"The Instinct of an Artist"

• SHAW AND THE THEATRE •
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An Exhibition from The Bernard F. Burgunder Collection of George Bernard Shaw

Ann L. Ferguson

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"The Instinct of an Artist:" Shaw and the Theatre.

An Exhibition from the Bernard F. Burgunder Collection of George Bernard Shaw.

Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections
Carl A. Kroch Library
April 17—June 13, 1997

Cover and Inside Cover Illustrations:
Shown are Shaw's photographic postcards sent to actress Margaret Halstan, critiquing her performance as Raina in Arnold Daly's 1911 revival of Arms and the Man. [Item 7A]

Title page illustration by Antony Wysard

Note:
Shaw often spelled words phonetically, and sometimes used archaic forms of words
In quoting Shaw, we have retained his unusual spelling throughout

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The Bernard F. Burgunder Collection of George Bernard Shaw was established at Cornell University in 1956, the centennial of Shaw’s birth. The Collection represents a lifelong enthusiasm of the donor, Bernard Burgunder, who began collecting Shawiana soon after his graduation from Cornell in 1918. After his gift, he continued to build the collection, contributing items until his death in 1986. He also provided the Library with generous support for the purchase of additional materials and for their curatorship. Bernard Burgunder created a remarkable legacy, and this exhibition is a striking tribute to his intelligence, imagination, devotion, and connoisseurship.

George Bernard Shaw lived a long and extraordinarily productive life. He authored over fifty plays, numerous books, and countless reviews and essays, and Dan Laurence, editor of his Collected Letters, estimates that he wrote more than 250,000 letters and postcards. From this extensive outpouring, Cornell is fortunate to hold a deep and diverse record, chronicling all aspects of Shaw’s life and achievements. From this rich collection of books, manuscripts, correspondence, and photographs, Ann L. Ferguson, Bernard F. Burgunder Curator for George Bernard Shaw and Theatre Arts Collections, has chosen to focus on a distinctive aspect of Shaw’s career. While Shaw is best-known as a playwright, his vision of theatrical production was comprehensive, extending from the writing of the script through the final curtain. For him, realization of his creations included all aspects of directing, acting, staging, and production. It is in his role as director that he was able to fully execute his creative vision, and through this prism, Ann Ferguson provides a unique and illuminating perspective on this great artist.

The exhibition opens on April 17 and extends through June 13, 1997. It will be displayed in the Library Exhibition Gallery in the Carl A. Kroch Library. In this accompanying catalog, Ms. Ferguson provides convincing evidence of the skill, tenacity, and energy that Shaw devoted to direction and conveys enticing insights into his artistic instincts and character. This imaginative exploitation of the strengths of the Burgunder Collection provides yet another engaging view of the multi-faceted and multi-talented George Bernard Shaw.

In the curating of the exhibition and the compilation of this catalog, Ms. Ferguson has significantly benefited from the advice and assistance of many of her colleagues here in the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections. First and foremost in this role has been Mark Dimunation, the Division’s Curator of Rare Books and Curator of Exhibitions. As always, his creative talents have done much to enrich the design and composition of the exhibit and the catalog. Elaine Engst, Lorna Knight, Brenda Marston, Phil McCray, Margaret Nichols, and Katherine Reagan all read and reviewed the manuscript of the catalog, and C.J. Lance-Duboscq provided invaluable assistance in managing various aspects of the production process. Additionally, Paul Constantine provided editorial assistance, and Leslie Carrère designed the catalog, using photographs by Barry DeLibero.
We owe a special debt of gratitude to Dan H. Laurence for his advice on this project, as well as his continuing contributions to Shaw scholarship and the preservation of Shaw's documentary heritage. I also wish to thank James Tyler for his contributions as the previous Curator of the Collection. We are grateful to the Society of Authors for their kind permission on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate to quote from Shaw's writings and to reproduce a number of his manuscripts and drawings. Permission to quote from the two letters in Mrs. Bernard Shaw's handwriting to Henry Keill Ayliff is made by kind permission of the Trustees of the Will of Mrs. Bernard Shaw and the Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate.

The exhibition and publication have been made possible by the generous support of the Arnold '44 and Gloria Tofias Fund, and the Bernard F. Burgunder Fund for George Bernard Shaw. I also wish to convey the Library's immense appreciation to Bernard F. Burgunder, Jr. for his generous and enthusiastic continuation of support for the preservation, management, and use of this wonderful collection established by his father.

H. Thomas Hickerson
Director, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections
In May 1911 George Bernard Shaw sent a series of photographic postcards to a young actress performing the role of Raina in his play *Arms and the Man*. Each postcard had a different portrait of Shaw on the front and a comment about her acting on the back. Just as each message had a particular tone and quality, each photograph revealed a different Shaw. Yet even these varied portraits merely hint at the many faces which he presented to the world—playwright, essayist, motoring enthusiast, vegetarian, socialist, novelist, orator, pamphleteer, art critic, and theatre reviewer among many others.

Shaw was born in Dublin on 26 July 1856 to a Protestant family of some social standing but of little means. His formal education was spotty and it was his frequent visits to the National Gallery of Ireland, his voracious reading, his exposure to music at home, and his attendance at local theatres which had the more significant impact on his intellectual and artistic development. Leaving school at the age of fourteen, he worked in an estate agent’s office with enough diligence to attain the position of cashier. Certain of his desire for a more stimulating environment, but uncertain of what the future might hold, Shaw quit his job and left for London in 1876.

In his first few years in London, he was often unemployed, turning for support to his mother, who had moved to the city a few years earlier. He began to write, however, and completed five novels, all unsuccessful, between 1879 and 1883. Attracted by the tenets of Socialism, Shaw found a political and intellectual home in the newly formed Fabian Society which he joined in 1884; he quickly became noted for his brilliant oratory and skillful writing in support of Fabian positions. He also made inroads into the cultural life of London. Thanks to the efforts of his friend William Archer, he was hired as the art critic for the *World* in 1886. He served as the music critic for the *Star* from 1888 until 1890 and for the *World* from 1890 to 1892. Three years later he became the theatre critic for the *Saturday Review*.

Still fascinated by the theatre, which had first drawn his interest in Dublin, Shaw was introduced to Henrik Ibsen’s new drama of ideas through Archer, an early champion of the Norwegian playwright. Captivated by Ibsen’s treatment of serious social issues, Shaw delivered a lecture on Ibsen to the Fabian Society which was published as “The Quintessence of Ibsenism” in 1891. His own career as a playwright began a year later when he finished his first play, *Widowers’ Houses*, which exposed slum landlords. Like Ibsen, Shaw saw the drama as a means of grappling with serious social issues. He differed, however, in his liberal use of wit, biting satire, and humor in his plays. Shaw’s examination of issues such as commercial prostitution, religion, marriage, and war profiteering both shocked and entertained audiences.
Shaw's provocative dramas were initially embraced more quickly in Germany and America than in London. It was not until Harley Granville Barker and John Vedrenne experimented with a repertory system, producing several seasons of plays from 1904 to 1907 at the Royal Court Theatre, that Shaw's plays attracted wide attention. His plays accounted for 701 of the 988 performances at the Court, and firmly established his reputation as a playwright of startling ability. Shaw's output as a dramatist was extraordinary; he had written over fifty plays before his death in 1950 at age ninety-four. His remarkable talent was recognized by the award of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1925.

Shaw the playwright is the face of Shaw which is best known. But he is no less interesting as a director, an artist in the theatre. It is this face of Shaw which is the focus of the current exhibition, drawn from the Bernard F. Burgunder Collection of George Bernard Shaw. The Burgunder Collection encompasses all aspects of Shaw's life and work. It contains nearly 3000 books, and several thousand manuscripts and letters, by or about Shaw. Included are such diverse materials as his personal motoring files, oil portraits of his paternal grandparents, literary manuscripts, an early love letter still holding pressed flowers, his address book, and even one of his hats.

Happily for Cornell, Bernard Burgunder was keenly interested in Shaw's involvement in theatrical production. The collection's rich assortment of rehearsal notes, theatre programs, prompt books, production photographs, and letters attest to that interest. Burgunder was a collector who understood the research value of the material he acquired. When he purchased the prompt book used for Shaw's production of his Fanny's First Play, he wrote a lengthy essay analyzing its value to scholars and revealing his own interest in Shaw, an interest still evident in his collection today: "Thus we view here the total man of the theatre. Not a mere playwright hoping that some future cast and director will bring his play to life; but rather a man viewing every facet of the theatre from the first placing of pen on paper to the final curtain."

Ann L. Ferguson
Bernard F. Burgunder Curator
for George Bernard Shaw and Theatre Arts Collections
I have the instinct of an artist; and the impracticable is loathsome to me.” Although Bernard Shaw had not yet completed a single play when he made this declaration in 1889, it defined his philosophy that the instinct of an artist in the theatre was intrinsically tied to the practical. Shaw not only wrote plays that were conceived in practical terms for the stage, he also took a leading role in their theatrical realization as director. From the moment he embarked on his career as a playwright, Shaw engaged with all aspects of the life of his plays. He spelled out the range of responsibilities in a letter to Tighe Hopkins in 1889: “But not only has the comedy to be made but the actors, the manager & the audience. Somebody must do these things—somebody whose prodigious conceit towers over all ordinary notions of success...some colossal egotist, in short, like yrs in hot haste, GBS.”

