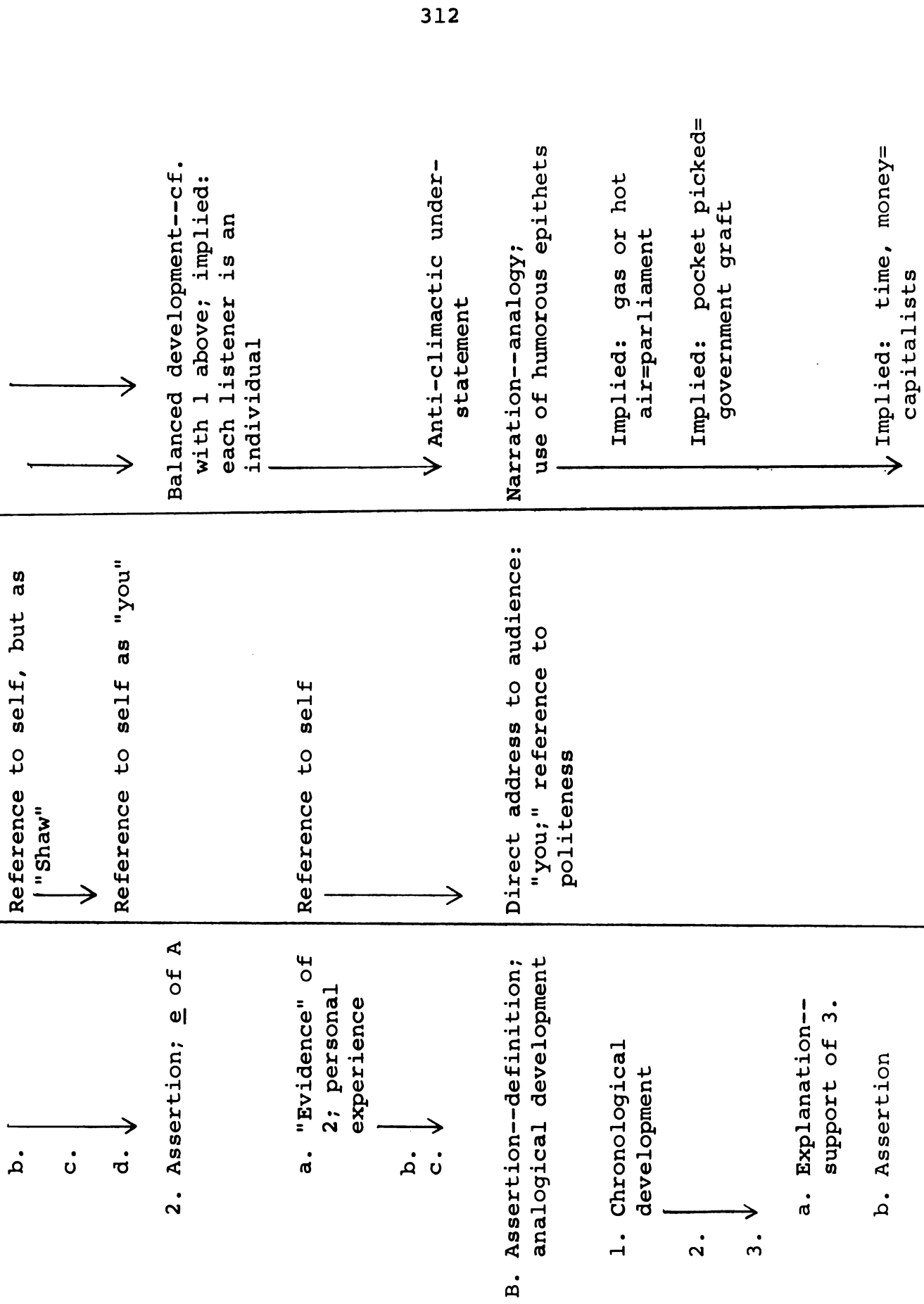
The work sheets which follow were completed early in the process of analyzing Shaw's speech, "On Democracy." Due to the nature of work sheets, in some instances the findings which appear in detail here are summarized in Chapter IV, while in the other cases some details appear in that chapter which may not be listed on the work sheets.

