

UNIVERSITY OF HERTFORDSHIRE
SOCIAL SCIENCES, ARTS AND HUMANITIES RESEARCH INSTITUTE

**Bernard Shaw at Shaw's Corner:
Artefacts, Socialism, Connoisseurship, and Self-fashioning**

by

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requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

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ABSTRACT

This thesis analyses artefacts belonging to the playwright, socialist and critic Bernard Shaw, which form part of the collections at Shaw's Corner, Hertfordshire, now managed as a National Trust property. My original contribution to knowledge is made by revealing Shaw through the artefacts in new or under-explored roles as socialist-aesthete, art patron, connoisseur, photographer, celebrity, dandy, and self-commemorator. The thesis therefore challenges the stereotypical views expressed in the literature which have tended to focus on Shaw at Shaw's Corner as a Fabian with ascetic characteristics. The thesis aims are achieved by contextualizing the Shaw's Corner Collections, both extant and absent. Historically the artefacts in the house have been viewed from the perspective of his socialist politics, ignoring his connoisseurial interests and self-fashioning. Hence there was a failure to see the ways in which these elements of his consuming personality overlapped or were in conflict. By examining artefacts from the perspectives of art and design history, focussing on furniture, private press books, clothing, painting and sculpture, Shaw is shown to be a highly complex and at times contradictory figure. The discontinuities and ambiguities become clearer once we examine the possessions from the house which were removed and sold by the National Trust after Shaw's death.

Whilst some Shavian scholars and art historians have acknowledged Shaw's role as an art critic and the impact it had on his dramaturgy, there has been little recognition of the ways in which this influenced his domestic interiors, consumption, and personal taste, or indeed his interest in the decorative arts and design. Artefacts and furniture in the house today reflect Shaw's role as a socialist-aesthete, and his involvement with Arts and Crafts movement practitioners and Aestheticism. As an art patron Shaw also shared the aims of artists, connoisseurs and curators working in the first decades of the twentieth century, and we see evidence of this through certain artefacts at Shaw's Corner. With a strong aesthetic sense, he devoted time to matters of beauty and art, but was equally governed by economics and a desire to bring 'good' art and design to everyone.

Shaw was considered to be one of the greatest cultural commentators and thinkers of his generation, but he was at the same time a renowned celebrity and influential figure in the mass media. The literature has tended to dismiss the latter role in order to preserve his place among the former, but I argue here that Shaw did not necessarily view the two as separate endeavours. In fact items from the house, notably Shaw's clothing and sculpture, are considered as the bearers of complex philosophical, symbolic or iconographic meanings relating to his self-fashioning, aesthetic doctrines, and desire for commemoration, which demonstrate the links between the celebrity and the critic. By considering the artefacts in conjunction with the Trust's archive of Shaw photographs, as well as his representation in popular culture, and by then relating this material dimension to his writings, the thesis brings a new methodological approach to the study of Shaw. More importantly this thesis reveals new knowledge about the philosophical ideas, humanity, generosity, and personal vanity of the man that lay behind those artefacts.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AWG	Art Workers' Guild
BL	British Library
BSD	<i>Bernard Shaw The Diaries, 1885-1897</i> , 2 vols. (1986), ed. Stanley Weintraub
BUR	Bernard F. Burgunder Collection, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library
CL	<i>Bernard Shaw Collected Letters</i> volumes 1-4 (1965-88), ed. Dan H. Laurence
DIA	Design and Industries Association
HOL	Michael Holroyd, <i>Bernard Shaw</i> , volumes 1-5 (1988-92)
HRC	Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin
LAS	<i>Bernard Shaw on the London Art Scene 1885-1950</i> (1989), ed. Stanley Weintraub
LSE	London School of Economics and Political Science Library
MM	Mander and Mitchenson Theatre Collection, University of Bristol
NACF	National Art Collections Fund
NAL	National Art Library, V&A Museum, London
NPG	National Portrait Gallery, London
NT	National Trust
NTIN	National Trust Inventory Number
PPR	<i>Shaw, Pen Portraits and Reviews</i> (London: Constable, 1932 [1931])
SDF	Social Democratic Federation
SPAB	Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum, London

A NOTE ON THE TEXT

I have retained Shaw's idiosyncratic punctuation and spelling (dont, cant, didnt, havnt, drawingroom, sponge, Michael Angelo, and Shakespear) in the thesis.

Quotations from Bernard Shaw's plays and prefaces are, unless footnoted, from *The Bodley Head Bernard Shaw: Collected Plays with Their Prefaces*, 7 vols., ed. by Dan H. Laurence (London: Max Reinhardt, 1970-74) and are cited parenthetically in the text.

Unless stated otherwise 'Shaw' refers to Bernard Shaw, and 'Charlotte' refers to his wife.

National Trust Inventory Numbers (NTIN) indicate an artefact in the Shaw's Corner Collection (or a photograph – see below). If an artefact from the Collection is uncatalogued or without an inventory number, it appears as 'Shaw's Corner Collection' in the list of figures. Additional miscellaneous material is listed as 'Shaw's Corner Archive'.

Photographs in the George Bernard Shaw Photographic Collection are listed in the thesis as 'NT Shaw Photographs' followed by the National Trust Inventory Number. The Shaw Photographs are owned by the National Trust, and are currently stored at LSE.

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Figure 99 Douglas Cockerell, design for the cover of Shaw's *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism*, 1927. (George Bernard Shaw Art Collection, Box 483, Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin). Reproduced with kind permission of the Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

Figure 100 Douglas Cockerell, bindings for volumes of Shaw's music. (Hall, Shaw's Corner Collection). © National Trust.

Figure 101 Douglas Cockerell, binding for *Natural History of Remarkable Insects*, 1938, cover with 'CFS' in the centre of a spider's web. (NTIN 3061859). © National Trust.

Figure 102 Douglas Cockerell, binding for *Natural History of Remarkable Insects*, 1938, spine adorned with spiders. (NTIN 3061859). © National Trust.

Figure 103 Embroidered silk on board covers, repaired by Douglas Cockerell & Son, Letchworth. *Eikon Basilike: The Pourtraicture of His Sacred Majestie in His Solitudes and Sufferings*. (NTIN 3063615). © National Trust.

Figure 104 'Shaw's Treasure-chest', *The Evening News and Star*, 16 June 1962. Newspaper report of artefacts returned to Shaw's Corner in 1962, including the *Eikon Basilike*. Mander and Mitchenson / University of Bristol / ArenaPal (ARP1463269).

Figure 105 Shaw photographed in the garden at Shaw's Corner, presenting one of the volumes bound by Douglas Cockerell to John Dulanty, the Irish High Commissioner in London, 1946. (See *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*, 110).

Figure 106 Katharine Adams, binding for *Autograph Poems by Horace Townsend of Derry*. (Shaw's Corner Collection). © National Trust.

Figure 107 Katharine Adams's monogram, binding for *Autograph Poems by Horace Townsend of Derry*. (Shaw's Corner Collection). © National Trust.

Figure 108 Press photograph of Shaw and Charlotte Shaw with the book-binder Cedric Chivers. (See Archibald Henderson, *Playboy and Prophet*, reproduced opposite page 320).

Figure 109 Cedric Chivers, 'vellucent' binding for John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress: from this World to that which is to come*. (NTIN 3201762). © National Trust.

Figure 110 Photograph of Shaw with Thomas Jones at Gregynog, 1933. (See Thomas Jones, *A Diary with Letters*, reproduced between pages 112-13).

Figure 111 George Fisher, binding for *Shaw Gives Himself Away: an Autobiographical Miscellany*, 1939. (NTIN 3063703). © National Trust.

Figure 112 Paul Nash, binding for *Shaw Gives Himself Away: an Autobiographical Miscellany*, 1939. (NTIN 3063059). © National Trust.

Figure 113 John Farleigh, portrait of Shaw (aged 37), wood-engraving, frontispiece to *Shaw Gives Himself Away: an Autobiographical Miscellany*, 1939. © The Estate of John Farleigh.

Figure 114 Advertisement for Sundour Fabrics, *The Graphic* (14 May 1922), 566.

Figure 115 'Sundour' unfadable fabrics. Science and Society Picture Library, Image no. 10312478. © Science Museum /Science & Society Picture Library - All rights reserved.

Figure 116 Three different bindings for *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism*; left to right: unknown; Douglas Cockerell; George Fisher. (Shaw's Corner Collection). © National Trust.

Figure 117 Morton Sundour 'special Venetian red' book-cloth, covering a volume of Constable's *Works of Bernard Shaw Standard Edition* 1931-51. © National Trust.

Figure 118 James J. Guthrie, engraving. Pear Tree Press, *Some Poems of Edgar Allan Poe* (1901). (NTIN 3063457). © National Trust.

Figure 119 Shaw's drawing in the centre, with John Farleigh's drawings on either side, 'Mr. Bernard Shaw among the Craftsmen', *Country Life* (2 November 1935), 471. Shaw's Corner Archive. © The Estate of John Farleigh.

Figure 120 Agnes Miller Parker, engraving for H.E. Bates's *Through the Woods* (1936). © The Estate of Agnes Miller Parker.

Figure 121 Thomas Bewick engravings, staircase, Shaw's Corner. *The Yellow Wagtail* (NTIN 1274698.1); *A Skylark* (NTIN 1274698.4); *A Wheatear* (NTIN 1274698.5); *A Woodcock* (NTIN 1274698.8). © National Trust.

Figure 122 Thomas Bewick, *The Yellow Wagtail*. Staircase, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274698.1). © National Trust.

Figure 123 'Mr. Bernard Shaw among the Craftsmen', *Country Life* (2 November 1935), 470. Shaw's Corner Archive.

Figure 124 Advertisement: 'The "Daily Herald" announces a 1,220 page edition of the complete plays of Bernard Shaw at the astonishing price of 3/9'. Shaw's Corner Archive.

Figure 125 Léon De Smet, *Bernard Shaw* (dining-room, Shaw's Corner), published in *Colour* magazine, (November 1915), 140. © National Trust.

Figure 126 Roger Fry, study for *River with Poplars* (the river at Angles-sur-l'Anglin, near Poitiers, France) 1911, Monk's House. (NTIN 768413). Presented to Virginia Woolf by Shaw in 1940. © National Trust.

Figure 127 Charles de Souza Ricketts, Design for the tapestry curtain for *Saint Joan*, by George Bernard Shaw, 1924. (© The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, no.1649). Image reproduced courtesy of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Figure 128 Postcard sent by Shaw to Charles Ricketts (1908): interior of the Margravia Opera House in Bayreuth. (BL Add. MS 58090, f.85, Ricketts & Shannon Papers). © British Library Board.

Figure 129 Press cutting of Shaw with Henry Tonks (right), Rex Whistler and Lord D'Abernon at the unveiling of the Rex Whistler wall paintings at the Tate Gallery, 1927.

Figure 130 Shaw with Edwin Lutyens in the drawing-room at Whitehall Court, examining plans for the National Theatre, 1939. Published in 'A National Theatre is Born', *Picture Post*, 113. (Photo by Kurt Hutton/Picture Post/Getty Images. Getty caption: 25th March 1939: Playwright George Bernard Shaw looking at plans for Britain's first National Theatre with Edwin Lutyens.) <http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/3311231>

Figure 131 Admission card, permitting entry to a Burlington Fine Arts Club exhibition, 1932. Presented to Apsley Cherry-Garrard by Shaw. (George Bernard Shaw Manuscripts Collection, Series III, 63.7, Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin). Reproduced with kind permission of the Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

Figure 132 Robert Stewart Sherriffs, *George Bernard Shaw, Edith Sitwell, Sir Osbert Sitwell, and Sir Sacheverell Sitwell*. Cartoon ink on paper, 401 x 289mm (National Portrait Gallery no.D4468). © reserved; collection National Portrait Gallery. Reproduced with permission of the National Portrait Gallery, London.

Figure 133 *Edith Vane-Tempest-Stewart (Lady Londonderry)*. Print after the watercolour by Beatrice Wainwright. Study, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274683). © National Trust.

Figure 134 Cecil Beaton, photograph. A scene from *Heartbreak House*, Cambridge Theatre, 18 March 1943. (© V&A Theatre and Performance Collection, donated by Shaw).

Figure 135 Hans Holbein the Younger, *Christina of Denmark (Duchess of Milan)*, 1538, oil on oak, 179.1 x 82.6cm. Presented by the Art Fund with the aid of an anonymous donation, 1909. Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International Public License, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/legalcode> . © The National Gallery, London.

Figure 136 Kathleen Scott, *Bernard Shaw*, on view at Ackermann's Galleries, New Bond Street, 1938. Mander and Mitchenson / University of Bristol / ArenaPal.

Figure 137 Benozzo Gozzoli, *The Procession of the Magi*, 1459-61. (Cappella dei Magi, Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, Florence). Image in public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gozzoli_magi.jpg

Figure 138 Copy after Andrea Mantegna, *St. James before Herod Agrippa*, 1451. Arundel Society chromolithograph. Shaw's bedroom, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274707). © National Trust.

Figure 139 Hans Holbein the Younger, *Lady Audley*. Medici Society chromolithograph. (Study, Shaw's Corner Collection). © National Trust.

Figure 140 James Craig Annan, photograph of Shaw, 1910. *Photographic Art Studies*. (Reproduced courtesy of the Ann and Isidor Saslav George Bernard Shaw Collection, Texas).

Figure 141 *The Connoisseur: A Magazine for Collectors*, April 1906.

Figure 142 Shaw's telescope at the St. Albans auction rooms being examined by a porter and a prospective buyer, prior to the sale of Shaw's artefacts organized by the National Trust in 1954. (AP Images ID: 5401140347). <http://www.apimages.com/metadata/Index/Watchf-AP-L-XEN-GBR-APHS367859-George-Bernard-Shaw/28e659225c7547e4baa26e7e17ed9f34/1/0>

Figure 143 Regency convex mirror. Hall, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274751). © National Trust.

Figure 144 Jan van Eyck, *Arnolfini Portrait*. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715252.150). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.

Figure 145 *Farnese Hercules*, bronze statuette. Study, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274963). © National Trust.

Figure 146 Samuel Butler, *Mr Heatherley's Holiday: An Incident in Studio Life*, 1873. © Tate. Available under a CC-BY-NC-ND 3.0 (unported) licence, <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/butler-mr-heatherleys-holiday-an-incident-in-studio-life-n02761>.

Figure 147 *Samuel Butler at the piano [in his room at Clifford's Inn]*. (Samuel Butler Collection, St. John's College Library, University of Cambridge. Butler/IX/2/9). By Permission of the Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge.

Figure 148 *Samuel Butler*, photogravure by Emery Walker, after the photographic portrait by Alfred Cathie, 1898. Study, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274690). © National Trust.

Figure 149 Shaw in the drawing-room at Adelphi Terrace, 1904. (The Hercules statuette can be seen on the mantelpiece). *The Tatler*, 177 (16 November 1904), 242. Shaw's Corner Archive.

Figure 150 Shaw examining a Dürer print at Adelphi Terrace, 1905. (Photograph by Ernest H. Mills, Getty Images 3251110). Getty Images caption: George Bernard Shaw (1856 - 1950), the dramatist, critic, writer, and vegetarian who was born in Dublin. <http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/3251110>

Figure 151 Albrecht Dürer, *Christ as the Man of Sorrows with Hands Bound*, 1512. Dürer Society print. Study, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274684). © National Trust.

Figure 152 Self-portrait: Shaw in the drawing-room at Shaw's Corner, with the Dürer prints of the Hare and the Owl on the mantelpiece. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715217.38). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.

Figure 153 J.T. Nettlehip, *The Diving Heron*, 1893. Hall, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1275274). © National Trust.

Figure 154 William Rothenstein, *Bernard Shaw*, oil on canvas, c.1930. (NTIN 1274501). © The Estate of Sir William Rothenstein. All Rights Reserved 2016 / Bridgeman Images © National Trust.

Figure 155 William Rothenstein, *G.B.S. Sitting to Rodin*, drawing, 1906. (See Archibald Henderson, *Playboy and Prophet*, between pages 738-39).

Figure 156 William Rothenstein, *Rodin*, drawing, 1906. Donated to the Tate Gallery by Shaw in 1910 through the NACF. © Tate, London, 2016. Available under a CC-BY-NC-ND 3.0 (unported) licence, <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/rothenstein-auguste-rodin-n02683>.

Figure 157 Auguste Rodin, bust of *Bernard Shaw*, bronze, 1906. Drawing-room, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274943). © National Trust.

Figure 158 Photograph by Shaw of Augustus John painting one of the versions of the Shaw portrait (subsequently painted over), 1915. Published in *The Countryman*, 15, 1 (April-June 1937), 97. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715223.109). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.

Figure 159 *Portrait of George Bernard Shaw* (1856-1950) 1915 (oil on canvas), John, Augustus Edwin (1878-1961). © The Estate of Augustus Edwin John, RA/ Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, UK / Bridgeman Images. Image reproduced by kind permission of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and Bridgeman Images.

Figure 160 Augustus John, *Bernard Shaw*, oil on canvas, 1915. Dining-room, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1275285). © The Estate of Augustus Edwin John, RA. All Rights Reserved 2016 / Bridgeman Images © National Trust.

Figure 161 Augustus John, *T.E. Lawrence*, print after the original drawing donated by Shaw to the National Portrait Gallery, London. Drawing-room, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274660). © The Estate of Augustus Edwin John, RA. All Rights Reserved 2016 / Bridgeman Images © National Trust / J.M. Burgess, G. Berry, J. Steadman.

Figure 162 John Singer Sargent, *Harley Granville-Barker*, drawing, chalk, 1900. Donated by Shaw to the National Portrait Gallery, London. (NPG 4178). Available under a CC-BY-NC-ND 3.0 (unported) licence, <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw02697/Harley-Granville-Barker?> © National Portrait Gallery, London.

Figure 163 Auguste Rodin, bust of Bernard Shaw, 1906, marble, 59 x 47.5 x 28cm. Presented by George Bernard Shaw to the Municipal Gallery of Modern Art (Dublin City Gallery The Hugh Lane, Dublin). Image courtesy of Dublin City Gallery, The Hugh Lane.

Figure 164 Shaw, photograph of Rodin's plaster bust of *Bernard Shaw*, taken in the garden at Shaw's Corner. c. 1930s. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715213.6). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.

Figure 165 Shaw, photograph: *Self-portrait with Siegfried Trebitsch in the drawing-room*, Shaw's Corner, 1925. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715218.19). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.

Figure 166 Shaw, photograph of Rodin's small bronze head of *Bernard Shaw*, taken in the garden at Shaw's Corner, 1934. Donated to RADA. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715213.16). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.

Figure 167 'The Celebrated Russian Sculptor Prince Troubetzkoy, and his wife, with a specimen of his rapid work', *The Graphic* (9 February 1907), 214. Shaw's Corner Archive.

Figure 168 Photograph of Sigismund de Strobl's bust, pasted by Shaw into his copy of Shakespeare's *Comedies, Histories and Tragedies* with a verse by Shaw. (Sotheby & Co. Catalogue, 25 July 1949, National Art Library, V&A Museum).

Figure 169 'On the eve of his 90th birthday: George Bernard Shaw at home', *The Illustrated London News* (27 July 1946), 87. Shaw's Corner Archive. Press photographs, see Getty Images for the portrait of Shaw with his statuette of Rodin by Troubetzkoy:
<http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/103213104>

Figure 170 Shaw with his bust by Rodin, drawing-room, Shaw's Corner. Detail from 'On the eve of his 90th birthday: George Bernard Shaw at home', *The Illustrated London News* (27 July 1946), 87. Shaw's Corner Archive. Press photograph, see Getty Images:
<http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/104409818>

Figure 171 Paul Troubetzkoy, *Comte Robert de Montesquiou* [with his greyhound], bronze, 1907. (Musée d'Orsay, Paris, Inventory number RF 3476). © RMN/ Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

Figure 172 Paul Troubetzkoy, *The Greyhound*, 1911. Garden, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274982). © National Trust.

Figure 173 *Bardolater – Shaw at Stratford*. Photograph by J.H. Bird, c.1939. (See Ivor Brown, *Amazing Monument: A Short History of the Shakespeare Industry*, London: William Heinemann, 1939).

Figure 174 *Design for a statue of "John Bull's Other Playwright" after certain hints by "G.B.S."* Cartoon by Edward Tennyson Reed, *Punch*, 1906. (See *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*, 60).

Figure 175 Peter Scheemakers, *Shakespeare Memorial* at Poets' Corner, 1740. (Westminster Abbey).

Figure 176 *David Garrick with a bust of Shakespeare* (a copy of the destroyed painting of 1766/69), after Thomas Gainsborough. Charlecote Park. (NTIN 533870). © National Trust.

Figure 177 Staffordshire statuette of William Shakespeare, c.1870, similar to the model stolen from the drawing-room mantelpiece in 1996.

Figure 178 Adolf Morath, photograph of Shaw holding his Shakespeare statuette, 1948. (BL Add. MS 50582 B, f.161).). Reproduced with kind permission of the British Library. © British Library Board.

Figure 179 Shaw gazing at his Shakespeare statuette on the drawing-room mantelpiece, Shaw's Corner, 1947. (Getty Images, Bettmann Collection 515170162. Getty caption: 3/25/1947: Portrait of author George Bernard Shaw at home, gazing at mantelpiece).
<http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/515170162>

Figure 180 Shaw and Shakespeare bookends by Nancy Catford. Shaw's bedroom, Shaw's Corner Collection. © National Trust.

Figure 181 Photograph of sculptor Kathleen Scott with her bust of Shaw at Ackermann's Galleries, 1938. Study, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274694). © National Trust.

Figure 182 'Shaw getting the upper hand: a scene from "Shakes versus Shav"'. The Lanchester Marionettes. *The Illustrated London News* (12 December 1953), 991. Shaw's Corner Archive.

Figure 183 Grand staircase at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art (RADA), showing busts of Shakespeare and Shaw. Central Press Photos Ltd. (See Archibald Henderson, *Man of the Century*, reproduced between pages 672-73).

Figure 184 *The Cardon Chapel*, c.1400. (Louvre, Paris) © R.M.N/Hervé Lewandowski
<http://www.louvre.fr/mediaimages/chapelle-cardon>

Figure 185 Léon De Smet, *Still Life with an Image of the Madonna in a Glass Case*, oil on canvas, 1923. Shaw's bedroom, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1275305). © National Trust.

Figure 186 Léon De Smet in his apartment, Brussels. (See Emile Langui, *Léon De Smet 1881-1966*, Deurle, 1976, 10).

Figure 187 Léon De Smet, *Still Life*, 1926. (See Emile Langui, *Léon De Smet 1881-1966*, Deurle, 1976, 36).

Figure 188 Hans Holbein the Younger, *Madonna of the Lord Mayor Jacob Meyer zum Hasen*, 1525/26 and 1528, oil on wood, 146.5 x 102 cm, Würth Collection, Inv. 14910, (Würth Museum, Johanniterkirche, Schwäbisch Hall, Germany). Photo: Philipp Schoenborn, Munich.

Figure 189 Photograph of Shaw in his study at Whitehall Court, standing in front of Albrecht Dürer's *The Life of the Virgin* (1502-11). (See Stephen Winsten, *Jesting Apostle*, facing page 176).

Figure 190 Albrecht Dürer, 'The Nativity' from *The Life of the Virgin*, 1511, woodcut, ink on paper (print), 29.9 x 20.9cm. Donated by Louise Dudgeon, (New Walk Museum and Art Gallery, Leicester). Image reproduced by kind permission of Leicester City Council.

Figure 191 Photograph of Charlotte by Shaw, posed beneath a plaster copy of Michelangelo's *The Virgin and Child with the Infant St. John* (Taddei Tondo). Piccard's Cottage, 1901. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715231.66). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.

Figure 192 Jean Hey, *The Moulins Triptych* (central panel) c. 1498-99. (Cathedral, Moulins). The Web Gallery of Art: <https://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/m/master/moulins/>

Figure 193 Detail from Fra Angelico, *The Coronation of the Virgin*, c.1432. Upper landing, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274659.1). © National Trust.

Figure 194 Detail from Luc Olivier Merson, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, 1879. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Merson_Rest_on_the_Flight_into_Egypt.jpg
Luc-Olivier Merson [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 195 ‘Wax and the Man: George Bernard Shaw, our most famous living playwright, takes his place in the silent company.’ *The Illustrated London News* (29 April 1950), 655. Shaw’s Corner Archive.

Figure 196 Photograph of Shaw posed with his statuette by Paul Troubetzkoy, 1926. (See Stephen Winsten, *Days with Bernard Shaw*, facing page 57).

Figure 197 Photograph of Shaw posed alongside his life-size statue by Paul Troubetzkoy, 1927, at Troubetzkoy’s villa, Lago Maggiore. (See Archibald Henderson, *Playboy and Prophet*, facing page 739).

Figure 198 Photograph of Shaw posed alongside his life-size statue by Paul Troubetzkoy (and Troubetzkoy’s ‘Mother and Child’), 1927, at Troubetzkoy’s villa, Lago Maggiore. Photograph by Lawrence Langner. Published in Lawrence Langner, ‘The Sinner-Saint as Host: Diary of a Visit to G.B.S. at Stresa’, *The Saturday Review of Literature*, 27, 30 (22 July 1944), 11.

Figure 199 The real ‘G.B.S.’ assisting his ‘double’ (the actor Edgar Norfolk) to dress for the part of ‘G.B.S.’ in *Spacetime Inn*, 1932. (See *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*, 75). <http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/541050967> (Photo by ullstein bild/ullstein bild via Getty Images).

Figure 200 ‘Portrait of G.B.S. by Augustus John with the aged original.’ (See *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*, 65). (NT Shaw photographs 1715221.19). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.

Figure 201 Max Beerbohm, ‘A Council of Perfection. G.B.S. (to myself): “Now why can’t you do me like that?”’, 1907. Published in *The Saturday Review of Literature*, 27, 30 (22 July 1944), 7. © The estate of Max Beerbohm.

Figure 202 *The Platform Spellbinder*, by Bertha Newcombe, 1892. Woodburytype print. Drawing-room, Shaw’s Corner. (NTIN 1274697). © National Trust.

Figure 203 Double self-portrait at the mirror, Blen-Cathra, 1899. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715257.87). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.

Figure 204 Shaw posing in front of the mirror at the Winstens’ house, Ayot St. Lawrence, 1948. (Photograph published in *Look* magazine, 24 May 1949, 56-57). Shaw’s Corner Archive.

Figure 205 Self-portrait: double exposure. Shaw at Blen-Cathra, c.1898. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715313.75). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.

Figure 206 Samuel Butler posed with a statue: ‘Stefano Scotto with Mr S Butler, Ecce Homo Chapel, Sacro Monte, Varallo, c.1882.’ (See Elinor Shaffer, *Erewhons of the Eye*, figure 57, 108).

Figure 207 William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty*, Plate 1.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Analysis_of_Beauty_Plate_1_by_William_Hogarth.jpg William Hogarth [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons

Figure 208 Alvin Langdon Coburn, *Le Penseur (George Bernard Shaw [1856-1950])*, Paris April 1906. Gum bichromate over platinum print. Courtesy George Eastman Museum. © The Universal Order (www.theuniversalorder.org.uk; www.thefintrytrust.org.uk).

Figure 209 Rodin sculpting the clay bust of Shaw. Photographed by Shaw at Meudon, 1906. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715225.12). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.

Figure 210 Alvin Langdon Coburn, *Rodin and G.B. Shaw*, 1906. Digital positive from the original negative in the George Eastman Museum’s collection. Courtesy George Eastman Museum. © The Universal Order (www.theuniversalorder.org.uk; www.thefintrytrust.org.uk).

Figure 211 Alvin Langdon Coburn, *Rodin and G.B. Shaw*, 1906. Negative, gelatin on gelatin. Courtesy George Eastman Museum. © The Universal Order (www.theuniversalorder.org.uk; www.thefintrytrust.org.uk).

Figure 212 Auguste Rodin, *Head of Balzac*. Drawing-room, Shaw’s Corner. (NTIN 1274944). © National Trust.

Figure 213 Shaw in the drawing-room at Whitehall Court, 1927. Mander and Mitchenson / University of Bristol / ArenaPal. For another version of this image see <http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/500920702> (Photo by Keystone-France/Gamma-Rapho via Getty Images).

Figure 214 Edward Steichen, *Bernard Shaw*, 1907. Four-colour half-tone portrait of Shaw at Adelphi Terrace, published in Alfred Stieglitz’s *Camera Work*, 22 (April 1908). © Artists Rights Society NY (Joanna T Steichen). Also available online in Rebecca Costello, A Writer and His Image, in *Scene: The Online Magazine for the Colgate Community*, Summer 2009, http://colgate.imodules.com/s/801/scene_inside_2col.aspx?sid=801&gid=1&pgid=1769

Figure 215 Edward Steichen, *Balzac: The Open Sky – 11.00pm*, 1908 (printed 1909), direct carbon print. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Alfred Stieglitz Collection, 33.43.46. (See Roxana Marcoci, *The Original Copy: Photography of Sculpture, 1839 to Today*, New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2010, 94, figure 74). 1933, 33.43.46. © Artists Rights Society (Joanna Steichen). See: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/267841>

Figure 216 Auguste Rodin and Charlotte with Rodin's statue of Balzac, photographed by Shaw in the garden at Meudon, 1906. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715225.145). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.

Figure 217 Waldo Lanchester, Bernard Shaw puppet, created for *Shakes versus Shaw* (1949). Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1275141). © National Trust.

Figure 218 Waldo Lanchester making the Shaw and Shakespeare puppets. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715253.54). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.

Figure 219 Shaw enjoying a performance at the Lanchester Marionette Theatre in Malvern, late 1930's. (Postcard). Shaw's Corner Archive.

Figure 220 Act III, *The Doctor's Dilemma*, Royal Court Theatre, 1906. *The Bystander* magazine (12 December 1906). Mander and Mitchenson / University of Bristol / ArenaPal ARP1415886. (See Mander, Raymond and Mitchenson, Joe, *Theatrical Companion to Shaw: A Pictorial Record of the First Performances of the Plays of George Bernard Shaw* (page 117)).

Figure 221 Detail of the stage-set showing the clothed lay figure. Act III, *The Doctor's Dilemma*, Royal Court Theatre, 1906. *The Bystander* magazine (12 December 1906). Mander and Mitchenson / University of Bristol / ArenaPal ARP1415886. (See Mander, Raymond and Mitchenson, Joe, *Theatrical Companion to Shaw: A Pictorial Record of the First Performances of the Plays of George Bernard Shaw* (page 117)).

Figure 222 Artist's model or lay figure. Study, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274815.1). © National Trust.

Figure 223 Wooden lay figure in a sales catalogue of the artists' supplier Charles Roberson, c.1901-3. (See Jane Munro, *Silent Partners: Artist and Mannequin from Function to Fetish*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014, 154, plate 167).

Figure 224 Neville Lytton, *Bernard Shaw posed as Velázquez's Portrait of Pope Innocent X*; and Diego Velázquez, *Portrait of Pope Innocent X*, 1650. (See Archibald Henderson, *George Bernard Shaw: His Life and Works*, facing page 262).

Figure 225 Hans Holbein the younger, *The Dance of Death*, 'The Bishop'. Enlarged facsimiles in platinotype by Frederick H. Evans, 1913. Study, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 3061830). © National Trust.

Figure 226 Images of Dzerzhinskii, Lenin, and Stalin on the mantelpiece in the dining-room, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274648), (NTIN 1274649), (NTIN 1274647). © National Trust.

Figure 227 Paul Troubetzkoy, *Auguste Rodin*. 1932 [c.1905]. Drawing-room, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274945). © National Trust.

Figure 228 Shaw sits beside Paul Troubetzkoy's sculpture of a lamb in the garden, Shaw's Corner. Photograph by Lisa Sheridan (Studio Lisa), 1937. (See *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*, 39). <http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/50711423>

Figure 229 Photograph of the Troubetzkoy seated Shaw statuette (drawing-room, Shaw's Corner) by Ralph Morse for *Life* magazine, 1946. (See *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*, 66). <http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/50868919>

Figure 230 Caesar and Cleopatra (Forbes-Robertson and Gertrude Elliott) with the Sphinx, Act I, *Caesar and Cleopatra*, New York, 1906. Mander and Mitchenson / University of Bristol / ArenaPal (ARP1415916). See Mander, Raymond and Mitchenson, Joe, *Theatrical Companion to Shaw: A Pictorial Record of the First Performances of the Plays of George Bernard Shaw* (page 66).

Figure 231 The miniature Sphinx, Act IV, *Caesar and Cleopatra*, New York, 1906. Mander and Mitchenson / University of Bristol / ArenaPal. See Mander, Raymond and Mitchenson, Joe, *Theatrical Companion to Shaw: A Pictorial Record of the First Performances of the Plays of George Bernard Shaw* (page 69).

Figure 232 Egyptian statue of an official, plastered and painted wood, c.23rd century BC. Donated by Charles Shannon (© The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, no. E.40.1937). Image reproduced courtesy of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Figure 233 Plaster copy of the bust of an Egyptian high status male official. (Formerly thought to be a bust of the goddess Isis). Hall, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1275316). © National Trust.

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Figure 240 Engraving of the effigy and Shaw's photograph of the tomb in the old Norman Church at Ayot. (Reproduced in *Bernard Shaw's Rhyming Picture Guide to Ayot Saint Lawrence*, 5). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.

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Figure 250 Shaw wearing a Jaeger wool suit, photographed by Emery Walker, c.1886. Reproduced from *Art and Industry*, 23, 134 (August 1937), 44. Shaw's Corner Archive.

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Figure 258 Shaw wearing Jaeger socks, Shaw's Corner, 1947. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715211.39). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.

Figure 259 Shaw's Jaeger socks. (George Bernard Shaw Personal Effects Collection, Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin). Reproduced with kind permission of the Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

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<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/269811>

Figure 273 Autochrome of Shaw by Alvin Langdon Coburn, autumn 1907. The Royal Photographic Society Collection, V&A Photography Centre. For another version of this image see <http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/90763007>

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Figure 275 Autochromes of Shaw and Lillah McCarthy by Alvin Langdon Coburn, 1907. The Royal Photographic Society Collection, V&A Photography Centre. (See Angus Trumble and Andrea Wolk Rager, eds., *Edwardian Opulence: British Art at the Dawn of the Twentieth Century*, Yale University Press, 2013, 213).

Figure 276 William Hogarth, detail from *A Rake's Progress: The Heir*, 1733. (© Sir John Soane's Museum, London, ref. no. P40). <http://www.soane.org/collections-research/key-stories/rakes-progress>. By Permission of Sir John Soane's Museum, London.

Figure 277 'Mr. George Bernard Shaw as a pioneer of the Jaeger cult', and Jaeger shop-front, 1902, in Malcolm MacKenzie, 'Jaeger: Health Gospel of 1884, Fashion Movement of 1937', *Art and Industry*, 23, 134 (August 1937), 44. Shaw's Corner Archive.

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Figure 282 Shaw to his audience: "Goodbye! come again!", *The Sketch* (March 12 1902), 303. (BL Add. MS 50582A, f.13v). Photograph by Foulsham & Banfield. © British Library Board.

Figure 283 Self-portraits in 'Bernard Shaw and Shaw-ism', *The Sketch* (2 May 1900), 70. Shaw's Corner Archive.

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Figure 285 'The Man of the Hour: Mr. George Bernard Shaw', *The Tatler* (8 November 1905), 187. Shaw's Corner Archive.

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Figure 288 ‘G.B.S.’ cropping an image of ‘Shaw’. *Daily Express*, October 1950.

Figure 289 Shaw photographed by Charlotte Roche, 1 July 1888. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715215.26). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.

Figure 290 Shaw photographed by Marie Leon. Published on the cover of Fabian Society tract *Socialism and Superior Brains* (1909). Shaw’s Corner Archive.

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Figure 293 ‘G.B.S.’ article heading, composed of press images of Shaw in various outfits. *The Family Circle*, 19, 7 (15 August 1941), 10. (Reproduced courtesy of the Ann and Isidor Saslav George Bernard Shaw Collection, Texas).

Figure 294 James Craig Annan, ‘Shaw as art critic’, 1910. Published in *The Theatre Magazine*, May 1914. (See Archibald Henderson, *George Bernard Shaw: Man of the Century*, 1956, between pages 160-61).

Figure 295 *Nakedness Consider’d: or, Reasons for not Wearing of Clothes. By a Gentleman of Great Parts* (1729). (NTIN 3063851). © National Trust.

Figure 296 ‘The philosopher-playwright’s fighting fitness at 73’, in ‘Bernard Shaw’s Undying Youth’, *Physical Culture* (November 1929), 39. Shaw’s Corner Archive. One of the press photographs can be viewed at <http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/541088373>

Figure 297 Alick P.F. Ritchie, ‘G.B.S.’, lithograph, *Vanity Fair Supplement*, 16 August 1911. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:George_Bernard_Shaw,_Vanity_Fair,_1911-08-16a.jpg By “Ritchie” (Ritchie, Alick Penrose F.) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 298 Buttons on a pair of Shaw’s Askew & Co. trousers. (NTIN 1275439.3). © National Trust.

Figure 299 Askew & Co. label from Shaw’s waistcoat. (NTIN 1275439.2). © National Trust.

Figure 300 Shaw’s Askew and Company grey suit. (NTIN 1275443.1-3). © National Trust.

Figure 301 Shaw arriving in San Francisco wearing the grey Askew & Co. suit, 1936. Press photograph. For a similar example see <http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/541068691> (Photo by ullstein bild/ullstein bild via Getty Images).

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Figure 303 Shaw posing in the garden at Shaw’s Corner in his Askew & Co. camel-coloured wool suit for the cover of *Illustrated Magazine*, 1948. Photograph by Lisa Sheridan (Studio Lisa). *Illustrated Magazine* (20 November 1948). Shaw’s Corner Archive.

Figure 304 Shaw’s Askew & Co. double-breasted jacket, forming part of the camel-coloured wool suit. (NTIN 1275441.1). © National Trust.

Figure 305 Askew & Co. label, camel-coloured double-breasted jacket. (NTIN 1275441.1). © National Trust.

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Figure 307 ‘Ahenobarbus at Rehearsal’ (Shaw rehearsing *Arms and the Man* at the Avenue Theatre in the character of S. Saranoff), pen-and-ink, crayon and watercolour wash, 1894. (George Bernard Shaw Art Collection, 67.66, Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin). Reproduced with kind permission of the Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

Figure 308 Bernard Partridge, *George Bernard Shaw*. (NPG 4229). Available under a CC-BY-NC-ND 3.0 (unported) licence. © National Portrait Gallery, London.

<https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw05737/George-Bernard-Shaw?>

Figure 309 Bernard Partridge, *James Abbott McNeill Whistler*. (NPG 3541). Available under a CC-BY-NC-ND 3.0 (unported) licence. © National Portrait Gallery, London.

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Figure 310 ‘G.B.S. as the Beadle during a rehearsal of *Getting Married*’, 1908. (Reproduced from *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*, 115. Photograph: Ellis and Walery).

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Figure 312 Dark blue silk Chinese robe presented to Shaw by Robert Ho Tung in July 1949, on the occasion of his visit to Shaw’s Corner. (NTIN 1275417). © National Trust.

Figure 313 Shaw wearing his Chinese robe, with Robert Ho Tung on the veranda at Shaw’s Corner, 1949. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715256.67). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.