Indeed Shaw’s success in the theatre was as astounding as his remarkable early confidence in his theatrical future. In addition to writing over fifty plays, he also directed many of their English premieres and London revivals. Shaw’s plays, including Pygmalion, Man and Superman, Back to Methuselah, Mrs. Warren’s Profession, Major Barbara, and Saint Joan, broke from standard nineteenth-century melodramatic form and examined serious social and philosophical issues. While his literary gifts as a dramatist are widely known, Shaw’s work as a director is less heralded. Given the ephemeral nature of theatrical production, this is not surprising. His plays are available in dozens of editions and many languages, but it is no longer possible to watch a production directed by Shaw. Fortunately it is still possible to gain a sense of his work in the theatre by examining what remains after the curtain has fallen—rehearsal notes, prompt books, designs, letters to actors, as well as Shaw’s reflections on his work as a director.

Shaw’s own writing about theatre reveals that he was adept at handling all aspects of theatrical production. Perhaps even more striking is the enthusiasm with which he embraced his work in the theatre; he relished the challenge of balancing “a hundred considerations” as he brought his plays to life on the stage. In his essay “The Principles That Govern the Dramatist,” he wrote of the need to consider “all the factors that must be allowed for before the representation of a play on the stage becomes practicable or justifiable: factors which some never comprehend, and which others integrate almost as unconsciously as they breathe or digest their food.” Bernard Shaw emerges in this exhibition as one theatre artist who integrated an understanding of such practicalities into his art.
In this letter to journalist and novelist Tighe Hopkins (1856-1919), Shaw writes: “Never fear: my comedy will not be unactable when the time comes for it to be acted, though perhaps if may be obsolete by then. I have the instinct of an artist; and the impracticable is loathsome to me. But not only has the comedy to be made, but the actors, the manager, the theatre & the audience. Somebody must do these things—somebody who would blush to win a 600 nights run at a West End theatre as a duke would blush to win a goose at a public house raffle...” Despite his supreme confidence, the comedy to which Shaw alludes, *The Cassow*, was never completed. But Shaw was indeed right that he would “do these things” and his ultimate achievements in the theatre would tower “over all ordinary notions of success.”

Bernard Shaw. Photograph. February 1889.

This photograph was taken just a few months before Shaw wrote his letter to Tighe Hopkins.


“I do not select my methods: they are imposed on me by a hundred considerations: by the physical conditions of theatrical representation, by the laws devised by the municipality to guard against fires and other accidents to which theatres are liable, by the economic conditions of theatrical commerce, by the nature and limits of the art of acting, by the capacity of the spectators for understanding what they see and hear, and by the accidental circumstances of the particular production in hand. I have to think of my pocket, of the manager’s pocket, of the actors’ pockets, of the spectators’ pockets, of how long people can be kept sitting in a theatre without relief or refreshment, of the range of the performer’s voice and of the hearing and vision of the
Bernard Shaw, 1933 (item ID)
BERTHARD SHAW
boy at the back of the gallery, whose right to be put in full possession of the play is as sacred as that of the millionaire in the stalls or boxes. I have to consider theatre rents, the rate of interest needed to tempt capitalists to face the risks of financing theatres, the extent to which the magic of art can break through commercial prudence, the limits set by honor and humanity to the tasks I may set to my fellow artist the actor: in short all the factors that must be allowed for before the representation of a play on the stage becomes practicable or justifiable...."


Shaw inscribed the photograph to Harry and Clara Higgs, his gardener and cook of over forty years. He playfully wrote the text to appear as part of the manuscript he is writing in the portrait.

"The Principles That Govern the Dramatist," 1914 (item 1C)
CASE TWO

The Practical Playwright

SHAW WAS A PRACTICAL PLAYWRIGHT. Such a label may seem incongruous given his propensity to write plays which were censored by the Lord Chamberlain's Office for their immoral subject matter and initially shunned by commercial theatre managers. Controversial content notwithstanding, Shaw wrote his plays with an eye to production, often with specific actors in mind and at the request of a particular theatre.

Roles written for individual actors include Eliza Doolittle in Pygmalion for Mrs. Patrick Campbell, Caesar in Caesar and Cleopatra for Forbes Robertson, and Lady Cicely in Captain Brassbound's Conversion for Ellen Terry. Even as he was writing, Shaw sometimes shared his manuscripts with the actors he had targeted for specific roles. In the case of Mrs. Warren's Profession, which depicts the business of prostitution, Shaw wrote characters for several specific actors. According to biographer Michael Holroyd, Shaw read the play to at least three of those actors—Mrs. Theodore Wright, Janet Achurch, and Bernard Gould—before he finished writing it. Such early contact with actors did not always have positive results. Not all actors shared Shaw's vision of themselves in a particular role, no matter what inspiration they might have provided in his writing. When, for instance, Shaw read Mrs. Warren's Profession to Mrs. Theodore Wright, whom he believed would be the ideal Mrs. Warren (she had played Mrs. Alving in the first London production of Ibsen's Ghosts), she was so horrified by the play's content that she left the room in distress.

Shaw's playwriting was often stimulated by the prospect of an immediate production. He had the good fortune to find alternatives to the commercial theatre for the productions of his plays. Theatre in England and Ireland was undergoing a transformation at the turn of the century. Individuals like J.T. Grein at his Independent Theatre, William Butler Yeats and Lady Gregory at the Abbey Theatre in Dublin, and Harley Granville Barker and John Vedrenne at the Court Theatre, along with groups like the Stage Society, created an environment hospitable to Shaw's new type of drama. Shaw found
himself in the enviable position of receiving requests for new plays. He finished *Arms and the Man*, for instance, for Florence Farr's season of new plays at the Avenue Theatre. *Mrs. Warren's Profession* was written for Grein, and Yeats' request for a play prompted Shaw's *John Bull's Other Island*. He wrote *Doctor's Dilemma* for Barker and Vedrenne and also saw the production of many of his previously unstaged plays at the Court between 1904 and 1907. Although later difficulties sometimes prevented the intended production (the Abbey did not produce the premiere of *John Bull's Other Island*, nor did Grein ultimately stage *Mrs. Warren's Profession*), Shaw's playwriting was informed by the expectation of production.

Of all the aspects of his playwriting, Shaw's stage directions most clearly reveal the practical nature of his theatrical instinct. In contrast to the abbreviated stage directions which were standard at the time, Shaw wrote richly detailed notes which made the plays more readable and provided an elaborate blueprint for their staging. Sir Cedric Hardwicke observed in *A Victorian in Orbit* that any "director who attempts to stage a Shaw play without following his stage directions finds himself in trouble. They cannot be improved upon. I know, because I have tried the experiment myself." The specificity of movement and the description of the characters' emotions are as essential to a Shaw play as the actors' lines.

Shaw's plays, anchored in the practical reality of the stage, were readily translated into production. Shaw the playwright laid the groundwork for Shaw the director.
Shaw wrote *Caesar and Cleopatra* with Johnston Forbes Robertson (1853-1937) and Mrs. Patrick Campbell (1865-1940) in mind: "[I am] seriously pursuing my idea of entering the lists with Shakespere & writing "Caesar and Cleopatra" (a girl Cleopatra) for Mrs. Pat. Forbes Robertson is rather on for it." But such ideal casting was not to be; the two never appeared together in the play. Campbell played Cleopatra in the single copyright performance in 1899. Forbes Robertson eventually played Caesar with his wife, Gertrude Elliott (1874-1950), as Cleopatra. The letter's recipient, actor and producer Charles Charrington (1860-1926), was married to the actress Janet Achurch (1864-1916), for whom Shaw wrote the part of Candida.

B. Johnston Forbes Robertson as Caesar. Photograph. ca. 1906.

C. Forbes Robertson and Elliott as Caesar and Cleopatra. Photograph by Daily Mirror Studios. 1907.

D. *Caesar and Cleopatra*. Theatre Program. Theatre Royal, Newcastle-on-Tyne. 1899.

The program for the copyright performance lists Campbell as Cleopatra.

E. Bernard Shaw writing *Caesar and Cleopatra* in pocket-sized notebook. Photograph by Charlotte Shaw on their honeymoon. Isle of Wright. 1898.

F. Bernard Shaw. Original draft of "Getting Married" in two notebooks. Autograph manuscripts. 5 August 1907 to 14 March 1908.

Shaw often used small, pocket-sized notebooks that he could easily carry with him when writing his plays and have handy when he had a moment to write. He frequently composed his plays in Pitman shorthand, his secretary later transcribing the shorthand into typewritten form. Shaw began *Getting Married* in longhand, but then turned to shorthand to complete the manuscript. Working on several projects simultaneously, as he often did, Shaw also used these notebooks to draft an outline for a future political address and to record his rehearsal notes for Annie Horniman's touring company of *Candida*. A third notebook in the British Museum contains the last eighteen folios of the draft.
G. Bernard Shaw to J.T. Grein. Autograph letter signed. 12 December 1893

"You ask me for particulars about the play. Well, its title is 'Mrs. Warren's Profession.' It is in four acts, with six characters, none of them being minor parts. The heroine, Vivie Warren, will be played by Janet Achurch; the hero, Frank Gardner, by Bernard Gould [Sir Bernard Partridge]; the villain Sir George Crofts, by Charrington.... The great difficulty is Mrs. Warren... I should be content, myself, with Mrs. Patrick Campbell."

By the time Shaw wrote this letter, just a few weeks after completing Mrs. Warren's Profession, he knew that his first choice, Mrs. Theodore Wright, was unwilling to play the part of Mrs. Warren. Shaw, ever focused on getting his play produced, already had Mrs. Patrick Campbell in mind as an alternative.