Since the primary purpose of the preparation of the work sheets was to aid the writer, many abbreviations were used. A few which appear frequently are: ex for example; c for cause; and e for effect. Downward arrows indicate that this particular proof continues through several levels of the outline. Furthermore, the outline form found in the first column of each page corresponds with that of the substance outline, pages 213-233 of this study.

LOGICAL	AUTHORITY OF SELF AND ETHICAL	SENSORY
<u>Introduction</u>		Formality of opening statement
A. Assertion--announcement of topic	Use of "I," but negation of importance of self	
B. Assertion--pt. of view toward topic	Use of plural; stress of impartiality, mutual importance	
1. Assertion plus implied analogy of two unlike things (carries throughout development)	Use of I; wisdom of audience in being objective	Beginning of description of sea--illustration to be used for analogy; use of neutral force to reduce possible emotional reaction; humor of mechanistic comparison
a. Assertion	Use of 1st person plural	Parallel structure in presenting opposing reactions
(1) Ex (generalized) of a.		Same plus unusual representation of idea of dislike: Channel Tunnel; use of "universals": "Britain's natural realm," etc.
(2) Ex (generalized) of a.		
b. Assertion		

(1) Sign of b	Use of "I;" implication of wisdom of audience being objective (throughout)	If-then repeated	specific & sensory language; "treacherous"
(2) Assertion; put forth as sign of b			
(a) Evidence: unspecified testimony-- (2) is sign of b		repetitive "shriek out" phrasing	
(b) (c) (d) (e) (f) (g) ↓			"enemy of the sea"
(3) Sign of b; reduced to absurd	Reference to self	Apparently designed for audience to recognize absurdity	"scrap the Navy"
(a) e of (3)			
2. Statement; implied analogy with the preceding	Use of self as authority	Implication of good sense of audience	
a. Assertion			Same word choices and similar structure as B.1.b.(2)





(1) <u>e</u> of 3, 3a, 3b		Implied: throwing out someone else=winning election
Summary	Appeal to intelligence of audience	↓ Allows audience to make comparison but asks for agreement
C. Definition - use of quotation		Use of familiar: "poetic conception;" "pick this famous peroration to pieces"
1. Assertion (digression)	Implied comparison with self	Exaggeration
a. Evidence of 1; "humbug" version		Sarcasm--intensified by use of "slaughter"
b. Evidence of 1; "true" version		Reduction of complex situation to simple terms; criticism of U.S.; use of familiar phrase
2. Development of definition		Asks audience participation
a. 1st division of definition; assertion (1) assertion-- support of a		Quotation

<p>(a) analogy: proof-(1) support a</p>	<p>Analogical development based on the familiar</p>
<p>(2) Authority (generalized) for a</p>	<p>Use of emotional language</p>
<p>b. 2nd division of definition: assertion (1) assertion (minor digres- sion)</p>	
<p>(2) Explanation- assertion: authority</p>	<p>Associating Dean and self</p>
<p>(a) Enthymeme: 1. (All should receive equal consideration) 2. Equal consideration includes financial equality 3. Therefore all should have financial equality</p>	<p>Use of "I"</p>
<p>(b) General- ization: support</p>	<p>Reference to specific incomes</p>