Figure 314 Sue Morgan with Morris & Co. *Yare* curtain, Shaw’s Corner. © National Trust/Alice McEwan

Figure 315 Display case revealing the Kelmscott Press *Sigurd*, and original Morris & Co. textiles, highlighting the aesthetic influence of Morris on Shaw. Museum Room, Shaw's Corner. © National Trust.

Figure 316 Still from British Pathé film footage of Shaw with Paul Troubetzkoy, 1927. (Film ID. 704.03). Image reproduced with kind permission of British Pathé.

Figure 317 Interactive touch-screen technology, Bateman's. (The home of Rudyard Kipling, National Trust). © National Trust.

INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

This thesis is the product of an AHRC collaborative doctoral studentship organized in conjunction with the National Trust, and is concerned with the artefacts belonging to the playwright, socialist, and critic Bernard Shaw (1856-1950).¹ Today many of these artefacts exist as museum objects and are kept at ‘Shaw’s Corner’ in Ayot St. Lawrence, Hertfordshire, managed by the Trust as a memorial to the author since 1951. The house was Shaw’s country retreat between 1906 and his death in 1950, a home he shared with his wife Charlotte. Their main residence was a London flat at 10 Adelphi Terrace (from 1927 at 4 Whitehall Court). This is not however a history of the houses inhabited by the playwright, rather the aim of the thesis is to investigate Shaw through the extant artefacts at Shaw’s Corner and ‘absent’ artefacts no longer in the collection, discovering what was meaningful to him and why. A significant number of the artefacts we now see at Shaw’s Corner originally furnished the London flats, whilst many others were sold by both Shaw and the National Trust.

This thesis raises two main questions: ‘What new knowledge can the artefacts (both present and absent) at Shaw’s Corner reveal about Shaw?’ and ‘Was there a contradiction between the philosophy Shaw expressed in his writings, and the visual or material culture he created or endorsed?’ Throughout the thesis artefacts are considered as vital raw materials for gaining information about his life and work. Artefacts are viewed as symbolic and expressive of Shaw’s ideas, beliefs, taste and values, as well as his interests, self-perception and personality. By contextualizing the artefacts Shaw is revealed in new and under-explored roles as socialist-aesthete, art patron, connoisseur, photographer, celebrity, dandy, and self-commemorator. The project was generated owing to the lack of information about the artefacts within the house, their provenance, and connections to the playwright. It was conceived with the ultimate aim of making new knowledge about Shaw available to National Trust staff and volunteers, the academic community, and visitors to the property.

This introduction is divided into two parts. The first part considers the literature on the Shaw’s Corner artefacts, and examines the specific literature on Shaw’s engagement with visual and material culture. Whilst Shavian scholars have long recognized the impact made

¹ I refer here to ‘Bernard’ rather than ‘George Bernard’, given that he disliked his first given name. See A.M. Gibbs, *Bernard Shaw: A Life* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 5.

by Shaw's role as an art critic on his dramaturgy, and the importance of William Morris's typographical design for his texts, the ways in which these interests influenced his personal artefacts, consumption patterns, and taste has been neglected. Similarly Shaw's relationship to photography, particularly at the point of intersection with mass culture through photojournalism, has received little attention. Another group of literary scholars have considered Shaw primarily as a Fabian Socialist, with ascetic characteristics and hygienic, rather than aesthetic priorities. This thesis however challenges these readings to consider Shaw not merely through the prism of socialism, but via the discourses of connoisseurship and self-fashioning, bringing new, and in some cases controversial interpretations. The second part of this introductory chapter outlines the thesis aims and methodology, and discusses the artefact selection. Terms relevant to the way Shaw is perceived in the thesis such as socialism, connoisseurship, and self-fashioning are defined. The introduction shows how the questions raised by the literature review are developed by the research and structured into three chapters.

PART ONE

The literature on the Shaw's Corner artefacts, and Shaw's relationship to visual and material culture

Historically there has been a lack of scholarly interest shown in the artefacts at Shaw's Corner, whether from the perspective of art and design history or literary studies. With the exception of the National Trust Shaw's Corner Guide Books, particularly the most recent versions written by Ruth Gofton (2000)² and Sue Morgan (2016),³ very little has been published about the contents of the house, or indeed specific artefacts. Stephen Winsten wrote several books on Shaw, including a biographical portrait entitled *Shaw's Corner* (1952)

² Ruth Gofton, *Shaw's Corner* (London: National Trust, 2000). Gofton built on the evidence collated from her predecessors and earlier National Trust brochures, and used the following reference material: Michael Holroyd, 'Shaw at Shaw's Corner', in *Writers at Home*, ed. by James Lees-Milne (London: Trefoil Books, 1985), Dan H. Laurence, ed., *Bernard Shaw: Collected Letters, 4 volumes* (New York: Viking, 1965-1988), Janet Dunbar, *Mrs. G.B.S.: A Portrait* (New York Harper & Row, 1963), and the reminiscences of some of Shaw's friends and servants. These included Blanche Patch, *Thirty Years with GBS* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1951), and Allan Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager and Human Being: A Biographical Symposium* (New York: Macmillan, 1962). The first National Trust pamphlet on Shaw's Corner was published for the opening of the house in March 1951.

³ Sue Morgan, *Bernard Shaw at Shaw's Corner* (London: National Trust, 2016).

however the latter revealed almost nothing about the artefacts or interiors.⁴ In 2000 Shaw's bibliographer and editor of the *Bernard Shaw Collected Letters* Dan H. Laurence provided a brief overview of the book collection,⁵ and musicologist David Huckvale wrote an article on the music collection in 1990,⁶ but the only scholars to have studied any of the artefacts in detail were the art historians Stephen Calloway and Susan Owens who visited the house to research their collaborative essay on Aubrey Beardsley: 'A 'lost' Beardsley drawing rediscovered.'⁷ (2001).

The Shaw scholar and historian Stanley Weintraub briefly discussed a few of the paintings and sculptures in his essay 'In the Picture Galleries' published in *The Genius of Shaw* (1979)⁸ which reproduced images of several artefacts from Shaw's Corner. Included were Bertha Newcombe's painting of Shaw the socialist as the 'Platform Spellbinder', the portrait of Shaw by Bernard Partridge, Augustus John's portrait of Shaw, the brass door knocker depicting Shaw, and the Waldo Lanchester puppet.⁹ Shaw was also shown in a photograph looking at the portrait of Charlotte above the drawing-room mantelpiece. Weintraub's essay examined the ways in which the playwright drew on his knowledge of sculpture and painting

⁴ Stephen Winsten, *Shaw's Corner* (London: Hutchinson & Co, 1952). By taking the name 'Shaw's Corner' as his title Winsten, a neighbour of Shaw's at Ayot, was capitalizing on the initial success of the property when it was first opened in 1951. Other books included Stephen Winsten, *Days with Bernard Shaw* (London: Hutchinson & Co, 1949), and Stephen Winsten, *Jesting Apostle: The Life of Bernard Shaw* (London: Hutchinson & Co, 1956). Winsten's claim that these works stood as a 'record of walks and talks with G.B.S.' has been discredited; see for example Stanley Weintraub, *Bernard Shaw: A Guide to Research* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 23. In fact before his death Shaw was warning friends about Winsten's work, declaring to Sydney Cockerell that *Days with Bernard Shaw* (1949) was 'a tissue of spoilt stories and misunderstandings (he has no sense of comedy).' Shaw to Sydney Cockerell, 30 July 1949, Bernard Shaw Correspondence (A: outgoing), Series II, Box 35, Folder 4. George Bernard Shaw Collection, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center (HRC), University of Texas at Austin. Subsequent references to this source are indicated by HRC, followed by series, box, and folder numbers.

⁵ Dan H. Laurence, 'The Library at Shaw's Corner', in *Bibliographical Shaw: SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, vol. 20, ed. by Dan H. Laurence and Fred D. Crawford (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 157-60.

⁶ David Huckvale, 'Music and the Man: Bernard Shaw and the Music Collection at Shaw's Corner', in *SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, vol. 10, ed. by Stanley Weintraub and Fred D. Crawford (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990), 96-112.

⁷ Stephen Calloway and Susan Owens, 'A 'lost' Beardsley drawing rediscovered', *Apollo, The National Trust Historic Houses and Collections*, 153, 470 (April 2001): 49-54.

⁸ Stanley Weintraub, 'In the Picture Galleries', in *The Genius of Shaw*, ed. by Michael Holroyd (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1979), 43-63. Originally published as 'Exploiting Art: The Pictures in Bernard Shaw's Plays', in *Modern Drama*, 18, 3 (September 1975), 215-38. Weintraub's essay 'In the Picture Galleries' has been twice revised and expanded, and was reprinted first in his own collection of articles as 'Exploiting Art: Shaw in the Picture Galleries and the Picture Galleries in Shaw's Plays', in Stanley Weintraub, *The Unexpected Shaw: Biographical Approaches to G.B.S. and his Work*, (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing, 1982): 54-96; and most recently as 'In the Victorian Picture Galleries', in Stanley Weintraub, ed., *Bernard Shaw on the London Art Scene 1885-1950* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989), 1-44. (Subsequent references to this source are indicated by LAS, followed by page numbers). Shaw's art criticism had been the subject of an earlier article by Jack Kalmar, 'Shaw on Art', *Modern Drama*, 2, 2 (September 1959): 147-59.

⁹ Weintraub, 'In the Picture Galleries', in *The Genius of Shaw*, colour plates reproduced between pages 56-57, black and white images reproduced pages 58, 62-63. I discuss some of these artefacts in chapters two and three.

gained whilst an art critic, however the ways in which this impacted on his personal taste and domestic interiors was not explored. Following Karen Harvey who has recently argued that ‘history is impoverished without attention to material culture,’¹⁰ I maintain here that the study of Shaw is similarly impoverished by the lack of interest shown by scholars in his artefacts and relationship to them.

The lack of literature on the Shaw’s Corner artefacts can be explained by focussing on two main facts. First of all, the majority of the literature on Shaw’s Corner falls within the genre of ‘literary tourism’ which has tended to focus on the house and Shaw’s day-to-day habits or use of space rather than offering any detailed analysis of the artefacts. Examples of this type of study are provided by Michael Holroyd’s article ‘Shaw at Shaw’s Corner’, in *Writers at Home* (1985),¹¹ and those published in popular magazines such as *Homes & Antiques*, and *Architectural Digest*.¹² Shirley Hoover Biggers’s *British Author House Museums and Other Memorials* (2002)¹³ also aimed at a mass market. This volume on the ‘literary house museum’ included discussion of Shaw memorials in Dublin,¹⁴ and drew heavily on the National Trust guidebooks. Although Biggers’s analysis of Shaw’s Corner took care to highlight the importance of Shakespeare for Shaw, and his interest in puppetry for example, there were numerous factual errors and assumptions made, owing to a reliance on the secondary literature.

As part of this focus on the property from the perspective of literary tourism, when artefacts were mentioned there was not surprisingly a tendency to concentrate on the accoutrements of the writer. Hence the *Directory of Museums, Galleries and Buildings of Historic Interest in the UK* (2003) stated that Shaw’s rooms at Shaw’s Corner had ‘many literary and personal

¹⁰ Karen Harvey, ed., *History and Material Culture: A Student’s Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources* (London: Routledge, 2009), 1.

¹¹ Michael Holroyd, ‘Shaw at Shaw’s Corner’, in *Writers at Home*, ed. by James Lees-Milne (London: Trefoil Books, 1985), 138. This essay was later reprinted in an abridged format, see Holroyd, ‘Bernard Shaw: Shaw’s Corner, Ayot St Lawrence, Hertfordshire’, in *Writers and Their Houses: A Guide to the Writers’ Houses of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland*, ed. by Kate Marsh (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1993), 373-83. A short article was published as Holroyd, ‘Bernard Shaw at Home’, *The National Trust Magazine*, special number ‘Writers and the Trust’, 61 (Autumn 1990), 19-21.

¹² Elizabeth Lambert, ‘Historic Houses: George Bernard Shaw. The Playwright’s English Home at Ayot St. Lawrence’, *Architectural Digest* (May 1982), 180-86. Sue Herdman, ‘Shaw’s Sanctuary’, *Homes & Antiques* (July 2000), 49-55.

¹³ Shirley Hoover Biggers, *British Author House Museums and Other Memorials* (North Carolina and London: Mcfarland, 2002).

¹⁴ Biggers discusses the Dublin Writers Museum, and the Shaw ‘birthplace’ museum at 33 Synge Street, Dublin. The latter was opened to the public through the Shaw Birthplace Museum Trust in 1993, and was staged with newly purchased ‘authentic’ furniture and artefacts to recreate the impression of a mid-nineteenth century domestic interior. The majority of the Shaws’ original furniture had been sold when Shaw’s mother moved to England in 1873.

effects on display.’¹⁵ The main entry highlighted the presence of Shaw’s ‘literary works’ and objects associated with his writing such as the typewriter. Added almost as an afterthought were ‘other objects’, included in a brief section below: ‘Rodin’s bust of Shaw’, ‘A marble of Shaw’s hand by Sigismund de Strobl’, and ‘A wardrobe full of Shaw’s clothes.’¹⁶ This continuing emphasis on Shaw as a ‘writer’, rather than as a dramatist who was simultaneously a visual artist with an interest in recording, reflecting and shaping the material world, was perpetuated by the Trust, who promoted the house as ‘the home of literature’¹⁷ in 2010 when the project commenced. Historically the Trust has publicized the property through the study and the writing hut, the rooms most closely associated with the ‘writer’.¹⁸ Although Gofton’s guide book *Shaw’s Corner* served as a useful introduction to Shaw, her focus was his role ‘as one of the great figures of English literature.’¹⁹ There was very little here on Shaw’s artistic interests and art criticism, his photography or self-fashioning.

The second reason for the lack of interest from a scholarly perspective is arguably related to the views expressed in the early literature on Shaw’s Corner during the 1950s and 1960s, which insisted that the house was dull, the creation of a Fabian with little aesthetic sense. The majority of this literature, written by Shaw’s literary contemporaries and acquaintances, as well as National Trust officials, painted a decidedly negative picture of the house and its contents, which denied the possibility of seeing Shaw as someone who cared about beauty, taste and material things, or was concerned about his domestic life. These viewpoints fuelled the apathy surrounding the house in the 1950s,²⁰ and this directly affected the way the artefacts at Shaw’s Corner were perceived thereafter. I discuss some of these responses here, whilst Appendix 1 provides a more detailed list, arranged chronologically from the 1920s through to the 1990s.

Shaw’s acquaintances St. John Ervine and C.B. Purdom²¹ forged a myth of the author’s

¹⁵ Keith W. Reynard, ed., *Directory of Museums, Galleries and Buildings of Historic Interest in the UK* (London: Routledge, 2003), 1898.

¹⁶ Reynard, ed, *Directory of Museums*, 1899.

¹⁷ Shaw’s Corner, National Trust leaflet, 2010. By 2014 the leaflet had been changed to ‘Shaw’s Corner: the home of theatre’ which is more appropriate. However the Trust’s website continues to describe the artefacts as ‘literary mementoes’ and a ‘literary treasure trove’: (<http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/shaws-corner/features/the-collection-at-shaws-corner> (accessed 5 January 2016)).

¹⁸ For example, a press image produced for the British Travel and Holidays Association in 1958 showed a member of the public peering into Shaw’s writing hut, whilst a press photograph from 1965 revealed a couple gazing out of the window in Shaw’s study. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715258.49; dated 29 October 1965).

¹⁹ Gofton, *Shaw’s Corner*, 19.

²⁰ After initial public interest, the visitor numbers had dwindled by the summer of 1952.

²¹ Charles Benjamin Purdom was one of the founder-residents of Welwyn Garden City, and the first managing director of Welwyn Stores, which Shaw invested in.

monk-like austerity, detachment and indifference to his aesthetic or material world. In 1956 Ervine wrote in his biography of Shaw: ‘The furniture at Shaw’s Corner was Charlotte’s choice. G.B.S., who had the ascetic’s indifference to his environment, left all domestic arrangements to her... the result was an insignificant house in which there was comfort, but no distinction.’²² Purdom expressed similar sentiments in 1963: ‘There Shaw lived without identifying himself with his surroundings. Detachment was in fact his secret... He did not live in that dull house, except for bodily necessities; likewise, he attached himself to no possessions.’²³

For some, Shaw’s supposed lack of feeling about Shaw’s Corner and the artefacts housed there was automatically linked to what was felt to be his ‘unpoetic’ character. Rhoda Nathan, writing in her article ‘Kindred Spirits: Charlotte Shaw and T.E. Lawrence’ sought to emphasize her viewpoint that the playwright was deficient in the romantic sensibilities, and cited from a letter Lawrence wrote to Charlotte in 1927: ‘Ayot, of course, nobody but yourself can deal with... Isn’t it strange that an Irish nature should find contentment in a patch of Hertfordshire? For it is contentment to have made it your very own. The house is steeped in you. You, not G.B.S: for as I keep on saying he doesn’t live in places or things.’²⁴

The blame for the absence of academic interest in the artefacts at Shaw’s Corner partly lies with Shaw himself, given that he sometimes playfully fashioned his identity as anti-materialistic and suppressed the importance of his personal things or home in his writings. We must be alert to the performative aspects of Shaw’s persona however. Relying on Shaw for clues as to the nature of his relationship to artefacts is intensely problematic given his

²² St. John Ervine, *Bernard Shaw: His Life, Work and Friends* (London: Constable, 1956), 362.

²³ C.B. Purdom, *A Guide to the Plays of Bernard Shaw* (London: Methuen, 1963), 71. Ivor Brown similarly described Shaw’s Corner as a ‘rather commonplace country house.’ Ivor Brown, *Shaw in his Time* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1965), 87.

²⁴ T.E. Lawrence to Charlotte Shaw, 8 September 1927, quoted in Rhoda Nathan, ‘Kindred Spirits: Charlotte Shaw and T.E. Lawrence’, *The Independent Shavian*, 45, 1-3 (2008), 34. Letters from Charlotte to other correspondents however reveal that she did not always appreciate life at Shaw’s Corner, and that in fact it was Shaw who found contentment there. Demonstrating her exasperation at being away from London, she wrote to Dorothy Walker from Whitehall Court in 1939: ‘to my great relief have got up here, after weeks of Ayot! Ayot drives me mad.’ Charlotte Shaw to Dorothy Walker, 11 November 1939, Charlotte Shaw Personal Papers and Household Records, Series IV, Box 65, Folder 4. George Bernard Shaw Collection, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center (HRC), University of Texas at Austin. (Subsequent references to this source are indicated by HRC, followed by series, box, and folder numbers). In another letter to the educationalist and Civil Servant Thomas Jones, we find Charlotte writing from Ayot and complaining about Shaw’s Corner: ‘G.B.S. insists upon being half the week at this horrible, cold, ugly English place, which keeps me from seeing my friends in nice, warm London.’ Charlotte Shaw to Thomas Jones, 15 February 1938, quoted in Thomas Jones, *A Diary with Letters, 1931-1950* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), 388. Jones would observe to a friend that Charlotte felt ‘boxed up in Ayot St. Lawrence and its narrow lanes. But it suits G.B.S.’ Thomas Jones to Abraham Flexner, 17 August 1941, quoted in Thomas Jones, *A Diary with Letters*, 491.

often deliberately provocative and sometimes even misleading statements concerning his personal possessions. How are we to interpret such statements as ‘I never keep or collect anything’²⁵: was this the ‘real’ Shaw speaking here, or part of the fashioning of the ‘GBS’ persona? To complicate matters further, Shaw himself sometimes mischievously perpetuated the idea that it was all Charlotte’s taste when he gave his ‘celebrity at home’ interviews.²⁶ Shaw’s most recent biographer A.M. Gibbs has remarked that ‘Shaw insisted that he was never greatly concerned about where he resided...“I have no more home instinct than a milk-can at a railway station.”’²⁷ If we study Shaw simply by prioritising what he wrote, rather than the visual and material culture he created or collected, we fall into the trap of taking Shaw at his word, a dangerous approach with a writer famed for his contradictory stance, and authorial self-creation.

The very fact that Shaw donated Shaw’s Corner and its contents to the Trust however contradicts the idea of a lack of concern for his domestic, material existence. Immediately after Charlotte’s death in September 1943, Shaw had contacted Donald McLeod Matheson, the Secretary of the Trust, and offered him Shaw’s Corner: ‘Has such a trifle any use or interest for the National Trust?’²⁸ Once Shaw received confirmation from the Trust that they would accept the property, he worked at rearranging the interiors at Ayot, bringing artefacts up from London, giving away items such as Charlotte’s clothing and jewellery, and selling other artefacts, books, and furniture, largely from the Whitehall Court flat.

The notion that Shaw was detached from the materiality of Shaw’s Corner and demonstrated an indifference to where he lived, is also problematized by the fact that over the decades he initiated many costly improvements to the property and endorsed various technologies for Shaw’s Corner associated with health, hygiene and progressive reform. In some cases these decisions were made in collaboration with Charlotte, but the majority were instigated by

²⁵ Shaw quoted in ‘Celebrities at Home, no. MCLIII: Mr. George Bernard Shaw in Adelphi Terrace, Strand,’ *The World*, 18 July 1900. Reprinted in A.M. Gibbs, ed., *Shaw: Interviews and Recollections* (Iowa: University of Iowa Press, 1990), 428.

²⁶ In an article for *Good Housekeeping* conducted at Adelphi Terrace for example, it was reported that Shaw stressed to the interviewer that ‘the room was his wife’s.’ Leonard Henslowe, ‘Bernard Shaw Vegetarian: An Interview’, *Good Housekeeping*, 45, 4 (4 October 1907), 370.

²⁷ Shaw quoted in ‘Celebrities at Home’, *The World*, 18 July 1900. Reprinted in Gibbs, *Bernard Shaw: A Life*, 271; also reprinted in Gibbs, *Interviews and Recollections*, 428.

²⁸ Shaw to Donald McLeod Matheson, 5 October 1943, in Dan H. Laurence, ed., *Bernard Shaw: Collected Letters 1926-1950, volume 4* (New York: Viking, 1988), 682. (Subsequent references to this four volume source are indicated by CL, followed by volume and page numbers). Shaw wrote to Nancy Astor: ‘I have to go down to Ayot next Thursday, the 21st, to shew the place to Hubert Smith of the National Trust, who says he met me at Cliveden.’ Shaw to Nancy Astor, 15 October 1943, quoted in J.P. Wearing, ed., *Bernard Shaw and Nancy Astor* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 141. Smith was the chief agent of the Trust in 1943.

Shaw. The changes made included up-to-date plumbing and drainage, the installation of an electricity plant, water purification, the selection of sanitary distemper for use in the house (instead of wallpaper), and the introduction of specially designed 'Vita' Glass windows to increase the penetration of the sun's rays. He also employed a joiner in 1906 to modify one of the main bedrooms so that it could be used as a dark room for his photography, and in 1925 the joiner was asked to erect a summer house for Charlotte, which was soon appropriated by Shaw as a 'writing hut', with its mechanism that allowed rotation to capture the maximum amount of sunshine. These improvements and changes are outlined in Appendix 2.

The remarks from figures such as Ervine and Purdom where the focus was on Shaw's perceived asceticism, frugality, utilitarian existence and lack of aesthetic feeling, were prefigured by Harold Nicolson, the Vice-Chairman of the National Trust Executive at the time of Shaw's death in 1950, who wrote disparagingly about the house and the artefacts in his diary: 'A hut in which he worked. Everything as he left it. Postcards, envelopes, a calendar marking the day of his death, curiously enough a Bible and prayerbook and Crockford's Directory, a pair of mittens...Shaw has left us nothing at all. The house is dreadful...' ²⁹ Nicolson disliked not only the house, but the artefacts. He believed the furniture to be of poor quality, complaining to his wife Vita Sackville-West that the artefacts were 'lodging-house. Not a single good piece.' ³⁰

Although Nicolson wrote enthusiastically that he had gained a sense of Shaw 'in the garden hut', he ultimately believed Shaw's Corner stood 'as an example of the nadir of taste to which a distinguished writer could sink.' ³¹ In 1944 James Lees-Milne (Secretary of the Historic Buildings Committee for the National Trust from 1936 to 1951) had visited Shaw's Corner when Shaw offered the house to the Trust, and voiced similar aesthetic concerns from the beginning: 'Shaw's Corner is a very ugly, dark red-brick villa...The quality of the contents of the [drawing-]room was on a par with that of the villa. Indifferent water-colours

²⁹ Harold Nicolson, Diary entry for 11 December 1950, quoted in Nigel Nicolson, ed., *Harold Nicolson, Diaries and Letters, III: The Later Years, 1945-1962* (New York and London: Atheneum, 1966), 196-97. Lewis Casson echoed these sentiments at the meeting held in 1951 to launch a Shaw Memorial Fund: the National Trust had made a serious error in taking on Shaw's Corner, a 'dreadful house.' Quoted in Michael Holroyd, *Bernard Shaw. Vols. 4 & 5, The Shaw Companion* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1992), 5. Subsequent references to this source (and the other 4 volumes of the Holroyd biography) are indicated by HOL, followed by volume and page numbers. Also quoted in Stanley Weintraub, ed., *Shaw An Autobiography 1898-1950* (London: Max Reinhardt, 1970), 292-93; in Gibbs, ed., *Shaw: Interviews and Recollections*, 535; and partly reproduced in Holroyd, 'Shaw at Shaw's Corner', 123-24.

³⁰ Harold Nicolson to Vita Sackville-West, quoted in Weintraub, *Bernard Shaw: A Guide to Research*, 4. Also quoted in Holroyd, 'Shaw at Shaw's Corner', 124.

³¹ Harold Nicolson, quoted in Holroyd, 'Shaw at Shaw's Corner', 124.

of the Roman Campagna, trout pools in cheap gilt frames... Two stiff armchairs before the fire and brass fender. A shoddy three-ply screen attached to the fireplace.³² Shaw's Corner was a 'horrid little house.'³³

Such derision based on judgements of taste had also characterized the negative response of the novelist and critic David Garnett, who described in 1962 a visit to Shaw's Corner in the 1930s. Garnett felt that the artefacts 'revealed in both of them an absolute absence of any visual taste... In none of the rooms I entered did I notice a single piece of good furniture. Carpets and wallpapers were hideous, mantelpieces and tables crowded with a clutter of souvenirs and bric-à-brac.'³⁴ Lord Grantley, the Managing Director of Pinewood Studios, employed equally disparaging language, recalling that Shaw 'had the most tasteless furnishings; the general impression being of a boarding house sprinkled with the souvenirs of a great man. There were doyleys under the cakes...It was only redeemed by the books and by Shaw himself.'³⁵

Contemporary press reports too were far from complementary. Even from the time of the opening in March 1951, *The Illustrated London News* reporter had concluded: 'despite the presence of many well-known portraits of G.B.S., many of his clothes and writing paraphernalia, the house seems curiously impersonal.'³⁶ By 1952, just sixteen months after the house opened to the public, articles were appearing in the press telling 'The sad story of Shaw's Corner'.³⁷ *John O' London's Weekly* sent the reporter Trevor Allen to Ayot, who informed his readers that the artefacts were at risk from damp, moth, and theft: the house was full of 'literary treasures and mementoes' which needed rescuing from 'musty, mothy obscurity.'³⁸ Allen's report included the following, which focused on 'treasures of immense literary value' and represented Shaw as a 'frugal' utilitarian figure obsessed with gadgets and

³² James Lees-Milne, 9 February 1944, in Michael Bloch, ed, *James Lees-Milne Diaries, 1942-1954* (London: John Murray, 2007), 134. Lees-Milne's views on Shaw's Corner had previously been published in James Lees-Milne, *Prophesying Peace: Diaries, 1944-45* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1977).

³³ James Lees-Milne, ed., *Writers at Home* (London: Trefoil Books, 1985), 16. As recently as 2002, Oliver Garnett made reference to Shaw's Corner as 'Shaw's defiantly untasteful home.' Oliver Garnett, *Living in Style: A Guide to Historic Decoration and Ornament* (London: National Trust, 2002), 175.

³⁴ David Garnett, quoted in Gibbs, *Interviews and Recollections*, 446.

³⁵ Lord Grantley (Richard Brinsley Norton), quoted in Gibbs, *Interviews and Recollections*, 447.

³⁶ 'To be a memorial and shrine for Shavians: "Shaw's Corner", now open to the public', *The Illustrated London News* (17 March 1951), 407. The house was officially opened on Saturday 17 March 1951, and was open to the public the following day.

³⁷ Trevor Allen, 'The sad story of Shaw's Corner', *John O'London's Weekly*, 61, 1,466 (15 August 1952), 761-62. Press cutting, Series XV, Box 60, Folder 54, Bernard F. Burgunder Collection of George Bernard Shaw (4617), Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. (Subsequent references to this source are indicated by BUR, followed by series, box, and folder numbers).

³⁸ Allen, 'The sad story of Shaw's Corner', 762.

filing systems:

The most important room, G.B.S.'s library-study, has a musty, mildewy corner. From it Mr. Bowker [custodian] took a volume, *Jeanne d'Arc*. Inside it was a loose sheaf of Shaw's notes and page-references, obviously a basis for *St. Joan*. Think of the value of that – and damp had already attacked it... That bookcase contains what other treasures, proof or inscribed copies?...

There was a box in which the frugal G.B.S. stored used paper-clips and other oddments, just as he kept postage-stamp edgings; in the desk drawers, a stack of his celebrated printed postcards and other personal miscellany; his camera, binoculars, and the scales he used for weighing letters... On the floor, his neat tool chest. A Negretti and Zambra weather-chart device for forecasting by barometer readings. A large metal filing cabinet with each drawer neatly labelled "keys and contraptions," etc. A bureau containing his bank passbook and other documents...

Allen blamed Shaw for the failure of Shaw's Corner, who 'left the bulk of his money for the propagation of a New Alphabet, none for endowing the house as a museum.'³⁹ Purdom observed that 'the number of visitors became so small that the receipts from their admission fees, approximately £400 in 1955, barely paid for the upkeep of the property.'⁴⁰

Shaw's Corner was eventually let by the Trust, and *The Shavian* reported that 'a large part of Shaw's belongings and furniture has now been dispossessed and carted away.'⁴¹ The tenant was Mr. C. J. Casserley, who moved to Shaw's Corner in August 1956, and wrote an article

³⁹ Allen, 'The sad story of Shaw's Corner', 762. Shaw had not provided an endowment to maintain the property, despite leaving a huge sum of over £367,000. Weintraub notes that the 'value of the estate was announced early in 1951 as amounting to £367,233 (then \$1,028,252.40), with a net value of £301,585, on which death duties of £180,571 were assessed.' Weintraub, 'Last Will and Testament' (Appendix I) in *Shaw: An Autobiography 1898-1950*, 292, n.2. Holroyd states that the gross value was 'equivalent to £5,000,000 in 1990'; see *HOL4&5*, 3. The final amount, according to Purdom, was £716,000 in 1961. It was the largest fortune left 'by any dramatist in history.' Purdom, *A Guide to the Plays*, 68.

⁴⁰ Purdom, *A Guide to the Plays*, 67. The Shaw Memorial Fund Appeal was launched in 1951, partly to provide for the upkeep of the house, but this failed to generate enough funds or support. According to Lees-Milne, Shaw had advised the National Trust to hold Shaw's Corner 'alienably, so that, supposing in twenty years we found that his name was forgotten, we could reap the benefit of selling it.' Lees-Milne, 9 February 1944, in *Diaries, 1942-1954*, 137. In case of difficulties, Shaw had informed Lees-Milne: 'The Trust can sell what is superfluous to pay for repairs.' Shaw to Lees-Milne, 12 August 1944, CL4, 722.

⁴¹ *The Shavian*, 8 (February 1957), 4-5. All that remained at the property were the contents of Shaw's study and writing hut. Purdom, *A Guide to the Plays*, 67.

on the house published in *The Listener* in October 1957,⁴² where he made derogatory remarks about the house and the ‘appalling’ interior decorations: ‘I can see why it was still available...the brown in particular was enough to send any self-respecting house-hunter running. It reminded one strongly of the nastier kind of institution and could, I feel, have been chosen only by a Fabian.’⁴³

Gerard Fay summarized the dominant view regarding Shaw’s Corner during the 1950s in a piece for *The Manchester Guardian* in 1958:

The National Trust hopefully kept it open, with “G.B.S.’s” housekeeper, Alice Laden, in charge. But visitors were rare and there was a loss on the house. Why did the visitors stay away? Partly because the village of Ayot St Lawrence is not easy to get to; secondly, because the word was quickly passed around that Shaw’s Corner was a very dull place except for the garden... The house baffles those who imagined that “G.B.S.” would have put some aesthetic feeling into his surroundings... Shaw’s personality, which shines out of his writings, left no trace in his home. Small rooms, undistinguished furnishings, a few pictures and photographs, a few books. Only in the little revolving garden house where he used to work in the sun was there any echo of the man and his trade. The simple chair and table, the few writing implements, the pile of unused paper could at least declare that their owner had been a writer, though they could say nothing at all of his qualities.⁴⁴

Dismissal of the value of Shaw’s artefacts in the press was influential and became the norm. Fay’s viewpoint was later echoed by Frank Vigor Morley in 1980, who declared: ‘Such circumstantial evidence as hats and writing tools have little bearing on the questions Shaw might have asked when alone in the summer-house hideaway.’⁴⁵ Fay and Morley here both reject the idea that artefacts can convey any authentic image of the ‘writer’. Such doubts were

⁴² C.J. Casserley, ‘Living at Shaw’s Corner’, *The Listener* (10 October 1957), 561-62. (The Mander & Mitchenson Theatre Collection, University of Bristol. Subsequent references to this source are indicated by MM). Casserley also broadcast a fifteen minute talk on Shaw’s Corner; see *The Shavian*, 11 (December 1957), 7.

⁴³ Casserley, ‘Living at Shaw’s Corner’, 561-62. The ‘brown’ paint Casserley refers to was evidently applied to the walls and joinery in the kitchen and scullery. Pale, neutral colours were used in the main rooms of the house however. See Appendix 2.

⁴⁴ Gerard Fay, ‘Slump in Shaw not absolute’, *The Manchester Guardian* (28 May 1958), 5. (MM).

⁴⁵ Frank Vigor Morley, *Literary Britain: A Reader’s Guide to Its Writers and Landmarks* (London: Hutchinson, 1980), 414.

a continuation of the fears that had been expressed in the late nineteenth-century when the new commercial genre of ‘at home’ photography made writers’ private interiors accessible to the public in Britain and France particularly, as Elizabeth Emery has explained in *Photojournalism and the Origins of the French Writer House Museum* (2012).⁴⁶ At that time there was a sense that a focus on ‘the visual and material components of a writer’s life detracts from the writing itself, a private act that cannot be visually inscribed in the house.’⁴⁷

Viewed alongside the myths of Shavian detachment and the biased opinions of the National Trust administrators and writers, a disavowal was enacted: a rejection of the artefacts and the interiors in which they were subsumed. The implication was on the one hand that Shaw’s identity as the ‘writer’, the great critic, essayist and playwright, was detached from (and should be kept apart from) association with domesticity and material things; whilst on the other hand his aesthetic sense and personal taste, displayed through the artefacts at Shaw’s Corner, was deemed deficient owing in part to his Fabian creed. Collectively this body of literature was problematic because it suggested to future scholars that there was very little of any significance to be learned about Shaw by studying his artefacts and domestic environments. When artefacts were mentioned, the focus was on manuscripts (‘literary treasures’) that were being placed at risk by the unsuitable conditions at Shaw’s Corner, or on objects that highlighted his Fabian life-style.

The negative literature on Shaw’s Corner contributed to the lack of interest shown in the house and its collections not only by Shavian scholars, but by art and design historians. Consequently Shaw’s many connections to the Arts and Crafts and Aestheticism, and his wide-ranging contributions to art and visual culture, have been missed or misunderstood. As I explain throughout the thesis, this gap in the knowledge has been compounded by the selling and discarding of possessions by Shaw himself, but mostly by the National Trust. The fact that the Shaw’s Corner household papers are largely in America added to the problem, resulting in lost contexts and the full extent of Shaw’s engagement with visual and material culture left unexplored.

Gibbs’s *Interviews and Recollections* (1990) included many of the deprecatory remarks made

⁴⁶ Elizabeth Emery argues that the genre became popular during the late 1880s through the work of Paul Cardon (‘Jules Dornac’) in France. Emery uses the term ‘at home’ photography first coined by Alison and Helmut Gernsheim. See Elizabeth Emery, *Photojournalism and the Origins of the French Writer House Museum (1881-1914): Privacy, Publicity, and Personality* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 67-69. See also Pamela J. Warner, ‘The Competing Dialectics of the *Cabinet de Travail*: Masculinity at the Threshold’, in *Interior Portraiture and Masculine Identity in France, 1789-1914*, ed. by Temma Balducci et al (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 159-76.

⁴⁷ Emery, *Photojournalism*, 222.

by Nicolson, David Garnett, and Lord Grantley concerning the artefacts, but few positive views were incorporated into his volume. Although Gibbs highlighted the importance of the writing hut and garden for Shaw (through the tributes written by his secretary Blanche Patch, his gardener Fred Drury, and the actress Lillah McCarthy⁴⁸), the more positive reminiscences mentioning the artefacts offered by others were excluded. The memoirs of Eileen O'Casey, for example, were far more appreciative: 'I said to myself, "This is no ordinary house – this is Shaw's home." Afternoon tea was served... cakes on a pretty cake stand, elegant china and a fine linen tablecloth and serviettes... The room was pleasantly furnished. I think I remember very pretty chair chintz chair covers. Sitting there one looked out on to the garden.'⁴⁹ Allan Chappelow's volume *Shaw the Villager and Human Being* (1962)⁵⁰ provided a much needed riposte to the negative statements being made in the British press and other literature during the 1950s and 1960s. Chappelow interviewed Shaw's friends and acquaintances in Ayot who had fond memories. James Thomas Williams, a fellow villager, recalled: 'I used to love looking at his books and papers in his study, and the sculptures of himself by Rodin and others.'⁵¹

Fay's notion that Shaw had lacked a sense of 'aesthetic feeling' and that this absence of taste was reflected in his home, dominated the literature on Shaw's Corner however. The dismissal of the house during the 1950s was centred upon the artefacts. We need to see the comments made by Nicolson, Garnett, Lees-Milne and Grantley as part of a gendered critique of 'feminine' artefacts, furnishings and taste, which focussed pejoratively on the doyleys, souvenirs, bric-à-brac, and 'lodging-house' furniture. When published, these views compounded the negative perception of Shaw's Corner being widely expressed in the media. This denigration of Shaw's Corner established a blueprint for future biographer's perceptions, as the following passage by Michael Holroyd from 1989 indicates: 'The Rectory was a fairly comfortable, fairly dismal house. Charlotte filled it with furniture – stiff armchairs, bureaux, beds: lodging-house objects with hardly a good piece among them... They had grown tired of

⁴⁸ Lillah McCarthy, Blanche Patch, and Fred Drury, quoted in Gibbs, *Interviews and Recollections*, 432; 436-37.