Despite his eagerness for a production, Shaw had to wait until 1902 to see Mrs. Warren's Profession on the stage. Grein considered producing the play at his Independent Theatre, where he gave private performances to avoid theatrical censorship from the Lord Chamberlain's Office. Ultimately, however, he chose not to produce the play, fearing that its theme of prostitution was too controversial even for a private performance. Eventually the London Stage Society produced the work privately (the Lord Chamberlain refused to grant a license for the play, required at the time in England) on 5 January 1902. Harley Granville Barker (1877-1946) played Frank Gardner. The first public performance took place in New Haven in 1905 and then was closed by the police. The play was not publicly performed in England until 1925.

H. Fanny Brough as the first Mrs. Warren. Photograph by Frederick H. Evans. 1902

I. New York World opinion card handed out to audience members who saw Mrs. Warren's Profession at the Garrick Theatre in 1905.

Mrs. Warren's Profession caused such a stir when it was produced in the United States that the newspaper The New York World passed out opinion cards to audience members. Sixty percent of the audience reportedly responded, with 304 voting "Fit" and 272 voting "Unfit."

Opposite the photograph of Fanny Brough as Mrs. Warren and Charles Goodheart as Crofts in the 1902 Stage Society production of *Mrs. Warren's Profession* are some of the detailed stage directions for Act II of the play. Shaw elaborated his directions for stage business, suggesting, for example, that "Vivie goes to the writing-table and makes a memorandum to order the butter." In addition, Shaw articulates the characters' emotions: "Mrs. Warren looks round at Vivie and says, with her affection of maternal patronage even more forced than usual: 'Well, dearie: Have you had a good supper?'"

This volume was the personal copy of photographer Frederick H. Evans, whose photographs illustrate this edition, and contains an extra set of photographic prints not found in other copies. Evans' copy also includes a photograph of Shaw as the frontispiece.
CASE THREE

"There is Nobody Like You"

"DO TRY TO GET FREE. There is nobody like you," wrote Shaw to actor Rosina Filippi in one of his many attempts to cast a particular actor in a production of one of his plays. [A] Shaw did not always get the actors he originally intended; in some cases they were unavailable or, occasionally, uninterested. But Shaw was undeterred by such obstacles, due in large part to his understanding of the practical realities of life in the theatre. In his appeal to the actor Mona Limerick, Shaw suggested that "you may have other engagements: you may object to repertory: you may in the uppishness of youth and genius, feel an irresistible impulse to treat a part in a play of mine as no great catch, to insult Barker, to trample on Frohman, and to have a glorious exercise of life and power generally." [B] Knowing that his first choice might not be free, Shaw had a list of additional actors to turn to for a given role if necessary. [D]

As a director, Shaw believed that the actor was central. With supreme confidence in his own writing and directing, he knew that if properly cast, the production could not fail. Yet Shaw was acutely aware of the difficulties in finding the right type of actors for his plays. His years as a theatre critic for The Saturday Review (1895 to 1898) exposed him to hundreds of London actors and to a broad knowledge of the current state of acting at the end of the century. Shaw derided the artificial style of acting that dominated much of the theatre at the time. In one of his reviews, he clarified that the actor's function "is not to supply an idea with a sounding board, but with a credible, simple and natural human being to utter it when its time comes and not before." Thus when he cast his plays, Shaw pursued those actors capable of the more natural style of acting required by the new kind of drama that he was writing.

Although Shaw looked for actors who could achieve a range of expression, he was not oblivious to the impact of age, physical appearance, and voice on the ability to perform a given role. He often conceived of parts as fitting certain types. In Devil's Disciple, for example, he believed that a "good melodramatic actress of the conventional type makes the best Judith.... Any good 'heavy' can do Anderson passably; and a good comedian can manage Burgoyne." [G] Yet Shaw also recognized that some roles needed more than a competent actor. In a program note for a revival of Captain Brassbound's Conversion in 1912, Shaw wrote that the part of Lady Cecily required "artistic faculty and personal attraction of a vary rare order."

Inspired by his childhood in a musical home and refined by his work as a music critic, Shaw's deep appreciation for music shaped his concern with the vocal quality of actors. "The four principals," his "Rules for Play Producers" suggested, "should be sopra-
no, alto, tenor, and bass. Vocal contrast is of the greatest importance.” In another article, “The Play of Ideas,” he recalled that opera “taught me to shape my plays into recitatives, arias, duets, trios, ensemble finales and bravura pieces to display the technical accomplishments of the executants.” Shaw greatly respected classical actors like Salvini, Ristori, and Barry Sullivan, in large measure because of their remarkable vocal range. The timbre and range of an actor’s voice, then, were critical elements in Shaw’s casting decisions.

Once he had identified actors for roles, Shaw apparently relished the challenge of recruiting them. His letters show a willingness to charm, flatter, cajole—whatever it took—to persuade an actor to sign on for one of his plays. Such energetic tactics knew few boundaries; Rosina Filippi was simply informed: “All I want is the best of everything.” [A]

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**ITEMS EXHIBITED**

A. Bernard Shaw to Rosina Filippi. Autograph letter signed. 21 June 1905.

“What is this I hear about your being engaged to Hicks for September when Forbes Robertson produces Caesar and Cleopatra? Can he not be persuaded to release you? You are more important to me than anyone else in the cast. It is a perfect part, no trouble and a colossal effect. You are the only person killed in the piece—in fact the only person ever
killed in a Shaw piece! A splendid death—a moonlit altar of white marble, and BUCKETSFULL of gore—immense!... Do try to get free. There is nobody like you. All I want is the best of everything; and you are not only the best, but something more—something different in kind & quality.”

Shaw did not see his wish fulfilled. Filippi (1866-1930) did not play Fitatateeta because the Forbes Robertson fall production was cancelled due to projected high costs. She did, however, play Lady Britomart in the first production of Major Barbara that fall.


Shaw hoped to lure Mona Limerick (1882-1968) into the role of Hypatia in Misalliance. “There is one old woman’s part, and two good parts for young women. I have told Barker that I want you for one of them; but before I press the matter I want to know whether there will be any hitch on your side.” Limerick agreed, but then withdrew due to other commitments. She appeared in the role, however, for the final few performances at the Duke of York’s Theatre when Miriam Lewes, who had assumed the role upon Limerick’s withdrawal, had to leave the cast. Limerick was an actress with the Annie Horniman Players and the wife of Ben Iden Payne (1881-1976), Horniman’s manager at the Manchester Gaiety.


The program lists Miriam Lewes as Hypatia.


Shaw’s lists of casting suggestions for the 1912 Gertrude Kingston production of Captain Brassbound’s Conversion demonstrate that he considered many different actors for a single role.


Shaw wrote the part of Lady Cecily for Ellen Terry, who read it in the copyright production with Sir Henry Irving’s Company at Liverpool in 1899. Although Terry did not perform the role for the first London production by the Stage Society, she reprised the role at the Court Theatre in 1906, despite some reservations about the part.
Program for Captain Brassbound’s Conversion (item 3F)

F. Captain Brassbound’s Conversion. Theatre Program. Royal Court Theatre. 28 April 1906.

This special program was printed in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of Ellen Terry’s first appearance on the stage.


Here Shaw explains to theatre business manager Vedrenne why L.W., presumably the actor manager Lewis Waller, should produce Devil’s Disciple rather than Man and Superman because of casting considerations.


Shaw was concerned with the vocal quality in the performance of a small part in Captain Brassbound’s Conversion. “Sidi el Asif is a small part; but it is very necessary to have a handsome man with a fine grave voice and good elocution. It makes all the difference to the end of the second act.”
SHAW ARRIVED ON THE LONDON THEATRE SCENE at a time when the concept of a director (or producer, as one was called in England) was just beginning to emerge. Throughout the nineteenth century, the actor-manager model had dominated, that is, a star actor would play the lead as well as control the overall production. Shaw believed strongly that a person other than an actor should be the controlling force, running the rehearsals and supervising all aspects of the production. In the case of his own plays, he believed himself the best director.

In *The Art of Rehearsal*, Shaw warned directors to be “prepared for a spell of hard work.” He had no illusions about the effort required of a director: “the actors have their exits and rests; but the producer is hard at it all the time.” Shaw’s approach to directing was careful and methodical. Before rehearsals he worked out the blocking and other stage business, recommending a chess board, chess pieces, and some children’s blocks to help visualize movement. Such preparation was imperative, Shaw insisted, and if “the producer arrives at the first rehearsal without this blueprint, and proceeds to waste the players’ time improvising at their expense,…they will be perfectly justified in going home after telling him not to call again until they can devote all the rehearsals to their proper function of acting.” [D]

At the first rehearsal, Shaw read the play aloud to the cast, conveying the tone and rhythm of each character. A week of rehearsals followed with the actors working on stage, script in hand, reading their lines as they learned the blocking. Shaw was on the stage this first week, helping to position people and suggesting the tone of their charac-
ters' lines. He preferred that actors not memorize lines in this first week; he wanted their full attention on the blocking and general sense of the play.

After the first week Shaw retired to the auditorium with a prompt book and allowed the actors to play scenes without interruption. Shaw was careful in his treatment of actors; he was noted for his gentle and courteous manner. Conscious of the strain on them, he avoided burdening actors with too many notes, believing that only two or three important things could be addressed in a single rehearsal. Likewise, he believed that rehearsals should be limited to three hours and that no "players or producers should work when they ought to be in bed." The final week was slated for dress rehearsals, with Shaw back up on the stage smoothing out final problems.