<p>(3) repeat of assertion (2)</p> <p>c. 3rd division of definition--assertion</p> <p>(1) Assertion: used as proof of c</p> <p>(a) Generalization support of (1)</p> <p>i. Ex - analogy: support</p> <p>ii. ↓</p> <p>(b) Assertion; used as proof of c</p> <p>i. Analogy; statement</p> <p>ii. ↓</p> <p>iii. plus support of i</p>	<p>Summary--contrasts the chief aim of the governors with the chief interest of Shaw</p> <p>Analogy; use of familiar reference</p> <p>Analogy; use of "absurd"</p> <p>Developed through dialogue</p> <p>Direct and implied comparison with material in choice of "wear and tear"</p>
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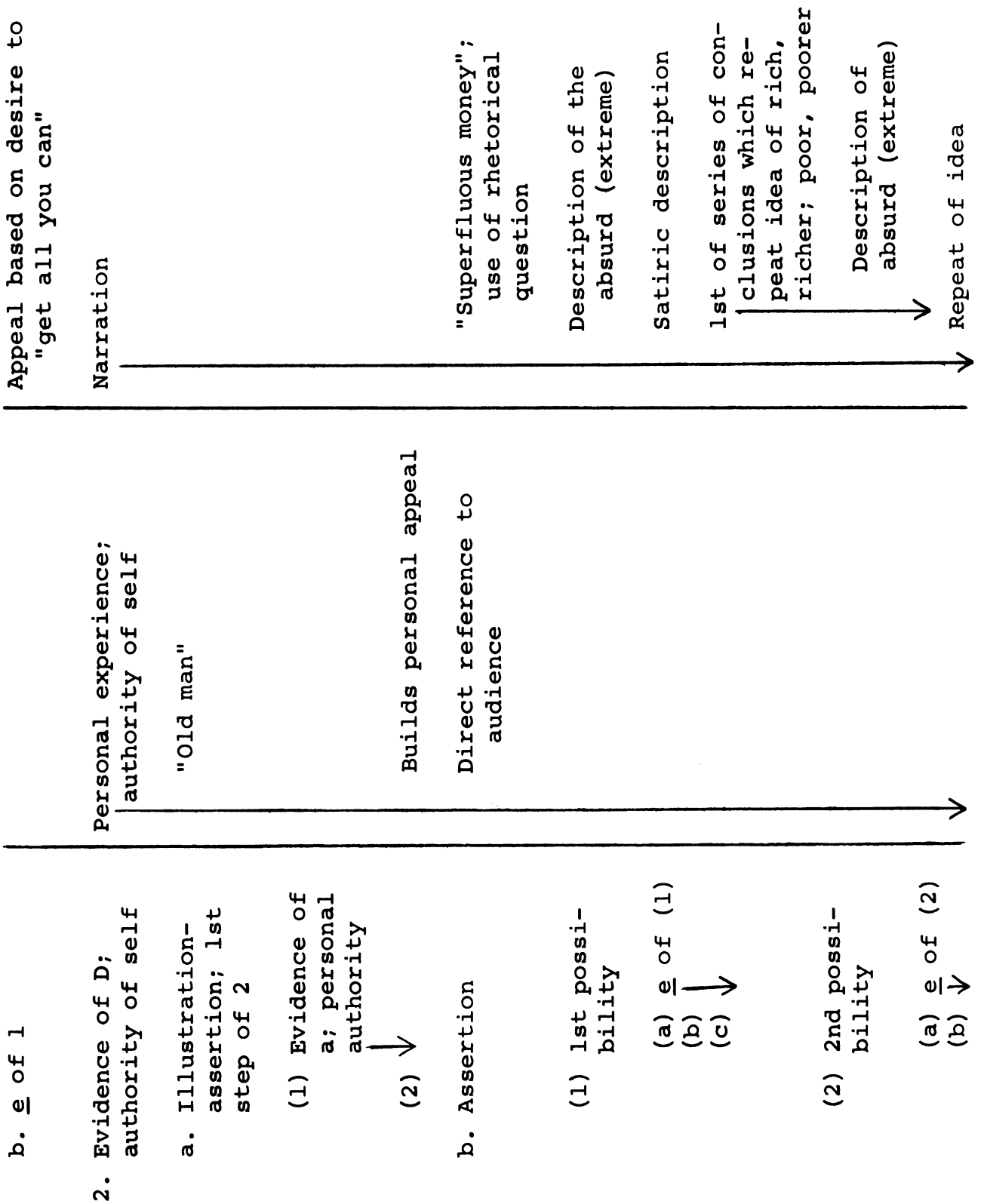
<p>(2) Assertion; used as support of c</p>	<p>Qualifying terms: "may quite possibly be" (idea instilled)</p>	<p>Use of emotional language: demagogues; humbug</p>
<p>II. Assertion--double</p>		<p>Use of emotional language: grafters, scoundrels</p>
<p>A. Assertion-rejecting possibilities</p>		<p>Vivid yet common words: burn their houses; tear them to pieces</p>
<p>1. Assertion-offered as support of A</p>	<p>Reference to "decent" people</p>	<p>Use of vivid language</p>
<p>a. <u>e</u> of 1</p>	<p>Further qualifying: likely as not</p>	
<p>b. <u>c</u> of 1</p>		
<p>2. Assertion-offered as support of A</p>	<p>Further qualifying: very few (not "no one")</p>	
<p>a. Statement of illustration - ex: support 2</p>	<p>Personal example</p>	<p>Use of illustration</p>
<p>(1) Description</p>		
<p>(2) ↓</p>		
<p>b. Conclusion of illustration</p>		
<p>c. Reasoning from illustration</p>	<p>Reference to personal "training"</p>	<p>Compares value of experience with value of "book learning"</p>