⁴⁹ Eileen O'Casey, *Cheerio, Titan: The Friendship between George Bernard Shaw and Eileen and Sean O'Casey* (New York: Macmillan, 1989), 2. Stanley Weintraub too has painted a much more positive picture by quoting from Lady Gregory's diary, providing a glimpse of her going to 'Ayot for the weekend in the midst of an early snowfall. In the house, "warm and bright with fires in every room and pots of chrysanthemums," Shaw reminisced to Lady Gregory of William Morris and read to her some of his recent writings.' Stanley Weintraub, *Journey to Heartbreak: The Crucible Years of Bernard Shaw 1914-1918* (New York: Weybright and Talley, 1971), 196.

⁵⁰ Allan Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager and Human Being: A Biographical Symposium* (New York: Macmillan, 1962).

⁵¹ James Thomas Williams, quoted in Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager*, 109.

house-hunting and the Rectory had been one of the few houses about which they agreed: neither of them liked it.⁵² This statement formed the basis for Holroyd's view expressed in his article 'Shaw at Shaw's Corner' in the Trust's volume *Writers at Home*.⁵³

For Holroyd the Shaws were associated with certain artefacts according to perceived gender-specific roles: Charlotte was automatically linked to the arrangement of the decorative items (and the selection of 'lodging-house' furniture and furnishings), whilst Shaw was kept separate from this and portrayed as a writer concerned with utilitarian 'Fabian' artefacts such as filing cabinets, more in tune with Webbian efficiency and austerity. Fabians such as Beatrice and Sidney Webb were famously mocked for advocating 'a good filing system.'⁵⁴ When Shaw's more decorative or artistic artefacts such as his sculpture, musical instruments and prints are mentioned by Holroyd they are discussed as if they are Charlotte's possessions. An example of this occurred during his account of the Shaws' move to Whitehall Court from Adelphi Terrace in 1927: 'Charlotte rearranged the furniture, positioned her Chinese pottery around it, and settled in the Dolmetsch clavichord, the Rodin bust, the Sartorio watercolour landscapes, the print of William Morris and other treasures.'⁵⁵ In contrast, Holroyd emphasized Shaw's pragmatic focus on the business of writing, describing the playwright's organization of the study in which he placed 'a dozen filing cabinets, hundreds of books, [and] a big flat-topped desk for himself.'⁵⁶

In 'Shaw at Shaw's Corner' Holroyd similarly characterized Shaw through practical artefacts such as his typewriter, 'propelling pencil', and 'boyish love of gadgets'; here too was the playwright as a man of action, chopping wood, represented as a 'fiery motorcyclist' with a love of motoring and cars.⁵⁷ The most enduring image of Shaw at Shaw's Corner however was expressed via the theme of asceticism: 'At Ayot he worked at the bottom of the garden in his revolving hut, furnished like a monk's cell (and sometimes mistaken for a toolshed) with its desk, chair and bunk.'⁵⁸ Holroyd however overlooked the historical evidence. Photographs of Shaw showed that the writing hut was personalized through numerous artefacts such as Morris & Co. covered cushions, and an expensive cup by the Arts and Crafts ceramicist

⁵² HOL2, 189.

⁵³ Holroyd, 'Shaw at Shaw's Corner', 126.

⁵⁴ Anthony Crosland, *The Future of Socialism*, 1956, quoted in Ian Britain, *Fabianism and Culture: A Study in British Socialism and the Arts 1884-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 143.

⁵⁵ HOL3, 138.

⁵⁶ HOL3, 138.

⁵⁷ Holroyd, 'Shaw at Shaw's Corner', 135; 139.

⁵⁸ Holroyd, 'Shaw at Shaw's Corner', 136.

Alfred Powell as I explain in chapter one. And as Ian Britain has explained, Shaw ‘openly criticized various forms of asceticism’ throughout his career in a variety of contexts.⁵⁹

Holroyd also ignored the fact that when Shaw was in the process of presenting Shaw’s Corner to the Trust (as ‘a Shaw birthplace’) he explained his aims for the property in a letter to Sydney Cockerell by focusing on the connoisseurial side to his personality: ‘I propose to leave it furnished and adorned with all the works of art and precious books that I do not dispose of otherwise.’⁶⁰ Yet the label ‘ascetic’⁶¹ ascribed to the playwright became one of the most firmly entrenched in the literature, whereby he was associated with Fabian socialism (as against Morrisian), and linked to abstemiousness, sobriety and self-sacrifice. Holroyd’s portrayal of Shaw I would suggest was also derived from the work by the historian Robert Skidelsky, who contributed an essay ‘The Fabian Ethic’ in Holroyd’s volume *The Genius of Shaw*.

Skidelsky used words such as ‘monasticism’ to describe the life-style led by Shaw and the Webbs, and in his view ‘the Fabians wanted to redirect the Puritan instincts from the service of God to the service of Humanity.’⁶² For Skidelsky Shaw was a ‘writing machine’, and ‘a lifelong follower of the “sanitary woollen system” devised by Dr Gustav Jaeger, who denounced the evil effects of cotton and linen.’⁶³ In terms of material artefacts mentioned in the literature, none displayed this so-called ‘Fabian ethic’ as clearly as Shaw’s Jaeger clothing, some of which survives at Shaw’s Corner. According to Skidelsky, Shaw was influenced by the socialist and moral reformer Edward Carpenter,⁶⁴ who adopted ‘an appropriate mental and bodily hygiene’ governed by the ‘right clothes and diet’⁶⁵ which encompassed vegetarianism and wearing wool. Ruth Livesey is another scholar who has

⁵⁹ Ian Britain, *Fabianism and Culture: A Study in British Socialism and the Arts 1884-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 145.

⁶⁰ Shaw to Sydney Cockerell, 14 July 1944, quoted in Viola Meynell, ed., *The Best of Friends: Further Letters to Sydney Carlyle Cockerell* (London: Hart-Davis, 1956), 124.

⁶¹ Sally Peters, *Bernard Shaw: The Ascent of the Superman* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), 39; 104; 146; 234; 259. See also Rod Preece, *Animal Sensibility and Inclusive Justice in the Age of Bernard Shaw* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011), 86.

⁶² Robert Skidelsky, ‘The Fabian Ethic’, in *The Genius of Shaw*, ed. by Michael Holroyd (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1979), 113.

⁶³ Skidelsky, ‘The Fabian Ethic’, 126.

⁶⁴ Shaw first met Carpenter, together with the Arts and Crafts practitioner C.R. Ashbee (who would later found the Guild of Handicraft) on 3 January 1886, at Kelmscott House. Carpenter gave a lecture on ‘Private Property’ for Morris’s Socialist League, and afterwards all three went to supper at Morris’s. See Shaw’s diary entry for 5 March 1888, in Stanley Weintraub, ed., *Bernard Shaw The Diaries, 1885-1897*, 2 vols. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986), 137. (Subsequent references to this source are indicated by BSD, followed by volume and page numbers). Shaw kept a diary from 1885-1897; and there was an unsuccessful attempt at keeping a diary in 1917.

⁶⁵ Skidelsky, ‘The Fabian Ethic’, 117.

applied the ‘Fabian ascetic’ label to Shaw in relation to his vegetarianism and Jaegerism, and has recently attempted to link what she terms his ‘ascetic bodily regimes’ to Carpenter. Both men are characterized as ‘faddist sages’ in her recent work *Socialism, Sex, and the Culture of Aestheticism in Britain* (2007).⁶⁶

I disagree with this facile coupling of Shaw with the Webbs and Carpenter. It is my aim throughout the thesis to overturn this notion of Shaw as a one-dimensional figure who can be perceived in an uncomplicated way as a Fabian socialist through certain artefacts. Such readings have given credence to misleading interpretations of Shaw and his relationship to the material world, which need to be problematized. There has been a tendency among scholars to overlook the importance of aesthetics and the sensual body in Shaw’s personal life. The position expressed via the plays and prefaces has legitimized the view that he perceived his own body negatively. Holroyd for example, felt that the automata in the final part of the *Back to Methuselah* cycle ‘As Far as Thought Can Reach’ conveyed Shaw’s ‘fastidious disgust at physical decay.’⁶⁷ As Glenn Clifton has argued in his work on Samuel Butler and Shaw, by the time Shaw writes *Back to Methuselah* (1920): ‘Shaw casts embodiment – the very fact that life is incarnated in a material form – as the chief antagonist to the evolutionary Life Force.’⁶⁸

Frank Kermode on the other hand has perceptively linked aesthetics and health in his assessment of Shaw. According to Kermode, Shaw was ‘seeking always the hard facts, yet always, in his own way, an aesthete. His arguments for vegetarianism have ethical and hygienic components but are mainly aesthetic (one remembers how pleased he was with Almroth Wright’s observation that hygiene was fundamentally a matter of aesthetics).’⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Ruth Livesey, *Socialism, Sex, and the Culture of Aestheticism in Britain, 1880-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 121. This idea of Shaw is often repeated in the literature where he is linked to Carpenter through ‘loose shirts, knee breeches and sandals’: see Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska, ‘Healthier and better clothes for men’: men’s dress reform in interwar Britain’, in *Consuming Behaviours: Identity, Politics and Pleasure in Twentieth-Century Britain*, ed. by Erika Rappaport et al (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 39. See also Virginia Smith, who describes ‘the beard-and-sandals vegetarian socialism of Bernard Shaw and members of the Fabian Society and their ‘set.’’ Virginia Smith, *Clean: A History of Personal Hygiene and Purity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 304.

⁶⁷ HOL3, 51. Other scholars have focused on ‘As Far as Thought Can Reach’ to endorse the position of Shaw as ‘the bloodless, cerebral, Fabian admirer of the interwar dictators’, whose work stands in direct contrast to that of William Morris, the ‘libertarian communist.’ David Goodway, *Anarchist Seeds beneath the Snow: Left-libertarian Thought and British Writers from William Morris to Colin Ward* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006), 177.

⁶⁸ Glenn Clifton, ‘An Imperfect Butlerite: Aging and Embodiment in Back to Methuselah’, in *SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies, Dilemmas and Delusions: Bernard Shaw and Health*, vol. 34, ed. by Christopher Wixson (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014), 109.

⁶⁹ Frank Kermode, ‘Georgian Eyes are Smiling: Shaw and Conrad in Their Letters’, in *The Uses of Error* (London: Collins, 1990), 248.

Shaw had described his friend the bacteriologist Wright as ‘the founder of the aesthetic theory of sanitation.’⁷⁰ ‘Now the triumph of sanitation was, as Sir Almroth Wright was the first to point out, a triumph of aestheticism.’⁷¹ I argue in chapter three that aesthetic concerns also underpin Shaw’s attitude towards his Jaeger clothes. One of the reasons for the misconceptions in the literature can be traced to Shaw’s own writings such as his article ‘The Religion of the Pianoforte’ (1894) where he emphasized ‘plain living’.⁷² But by this he did not mean asceticism. Shaw asks: ‘are we to deliberately reverse our Puritan traditions and aim at becoming a nation of skilled voluptuaries? Certainly.’⁷³ Beyond the Shavian tongue-in-cheek humour there was a serious message linked to his emerging Lamarckian theories: the ‘upward evolution of the race’ was dependent upon the ‘education of the senses.’⁷⁴

This article anticipates in theme and polemics Shaw’s most important piece of art criticism, his influential essay *The Sanity of Art* (1908 [1895]),⁷⁵ commissioned by the anarchist journal *Liberty* as a way of refuting the claims made by Max Nordau in his book *Degeneration* (1892) that various aspects of late nineteenth-century art and design, literature, and music were ‘degenerate.’⁷⁶ The importance of *The Sanity of Art*, together with ‘The Religion of the Pianoforte’, and the article Shaw would publish many years later for the *Britain Can Make It* exhibition held at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1946, which he

⁷⁰ Shaw, ‘The Aesthetic Man’, in *Everybody’s Political What’s What?* (London: Constable, 1945 [1944]), 178.

⁷¹ Shaw, ‘The Collective Statistician’, in *Everybody’s Political What’s What?*, 247.

⁷² Shaw, ‘The Religion of the Pianoforte’, *The Fortnightly Review*, February 1894, reprinted in Dan H. Laurence, ed., *Shaw’s Music: The Complete Musical Criticism of Bernard Shaw, vol.3, 1893-1950* (London: Max Reinhardt, 1981), 119.

⁷³ Shaw, ‘The Religion of the Pianoforte’, 119.

⁷⁴ Shaw, ‘The Religion of the Pianoforte’, 119.

⁷⁵ Shaw, *The Sanity of Art: An Exposure of the Current Nonsense about Artists being Degenerate* (London: The New Age Press, 1908 [1895]), 101. Shaw’s rejoinder to Max Nordau’s *Entartung* (published in English in 1895 as *Degeneration*) first appeared in the American anarchist Benjamin Tucker’s magazine *Liberty*, 27 July 1895 as ‘A Degenerate’s View of Nordau’. Shaw first met Tucker when the American visited Kelmescott House in 1889, in the company of Morris, Belfort Bax and May Morris. See Paul Avrich, *Anarchist Portraits* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988), 156. Shaw would later tell Harold Laski: ‘when I smashed up Max Nordau in a review now entitled *The Sanity of Art*, a job which Morris could not do himself but was very glad to have done for him, he admitted me at once to a real intimacy.’ Shaw to Harold Laski, 27 July 1945, CL4, 749.

⁷⁶ Extracts from Nordau’s *Degeneration* have been published in Charles Harrison et al, eds., *Art in Theory 1815-1900: An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 798-806. Extracts from Shaw’s response are included here: *The Sanity of Art* (Reply to Nordau), 806-12. Shaw’s essay *The Sanity of Art* has also been briefly mentioned in Kate Flint, ed., *Impressionists in England: The Critical Reception* (London: Routledge, 1984), 140-41.

titled ‘Aesthetic Science,’⁷⁷ lies in the fact that these writings defended and promoted an embodied response to artefacts and the material world. The improvements he envisaged for humanity (through what he would later term ‘creative evolution’⁷⁸) were firmly located in the realm of aesthetics and the sensual body.⁷⁹ Weintraub felt *The Sanity of Art* represented ‘as wide-ranging a claim for the importance of art in human life as he ever enunciated.’⁸⁰ According to Shaw’s theory, artists and craftsmen can supply us with artefacts such as ‘clothes and fine implements’ that provide comfort and pleasure, but the ‘great artist’ advances mankind, supplying artefacts that add a ‘fresh extension of sense to the heritage of the race.’⁸¹ These ‘holier’ artefacts embodied ‘a higher beauty’ and ‘usefulness’: consuming such things would improve the quality of life. The consumer was therefore assigned an important role in Shaw’s world.

An examination of Shaw’s artefacts throughout the thesis brings new knowledge about his consumption habits and taste, revealing that he was certainly not a man who completely sacrificed personal and individual pleasures for collectivist or ascetic ideals. The discourse in the literature however primarily characterizes Shaw through asceticism, and as a corollary to

⁷⁷ Shaw, ‘Aesthetic Science’, in *Design 46: A Survey of British Industrial Design as Displayed at the “Britain Can Make It” Exhibition*, ed. W.H. Newman (London: Council of Industrial Design, 1946), 143-44. The exhibition was held at the V&A from September to November 1946. Here Shaw cites Almoth Wright, who argued that ‘the effect of sanitation is aesthetic.’ Shaw, ‘Aesthetic Science’, 143. Shaw’s views on ‘art, science, and the “aesthetic” effect of sanitation’ were also published in *The Times* as ‘Contemporary Arts’, see Dan H. Laurence, ed., *Bernard Shaw: A Bibliography, vol.2* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 797. ‘Aesthetic Science’ was reprinted in Weintraub, LAS, 451-54.

⁷⁸ Judith Evans has argued that *The Sanity of Art* contained ‘the essence of Shaw’s thinking about creative evolution.’ Judith Evans, *The Politics and Plays of Bernard Shaw* (North Carolina and London: McFarland, 2003), 25.

⁷⁹ I cite from the following passage from *The Sanity of Art* throughout the thesis, as it helps clarify Shaw’s position: ‘The claim of art to our respect must stand or fall with the validity of its pretension to cultivate and refine our senses and faculties until seeing, hearing, feeling, smelling and tasting become highly conscious and critical acts with us, protesting vehemently against ugliness, noise, discordant speech, frowzy clothing, and re-breathed air, and taking keen interest and pleasure in beauty, in music, and in nature, besides making us insist, as necessary for comfort and decency, on clean, wholesome, handsome fabrics to wear, and utensils of fine material and elegant workmanship to handle. Further, art should refine our sense of character and conduct... The worthy artist or craftsman is he who serves the physical and moral senses by feeding them with pictures, musical compositions, pleasant houses and gardens, good clothes and fine implements, poems, fictions, essays, and dramas which call the heightened senses and ennobled faculties into pleasurable activity. The great artist is he who goes a step beyond the demand, and, by supplying works of a higher beauty and a higher interest than have yet to be perceived, succeeds, after a brief struggle with its strangeness, in adding this fresh extension of sense to the heritage of the race. This is why we value art: this is why we feel that the iconoclast and the Philistine are attacking something made holier, by solid usefulness, than their own theories of purity and practicality: this is why art has won the privileges of religion...’ Shaw, *The Sanity of Art*, 68-70. This passage has been quoted in Elsie B. Adams, *Bernard Shaw and the Aesthetes* (Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1971), 43-44; in Weintraub, LAS, 15-16; and in HOL1, 149-50.

⁸⁰ Weintraub, ‘Introduction: In the Victorian Picture Galleries’, in Weintraub, LAS, 15. The essay was written at the time when he was ‘at the height of his powers as a polemicist and critic of the arts.’ Holroyd, ‘Introduction’, in Michael Holroyd, ed., *Bernard Shaw: Major Critical Essays* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986), 9. This volume was originally published as Bernard Shaw, *Major Critical Essays* (London: Constable, 1932).

⁸¹ Shaw, *The Sanity of Art*, 69.

this is the theme of bodily disgust. Shavian scholars, particularly Sally Peters in *Bernard Shaw: The Ascent of the Superman* (1996), and Matthew Yde in *Bernard Shaw and Totalitarianism* (2013) have similarly outlined Shaw's sense of his own body in terms of 'disgust'.⁸² Peters maintained that Shaw wanted to forget 'the body, the essence of the material world.'⁸³ Shaw's clothing featured prominently in this discourse. According to Yde, Shaw's habits displayed 'his disgust at having a body at all,'⁸⁴ and his 'all-wool Jaeger suit'⁸⁵ was a means of governing his bodily instincts and desires. Peters viewed Shaw's Jaegerism as a response to 'a desperate revulsion from body and biology.'⁸⁶ Christopher Wixson felt that Shaw's 'sartorial preferences have proven as misguided as his beliefs on authoritarianism and eugenics;'⁸⁷ whilst J.P. Wearing argued there was a 'Spartan aspect to Shaw', which was evident through his 'Jaeger clothing.'⁸⁸

Both Peters and Yde have articulated this viewpoint as part of rather pessimistic or controversial interpretations of Shaw. Each has aimed at situating the playwright within psycho-social and/or ideological positions: on the one hand claiming that Shaw was a secret homosexual (Peters), and on the other that Shaw relentlessly pursued a programme of negative eugenics (Yde). Their arguments augment Holroyd's view that Shaw had a negative view of the body. However if we consider how Shaw cared for and promoted his own body through clothing and self-fashioning for example, and his fascination with commemorative statuary, we can see that he actually had a very positive view as I explain in chapter three.

The work of Yde and Peters underscores the dangers of employing overtly psychological or ideological interpretations with a slippery figure like Shaw, whose artfulness includes much in the way of self-mythologizing. As far as Shaw's psychological health has been documented, both these authors draw on the flawed thesis of Arnold Silver in *Bernard Shaw: The Darker Side* (1982) which insists on Shaw's 'unhappy childhood' as the source for the later 'painful experiences of his adulthood.'⁸⁹ Holroyd's biographies and other writings on Shaw are similarly governed by this impulse. Holroyd argued that Shaw's numerous portraits

⁸² Sally Peters, *Bernard Shaw: The Ascent of the Superman*, 119; 171. Matthew Yde, *Bernard Shaw and Totalitarianism: Longing for Utopia* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 137.

⁸³ Sally Peters, *Bernard Shaw: The Ascent of the Superman*, 73.

⁸⁴ Yde, *Bernard Shaw and Totalitarianism*, 137.

⁸⁵ Yde, *Bernard Shaw and Totalitarianism*, 80.

⁸⁶ Sally Peters, *Bernard Shaw: The Ascent of the Superman*, 73.

⁸⁷ Christopher Wixson, 'Dilemmas and Delusions: Bernard Shaw and Health', in *SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies, Dilemmas and Delusions: Bernard Shaw and Health*, vol. 34, ed. by Christopher Wixson (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014), 9.

⁸⁸ J.P. Wearing, ed., *Bernard Shaw and Nancy Astor*, xvi.

⁸⁹ Arnold Silver, *Bernard Shaw: The Darker Side* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982), 18.

and busts of himself on display at Shaw's Corner were placed there for two reasons: 'to show off his success at having orphaned himself from his parents...and to find an echo, in other people's reactions, of his own self-dislike.'⁹⁰

Gibbs's biography is far more balanced in this respect, and indeed his work stands as a riposte to what he perceives as Holroyd's specious 'psychoanalytical theory about Shaw's adult behaviour.'⁹¹ Gibbs felt that Holroyd's view here loaded 'the tenuous evidence with more weight than it can reasonably bear.'⁹² As Weintraub points out, analysing Shaw from 'a largely pathological and Freudian perspective, seeing Shaw's humanity as disabled by oedipal and related psychological disturbances'⁹³ results in an author such as Silver perceiving 'sadistic and even homicidal tendencies in Shaw'.⁹⁴ This has ultimately inspired Yde's rejoinder, which ignores the work that provides much evidence of Shaw's 'passion, humanity, and generosity'.⁹⁵ My argument here is that the latter is to be found in abundance if we study Shaw's material world at Shaw's Corner. More nuanced interpretations of the artefacts are needed.

Shaw has not been recognized in the literature as someone who engaged on a personal level with artefacts. Indeed his friend G.K. Chesterton remarked that as Shaw was a Fabian socialist 'he cares more for the Public Thing than for any private thing.'⁹⁶ It is important to situate the general scholarly neglect of Shaw's Corner historically as part of the wider failure among art and design historians, and some literary critics, to appreciate Shaw beyond Fabian ethics and politics. Shaw was in fact unique among his Fabian colleagues: a man who was interested in both high art and mass culture, capable of engaging with material culture in many different ways and on several different registers. Ever since his days as a novelist in the 1870s, Shaw had taken an extraordinary interest in everyday things in the material world that

⁹⁰ Holroyd, 'Shaw at Shaw's Corner', 128.

⁹¹ Gibbs, *Bernard Shaw: A Life*, 32; 467, note 66. Elsewhere Gibbs argued that Holroyd's biography displayed a 'tendentious selectivity in the use of source material.' A.M. Gibbs, *A Bernard Shaw Chronology* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 5.

⁹² Gibbs, *Bernard Shaw: A Life*, 33.

⁹³ Weintraub, *Bernard Shaw: A Guide to Research*, 29.

⁹⁴ Weintraub, *Bernard Shaw: A Guide to Research*, 29.

⁹⁵ Weintraub, *Bernard Shaw: A Guide to Research*, 29.

⁹⁶ G.K. Chesterton, quoted in HOL2, 214.

surrounded him, knowing the components of ‘Kamptulicon’⁹⁷ flooring for example, and the attributes of ‘Lincrusta Walton’⁹⁸ wallpaper. As a journalist he also had a masterful control and knowledge of the workings of the popular press and mass media, especially those reliant on new print technologies such as photojournalism, which he exploited in his own self-fashioning. As an art critic, he maintained a lifelong infatuation with art history and sculpture, abandoning everything to travel to Bruges for an exhibition of Flemish art in 1902,⁹⁹ and visiting France to photograph the Auguste Rodin *Monument to Claude Lorrain* in Nancy.¹⁰⁰

Elsie B. Adams’s *Bernard Shaw and the Aesthetes* (1971)¹⁰¹ and Ian Britain’s *Fabianism and Culture: A Study in British Socialism and the Arts 1884-1918* (1982)¹⁰² provide examples in the literature of specific attempts to demonstrate Shaw’s active participation in art and culture, with the former acknowledging Shaw’s close relationship to Morris and Aestheticism, whilst the latter claimed there were certain affinities in the theoretical positions of Morris and the Fabians. However despite the recognition by both authors that Morris influenced Shaw’s outlook, no illustrations were included, and the focus remained literary and theoretical.¹⁰³ These are examples of studies that would have been considerably enriched

⁹⁷ Shaw refers to ‘kamptulicon stained glass’ in his essay *The Sanity of Art*, 99. ‘Kamptulicon’ referred to the brand name for a form of early Victorian linoleum, decorated with superficial stencilled patterns. E. Galloway’s ‘Kamptulicon’ was patented in 1844; see Helen Long, *The Edwardian House: The Middle-class Home in Britain 1880-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 152-53. Shaw employs Kamptulicon metaphorically to contrast the imitative strategies of cheap, mass-produced stained glass against the simplicity and quality of the Morris & Co. hand-crafted stained glass. Shaw resembles his character Robert Smith in his novel *Immaturity* who has a ‘critical knowledge of carpets and oilcloths’, and spoke of a roll of oilcloth as having a ‘detestable pattern.’ Shaw, *Immaturity* (London: Constable, 1931 [1930], written in 1879), 11, 262. Smith initially worked for Messrs Figgis and Weaver, who were wholesale traders in oilcloths and carpets. Smith’s monicker is ‘The Drugget’: the name for a woven and felted coarse woollen fabric used as a floor covering.

⁹⁸ Shaw made satirical reference to ‘Lincrusta Walton’ in his stage directions for Act III of *You Never Can Tell* (1896): ‘He would, if his taste lay that way, admire the wall decoration of Lincrusta Walton in plum color...’ (I, 742). Lincrusta Walton was designed to imitate plaster relief or hand-tooled leather, and Shaw uses it in the play to highlight the pretentious taste on show in the Clandons’ sitting room.

⁹⁹ In September 1902, Shaw made a special trip to Bruges to see the *Exposition des Primitifs Flamands à Bruges* (Exhibition of Flemish Primitives at Bruges).

¹⁰⁰ Shaw took many photographs of Rodin’s *Monument to Claude Lorrain*, see for example NT Shaw Photographs 1715262.134; 1715375.154. These date to 1912. Shaw wrote to Rodin in 1913: ‘A year ago I spent a few hours in front of the Claude Gelée in Nancy.’ Shaw to Rodin, 24 May 1913, quoted in Claudine Mitchell, ed., *Rodin: The Zola of Sculpture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 172. Shaw’s images are similar to those taken during the 1890s by French photographers; see Ruth Butler, *Rodin: The Shape of Genius* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), 257.

¹⁰¹ Elsie B. Adams, *Bernard Shaw and the Aesthetes* (Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1971).

¹⁰² Ian Britain, *Fabianism and Culture: A Study in British Socialism and the Arts 1884-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

¹⁰³ Similarly Charles A. Carpenter’s *Bernard Shaw as Artist-Fabian* assumed a literary and theoretical perspective; see Charles A. Carpenter, *Bernard Shaw as Artist-Fabian* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009).

by the inclusion of artefacts from Shaw's Corner, engaging with Shaw's visual and material world that the house provides access to.

The view of Shaw as a Fabian has dominated the literature, and it is one that I aim to challenge here given that it has prevented other viewpoints and perspectives to come to the fore through the Shaw's Corner artefacts. J.G. Paul Delaney for example, wrote an article on Shaw's relationship with the artist, aesthete and connoisseur Charles Ricketts, and even felt the need to proclaim its implausibility in the title: 'Charles Ricketts and his unlikely friendship with George Bernard Shaw'.¹⁰⁴ Delaney writes: 'each sought to enhance the quality of life', and Ricketts achieved this through 'beauty' while Shaw turned to 'social reform'.¹⁰⁵ Delaney considers their friendship 'unlikely' because we have collectively been conditioned through the literature to view Shaw as a Fabian socialist, who would have little in common with a man who was an 'aesthete and elitist'.¹⁰⁶ Calloway too in his article on the Beardsley drawing at Shaw's Corner, provides the sort of stereotypical response that my thesis aims to problematize and interrogate, describing Shaw as 'emphatically not a decadent and with a distinct social and political agenda greatly at variance with their entirely Aesthetic ideals'.¹⁰⁷

Yet Shaw's connections to many aesthetes, architects, and craft practitioners including Morris, Powell, Walter Cave, Roger Fry, Beardsley, and Oscar Wilde, exhibited through some of the artefacts at Shaw's Corner, actually places him at the centre of issues discussed in more recent literature on Aestheticism and the Arts and Crafts movement, particularly the volume of essays edited by Jason Edwards and Imogen Hart *Rethinking the Interior* (2010).¹⁰⁸ These essays investigated the ways in which 'questions of beauty and utility, pleasure and politics'¹⁰⁹ were kept in tension, and it is precisely these kinds of tensions that inform Shaw's engagement with artefacts.

The lack of interest shown in Shaw's Corner by art and design historians in the literature has already been highlighted. However, over the last few years, scholars in the field of art history have gradually begun to appreciate Shaw's writings on the Arts and Crafts, and this new

¹⁰⁴ J.G. Paul Delaney, 'Charles Ricketts and his unlikely friendship with George Bernard Shaw', *The Pen: Broadsheet of the International English Centre of P.E.N.*, 15 (Autumn 1983), 3-5.

¹⁰⁵ Delaney, 'Charles Ricketts and his unlikely friendship with George Bernard Shaw', 3.

¹⁰⁶ Delaney, 'Charles Ricketts and his unlikely friendship with George Bernard Shaw', 3.

¹⁰⁷ Calloway and Owens, 'A 'lost' Beardsley drawing rediscovered', 54.

¹⁰⁸ Jason Edwards and Imogen Hart, eds., *Rethinking the Interior, c.1867-1896: Aestheticism and Arts and Crafts* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

¹⁰⁹ Edwards and Hart, *Rethinking the Interior*, 10.

interest in the literature has arisen as a result of more extensive investigation into the interiors and artistic activities of Shaw's friends (artist-craftsmen such as Morris and Walter Crane), but also as part of a wider recognition of the cross-overs between Socialism and Aestheticism, which include consumption. For art historians such as Morna O'Neill and Imogen Hart, analysing the historiography has revealed Shaw as a frequent and valuable commentator on the art of Crane and Morris respectively.¹¹⁰

Hart's work *Arts and Crafts Objects* (2010)¹¹¹ is particularly important in that it recognizes the focus on visual analysis in Shaw's writings on Morris, and uses several pertinent quotations from Shaw's essay 'Morris as I Knew Him' (1936).¹¹² Although Hart does not refer to Shaw directly as a connoisseur (she reserves that term for Morris¹¹³), there is at least an awareness of his attention to 'artistic taste', and she highlights his characterization of the Morris interior where he observes 'an extraordinary discrimination at work.'¹¹⁴ However her assessment of Shaw ascribing 'aesthetic value to the 'necessary' as well as the 'beautiful' components of Morris's home,'¹¹⁵ which I uphold, is not contextualized in terms of Shaw's personal artefacts, thus she is unable to comment on the ambiguities and inconsistencies that distinguish his sense of beauty, utility, and attitude towards consumption. I discuss these issues in chapter one.

Shaw's relationship to artefacts on one level embodies the significant point made by Edwards and Hart in *Rethinking the Interior* (2010): 'Aestheticism is more political and Arts and

¹¹⁰ Morna O'Neill, *Walter Crane: The Arts and Crafts, Painting, and Politics, 1875-1890* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 121; and Imogen Hart, *Arts and Crafts Objects* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 88-89; 100; 102.

¹¹¹ Hart revised and expanded chapter two of *Arts and Crafts Objects* ('The Homes of William Morris'), and it was subsequently published as 'An 'Enchanted Interior': William Morris at Kelmscott House', in *Rethinking the Interior, c.1867-1896: Aestheticism and Arts and Crafts*, ed. by Jason Edwards and Imogen Hart (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 67-83.

¹¹² Shaw, 'Morris as I Knew Him' (London: William Morris Society, 1966, [1936]), 22. Shaw's essay was originally published as an introductory preface to Volume Two of *William Morris: Artist, Writer, Socialist*, ed. May Morris (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1936). Volume One remains in the library (NTIN 3063415), and bears an inscription from May Morris to Shaw: 'To G. Bernard Shaw. Affectionate remembrances from May Morris, 1 July 1936.' (Volume Two is missing). Shaw viewed 'Morris as I Knew Him' as one of his key 'autobiographical' texts, alongside the preface to *London Music*, his letters to Ellen Terry, and his preface to *Immaturity*. He declared: 'Anyone who reads these documents... will know as much as need be known of my personal circumstances.' Shaw to St John Ervine, 11 May 1936, CL4, 428-29.

¹¹³ Hart, *Arts and Crafts Objects*, 100.

¹¹⁴ Hart, *Arts and Crafts Objects*, 88, 102.

¹¹⁵ Hart, *Arts and Crafts Objects*, 89.

Crafts more aesthetic than standard accounts have tended to allow.’¹¹⁶ Edwards and Hart draw on the work of Regenia Gagnier who classified ‘Ruskin, Morris and Wilde as ‘three of the greatest aesthetes’ and ‘social critics’ of Victorian industrial capitalism,’¹¹⁷ and I maintain that all three had a lasting influence on Shaw. I discuss the work of several authors from *Rethinking the Interior* in my consideration of Shaw’s artefacts, including Hart, Anne Anderson, O’Neill, John Potvin, and Martina Droth.¹¹⁸ There are also the challenging volumes by Livesey¹¹⁹ and Rachel Teukolsky¹²⁰ working in the discipline of literary studies. The latter two texts are more theoretical and do not pay such close attention to artefacts; nevertheless they provide further evidence of the necessary dissolution of the boundaries between Arts and Crafts and Aestheticism in the literature. What is important here is the recognition, following Gagnier, that the dominant force of late nineteenth-century culture was consumption, rather than production.¹²¹ But whereas a figure like Wilde¹²² has been identified as a key commentator on art and politics from the perspective of the consumer, Shaw has not.

Shaw’s interests straddle the main tenets of socialism and Aestheticism as far as the visual arts and aesthetics are concerned, and this is reflected in his artefacts. In this sense we might compare him to Morris, or indeed to Roger Fry whose aesthetics owed a debt to both Morris

¹¹⁶ Edwards and Hart, *Rethinking the Interior*, 8. Design historians such as Charlotte Gere, Lesley Hoskins and Lionel Lambourne writing about the Aesthetic Movement in the late twentieth century, placed an emphasis on beauty rather than politics, with Lambourne merely commenting in passing that it was a ‘curious fact’ that Wilde, Edward Carpenter and Crane ‘shared socialist views.’ Lionel Lambourne, *The Aesthetic Movement* (London: Phaidon, 1996), 151. The same criticism can be applied to Charlotte Gere and Lesley Hoskins, *The House Beautiful: Oscar Wilde and the Aesthetic Interior* (Aldershot: Lund Humphries, 2000); the only mention of Wilde’s ‘The Soul of Man under Socialism’ occurs in David Dewing’s introduction. In Lambourne’s text, Shaw is only very briefly discussed in relation to Florence Farr, and Max Beerbohm.

¹¹⁷ Edwards and Hart, *Rethinking the Interior*, 10, quoting Regenia Gagnier, ‘A Critique of Practical Aesthetics’, in George Levine, ed., *Aesthetics and Ideology* (New Brunswick: Rutgers, 1994), 264-83.

¹¹⁸ See Hart, ‘An ‘Enchanted Interior’: William Morris at Kelmscott House’; Anne Anderson, ‘Fearful Consequences...of Living up to One’s Teapot’: Men, Women and ‘Cultchah’ in the Aesthetic Movement’; Morna O’Neill, ‘Paintings from Nowhere: Walter Crane, Socialism and the Aesthetic Interior’; John Potvin, ‘The Aesthetics of Community: Queer Interiors and the Desire for Intimacy’; and Martina Droth, ‘Sculpture and Aesthetic Intent in the Late-Victorian Interior’. These five essays have been published in *Rethinking the Interior, c.1867-1896: Aestheticism and Arts and Crafts*, ed. by Jason Edwards and Imogen Hart (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

¹¹⁹ Ruth Livesey, *Socialism, Sex, and the Culture of Aestheticism in Britain, 1880-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). I discuss Livesey’s work in greater detail in chapter three.

¹²⁰ Rachel Teukolsky, *The Literate Eye: Victorian Art Writing and Modernist Aesthetics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

¹²¹ Regenia Gagnier, *Idylls of the Marketplace: Oscar Wilde and the Victorian Public* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 1986). The relationship between Aestheticism and commodity culture has been explored most recently in Lee Glazer and Linda Merrill, eds., *Palaces of Art: Whistler and the Art Worlds of Aestheticism* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 2013).

¹²² See Paul L. Fortunato, *Modernist Aesthetics and Consumer Culture in the Writings of Oscar Wilde* (London: Routledge, 2007). See also Marcus Waithe, ‘William Morris and the House Beautiful’, in *Oscar Wilde in Context*, ed. by Kerry Powell and Peter Raby (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 88-100; and Livesey, *Socialism*, 38.

and Walter Pater.¹²³ There was also of course John Ruskin. Jonathan Freedman argued in his study of Henry James that Aestheticism in England never actually renounced Ruskin's 'social commitment or his understanding of the political obligations of the artist.'¹²⁴ We should take note here of Peter Gahan's assessment of the dual aesthetic influences that forged the character of Count O'Dowda in *Fanny's First Play* (1911), Ruskin and Pater: 'The comedy of the Count in Shaw's play comes from his being both a Ruskinite and Pateresque aesthete, but at different times.'¹²⁵ Given that I read O'Dowda as a partial self-portrait, I suggest these dual influences can be seen in Shaw's interest in the arts and material culture, informing his role as connoisseur and patron, affecting the selection of artists he chooses to support, and the artefacts he commissions and purchases.

Certain scholars however have been keen to create distance between Shaw and Pater, and as part of this dissociation, between Shaw and Wilde. According to David J. Gordon 'Shaw disliked the doctrine of aestheticism that Wilde had taken over and developed from Walter Pater.'¹²⁶ Harold Bloom too believed Shaw 'felt deeply menaced by the Aesthetic vision of which his Socialism never quite got free,'¹²⁷ and argued that Shaw took from Ruskin his 'Fabian Evolution'¹²⁸ (but not the Ruskinian aesthetics that inspired Pater and Wilde). It is true that Shaw frequently cited Ruskin in his writings on economics in relation to the role of the artist in consumer society. Economics had to underpin art.¹²⁹ Ruskin he observed, 'beginning as an artist with an interest in art – exactly as I did myself...was inevitably driven back to economics, and to the conviction that your art would never come right whilst your

¹²³ Morna O'Neill, 'Introduction: Our Sense of the Edwardians', in *The Edwardian Sense: Art, Design, and Performance in Britain, 1901-1910*, ed. by Morna O'Neill and Michael Hatt (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 3. O'Neill here draws on the writings of Livesey (who sees parallels in certain writings of Morris and Fry), and Elizabeth Prettejohn (who has noted connections between Pater and Fry); see Livesey, *Socialism*, 221-23; and Elizabeth Prettejohn, 'Out of the Nineteenth Century: Roger Fry's Early Art Criticism, 1900-1906,' in *Art Made Modern: Roger Fry's Vision of Art*, ed. by Christopher Green (London: Merrell Holberton, 1999), 31-44.