Perhaps most important, Shaw was sensitive to the need to create the right environment for the work to be done: "If you get angry, and complain that you have repeatedly called attention, etc. like a schoolmaster, you will destroy the whole atmosphere in which art breathes." [C] Shaw looked upon actors as fellow artists and believed that the right collaboration in rehearsal would indeed create a work of art.
A. Bernard Shaw and Lillah McCarthy at a dress rehearsal of *Androcles and the Lion* in which Lillah played the part of Lavinia. Photograph by Alvin Langdon Coburn. 1913.

B. Bernard Shaw to Sydney Carroll. Typewritten letter signed. 9 June 1934

At age seventy-eight, Shaw still managed a dizzying rehearsal schedule. “I have to rehearse Village Wooing at the Little Theatre until the 18th. Then I have to put the finishing touches to Barry Jackson’s production of You Never Can Tell at the Malvern Festival, which begins on the 23rd July. If Androcles and the Six are to be done this season you must fit me in as soon after the 18th as possible. As you know it is impossible to make any other appointments when rehearsals are going on....”


Shaw’s childhood friend, Matthew Edward McNulty, had written a play and asked Shaw for advice on production. Shaw responded at length in a letter on 9 June 1914. The letter, subsequently published in 1928 as the pamphlet *The Art of Rehearsal*, outlines Shaw’s detailed method as a director and the difficulties inherent in the job. “The incessant strain on one’s attention (the actors have their exits and rests; but the producer is hard at it all the time), the social effort of keeping up everyone’s spirits in view of a great event, the dryness of the previous study of the mechanical details, daunt most authors. But if you have not enough energy to face all that, you had better keep out of the theatre....”


Written near the end of Shaw’s life, after a full directorial career, this article provides perhaps his richest account of his directing practices.


Charles Benjamin Purdom (1883-1965) was an author, journalist, and director; here Shaw responds to Purdom’s article about him in the magazine *Everyman*, and describes the overall effect he desired in the acting of his plays. He compares his productions to those of Harley Granville Barker (G-B), who aimed for a more refined quality: “A Shaw produc-
tion was always distinguishable from a G-B production. You make a rather acute remark about fancying that I like to see my parts overdone or guyed. I don't; but when the alternative is between crudity and nullity I encourage crudity. I must have vigor, vivacity, brilliancy of attack, naturalness, surprise, perfect audibility and intelligibility at all costs...."

F. Harley Granville Barker. Photograph. n.d.


An example of the prompt books Shaw used in rehearsals, this rough proof of *Fanny's First Play* was used as the prompt copy in two productions. The first production was directed by Shaw in 1911; the second was the Harley Granville Barker and McCarthy revival in 1915 in which Shaw assisted. The prompt book contains manuscript notes in the hands of McCarthy, Barker, and unidentified stage managers, and a very few by Shaw.

H. Bernard Shaw. Rehearsal notes for *Fanny's First Play*. Autograph manuscript. February-March 1915.

These notes confirm Shaw’s involvement in the 1915 revival.
The Instinct of an Artist

**Case Five**

*Arms and the Man*

The original production of *Arms and the Man* in 1894 was Shaw's first full experience as a director. Although he had been involved in the presentation of *Widowers' Houses* in 1892 as a "supervising author" at the Independent Theatre, it is unclear that he had full directorial authority. Shaw wrote *Arms and the Man* at the request of his friend Florence Farr for her 1894 season of new plays at the Avenue Theatre; it was his first commercially produced play.

Shaw began work on the play, but failed to have it ready in time for the planned production. Farr proceeded with Yeats' *The Land of Heart's Desire*, and produced *A Comedy of Sighs* by the Irish playwright John Todhunter in place of Shaw's unfinished play. Opening night was a dismal failure, and the concerned Farr considered substituting Shaw's *Widowers' Houses*. But coming to Farr's aid, Shaw quickly finished his new play. Rehearsals were necessarily brief; the first rehearsal was on 11 April and the play opened on 21 April. Happily for all involved, *Arms and the Man* had a successful run of fifty performances. On opening night, however, one audience member, Reginald Golding Bright, disagreed with the prevailing judgment of the play. When Shaw stepped out from behind the curtain to take his author's call, a single "Boo" was heard among the otherwise enthusiastic responses. Shaw responded: "My dear fellow, I quite agree with you, but what are we against so many?" The play's success and its resulting royalties allowed Shaw to resign his position as music critic and attempt to make his living in the theatre.

*Florence Farr as Louka in Arms and the Man, 1894 [item 513]*
In 1949, more than fifty years after his first directorial effort, Shaw wrote: “The notes taken by a producer as he silently watches the players are a test of his competence.” A director who writes abstract or theoretical comments such as “Shaw influence of Kierkegaard on Ibsen in this scene” should be “packed out of the theatre and replaced.” Instead, Shaw believed, a director should offer practical suggestions which could be easily understood and implemented.

Judging by his own standard, Shaw was a “competent” director from the beginning. The prompt book used in the original 1894 production and the rehearsal notes for the 1919 revival of *Arms and the Man* demonstrate Shaw’s focus on the practical in rehearsal. In Act I of the prompt book, for example, Shaw adds the detail that Sergius should hide behind the curtain. He also revises stage directions to clarify the intention of the dialogue. In Act III after Raina realizes that Bluntschi sees through her affected manner, her next line is to be given “with a complete change of manner from the heroic to the familiar.” [C] The rehearsal notes for the 1919 production are equally concrete. Petkoff is told that he is “too sharp with what’s the meaning of this. Let the scene settle down.” A note to the actor playing Nicola follows: “Very slow in contrast with Petkoff.” Other notes suggest adding stage business (“hand him the cup”) and line delivery (“coax” and “baby talk”). [E]

Shaw maintained this approach to directing throughout his career. The Burgunder collection holds rehearsal notes for many Shaw productions, including *John Bull's Other Island*, *Heartbreak House*, and *You Never Can Tell*. All of these notes reveal that Shaw took his own dictum to heart and would never be sent packing from the theatre.

**ITEMS EXHIBITED**

A. *Arms and the Man*. Playbill from the first production at the Avenue Theatre. 21 April 1894.

B. *Arms and the Man*. Program from the first production. 1894. Cover design by Aubrey Beardsley.

C. Bernard Shaw. “Alps and Balkans” [*Arms and the Man*]. Typewritten manuscript used as the prompt copy for the original production. 1894. Gift of Jon A. Lindseth '56.

The original title for *Arms and the Man* was “Alps and Balkans,” the title that appears on this prompt copy. Shaw revised the title before the play opened. Shaw's ink manuscript
revisions run throughout the prompt copy; stage directions are recorded in another hand—probably that of A.E. Drinkwater, the stage-manager. This typescript was Farr's personal copy.

D. **Arms and the Man.** Cabinet photographs of the first production by Bullingham. 1894.

Shaw dated and inscribed his copies of the original photographs of the actors in the first production. Shown here are: Alma Murray as Raina and Yorke Stephens as Bluntschli; Mrs. Charles Clavert as Mrs. Catherine Petkoff; Bernard Gould (Bernard Partridge) as Sergius; James Welch as Major Paul Petkoff; and Florence Farr as Louka.


Although Robert Loraine is listed as the official director of the 1919 revival, Shaw’s rehearsal notes reveal that the playwright assisted in the directing.
A critical aspect of Shaw's directorial work was his willingness to revise his plays during rehearsals. Although he abhorred the idea of other directors making textual changes in his plays (saying that they could write their own plays if they wanted to make revisions), Shaw was quick to make changes he felt would help in his productions. If that meant changing what he had created as a playwright, he was willing to do so. He admitted to J.B. Fagan, his co-director for Heartbreak House, that there are "always lines which are dud lines with a given cast. Change the cast and you get other lines dud." Further revisions often occurred after opening night as Shaw saw additional ways to improve the production.

Even after directing a production of one of his plays, Shaw did not settle on a final version; subsequent productions often resulted in further revisions that would then appear in later publications of the play. Conversely, Shaw sometimes cut lines for a particular production, but then restored those lines in future publications of the play. In Heartbreak House, for example, he cut sixty-five lines from the third act in the 1921 production; the lines remained, however, in later editions of the play.

Shaw revised his plays for various reasons. In his "Rules for Play Producers," he advised that a "play may need to be cut, added to, or otherwise altered, sometimes to improve it as a play, sometimes to overcome some mechanical difficulty on the stage, sometimes by a passage proving too much for an otherwise indispensable player." But he dismissed the practice of cutting a play simply to shorten running-time, telling Fagan that "I never cut anything merely to save time; it is never worth saving at the cost of the play." Given the length of some of his plays, his resistance to such cuts often put a burden on directors and playgoers alike. Indeed, the Theatre Guild in New
York City, which produced a number of Shaw plays including *Saint Joan* in 1923, found the playwright unbending in the face of the most ardent pleas. Lawrence Langer, a founder of the group, noted that the Theatre Guild wrote Shaw asking him to consider revisions that would shorten *Saint Joan*. They advised him that playgoers who lived in the suburbs would miss the last train home without such cuts. Shaw cabled back: "THE OLD STORY BEGIN AT EIGHT OR RUN LATER TRAINS." As with all of Shaw's work in the theatre, practicality had its place, but never at the expense of art.

**Items Exhibited**

*A.* Bernard Shaw to J.B. Fagan. Autograph letter signed. 20 October 1921.