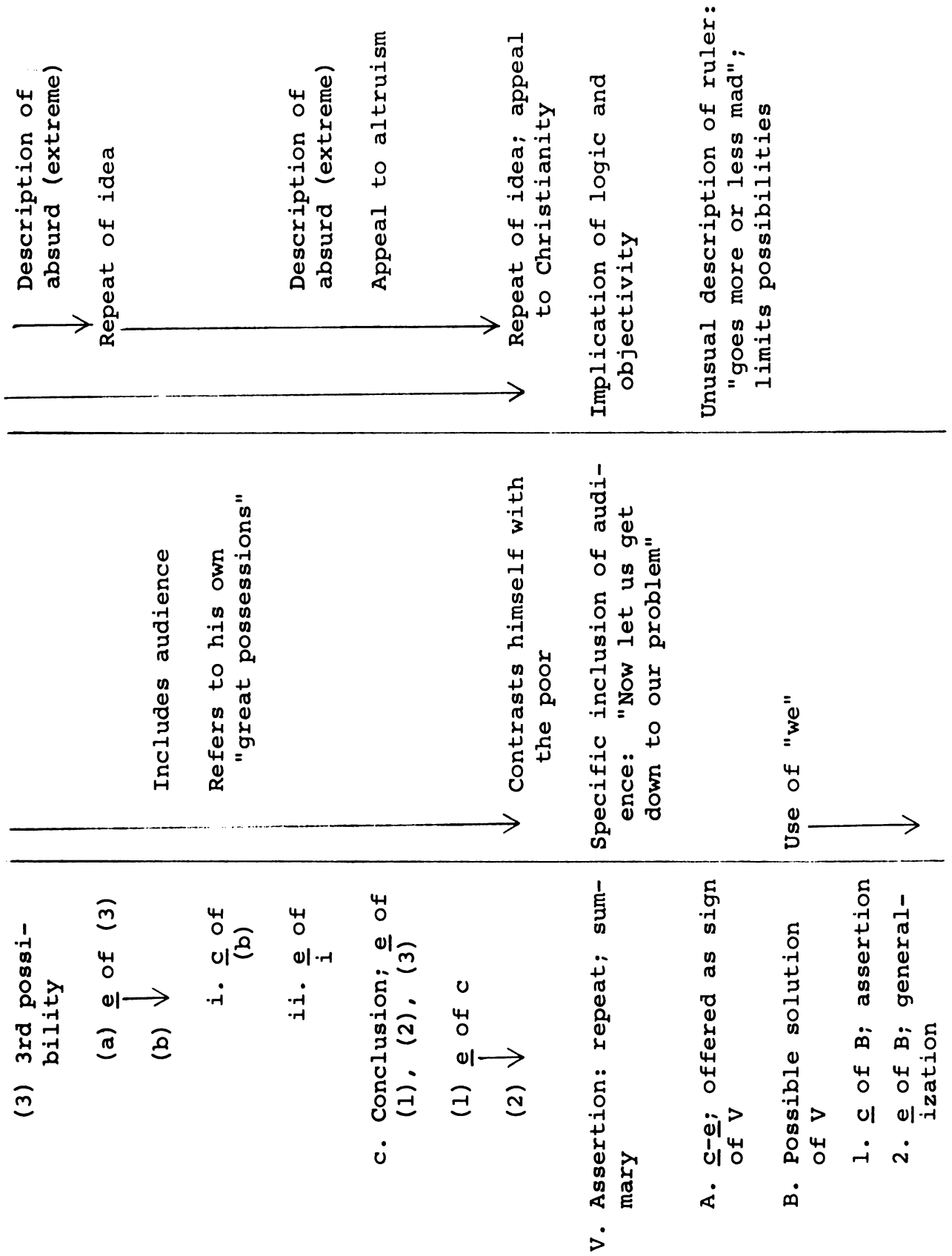
<p>A. Repeat: assertion - rejecting possibilities</p>	<p>Vivid language: mob violence, goes mad, com- mits outrageous excesses</p>
<p>1. Ex supporting A</p>	<p>Illustrative material-- specific humorous ex- planation includes com- parison Nero-orchestra, Paul-line lieutenant</p>
<p>a. Statement of situation</p>	<p>Vivid language; includes simile</p>
<p>b. <u>e</u> of a; offered as support of 1</p>	<p>"Select circle"</p>
<p>2. Ex - supporting A</p>	<p>Narrative; satire</p>
<p>a. Assertion- develops 2</p> <p>(1) Statement; sign of a (2) ↓</p>	<p>Positive statement followed by negative conclusion</p>
<p>b. Assertion: c-e</p>	<p>Use of familiar and "loaded" language</p>
<p>3. Assertion; intended as support of A</p>	
<p>a. Assertion; of- ferred as evidence of 3 b. ↓</p>	<p>Idea qualified by "may"</p>