¹²⁴ Jonathan Freedman, *Professions of Taste: Henry James, British Aestheticism and Commodity Culture* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), 12.

¹²⁵ Peter Gahan, 'Ruskin and Form in *Fanny's First Play*', in *SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, vol. 15, ed. by Fred D. Crawford (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 89.

¹²⁶ David J. Gordon, 'Shavian comedy and the shadow of Wilde', in *The Cambridge Companion to George Bernard Shaw*, ed. by Christopher Innes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 126.

¹²⁷ Harold Bloom, ed., *Modern Critical Views: George Bernard Shaw* (New York: Chelsea House, 1987) quoted in Gordon, 'Shavian comedy and the shadow of Wilde', 128.

¹²⁸ Harold Bloom, quoted in Gordon, 'Shavian comedy and the shadow of Wilde', 140.

¹²⁹ Shaw made his case: 'I go to the Scuola di San Rocco [in Venice] and look at the ceiling painted there by Tintoretto, because it is one of the treasures of the world. But that ceiling cannot be sold to the market. It has no exchange value.' Shaw, *Ruskin's Politics* (London: The Ruskin Centenary Council, 1921), 15. In the library at Shaw's Corner there are five copies of *Ruskin's Politics*, a lecture given by Shaw at the Ruskin Centenary Exhibition held at the Royal Academy in 1919. (NTIN 3062980; 3063095; 3194494; 3194495; 3194496). The lecture was given 21 November 1919. See Gibbs, *A Bernard Shaw Chronology*, 235.

economics were wrong.’¹³⁰ But it is equally the case that Shaw shared similarities with Wilde, and these become evident by studying the artefacts. Julia Skelly has commented that Wilde ‘wore expensive clothes [and] bought expensive books’,¹³¹ yet she could be describing Shaw here, as I explain in chapters two and three.

In defining Shaw’s relationship to artefacts, it is imperative to note that he began as an artist, interested in socialism via art, not by way of the statistical survey or tract as was the case with Beatrice and Sidney Webb.¹³² Despite Shaw’s protestations on paper, there is always room for the aesthete to find expression in his visual and material world. Weintraub observed that the late nineteenth-century Aesthetic movement ‘had a profound and continuing impact upon Shaw the playwright.’¹³³ And more importantly for a reading of Shaw’s persona, Elsie B. Adams noted that Shaw had many ‘characteristics of the fin-de-siècle aesthete.’¹³⁴ I argue that these dual positions (the economist and the aesthete) inform his relationship to artefacts. The ambiguities, contradictions and conflicts I perceive embody debates on the role of art, craft, beauty, luxury, elite consumption, utility, economics, and morality.

Shaw would humorously identify himself with the philosophies and ideals of the seventeenth-century,¹³⁵ and I suggest there was actually much truth in this behind the facetious facade. At times, Shaw’s portrayal of artefacts in his writings echoes the seventeenth-century moralist or Censor described by Jules Lubbock in *The Tyranny of Taste*: ‘In the area of personal consumption, although there were no more sumptuary laws, the moralist, the Censor, was there to restrain the excessive idolatry of worldly things...attempting to reform both the appearance of and people’s attitude to material things through the exercise of a form of taste which was both moral and aesthetic.’¹³⁶ As Deborah Cohen observed, ‘since the days of the

¹³⁰ Shaw, *Ruskin’s Politics*, 19-20. It was a dogma he would often repeat, as a later letter to Virginia Woolf indicates: ‘nothing fundamental can be done by art until the economical problem is solved.’ Shaw to Virginia Woolf, 10 May 1940, CL4, 557. I discuss this letter and the context it references in chapter one.

¹³¹ Julia Skelly, ‘Introduction: The Uses of Excess’, in *The Uses of Excess in Visual and Material Culture, 1600-2010*, ed. by Julia Skelly (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 10.

¹³² This point is made by Lloyd J. Hubenka, ed. *Bernard Shaw Practical Politics: Twentieth-Century Views on Politics and Economics* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1976), xiii.

¹³³ Weintraub, LAS, 31.

¹³⁴ Elsie B. Adams, *Bernard Shaw and the Aesthetes*, 152; 155.

¹³⁵ Shaw, ‘Foundation Oration’, lecture given before the Union Society of University College, London, 18 March 1920, reprinted in Dan H. Laurence, ed., *Bernard Shaw: Platform and Pulpit* (London: Hart-Davis, 1962), 145. Shaw’s references to the seventeenth century are quoted in chapters one and two.

¹³⁶ Jules Lubbock, *The Tyranny of Taste: The Politics of Architecture and Design in Britain 1550-1960* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 112-13.

Puritans, pious Britons had worried about the corrupting influence of luxury.’¹³⁷

Shaw’s perspective also evokes the ‘Luxury Debate’ of the eighteenth-century, which as Lubbock shows, was at the root of design reform when ideas about ‘Good Design’ were formulated in the nineteenth-century. ‘Good Design’ was concerned with taste and civility: ‘improving, reforming and coercive.’¹³⁸ Owing to his expertise in political economy, Shaw was familiar with thinkers such as the economist Adam Smith, and the philosopher David Hume, and he would have been aware of the debates that had ‘distinguished between ‘new’ and ‘old’ luxury.’¹³⁹ As Maxine Berg states, ‘the moral discourse critical of ‘old luxury’ shifted to a new political economy of trade and industry.’¹⁴⁰ Shaw’s attitude towards artefacts however is often dualistic: reflecting an endorsement of Smith’s early work *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) which expressed ideas on consumer taste that linked beauty to utility,¹⁴¹ but equally, like (the later) Smith, and Hume, he saw the advantages of the new consumption economy. Hume felt that ‘unconstrained consumption of luxury goods... would produce a society at once more humane and more cultivated.’¹⁴² Hence we see contrasting views on the consumer in Shaw’s writings: in the preface to *Three Plays for Puritans* (1900) the pleasure-seeker is mocked; whilst in the preface to *Androcles and the Lion* (1912) those who consume things beyond necessity are celebrated in a section entitled ‘Money the Midwife of Scientific Communism.’ (IV, 530-32).

In the literature on Shaw, only Rod Preece has noted the importance of consumption, contrasting the playwright’s spending with Carpenter’s frugality: ‘Carpenter believed society needed greatly reduced consumption, whereas Shaw himself was a high consumer of material goods.’¹⁴³ Preece observed that Shaw ‘rode in a chauffeur-driven Rolls Royce.’¹⁴⁴ We must remember too that Shaw lived during the decades of what various scholars have identified as

¹³⁷ Deborah Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), ix.

¹³⁸ Lubbock, *The Tyranny of Taste*, 22.

¹³⁹ Maxine Berg, ‘Luxury, the Luxury Trades, and the Roots of Industrial Growth: A Global Perspective’, in *The Oxford Handbook of The History of Consumption*, ed. by Frank Trentmann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 180.

¹⁴⁰ Berg, ‘Luxury, the Luxury Trades, and the Roots of Industrial Growth: A Global Perspective’, 180.

¹⁴¹ Stacey Sloboda, ‘Porcelain bodies: gender, acquisitiveness, and taste in eighteenth-century England’, in *Material Cultures, 1740-1920: The Meanings and Pleasures of Collecting*, ed. by John Potvin and Alla Myzelev (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 32.

¹⁴² Lubbock, *The Tyranny of Taste*, 113.

¹⁴³ Preece, *Animal Sensibility and Inclusive Justice in the Age of Bernard Shaw*, 218.

¹⁴⁴ Preece, *Animal Sensibility and Inclusive Justice in the Age of Bernard Shaw*, 218.

the ‘consumerist turn’ (the 1870s through to the 1920s).¹⁴⁵ I explore Shaw’s relationship to luxury artefacts in chapter one, and how he negotiates the potential conflicts and contradictions. Shaw’s complexities in this regard are not teased out in the literature owing to the fact that the artefacts at Shaw’s Corner have not been the subject of serious analysis or thorough contextualization.

In the domain of literary studies, both Livesey and Elizabeth Carolyn Miller¹⁴⁶ persistently align Shaw with the Fabians which I find problematic given that he distanced himself from the group in cultural terms, often referring to them as ‘Philistines’.¹⁴⁷ Livesey finds evidence of a ‘utilitarian approach to aesthetics’ among Shaw and the Fabians whose aim was always, she claims, the ‘reduction of aesthetics to a functional social good.’¹⁴⁸ O’Neill’s focus is similarly on Shaw as a Fabian who calls ‘for art to serve as social wealth, the means by which individual property can be transformed into public good.’¹⁴⁹ Whilst Livesey notes the ‘fusion of questions of artistic production, taste, and the nature of beauty with capitalism, class-consciousness, and revolution’¹⁵⁰ in the late nineteenth century, she is keen to uphold Shaw’s place as a ‘gas and water’ socialist. Once we examine his relationship to the artefacts he actively purchased and engaged with at Shaw’s Corner, the pitfalls involved in approaching a figure like Shaw predominantly from the perspective of literary studies become apparent.¹⁵¹

O’Neill has recently uncritically quoted Livesey’s statement above where Shaw is placed alongside the Fabians with their emphasis on utility.¹⁵² This forms part of her introduction to a volume of essays *The Edwardian Sense: Art, Design, and Performance in Britain, 1901-1910* (2010), edited with Michael Hatt, which examines some of the intellectual, political and aesthetic cross-overs within the culture of the Edwardian period. Whilst this book has proved invaluable as a resource for contextualizing the many issues and debates Shaw becomes

¹⁴⁵ See Remy G. Saisselin, *Bricabracomania: The Bourgeois and the Bibelot* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), Janell Watson, *Literature and Material Culture from Balzac to Proust: The Collection and Consumption of Curiosities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), and more recently Simone Francescato, *Collecting and Appreciating: Henry James and the Transformation of Aesthetics in the Age of Consumption* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010).

¹⁴⁶ Elizabeth Carolyn Miller, *Slow Print: Literary Radicalism and Late Victorian Print Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013).

¹⁴⁷ One example of Shaw’s use of the term occurs in a letter to the political scientist and Fabian Harold Laski, 27 July 1945, CL4, 749.

¹⁴⁸ Livesey, *Socialism*, 195.

¹⁴⁹ O’Neill, *Walter Crane: The Arts and Crafts, Painting, and Politics, 1875-1890*, 121.

¹⁵⁰ Livesey, *Socialism*, 5. The phrase ‘gas and water socialism’ was used by Morris to ridicule the Fabians.

¹⁵¹ To some extent this also applies to the recent volume on Shaw: Brad Kent, ed., *George Bernard Shaw in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015). Weintraub aside, most of the scholars working on Shaw have been from the fields of drama/literary studies.

¹⁵² O’Neill, ‘Introduction: Our Sense of the Edwardians’, 5, quoting Livesey, *Socialism*, 195.

involved with in interdisciplinary contexts during this period, there is little on Shaw's specific involvement in the world of art and design. The exceptions to this are Christopher Reed's inclusion of the Fabian stained glass window in his essay,¹⁵³ and Andrew Stephenson's mention of Shaw's imitation of the pose of Rodin's *Thinker* in a photograph by Alvin Langdon Coburn.¹⁵⁴

In *The Edwardian Sense* O'Neill primarily assesses Shaw from the perspective of the theatre, or as a Fabian. Although she acknowledges Shaw's essay *The Sanity of Art* and his support of Impressionism,¹⁵⁵ because she is unaware of his collaboration with Roger Fry (endorsing Fry's aesthetics through his patronage of the Omega Workshops and purchase of a tray by Vanessa Bell), her work does not problematize the habitual association of Shaw with the Fabians in the literature. Thus collectively, in her view, Shaw and the Webbs 'represent the modernity that Fry derided.'¹⁵⁶ Likewise Livesey, who despite recognizing the fact that Fry wrote to Shaw for support when forming the Omega Workshops, did not discuss Shaw's ongoing participation in Fry's project, preferring to classify him through the 'pragmatic Edwardian socialism' of the Webbs.¹⁵⁷

The Edwardian Sense is actually indicative of a more detailed and far-reaching study of the visual culture of the Edwardian period in the recent literature, embodied in spectacular form by the exhibition organized by the Yale Center for British Art entitled *Edwardian Opulence*

¹⁵³ Christopher Reed reproduces an image of *The Fabian Society Window* (on loan to the LSE Shaw Library from the Webb Memorial Trust). Christopher Reed, 'Enduring Evanescence and Anticipated History: The Paradoxical Edwardian Interior', in *The Edwardian Sense: Art, Design, and Performance in Britain, 1901-1910*, ed. by Morna O'Neill and Michael Hatt (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 177-78. However some of the information he provides is incorrect. Reed credits Shaw as 'designer', but the window was designed and executed in the Arts and Crafts style by the stained-glass artist Caroline Townshend, who was Charlotte Shaw's cousin. See Peter Cormack, *Women Stained Glass Artists of the Arts and Crafts Movement*, quoted in Jane Beckett and Deborah Cherry, eds., *The Edwardian Era* (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1987), 130. Charlotte commissioned the window in 1910. It was titled 'Fabians at the Forge', with probable input from Shaw regarding the facetious iconography. Shaw's pose as a 'craft-worker' mocks Crane's heroic Ruskinian craftsman used as an emblem on the Hammersmith Branch Socialist League membership card. Reed states that Shaw is depicted in the lower left corner of the window, and Charlotte in the right, but this is not the case. The Fabians represented appear as follows: Shaw, Sidney Webb, and Edward Pease (the large figures working the forge in the main space of the window); at the lower level were (left to right) H.G. Wells, Charles Charrington, Aylmer Maude, G. Sterling Taylor, Lawson Dodd, Mrs. Pember Reeves, Miss Hankin, Miss Mabel Atkinson, Mrs. Boyd Dawson, and Caroline Townshend. (Source: Archibald Henderson, *Bernard Shaw: Playboy and Prophet* (New York and London: Appleton, 1932), reproduced facing page 202). The window was illustrated in *The Sketch* magazine, 11 January 1911, (LSE Archive E/121/4).

¹⁵⁴ Andrew Stephenson, 'Edwardian Cosmopolitanism, ca. 1901-1912', in *The Edwardian Sense: Art, Design, and Performance in Britain, 1901-1910*, ed. by Morna O'Neill and Michael Hatt (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 273.

¹⁵⁵ O'Neill, 'Introduction: Our Sense of the Edwardians', 5.

¹⁵⁶ O'Neill, 'Introduction: Our Sense of the Edwardians', 4.

¹⁵⁷ Livesey, *Socialism*, 205, 221.

(2013).¹⁵⁸ The fact that Shaw, famed for his Fabian socialism, so-called ‘hygienic’ dress and ‘ascetic’ lifestyle, appears in such a volume dedicated to the exploration of opulence and leisure, connoisseurship, consumption and display, has not been commented upon, although I would argue that it is most fitting that he is included in this context. He features here largely in the discussions of photography, particularly in his role as a model for Coburn.¹⁵⁹

Although certain art historians such as Hart and O’Neill have acknowledged Shaw as a valuable commentator on the Arts and Crafts as I have indicated, his connections to connoisseurship and to collectors have only been mentioned in passing, and this is another aspect of the Shaw’s Corner artefacts that has not been investigated. Stella Panayotova¹⁶⁰ noted Shaw’s visit to the Musée Condé in Chantilly with Sydney Cockerell in 1906 where they viewed the Très Riches Heures of Jean, Duc de Berry.¹⁶¹ However no scholar has studied him as a ‘connoisseur’, or ‘collector’, and noted the crucial connections between what Shaw viewed in various museums and art galleries, and then displayed either on stage or at Shaw’s Corner.

Shaw’s connoisseurial interests were closely linked to his work as an art critic. Shaw’s writings on art were published in *Bernard Shaw on the London Art Scene* (1989),¹⁶² and his substantial range of networks and friendships with those immersed in the worlds of art and design is explored throughout the thesis.¹⁶³ Shaw was in touch with some of the most forward-thinking and influential artists, craftsmen, designers, museum curators, gallery owners, art historians and art critics of his time, across a vast period spanning the 1880s through to the 1940s, including William Morris, May Morris, Walter Crane, Emery Walker, Philip Webb, Harry Peach, Douglas Cockerell, Katharine Adams, John Paul Cooper, Arnold Dolmetsch, Alfred and Louise Powell, Oscar Wilde, Robert Ross, Aubrey Beardsley, Dugald Sutherland MacColl, Frederick H. Evans, Alvin Langdon Coburn, William Rothenstein,

¹⁵⁸ Angus Trumble and Andrea Wolk Rager, eds., *Edwardian Opulence: British Art at the Dawn of the Twentieth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013).

¹⁵⁹ Trumble and Wolk Rager, *Edwardian Opulence*, 213.

¹⁶⁰ Stella Panayotova, *I Turned it into a Palace’: Sydney Cockerell and the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 2008), 173.

¹⁶¹ A copy was listed in the Adelphi Terrace Inventory as ‘Heurs – Duc du Barry.’ (Inventory and Valuation of property at 10 Adelphi Terrace, London, March 1908, f.48). The Inventory listed the contents of the Shaws’ London flat at Adelphi Terrace, and was taken for the purposes of fire insurance in 1908 by Waring and Gillow. The document was described as an ‘inventory and valuation of furniture, fixtures, linen, china and glass, ornamental items, bronzes, statuary, silver, electric plate, books, pictures and household equipment’. (BUR, Series XXI, Bound Manuscripts 25).

¹⁶² Stanley Weintraub, ed., *Bernard Shaw on the London Art Scene 1885-1950* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989).

¹⁶³ The sources for tracing these friendships and networks are Shaw’s diaries and art criticism (both edited by Weintraub), and Shaw’s address books covering the periods 1883-1950 in the BL. (BL Add. MS 50715-50718).

Augustus John, Auguste Rodin, John Lavery, Kathleen Scott, Paul Troubetzkoy, Sydney Cockerell, Charles Ricketts, Roger Fry, Frank Rutter, Whitworth Wallis, and Laurence Binyon. It is imperative to note here that although certain figures among them were socialists or working towards a reformist agenda, not all were by any means.

Shaw's relationship to these individuals from the perspectives of art history and material culture has not been the subject of thorough investigation in the literature, and whilst he is occasionally mentioned in histories of British Impressionism,¹⁶⁴ his extensive connections to the New English Art Club members and to the Carfax Gallery for example have not been explored.¹⁶⁵ Owing to the lack of research into the Shaw's Corner artefacts it has gone unnoticed that many of these relationships, and aspects of his work as an art patron, are expressed through artefacts (present and absent) in the house. Shaw's interaction with these individuals and groups manifest at Shaw's Corner in the form of textiles, clothing, furniture, private press books and bindings, photographs, paintings, drawings, and prints. Yet further significant evidence can be found in the general book collections.

Shaw's interest in printing and typography forms the first part of chapter two, and this is an area of Shavian scholarship where more academic studies have featured in the literature owing to the playwright's concern with the visual appearance and publishing of his own works. Michel W. Pharand recognized that Shaw's treatment of the printed book pays homage to Morrisian aesthetics.¹⁶⁶ As far back as 1961, E.E. Stokes, one of the earliest commentators on the relationship between Shaw and Morris, had noted whilst cataloguing the Shaw Collection at the University of Texas: 'time and time again, in turning over the many thousands of items comprising the collection, I have been struck by evidences of Morris'

¹⁶⁴ See Kenneth McConkey, *Impressionism in Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press 1995), 48. McConkey quotes briefly from Shaw's art criticism where he notes that Shaw is conscious of the cross-overs between 'Whistler's followers, the New English Art Club and Impressionism'. The reference is to Shaw, *The World*, 13 April 1887, reprinted in Weintraub, LAS, 151.

¹⁶⁵ Again Kenneth McConkey mentions Shaw several times in the context of the New English Art Club; see Kenneth McConkey, *The New English: A History of the New English Art Club* (London: Royal Academy, 2006). More recently Samuel Shaw has acknowledged Shaw as a 'shareholder' in the Carfax Gallery: see Samuel Shaw, "'The new ideal shop': Founding the Carfax Gallery, c.1898-1902", *The British Art Journal*, 13, 2 (2012): 35-43. This information about Shaw's shares in the Carfax originates from Weintraub, who has stated that 'Shaw held shares' in Robert Ross's Carfax Gallery, see LAS, 27, and Weintraub, 'In the Picture Galleries', in *The Genius of Shaw*, 53. Holroyd cites the information in HOL2, 171.

¹⁶⁶ Michel W. Pharand, ed., *Bernard Shaw and His Publishers* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), xix-xxi. See also Katherine E. Kelly, 'Imprinting the stage: Shaw and the publishing trade, 1883-1903', in *The Cambridge Companion to George Bernard Shaw*, ed. by Innes, 25-54; and Elizabeth Carolyn Miller, *Slow Print*.

influence on Shaw, both in ideas and in aesthetic awareness.¹⁶⁷

Holroyd described Shaw's plays in their published form as 'literary language for the eye' in his biography,¹⁶⁸ highlighting the fact that 'Shaw's two gods in matters of art were Ruskin and Morris.'¹⁶⁹ Gahan similarly stated that Shaw 'was an aesthetic disciple of English Pre-Raphaelite William Morris,'¹⁷⁰ and noticed that Shaw's emphasis on the visual 'influenced the publication of his own books and his dealings with artists in supplying designs and illustrations for them'.¹⁷¹ On this point he draws our attention to Shaw's commissioning of Crane to provide the design for the cover of the *Fabian Essays in Socialism*, and John Farleigh to create the artwork for Shaw's allegory *The Adventures of the Black Girl in Her Search for God* (1932).¹⁷² Regarding Shaw's reference to Charles VII 'looking at the pictures in Fouquet's Boccaccio' in *Saint Joan*, Gahan felt that here the playwright was exhibiting his belief that 'a good book was not merely to be read, but should be good to look at too.'¹⁷³

Only Laurence asserted that Shaw was drawn to Morris mainly due to his 'political and social philosophy' compared to Wilde who appreciated Morris's 'poetry and aesthetics'.¹⁷⁴ This view does not take into account Shaw's own insistence on the importance of Morris's art, made clear in a letter to Sydney Cockerell. In 1897 when Cockerell wrote to Shaw asking him to help edit some of Morris's unpublished lectures, Shaw replied that Lethaby¹⁷⁵ should deal with the political lectures, leaving the ones on art for him: 'there was really a more

¹⁶⁷ E.E. Stokes Jnr, 'Morris and Bernard Shaw', *Journal of the William Morris Society*, 1, 1 (Winter 1961), 13. A version of this article had been published earlier as E.E. Stokes Jnr, 'Shaw and William Morris', *Shaw Bulletin*, 4 (Summer 1953), 16-19.

¹⁶⁸ HOL1, 403.

¹⁶⁹ HOL1, 142.

¹⁷⁰ Peter Gahan, 'Introduction: Bernard Shaw and the Irish Literary Tradition', in *SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, vol. 30, ed. by Peter Gahan (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 6.

¹⁷¹ Peter Gahan, 'Fouquet's Boccaccio', in *SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, Vol. 22 (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 83.

¹⁷² See Leon Hugo, *Bernard Shaw's The Black Girl in Search of God: The Story behind the Story* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003). Joanna Selborne has studied Shaw's working relationship with the engraver John Farleigh. See Joanna Selborne, *British Wood-Engraved Book Illustration, 1904-1940: A Break with Tradition* (London: The British Library, 2001).

¹⁷³ Gahan, 'Fouquet's Boccaccio', 83.

¹⁷⁴ Dan H. Laurence, ed., *Bernard Shaw Theatrics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 9.

¹⁷⁵ W.R. Lethaby was a socialist and an architect who played a significant role in the reform of art and design. He founded the Central School of Arts and Crafts in 1896 under the aegis of the London County Council, an appointment Shaw helped him attain. Shaw and Lethaby met regularly through the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB), and at the Art Workers' Guild (AWG), which Lethaby co-founded. Lethaby's book *Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen*, 1906, can be found in Shaw's library (NTIN 3062365). Shaw's diary records his first meeting with him at Emery Walker's house on 19 January 1896. (BSD2, 1116).

complete understanding between us on art than on politics.’¹⁷⁶

Both Pharand and Kelly included images in their studies of Shaw’s relationship to publishing, but neither examined Shaw’s personal collection at Shaw’s Corner. Nicholas Grene, writing on the Shaw collections at the National Library of Ireland, drew our attention to the twelve volumes of the original manuscripts of Shaw’s novels which were magnificently bound by Douglas Cockerell, but did not relate this to Shaw’s own artefacts.¹⁷⁷ Weintraub’s claim that Shaw was ‘too old to collect things’¹⁷⁸ is problematized by Shaw’s personal receipts (at LSE) which show that he was still ordering private press books in the 1940s. Yet again there was no attempt to make connections to the actual material world he was experiencing personally.

The reason for this absence in the literature I would suggest, originates with certain assumptions that have been made concerning Shaw’s attitude towards collecting, and to beauty. As far as collecting was concerned, partly this was Shaw’s own doing. As already mentioned, Shaw claimed that he never kept or collected anything. For a Fabian socialist there were moral issues at stake when it came to personal acquisitions and ownership. Shaw indicates in various letters that this morality was reinforced by his Protestant upbringing. If artefacts became possessions and entered the realm of the collector, they posed a threat to this puritanical dimension to Shaw’s character. Writing to the actress Ellen Pollock for instance in 1949 he declared: ‘I am not a dealer in relics. As a baptized Irish Protestant, I abhor them.... Collectors are among the plagues of my life.’¹⁷⁹ On an earlier occasion he had written to the

¹⁷⁶ Shaw to Sydney Cockerell, 15 December 1897. (BUR, IV, 10.56). Cockerell was acting in his capacity as William Morris’s executor; see Sydney Cockerell to Shaw, 12 December 1897, British Library Add. MS 50531, ff.59-60. (Subsequent references to this source are indicated by BL, followed by manuscript number). Shaw often sought to stress the importance of Morris’s art, reiterating throughout his life the significant work he had done ‘as a political and aesthetic propagandist.’ Shaw to Barry Jackson, 21 June 1948, in Leonard Conolly, ed., *Bernard Shaw and Barry Jackson* (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 188.

¹⁷⁷ Nicholas Grene, ‘The National Library of Ireland’, in *Bibliographical Shaw: SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, vol.20, ed. by Dan H. Laurence and Fred D. Crawford (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 153.

¹⁷⁸ Weintraub, LAS, 37.

¹⁷⁹ Shaw to Ellen Pollock, 29 August 1949, CL4, 855. Ellen had written to Shaw as she had wanted to acquire one of the books he was selling through Sotheby’s in July 1949, however by the time of Shaw’s reply all the sales had been completed.

dealer Gabriel Wells¹⁸⁰: ‘I shall always disparage relics, because I am an Irish Protestant in the marrow of my bones.’¹⁸¹

Relative poverty equally had an impact on the young Shaw growing up in Dublin, and there are numerous references to pawnshops, or pawning possessions in his works. His papers at LSE reveal that in 1900 he had to redeem a gold chain belonging to his mother from a pawnbroker;¹⁸² and in *Sixteen Self Sketches* he informs us that his mother’s grandfather had ‘made a fortune by keeping a pawnshop.’¹⁸³ This left him with an ability to distance himself emotionally from things (as well as an acute awareness of their monetary value), and hence a propensity for selling artefacts or giving them away. He would often refer to artefacts as ‘goods’¹⁸⁴ or ‘chattels’¹⁸⁵ evoking moveable commodities, or transitory things.

On this point we should recognize that most of the furniture and furnishings at Shaw’s Corner were rented during the Shaws’ first fourteen years of occupancy.¹⁸⁶ The correspondence between Charlotte and the valuer John Shilcock¹⁸⁷ shows that the Shaws hired the furniture, as well as many household goods such as china and glass from the rector John N. Duddington,¹⁸⁸ and in 1913 the property was partially refurnished by Edward Lane-Claypon

¹⁸⁰ Gabriel Wells effectively lay the foundations of what would later become the Harry Ransom Collection of Bernard Shaw material at the University of Texas at Austin. Wells was an important antiquarian bookseller who amassed for his personal collection a large quantity of Shavian material; this was purchased as an entire collection after his death by T.E. Hanley. Hanley’s buyer was Lewis David Feldman, of the House of El Dieff in New York; (see Margot Peters, ‘Bernard F. Burgunder: Collector of Genius’, in *SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, vol. 15, ed. by Fred D. Crawford (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 180). Harry Ransom then acquired the Hanley Collection on behalf of the Humanities Research Center during the 1960s. See also Richard W. Oram, ‘“Going Towards a Great Library at Texas”: Harry Ransom’s Acquisition of the T.E. Hanley Collection’, in *The Texas Book: Profiles, History, and Reminiscences of the University*, ed. by Richard A. Holland (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006), 153-58. The Shaw’s Corner Household Account Books and other manuscripts in the HRC (Series IV, Charlotte Shaw Papers) were purchased from the House of El Dieff and received by the Ransom Center on 25 April 1969.

¹⁸¹ Shaw to Gabriel Wells, 20 April 1929, CL4, 139.

¹⁸² LSE Shaw Business Papers 23/2, f.5; 3 April 1900.

¹⁸³ Shaw, *Sixteen Self Sketches* (London: Constable, 1949), 9.

¹⁸⁴ Shaw spoke of ‘bequeathing my goods to relatives’. Shaw to Nancy Astor, 5 March 1944, quoted in Wearing, ed., *Bernard Shaw and Nancy Astor*, 148. Karen Harvey has observed that thinking of objects ‘as social and/or economic products (‘goods’) risks failing to recognize the many levels at which humans interact with their material world.’ Harvey, ed., *History and Material Culture*, 9.

¹⁸⁵ An example of this occurs in a letter where Shaw is telling the story behind a property he was supposed to have inherited in Ireland: ‘I bought it from the mortgagees & left the pawnbrokers to sell the chattels.’ Shaw to John Wardrop, [undated: 1944-5], CL4, 733.

¹⁸⁶ Charlotte’s diaries record the rental fees for Shaw’s Corner, both for the building and the furniture; see for example the years 1917 to 1919, ‘AYOT rent: £200 p.a.; furniture: £52’. Charlotte Shaw Diaries, BL Add. MS 63191 B-D.

¹⁸⁷ Charlotte’s correspondence with the valuer John Shilcock is in the HRC, Texas. (HRC, IV, 67.6). Shilcock checked an inventory of the rented furniture and furnishings at the New Rectory on 25 October 1906.

¹⁸⁸ Duddington lived in the house from 1905-06 but could not afford the upkeep of the property, and therefore decided to ‘sub-let to the Shaws the New Rectory’. Laurence, CL4, 40. Duddington was succeeded by the curate Edward Lane-Claypon in 1912. Thanks to Philippa Parker for providing this information on Duddington.

after he took over as curate.¹⁸⁹ It is tempting to interpret the rental of the furnishings through the prism of detachment. Such knowledge may have contributed towards the negative views in the literature. However the Shaws actually bought several pieces of furniture from Lane-Claypon, such as the dining-room oak gateleg table,¹⁹⁰ in 1920 when they purchased the property.¹⁹¹ And between 1906 and 1920 the Shaws did in fact personalize the rooms as I discuss in chapter one. Several artefacts that had particular meanings for Shaw were purchased for, or brought to Shaw's Corner such as his Heal's bed, the Walter Cave piano (and the pianola), and the Morris & Co textiles. Nevertheless the assumption in the literature as we have seen is that Shaw did not form personal attachments to artefacts. His tendency to reject the sentimental or the nostalgic in his writings no doubt contributed to this view. Shaw was aware that emotional attachment makes it difficult to part with things: thus on occasion we witness him attempting to give things away before there is an emotional bond.

In *To Have and to Hold* (2002), Philipp Blom poses a question that I would suggest has much relevance for Shaw at Shaw's Corner: 'Can one be a collector without actually collecting or amassing anything, but by giving away? Many collectors were also great patrons and patronage has always been the other face of collecting.'¹⁹² In chapter two I explain how Shaw found ways to negotiate his personal distaste for the 'collector' through patronage, challenging the capitalist system through his dealings with artists and the art world in the process. Although a few historians have briefly acknowledged Shaw's role in supporting

¹⁸⁹ In 1913 Shilcock invoiced Charlotte for checking the 'inventory of the new furniture etc. at the New Rectory' after it had been partially refurnished by Lane-Claypon. In 1913 Duddington wrote to Charlotte to ask whether they wished to retain his furniture until they left the rectory. John Duddington to Charlotte Shaw, 23 June 1913. (HRC, IV, 66.3).

¹⁹⁰ NTIN 1274761. The Shaws purchased the gateleg table from Lane-Claypon in 1920, after they bought the house. Charlotte recorded in her cheque-book: 'Lane-Claypon: for the dining room table & all things he originally bought from Mr. Duddington, £44'. Charlotte Shaw, cheque-book stubs, BL Add. MS 63202 J, f.19, 25 December 1920. The gateleg table had appeared on the Ayot Inventory, 20 March 1917, 5. (HRC, IV, 64.2). This document consists of six pages, copied in Charlotte's hand, the original untraced. Lane-Claypon issued a receipt: 'Received from George Bernard Shaw the sum of one hundred guineas in payment of all fixtures attached to the Rectory House, Ayot St. Lawrence, belonging to the incumbent & not included in the conveyance.' (LSE Shaw Business Papers Shaw/22/1, f.8, 26 September 1920).

¹⁹¹ Shaw purchased the property from the Church of England for £6,300. Shaw's business papers dealing with the purchasing and conveyancing of the Ayot St. Lawrence New Rectory (afterwards known as Shaw's Corner) are mainly at LSE (Shaw/22/1); a few others are in the Burgunder Collection. The Burgunder papers include a letter to Shaw from the solicitors Day & Son, dated 15 June 1920, giving notification that Shaw's offer of £6,300 for the 'Rectory House' had been accepted, and requesting the sum of £630 as a deposit. Shaw had written on the letter: 'agreed & sent £630 from Ayot.' (BUR, V, 21.79).

¹⁹² Philipp Blom, *To Have and to Hold: An Intimate History of Collectors and Collecting* (London: Penguin, 2002), 192.

individual artists such as Roger Fry and the Omega Workshops,¹⁹³ or as ‘an important early patron’ of Coburn,¹⁹⁴ and his participation in art patronage as a collective project has been mentioned,¹⁹⁵ the scale and scope of his generosity in this regard has not been considered. In chapter two I therefore discuss examples of ‘absent’ artefacts: there are several gaps in the collection owing to Shaw’s benevolence, and other institutions such as the National Portrait Gallery and Tate Britain are among the beneficiaries. We should remember that the Shaws in fact were very wealthy, and were well placed to assume the role of patrons.¹⁹⁶

Compared to collectors such as the art historian Mario Praz, whose interiors were filled with artefacts that were rooted in personal memory and nostalgia, eliciting emotional responses and revealing great sentimental attachment to things,¹⁹⁷ Shaw (by his own admission) did not share these concerns. ‘Feelings of possessiveness’ towards artefacts, one of the key characteristics of the collector as defined by Russell W. Belk,¹⁹⁸ were not always acknowledged or exhibited by the ‘puritan’ within Shaw. In the literature, Laurence has been guilty of taking him at his word and making judgements about his taste, claiming for example that ‘Shaw had no collectors’ instinct for books’¹⁹⁹ in his assessment of the library at Shaw’s Corner.

Laurence therefore ignored the artefacts produced by the finest private presses of the day that tell us so much about Shaw’s connoisseurial interest in typography and bookbinding, and personal friendships. I will show in chapter two that several of Shaw’s books were in fact treasured possessions. Instead Laurence emphasized the notion that Shaw ‘abandoned

¹⁹³ See Frances Spalding, *Roger Fry: Art and Life* (Norwich: Black Dog Books, 1999 [1980]), 166, 177; and Richard Cork, *Art Beyond the Gallery in Early Twentieth Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), 131. The only Shavian scholar to mention Shaw’s financial contribution to the Omega Workshops has been Margery Morgan in *Bernard Shaw: Volume II, 1907-1950* (London: Profile Books, 1982), 13.

¹⁹⁴ McConkey, *Impressionism in Britain*, 110.

¹⁹⁵ See Richard Verdi, ed., *Saved!: 100 Years of the National Art Collections Fund* (London: Hayward Gallery, 2003), 21; and Andrea Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation’s Art: Contested Cultural Authority, 1890-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 108-09.

¹⁹⁶ By 1897 Shaw’s income was £1,098 owing to the success of *The Devil’s Disciple* in America. (HOL1, 462). Shaw’s income rose to over £30,000 in the early 1940s when the royalties from films such as *Pygmalion* started to accumulate. Around 1900 Charlotte had an annual income of £4000, a substantial amount for the time. See Gianna Pomata, ‘Rejoinder to Pygmalion: The Origins of Women’s History at the London School of Economics’, in *History Women, Storia della Storiografia*, ed. by Mary O’Dowd and Ilaria Porciani, 46 (2004), 82.

¹⁹⁷ Shax Riegler, ‘Mario Praz: Autobiography and the Object(s) of Memory’, in *Biography, Identity and the Modern Interior*, ed. by Anne Massey and Penny Sparke (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013): 129-43.

¹⁹⁸ Russell W. Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society* (London: Routledge, 1995), 67.

¹⁹⁹ Dan H. Laurence, ‘The Library at Shaw’s Corner’, in *Bibliographical Shaw: SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, vol. 20, ed. by Dan H. Laurence and Fred D. Crawford (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 157.

volumes in hotel or guest bedrooms' and sold hundreds of books and 'presentation copies' at auction that 'he hadn't known he owned until he perused the catalogue.'²⁰⁰ Although Shaw did indeed sell over eight hundred books²⁰¹ (besides many items of furniture and other artefacts) at Sotheby's and Phillips auction rooms²⁰² in 1949 when he sold his London flat, this has to be placed in the context of his outlook at the time when he felt overwhelmed by financial difficulties. These strategies of disposal were governed by financial concerns caused by the war taxation and death duties.²⁰³

Laurence's editing of Shaw's letters also raises issues owing to the elimination of material that reflects Shaw's artistic interests and connections. One example of this can be found in a letter Shaw wrote to Helen Haiman Joseph, the author of a book on puppets in 1918. Laurence's version of this letter published in *Bernard Shaw Collected Letters 1911-1925* (1985)²⁰⁴ removed the following section: 'Some exhibitions have been given at the Margaret Morris theatre here in London with some new and rather pretty dolls. Mr. Alfred Powell of Volta House, Windmill Hill, Hampstead, London, N.W.3, who is an architect, a potter, a cabinet maker and a good craftsman generally, has asked me to see a puppet show of which

²⁰⁰ Laurence, 'The Library at Shaw's Corner', 158; similar views were expressed in Dan H. Laurence and Daniel J. Leary, eds., *Bernard Shaw Flyleaves* (Austin: W. Thomas Taylor, 1977), 10.

²⁰¹ See Sotheby & Co, 25 July 1949, *Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books and Prints removed from 4 Whitehall Court SW1, and Ayot St. Lawrence, Welwyn, and sold by order of G. Bernard Shaw*; National Art Library, V&A Museum. (Subsequent references to the National Art Library are indicated by NAL). (See Appendix 3). Although the sale only contained 217 lots, many items were catalogued as one lot, and on occasion as many as 26 books were sold together. I have estimated that approximately 835 volumes were sold, however Laurence gives the figure as '1100 volumes'. (Laurence and Leary, *Bernard Shaw Flyleaves*, 10).