Shaw and Fagan directed the first English production of *Heartbreak House*. Two days after opening night, Shaw recommended specific line cuts in Act III, and voiced his unhappiness about letting the "play go before it was safely ready and before we had polished it." Despite his acknowledgment of the weaknesses of some of the players, he offered Fagan some reassurance: "You will find a great improvement all round when they at last get clear about the meaning of their lines and master the train of thought. Until then do not hurry them too much; for if you make an actor speak faster than he can think, his part will be like nothing at all, and you will lose the play to save the last train."

*B.* Bernard Shaw. Rehearsal notes for the October 1921 production of *Heartbreak House* at the Royal Court Theatre. Autograph manuscript. 1921.

This was the first English production of the play. An earlier production had been mounted by the Theatre Guild in New York in 1920.

*C.* *Heartbreak House*. Theatre Program. Court Theatre. 1921

*D.* Bernard Shaw. Text revisions for *Caesar and Cleopatra*. Autograph manuscript. ca. 1929.

This version of Pothinus' part in his scene with Caesar, revised for the first Malvern Festival in 1929, did not appear in any editions of the play until it was incorporated in the published text of the *Collected Edition* (1930).
E. Bernard Shaw. Candida. Autograph manuscript. ca. 1897

These two manuscript fragments, partly in Shaw's hand and partly in his wife Charlotte's hand, were most likely intended as insertions into the Church-Charrington production of 1897, the first public performance of the play.

F. Candida. Theatre Program. 1st London Production. The Stage Society. 1 July 1900.

G. Program insert for Man and Superman. Royal Court Theatre. 23 May 1905.

"Messrs. Vedrenne and Barker beg leave to explain that the acting version of Man and Superman now presented has been prepared solely by the author." Shaw wrote the text for this note, making it clear to all that only he was authorized to make changes to his plays for production.


On the title page of this rehearsal copy, Shaw suggests to H.K. Ayliff line cuts for the Malvern Festival production of the play. Geneva, written when Shaw was in his eighties, had its British premiere at the Malvern Festival on 1 August. Because the play addressed the League of Nations and contemporary events, Shaw constantly altered the text while it was in rehearsal and after it had opened. In September of 1939, for example, he added a 600 word scene to keep the plot current with political events. The Burgunder Collection contains several letters Shaw wrote to Ayliff while the play was being written and produced. In addition, the collection holds eight different rehearsal copies printed while Shaw continued to make textual changes.

CASE SEVEN

To the Actor

Shaw was an inveterate letter writer. The editor of his Collected Letters, Dan Laurence, suggests a figure of 250,000 letters and postcards as a conservative estimate of Shaw's output. One particularly illuminating portion of his correspondence is letters of directorial advice sent to actors in his productions. Shaw wrote many of these to performers in the midst of a play's run; he attended performances and noted areas for improvement. Just as he continued to make textual revisions after a play had opened, he continued to recommend changes in the actors' performances as needed. His advice to actors, like his rehearsal notes, was typically specific and focused. His concerns relate to diction, stage business, costumes, and communication of emotion—all with the goal of
"making the audience believe that real things are happening to real people."

A set of ten postcards to actress Margaret Halstan critiquing her portrayal of Raina in the 1911 revival of *Arms and the Man* offers a perfect example of the range of Shaw's performance instructions. Several cards illustrate Shaw's focus on the voice. He coached Halstan on her diction: "Beware of galorious (glorious) and heroicideets (hero-ic-i-dec-yalls)." He also recommended vocal emphasis: "How dare you? HOW dare you?" Still another card urged Halstan to speak louder: "Echo 'fight' just a little louder." This last urging is sweetened with a bit of self-deprecating charm: "But I was in the fourth row of the circle & am old & probably deaf."

In another postcard Shaw recommended altering the make-up: "I think (only think, mind) that you might venture on the very slightest touch of warmer color. You look 18; and 18 will bear roses in the cheeks." Movement receives equal attention. "Don't hurry," he suggested, "Raina never hurries," and "...get right up the stage on 'hotel.'" Shaw prescribed specific stage business, such as snatching the portrait and picking up a box of sweets. And he did not neglect the level of emotional pitch, instructing Halstan to deliver one line with "wounded heart and throat full of tears."

Shaw's letters to actors are especially valuable because they communicate a sense of his relationships with them. Rehearsal notes do not reveal how he went about conveying his ideas to the intended actor. These letters, on the other hand, expose not only his specific concerns with actors' performances, but the manner and tone he used in instructing them.

Shaw's relationship with an actor often continued long after their collaboration in a production. In 1928, seventeen years after the revival of *Arms and the Man*, Halstan received another postcard with Shaw's portrait. In this card, however, Shaw's subject was himself. Nearing age seventy-two, Shaw wrote in his characteristically self-mocking tone: "This is what I look like when anyone mentions the theatre to me. It is a hundred years since I wrote a play; and it has not yet occurred to me to write another. What a profession, Margaret?!?!!"
Margaret Halstan (1879-1967) played the part of Raina in the Arnold Daly revival of *Arms and the Man* which opened at the Criterion Theatre in London in May 1911. He sent her these postcards (each with a different portrait of Shaw on the front) after watching her performance. Halstan's father, H.A. Hertz, was a founder of the German Theatre in London as well as a member of the Stage Society’s Executive Committee. Halstan had appeared as Gloria in the 1899 production of Shaw’s *You Never Can Tell* and in the *Man of Destiny* in 1901.

**B.** Margaret Halstan. Photograph from *The Play Pictorial*. 1903

Halstan is pictured as The Red-Haired Girl in *The Light that Never Failed* at the New Theatre. Forbes Robertson and Elliott starred in this adaptation of Kipling's novel.

**C.** Bernard Shaw to Margaret Halstan. Autograph postcard signed. 4 July 1928.
D. Bernard Shaw to Blake Adams. Autograph letter signed. 1 January 1913

Adams played Barney Doran in a revival of *John Bull's Other Island* which opened at the Kingsway Theatre on 26 December 1912. In closing a letter full of specific instructions, Shaw also offers encouragement to Adams: “Finally I implore you never to laugh without a reason. If you show the least consciousness that it is funny to be an Irishman and have a brogue, you become a stage Irishman at once... When you get these trifles right it will be a gorgeous impersonation.”


The program lists Adams in his role as Barney Doran.


Douglas played the part of Burgess in an amateur production of *Candida* directed by Milicent Murby at the Cripplegate Institute. Shaw advises: “Your acting was very successful for one of your age and inexperience: in fact, I should have taken you for an older & more practised hand but for the dress, which betrayed the amateur. You must remember that amateurs always try to make themselves like the figures they have seen on the stage, whilst actors always strive to make themselves like the figures they have seen in the street. Grip that difference and you will do very well... In the second act, do not bring in your hat. You are spending the afternoon in the house & have been for some time with Candida—long enough to be able to tell the poet what she is doing upstairs—consequently you must come in without any air of having just called.”
CASE EIGHT

Mrs. Patrick Campbell

Many of the actors who performed in Shaw's plays were personal friends as well as colleagues. Not surprisingly, given the mix of the professional and personal, Shaw's relationships with actors such as Harley Granville Barker, Janet Achurch, and Lillah McCarthy were often complicated. But certainly his relationship with Mrs. Patrick Campbell, or Stella, as she was known to her friends, was one of the most intense.

Shaw wrote the part of Eliza Doolittle in Pygmalion for Campbell. Earlier he had written his Cleopatra for her, and had once imagined her as Mrs. Warren. He failed to entice her to take either of these earlier roles, however, other than to read Cleopatra for the single copyright performance of Caesar and Cleopatra (such performances, given to obtain a theatrical license, were not normally full-fledged productions). Hoping she would embrace the role of the cockney girl, Shaw arranged to read Pygmalion to her himself. But, as he later confessed to Lady Gregory, he "went in head over ears before I had been 30 seconds in her presence." [C] Thus began one of Shaw's most entangled relationships. Though married to Charlotte Payne-Townshend, Shaw became thoroughly enchanted with Campbell. When she suddenly fell quite ill and was bedridden for several months in the autumn of 1912, Shaw was at her side constantly. A stream of love letters ensued, and the relationship only finally cooled for Shaw when the fickle Stella unexpectedly married George Cornwallis-West in 1914.
Poster for Pygmalion, 1914 [item 8A]
In the meantime, plans for a production of *Pygmalion* had moved forward in fits and starts, and Shaw finally began rehearsals in early 1914. Both Campbell and Sir Herbert Tree, who played Professor Higgins, proved difficult in rehearsals—Shaw walked out of the theatre in frustration at one point—but the play opened to much acclaim on 11 April and had a successful run of 118 performances.