<p>B. Assertion-division of II</p> <p>1. Assertion - as support of B</p> <p>a. Generalized ex support of 1 ↓ b.</p> <p>c. Assertion - conclusion</p>	<p>Use of "we"</p> <p>↓</p>	<p>Exaggeration</p>
<p>III. Assertion</p> <p>A. Division of assertion</p> <p>1. Evidence of A.; series of brief ex. ↓ 2.</p>	<p>Reference to the familiar</p>	<p>Reference to common problems</p>
<p>B. Assertion; <u>c</u> of III</p> <p>1. Assertion; evidence for B ↓ 2.</p>	<p>Use of "we" in making change</p> <p>Use of "we" in presenting resulting action; dependent on observation</p>	<p>Use of vernacular--getting along</p>
<p>1. Assertion; evidence for B ↓ 2.</p>	<p>Language: "bitter experience," "impossible to trust"</p> <p>"stern laws. . .stopped. . . monstrous waste"</p> <p>"appalling slaughter of our soldiers"</p>	

<p>a. Assertion; evidence of B & 2</p> <p>C. (Double) assertion; sign of III</p> <p>1. Sign of C (assertion) ↓</p> <p>2. ↓</p>		<p>Implication of parent-child relationship</p> <p>"run . . . like a lamb . . . to its mother"</p> <p>Extreme examples</p>
<p>3. Prediction of <u>e</u></p> <p>D. Assertion - <u>e</u> of III</p> <p>1. Assertion; support of D. ↓</p> <p>2. ↓</p>	<p>Inclusive "we"</p>	<p>"drop like shot stags"; exaggeration--dead in two months</p> <p>Reference to recent event; "Socialism . . . like a steam roller"</p>
<p>IV. Statement of problem; combining two previous issues</p> <p>A. Assertion; division of IV and repeat of need</p> <p>1. Ex of A (sign)</p> <p>2.</p> <p>3.</p>	<p>Inclusive "we"</p>	<p>"Repair the ravages of war"</p> <p>"Being forced on us"</p> <p>Analogy</p>

B. Assertion--analogy	Direct inclusion of audience	Use of "mercy"; comparison
1. Statement--support of B	↓	Reduction to two possibilities
2. Evidence of B--statement of authority		
a. <u>C</u> of 2 ↓ b.		Use of "loaded" terms; sweeping generalities
3. Assertion; sign of B		Specific references
C. Assertion; sign of IV	Use of "we"	
1. Assertion; offered as evidence of C	↓	Sweeping statements with direct emotional appeal (life or death)
2. Authority of self; offered as evidence of C		Assumption of audience wisdom
D. Assertion; ex of IV	Specific reference to authority of self; includes audience	Reference to religion
1. Authority; evidence of D		
a. Sign of 1 supporting D	Use of "we"	Appeal to audience wants; dogmatic statements