²⁰² Appendix 3 provides a list of the auctions (1947-49) where Shaw's possessions were sold on his instructions.

²⁰³ The earliest expression of his difficulties came in 1941, when he informed his publisher Otto Kyllmann: 'I am stoney broke.' Shaw to Otto Kyllmann, 24 February 1941, quoted in Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and His Publishers*, 200. Shaw complained to Denis Kilham Roberts that he was paying the highest rate of war taxation: 'My royalty on the Pygmalion film brought me in over £20,000 in the first year, and thereby subjected me to income and surtax at the rate of 19/6d in the pound... Within the two years affected by this apparent windfall I had to pay £50,000 to the Exchequer because of my supposed good fortune. Another stroke of luck would ruin me.' Shaw to Denis Kilham Roberts, 17 September 1942, CL4, 641. After Charlotte died in 1943, the death duties he had to pay compounded his worries, thus we find him writing to Sidney Webb in 1944: 'Charlotte's death has been a financial disaster for me... I had to pay £40,000 death duties. Altogether I have had to pay considerably more than £100,000 to the Exchequer since 1939... So much for the popular belief that I am rolling in money.' Shaw to Sidney Webb, 2 April 1944, CL4, 705. Shaw complained to his neighbour Mr. Tuke (the churchwarden, who was chairman of Barclays Bank): 'a windfall of £29,000 (estimated in the newspapers as £55,000) has cost me £50,000 in taxes. I shall live this year on overdraft.' Shaw quoted in Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager*, 138. In March 1949 he informed Patch: 'I am living beyond my means.' Shaw to Blanche Patch, 30 March 1949. (HRC, II, 42.1). During the 1940s he voiced similar concerns to Nancy Astor, Sydney Cockerell, and the Reverend G. Reynolds Walters.

²⁰⁴ Shaw to Helen Haiman Joseph, 25 January 1918, CL3, 526. A further error relating to Powell occurred in this volume (CL3, 393), where Laurence attributes a letter Shaw wrote to the puppeteer William Simmonds to Powell; I discuss this in chapter three.

he thinks very highly.’²⁰⁵ Laurence’s removal of this passage erases important evidence relating to Shaw’s relationship with the ceramicist Alfred Powell, and his connections to Margaret Morris, the dancer who founded the Margaret Morris Club in Chelsea (the meeting-place of various members of the artistic avant-garde during the First World War who became acquainted with Shaw including Augustus John, Jacob Epstein, and Charles Rennie Mackintosh). Fortunately various artefacts in the Shaw’s Corner collection provide evidence of these relationships: for example the ceramics by Alfred and Louise Powell, the Arts League of Service pamphlet, and the books on *Modern Scottish Painting* and *The Notation of Movement*.²⁰⁶ This demonstrates the significance of the artefacts in the house, which give valuable insights into Shaw’s life and interests. These connections would have been missed if we relied solely on Laurence’s version of the Shaw correspondence.

As a prelude to the literature where Shaw was represented as a Fabian at Shaw’s Corner was the denial of his role as an art patron, and as part of this a refusal of his personal connection to beautiful things. As early as 1951, Blanche Patch, or rather the publicist Robert Williamson,²⁰⁷ neither of whom knew anything about Shaw’s artistic interests, declared in *Thirty Years with G.B.S.*: ‘Although G.B.S. had been an art critic²⁰⁸ (or it may be because of that fact) he was no patron of the arts.’²⁰⁹ Given what I intend to show in chapter two regarding Shaw’s patronage, this statement is misleading and inaccurate; and the same can be said of a later passage from the book: ‘Shaw would declare that art and beauty were essential to his life. He had in truth no time for either. His home was built in what Samuel Butler called the Anglican style of architecture, and, save for one or two of the busts of its tenants, the furnishings were not remarkable.’²¹⁰

²⁰⁵ Shaw to Helen Haiman Joseph, 25 January 1918, quoted in Archibald Henderson, *George Bernard Shaw: Man of the Century* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1956), 720.

²⁰⁶ I discuss the Powell ceramics in chapter one. The Arts League of Service was a group of artists and performers who aimed at bringing the arts into everyday life; meetings were held at Margaret Morris’s studio in Chelsea. The Shaws were members of her club. A copy of *The Arts League of Service Annual* (1921-22) can be found in the library with a cover illustration by Charles Rennie Mackintosh (NTIN 3201050); Margaret Morris’s book *The Notation of Movement* (1928) is also in the collection (NTIN 3063229), along with a book by her husband the painter J.D. Fergusson *Modern Scottish Painting* (NTIN 3062131).

²⁰⁷ Patch’s book *Thirty Years with GBS* was ghost written by the publicist Robert Williamson; see Laurence, CL4, 875.

²⁰⁸ Shaw was the art critic of *The World* from February 1886 to January 1890. See Weintraub, LAS, 6. Shaw also wrote art criticism for Annie Besant’s socialist paper *Our Corner*, *The Star* and *Pall Mall Gazette*. He was music critic of *The Star* from 1888-90; and *The World* from 1890-94, and drama critic of the *Saturday Review* from 1895-98.

²⁰⁹ Patch, *Thirty Years with GBS*, 31.

²¹⁰ Patch, *Thirty Years with GBS*, 246. Similar views were expressed by Biggers, who claimed that Shaw’s early interest in art ‘waned’ as he grew older. See Biggers, *British Author House Museums*, 320.

Yet little over a decade before this was written, Shaw had firmly asserted the importance of beauty in his life through artefacts. Speaking of the beauty of the objects and furnishings to be found in the interiors of Morris's Kelmscott House in 'Morris as I Knew Him' Shaw complained 'though nobody gave me credit for it in those days (very few do even now) I had a keen sense of beauty [...] I also had a searching analytical faculty which was the secret of my subsequent success as a professional critic. The combination, I am afraid, is rare.'²¹¹ The following decade in his autobiographical work *Sixteen Self Sketches* (1949) he spoke of his 'artist nature': 'to which beauty and refinement were necessities.'²¹² Shaw's aesthetic appreciation of artefacts was often on display for those who cared to acknowledge it. Writing excitedly from Paris in 1906 whilst sitting for his bust by Rodin for example, Shaw informed Coburn that there were 'a lot of beautiful things' at Meudon.²¹³

In addition to the notion of Shaw as a Fabian with ascetic characteristics, further entrenched viewpoints need to be challenged. Prior to the studies by Hart and O'Neill, when Shaw was mentioned in the Arts and Crafts literature his name tended to be evoked dismissively. Such derision I would suggest originated from the writings of Fiona MacCarthy and Jan Marsh, who perpetuated certain mythologies (some originating from Shaw himself): typically the 'suet pudding' story involving Jane Morris,²¹⁴ or his 'philandering' with May Morris.²¹⁵ Alan Crawford compounded this narrow view of Shaw. Whilst discussing the choice of subtitle for his book on C.R. Ashbee 'architect, designer and romantic socialist' in the volume edited by Margot Coatts *Pioneers of Modern Craft* (1997) he commented that it was 'not a good subtitle – the last part makes you think of the sexual escapades of George Bernard Shaw.'²¹⁶ Ironically this is all the mention made here of Shaw who, as I make clear in chapter two, generously funded, supported and befriended artists and craft workers during the first half of the twentieth century, including some of the figures referred to in that particular text.

Wendy Parkins recently fuelled further misreadings with her article: 'Jane Morris's Art of

²¹¹ Shaw, 'Morris as I Knew Him', 22.

²¹² Shaw, *Sixteen Self Sketches*, 24.

²¹³ Shaw to Alvin Langdon Coburn, 17 April 1906, CL2, 617.

²¹⁴ Jan Marsh, *Jane and May Morris: A Biographical Story 1839-1938* (London Pandora, 1986), 202. In 'Morris as I Knew Him' Shaw recounted one of the socialist gatherings at Kelmscott House where he mistakenly consumed a 'suet pudding' given to him by Jane Morris. (Shaw, 'Morris as I Knew Him', 27). Shaw's dining experience at Kelmscott House has been the subject of a brief study: see Carolin C. Young, 'Bernard Shaw's Sunday Supper with William Morris and Family, London, July 1884', in *Apples of Gold in Settings of Silver: Stories of Dinner as a Work of Art* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002), 242. Shaw's essay 'Morris as I Knew Him' was quoted, but with errors.

²¹⁵ Fiona MacCarthy, *William Morris: A Life for Our Time* (London: Faber & Faber, 1994), 523-24.

²¹⁶ Alan Crawford, 'The object is not the object: C.R. Ashbee and the Guild of Handicraft', in *Pioneers of Modern Craft*, ed. by Margot Coatts (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 10.

Everyday Life at Kelmscott'.²¹⁷ Citing yet again the story of the pudding, she depicted Shaw as someone whose 'preference for urban life put him somewhat at odds with the Morrisian ethos,'²¹⁸ ignoring his love of nature, ancient buildings, and the countryside expressed in numerous articles and photographs that contradict such characterisation. The photographic eulogy to the village and Shaw's Corner compiled by Shaw shortly before he died *Bernard Shaw's Rhyming Picture Guide to Ayot Saint Lawrence* (1950)²¹⁹ is just one example of this aspect of his personality.²²⁰ Other prominent Arts and Crafts experts such as Mary Greensted have, like Parkins and MacCarthy, regarded Shaw as a figure very much on the margins of Morrisian culture, rather than someone who played a significant role.²²¹

Although Shavian scholars have not undertaken any detailed studies of the artefacts at Shaw's Corner, and some have tended to view the artefacts through the prism of Fabian socialism, there are nevertheless numerous instances in the literature of an awareness of Shaw's engagement with art and art history as it relates to his dramaturgy. Weintraub's work on Shaw's use of paintings in his plays is paramount here, drawing our attention to the playwright's strong visual sense and artistic inclinations. Shaw declared: 'I was certainly born with an interest in pictures: I had no literary ambitions, but wanted intensely to be a

²¹⁷ Wendy Parkins, 'Jane Morris's Art of Everyday Life at Kelmscott', in *William Morris and the Art of Everyday Life*, ed. by Wendy Parkins (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 133-54.

²¹⁸ Parkins, 'Jane Morris's Art of Everyday Life at Kelmscott', 142.

²¹⁹ Shaw, *Bernard Shaw's Rhyming Picture Guide to Ayot St. Lawrence* (Luton: Leagrave Press Ltd., 1950). The idea came from Shaw's 1916 'rhyming guide' to Ayot created for Ellen Terry. Shaw had created a photo-album with verses for Terry, after discovering she had visited Ayot in 1916 (the album is now at Smallhythe).

²²⁰ In this work Shaw created picturesque scenes placing photographs he had taken of the village alongside images of the house and garden at Shaw's Corner. Shaw's 59 photographs for this publication (along with the manuscript) are now in the Richard S. Weiner Collection, Colgate University, New York. See Ann L. Ferguson, 'The Richard Weiner Collection', in *Bibliographical Shaw, SHAW: The Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, vol. 20, ed. by Dan H. Laurence and Fred D. Crawford (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 148-52. Other photographs by Shaw of the garden at Shaw's Corner had already been published in 1937 in *The Countryman* magazine; 'Kitchen Garden and Orchard at Ayot St. Lawrence in the early morning', *The Countryman*, 15, 1 (April-June 1937), 102-03. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715254.158; and 1715311.22). Further photographs of the village by Shaw were published in *The Tatler* and *The Illustrated London News*, as I discuss in chapter three.

²²¹ I am thinking here of the three volumes published on the Arts and Crafts collections at Cheltenham Art Gallery: see Annette Carruthers and Mary Greensted, eds., *Good Citizen's Furniture: The Arts and Crafts Collections at Cheltenham* (Cheltenham: Cheltenham Art Gallery and Museum, 1994); Annette Carruthers and Mary Greensted, eds., *Simplicity or Splendour. Arts and Crafts Living: Objects from the Cheltenham Collections* (Cheltenham: Cheltenham Art Gallery and Museum, 1999); and Mary Greensted and Sophia Wilson, eds., *Originality and Initiative: The Arts and Crafts Archives at Cheltenham* (Cheltenham: Cheltenham Art Gallery and Museum, 2003). The latter for example did not include Shaw in the index, despite his name occurring numerous times in the text, and his photograph appearing twice in the sections that explored Emery Walker's library.

Michelangelo.²²² During his childhood in Dublin, Shaw familiarized himself with the masterpieces at the National Gallery. In his preface to *Immaturity*, he stated that he owed his appreciation of art to ‘my boyish prowlings in the Dublin National Gallery (as a boy I wanted to be a painter, never a writer).’²²³ He borrowed Duchesne’s ‘Outlines of the Old Masters’ from a Dublin musician; and purchased a translation of Vasari: ‘Result, at fifteen, I knew enough about a considerable number of Italian and Flemish painters to recognize their work at sight... I got some education, thanks to Communism in pictures.’²²⁴

Drawing on Weintraub’s work, Martin Meisel has recently written on Shaw and the ‘Visual arts’, although Meisel considered art ‘to have played a lesser role than music’ in shaping Shaw’s plays.²²⁵ Various other scholars, including Pharand, Gahan, Charles A. Berst, Bernard F. Dukore, and John A. Bertolini have written on aspects of Shaw as a dramatist engaged with the visual arts.²²⁶ Berst has highlighted the significant number of Shaw’s plays where statues or sculpture, and sculpting in the literal and metaphorical sense, feature prominently.²²⁷ These include the plays *Caesar and Cleopatra*, *Man and Superman*,

²²² Shaw, ‘Pictures: A Shavian Preface’, c.1947, in Weintraub, LAS, 47. Shaw’s feelings on this topic were voiced in several texts: ‘I wanted to be another Michael Angelo, but found that I could not draw.’ Shaw, in Stanley Weintraub, ed., *Shaw An Autobiography 1856-1898* (London: Max Reinhardt, 1969), 77. See also Shaw’s 1937 preface to *London Music in 1888-89*: ‘My ambition was to be a great painter like Michael Angelo [sic] (one of my heroes)’, reprinted in Dan H. Laurence and Daniel J. Leary, eds., *Bernard Shaw: The Complete Prefaces, Volume III, 1930-1950* (London: Allen Lane, Penguin, 1997), 330; and ‘I did not set out to be Shakespeare, but Michelangelo!’ Shaw to John Farleigh, quoted in Leon Hugo, *Bernard Shaw’s ‘The Black Girl in Search of God’: The Story behind the Story* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 56. Shaw would later reinforce his artistic nature in a letter to Virginia Woolf: ‘I am an artist to my finger tips.’ Shaw to Virginia Woolf, 10 May 1940, CL4, 556.

²²³ Shaw, preface to *Immaturity*, 1921 (published 1930), reprinted in Dan H. Laurence and Daniel J. Leary, eds., *Bernard Shaw: The Complete Prefaces, Volume III, 1930-1950* (London: Allen Lane, Penguin, 1997), 34. Shaw also informed Archibald Henderson that it had been among his childhood ambitions to be a painter or sculptor. Henderson, *George Bernard Shaw: Man of the Century*, 34.

²²⁴ Shaw, interviewed by Clarence Rook in September 1896, quoted in Gibbs, *Interviews and Recollections*, 23. Also reprinted in Weintraub, ed., *Shaw An Autobiography 1856-1898*, 63.

²²⁵ Martin Meisel, ‘Visual arts’, in *George Bernard Shaw in Context*, ed. by Brad Kent (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 183.

²²⁶ See for example Pharand, ed., *Bernard Shaw and His Publishers*, Gahan, ‘Fouquet’s Boccaccio’, Charles A. Berst, ‘The Action of Shaw’s Settings and Props’, in *Shaw’s Plays in Performance: SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, vol. 3, ed. by Daniel Leary (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1983), 41-65, Bernard F. Dukore, *Bernard Shaw Director* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1971), Bernard F. Dukore, *Shaw’s Theater* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2000), and John A. Bertolini, *The Playwrighting Self of Bernard Shaw* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991). Raymond Mander and Joe Mitchenson also published their invaluable *Theatrical Companion to Shaw*, a photographic record of the first performances of the plays. See Raymond Mander and Joe Mitchenson, *Theatrical Companion to Shaw: A Pictorial Record of the First Performances of the Plays of George Bernard Shaw* (London: Rockliff, 1954). Exhibitions of a range of material such as photographs, prompt books, stage directions and Shaw’s own drawings, letters, theatre programmes and playbills have been staged at American University libraries; see for example Ann L. Ferguson, *The Instinct of an Artist: Shaw and the Theatre, An Exhibition from The Bernard F. Burgunder Collection of George Bernard Shaw* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Library, 1997); and Dan H. Laurence, *Shaw: An Exhibit* (Austin: University of Texas at Austin, 1977).

²²⁷ Berst, ‘The Action of Shaw’s Settings and Props’, 62.

Pygmalion, Saint Joan, Back to Methuselah, Passion, Poison and Petrification, and The Six of Calais. Shaw was profoundly interested in the work of the ‘impressionistic’ sculptors such as Rodin, Paul Troubetzkoy, and later Kathleen Scott. Weintraub, Pharand, and John S. Grioni have considered Shaw’s relationships with Scott,²²⁸ Rodin,²²⁹ and Troubetzkoy²³⁰ respectively. Weintraub has briefly considered how sculpture might be implicated in his self-fashioning, highlighting the creation of various Shavian busts and statues in his ‘Picture Galleries’ essay;²³¹ whilst Pharand’s insightful essay ‘The River-God and the Thinker: At Meudon with Auguste Rodin’ has revealed that Shaw viewed Rodin’s work as ‘the Life Force in action.’²³² One or two art historians have discussed Shaw and Rodin,²³³ and Valentina Branchini has explored Shaw’s relationship with Coburn, and noted the important part played by Rodin’s sculpture.²³⁴ The National Portrait Gallery (NPG) staged a small exhibition in 1992; however the focus was on paintings and drawings of Shaw and his contemporaries in the Edwardian theatre, rather than sculpture.²³⁵

The gap in the knowledge arises from the lack of a thorough investigation into what Shaw was articulating through his repeated photographic dialogues with variants of the (Shavian) sculpted form. Sculpture assumes a prominent position at Shaw’s Corner, and Shaw would place his Rodin and Troubetzkoy sculptures in the garden at Ayot, taking dozens of photographs of these works as part of his ongoing fascination with copies of statues, which I

²²⁸ Stanley Weintraub, ‘Shaw’s sculptress, Kathleen Scott’, in *Dionysian Shaw, SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, vol. 24, ed. by Michel W. Pharand (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004): 166-185.

²²⁹ Michel W. Pharand, ‘The River-God and The Thinker: At Meudon with Auguste Rodin’, in Michel W. Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and the French* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), 225-38.

²³⁰ John S. Grioni, ‘A Lifetime Friendship’ (George Bernard Shaw and Paul Troubetzkoy), *The Independent Shavian*, 44, 1-2 (2006): 4-13.

²³¹ Weintraub, ‘In the Picture Galleries’, in *The Genius of Shaw*, 57-63. This version of Weintraub’s essay is particularly useful owing to the number of images of Shaw, including two of Shaw being sculpted (by Jo Davidson, and Troubetzkoy). Shaw’s photograph of Rodin sculpting his bust is reproduced in this volume in Irving Wardle’s essay on ‘The Plays’, 148.

²³² Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and the French*, 227. Pharand’s work is also the best source for information concerning the Shaws’ visits to Meudon and correspondence with Rodin.

²³³ Ruth Butler, *Rodin: The Shape of Genius* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993). There are also extracts from the Shaw-Rodin correspondence published in Claudine Mitchell, ed., *Rodin: The Zola of Sculpture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004). Naomi Schor briefly discusses Alvin Langdon Coburn’s photograph of Shaw posed as ‘The Thinker’ in Naomi Schor, ‘Pensive Texts and Thinking Statues: Balzac with Rodin’, *Critical Inquiry*, 27, 2 (Winter 2001), 239-265; she reproduces Coburn’s photograph, 252.

²³⁴ Valentina Branchini, ‘An Artistic Intimacy: Alvin Langdon Coburn and George Bernard Shaw’, *Image*, 47, 1 (Spring 2009), 12-19.

²³⁵ In 1992 the National Portrait Gallery, London, staged a small exhibit *GBS in Close Up: Bernard Shaw*. (10 April to 5 July 1992). There was no catalogue, only a postcard pack, and a poster. The images featured in the poster included a photograph of Shaw by Alvin Langdon Coburn, an oil portrait by Felix Topolski, a caricature by Alick Ritchie, one of the portraits by Augustus John, and a late portrait by Bernard Partridge. The postcards included John Singer Sargent’s drawing of Granville-Barker, and a portrait of Herbert Beerbohm Tree in *Pygmalion*.

explore in chapter three. The literature has focussed on Shaw's sculpture from the perspective of his friendships with the sculptors, rather than engaging with his way of responding to statues and sculpture as part of his self-fashioning and self-commemoration. Weintraub has pointed out that 'Shaw would have seen nothing wrong in art as a celebration of self. As is written in Ecclesiastes, a book he knew well, "Wherefore I perceive that there is nothing better, than that a man should rejoice in his own works; for that is his portion: for who shall bring him to see what shall be after him?"'²³⁶ As I show in chapter three, considering how Shaw's appreciation of *Ecclesiastes* relates to statuary, enables us to understand the increasingly significant part it plays in his life, affecting areas of his connoisseurial interests, but also his socialistic thought. Weintraub quotes just once from *Ecclesiastes*. But for Shaw there were other phrases from this book that were meaningful, particularly 'vanitas vanitatum',²³⁷ used to great effect by the Devil in *Man and Superman*.

The Shavian portraits and photographs that exist in the various rooms of the house as a celebration of the self have not been examined by scholars in the full context of Shaw's philosophizing on vanity, death, and mortality however. Philip Waller has appreciated that 'no writer was more enthusiastic about having his physiognomy and frame captured for posterity'²³⁸ than Shaw, and Leon Hugo has observed that he 'determined to assert his worth by publicizing himself and his products',²³⁹ but in the case of the latter particularly, this has been construed negatively as evidence of 'a fatal flaw in his artistic make-up.'²⁴⁰ Shaw's self-promotion has prompted the following observation from Hugo: 'a would-be sage and world-betterer behaving like a clown. It is the paradox of Shaw's career.'²⁴¹

Yet Shaw's self-fashioning, as I argue in chapter three, was far more intellectually

²³⁶ Weintraub, 'In the Picture Galleries', in *The Genius of Shaw*, 63.

²³⁷ The phrase comes from the Vulgate: 'Vanitas vanitatum omnia vanitas' (Ecclesiastes, 1:2); or 'Vanity of vanities; all is vanity' in the King James Bible. See David Lyle Jeffrey, ed., *A Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1992), 807.

²³⁸ Philip Waller, *Writers, Readers, and Reputations: Literary Life in Britain 1870-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 360.

²³⁹ Leon Hugo, *Edwardian Shaw: The Writer and His Age* (London: Macmillan press, 1999), 25. See also the work of Vanessa L. Ryan, who has commented on Shaw's 'dramatic rise to celebrity status' in the Edwardian period; Vanessa L. Ryan, "Considering the Alternatives"...Shaw and the death of the intellectual', in *SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, vol. 27, ed. by MaryAnn Crawford and Michel W. Pharand (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 178. Both Hugo and Ryan discuss a cartoon of a 'Shaw clock'. This referred to a cartoon entitled 'Bernard Shaw, GBS Confesses' representing 'A Day in the Life of the Busy Critic, Novelist, Playwright and Socialist' in the *Daily Mail* (2 April 1901) depicting a clock-face with Shaw posed in numerous different roles at different times of the day. The cartoon has been reproduced in Ryan, "Considering the Alternatives", 181; and it was used on the cover of Hugo, *Edwardian Shaw*; and on the covers of both volumes of Stanley Weintraub, ed., *Bernard Shaw The Diaries, 1885-1897*.

²⁴⁰ Hugo, *Edwardian Shaw*, 26.

²⁴¹ Hugo, *Edwardian Shaw*, 25.

challenging and nuanced than Hugo's reading suggests. Shaw's engagement with photography, particularly through portraiture, statuary, and dress, as both model and photographer, represents an underexplored area of his artistic output. Although Bill Jay and Margaret Moore²⁴² edited a volume of Shaw's essays on photography, which included a brief overview of his output as a photographer, and the Trust's exhibition *George Bernard Shaw: Man and Cameraman* (2011)²⁴³ demonstrated that Shaw was a talented amateur photographer working in the pictorialist style, these texts did not engage with the multiple contexts he was operating within, or indeed the diverse audience for his work, which ranged from professional artistic publications to the more journalistic mass media.

This has important implications for Shaw's Corner and its collection owing to the number of artefacts Shaw deployed in the service of photographic experiments or in his self-promotion. I show how Shaw's archive of newspaper cuttings (some kept in his study)²⁴⁴ featuring photographs of himself in the popular press, contribute to a discussion of his self-fashioning in the media through dress. Shaw kept albums of press cuttings throughout his life, often with images as the dominant feature. Shaw also used Shaw's Corner to manufacture an image for mass consumption: the artefacts, house and grounds became literally part of a celebrity 'stage-set' in 1946, when there were numerous magazine articles, and British Pathé and BBC film crews came to film Shaw to celebrate his 90th birthday. To prepare for this he made significant changes to the drawing-room after Charlotte's death, largely in the form of self-curation through sculpture. The room featured in numerous press photographs of Shaw as a result, and problematizes the myth prevalent in the literature that the drawing-room was

²⁴² Bill Jay and Margaret Moore, eds., *Bernard Shaw on Photography* (Wellingborough: Equation Publishing, 1989). Gibbs has emphasized Shaw's role as 'a very keen and knowledgeable photographer.' Gibbs, *Bernard Shaw: A Life*, 270.

²⁴³ Roger Watson, *George Bernard Shaw: Man and Cameraman* (London: National Trust, 2011), 1-20. See also Meisel, 'Visual arts', 193.

²⁴⁴ Albums of press cuttings from Durrant's agency of Holborn are in the study, whilst other albums are at the BL. On the subject of newspaper cuttings, Shaw stated in a letter to Simon Brentano: 'I had a contract with a press cutting bureau to supply me with these.' Shaw to Brentano, 6 November 1912, quoted in Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and His Publishers*, 115. Brian Tyson notes that from the 1880s onwards, Shaw collected his reviews and 'pasted them in a scrapbook of press cuttings.' Brian Tyson, ed., *Bernard Shaw's Book Reviews, Vol. 1, 1885-1888* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), 1. We see evidence of this habit in Shaw's diaries: 'I sat up until 2 cutting my contributions out of old *Stars*.' (6 January 1889, BSD1, 456); and later that year his diary records: 'After dinner went to the Stores and bought a stock of paper and paste. When I got home I set to on the big job of pasting my *Pall Mall* reviews [1885-1888] on the sheets of cartridge paper ready for binding.' (6 September 1889, BSD1, 537). Shaw would later name one of his plays *Press Cuttings* (1909); and a Max Beerbohm cartoon pictured Shaw in his library filled with press cuttings about himself: see Henderson, *Bernard Shaw: Playboy and Prophet*, 724 (reproduced facing page 778). The cartoon was published in *The Sketch* in 1903.

‘Charlotte’s room’.²⁴⁵

Shaw had long participated in a particular aspect of photojournalism popular in Britain and France from the 1880s, where the focus was on the homes of writers and celebrities.²⁴⁶ Owing to his journalistic contacts, he became adept at manipulating this culture for his own self-promotion, as I discuss in chapter three. The literature on Shaw has ignored the fact that the notorious journalist Edmund Yates, the man who first employed Shaw as an art critic²⁴⁷ in 1889 on his paper *The World*, was also the founder of the ‘Celebrities at Home’ profile.²⁴⁸ The variety of ways in which Shaw sought to fashion his image through visual culture, and particularly his extensive manipulation of the media to gain control over how he was represented photographically, has not been thoroughly assessed, despite the fact that scholars have acknowledged the ways in which the Shaw ‘biographies’ were partially self-written.²⁴⁹

The literature has also failed to engage with the fact that the collection of photographs published as *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera* (1948) was chosen largely by Shaw, and should therefore be considered, alongside some of the displays at Shaw’s Corner, as a form of visual autobiography. Whilst *Bernard Shaw’s Rhyming Picture Guide* has been acknowledged as his own work (albeit negatively, with Holroyd commenting on the ‘execrable photos and verse’²⁵⁰), Shaw’s involvement in the selection of images for *Bernard*

²⁴⁵ Biggers for example claimed that ‘just as the study is Shaw’s room, the drawing room is his wife’s.’ Biggers, *British Author House Museums*, 324.

²⁴⁶ See Emery, *Photojournalism*, 95. Here Emery reproduces a feature from *The Graphic* (a British publication Shaw was familiar with) in 1891 on ‘Celebrated French Writers at Home’. Shaw would also have seen the numerous features on British writers’ homes in *The Sketch*, for example ‘A famous novelist at home: a chat with Mr. Walter Besant’, *The Sketch* (3 May 1893), 31. A photograph captured Besant in his study. *The Sketch* also featured photographic essays on writers’ homes of the past: the eighteenth anniversary of the death of Thomas Carlyle was commemorated by images of Carlyle’s houses, his hat, and the ‘room in which Carlyle entered the world.’ *The Sketch* (1 February 1899), 61.

²⁴⁷ See the letter to Shaw from Edmund Yates, 20 October 1889, BL Add. MS 50512, f.186-87. The letter invites Shaw to become the art critic of *The World*; ‘I propose to pay you, in consideration of having the sole use of your services as an art critic, a retaining fee of £1 a week; and in addition, of course, the usual sum per article...’

²⁴⁸ For more on Edmund Yates, see Cohen, ‘Home as a Stage: Personality and Possessions’, in *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*, 122. As already mentioned, passages from Shaw’s interview in ‘Celebrities at Home’ (*The World*, 18 July 1900) were reprinted in Gibbs’s *Interviews and Recollections*, but without contextualization of Shaw’s relationship to the genre.

²⁴⁹ Weintraub tells us that Shaw ‘helped complete a biography of himself’ by Frank Harris. Weintraub, *Bernard Shaw: A Guide to Research*, 21. Gibbs has commented on ‘Shaw’s ever-watchful and extraordinarily intrusive supervision of his biographers (Shaw fed both [Archibald] Henderson and [Hesketh] Pearson vast quantities of material, and rewrote extensive portions of their works to his liking).’ A.M. Gibbs, ‘“Giant Brain...No Heart”: Bernard Shaw’s Reception in Criticism and Biography,’ *Irish University Review*, 26, 1 (Spring-Summer 1996), 32. See also T.F. Evans, ed., *Shaw: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976), 25; Evans notes here that when Hesketh Pearson wrote his biography of 1942 *Bernard Shaw: his Life and Personality*, Pearson ‘received great help from Shaw himself, who wrote or rewrote portions of the book.’

²⁵⁰ Holroyd, ‘Shaw at Shaw’s Corner’, in *Writers at Home*, 138.

Shaw Through the Camera, supposedly edited by F.E. Loewenstein, has not been recognized. Loewenstein himself informs us in his introduction that Shaw advised on the project;²⁵¹ but we only understand the full extent of Shaw's involvement when we study the reminiscences of the publisher Harold White.

Although Jonathan Goldman has recently written on Shaw as a 'celebrity' in *George Bernard Shaw in Context* (2015), arguing that his 'self-fashioned iconicity [was] dependent on mass reproduction of images',²⁵² there was little assessment made within the essay of the playwright's long-standing engagement with the mass media in terms of visual and material culture, especially popular culture. Goldman's essay would have been significantly enriched by the inclusion of some of the Shaw's Corner press cuttings, or the NT Shaw photographs, which form part of the Shaw's Corner collections. Goldman includes a photograph of Shaw with other celebrities such as Charlie Chaplin during the 1930s, and mentions that Shaw's 'dummy' was exhibited at Madame Tussaud's,²⁵³ but there is no attempt to historicize or contextualize this kind of image-making through an examination of the actual press reports and illustrated magazines. This gap in the literature as far as Shaw's participation in visual culture is concerned has led to presumptions and inaccuracies. Many press photographs of Shaw have been used in the secondary literature without crediting the original source, and with little consideration for the original specific contexts for their media usage.²⁵⁴ Laurence's bibliography did not record the presence of photographs, thus there was no sense of Shaw's self-promotion and involvement in the world of photojournalism.²⁵⁵

A further area of Shaw's interests which are in evidence in the house, but absent from the literature and lacking in studies of Shaw's dramaturgy, are the decorative and applied arts. The lack of references to this aspect of material culture in relation to his work I would suggest is directly related to the absence of an academic study of his personal artefacts and

²⁵¹ Fritz Erwin Loewenstein, ed., *Bernard Shaw through the Camera* (London: B&H White, 1948), 9.

²⁵² Jonathan Goldman, 'Celebrity', in *George Bernard Shaw in Context*, ed. by Brad Kent (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 263. On this point see also Goldman, *Modernism is the Literature of Celebrity* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 9.

²⁵³ Goldman, 'Celebrity', in *George Bernard Shaw in Context*, 256.

²⁵⁴ One example of this has occurred with a photograph taken by Doreen Spooner of Shaw standing at the gate at Shaw's Corner in 1948. The photograph, published originally in *Illustrated* magazine, has been used several times by Holroyd (for example *The Genius of Shaw*, 228; and *Writers at Home*, 127), but without crediting the photographer or source.

²⁵⁵ For example Laurence's catalogue entry for Shaw's piece in *Illustrated* magazine in 1948, in *Bernard Shaw: A Bibliography* (1983), fails to mention the fact that a large photograph of Shaw at Shaw's Corner was on the front cover, with others used to illustrate the text. *Illustrated* (20 November 1948). The photograph on the cover of Shaw was by Lisa Sheridan (see figure 303). The article inside the magazine by Charles Hamblett, 'Teatime Talk with G.B.S.', 12-13, was illustrated with two photographs by Doreen Spooner. Laurence, ed., *Bernard Shaw: A Bibliography*, vol.2, 803.

attitude towards material culture. Dukore for example cites Shaw, in a letter to Ricketts, describing his desire to locate in the Wallace Collection or the Victoria and Albert Museum ‘one of those fillettes that one sees on French eighteenth-century crockery of the most elegant pre-revolutionary period’.²⁵⁶ Yet there is no attempt to analyse or contextualize this revealing glimpse of Shaw’s connoisseurial traits and interest in ceramics.

Holroyd edited *The Genius of Shaw* which included images, although many were, like Margaret Shenfield’s *Pictorial Biography* (1962),²⁵⁷ illustrative in a very general sense rather than any attempt at showing details of Shaw’s engagement with artefacts. That said, the presence of Morris textiles in a press photograph of Shaw was noted by Shenfield, although she incorrectly identified Shaw’s Corner as the location.²⁵⁸ Her observation is the only mention of Shaw’s connection to Morris textiles in the whole of the secondary literature.²⁵⁹ Shaw’s biographers have reproduced some of the NT photographs of Shaw and others where Morris fabric is displayed, but without ever commenting on the furnishings.²⁶⁰ I discuss Shaw’s relationship to Morris & Co. furnishings in chapter one in the context of his socialist aestheticism.

The profound absence of significant scholarly engagement with Shaw’s relationship to artefacts and material culture was repeated in the literature with the publication of *George Bernard Shaw in Context*. In a volume that contains forty two essays, only three specifically address Shaw’s artistic contexts (the essays on ‘publishers and publishing’, the ‘visual arts’, and ‘cinema’),²⁶¹ within a very broad category defined as ‘Writing and the Arts’. There are

²⁵⁶ Shaw to Charles Ricketts, 10 April 1911, in Charles Ricketts, *Self-Portrait*, ed. by Cecil Lewis (London: Peter Davies, 1939), 162-63; quoted in Dukore, *Shaw’s Theater*, 122, and Dukore, *Bernard Shaw Director*, 160.

²⁵⁷ Margaret Shenfield, *Bernard Shaw: A Pictorial Biography* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1962).

²⁵⁸ Shenfield, *Bernard Shaw: A Pictorial Biography*, 82. Her incorrect description of the photograph reads: ‘a portrait of Shaw at the window of his study at Ayot St Lawrence.’ (Shenfield, *Bernard Shaw: A Pictorial Biography*, 138). The image actually records the presence of Morris & Co. fabrics (curtains in *Compton*, and a *Honeysuckle* window-seat) in the Shaws’ flat at Adelphi Terrace, London, 1905. The photograph of Shaw by Ernest H. Mills appears in a privately printed book of portrait photographs of Shaw (kept in store at Shaw’s Corner), compiled and presented to Charlotte by the American publisher W.H. Wise. An inscription beneath the image reads: ‘taken at Adelphi Terrace in 1905 at the time he was writing “Major Barbara.”’ Another inside the book gives the provenance: ‘These portraits of the Great Man who has played leading roles on the world’s stage for a whole generation are respectfully dedicated to his General Manager behind the scenes Charlotte Frances Shaw, W.H. Wise, New York April 12th 1933.’ (NTIN 3063760). For a copy of Mills’s photograph, see Getty Images 2664454. <https://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/2664454>

²⁵⁹ Fiona MacCarthy, for example, suggests that a cultural history might be written in terms of the use of Morris furnishings, yet fails to mention the Shaws among the consumers. *William Morris: A Life for Our Time*, 413.

²⁶⁰ Holroyd includes photographs of Charlotte, and Shaw’s mother in HOL2 (figures 2b and 30 respectively) where both are pictured against Morris fabrics, but makes no comment on the furnishings.

²⁶¹ The essays are as follows: Michel W. Pharand, ‘Publishers and publishing’ (175-82); Martin Meisel, ‘Visual arts’ (183-96); John McInerney, ‘Cinema’ (119-26). See Brad Kent, ed., *George Bernard Shaw in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

no individual sections on his relationship to artefacts, or on dress,²⁶² or on his homes and interiors, although Meisel reproduces images of the portraits of Shaw by Newcombe and Partridge (versions of which can be seen at Shaw's Corner).

This gap in the literature and knowledge is surprising given that in Shaw's world artefacts are often the bearers of complex symbolic, iconographic, or satirical meanings both on and off stage. Shaw would even employ artefactual metaphors, drawing comparisons between the creative acts of weaving or sculpting, and the art of the dramatist. Artefacts and furnishings he used at home appeared on stage, and vice versa. Thus an ability to decode the décor and uncover the symbolic significance of the artefacts and furnishings mentioned in his plays and dramatic criticism is crucial for my study here, precisely because of these reciprocal relationships. If an artefact appeared on stage, it was often because it had meaning for Shaw in his personal life at home, associated with an existing interior, or a past experience. This applies to artefacts such as Morris textiles, convex mirrors, silver, Arts and Crafts furniture, private press books, sculpture and Chippendale style chairs, all of which he lived with in his various homes, and placed into his settings on stage.²⁶³ Whilst Gahan has observed: 'scholars have become increasingly aware that Shaw's art was a much more thoroughly conscious one than was ever suspected, or revealed by him,'²⁶⁴ and Gibbs noticed that 'Shaw's life was imitating his art'²⁶⁵ when he employed his chauffeur Kilsby at Ayot (mirroring the fictional Tanner's employment of Straker in *Man and Superman*), there has been no recognition that this reciprocity extended to Shaw's artefacts.