In 1920, under Viola Tree’s management, *Pygmalion* was revived at the Aldwych with Shaw directing once again. Campbell’s behavior in rehearsals had not improved. She was imperious and generally unwilling to take direction, taxing Shaw’s skills as a director. According to Shaw, Campbell went so far as to return unopened his letters containing notes from rehearsals. Years later, in a letter to Edith Craig, the daughter of actress Ellen Terry, Shaw recalled his difficulties in rehearsal with Campbell and offered some analysis of the temperamental actress:

I have said picturesquely that she was possessed by a devil; but what was really the matter with her was a lack of savoir vivre so complete that she never learnt how to live in the real world. Forbes Robertson’s criticism of her as “very limited” technically was so true that once at rehearsal, when I asked her to take a step forward to get out of the way of another character—a trivial thing that any skilled actress would have done mechanically—she harangued me to the effect that a great actress never repeated a movement until I was provoked into calling her a “Belsize Park amateur.” I am ashamed of having forgotten myself as a producer to this extent; but it gained me the eternal devotion of Marion Terry, who was on the stage at the time and whose opinion of Mrs. Campbell’s technique it exactly expressed. I nearly died of keeping my temper with Mrs. Campbell professionally, though off the stage there was not a cloud in the sky. Like Barrie and everyone else whom she wanted to ensnare I was in love with her; but as I never imagined that I could possibly live in the house with her for two days, I resisted all her attempts to make me elope with her; and our relations remained quite innocent to the end. She was not in love with me or anyone else; but it amused her to give proofs of her power to upset everyone, whether it was an actor trying to play his part instead of being her courtier, or a husband who presumed to give first place to his wife. Yet with all this she had her noble moments. ... [G]

For Shaw, the difficult rehearsals did not result in a satisfying production, and Campbell’s performance continued to disappoint him. *Pygmalion*, however, survived the stormy production and remains one of Shaw’s most popular plays.
ITEMS EXHIBITED

A. Mrs. Patrick Campbell as Eliza Doolittle in Pygmalion. Poster. First English production presented by Herbert Beerbohm Tree at His Majesty’s Theatre, London. 11 April 1914.

B. Bernard Shaw to Mrs. Patrick Campbell. Autograph letter. ca. 5 February 1920.

Written during rehearsals for the revival of Pygmalion, Shaw’s letter to Campbell contains numerous suggestions for blocking, motivation, and the emotional quality of her performance: "...you must not depend on pushes from the others for your acting. Aubrey [C. Aubrey Smith] cannot give you the cue-shoves that you are accustomed to; they do not belong to the part as he plays it. You must imagine the cue, just as you have to imagine a lovely Romeo if you were playing with an ugly one—or with me.... Now comes the most important point of all. When Eliza emancipates herself—when Galatea comes to life—she must not relapse. She must retain her pride and triumph to the end. When Higgins takes your arm on 'consort battleship' you must instantly throw him off with implacable pride; and this is the note until the final 'Buy them yourself.' He will go out on the balcony to watch your departure; come back triumphantly into the room; exclaim 'Galatea!' (meaning that the statue has come to life at last); and—curtain. Thus he gets the last word; and you get it too.” This Galatea ending described here by Shaw differs from all printed versions of the play.

C. Bernard Shaw to Lady Gregory. Autograph letter signed. 18 November 1912.

"Also I’ve been violently in love with Mrs. Patrick Campbell because you told me I ought to. I did; and such reams of outrageous love letters as I have poured into her sick bed when I ought to have been attending to my wrecked business and hopeless arrears of correspondence have never before been penned. I scorned the danger; thought I was more dangerous than she; and went in head over ears before I had been 30 seconds in her presence. And this at 56, and worn out at that by overwork. Is there no age limit?"

D. Mrs. Patrick Campbell. Photographs by Bernard Shaw.

The photograph of Mrs. Patrick Campbell recuperating in bed at her Kensington Square home was taken by Shaw in 1912. In April of 1914, Shaw photographed Campbell one week after her marriage and the opening of Pygmalion.
E. Bernard Shaw to Viola Tree. Autograph letter signed. ca. February 1920.

"...we only have three days left...Stella announced calmly that she could not come tomorrow as she had to attend to her dresses. This is mere lunacy if she aims at anything better than a scratch performance. As she receives my notes with scorn and sarcasm, but generally takes care to profit by them without pretending to, I make them and send them to her; but she has taken to sending my letters back unopened; so that I have to put them in tradesman's envelopes and type and misspell the address."


G. Bernard Shaw to Edith Craig. Typewritten letter with autograph corrections. 17 July 1940.

H. Mrs. Patrick Campbell. Picture Postcard. ca. 1895.
ABBOTHEATRE
—DUBLIN.—
Proprietors
THE NATIONAL THEATRE SOCIETY, Ltd
Directors
W. B. YEATS, LADY GREGORY
Manager
LENNOX ROBINSON

Tuesday, Nov. 4th, 1919, and following nights at 8.15
MATINEE SATURDAY at 2.30 P.M.

FIRST PRODUCTION BY THE ABBEY COMPANY OF
ANDROCLES AND THE LION
A Play in a Prologue and Two Acts, by G. BERNARD SHAW

THE LION
ANDROCLES
MEGAERA, his wife
THE CENTURION
THE CAPTAIN
LAVINIA
LENTULUS
METELLUS
SPINTHO
FERROVIUS
THE SLAVE DRIVER
THE CALL BOY
SECUTOR
RETIARIUS
THE EDITOR OF THE GLADIATORS
THE MENAGERIE KEEPER
THE EMPEROR
CHRISTIANS

Brian Herbert
J. Hugh Nagle
Maureen Delany.
J. G. St. John
Arthur Shields
Christine Hayden
George Brendan
Fred Harford
Michael J. Dolan
Ambrose Power
Hubert McGuire
G. Rock
T. Quinn
R. C. Murray
Peter Nolan
Barry Fitzgerald
F. J. McCormick
May Craig, Una Burke, E. Bingham, Gerald
Thomas, E. Dunlop, A. O'Higgins, H. L.
Corrigan, J. D. Brennan, etc., etc.

SOLDIERS, SLAVES, etc.

PROLOGUE—Scene: A jungle path.
ACT I.—Scene: The end of three converging roads to Rome.
ACT II.—Scene I.: Behind the Emperor's box at the Coliseum.

II.: The Amphitheatre.
III.: Same as Scene I.

The Play produced by Lennox Robinson.
The Scenery designed and painted by Seaghan Barlow.

THIS THEATRE IS DISINFECTED
"**Case Nine**

"There is Hardly Room for the Lion"

"**I would think twice** on all accounts before meddling with that play," wrote Shaw to Lady Gregory in 1922, responding to her interest in his *The Man of Destiny*. [G] By the mid-1920s, Lady Gregory and other directors had nearly forty plays by Shaw to consider for production. Not surprisingly, then, there is a rich body of correspondence between these directors and Shaw. By the time he wrote his letter to Lady Gregory, he had over thirty years’ experience as a director. His communications with her and other directors reflect the savvy of a seasoned director, still occupied with practical details of production.

In his “hasty note” to Sir John Martin-Harvey, who directed and starred in his *The Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet* in 1926, Shaw critiqued the performance he “squeezed in at the Coliseum.” He advised Martin-Harvey on costume and make-up, suggesting that he tell the Sheriff that he must not dress and make-up as one of the boys; he should be clean, respectably dressed, well-spoken, and obviously a substantial man and the boss.” A comment about acting style followed: “Shine is too like a comic British Stiggins, quite out of the atmosphere. He is too good an actor to need that sort of tomfoolery.” Next a suggestion about timing: “The woman must not jump at her cue when she denies that Blanco is the man.” Still further direction is offered on how to play scenes of delirium tremens, problem costumes, and an actress playing for laughs. [A] Shaw balanced criticism of productions with praise when warranted. He opened his letter to Martin-Harvey with the assurance that “Blanco is all right for you; and you are all right for Blanco.”
As he had with Lady Gregory, Shaw sometimes discouraged a director from taking on one of his plays, recognizing potential problems that would prevent the production from being a success. In another letter to Martin-Harvey discussing a possible double bill of *The Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet* and *The Man of Destiny*, Shaw warned that the “Man is an awkward length, and difficult: only two absolutely first rate players can make it go.... A bill of these two plays would be very heavy work; and I should not suggest it to anyone whose health I was anxious about. Napoleon has to hold the house spellbound for an hour on end; and Blanco is a tearing melodrama.” [F]

Directors, of course, did not always heed Shaw’s advice. Even Lady Gregory, who greatly respected Shaw’s theatrical knowledge and experience, was known to ignore his recommendations. When she wanted to produce *Androcles and the Lion*, Shaw first responded with disbelief: “As to Androcles, how on earth could Keogh get it on the Abbey St. stage. There is hardly room for the lion: one spring would carry him half way to the G.P.O.” [I] When she persisted, he countered that even “if the stage were large enough, how much do you think the cast and costumes would come to?” [J] Undeterred, Lady Gregory gamely produced *Androcles* at the Abbey in November 1919. Seeing that she was “resolved to murder my poor play,” Shaw gave up and, with a final good-natured jab, called her “the most obstinate and unscrupulous devil on earth.” [K]

Shaw’s letters are perhaps most telling when they show him impressed by the boldness of another director. He confessed to Martin-Harvey that the costume for the *Blanco* character Feemy Evans caught him by surprise: “I was a bit startled by the Russian Ballet dress: it was audacious, but, like Wilfred’s shabby clerical get-up, out of the picture. However audacity always tickles me; and I shall not protest....” [A] In a letter to director Victor Barnowsky he wrote: “I remember your production of *Back to Methuselah* very well. Your running the Lloyd George-Asquith section and dropping all the rest was a shocking breach of contract; but I hope it brought you in a substantial revenue; and I have of course long since forgiven you for succumbing to what must have been an irresistible temptation.” [H] Although as a playwright Shaw never liked to see liberties taken with his play, as a director he sometimes grudgingly admired the attempt.

**ITEMS EXHIBITED**

**A.** Bernard Shaw to Sir John Martin-Harvey. Typewritten letter signed. 11 November 1926.

In addition to his detailed notes on the Martin-Harvey (1863-1944) production of *Blanco*, Shaw added: “I enjoyed the performance, though I am anything but a Shaw fan. If you never have a worse play and I never have a worse star, we shall do very well.”
B. Bernard Shaw to H.K. Ayliff. Typewritten letter signed. 11 December 1938.