C. Possible solution
of V

1. e of C; general-
ization

2. ↓

a. c of 2

VI. Assertion--problem or
refutation of solution

A. Assertion; division
of VI

1. Ex; sign of A;
(narrative dev-
elopment)

a. Hypothetical
need

b. Solution of a

(1) Evidence
b solves a

(2)
(3)
(4) ↓

Dilemma--two sides
presented alternately

↓

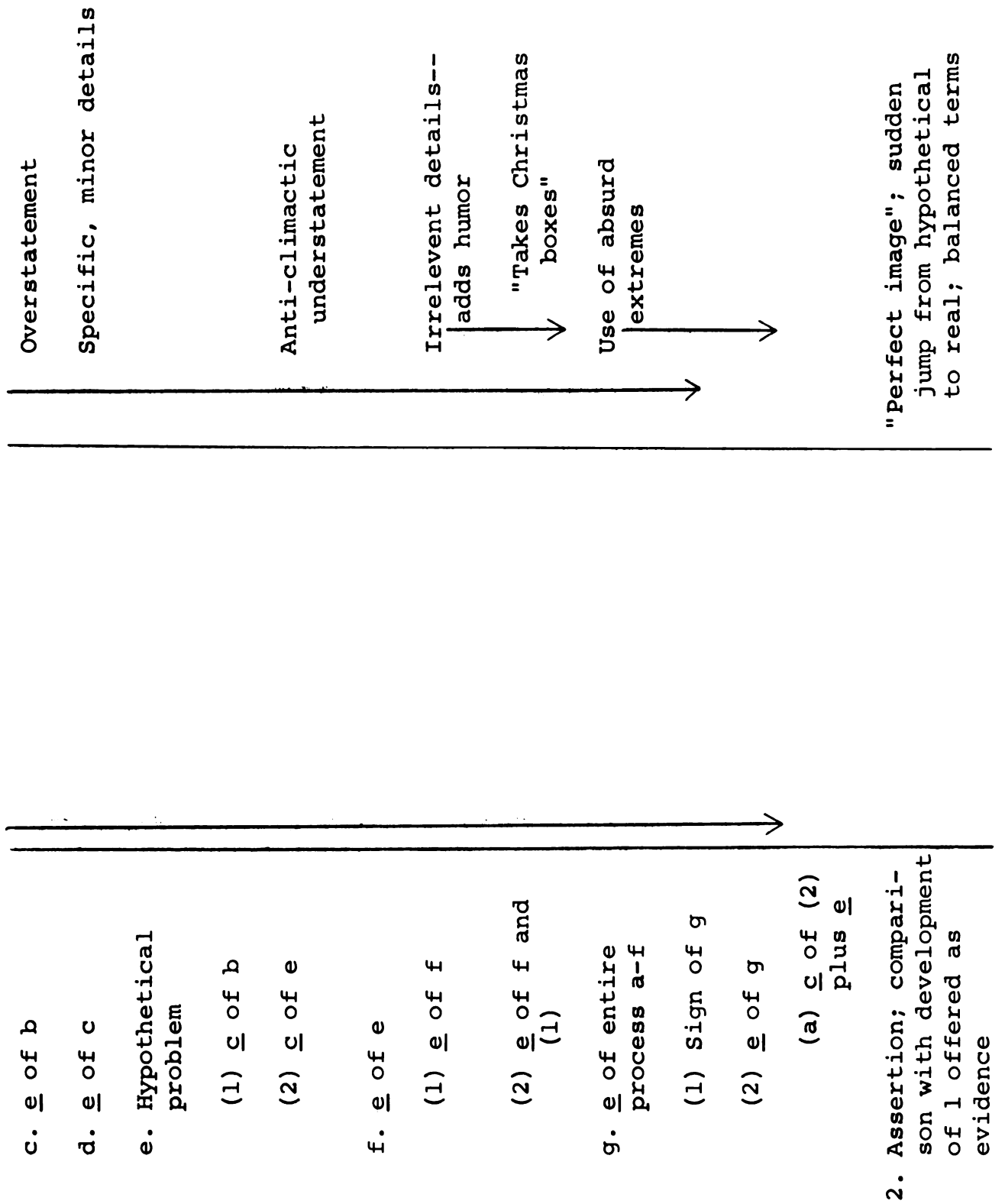
Balanced sentence struc-
ture using series