Shaw's stage-props reflect the characters in the plays, and I would suggest as a parallel to this strategy certain artefacts at Shaw's Corner operate symbolically revealing clues about Shaw. William Hogarth's paintings with their detailed interiors (much admired by Shaw) have been

²⁶² The significance of Shaw's consumption of clothing has long been marginalized by certain Shavian scholars. Tony Stephenson, for example, felt that Margot Peters should have excluded from her book *Bernard Shaw and the Actresses* (1980) 'the more trivial details' of Shaw's 'shopping expeditions to Jaeger's.' Tony Stephenson, 'Shaw's women', review of *Shaw and the Actresses* by Margot Peters, in *SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, vol. 1, ed. by Charles A. Berst (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1981), 250.

²⁶³ For example 'Morris chintz window curtains and brocade covers' (IV, 720) were employed to decorate Mrs. Higgins's drawing room in Act III of *Pygmalion*, mirroring the ways in which the Shaws' lived with Morris textiles at home in the London flat and at Shaw's Corner. In fact, for the first London staging of *Pygmalion* in 1914 at His Majesty's Theatre, fabrics were chosen that reflected those in the Shaws' flat at Adelphi Terrace, such as Morris's *Honeysuckle* chintz.

²⁶⁴ Gahan, 'Ruskin and Form in *Fanny's First Play*', 85. Gahan reiterated this in a further article, arguing that Shaw's 'art was a far more consciously crafted one than was suspected in his own lifetime.' Peter Gahan, 'Back to Methuselah: An Exercise of Imagination', in *Shaw and Science Fiction, SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, vol. 17, ed. by Milton T. Wolf (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 215.

²⁶⁵ Gibbs, *Bernard Shaw: A Life*, 270.

recognized as a ‘rich source for material culture historians’²⁶⁶ and I suggest we view Shaw’s use of ‘props’ in a similar way. Meisel has also compared Shaw to Hogarth, observing how Shaw ‘made decor no less than configuration part of his toolkit, and built it into his stage directions’.²⁶⁷ However Meisel describes Hogarth’s ‘items of decor’ as ‘incidental’,²⁶⁸ and I argue that for Shaw the opposite was true. Artefacts were deliberately placed in certain mise-en-scène, and their meanings were essential to the overall message of the play, just as they profoundly affect the meaning of Shaw’s Corner. Berst’s thesis, which I endorse, is that Shaw’s use of props is ironic and symbolic, allowing them to participate in the action as a ‘visual arguments.’²⁶⁹ Christopher Gray argues that Shaw’s iconographic approach was directed towards ‘a novel-reading public’, and argues that ‘close attention should be paid to [Shaw’s] set descriptions’.²⁷⁰ Dukore noted how his directorial input included controlling the staging of his plays, with a close eye kept on the ‘props’.²⁷¹

A sense of Shaw’s personal fascination with artefacts, furnishings and interiors beyond the theatre is lacking in the literature, but is evident in his correspondence. Shaw would often write to people describing the domestic spaces he experienced personally with great passion and knowledge. Take for example the following postcard written to Charlotte whilst he is abroad staying in a hotel in France: ‘I have a fourteenth century room, massively beamed walls & ceiling, four poster bed, tapestried dados behind the washing & toilet tables, gate table nearly as big as the one at Ayot,²⁷² oak chest, oak wardrobe, ecclesiastical Gothic looking glasses, mullioned traceried windows, and everything handsome. It makes all the difference.’²⁷³ This unpublished letter shows him in a new light, and questions some of the received perceptions.

²⁶⁶ Sara Pennell, ‘For a crack or flaw despis’d’: Thinking about Ceramic Durability and the ‘Everyday’ in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century England’, in Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, eds., *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 37.

²⁶⁷ Meisel, ‘Visual arts’, 189-90.

²⁶⁸ Meisel, ‘Visual arts’, 190.

²⁶⁹ Berst, ‘The Action of Shaw’s Settings and Props’, 44.

²⁷⁰ Christopher Gray, ‘The Devil on the Road to Damascus: Saint Paul in *The Devil’s Disciple*’, in *SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, vol. 31, ed. by Michel W. Pharand (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 68. In his analysis of Shaw’s play *The Devil’s Disciple* (1897), Gray highlighted the ways in which Shaw’s stage-props enabled the audience to interpret his play as a parable, or as a form of ‘religious allegory’.

²⁷¹ See Bernard F. Dukore: ‘During rehearsals, Shaw took notes on scenery and properties. He reminded the property master that Ramsden’s copy of *The Revolutionist’s Handbook* [in *Man and Superman*] should be new... that in *Fanny’s First Play* the piano-stool was filthy, the piano needed polishing, and the carpet was too small.’ Dukore, *Bernard Shaw Director*, 149.

²⁷² Shaw is referring to the Shaw’s Corner gateleg dining-room table here, which the Shaws would purchase from Lane-Claypon in 1920.

²⁷³ Shaw to Charlotte Shaw, 20 August 1912, (from the Hotel Excelsior, Nancy), BL Add. MS 46506, f.133.

Whilst Tony Stafford recently acknowledged Shaw as a ‘visual artist’ in *Shaw’s Settings: Gardens and Libraries* (2013), his book (published without a single image) concluded that ‘we can safely describe the patterns and significance of those settings’,²⁷⁴ but without commenting on Shaw’s reciprocal strategies between home and stage, or his emphasis on artefacts and the interiors he experienced personally. An earlier article by Stafford²⁷⁵ on the use of the fireplace as a domestic symbol in Shaw’s plays would have been enhanced by the recognition that fireplaces featured in photographic (self)-portraits of Shaw at Shaw’s Corner. There was also the critique in Shaw’s writings of reciprocity in the commercial Edwardian theatre,²⁷⁶ which has been highlighted by design historian Christopher Beward but was missing from Stafford’s study.²⁷⁷

Christopher Newton however, a practising director, has asked important questions about Shaw’s artefacts, made apparent to him in the staging of Shaw’s plays, which inevitably involves the transference of text to visual performance as the following passage indicates. In the souvenir programme note to his 1990 adaptation of Shaw’s *Misalliance* (1909) he observed: ‘An audience before the First World War would have understood the nuances of the chairs, the taste behind the Viennese pottery. All the little things that Shaw describes would have a richness of meaning. For us these meanings are recondite and particular. (What is the difference between Heals and Maples?)’²⁷⁸ In Shaw’s bedroom at Shaw’s Corner there are pieces of furniture by both Maples and Heal’s. Despite the fact that Newton had not made the connection to Shaw’s personal world of artefacts, there was nevertheless an awareness of the significance of the decorative arts for him as a playwright.

²⁷⁴ Tony Jason Stafford, *Shaw’s Settings: Gardens and Libraries* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2013), 125.

²⁷⁵ See Tony Jason Stafford, “‘The End of the Hearth and Home’: The Deconstructing Fireplace in Shaw’s Early Plays”, *The Independent Shavian*, 44, 1-2 (2006), 17-30.

²⁷⁶ Shaw famously characterized the strategy as ‘a tailor’s advertisement making sentimental remarks to a milliner’s advertisement in the middle of an upholsterer’s and decorator’s advertisement.’ Shaw, ‘The Echegaray Matinées’, *Saturday Review*, 27 February 1897, reprinted in *Bernard Shaw The Drama Observed: Volume III: 1897-1911*, ed. by Bernard F. Dukore (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), 789. Cited in Joel H. Kaplan and Sheila Stowell, *Theatre and Fashion: Oscar Wilde to the Suffragettes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 11; and in Russell Jackson, ‘Victorian and Edwardian stagecraft: techniques and issues’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian and Edwardian Theatre*, ed. by Kerry Powell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 59.

²⁷⁷ Christopher Beward, “‘At Home’ at the St. James’s: Dress, Decor, and the Problem of Fashion in Edwardian Theater”, in *The Edwardian Sense: Art, Design, and Performance in Britain, 1901-1910*, ed. by Morna O’Neill and Michael Hatt (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 160. Beward’s essay has also been published in Fiona Fisher et al, eds., *Performance, Fashion and the Modern Interior* (Oxford: Berg, 2011), 83-96. Stafford failed to engage with the cultural contexts for Shaw’s critiques of domestic space and artefacts, which were often aimed at subverting or mocking upper or middle-class taste.

²⁷⁸ Christopher Newton, quoted in Keith Garebian, *George Bernard Shaw and Christopher Newton: Explorations of Shavian Theatre* (Oakville: Mosaic Press, 1993), 127-28.

PART TWO

Research aims and methodology

Contrary to the literature I aim to show that many of the artefacts including clothing, sculpture, furnishings and books had particular meanings for Shaw associated not only with socialism, but with aesthetic appreciation, patronage, self-commemoration, self-fashioning, personal pleasure, and friendship. One of the main aims of the thesis is to reveal the nature of Shaw's relationships to artefacts through contextualization. The literature review has exposed an insistence on a link between Shaw's Fabian socialism, interpreted through asceticism or the absence of taste, and the artefacts at Shaw's Corner. Collectively there were judgements made about the house and its contents which failed to appreciate Shaw's personal goals and interests, ignoring the specific artefacts he engaged with.

This thesis aims to demonstrate that profound philosophical, iconographical and aesthetic meanings underscore many of Shaw's artefacts at Shaw's Corner. I will show how the artefacts are connected to his plays and ideas, illuminating aspects of his personality. The condemnation of Shaw's Corner in the literature is arguably related to the absence of a serious study on Shaw and material culture. Other writers of Shaw's period, for example, Oscar Wilde, Virginia Woolf, and Henry James²⁷⁹ have all generated a wealth of scholarship in fields relating to visual and material culture, partly because their own domestic interiors have been perceived as interesting. Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello have spoken of the 'material turn' in history,²⁸⁰ but this has not been felt in the domain of Shaw studies.

The aim of the project is to ultimately assist the Trust in engaging the public through displays of new knowledge uncovered by the thesis, thereby enhancing the visitor experience. The displays within the house have generated a series of questions from visitors and staff concerning the artefacts, their history and provenance, and the ways in which they relate to

²⁷⁹ See for example Simone Francescato, *Collecting and Appreciating: Henry James and the Transformation of Aesthetics in the Age of Consumption*, Kerry Powell and Peter Raby, eds., *Oscar Wilde in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), and Maggie Humm, *Modernist Women and Visual Cultures: Virginia Woolf, Vanessa Bell, Photography and Cinema* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002). Others of note include Elinor Shaffer, *Erewhons of the Eye: Samuel Butler as Painter, Photographer and Art Critic* (London: Reaktion Books, 1988), Janell Watson, *Literature and Material Culture from Balzac to Proust*, Gerard De Vries and D. Barton Johnson, *Vladimir Nabokov and the Art of Painting* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), Laura Colombino, ed., *Ford Madox Ford and Visual Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), Claire O'Mahony, ed., *Symbolist Objects: Materiality and Subjectivity at the Fin de Siècle* (High Wycombe: The Rivendale Press, 2009), and Nathalie Aubert, ed., *Proust and the Visual* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012).

²⁸⁰ Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, eds., *Writing Material Culture History* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 1.

Shaw's life and work.²⁸¹ This thesis, contrary to the usual format for a doctorate, has to serve as a practical, working document and an enduring resource for a range of audiences including the staff and volunteers of the National Trust. The in-depth footnotes for example mark the intersection between the needs of the museum and the university which this thesis can be seen to embody, and hence express the difficulties in negotiating the demands of institutions, the academic world, and the public within the same project.²⁸² The footnotes and referencing must be detailed enough to enable future researchers to take forward various aspects of the research.²⁸³

If this project is to have lasting significance, it has to do more than simply inventorize or provide data concerning provenance. It is only through contextualization in the wider cultural sphere that we will be able to appreciate the full significance of the collections, and what they can tell us about Shaw. I aim to situate the artefacts within the numerous artistic contexts Shaw operated in such as the art world, the theatre and media. Various historians have warned against examining artefacts without placing them in their historical context. T.H. Breen, for example, argued that: 'Closely argued studies seldom rise above the particular. They reveal to us objects that happened to have been listed in probate inventories; in other words, they show us decontextualized things that have lost their meanings, that no longer tell us stories about the creative possibilities of possession, about the process of self-fashioning.'²⁸⁴

Based on the initial research findings, the playwright's interest in art and design reflected in the artefacts signalled that potential methodological models for the project needed to focus on material culture, and move beyond the literature on 'writer's houses' owing to the constraints imposed by 'literary tourism' historically. With this emphasis on the 'writer', other artefacts such as sculpture and clothing (among the most meaningful artefacts for Shaw personally as I show in chapter three) have been marginalized as my literature review reveals, as they do not

²⁸¹ One visitor comment read: 'maybe should be more information about his life and plays rather than just being a book behind the door near the kitchen.' Comment left by a visitor to Shaw's Corner, 18 September 2010.

²⁸² These tensions between museum professionals and university-based art historians have been explored in Charles W. Haxthausen, ed., *The Two Art Histories: The Museum and the University* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002).

²⁸³ Gibbs has highlighted problems with the four volume biography by Holroyd in this regard, which I uphold, considering the volumes to be 'generally without adequate acknowledgement', resulting in a resource that is 'unreliable as a work of reference.' Gibbs, *A Bernard Shaw Chronology*, 5. In fact Gibbs has criticized the majority of Shaw's biographers in this way, believing that they 'leave much to be desired in terms of scholarly standards and procedures, and identification, use and acknowledgement of sources.' Gibbs, *A Bernard Shaw Chronology*, 5.

²⁸⁴ T.H. Breen, 'The meaning of things: interpreting the consumer economy in the eighteenth century', in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. by John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1993), 251.

necessarily fit comfortably within the genre of the ‘writer’s house’ as it has traditionally been conceived.

The genre of ‘writer’s houses’, as it was rather narrowly defined during the 1980s when Holroyd wrote his piece on Shaw’s Corner, has changed however in recent years owing to new interdisciplinary scholarship in the fields of cultural studies, art history, material culture, and museology. Harald Hendrix’s *Writers’ Houses and the Making of Memory* (2008), a volume which contains contributions from scholars working in all of these areas, is indicative of this shift in methodological focus where the essays examine the homes of figures such as William Morris, Pierre Loti, The Goncourts, and the Rossettis for example, who were engaging with their houses, interiors and artefacts in more artistic ways.²⁸⁵ In the field of histories of material culture and collecting I also refer to Emery’s work on the *Writer House Museum* in view of her specific focus on photojournalism, and to the volume of essays edited by Temma Balducci, *Interior Portraiture and Masculine Identity in France, 1789-1914* (2011)²⁸⁶ owing to the attention paid to visual discourses.

For Hendrix however the house takes precedence over the artefacts contained there. As he explains, the theme of *Writer’s Houses* ultimately remains ‘the house’s literary and historical significance.’²⁸⁷ The focus on space rather than artefact also characterizes Nuala Hancock’s recent study of Charleston and Monk’s House, the artistic homes of Vanessa Bell and Virginia Woolf where the author expresses in her phenomenological exploration a sense of the ‘emotionally textured’ interior spaces.²⁸⁸ Hancock’s volume bears similarities in method and tone with Diana Fuss’s work *The Sense of an Interior: Four Writers and the Rooms that Shaped Them* (2004).²⁸⁹ The pervading spirit of Shaw’s Corner was established by Shaw not through changes to the décor in the manner of Woolf or Bell, but through the artefacts and his engagement with them. This thesis differs therefore in that it addresses the artefacts, rather

²⁸⁵ Harald Hendrix, ed., *Writers’ Houses and the Making of Memory* (London: Routledge, 2008). The essays included the following: Vita Fortunati, ‘William Morris’s Houses and the Shaping of Aesthetic Socialism’; Stephen Bann, ‘A Nomadic Investment in History: Pierre Loti’s House at Rochefort-sur-Mer’; Claire O’Mahony, ‘*La Maison d’un artiste*: The Goncourts, Bibelots and Fin de Siècle Interiority’; and Paola Spinozzi, ‘In Vasto and in London: The Rossettis’ Houses as Mirrors of Dislocated National Identities’.

²⁸⁶ Temma Balducci et al, eds., *Interior Portraiture and Masculine Identity in France, 1789-1914* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

²⁸⁷ Harald Hendrix, ‘Writers’ Houses as Media of Expression and Remembrance: from Self-Fashioning to Cultural Memory’, in *Writers’ Houses and the Making of Memory*, ed. by Harald Hendrix (London: Routledge, 2008), 7.

²⁸⁸ Nuala Hancock, *Charleston and Monk’s House: The Intimate House Museums of Virginia Woolf and Vanessa Bell* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 2; 165; 171.

²⁸⁹ Diana Fuss, *The Sense of an Interior: Four Writers and the Rooms that shaped them* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004).

than the house.

Although Alison Booth in her article ‘Houses and Things: Literary House Museums as Collective Biography’ lists various categories of artefact (including possessions, gifts, keepsakes, portraits) that collectively form what she terms ‘biographical narrative as prosopography’,²⁹⁰ there is little sense in her work in which a more expansive definition of the author house museum might be envisaged to include an individual’s artistic interests. Booth continues to assert that ‘one of the most important categories of items in authors’ houses represents the act of writing: the study, the desk and chair, the pen.’²⁹¹ Other forms of personal artefacts are sacrificed in order to reinforce her insistence that the literary house museum must be ‘a collective undertaking.’²⁹² Booth seeks to ascribe universal meanings to these artefacts, but there is risk of an erasure of the personality in the process in the denial of the particular. In certain respects, conceptualizing an individual’s house as a space where there are ‘infinite narratives to trace about each thing’²⁹³ is oxymoronic. I will show that for Shaw, there were often very specific meanings attached to artefacts; although that of course does not preclude the interpretation and translation of those meanings for a wider audience.

Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton have argued in *The Meaning of Things: Domestic Symbols and the Self* (1981) that it is ‘easy to admit that the things people use, own, and surround themselves with might quite accurately reflect aspects of the owner’s personality.’²⁹⁴ According to Gerritsen and Riello, material culture refers to objects that ‘have meanings for the people who produce and own, purchase and gift, use and consume them.’²⁹⁵ This follows the definition of material culture outlined by Jules David Prown: the ‘underlying premise is that objects made or modified by man reflect, consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly, the beliefs of individuals who made, commissioned, purchased, or used them.’²⁹⁶ The notion that the ‘things that surround us are inseparable from who we are’²⁹⁷ has been explored more recently by scholars working in the field of material culture studies, and

²⁹⁰ Alison Booth, ‘Houses and Things: Literary House Museums as Collective Biography’, in *Museums and Biographies: Stories, Objects, Identities*, ed. by Kate Hill (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2012), 236.

²⁹¹ Booth, ‘Houses and Things’, 237.

²⁹² Booth, ‘Houses and Things’, 239.

²⁹³ Booth, ‘Houses and Things’, 244.

²⁹⁴ Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Eugene Rochberg-Halton, *The Meaning of Things: Domestic Symbols and the Self* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 14.

²⁹⁵ Gerritsen and Riello, eds., *Writing Material Culture History*, 2. Material culture incorporates consumption, but also the discarding of artefacts, which has relevance for Shaw. See Judy Attfield, *Wild Things: The Material Culture of Everyday Life* (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 3.

²⁹⁶ Jules David Prown, ‘Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method’, in *Art as Evidence: Writings on Art and Material Culture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), 70.

²⁹⁷ Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, *The Meaning of Things*, 16.

the volumes of essays edited by Susan M. Pearce, John Potvin and Alla Myzelev, Claire O'Mahony, Edwards and Hart, and John Elsner and Roger Cardinal, have provided a source of ideas regarding artefact interpretation and methodological focus.²⁹⁸ Articles that have focussed on 'biographical' artefacts within other National Trust properties have similarly proven to be useful for thinking through some of the methodological issues.²⁹⁹

This thesis aims to challenge the entrenched ideas about Shaw's lack of an aesthetic sense and his supposed rejection of an embodied materiality, which involves an assessment of his relationship to material and visual culture. The selection of a material culture studies approach was made owing to the close links to the fields of art and design history. Here the emphasis is not only on a detailed study of archival material, but on iconographic interpretation. Material culture (and as part of this, visual culture) is able to provide the theoretical tools through which Shaw's relations to artefacts can be usefully analysed, where the focus might be on 'representation, semiotics, ideology, agency, identity, memory, production and consumption, [and] the everyday.'³⁰⁰

Prown's definition of 'artefact' is deployed throughout the thesis given that it is broad enough to incorporate paintings and implements for example.³⁰¹ This is essential since Shaw's material culture ranges from cars and office equipment, to books, furniture, photography, sculpture, and clothing. Shaw's range of interests across multi-disciplinary fields encompassing aspects of art history and aesthetics, design and mass culture, makes it necessary to consider a variety of archival sources. Part of the methodology also involves bringing these sources together, and in some cases reuniting artefacts with extant objects in

²⁹⁸ Susan M. Pearce, ed., *Interpreting Objects and Collections* (London: Routledge, 1994), Potvin and Myzelev, eds., *Material Cultures, 1740-1920: The Meanings and Pleasures of Collecting*, O'Mahony, ed., *Symbolist Objects*, Edwards and Hart, eds., *Rethinking the Interior*, and John Elsner and Roger Cardinal, eds., *The Cultures of Collecting* (London: Reaktion Books, 1994). See also Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and Their Possessions*.

²⁹⁹ See for example Gillian Naylor's study of Ernö Goldfinger at 2 Willow Road: Gillian Naylor, 'Modernism and Memory: Leaving Traces', in *Material Memories: Design and Evocation*, ed. by Marius Kwint et al (Oxford: Berg, 1999), 91-106. See also Eleanor Quince's article on Denis Diderot's dressing gown in relation to Tatton Park Mansion: Eleanor Quince, "'This scarlet intruder': Biography interrupted in the Dining Room at Tatton Park Mansion', in *Biographies and Space: Placing the Subject in Art and Architecture*, ed. by Dana Arnold and Joanna Sofaer (London: Routledge, 2008), 55-72.

³⁰⁰ Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, eds., *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 10.

³⁰¹ Prown, 'Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method', in *Art as Evidence*, 71-72. Prown's broad definition differs from others utilized in material culture studies, for example by Susan M. Pearce, where there is a desire to separate artefacts from art. Pearce argues that because of the evocation of the artisan with practical skills, the term 'artefact' should be applied to the more 'humble' material things such as 'ordinary tables and chairs, rather than paintings and sculptures.' Pearce, ed., *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, 11.

the collections. This applies particularly to the thousands of photographs taken by Shaw, which have been separated from the other artefacts. The photographs are in fact part of the National Trust collection, and were only removed from the house and placed in the Archives at LSE in 1979 for conservation purposes. Shaw's photographs (now digitised and partially catalogued as a result of the 'Man and Cameraman' project at LSE which commenced in 2010) have proved indispensable.³⁰² As I argue throughout the thesis, it is often only by seeing Shaw's photographs of certain artefacts from the house, his self-portraits, or his postcards from various art galleries and museums,³⁰³ and by painstakingly re-establishing their links to the collections that we can begin to understand the meanings artefacts had for him personally.

The dispersal of the Shaw's Corner collection extended beyond the photographs, yet it is often assumed in the literature that the collection stands 'complete' as one of those fortunate 'literary museums' that has 'never been dislodged.'³⁰⁴ Shaw's Corner was felt to be like other literary house museums such as Kipling's Batemans: 'in which the principle rooms, at least, survive...intact, as they were the day the author died.'³⁰⁵ The Trust continues to stress in the promotional literature that the house is 'just as he left it'.³⁰⁶ Lizzie Dunford claimed that 'all four of the principle rooms on the ground floor have remained intact',³⁰⁷ and in *Hidden Britain* (2008) Tom Quinn similarly stated that 'all the rooms are much as Shaw left them.'³⁰⁸ But when the house was opened in 1951, the way it was staged was not an accurate reflection of how Shaw had lived there. Evidence of Shaw's personal and artistic interests had been removed from the property by both Shaw's housekeeper Alice Laden (who rearranged the

³⁰² The George Bernard Shaw Photographic Collection is temporarily stored at LSE. The digital catalogue and image database is currently being transferred from LSE Calmview to the National Trust Collections Management System (CMS). (<http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/place/shaw's-corner>).

³⁰³ For example Gahan's study of Shaw's borrowings from Fouquet would have been enriched by the inclusion of Shaw's postcard of a 'miniature de Fouquet: Le Martyre de Sainte Apolline' from the Musée Condé in Chantilly. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715251.116). Shaw had also owned a copy of the Bibliothèque Nationale Département des Manuscrits *Reproductions of Miniatures by Jean Fouquet*. This book was among those sold at auction by Shaw in 1949 (Sotheby & Co, 25 July 1949, NAL).

³⁰⁴ Booth, 'Houses and Things', 231.

³⁰⁵ David Parker, 'Literary Museums: Present Opportunities', quoted in Booth, 'Houses and Things', 231.

³⁰⁶ Shaw's Corner, National Trust leaflet, 2010. See also the National Trust website: 'The house remains much as he left it.' <http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/shaws-corner/features/the-collection-at-shaws-corner> (accessed 5 January 2016).

³⁰⁷ Lizzie Dunford, 'Shaw's Other Island: Prints of Dublin in the Dining Room at Shaw's Corner', *The Shavian: The Journal of The Shaw Society*, 12, 2-3 (Autumn 2012-Spring 2013), 42.

³⁰⁸ Tom Quinn, *Hidden Britain* (London: New Holland, 2008), 67. On this point see also Robert Fedden, *The National Trust Past and Present* (London: Jonathan Cape. 1974).

interiors after Charlotte's death³⁰⁹), and the National Trust (who held various auctions of Shaw's possessions).³¹⁰ As the first curator of the property, Laden also moved or discarded various things during the four and a half month period between Shaw's death and the opening of the house in March 1951.³¹¹

Unlike the Arts and Crafts interiors at 7 Hammersmith Terrace, the home of Shaw's close friend the printer, engraver and typographer Emery Walker which were preserved with most of Walker's possessions in situ by his devoted daughter Dorothy, many of Shaw's belongings were sold at auction, lost, removed, given away or even stolen, making it much harder to trace the evidence of his artistic endeavours and networks at Shaw's Corner. In order to rediscover some of the 'absent' artefacts, and understand the lost contexts, cross-referencing is required to reunite the different types of material and evidence, whether in the form of other artefacts, letters, household papers and invoices, which are located in a range of archives, largely across Britain and America. Various personal items that were previously at Shaw's Corner are now dispersed in American archives. For example, several items of clothing are in the HRC, Texas, including Shaw's Jaeger socks. Shaw's motoring files are at Cornell,³¹² and his gardening gloves are now part of the Richard S. Weiner Collection at Colgate University, New York.³¹³ Collating an extensive range of material from a number of different archives, re-establishes Shaw's connections to the artefacts, and the aims of this thesis based on contextualization become achievable.

My method brings texts (defined by Prown as 'verbal data'³¹⁴), and visual sources such as popular magazines, photographs and press cuttings, into a dialogue with Shaw's artefacts.

³⁰⁹ An unpublished drawing of Shaw by his neighbour the sculptor Clare Winsten hints at the level of Alice Laden's overbearing management of the house (and its artefacts) during the 1940s, as it displays the following inscription: 'GBS telling us about his last play: "I am writing a play in which there is an old man who has a housekeeper who is so house-proud that she gradually eliminates everything that is personal in the house until he feels a perfect stranger there."' Drawing of Shaw by Clare Winsten, signed 'C. Winsten, Ayot St. Lawrence, 1950'. (HRC, Art Collection: 65.527.46).

³¹⁰ The auctions of Shaw's possessions organized by the National Trust are outlined in Appendix 4.

³¹¹ Contemporary photographs of the main ground floor rooms at Shaw's Corner, taken either in 1950 or early 1951 (prior to the opening of the house to the public) provide evidence of the changes made by Laden to the rooms, as I indicate in chapter one.

³¹² The extensive 'Motoring File of George Bernard Shaw' is now part of the Burgunder Collection, Cornell University Library, but was originally filed in the cabinets in the study at Shaw's Corner. (Shaw's hand-written notes appear on the card dividers). It appeared for sale in Magg's Catalogue, Spring 1968, when it was purchased by Burgunder for £110. Burgunder: BUR, XXI, Bound Manuscripts 50. Bernard Shaw Motoring Papers and Pictures (1913-1939).

³¹³ See Ferguson, 'The Richard Weiner Collection', 151. The Weiner collection also contains Shaw's 'manuscript cabinet.'

³¹⁴ Prown's list includes 'documents, literature, diaries, letters, [and] philosophical writings'. Prown, 'Style as Evidence', in *Art as Evidence*, 53. Under the heading 'documents' I include inventories, invoices and sales catalogues.

Analysing visual evidence is a vital part of the thesis methodology. As various historians have acknowledged, visual history appears so often to be lacking in plausibility or reliability compared to written history,³¹⁵ yet in Shaw's case it provides valuable affirmation of his actions. Laurence has admitted that on occasion Shaw was an unreliable witness as far as textual evidence was concerned,³¹⁶ and Shaw himself recognized this, writing to Sydney Cockerell: 'My memory is excessively theatrical. It arranges everything for the stage. This is artistically a great improvement; but as police evidence it is worthless.'³¹⁷ Coupled with the fact that he was famous for his contradictory stance expressed in his writings, this makes the presence of the visual and material records of Shaw's life extremely important.

Material culture was also considered appropriate owing to its emphasis on uncovering meanings. Harvey indicates the advantages of the material culture interdisciplinary approach which 'encapsulates not just the physical attributes of an object, but the myriad and shifting contexts through which it acquires meaning.'³¹⁸ Following Bernard Herman, my study is 'object-driven'³¹⁹ and concerned with 'historical contexts.'³²⁰ There is also the question of agency: how the artefacts (such as sculpture and clothing) may be seen to construct elements of Shaw's identity, rather than merely reflecting it. As Harvey argues, with a material culture approach 'objects are active and autonomous, not simply reflective.'³²¹

³¹⁵ See Katy Layton-Jones, 'Visual Quotations: Referencing Visual Sources as Historical Evidence', *Visual Resources: An International Journal of Documentation*, 24, 2 (July 2008), 189-99. As Prown observes, '[h]istorians are less at ease when they are called on to consider as evidence nonverbal materials which have survived from the past... Every time a person in the past manipulated matter in space in a particular way to satisfy his practical or aesthetic needs, he made a type of statement, albeit a nonverbal statement that is considerably more difficult for most of us to comprehend than a written statement.' Prown, 'Style as Evidence', in *Art as Evidence*, 53.

³¹⁶ Dan H. Laurence points out that in 1946: 'Shaw's insistence... that his post-1885 manuscripts had not survived was either an extraordinary case of forgetfulness or a colossal, self-protective lie.' Laurence, CL4, 766. Shaw would on occasion hint at the ways in which his texts were unreliable records: 'Every play, every preface I wrote conveys a message... If you piece the various messages together, you will find an astonishing unity of endeavour, often, I admit, disguised and embroidered.' 'Shaw Looks at life at 70', interview by G.S. Viereck, extensively revised by Shaw, *London Magazine* (December 1927), 615-23, quoted in HOL1, 403.

³¹⁷ Shaw to Sydney Cockerell, 25 June 1935, CL4, 412.

³¹⁸ Harvey, ed., *History and Material Culture*, 3.

³¹⁹ As Herman explains, 'object-driven studies take the evidence and questions generated by material culture and extend them into a broader inquiry aimed at the interpretation of society and culture.' Bernard L. Herman, 'The Discourse of Objects', *The Stolen House* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992), 11.

³²⁰ 'For us to derive meaning from material culture we must reconnect objects to their historical contexts.'

Bernard Herman, quoted in Harvey, ed., *History and Material Culture*, 11.

³²¹ Harvey, ed., *History and Material Culture*, 3.

Definitions and artefact selection

Prior to examining the rationale for the artefact selection, it is important to define some key terms. Socialism, connoisseurship, and self-fashioning require defining in relation to the specific contexts of Shaw's life and work. Given that Shaw's conception of socialism changes historically³²² precise definition is a difficult task, however Gareth Griffith provides a useful definition in *Socialism and Superior Brains: The Political Thought of Bernard Shaw* (1993), where he discusses 'the essential character of Shaw's vision of socialism as a rational moral order without class, poverty, idleness or waste.'³²³ Thus whilst Shaw's vision formed an 'unstable mixture of pragmatism and idealism, militancy and reformism', always constant was the 'underlying commitment to equality as the goal of socialism'.³²⁴

Diana Maltz has described Shaw's friend the Christian Socialist and Fabian Stewart Headlam³²⁵ as a 'socialist-aesthete',³²⁶ and I employ the same phrase in chapter one to define Shaw's engagement with artefacts where there is an attempt to fuse artistic concerns with socio-economic ones. Figures such as Morris have similarly been defined through 'aesthetic socialism',³²⁷ with his art and politics forming part of what has been termed a 'socialist aesthetic',³²⁸ although as I explain, Shaw distances himself from Morris on certain points when discussing art, beauty, and utility.

³²² Shaw was initially interested in Marxist economics during the early to mid-1880s, attending meetings of the Social Democratic Federation and then Morris's Socialist League, shifting towards the Fabian Society's ideal of progress and social reform by gradual and non-violent means. (Shaw joined the Fabians on 5 September 1884). However disillusionment with the Labour Party during the 1930s and 40s saw him turn back towards a more revolutionary, 'Communitic' approach he associated with Morris and the Soviet Union. Shaw would later write to Emery Walker: 'Morris was right after all. The Fabian parliamentary program was a very plausible one; but, as Macdonald has found, parliament and the party system is no more capable of establishing Communism than two donkeys pulling different ways.' Shaw to Emery Walker, 25 January 1932, CL4, 274. Morris had told Sidney Webb in 1895: 'the world is going your way at present, Webb, but it is not the right way in the end'; quoted in Charles Harvey and Jon Press, *William Morris: Design and Enterprise in Victorian Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), 165.

³²³ Gareth Griffith, *Socialism and Superior Brains: The Political Thought of Bernard Shaw* (London: Routledge, 1993), 110.

³²⁴ Griffith, *Socialism and Superior Brains*, 111. That Shaw cared very much about such things is evidenced by the famous epigram from 'Maxims for Revolutionists' in *Man and Superman*: 'What is the matter with the poor is Poverty'. (II, 794).

³²⁵ Shaw explained in his essay 'On the History of Fabian Economics' how 'the Arts and Crafts exhibitions, the Anti-Scrape (Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings) and the Art Workers' Guild, under Morris and Crane, kept up a very intimate connection between Art and Socialism; but the maintenance of Fabian friendly relations with them was left mostly to me and Stewart Headlam.' Shaw, 'On the History of Fabian Economics' (Appendix 1), in Edward R. Pease, *The History of the Fabian Society* (London: A.C. Fifield, 1916), 264.

³²⁶ Diana Maltz, *British Aestheticism and the Urban Working Classes, 1870-1900: Beauty for the People* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 15.

³²⁷ Teukolsky uses the phrase 'aesthetic socialism' in 'Socialist Design at the Fin de Siècle', in *The Literate Eye*, 152; see also Vita Fortunati, 'William Morris's Houses and the Shaping of Aesthetic Socialism', in *Writers' Houses and the Making of Memory*, ed. by Harald Hendrix (London: Routledge, 2008), 163-73.

³²⁸ Livesey, 'William Morris and the Aesthetics of Manly Labour', in *Socialism*, 33.

By use of the term ‘connoisseur’ here I refer to the dictionary definition of ‘a person with a thorough knowledge and critical judgement of a subject, especially one of the fine arts’.³²⁹ However I expand Shaw’s specific ‘connoisseurial’ skills in this regard, moving beyond his abilities as an art critic to incorporate those of the art historian working in the humanist tradition.³³⁰ Shaw placed emphasis on an iconological method of appreciating and evaluating art history. He was also concerned with assessing and reforming matters pertaining to value, quality and taste in the wider culture, relating to his educational role as art critic, which at times meant he had an ambiguous relationship to the consumer. As I explain in chapters one and two, Shaw can be seen to participate in a cultural shift towards the redefinition of a ‘connoisseur’ in the early twentieth-century, reflecting a desire to bring ‘good’ taste to all.

Shaw’s control of his self-image relates to Stephen Greenblatt’s definition of self-fashioning in the sense that his shaping of identity was achieved as part of a theatrical strategy ‘with an eye to audience and effect.’³³¹ Shaw would have felt at home in the sixteenth century society Greenblatt describes ‘whose members were nearly always on stage.’³³² Marcia Pointon discusses Greenblatt’s theory in the context of projection. An ‘imagined image of the self’ has a material or visual product: ‘[c]ommissions for portraits and commissions for dress.’³³³ This has relevance for my reading of Shaw’s use of sculpture, portraits and dress. I argue that for Shaw in terms of his self-fashioning there is an emphasis on visibility and dandyism as it is defined through late Victorian figures such as Wilde and James McNeill Whistler,³³⁴ whilst the rhetorical strategies employed relate to Thomas Carlyle.

The selection of certain artefacts from the Shaw’s Corner collection was based on a study of Shaw’s interests expressed through visual culture or his writings, especially his prefaces and plays. The literature review also highlighted Morris as a particular influence, whilst certain artefacts (sculpture and clothing for example) were found to be particularly expressive of his

³²⁹ Lesley Brown, *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

³³⁰ Shaw’s connoisseurial interests in this regard anticipate the concerns of the art historian Erwin Panofsky, who distanced himself from more traditional connoisseurship where the focus was on authenticity and formal analysis, and shifted towards the iconographic study of painting and sculpture. Indeed there are some interesting parallels in the preoccupations of both men. Panofsky would later write on early Netherlandish paintings, Dürer, and tomb sculpture, all of which fascinated Shaw. Panofsky’s works included *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer* (1943); *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origin and Character* (1953); and *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (1964).

³³¹ Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 162.

³³² Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 162.

³³³ Marcia Pointon, *Portrayal and the Search for Identity* (London: Reaktion, 2013), 128.

³³⁴ ‘Whistler’ in the text subsequently refers to the artist James McNeill Whistler, distinct from ‘Rex Whistler’, who is mentioned in chapter two.

intellectual and philosophical interests. The artefacts discussed typically fall into three potentially intersecting categories, each of which reveals intervention on Shaw's part: artefacts by artists or designers Shaw knew personally (whose work Shaw owned, presented as gifts, or supported financially); artefacts that Shaw featured in his plays and other writings; and artefacts that featured in photographs by (and of) Shaw. As a general rule, Shaw photographed the artefacts that particularly interested him, or posed with them, or wrote about them. This method was felt to be the most likely to produce the desired research outcomes: that is, being able to discern which parts of the collection were meaningful for him personally, relating to the wider contexts of his ideas and work. This is important, because it allows us to identify artefacts in the house that were associated with Shaw, rather than with Charlotte, given that she too collected many artefacts and paintings, and took an interest in furnishing their houses.

It is necessary therefore to note the methodological implications of identifying Shaw's artefacts. Inevitably with a couple who live together and express their interests and personalities through possessions, and when the home in question was for a great many years a shared enterprise, it is sometimes difficult to discern which of the two individuals concerned was behind the acquisition and display of particular artefacts.³³⁵ Potvin has recently studied the collecting habits and companionship of the artists and connoisseurs Charles Ricketts and Charles Shannon, who were friends of the Shaws, and speaks of their interiors and collection as 'an extension of the couple's identity as Aesthetes.'³³⁶ Collecting and connoisseurship was a vital part of their conscious self-fashioning and formed an integral part of their relationship, and thus their homes; however it is not so easy to make these kinds of claims with the Shaws.