In addition to providing Ayliff with copious production notes, Shaw expresses his dismay over Genev. “What a horrible horrible play! Why had I to write it? To hear those poor devils spouting the most exalted sentiments they were capable of, and not one of them fit to manage a coffee stall, sent me home ready to die.” Shaw had attended a performance of Genev directed by Ayliff at the Saville Theatre following its premiere at the Malvern Festival in August. Although Shaw was not happy with the play, which he had revised furiously during the rehearsal period, it had a successful run of 237 performances.


D. Bernard Shaw to Viola Tree. Autograph letter signed. ca. 5 February 1920

“You had a lesson in producing this morning which you should take to heart. When a performer, male or female, becomes hysterical, the experienced producer makes him or her cry as soon as possible. This discharges the nerve storm, and everything goes well afterwards. But you must also learn this lesson as an actress. If you find yourself hysterical, don’t struggle with it. Let yourself rip. Curse the producer up hill and down dale. Curse the manager and the theatre and the author and the play. Scream, lie down and kick, bite off pieces of the furnature, and induce a flood of tears. Then take a minute or two to recover and say cheerfully ‘And now let’s go on.’ The experienced producer won’t mind in the least: he will bear no malice, & be glad you have saved him from the brutal task of provoking you.”
Viola Tree (1844-1938) was the actress-manager of the Aldwych Theatre in which the 1920 revival of Pygmalion was produced. Although Shaw directed the revival, Tree had some involvement with rehearsals. Tree was the daughter of actor-manager Sir Herbert Beerbohm Tree (1852-1917).

E. Viola Tree. Picture Postcard. n.d.

F. Bernard Shaw to Sir John Martin-Harvey. Autograph postcard signed. 3 August 1924.

G. Bernard Shaw to Lady Gregory. Autograph postcard signed. 12 February 1922

Shaw warned Lady Gregory about the difficulties of producing Man of Destiny: “But merely excellent actors are no use whatever for Napoleon & the Strange Lady. They have to hold the stage for an hour; and unless they are stars of the strongest magic, the result is ghastly...I should think twice, on all accounts, before meddling with that play. It has never been acted well enough to succeed.”

H. Bernard Shaw to Victor Barnowsky. Typewritten letter signed. 26 September 1935

I. Bernard Shaw to Lady Gregory. Autograph letter signed. 3 September 1916

J. Bernard Shaw to Lady Gregory. Typewritten letter signed. 4 May 1917.

K. Bernard Shaw to Lady Gregory. Autograph letter signed. 4 September 1919.


M. Bernard Shaw and Lady Gregory. Photograph. Coole Park. April 1915

N. Albert Rothenstein. Original costume design for the Lion in Androcles and the Lion, 1913.
CASE TEN

“And Have Plenty of Color in the Shirts”

“If you ask what my choice would be between ‘four boards and a passion’ and a sumptuous mise-en-scene without the passion, I am for the four boards,” Shaw mused in 1894. This sentiment notwithstanding, Shaw took a keen interest in theatrical design. Such an interest is not surprising given Shaw’s long-standing love of art. He was a frequent visitor to the National Gallery of Ireland in his youth, studied at the Royal Dublin Society’s School of Art, and served as an art critic for the World from 1886 to 1889. In addition, his position as theatre critic for the Saturday Review gave him ample opportunity to study the impact of visual elements on theatrical production.

Shaw created his own designs for some productions. He drew detailed costume designs for the first production of Arms and the Man, for example. [A] Photographs from that production attest to the effectiveness of his designs. For other productions, he drew sketches and plans of the set. [B] Even for productions he did not direct, Shaw often communicated instructions for costume or sets or provided appropriate pictures as models.

In a letter dictated to Ayliff about the upcoming production of Geneva, Shaw offered characteristically intricate design suggestions:
I should like to have Battler [modelled on Hitler] in a black and white chequered coat with a swastika in every white square. But I think that would be a breach of faith with the Lord Chamberlain. He had better have a dove-colored coat coming down to the knees with a military collar & largish buttons also in grey, with a scarf worn like a Sam Brown belt of rich material & handsome color. The Secretary might have a court suit, as he is official. Bombardone [modelled on Mussolini] shall have a toga and look like Caesar, with a wreath, very imposing. Favor should have a general’s uniform, not British of course. These are only suggestions. If you have anybody on hand like Paul Shelving to design costumes he can let his fancy play on them. All the rest, including the Commissar, in ordinary modern dress. It is important that the 3rd Act scene should be a beauty as the audience has to look at it for so long. It ought to be designed by Laurence Irving, or somebody as good. That’s all at present. [D]

Ayliff followed Shaw’s recommendation, enlisting Shelving, the principal designer of the Birmingham Repertory Theatre, as the costume designer. The production photograph of Geneva shows the influence of Shaw’s ideas on Shelving’s designs; Bombardone, for instance, is in toga, looking much like Caesar. [E] But Shelving also “let his fancy play” and created a winged helmet, inspired by Lohengrin, for Battler. Consulted about the bold concept, Shaw replied that “I strongly approve of the Lohengrin idea. Let Paul proceed accordingly.” [F] Such collaboration represented the perfect merger of Shaw’s strong instinct for design and the talents of an experienced theatrical designer.

Shaw valued creativity in design. When a particular play did not have specific design requirements, he encouraged experimentation. He counseled Martin-Harvey to let “the imagination play” in his production of The Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet. Shaw noted that there were no pictures that would help because there “never was no such place nor no such people.” His final word of advice is a perfect example of Shaw’s instinctive blend of the artistic and the practical: “Invent it all, and have plenty of color in the shirts.” [G]
Bernard Shaw. Set of original designs for the men's costumes in *Arms and the Man*. 1894.

Shaw's drawings were printed by the primitive "Jellygraph" process, an early means of reproduction. These designs were used for the first production in 1894, as evidenced by the accompanying photographs.

**B.** Bernard Shaw. Sketch of set design for *John Bull's Other Island*. n.d

**C.** *John Bull's Other Island*. Photograph of a special performance at 10 Downing Street. 30 June 1911.

In this command performance, Barker, pictured on the far right, gave his only performance as Larry Doyle.
D. Charlotte Shaw to H.K. Ayliff. Autograph letter signed. 23 June 1938

Shaw’s wife, Charlotte, wrote this letter at his dictation. Charlotte explained in another letter, dated 10 June 1938, that she was writing for him because he was “hors de combat.” Shaw had collapsed in London in early June and was forced to recuperate at their home at Whitehall Court until 15 July. For treatment, he received a series of injections of liver hormone.


The photograph shows Walter Hudd as Herr Battler, Alexander Knox as The Judge, and Cecil Trouncer as Bombardone. Trouncer originated the role of Bombardone at the Malvern Festival. Hudd and Knox were new additions to the cast when the play came to London in November 1938.

F. Bernard Shaw to H.K. Ayliff. Autograph postcard signed. 30 June 1938.

G. Bernard Shaw to John Martin-Harvey. Autograph postcard signed. 1 April 1925
CASE ELEVEN

The Business of Theatre

"The art of the theatre is as dependent on its business as a poet's genius is on his bread and butter," Shaw observed in his preface to William Archer's *The Theatrical "World" of 1894*. Recognizing that money was a critical element in the fate of any production, Shaw vigilantly monitored all financial matters related to his productions, and kept exacting records of the gains and losses. The business skills he acquired in his first job as a clerk at the firm of Uniacke Townshend and Co. in Dublin served him well in the theatre.

Shaw's business acumen informed his advice to other directors seeking to produce his plays. He always estimated the financial viability of a play given the likely audience, the size of the theatre, the availability of appropriate actors, and countless other considerations as laid out in his "Principles That Govern the Dramatist." Quite often he would propose a different play as a better financial risk for a director.

Although he respected the place of business in the theatre, Shaw remained focused on "the extent to which the magic of art can break through commercial prudence." In response to William Poel's article that compared Forbes Robertson's productions of *Caesar and Cleopatra* and *The Passing of the Third Floor Back*, Shaw argued that "a very expensive play like C and C, with its cumbersome scenery (seven elaborate sets and a solid sphinx)" would never be as profitable as a "cheap play with one scene which could be put up out of stock anywhere." But, pointing to the longevity of plays with artistic merit, he speculated that "if you had asked Shakespeare whether Hamlet could compete with The Spanish Tragedy, he would have laughed at the notion and told you that the S.T. was worth six Hamlets commercially; but in the long run Hamlet has taken more pounds that the S.T. ever took farthings; and if Caesar lasts long enough it may do as well as The Passing...."

Shaw understood that experimentation in the theatre was often at risk without extra financial support. When he asked Sydney Carroll whether "you ever asked yourself this momentous question? How is it that old Shaw, who has been in the theatre business for 44 years, is not an inmate of Fulham workhouse," he answered the question himself. Shaw claimed that he "never lost sight of the fact that it is the business of the playwright to take money out of the theatre and not under any circumstances put money into it." But Shaw did put money into the theatre at least once. When Barker and Vedrenne attempted their repertory experiment at the Court Theatre, Shaw profited artistically from their financial risks. He repaid the favor and helped pay off the final debt.
Bernard Shaw to Olga Nethersole. Autograph letter signed. 18 September 1910

Shaw attempted to dissuade Olga Nethersole (1866-1951) from taking a production of Getting Married to America for several reasons, including the expense of the cast. “You would need a cast of expensive people—no less than seven men with strong parts, only one of which could be pulled through by an ordinary actor. There is another woman’s part which you ought to play yourself, and two fascinating young brides. In London I had Ainley & Loraine, Fulton, Farren, Hearn and Holman Clark, Beryl Faber, Auriol Lee & Fanny Brough; and nothing cheaper would have had a chance. Think of all the salaries—on the American scale too!” Nethersole gained notoriety in 1900 when she was arrested for indecency for her performance in Clyde Fitch’s play Sappho. She was eventually acquitted.