Rhetorical question

Narrative; "imaginary ex
offend nobody"

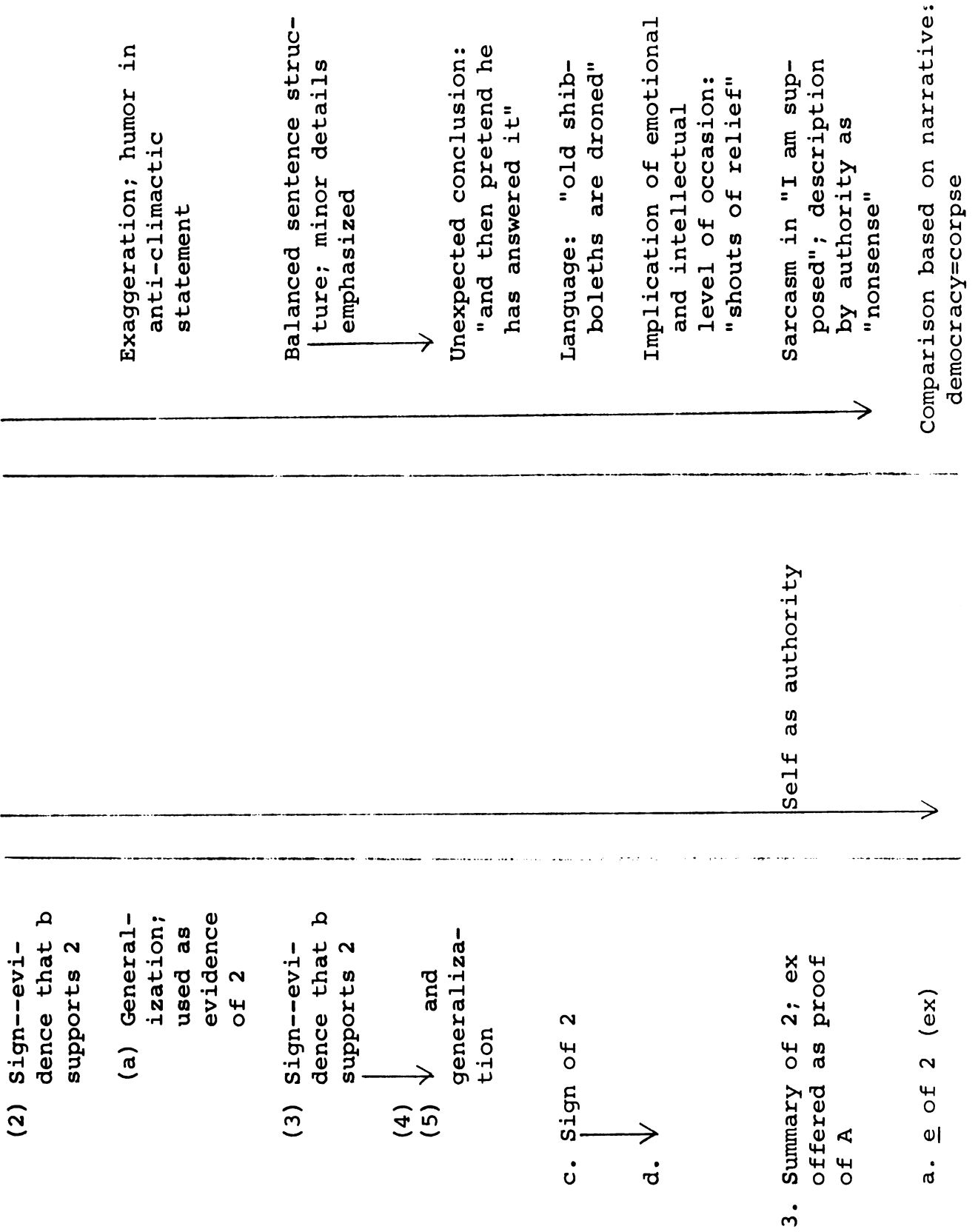
Offering inconsequen-
tial yet specific
"reasons" for
"conspicuously"