Ricketts's contributions to an interior for example, are made clear through numerous letters to a variety of correspondents (including Shaw), as he describes artefacts he desired and subsequently purchased. But in the Shaws' case it was more complex, and given that the first apartment they shared in London had already existed as Charlotte's home for two years by the time of their marriage in 1898, the assumption in the literature has always been that it was

³³⁵ Christopher Jordan faced similar difficulties in the research conducted for his thesis on the Arts and Crafts collector Ernest Marsh, attempting to distinguish the purchasing habits of Marsh from those of his wife. Christopher Jordan, 'Steering Taste: Ernest Marsh, a study of private collecting in England in the early 20th Century', University of the Arts London, unpublished PhD Thesis, 2007.

³³⁶ John Potvin, 'Collecting intimacy one object at a time: material culture, perception, and the spaces of aesthetic companionship', in *Material Cultures, 1740-1920: The Meanings and Pleasures of Collecting*, ed. by John Potvin and Alla Myzelev (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 193.

furnished in her taste. These were the rooms she rented from 1896 ‘above the newly formed School of Economics in Adelphi Terrace.’³³⁷ Unlike Shaw, she was also used to a substantial degree of luxury owing to her wealthy upbringing at Derry House in Ireland: when they got married newspapers reported that Charlotte had previously given up her ‘sumptuous residence in Piccadilly.’³³⁸

Taking the Shaws’ consumption of Morris textiles as an example of the methodological issues posed by the shared domestic space and possessions, archival evidence would seem to endorse the viewpoint of Charlotte as the creator of the Adelphi Terrace flat interiors, and subsequently those at Shaw’s Corner, where such fabrics were among the furnishings. Charlotte was the recipient of Morris & Co. invoices and receipts, and her cheque counterfoils record her as the account holder with the Company through most of her married life until the firm’s dissolution in 1940.³³⁹ Given too that she wrote to friends about Morris textiles,³⁴⁰ the domestic interiors at Adelphi Terrace might well have incorporated these artefacts before Shaw’s influence.

Yet if the financial records we have for the couple are contextualized, it becomes clear that the arrangement whereby Charlotte was the account holder was actually true for the majority of Shaw’s consumer activities prior to her death, even his personal Jaeger woollen underwear and sheets, so we cannot necessarily assume that the Morris textiles were her purchase alone. I would suggest that given his personal connection to Morris and his appreciation of the firm’s work in many of its forms, at least some of the acquisition relating to the account was shared. Shaw’s patronage of the clothing firm of Jaeger worked in a similar way – with accounts registered in Charlotte’s name, but the spending predominantly his. Owing to the Shaws’ pecuniary arrangements whereby household spending was allocated to Charlotte, accounts were typically registered with retailers in her name, which effectively concealed most aspects of Shaw’s own consumption patterns after his marriage.³⁴¹ Whether this was intentional or not is difficult to ascertain, but the fact that aspects of Shaw’s personal

³³⁷ Dunbar, *Mrs. G.B.S.: A Portrait*, 98. Charlotte moved to the upper floors in September 1896; see Gibbs, *A Bernard Shaw Chronology*, 126.

³³⁸ BL Add. MS 50740, f.29. 9 June 1898: volume of Shaw’s newspaper cuttings.

³³⁹ Charlotte Shaw Papers, BL Add. MS 63202 A-CC, cheque-book stubs. Charlotte’s counterfoils record some of the spending on the Shaws’ Morris & Co. account from 1916 to 1938, although this is not itemized.

³⁴⁰ Charlotte’s correspondence with Dorothy Walker (Emery’s daughter) reveals the two engaged in conversation about certain Morris patterns: ‘Dearest Dolly, Many thanks for answering so promptly & sending the pattern. It is the very thing I want. I think it is a lovely material & I am writing to Morris’s now to see if I can get some of it.’ Charlotte Shaw to Dorothy Walker, 5 August 1931 (HRC, IV, 65.4).

³⁴¹ Shaw explained their arrangement to Sidney Webb: ‘she paid the house-keeping bills and I paid the rents, the travelling expenses and cars, and gave her £1200 a year cash.’ Shaw to Sidney Webb, 2 April 1944, CL4, 705.

consumption has been absorbed within Charlotte's has certainly permitted some writers on Shaw (Michael Holroyd and Margot Peters for example) to make assumptions about his lifestyle, taste, and spending, and I discuss this further in chapter one.

There has also been confusion about the history of the staging of the artefacts within the interiors at Shaw's Corner. This has led to errors and misunderstandings, especially where the archival sources have not been used in conjunction with the material evidence. Dunford has recently used the presence of the eight James Malton aquatints of Georgian Dublin³⁴² and other Irish prints to assert her view that Shaw wanted to express a strong sense of his Irish identity in the house: 'in his later years Shaw was surrounding himself with a visual map of his childhood.'³⁴³ Yet caution is required here. The choice of the Dublin prints and their placement in the dining-room was in fact Charlotte's decision, not Shaw's. Whilst at Ayot in October 1921, Charlotte's diary records that she 'hung pictures in [the] dining room'³⁴⁴ a specific reference to the Malton prints. She displayed another set of these prints at Adelphi Terrace.³⁴⁵ Shaw may have accepted the freedom of the City of Dublin in 1946,³⁴⁶ but that did not mean that he always held the place close to his heart. Indeed he firmly asserted the opposite in prominent pieces of autobiographical writing such as the preface to *Immaturity*, and his *Sixteen Self Sketches*. Speaking of his 'abandonment of Dublin'³⁴⁷ in 1921, Shaw declared: 'when I left Dublin I left (a few private friendships apart) no society that did not disgust me. To this day my sentimental regard for Ireland does not include the capital.'³⁴⁸ Shaw revisited Ireland on a number of occasions between 1905 and 1923, but never returned after that. He did however commemorate his 'birthplace' at 33 Synge Street, by including an image of the house among the photographs he displayed on the mantelpiece.³⁴⁹

³⁴² These were from the series of aquatints by James Malton, etched for *A Picturesque and Descriptive View of the City of Dublin*. They were issued in monochrome in 1799, and later issued in colour aquatint. See Maurice Craig, *Georgian Dublin: Twenty-Five Colour Aquatints by James Malton* (Portlaoise: The Dolmen Press, 1984).

³⁴³ Lizzie Dunford, 'Shaw's Other Island: Prints of Dublin in the Dining Room at Shaw's Corner', *The Shavian: The Journal of The Shaw Society*, 12, 2-3 (Autumn 2012-Spring 2013), 47.

³⁴⁴ Charlotte Shaw Diary entry for 8 October 1921, BL Add. MS 63191 F.

³⁴⁵ The set from Whitehall Court was sold by Shaw at Sotheby's in 1949 when his books were sold: lot 208, Sotheby & Co, 25 July 1949. (Appendix 3).

³⁴⁶ Shaw was photographed by the press signing the document; see *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*, 110. The certificate granting Shaw the Honorary Freedom of the City of Dublin is in the dining-room (NTIN 1275286).

³⁴⁷ Shaw, preface to *Immaturity*, reprinted in *Bernard Shaw: The Complete Prefaces, Volume III*, 27. See also Dan H. Laurence, and David H. Greene, eds., *Bernard Shaw, The Matter with Ireland* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001), 9.

³⁴⁸ Shaw, preface to *Immaturity*, reprinted in *Bernard Shaw: The Complete Prefaces, Volume III*, 26. Laurence and Greene, *Bernard Shaw, The Matter with Ireland*, 8. Charlotte however had fonder memories of Dublin: see Dunbar, *Mrs. G.B.S.: A Portrait*, 26-27.

³⁴⁹ NTIN 1274714.

Charlotte was more concerned with memorializing her Irish roots (and Shaw's) than Shaw was himself. Thomas Jones recalled that Charlotte was 'full of nostalgia for Ireland and its open country and wide skies.'³⁵⁰ The Irish artefacts in the house, aside from those relating to the Cuala Press or Shaw's friendship with Lady Gregory, are largely a reflection of her taste and interests. The paintings by George Russell (the poet 'AE') were specifically Charlotte's possessions, for example, and were purchased by her when she visited him in 1915. Charlotte's diary summary for 1915 records that she 'went to Ireland to Kilteragh on 31st March. Called on AE and had talk with him and his wife; bought two of his pictures.'³⁵¹ Here she was referring to the two oil paintings now at Shaw's Corner, one in the drawing-room entitled 'Children on a Beach', the other in the hall, an 'Irish Landscape.'³⁵²

Structure of the thesis

For the purposes of structuring the thesis, artefacts from the Shaw's Corner collections have been divided across three themed chapters, broadly categorized according to how they relate to Shaw's socialism, his connoisseurial pursuits, and self-fashioning. Chapter one examines furniture and other artefacts that offer insights into Shaw's socialistic viewpoints, including his attitude towards producing and consuming goods in a capitalist society, and equally his friendships and connections to designers associated with the Arts and Crafts movement.

Despite the fact that Shaw was often photographed in the press alongside recognisable Morris furnishings in the domestic interiors he occupied, the thesis identifies Shaw as a critic of the Morrisian legacy in economic terms, manifested in the expensive, usually hand-crafted, furniture of later practitioners of the Arts and Crafts movement. Instead he chose to support artists such as Roger Fry in his formation of the Omega Workshops, and purchased commercial pianos designed by Walter Cave. Shaw's relationship to artefacts made by firms

³⁵⁰ Thomas Jones to Abraham Flexner, 17 August 1941, quoted in Thomas Jones, *A Diary with Letters*, 491.

³⁵¹ Charlotte Shaw Diary Summary for 1915, BL Add. MS 56500, f.47.

³⁵² George Russell, 'A.E.', 'Children on a Beach' (NTIN 1275275); and 'Irish Landscape' (NTIN 1275277). Charlotte also collected paintings by Jack B. Yeats, purchasing his 'Evening, Kildare' at the Dunthorne Gallery, London, in 1936, which was sold by Shaw in 1949 with another work by Yeats owned by Charlotte entitled 'Off the West Coast of Ireland'. 27 July 1949, Sotheby & Co, London, *Catalogue of Modern Drawings and Paintings, including drawings by Rodin and paintings by Jack B. Yeats, The Property of G. Bernard Shaw Esq.* (Appendix 3), lots 154 and 155. Charlotte recorded in her diary that she went to Ireland: 'to see Jack Yeats pictures'. Charlotte Shaw Diary, BL Add. MS 63191 E, 9 April 1920. Celtic Revival jewellery by the Irish maker Mia Cranwill formed a further dimension to her collecting habits (whom Shaw referred to as 'the Benvenuto Cellini of Ireland'). See Joseph McBrinn, 'Collecting the sublime and the beautiful: from Romanticism to revolution in Celtic Revival jewelry', in *Material Cultures, 1740-1920: The Meanings and Pleasures of Collecting*, ed. by John Potvin and Alla Myzelev (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 220.

such as Heal's, Maple's, and Dryad, who were able to adapt to commercial conditions successfully and produce furniture for a broader market is scrutinized.

In the context of Shaw's socialism, the thesis then shifts to examine some contradictions in his consumption patterns. On a wider level, his shopping habits championed popular culture in the form of mass-produced ceramics and a celebration of Woolworths; but equally Shaw embraced more luxurious forms of consumption, enjoying the pleasures brought by expensive motor-cars, silver, and fine quality Georgian-revival furniture. I consider to what extent he viewed personal consumption of such artefacts as a legitimate pursuit for a socialist, and explore his connections to Aesthetic culture.

Chapter two examines Shaw's role as an art patron and connoisseur, including the gifts of sculpture made to institutions. His passion for typography, fine printed books, and engravings is also explored through artefacts remaining in the Shaw's Corner collection. Artistically the influence of Morris stayed with Shaw throughout his life, and this can be seen in his interest in typography, printing and engraving, influencing the aesthetics of his own publications and later collaboration with Farleigh, and through his patronage of various private presses and book-binders associated with the Arts and Crafts movement. Friendships with Douglas Cockerell and Emery Walker are explored, besides his relationship to connoisseurs such as Sydney Cockerell and Ricketts, who were informing his appreciation of the visual and material world. Shaw's connoisseurial pursuits and taste intersected with his role as a patron of the arts, and I explore his extensive social and artistic networks, and his involvement in a commercial gallery which illuminate various items in the collection. These relationships enabled him to make contributions towards exhibitions and institutions, including charities such as the National Art Collections Fund (NACF).³⁵³

Chapter three extends the analysis of Shaw's sculpture to investigate the nature of his fascination with this particular art form, focussing on the artefacts by Rodin, Troubetzkoy, and de Strobl in the house. I argue here that it is only through considering his engagement with sculpture and various forms of 'statue' as it is conceptualized in its extended form by Kenneth Gross in *The Dream of the Moving Statue* (2006)³⁵⁴ that we can begin to understand the meaning for Shaw. Certain artefacts in the collection are examined in the context of his connoisseurial concerns, especially those that incorporated religious or Vanitas symbols.

³⁵³ Today the British charity is known as the 'Art Fund'.

³⁵⁴ Kenneth Gross, *The Dream of the Moving Statue* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006).

Shaw's artistic dialogue with statues and portraiture through photography shifted between narcissism and eschatological themes, encapsulating his thoughts on sculpture as a means of memorialization, and the embodiment of the Life Force.

Shaw's lifelong obsession with being photographed was also closely related to his views on dress. In chapter three, clothing is discussed as one of the keys to unlocking Shaw's positive identification with the sensual body and materiality, and explores how this is connected to his theory of Aesthetic Science. His self-fashioning and dress are viewed in relation to Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* (1836), and the late nineteenth-century Aesthetic movement. I ask to what extent we can link Shaw's self-promotion in the media to the dandyism of Wilde and Whistler, and examine his homage to aspects of Aestheticism (as late as the 1940s) in his creative dialogue with Robert Ho Tung at Shaw's Corner.

CHAPTER ONE

SOCIALISM AND ARTEFACTS: SHAW'S PARADOXICAL CONSUMPTION

‘Artistic furniture could be produced well and cheaply’³⁵⁵: from an Arts and Crafts piano to artefacts by Heal’s and the Omega Workshops

One of the first artefacts the visitor to Shaw’s Corner encounters upon entering the house is an Arts and Crafts Bechstein piano³⁵⁶ designed by Walter Cave and inaugurated at the fourth Arts and Crafts Exhibition of 1893 where Shaw first saw it.³⁵⁷ (Figure 1). A press photograph taken in March 1951 when the house was first opened to the public shows the piano in the hall. (Figure 2).³⁵⁸ Given Shaw’s longstanding commitment to the Arts and Crafts through various friendships forged during his days as an art critic and active socialist, the piano can be seen as a reflection of those artistic and socialistic connections. The piano, together with the pianola, Shaw’s bed from Heal’s, and Morris & Co textiles, constituted the main furnishings the Shaws brought to the house to personalize the spaces during the first fourteen years of their occupancy when Shaw’s Corner was rented. The piano and the bed were probably the first artefacts owned by Shaw to be installed there as part of the move to the property in November 1906, and are therefore important for our understanding of Shaw both on a personal level, and as a socialist attempting to fuse artistic concerns with socio-economic ones.

In the following section I discuss the piano, before examining Shaw’s furniture from Heal’s, Maple’s, and Dryad. These artefacts at Shaw’s Corner articulate issues pertaining to taste, quality, craft, value, economics, and aesthetic display, and are thus reflective of Shaw’s role as a socialist-aesthete. Holroyd has commented that ‘the real world without art was deeply

³⁵⁵ Shaw to Henry Wilson, 10 August 1915, CL3, 306. I discuss this letter in due course.

³⁵⁶ NTIN 1274910.

³⁵⁷ Shaw noted in 1893 ‘went to the Private View [‘Arts and Crafts Exhibition, New Gallery’], where I met a great many people.’ (30 September 1893, BSD2, 971). The piano was listed in the catalogue. Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, *Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society Catalogue of the Fourth Exhibition* (London: The New Gallery, 1893), no. 240.

³⁵⁸ The image was used in the article: ‘To be a memorial and shrine for Shavians: “Shaw’s Corner”, now open to the public’, *The Illustrated London News* (17 March 1951), 407. The hall at this date reflects the restaging by Laden after Shaw’s death: Shaw’s pianola has been removed, and the wheelchair placed in a prominent position next to the fireplace. Compare figure 10 where the pianola is still visible (photographed by Cecil Hallam just a few weeks before, 13 February 1951).

unsatisfying to Shaw, but the art world without reality seemed worse. As a compromise he supported the Arts and Crafts movement.³⁵⁹ I disagree with Holroyd, and argue here that Shaw's attachment to the Cave piano and his consumption of furniture manufactured by Heal's, Maple's, and Dryad, whose products embodied the commercialization of the Arts and Crafts, was not a compromise at all. These firms actually represented exactly the sort of fusion of ideas and practice he admired as a socialist. His patronage of the Omega Workshops however and related purchase of a tray by Vanessa Bell, and also his commission of a silver reliquary from John Paul Cooper, is viewed more from the position of the connoisseur. In certain writings, including letters and prefaces, Shaw rejected the Arts and Crafts ideology of the hand-crafted, precisely because of the association with elitism, luxury and extravagance – but crucially this was not always carried through to the artefacts.

The Walter Cave piano has been celebrated as 'one of the most radical designs ever produced for the British upright piano.'³⁶⁰ Shaw too saw the 'radical' aesthetic embodied by this particular artefact, which complemented the social and performative possibilities offered by pianos in general terms. Certainly he already viewed the *upright* piano (never the grand) as a socialist instrument. The historian and writer Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson remembered Shaw lecturing at Cambridge University in 1888 on 'Socialism: its Growth and Necessity', and noted: 'Seeing we had pianos in our rooms... Shaw pronounced that we were already Socialists in his sense.'³⁶¹ It is interesting to see that the young Roger Fry was at the same lecture: Shaw would later support his Omega Workshops as I discuss in due course.³⁶²

The piano has been described as a 'very unusual *Jugendstil* [sic] Bechstein' by David Huckvale,³⁶³ who worked on the Shaw's Corner music collection during the 1980s, but the instrument was actually designed by the Arts and Crafts architect Cave,³⁶⁴ and far from 'unusual' it became in fact 'a highly successful commercial model'³⁶⁵ at the time it was produced and during the following decade. With a case of plain oak and striking candleholders, the piano was immediately popular and illustrated in *The Studio* magazine in 1894.

³⁵⁹ HOL1, 147.

³⁶⁰ Graham and Hilda Gadd, *The British Art Piano and Piano Design* (Twickenham: Very Yellow Press, 2006), 89.

³⁶¹ Lowes Dickinson, quoted in Gibbs, *Interviews and Recollections*, 57.

³⁶² Lowes Dickinson, quoted in Gibbs, *Interviews and Recollections*, 56.

³⁶³ Huckvale, 'Music and the Man: Bernard Shaw and the Music Collection at Shaw's Corner', 98.

³⁶⁴ See Judith Patrick, *Walter Cave: Arts and Crafts to Edwardian Splendour* (Andover: Phillimore, 2012), 13.

³⁶⁵ Michael I. Wilson, 'The Case of the Victorian Piano', in *Victoria and Albert Museum Yearbook*, No. 3 (London: Phaidon, 1972), 147.

(Figure 3).³⁶⁶ The piano appears in the Adelphi Terrace Inventory (1908), listed as a ‘full compass pianette by Bechstein, in plain oak case of aesthetic design with steel strap hinges, the front with shelf and railed music rest and pair of tapered legs with steel candle holders.’³⁶⁷

Walter Cave was a member of the AWG, and was involved with SPAB, and it is likely that he met Shaw through both these groups. As an architect Cave also designed the ‘Aeolian Hall’ in New Bond Street for the Orchestrelle Company, a significant building for Shaw personally as it was the site where he purchased his Orchestrelle pianolas, and in its previous existence as the Grosvenor Gallery,³⁶⁸ had been where he viewed many art exhibitions during his time as an art critic. The piano designed by Cave was clearly important to Shaw, recalling the time when he had first seen the instrument at the Arts and Crafts Exhibition of 1893 (displayed by the Tottenham Court Road retailers Maple & Co³⁶⁹). The fact that he actually bought and kept two of these pianos for the remainder of his life, one at Shaw’s Corner in the hall, and the other in London at Adelphi Terrace (and then at Whitehall Court) testifies to this.³⁷⁰ Invoices from John Broadwood and Sons for tuning both instruments at Ayot and London during 1946-47 can be found among Shaw’s Business Papers at LSE.³⁷¹

The exact date of purchase of each instrument is unclear however a Walter Cave Bechstein piano is mentioned as forming part of the furnishings in the drawing-room at Adelphi Terrace in *The World* ‘Celebrity at Home’ article of 1900.³⁷² The instrument was described as follows: ‘the little Bechstein piano, a relic of the first Arts and Crafts Exhibition, is to Mr

³⁶⁶ *The Studio: An Illustrated Magazine of Fine and Applied Art*, Volume 2 (1894), 11; 18. The piano was also illustrated in *Furniture and Decoration* (November 1893), 166.

³⁶⁷ Adelphi Terrace Inventory, 1908, 17.

³⁶⁸ Shaw informs us that the ‘old Grosvenor Gallery’ became the ‘Aeolian Hall.’ Shaw, preface to *Immaturity*, reprinted in *Bernard Shaw: The Complete Prefaces, Volume III*, 33.

³⁶⁹ Shaw mentions the company in some of his satirical dramatic reviews, but the Shaws would later hold accounts with Maple & Co., as I discuss shortly.

³⁷⁰ Archibald Henderson describes the position of the Bechstein in the drawing room at Adelphi Terrace. (Henderson, *Playboy and Prophet*, 736). Shaw sold the piano he kept in London at the Phillips auction, 21 June 1949, lot 210. (See Appendix 3). The piano was listed as: ‘An upright pianoforte in light oak case, by Bechstein, and the oak stool to match’. Marked in red in the catalogue ‘£44-00’ (indicating sold price), and ‘property of G. Bernard Shaw’. Another indicator of the significance of the instrument is that apparently Shaw presented the same piano as a gift to his close friend Harley Granville-Barker. Lillah McCarthy and Barker ‘received from the Shaws a wedding present of a Bechstein piano with pianola attachment.’ John O’Donovan, *Bernard Shaw* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1983), 112. This gift is also mentioned in Sally Peters, *The Ascent of the Superman*, 246; although neither author gives the source for the information.

³⁷¹ LSE Shaw Business Papers 25/10, ff.5-6. (Invoice dated 19 January 1948). A letter addressed to Charlotte Shaw from Broadwood & Sons, dated September 5 1941 confirms the presence of two pianos: ‘the tuning of the pianos at both addresses will be continued at the same price as previously.’ (HRC, IV, 66.9).

³⁷² ‘Celebrities at Home’, *The World*, 18 July 1900. Reprinted in Gibbs, *Interviews and Recollections*, 429. Huckvale states that Shaw had owned the piano ‘as early as 1905’ (Huckvale, ‘Music and the Man: Bernard Shaw and the Music Collection at Shaw’s Corner’, 98), but the photographic evidence proves that Shaw’s ownership dates from several years before that, possibly as early as the time of his marriage in 1898.

Shaw what the armchair by the fireside is to other writers.’³⁷³ Numerous photographs of Shaw posed with the Cave piano survive, with some being created specifically for publication, indicating his desire to fashion his public image through artistic artefacts instead of those which routinely define the ‘writer’ as the magazine article indicated.

A photographic self-portrait dated to 1901 reveals Shaw playing the Bechstein at Piccard’s Cottage.³⁷⁴ (Figure 4).³⁷⁵ Shaw is referring to this image in a letter of 1902 to the professional photographer Agnes Jennings when he recalls that ‘the best photograph I ever took of myself [was taken] by two candles and a reading lamp’: the candlelight provided by the piano sconces.³⁷⁶ A further photograph published in *The Sketch* ‘Photographic Interview’ of March 1902 shows Shaw posing at the piano in the drawing-room at Adelphi Terrace.³⁷⁷ (Figure 5). This image was one of ten and formed part of a decisive strategy by Shaw to present himself as a socialist-aesthete with artistic sensibilities: he is shown playing Wagner on the piano, exhibits himself within an aesthetic interior filled with Morris & Co. furnishings, and kneels in front of Frederick Hollyer’s portrait of Morris. (Figure 6). (Shaw had been present at the sitting, and was also photographed by Hollyer on the same day).³⁷⁸ A panel from the Morris & Co. *Compton* curtains shown in the photograph survives in storage at Shaw’s Corner (figure 7),³⁷⁹ and the Hollyer portrait today resides in Shaw’s study.³⁸⁰ (Figure 8). Many years

³⁷³ ‘Celebrities at Home’, *The World*, 18 July 1900. Reprinted in Gibbs, *Interviews and Recollections*, 429. The mention of the piano being shown at the ‘first Arts and Crafts Exhibition’ is incorrect, as it was not exhibited until 1893. Henderson repeats the error. See Archibald Henderson, *George Bernard Shaw: His Life and Works* (Cincinnati: Stewart & Kidd, 1911), 24.

³⁷⁴ The Shaws rented Piccard’s cottage, Guildford, as a country retreat from November 1900 to April 1902. The cottage belonged to the Shaws’ friend Christiana Herringham, who would later enlist Shaw’s help to promote the NACF.

³⁷⁵ NT Shaw Photographs 1715213.112. (See also 1715299.25). Verso in Shaw’s hand: ‘GBS at the piano drawing-room in Piccard’s cottage’. This image was reproduced in the book of photographic portraits of Shaw, compiled by W.H. Wise, and dated 1901 (NTIN 3063760). The photograph has been incorrectly captioned in various publications, including *The Genius of Shaw* where it is titled ‘Shaw at the piano at Maybury Knoll, 1905’ (Holroyd, ed., *The Genius of Shaw*, 64); and in Maureen Dillon, *Artificial Sunshine: A Social History of Domestic Lighting* (London: The National Trust, 2002), 111, the caption gives the location as Shaw’s Corner.

³⁷⁶ Shaw to Agnes Jennings, 4 December 1902, CL2, 291.

³⁷⁷ Ten photographs were taken by Foulsham & Banfield and published in *The Sketch* (March 12 1902), 302-03, with the title: ‘“The Sketch” Photographic Interviews: Mr. and Mrs. George Bernard Shaw’. For a copy of the article and images see BL Add. MS 50582A, f.13 recto and verso. The NPG has recently acquired page 303 revealing the nine images that constituted the ‘Photographic Interview.’ (NPG x136852).

³⁷⁸ The V&A dates the photographs of Shaw taken by Hollyer to about 1890 (7660-1938, 7661-1938), but Shaw’s diaries prove that the actual date was 1886. Hollyer’s fee of 21 shillings was paid by Shaw 19 November 1886. (BSD1, 214). May Morris invited Shaw to accompany them to Hollyer’s studio (May Morris to Shaw, undated but according to Shaw’s diary 7 November 1886, BL Add. MS 50541, f.45). Shaw’s diary entry for Monday 8 November 1886 records that he did indeed attend: ‘Hollyer’s...to meet the Morris and get photographed.’ Shaw, 8 November 1886, (BSD1, 211).

³⁷⁹ NTIN 1275386. *Compton* curtains hung at Adelphi Terrace in the drawing-room, designed by J.H. Dearle in 1896. (See Linda Parry, *William Morris Textiles* (London: V&A Publishing, 2013 [1983]), 259, no.95). Patterns such as *Compton* were by Morris’s assistant Dearle, but at the time his designs were ‘passed off as Morris’s.’ See Harvey and Press, *William Morris: Design and Enterprise in Victorian Britain*, 223.

later, Shaw would pose for a 'birthday portrait' for *The Tatler*, playing the Cave piano, (figure 9),³⁸¹ and a further photograph was published in *Sixteen Self Sketches*.³⁸²

As a piece of furniture the Cave Bechstein embodied many of the qualities that Shaw had come to value in an artefact, being functional, attractive, simple in design, commercially available and affordable to a wider group of consumers. In certain ways therefore, the piano embodied Shaw's way of conceptualizing a more 'socialistic' form of consumption. It has been suggested that Shaw, together with his friends Frederick H. Evans and Coburn, saw the pianola as a democratizing instrument as indeed Shaw saw the upright piano. We see Shaw's oak Orchestrelle Thermidist pianola, (partially covered with an Arts and Crafts embroidery), in a photograph of the hall taken in February 1951 where it is positioned in front of the Bechstein piano. (Figure 10).³⁸³ The instrument was purchased for Ayot by Shaw in 1908,³⁸⁴ but was sold by the Trust in 1954.³⁸⁵ For Shaw, Evans, and Coburn, the pianola formed a mechanical analogue to the camera. Various reminiscences record that in fact Shaw would alternate between camera and pianola (used in conjunction with the Bechstein piano) whilst at Shaw's Corner.³⁸⁶ According to Beaumont Newhall the pianola and camera 'liberalized the boundaries of art by putting means of personal expression within the reach of everyone.'³⁸⁷ However the pianola was a costly luxury and only available to a wealthy elite, and despite the

³⁸⁰ NTIN 1274679. This is probably the photogravure printed and published by Emery Walker's firm Walker & Boutall in 1886. A similar print by Walker & Boutall can be found in the collection of the NPG (NPG x3759), although the date given (1884) is incorrect. According to various reminiscences and photographic evidence, an image of Morris by Frederick Hollyer took pride of place in all of Shaw's residences. The print was hung on the wall in Shaw's study at Whitehall Court: a press photograph survives showing the print there in 1934. Getty Images 3311218. <https://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/3311218> The same photograph of Morris is on display in the sitting room at Emery Walker's home, 7 Hammersmith Terrace.

³⁸¹ *The Tatler* (10 August 1932), 236. The portrait by Alfred Eisenstaedt was taken at Whitehall Court to celebrate Shaw's seventy-sixth birthday (26 July 1932). (BUR, XV, 59).

³⁸² A photograph of Shaw playing the piano at Whitehall Court, c.1935. Shaw, *Sixteen Self Sketches*, (opposite page 70), with the title 'Singing and Playing.' (NT Shaw Photographs 1715211.59; see also 1715219.47).

³⁸³ National Trust Archive. The hall, photographed by Cecil Hallam, dated 13 February 1951. (EERO).

³⁸⁴ See LSE Shaw Business Papers 25/2, f.9 (delivery note from the Orchestrelle Company). The pianola was delivered to Ayot on 30 January 1908. It was the push-up variety, and was attached to the Bechstein for playing.

³⁸⁵ See Appendix 4. Shaw's pianola was sold by the Trust in 1954 at a sale of Shaw's possessions held in auction rooms at St. Albans.

³⁸⁶ Hesketh Pearson remembered that sometimes Shaw 'spent whole mornings developing photographs in the dark room, emerging from there at intervals to play his Bechstein with a pianola.' Hesketh Pearson, *Bernard Shaw: His Life and Personality* (London: The Reprint Society, 1948 [1942]), 331. Lillah McCarthy's reminiscences mention similar occasions. Recalling her visits to Shaw's Corner she wrote: 'I had the opportunity of seeing something of his ways of amusing himself. Shaw spent most of his time in the dark room developing photographs. In between whiles he would play his Bechstein with a pianola.' Lillah, McCarthy, *Myself and my Friends* (New York: E.P Dutton & Co, 1933), 82.

³⁸⁷ Beaumont Newhall, *Frederick H. Evans: Photographer of the Majesty, Light and Space of the Medieval Cathedrals of England and France* (New York: Aperture, 1973), 23. See also Molly Mortimer, 'Bernard Shaw – Photographer', *Contemporary Review*, 258 (April 1991), 211-12. Mortimer focusses on Shaw's articles written for the *Amateur Photographer*, including an event at the London Camera Club, an 'Evening of Wit and Music', 1911.

fact that Shaw owned a cheap Kodak box camera, he preferred the expensive, technically complicated Sanderson field camera and Dallmeyer-Bergheim telescopic lenses.³⁸⁸ The Bechstein piano too was an expensive artefact, and although popular among the middle-classes, it would have been far beyond the reach of most consumers.³⁸⁹

Hope Kingsley has observed that for figures such as Coburn and Evans (as members of the group the Linked Ring) ‘the emphasis on connoisseurship and aesthetics would become a rearguard against mass production and modernity.’³⁹⁰ Photography was a skilled hand-craft, as Shaw discovered developing his own photographs at Shaw’s Corner. Photographing and printing were labour-intensive. Andrea Wolk Rager has linked issues of craft and photography in a discussion of Coburn where she evokes Morris: ‘In its opposition to the mechanization and industrialization of photography, Pictorialism was at least partially aligned with the utopian principles of craft espoused by theorists such as William Morris.’³⁹¹ She emphasizes Coburn’s portrayal of himself as a craftsman through his self-portrait *The Copper Plate Press* (1908), and argues that ‘Coburn’s self-fashioning in the guise of the artist-labourer was further motivated by his close personal relationship with the socialist George Bernard Shaw.’³⁹²

One of Shaw’s publishers Grant Richards observed that ‘Shaw, up to his eyes in Socialist propaganda with Morris, was intensely interested in his artistic enterprises.’³⁹³ By the early

³⁸⁸ See Jay and Moore, *Shaw on Photography*, 21; see also Alice McEwan, ‘Shaw Shots’, *The World of Interiors* (July 2013), 92-97. As Jay and Moore have observed, ‘the simplicity of the Kodak box camera began to frustrate his desire for aesthetic and technical control.’ Jay and Moore, *Shaw on Photography*, 21. Unfortunately neither the Sanderson field camera, nor the Kodak survives in the collection. Various pieces of Shaw’s photographic equipment were sold by the Trust at auction sales in 1953 and 1954 (see Appendix 4). Shaw also gave away cameras and related items. A Pressman camera (NTIN 1275498.1) for example had been given to Reverend Davies (the Rector of Ayot St. Lawrence) in the 1940s, but was returned by John Davies in 2012. And the writer Carola Oman, who lived at Bride Hall in Ayot, stated that Shaw gave her ‘some of his cameras and other photographic equipment’ (see Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager*, 160). A later 1920s Dallmeyer folding roll film camera remains in the collection. (NTIN 1275079). Another folding camera is a ‘Uno Cameo’ (NTIN 1275078). For more information on these cameras, see Jay and Moore, *Shaw on Photography*, 21 (notes 39-40). Various additional pieces of equipment remain in the collection, including camera lenses, filters, and a camera viewfinder. The Shaw’s Corner Probate Inventory of 1951 lists the Dallmeyer camera, along with two others: a Contax camera, and a Leica, which were both sold by the Trust in 1953 and 1954. Shaw’s Corner Probate Inventory (Sotheby & Co.), January 1951, 23. (National Trust East of England Regional Office, ref. EERO.GF20:5).

³⁸⁹ In 1908 the valuation of the Walter Cave Bechstein piano was £52-10. (Adelphi Terrace Inventory, 1908, 17).

³⁹⁰ Hope Kingsley, ‘The Cult of Indistinctness’: Art Photography in the 1890s’, in *The Cult of Beauty: The Aesthetic Movement 1869-1900*, ed. by Stephen Calloway and Lynn Federle Orr (London: V&A Publishing, 2011), 250.

³⁹¹ Andrea Wolk Rager, ‘Alvin Langdon Coburn’, in Trumble and Wolk Rager, *Edwardian Opulence*, 312.

³⁹² Andrea Wolk Rager, ‘Alvin Langdon Coburn’, in Trumble and Wolk Rager, *Edwardian Opulence*, 312.

³⁹³ Grant Richards, *Author Hunting: Memories of Years Spent Mainly in Publishing* (London: The Unicorn Press, 1934), 111.

1900s however, Shaw was beginning to question the relationship of the hand-crafted to the machine-made in terms of economics, and was highly critical of aspects of Morrisian production where the focus was on luxury. Despite Shaw's appreciation of Morris's textiles and the Kelmscott Press, he did not approve of everything that Morris & Co. had created, and rejected hand-printed wallpaper for example, on the basis it was a luxurious product.³⁹⁴ Whilst he criticized the popular taste of the consumer (the masses would always, he felt, prefer the Christmas number of *The Illustrated London News* to the Kelmscott Press³⁹⁵), wealthy producers like Morris were equally at fault because of their expensive tastes, as he explained in the preface to *Major Barbara*:

Rich men or aristocrats with a developed sense of life – men like Ruskin and William Morris and Kropotkin – have enormous social appetites and very fastidious personal ones. [...] Trade patterns made to suit vulgar people do not please them (and they can get nothing else): they cannot sleep nor sit at ease upon “slaughtered” cabinet makers’ furniture. [...] They even demand abstract conditions: justice, honor, a noble moral atmosphere, a mystic nexus to replace the cash nexus. (III, 28-29).

Shaw was aware that what had become known as ‘slaughter-house’ furniture in the mid-nineteenth century was anathema to Morris because the goods were badly made as part of an exploitative, capitalist system. Morris's aestheticizing vision instead placed the emphasis on a Marxist ideal of production where goods became the embodiment of human labor: the aim being fulfilling work and a resulting product of quality craftsmanship. More in touch with reality, Shaw understood how ordinary people might seek money rather than ideals of craft and beauty. The harsh conditions endured by the working classes meant they did not want to live the utopian dream of producing hand-made goods in idyllic settings: ‘The poor do not share their tastes nor understand their art-criticisms. They do not want the simple life, nor the esthetic life...’ (III, 29). The connoisseurial pursuits of art and beauty were low on the list of priorities for consumers with little to spend, Shaw felt. This explains his increasing

³⁹⁴ ‘The more luxurious of the old wall papers appeared in his rooms more & more as anachronisms – finally almost as indecencies... the luxuriously beautiful things which dated from the earlier days of Morris & Co...’ Shaw, untitled draft, BL Add. MS 50699, ff.241-247: undated and unsigned, but in Shaw's hand, in pencil. The text was probably composed after Morris's death, and although it was never published, parts were later adapted for his essay of 1936 ‘Morris as I Knew Him’. The untitled manuscript has been catalogued among Shaw's ‘contributions on miscellaneous subjects.’ See Anne Summers, *The British Library Catalogue of George Bernard Shaw Papers* (London: The British Library, 2005), 31. Holroyd made limited use of the manuscript in his biography.

³⁹⁵ Shaw, preface to *Major Barbara* (III, 29).

scepticism of craftsmen like C.R. Ashbee, whose Guild of Handicraft had moved to the Cotswolds in the quest for the ‘Simple Life’, following in the tradition established by Carpenter’s socialistic community experiment at Millthorpe. Working in the exclusively hand-crafted Morrisian tradition, the Guild’s artefacts were expensive.

Shaw articulates a stinging critique of the search for authenticity embodied in Morrisian socialist aesthetics. Hand-crafted artefacts, though without vanity in concept, acquire a prestigious status in relation to mass-produced goods. Shaw echoed feelings that had been voiced at the time by the sociologist Thorstein Veblen, who in fact viewed the Arts and Crafts movement in terms of conspicuous consumption³⁹⁶ and wrote about the exclusivity of Morris’s Kelmscott Press in highly critical tones as I explain in chapter two. Morris had sought social change through artefacts, but in reality his products in many cases ended up ‘ministering to the swinish luxury of the rich.’³⁹⁷ Shaw was calling attention to the dangers of an all too exclusive, aesthetic lifestyle devoid of the kinds of compromise necessary to make art useful or social in *Major Barbara*. Barbara imagines living in ‘an artistic drawing room’ where she and Cusins would become ‘very superior persons, and neither of us a bit of use.’ (III, 183).