Poel (1852-1934) founded the Elizabethan Stage Society. He played the part of Peter Keegan in John Bull’s Other Island at the Royal Court in 1906.
My dear Sydney Carroll

Have you ever asked yourself this momentous question? Why is it that old Shaw, who has been in the theatre business for 44 years, is not an inmate of Fulham workhouse? The instructive answer is that he has never lost sight of the fact that it is the business of a playwright to take money out of the theatre and not under any circumstances put money into it. I have carried out this policy strictly in the Open Air Theatre. You have lost £10,000; and I have had some of it. Where did you get the ten thousand? Certainly not by criticism: I have been a critic myself; and I know. I cleaned out Miss Horniman in 1894 with my first commercially produced play. That was tea money. When the famous Vedrenne-Barker management was dissolved after its adventure in the Shaw business, G.B. pawned everything short of reducing himself to nudity and I disgorge much of my royalties to make a solvent ending. Even Barry Jackson, with the Maypole Dairy Company behind him was finally panicked, though his last production of Back to Methuselah actually made a profit of £25. Who is to be the next victim? If you can pick up ten thousand pound notes and sprees on the newest and biggest change in managerial policy in my time you are clearly eligible.

How would the Adam and Eve scenes from Methuselah, followed by the Comedy of Errors, do for Regent's Park? I can pocket Shakespeare's royalties all right. Anything that will tempt a shark is good enough for

Yours until the times do alter

Bernard Shaw

Sydney Carroll Esq.
18 Charing Cross Road
W.C.2.

Letter to Sidney Carroll, 1936 [item 11G]
C. Bernard Shaw to Lady Gregory. Autograph postcard signed. 3 September 1916

“What are the prospects of the Abbey Players ever revisiting America? When I say ‘ever’, I mean two years or thereabouts. The reason I ask is that I am being heavily pressed to let O’Flaherty loose there; and as by next January my direct war taxation will have amounted to considerably over £10,000, the policy of holding up plays for vague and remote contingencies is financially impossible. O’F, is a war play, and may be valueless twelve months hence. Is there any reasonable reason for not letting it go?”

D. Bernard Shaw to Sydney Carroll. Autograph postcard signed. 13 August 1934

“The experiment with popular prices at the Winter Garden was not very encouraging. £600 for the first two weeks and then a dead level of £400. No good. I, in your place, should incline to let well alone and save the program up for the park next year. I haven’t raised my terms since 1894: forty years! Everybody else’s have been doubled or tripled. I am still touching my hat for my humble shilling in the pound and producing [directing] for nothing. Have you the heart to grudge it to me?”

E. Bernard Shaw to Blanche Patch. Autograph note signed. 24 April 1929

This note—to Shaw’s secretary Blanche Patch—requests box office figures for the 1929 revival of Major Barbara at the Wyndham’s Theatre. “I want to know what business Barbara has done during its eight weeks’ run. Just jot down the dates & the receipts and send me the memorandum. Omit shillings and pence. Just the date & the pounds.”


G. Bernard Shaw to Sydney W. Carroll. Typewritten letter signed. 22 June 1936

Sydney W. Carroll (1877-1958) was an actor, journalist, and dramatic critic and, by the date of this letter, a theatrical manager. He had established the Open Air Theatre in Regent’s Park, London, where he produced Androcles and the Lion and Overruled.

H. T.E. Sanderson. Autograph receipt signed. 27 March 1895

This receipt shows the amount Shaw paid for the printed programs and playbills for the copyright performance of Candida.
Case Twelve

All in the Details

As if writing the play, recruiting the actors, directing rehearsals, designing costumes and sets, critiquing productions, and keeping track of costs were not enough for Shaw, he also willingly tackled many more of the "hundred considerations" of theatrical production. Everything—from the press to programs to photographs—came under his purview.

As a former theatre critic, Shaw was well prepared to use the press for his own purposes. He was often creative in his attempts to get press coverage for his productions. When Misalliance was about to open, for example, he wrote a letter to Daily Mail journalist James Waters to elicit some advance publicity. Shaw labeled it a "private letter and not a communication to the press." In it he reminded Waters that his previous play, Getting Married, had succeeded despite a harsh reaction from the critics because "the people who saw the first performance kept coming again and again until the word passed that I had fooled the press again...." Shaw advised Waters that he wanted it "to be known as widely as possible that Misalliance is just like Getting Married, only much more so," and promised Waters that he had "carefully cherished, repeated & exaggerated every feature that the critics denounced."

Warning Waters not to officially quote him, Shaw suggested he "use this as your own stuff or as part of a casual conversation with me. You understand, don't you?" Such manipulation of the press was a skill that Shaw used frequently in his quest for production publicity.

No production detail was too small for Shaw's scrutiny. Even the layout of a program was sufficiently important to capture his attention. He confessed to Charles Hunt Helmsley that he could not resist correcting the program proof: "For instance I have struck out all the printers' 'rules.' You will find that this will make an ENORMOUS difference in the elegance of the program. I have suggested also that the cast should be given in the
order of appearance, as this fashion has caught on, and gives the stars a charmingly modest air. However, it is not my affair. I am at the top anyhow.” [B.C] Shaw's interest in design extended to covers of programs and posters as well. Unhappy with the poster illustration for On the Rocks, he sketched an alternative, which he sent to artist John Farleigh. Farleigh revised the cover and poster according to Shaw's design. [D-F]

Shaw was even prepared to act if necessary. For the copyright production of The Devil's Disciple in 1897, he read the part of Anthony Anderson and listed himself as Mr. Cashel Byron in the program. He once stood in for a missing actor—albeit just for production photographs. [H] When the actor Albert Sims, who played the Beadle in Getting Married, was unable to attend the photographer’s rehearsal, Shaw gamely stepped in and “posed as the Beadle myself, which explains my appearance in a cocked hat with a mace on my shoulder. These photographs will be published as those of Mr. Albert Sims's understudy…” [I]

As a director, Shaw never failed to recognize the importance of detail. He undertook even the smallest task if he thought it would help the presentation. Such care was rewarded by the high quality of his productions.

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**ITEMS EXHIBITED**

A. Bernard Shaw to James Waters. Autograph letter signed. 5 January 1910


C. Mrs. Warren's Profession. Theatre Program. 1926.

This is the program which Shaw discusses in his letter to Helmsley.

D. Bernard Shaw to John Farleigh. Autograph letter signed. 16 November 1933

E. Bernard Shaw. Sketch for On the Rocks. ca. November 1933

I, having been represented to Me by the Examiner of All Theatrical Entertainments that a type written copy entitled "Candida" being a Domestic Play, does not in its general tendency contain any thing immoral or otherwise improper for the Stage, The Lord Chamberlain of Her Majesty's Household do by virtue of my Office and in pursuance of the Act of Parliament in that case provided allow the Performance of the said type written copy at your Theatre, with the exception of all Words and Passages which are specified by the Examiner in the endorsement of this License and without any further variations whatsoever. Given under my hand this 5th day of April 1895

[Signature]
Lord Chamberlain.

To the Managers of the Theatre Royal, St. Helens.
G. Bernard Shaw. *To the Audience at the Kingsway Theatre*, enclosed in the theatre program for *John Bull’s Other Island*, 1913.

Shaw’s desire to manage all aspects of a production encompassed even the audience. In this letter he poses a lengthy series of questions to encourage audience members to alter their behavior during performances: “Do you not think that the naturalness of the representation must be destroyed, and therefore your own pleasure greatly diminished, when the audience insists on taking part in it by shouts of applause and laughter, and the actors have repeatedly to stop acting until the noise is over?... Have you noticed that if you laugh loudly and repeatedly for two hours, you get tired and cross, and are sorry the next morning that you did not stay at home?”


J. Bernard Shaw to Charles Charrington. Autograph postcard signed. 25 March 1895.

As this postcard regarding *Candida* demonstrates, Shaw handled details of the licensing of his plays. “I have just had a telegram to say that the license must be for the Theatre Royal, Southampton (Lessee, L. Snowden) instead of for South Shields. I have written to the Examiner of Plays, Lord C’s Department, Stable Yard, St. Jas’s Place, asking that the alteration may be made. Is this sufficient, or will it be necessary to call & fill in a form, or anything of that sort?”


L. Arnold Daly as Eugene Marchbanks in *Candida*. Photograph by Tom Hadaway. 1903.

**Sources Consulted**

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*Shaw on Theatre.* Edited by E.J. West. New York: Hill and Wang, 1958


Bernard Shaw. Photograph by Howard Coster, 1946.
One thousand copies set in Adobe Minion, Adobe Minion Expert and Adobe Stemple Schneidler using Quark Express.
Designed and produced by Leslie Carrère, LunaMedia.
Printed by Graphics Plus Printing.
An Exhibition from
The Bernard F. Burgunder Collection of George Bernard Shaw

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