↓



<p>a. <u>e</u> of 2</p> <p>(1) Assertion: sign of a ↓ (2)</p> <p>b. <u>e</u> of 2</p> <p>(1) Sign of b</p> <p>(2) <u>e</u> of (1)</p>	<p>Includes audience in ex ↓</p>	<p>Reference to previous ex; condescension ↓</p> <p>Use of familiar: "boy master of man" with change</p> <p>Exaggeration; language: "popular humbug"</p>
<p>3. Assertion--dependent upon analogy of 1 for proof</p> <p>a. Assertion</p> <p>(1) Generalization; <u>e</u> of a ↓ (2)</p> <p>b. Assertion</p> <p>(1) Generalization; <u>c</u> of b (a) <u>e</u> of (1)</p>	<p>Use of "we"</p>	<p>Appeal: safety, fear</p> <p>Appeal: fear</p> <p>Rhetorical question; appeal to the "common man"</p> <p>Appeal: fear</p>

B. Assertion; ex introduced as support	Personal reference	Use of narrative; humor in <u>c-e</u> : "I have used mine to see what it is like"
1. Description of situation	"Hopelessly out of date"--to align self with audience	Exaggeration in implied generalization
a. Analysis of situation		Specific reference: exaggeration
(1) Evidence (ex) of a		Inclusion of relatively unimportant detail adds humor
(2) ↓ plus <u>c-e</u> (3) ↓ (4) ↓		
b. Analysis of situation		
2. Assertion		Humorous comparison: deflating
a. Sign of 2		"Poor man"
b. <u>c</u> of 2		"Rolls Royce" equated with wealth and political power
(1) Digression; assertion; implied <u>c-e</u>		



<p>VII. Assertion: solution (ideal)</p> <p>A. Division of VII; assertion</p> <p>1. Statement of fact; <u>e</u> of process</p> <p>2. Analogy; <u>e</u> of process</p> <p>B. <u>e</u> of 2</p> <p>C. Assertion; dependent of B</p> <p>1. Explanation and division of C</p> <p>2. ↓</p> <p>a. <u>e</u> of 1 and 2</p> <p>(1) <u>c</u> of a</p> <p>(2) Assertion; digression but indirect support of VII</p> <p>b. <u>e</u> of 2 and assertion to support VII</p>	<p>→</p> <p>Use of "we" ↓</p> <p>Personal reference</p> <p>Self as authority →</p>
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<p>Implication of agreement on democratic basis</p>	<p>Narrative description</p> <p>Analogy; use of extreme: "lock of hair"; balanced sentence structure</p> <p>Specific application ↓</p> <p>Specific reference to previous example of postman; language: "nincompoops and windbags"</p>
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D. Assertion; division of VII	Personal reference	Narrative
1. Division; sign of D		Appeal to desire for "easy way"
2. Division of D		
3. <u>e</u> of 1 and 2		
VIII. Assertion: solution		
A. Assertion supported by comparison	Authority of self	Comparison--use of specific description
1. <u>e</u> of A plus assertion		"These islands"
2.		
B. Assertion; offered as evidence of VIII		Emotional language used throughout
C.		
D.		
<u>Conclusion</u>		
A. Assertion		
B. <u>↓</u> ; <u>e</u> and <u>c</u> of A	Use of "we"	Appeal to fear
1. <u>c</u> of B		

a. Assertion		
b. <u>c</u> of 1		
2. Ex of B		
C. Assertion: warning		
	↓	
	excusing audience of blame	
	Authority of self	Rhetorical question
		Appeal to reason

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of Chapter III are not included in this list.)

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