Livesey has quoted similar passages from *Major Barbara*, identifying Shaw’s difficulty with Morris’s aesthetics.³⁹⁸ Her summary of Shaw’s critique in the preface is that it confirms ‘the death of the ideal of aesthetic democracy’ and evidence of a ‘utilitarian approach to aesthetics’ among Shaw and the Fabians whose aim was always the ‘reduction of aesthetics to a functional social good.’³⁹⁹ In the light of Shaw’s critique here at this particular historical moment (1905) written after he had spent years as a vestryman on the St. Pancras Council encountering the harsh realities of people’s lives, Livesey’s assessment certainly seems credible. However her viewpoint that across the whole period Shaw embodied the Fabian position, summarized as ‘the separation of political and rationalist truth from aesthetic value and responsiveness’⁴⁰⁰ is inaccurate if we examine the range of artefacts Shaw purchased and commissioned.

³⁹⁶ Thorstein Veblen coined the term, and examined its implications for contemporary society in *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Dover Publications, 1994 [1899]).

³⁹⁷ William Morris quoted in Parry, *William Morris Textiles*, 178. See her note (297, n.5): quoted from W.R. Lethaby, ‘William Morris as Work-Master’, 1901, a lecture given at the Birmingham Municipal School of Art, published in 1902.

³⁹⁸ Livesey, *Socialism*, 195.

³⁹⁹ Livesey, *Socialism*, 195.

⁴⁰⁰ Livesey, *Socialism*, 194.

Nevertheless, a shift in the Shavian perspective towards a more utilitarian approach to some artefacts is discernable at this time in the early twentieth-century, manifested by a concern for cheaper items; and this may account for his turn towards firms such as Heal's, and later even Maples⁴⁰¹, ironically one of the shops he had attacked in his dramatic criticism during the 1890s. Initially Shaw had ridiculed the commercial shopping district of Tottenham Court Road where Heal's and Maples were located, echoing the critique of design reformers such as Charles Eastlake who had described the area as 'that Vanity Fair of cheap and flimsy ugliness.'⁴⁰² This reached its apotheosis in Shaw's *Caesar and Cleopatra* (1898) where the stage directions of Act II criticize the tradesmen of Tottenham Court Road: 'Tottenham Court Road civilization is to this Egyptian civilization as glass bead and tattoo civilization is to Tottenham Court Road.'⁴⁰³ (II, 195). Shaw implies that the pretentiousness and overblown taste of the latter would have little in common with the simplicity of the Egyptians.⁴⁰⁴ Furthermore, as the centre of the furniture retail trade, the area had a poor reputation, which also accounts for Shaw's censure: 'to talk of "Tottenham Court Road furniture" was to imply bad design and doubtful quality.'⁴⁰⁵

By the early 1900s however all this was changing, with Heal's particularly able to combine quality with good design and value for money, reflected in Shaw's personal consumption. Shaw was gradually rescinding his position on furniture and furnishings that had lain firmly with the artistic reformers, shifting towards endorsement of the commercial furnishers. Critics were similarly noticing how firms like Heal's were forging 'a new English Renaissance' in furniture design, their goods demonstrating 'Art and Economy to be

⁴⁰¹ See Dukore, in *Bernard Shaw The Drama Observed: Volume II: 1895-1897*, ed. by Bernard F. Dukore (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), 475. Dukore has described Maples & Co. as a 'fashionable shop that manufactured such items as bedding, cabinets, parquet flooring, and wood panelling, and imported Indian, Turkish, and Persian carpets.' But in its capacity as a large-scale complete house furnisher, Maples was effectively a huge department store by the 1880s, advertised as 'the largest furnishing establishment in the world' and retailing a vast range of commodities for the home. As Clive Edwards explains, the size and trading volume places Maples in a similar category as the department store. See Clive Edwards, *Turning Houses into Homes: A History of the Retailing and Consumption of Domestic Furnishings* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 199.

⁴⁰² Charles Eastlake, 'The fashion of furniture', *Cornhill Magazine* (March 1864), quoted in Frances Collard, 'Historical Revivals, Commercial Enterprise and Public Confusion: Negotiating Taste, 1860-1890,' *Journal of Design History Special Issue: Domestic Design Advice*, 16, 1 (2003), 42.

⁴⁰³ Shaw expressed similar sentiments in a letter to Ellen Terry, where he delights in the 'poetic beauty' of the countryside in Monmouthshire where he is staying, and compares it unfavourably with that of Surrey: 'Dorking & Surrey are to it what Tottenham Court Road is to the 15th century... The fellow who turned out Dorking was a bank holiday tradesman in comparison.' Shaw to Ellen Terry, 5 August 1897, CL1, 791.

⁴⁰⁴ Shaw argued that the tradesmen of Tottenham Court Road would find the interiors of the Alexandrian Palace 'poor, bare, ridiculous and unhomely' owing to the 'absence of mirrors, sham perspectives, stuffy upholstery and textiles'. (II, 195).

⁴⁰⁵ Oliver S. Heal, *Sir Ambrose Heal and the Heal Cabinet Factory 1897-1939* (Wetherby: Oblong, 2014), 53.

reconcilable terms.’⁴⁰⁶ The notion of the connoisseur too was being redefined. *The Bystander* magazine, read by Shaw, reported on Heal’s new furniture on display at the ‘Ideal Home’ Exhibition in an article entitled ‘The Connoisseur’: ‘connoisseurship includes the vast field of new and admirably simple pieces now produced as well as the best examples that have survived from antiquity. It is in this modern department of the arts and crafts that the exhibition is most successful, and among the fortunate in that particular field none are more completely victors than Messrs. Heal and Son.’⁴⁰⁷

Shaw’s bed at Shaw’s Corner (figure 11) was designed by Ambrose Heal, who successfully brought the furnishing store up to date during the early decades of the twentieth century with his Arts and Crafts ‘Cabinet Factory’. Shaw’s wardrobe, seen in his bedroom today, was manufactured by Maples and purchased in 1922.⁴⁰⁸ (Figure 12). As soon as it became certain they would purchase Shaw’s Corner, Charlotte’s diaries record numerous shopping sprees to Heal’s and Maples, with some of the trips made with Shaw.⁴⁰⁹ Shops like Heal’s and Maples in Tottenham Court Road, long associated with placing fashion before quality in the minds of the Victorian design reformers (Shaw included⁴¹⁰) had changed. The more commercial Arts and Crafts manufacturers such as the firm of William Birch (the supplier of chairs for the staging of *Getting Married*, which the Shaws also used at home⁴¹¹) had shown the way forward producing in a part-mechanized way, devoting more attention to both craftsmanship and affordability. The Heal’s catalogue of 1905 *Simple Bedroom Furniture*, stated that their

⁴⁰⁶ H.J. Jennings, *Our Homes and How to Beautify Them* (1902), quoted in Jeremy Cooper, *Victorian and Edwardian Furniture and Interiors* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1987), 236.

⁴⁰⁷ Unsigned, ‘The Connoisseur’, *The Bystander* (21 October 1908), 138.

⁴⁰⁸ NTIN 1274839; a Maple and Co. label is inside the door. According to Charlotte’s diary, the Shaws went ‘to Maples about bed and GBS wardrobe’ on 27 May 1922 (BL Add. MS 63191 G); and her accounts reveal the wardrobe cost £13-11-3. (BL Add. MS 63202 K, f.3; 14 August 1922).

⁴⁰⁹ In June 1922 Charlotte’s diary records that she went ‘to see chairs with GBS after lunch. Maple (bought mirror)’. (9 June 1922, BL Add. MS 63191 G). However it is unclear which chairs or mirror she is referring to. On 18 March 1923, her diary records that they went ‘to Heals’. (BL Add. MS 63191 H). The Shaws also made purchases from the antique shops of Hatfield, as Charlotte recorded in her diaries: 29 May 1920: ‘to Hatfield and lunch with W. Speight furniture dealers. Went over the house’. (BL Add. MS 63191 E). 15 February 1921: ‘into Hatfield with GBS – looked at furniture’. The aumbry (NTIN 1274771), and sideboard (NTIN 1274757) in the dining-room were probably purchased from Speight’s gallery, Hatfield, at this time.

⁴¹⁰ In his dramatic criticism, Shaw focused on the prevalence of fashionable display in the theatre where people ‘love nothing better than a built-in stage drawing room full of unquestionable carpets and curtains and furniture from Hampton’s and Maple’s, not to mention a Swan & Edgar windowful of costumes.’ Shaw, ‘Church and Stage’, *Saturday Review*, 22 January 1898, reprinted in *Bernard Shaw The Drama Observed: Volume III*, 984.

⁴¹¹ Oak ‘rush-bottomed chairs’ (III, 548) designed and made by the firm of William Birch for example, were used in the first staging of *Getting Married* in 1908 at the Haymarket Theatre, and similar ones were used by the Shaws at home, possibly at Shaw’s Corner. A William Birch Arts and Crafts style chair can be seen in one of the press photographs of the auction held in St. Albans on 14 January 1954, when many of the Shaws’ possessions were sold by the National Trust. (Appendix 4). Scenes from the play were photographed and reproduced in various popular magazines. These reveal Shaw’s setting of the Norman kitchen in the Palace of the Bishop of Chelsea where eight of the Birch chairs were featured. *The Illustrated London News*, 30 May 1908 (V&A Theatre and Performance Collection).

aim was to unite ‘the many good qualities of the past with inexpensiveness’, producing furniture that would ‘come within the means of the modest man, and yet be well-constructed, simple, convenient and entirely satisfying to the senses.’⁴¹² By 1914 the large furnishing firms patronized by the Shaws (Heal’s, Maples, and Shoolbred’s for example), had become department stores and were able to base their growth on a ‘policy of low prices.’⁴¹³

Shaw’s engagement with Arts and Crafts products, economics, and commerce in the environments he worked within as art critic and socialist, encouraged him to think about all aspects of production and consumption of artefacts. Shaw took full advantage of the events organized by the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society (which developed out of the AWG) socially and politically, and his diaries record him attending many of the Arts and Crafts Exhibitions,⁴¹⁴ meeting makers, writing about their work, and engaging in political discussions.⁴¹⁵ Shaw may well have known some of the cabinet makers and furniture designers employed by Heal through his connections to the AWG. This combination of interests in how things were made, but also sold and consumed in the marketplace, affected the choice of individuals and groups he patronized after Morris’s death, and shaped the artefacts he used personally both in the country at Ayot and in London.

The crucial difference for Shaw was that craftsmen such as Heal were trying to engage new consumers by making their products more affordable, taking the ethical principles of the Arts and Crafts and applying them to more commercial production. As part of this process of adaptation, these designers incorporated some machinery into production techniques, although hand-craft techniques remained a major feature of their practice.⁴¹⁶ Morris himself, as Shaw knew, did not necessarily make handwork an absolute principle. It was the harsh

⁴¹² Egan Mew, in *Simple Bedroom Furniture*, 1905, quoted in Oliver S. Heal, *Sir Ambrose Heal*, 70.

⁴¹³ Patricia Lara-Betancourt, ‘Conflicting Modernities? Arts and Crafts and Commercial Influences in the Decoration of the Middle-Class Home 1890-1914’, unpublished PhD thesis, Kingston University, 2008, 4.

⁴¹⁴ For example in 1888, at the first Exhibition, he comments in his diary: ‘Spent the afternoon at the New Gallery, where I seemed to know everybody.’ (29 September 1888, BSD1, 416). And in 1889 he notes: ‘to the Arts and Crafts where I had a long talk with John Burns, whom I had not met since the strike. I knew so many people there that I did not get away until after 5.’ (5 October 1889, BSD1, 546). John Burns was a socialist, who had played a major part in both Bloody Sunday and the London Dock Strike. He was also an engineer in a printing machine works.

⁴¹⁵ Shaw’s diary notes for example: ‘to [Philip] Webb, with whom I spent the rest of the evening very pleasantly. Talking about art, as usual, and about the proposed Socialist Alliance.’ (30 January 1893, BSD2, 900). On another occasion he notes: ‘met Emery Walker, with whom I had a long discussion about the withdrawal of the Fabian from the Joint Committee of Socialist Bodies.’ (7 December 1893, BSD2, 993). A ‘Joint Committee’ meeting had taken place between the Fabian Society, Morris’s Hammersmith Socialist Society and the SDF. Shaw had helped Morris to draft the *Manifesto of English Socialists* with Hyndman, in an attempt to unite the various factions. The ill-fated alliance provoked much debate.

⁴¹⁶ Oliver Heal notes that there was only ‘limited’ machinery available to the Cabinet Factory. See Oliver S. Heal, *Sir Ambrose Heal*, 70.

‘intangible machine of commercial tyranny’⁴¹⁷ that he fought against, not always the ‘tangible steel or brass machine’ of the workshop. Indeed Shaw recalled the time when ‘going through his Merton factory with him, I dared to say “you ought to get a machine to do that”. He replied “I’ve ordered one”.’⁴¹⁸

One of the most interesting artefacts at Shaw’s Corner is Shaw’s oak bed,⁴¹⁹ originally designed by Ambrose Heal in 1898 as wooden bedstead ‘no. 117’ to accompany the ‘Fine Feathers’ bedroom suite that formed part of his new furniture collection made by his Cabinet Factory.⁴²⁰ (Figures 13 and 14).⁴²¹ Although there is no evidence that Shaw and Ambrose knew each other personally, the two men possibly met at the exhibition of furniture displayed by Kenton & Co. in 1891.⁴²² In a design that shows the influence of Charles Rennie Mackintosh with the emphasis on the upright slats and verticality, the bedhead retains the original curtain rail at the top (it was designed to incorporate a textile). However the bedhead was either adapted to incorporate the two slats that run horizontally, or was possibly a slightly later model.⁴²³ The bed-end is decorated with pewter and ebony inlays in a heart-shaped design mirroring the typical Arts and Crafts motif found on the staircase at Shaw’s Corner. This striking design was among those celebrated in a special catalogue published in 1898, *A Note on Simplicity in Design in Furniture for Bedrooms with Special Reference to Some Recently Produced by Messrs. Heal and Son*⁴²⁴ with an article by Gleeson White, the editor of *The Studio* magazine, who was acquainted with Shaw through his journalism.⁴²⁵

Originally made in mahogany, the oak version of the bed was only available from 1900 to

⁴¹⁷ William Morris, ‘Art and its Producers’, in *Collected Works*, vol.xxii (1888), 352, quoted in Tanya Harrod, *The Crafts in Britain in the 20th Century* (London: Yale University Press, 1999), 17.

⁴¹⁸ Shaw, ‘More about Morris’, 4 October 1949, BL Add. MS 50699, f.222. This was published as an article in *The Observer* (6 November 1949). Shaw’s recollection has been quoted in the literature on Morris; for example Paul Thompson, *The Work of William Morris* (London: Heinemann, 1967), 87.

⁴¹⁹ NTIN 1274869.1-2.

⁴²⁰ Oliver S. Heal, *Sir Ambrose Heal*, 150.

⁴²¹ I am grateful to Oliver Heal for providing the image from the original catalogue. Ambrose’s colour wash design for the bed is reproduced in Oliver S. Heal, *Sir Ambrose Heal*, 150.

⁴²² Shaw attended the Kenton & Co exhibition of furniture on 14 December 1891 (BSD2, 775). Greensted and Carruthers have argued that Ambrose too saw this show; see Greensted and Carruthers, *Good Citizen’s Furniture*, 104.

⁴²³ Oliver Heal in an email to Alice McEwan suggested this may have been a later model. (23 July 2013). Although the embossed oval brass plate ‘Heal & Son’ found on the bottom rail was ‘used in the years around 1900.’ See Oliver S. Heal, *Sir Ambrose Heal*, 131; 153.

⁴²⁴ Oliver S. Heal, *Sir Ambrose Heal*, 67-69; 156.

⁴²⁵ Gleeson White appears in Shaw’s address book, BL Add. MS 50715, for the years 1887-1898, f.119 verso. The Shaws subscribed to *The Studio* magazine; see Charlotte’s invoice from W.H. Smith & Son, 23 October 1925, where it is listed among the periodicals received via subscription. (HRC, IV, 68.2).

1907,⁴²⁶ having been designed to match the Fine Feathers Suite which was being discontinued around 1906.⁴²⁷ In the light of this the bed would probably have been purchased by the Shaws prior to the move to Shaw's Corner⁴²⁸ – perhaps as a bed for Shaw during the period of renting other country houses in the years 1900-1906. The Shaws rented most of the furniture at Shaw's Corner from 1906 until their purchase of the house in 1920 as I have explained. Thus it is interesting to see that Charlotte's inventory of the furniture they rented from Duddington did not include beds in the list of items in the two rooms Shaw and Charlotte used for themselves.⁴²⁹ This is significant because it means that they were clearly using their own beds, supporting the idea of the purchase of the Heal's bed before the move to Shaw's Corner.

It is likely that Shaw used the bed by Ambrose Heal throughout the period at Shaw's Corner from 1906 until his death. Further evidence substantiates this, showing that a different bed was used in the London flats. The 1908 inventory for Adelphi Terrace, for example, lists an 'oak French bedstead' for Shaw's bedroom there: later press photographs survive revealing him lying in bed at Whitehall Court, and it is not the Heal's model (see figure 266).⁴³⁰ Given that Shaw was very particular about the environment in which he slept, paying close attention to details such as Jaeger sheets (I expand on this in chapter three), I suggest the Heal's bed was his personal choice; and he would later die in the bed after it was brought downstairs to the dining-room during his final illness, visible in various press photographs taken in November 1950. (Figure 15).

Further examples of Heal's furniture were purchased by the Shaws for Ayot according to photographic and archival evidence. During the mid-1920s the Shaws also acquired a Heal's Arts and Crafts rush-seated chair, designed by Ambrose and made by the cabinet factory.⁴³¹ (Figure 16 shows a similar model⁴³²). This was a limed oak lattice-back armchair, dating to circa 1925, and although it is no longer in the collection, we know of its existence because of photographs taken by Shaw of the Austrian playwright Siegfried Trebitsch (his German

⁴²⁶ Oliver S. Heal, *Sir Ambrose Heal*, 157.

⁴²⁷ Oliver Heal in an email to Alice McEwan, 23 July 2013.

⁴²⁸ Oliver Heal in an email to Alice McEwan, 23 July 2013: 'I wonder if Shaw bought this before he moved to Shaw's Corner.'

⁴²⁹ Charlotte Shaw's 'Inventory of the rented furniture at Ayot', dated 20 March 1917, 2. (HRC, IV, 64.2).

⁴³⁰ AP Images ID 4610090112. The photograph was published in the *Daily Mail*, October 1946 (MM).

⁴³¹ The armchair was known as a 'writing chair' and appeared in the Heal's catalogue of 1930 ('A Matter of Taste in Furniture', 32) priced at £6-12-6, model no. C.1640. I thank Oliver Heal for providing this information.

⁴³² The photograph of a similar chair is shown courtesy of The Millinery Works Ltd., Islington: thanks to Derek Rothera and Brian Thompson. They have dated the chair to circa 1925.

translator), who is depicted standing next to the chair when he visited Ayot in November 1927.⁴³³ (Figure 17). The chair was sold by the National Trust at the St. Albans auction of 1954.⁴³⁴ Figure 18 shows a photograph of the auction room where the Heal's chair can be seen suspended from the ceiling for viewing purposes prior to the sale.⁴³⁵ Ambrose Heal, like Shaw, was strongly influenced by Morris, and believed in producing simple, useful furniture to high standards. Various commentators have noted how he was able to make a 'practical thing' out of Morris's 'romantic theories',⁴³⁶ observing that his oak furniture 'must have come somewhere near to William Morris's ideal of honest craftsmanship at reasonable prices.'⁴³⁷

The clearest statement we have of Shaw's appreciation of Heal's furniture actually came during a revealing letter to his old friend the silversmith and architect Henry Wilson, who was writing to ask for Shaw's support during 1915 whilst formulating his plans to hold an exhibition of the decorative and applied arts in London.⁴³⁸ Although evidence suggests that Shaw took part in the debates that occurred at the time,⁴³⁹ he was however unwilling to help, and sent Wilson the following reply:

The Arts & Crafts exhibitions have ceased (or passed out of my knowledge) after demonstrating that artistic furniture could be produced well and cheaply by Tottenham Court Road tradesmen like Heal, and most villainously, expensively and inefficiently by the "craftsmen" who despised them...

You may revive the Arts & Crafts Society, and convince the cottage "artist" that to make an ugly chest of drawers out of unseasoned wood; stain it

⁴³³ Photograph of Siegfried Trebitsch by Shaw, taken in the garden at Shaw's Corner, 1927. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715506.14).

⁴³⁴ The chair was sold by the National Trust, 14 January 1954, at the same St. Albans auction as the William Birch chair. (See Appendix 4).

⁴³⁵ 14 January 1954. Printed text verso: 'Auction of G.B.S. possessions... Many admirers of George Bernard Shaw and souvenir hunters were present at today's auction sale of some of his household possessions from "Shaw's Corner" at Ayot St. Lawrence (Herts). The sale was under the direction of the National Trust... Mr. A.E. Bolton with Shaw's trouser press and Mr. George Lyons with two bowls from Shaw's Corner, arranging the lots prior to the auction at St. Albans this afternoon. The furniture etc. surrounding the two men also belonged to G.B.S.'

⁴³⁶ Robert Harling quoted in Oliver S. Heal, *Sir Ambrose Heal*, 3.

⁴³⁷ Dan Klein and Margaret Bishop, *Decorative Art 1880-1980* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1986), 96.

⁴³⁸ Wilson's exhibition became the eleventh show of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, held at the Royal Academy in 1916.

⁴³⁹ Charlotte Shaw's diaries record their attendance at an 'Arts and Crafts Conference' on 24 November 1915; see the diary entry, 24 November 1915, BL Add. MS 63190 M. Given the time frame, we can assume this was related to Wilson's 1916 Exhibition.

green; devote it to the Simple Life; and offer it to our cottagers for 36 guineas, is not to contribute usefully to the welfare of Man. You understand that; so more power to your elbow. Crane didnt [sic] *quite* – except in theory. The Artist sneering at “trade finish” was too strong for him when his mind set.⁴⁴⁰

Crucially what emerges here is that Shaw felt that the products of Heal’s were socially progressive because they operated on a more commercial level, offering quality and value for money, but were also ‘artistic’. Art and economy were becoming reconcilable: ‘artistic furniture could be produced well and cheaply’ by Heal’s he stressed. Here was the potential for a genuine socialization of art: goods could be made accessible to a wider group of consumers. Artefacts of everyday use were aestheticized he argued, but without the sham authenticity of some of the other ‘villainous’ craftsmen associated with the Arts and Crafts, whose products were by comparison expensive and inefficient.

Regrettably MacCarthy has recently misinterpreted and misquoted this important letter from Shaw to Wilson in her exhibition *Anarchy and Beauty*. By relying on secondary sources⁴⁴¹ (where only parts of the above letter have been cited) she has taken Shaw’s comments out of context and assumed that he was directing his attack at Heal’s: ‘the designs illustrated in Heal & Son’s carefully designed catalogues and price lists include plain oak furniture for the living room and dark green painted furniture for the bedroom, prompting Bernard Shaw’s quip about staining the simple life green and selling it to cottagers for 36 guineas.’⁴⁴² With his references to ‘stain it green’, ‘36 guineas’ and the ‘Simple Life’ Shaw was in fact doing the opposite. He was celebrating Heal’s, and was again (as in the preface to *Major Barbara*) making a specific criticism of the expensive artefacts produced by C.R. Ashbee and the Guild of Handicraft, and probably also Gimson and the Barnsleys in the Cotswolds. These were, he

⁴⁴⁰ Shaw to Henry Wilson, 10 August 1915, CL3, 306.

⁴⁴¹ Elizabeth Aslin, Karen Moon, and Grace Brockington have quoted from this letter. See Elizabeth Aslin, ‘Changing Taste and Influences, English Design 1900-1940’, *Bulletin of the Decorative Arts Society 1890-1940*, 1, (1977), 6; Karen Moon, *George Walton: Designer and Architect* (Oxford: White Cockade Publishing, 1993), 160; and Grace Brockington, ‘Review of *The Arts and Crafts Movement* by Rosalind Blakesley’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 150, 1263 (June 2008), 417.

⁴⁴² Fiona MacCarthy, *Anarchy and Beauty: William Morris and his Legacy 1860-1960* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2014), 88.

argued, the artists ‘sneering at “trade finish.”’⁴⁴³

During the nineteen year period between Morris’s death (1896) and the letter to Wilson, Shaw had become increasingly disillusioned about the role of the artist-craftsman in society. By 1915 his views had changed, and he was certainly keen to distance himself from the rather elitist views held by certain factions of the Arts and Crafts movement regarding ‘trade’ furniture. Shaw’s letter to Wilson places him at the forefront of contemporary debates about consumerism, craft and design in British artistic circles, and aligns him with prominent figures such as Alfred Orage (the recipient of Shaw’s patronage through *The New Age*) and Eric Gill who viewed the Arts and Crafts as a failure. Hart discusses both Gill and Orage, but does not mention Shaw’s contribution.⁴⁴⁴

As far back as 1888, Shaw had provided a favourable review of the first Arts and Crafts Exhibition by admiring useful, everyday things: ‘Perhaps the beginning of the end of the easel-picture despotism is the appearance in the New Gallery of the handicraftsman with his pots and pans, textiles and fictiles, and things in general that have some other use than to hang on a nail and collect bacteria.’⁴⁴⁵ As Weintraub has commented, here were ‘craftsmen who were more useful.’⁴⁴⁶ Shaw stressed the importance of utility in art and design: ‘chairs and tables must be constructed so as not to break down when they are used.’⁴⁴⁷

Various Shavian scholars have also quoted from Shaw’s essay *The Sanity of Art*, noticing his focus on the ‘use of the arts,’⁴⁴⁸ but without commenting on the artefacts he defends: the

⁴⁴³ With the term ‘trade finish’ Shaw was referring to the elitism and snobbery he observed among certain ‘artistic’ furniture manufacturers and retailers, and he had touched on this theme in his earlier criticism of 1899 (a review of Morris’s biography by J.W. Mackail) where he had noted ‘the rivalry in public esteem between Morris’s furniture and Maple’s.’ Shaw, ‘Review of *The Life of William Morris*’ by J.W. Mackail, *The Daily Chronicle*, 20 April 1899, reprinted in *Bernard Shaw, Pen Portraits and Reviews* (London: Constable, 1932), 209. (Subsequent references to this source are indicated by PPR, followed by page numbers). Shaw knew only too well of course how the advice of the Arts and Crafts reformers like Crane and Morris (and his own opinions as a drama critic) had depended on the maintenance of boundaries that separated ‘artistic’ firms (such as Morris & Co.) from those like Maple & Co who were associated with fashionable display or occupied the lower rankings. In *Turning Houses into Homes*, Clive Edwards discusses an article from the *Furniture Gazette*, where the author had outlined the displays of various London shops according to class and status. Maple was ranked at the time (1875) as ‘fourth class’, alongside Shoolbred and Marshall and Snelgrove. The Shaws would later shop at all three, as I show in the final section of this chapter. Edwards, *Turning Houses into Homes*, 111.

⁴⁴⁴ See Hart, ‘Conclusion: Arts and Crafts legacies’, in *Arts and Crafts Objects*, 214-24. Hart discusses both Gill’s essay ‘The Failure of the Arts and Crafts Movement’ (1909), and Orage’s ‘Politics for Craftsmen’ (1907).

⁴⁴⁵ Shaw, Review of the first Arts and Crafts Exhibition, (The Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society), *The World*, 3 October 1888. Reprinted in Weintraub, LAS, 238; (HOL1, 145). Nikolaus Pevsner would later pay tribute to Shaw’s review, reprinting it in Nikolaus Pevsner, ‘Fifty Years of Arts & Crafts’, *The Studio*, 116, 548 (November 1938), 225-30. (Shaw’s Corner Collection of Press Cuttings).

⁴⁴⁶ Weintraub, LAS, 13.

⁴⁴⁷ Shaw to Mrs. E. Harvie, 16 May 1913, CL3, 173.

⁴⁴⁸ Holroyd, *Bernard Shaw: Major Critical Essays*, 20.

‘utensils of fine material and elegant workmanship to handle.’⁴⁴⁹ If we pay close attention to this sentence (written in 1895), it is clear there is an emphasis on utility through the words ‘utensil’ and ‘handle’. Shaw was appropriating Morris’s notion of ‘good citizen’s furniture’, which had overtones of John Bunyan’s ‘good citizen’ from *The Pilgrim’s Progress* (a text much admired by Shaw).⁴⁵⁰ As Greensted and Carruthers note, Morris’s lecture where the phrase was used gave priority to furniture that was ‘well-made and practical in use’ rather than ‘the pleasure of beautiful objects.’⁴⁵¹ However if we examine the other aspects of Shaw’s description, we see that his ideal artefacts exhibit ‘elegant workmanship’ and are made from ‘fine material’ which problematizes an unreservedly utilitarian reading.

During the late 1890s when Shaw first provided financial support for makers such as Arnold Dolmetsch, his theoretical stance harmonized with the materiality. Reviewing the Dolmetsch clavichord Shaw declared: ‘he has actually turned out a little masterpiece, excellent as a musical instrument and pleasant to look at, which seems to me likely to begin such a revolution in domestic musical instruments as William Morris’s work made in domestic furniture and decoration.’⁴⁵² By 1915 however, contradictions between Shaw’s theoretical positioning and his aesthetic engagement with artefacts have appeared. Shaw rejected on paper the Arts and Crafts ideology of the hand-crafted, yet continued to patronize makers working in the tradition of the hand-crafts such as Dolmetsch. Shaw provided him with financial assistance,⁴⁵³ and purchased an expensive clavichord in 1924.⁴⁵⁴ A photograph by Alfred Eisenstaedt of Shaw playing his Dolmetsch clavichord at Whitehall Court in 1932 was published in *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*. (Figure 19).⁴⁵⁵ Although the instrument is

⁴⁴⁹ Shaw, *The Sanity of Art*, 69.

⁴⁵⁰ Greensted and Carruthers draw this connection between Morris and Bunyan in *Good Citizen’s Furniture*, 9. Morris had used the term in a lecture of 1882 ‘The Lesser Arts of Life’. Shaw applies the term ‘good citizen’ in political contexts in his prefaces to *The Doctor’s Dilemma* (III, 306); and *On the Rocks* (VI, 603).

⁴⁵¹ Greensted and Carruthers, *Good Citizen’s Furniture*, 9.

⁴⁵² Shaw, *The World*, 4 July 1894, reprinted in Laurence, ed., *Shaw’s Music: The Complete Musical Criticism of Bernard Shaw*, vol.3, 262.

⁴⁵³ See Margaret Campbell, *Dolmetsch: The Man and His Work* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1975), 139-40; and Irvine, *Bernard Shaw*, 363-64. Shaw sent sums of £20-50 when requested.

⁴⁵⁴ When the clavichord was sold in 1949 (8 July 1949, Sotheby’s, *Catalogue of Fine Sculpture and Works of Art including Musical Instruments*, lot no. 58A), the sale included a letter from Shaw dated 18 May 1949, explaining that he had purchased it from Dolmetsch following a concert given at the AWG. He recalled that he had paid £40, but according to Charlotte’s receipts the cost was 100 guineas, in part exchange for Charlotte’s virginals, bringing the sum to £78-15. (3 April 1924, BL Add. MS 63202 M, f.15). A wooden recorder survives in the collection (NTIN 1274911), however it is not known whether this is by Dolmetsch. A recorder can be seen in Shaw’s writing hut in a photograph taken by Ernst Haas in 1948; see Getty Images 3139380.

<https://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/3139380>

⁴⁵⁵ Loewenstein, *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*, 50. NT Shaw Photographs 1715220.67; AP Images ID 3206131157. (A photograph of Rodin by Coburn can be seen in the background). A further photograph depicts Shaw playing the clavichord at Whitehall Court (NT Shaw Photographs 1715219.9).

no longer in the collection, these important inconsistencies can be detected through other artefacts.

Despite Shaw's reluctance to become involved in the 1916 Arts and Crafts Exhibition, that particular show is important for thinking through his relationship to artefacts. Displays at the exhibition showcased makers' work in different sections, reflecting different ideologies and priorities. Each of these sections is today represented through artefacts at Shaw's Corner: Shaw's Heal's bed, his Omega Workshops tray, and the Dryad chair he used in the writing hut, and taken as a whole embody Shaw's divergent perspectives and taste. Tanya Harrod has noted how the exhibits from the 'Domus No. 1' at the Exhibition where there was furniture by Heal's and painted furniture by Louise Powell, 'would have contrasted sharply with the Omega and DIA [Design and Industries Association] displays.'⁴⁵⁶ Shaw's inconsistencies reflect those of the time: by 1914 the Arts and Crafts movement's radicalism 'had become fractured into a number of different, sometimes contradictory elements.'⁴⁵⁷

Charlotte owned a mahogany washstand painted by Louise Powell (figure 20).⁴⁵⁸ Although it is no longer in the collection, the piece provides an example of the more exclusive 'Arts & Crafts' orientated artefacts Shaw had been critical of in his letter to Wilson, as it was designed and made by Sydney Barnsley. Before I go on to discuss the other artefacts such as the Omega Workshops marquetry tray he purchased, and the Dryad chair, it is important to note the nature of Shaw's interest in the Powells' work, which I would suggest was more personal than political. In 1918 Shaw had described Powell as 'an architect, a potter, a cabinet maker and a good craftsman generally,⁴⁵⁹ and Charlotte's diaries record numerous visits to their houses with Shaw.⁴⁶⁰ At first glance, the Powell ceramics we see today at Shaw's Corner would seem to embody many of Shaw's socialistic ideals. The Powells embraced industrial design in their ceramic work for Wedgwood (a firm Shaw was interested

⁴⁵⁶ Tanya Harrod, *The Crafts in Britain*, 25.

⁴⁵⁷ Cheryl Buckley, *Designing Modern Britain* (London: Reaktion, 2007), 29.

⁴⁵⁸ See Maureen Batkin and Mary Greensted, *Good Workmanship with Happy Thought: the work of Alfred and Louise Powell* (Cheltenham: Cheltenham Art Gallery and Museum, 1992), 9. Charlotte's washstand is illustrated here. The caption reads: 'washstand painted by Louise Powell for Mrs George Bernard Shaw, 1907. This piece was sold recently by Phillips and is now in the USA.' The washstand was probably originally sold by the Trust in 1954, as it is not listed in any of the auction catalogues when Shaw sold hundreds of items in 1949 at Sotheby's and Phillip's. An image of the washstand was also reproduced in Judith and Martin Miller, eds., *Miller's Antiques Checklist: Art Nouveau* (London: Mitchell Beazley, 1992), 31.

⁴⁵⁹ Shaw to Helen Haiman Joseph, 25 January 1918, quoted in Henderson, *George Bernard Shaw: Man of the Century*, 720.

⁴⁶⁰ For example, Charlotte notes in her diary for 24 April 1924: 'to Daneway House – to lunch with Walkers; tea at Alfred Powell cottage'. (BL Add. MS 63191 I). Shaw made the arrangements for both Charlotte and himself to visit, instructing Walker: 'you can take us to Powell's in the afternoon'. Postcard from Shaw to Emery Walker, 18 April 1924 (HRC, II, 46.6).

in⁴⁶¹), decorating mass-produced blanks with Morris-inspired motifs which would be sent back to the factory for firing after decoration;⁴⁶² and pupils benefitted from their expertise.

Yet the pieces owned by the Shaws were the expensive ceramics hand-painted by either Alfred or Louise Powell themselves, not those produced commercially by the studio assistants. Charlotte's accounts reveal the purchase of a 'custard cup'⁴⁶³ in 1922, which cost £10, a significant sum at that date. Other examples of the hand-painted Powell ceramics acquired by the Shaws include artefacts still in the collection such as the 'GBS' beaker, the large earthenware lidded vases and charger in Shaw's study (figures 21 and 22),⁴⁶⁴ and the 'Malvern' beaker Shaw used as a pen-holder in his writing hut. (Figures 23 and 24).⁴⁶⁵ Alfred was an old friend of Shaw's from the AWG and SPAB,⁴⁶⁶ and in 1899 Shaw had commissioned him in his role as architect (before he began working as a ceramicist) to remodel and modernize his mother's house in Fitzroy Square.⁴⁶⁷ Shaw would also have been interested in Louise's artistic background given that she had worked as a calligrapher with Graily Hewitt on 'two of William Morris's incomplete illuminated manuscripts.'⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶¹ Shaw visited Stoke and queued in the Hall to take part in the Wedgwood Bicentenary Pageant in 1930 – his visit was unannounced, and he was discovered waiting in the queue; see Ernest James Dalzell Warrillow, *History of Etruria, Staffordshire, England, 1760-1951* (Hanley: Etruscan Publications, 1953), 300. And as far back as 1891 Shaw's diary recorded the following: 'to Stoke to see Minton's pottery'. (3 September 1891, BSD2, 752).

⁴⁶² See Greensted and Carruthers, *Good Citizen's Furniture*, 34.

⁴⁶³ BL Add. MS 63202 K, f.2, 29 July 1922. Charlotte records that an invoice for £10 was paid to 'Alfred Powell for custard cup.' The cup is no longer in the collection. Other pieces owned by the Shaws are similarly unaccounted for: a '5½ inch Barrel shaped Faience vase with blue and flowered bands painted by Powell' listed in the Adelphi Terrace Inventory (1908, 32) is not among the Shaw's Corner collection.

⁴⁶⁴ The beaker by Louise Powell on Shaw's desk in the study is decorated with the words 'GBS' and '1925'. (NTIN 1274575). Marked 'LP, 2457'. The large charger is also decorated by her (marked 'LP 592'). The two large lidded vases are by Alfred Powell, and one is dated '8.4.14.' (Marked 'AP 570'; NTIN 1274566.1-2). Further pieces by the Powells can be found in the drawing-room (a beaker by Louise; NTIN 1274560); and a silver lustre vase in the dining-room is by Alfred (NTIN 1274509).

⁴⁶⁵ This beaker decorated by Alfred Powell (NTIN 1274592) is marked on the base 'Malvern 3792', and dates to the 1930s. It was used by Shaw as a pen-holder on the desk in his writing hut. The photograph of the interior of the hut is dated '13.2.51' and was taken by Cecil Hallam shortly before the house was opened to the public. (EERO, Shaw's Corner Archive).

⁴⁶⁶ Shaw had known Alfred Powell since the late 1890s. Photographs of Powell by Shaw were taken at Blencathra (for example, NT Shaw Photographs 1715286.33). Charlotte's diaries reveal the two couples meeting regularly at Adelphi Terrace, and the Shaws visiting the Powells in Gloucestershire. See Charlotte Shaw diaries, BL Add. MS 63190 E - 63190 M; and 63191 A - 63192 I (covering the period 1907 to 1924). A later entry reads: 'to Powell show'. (3 December 1927, BL Add. MS 63191 L).

⁴⁶⁷ Shaw explained the refurbishment in a letter to actress Janet Achurch: 'I have undertaken to pay over £400 within the next few months to make Fitzroy Square decent and healthy.' Shaw to Janet Achurch, 12 December 1899, CL2, 117. Although Shaw's letter to Achurch does not mention Powell, Shaw's record of the work carried out at the house was archived in his filing system on a card entitled '29 Fitzroy Square' and headed as follows: 'Estimate of A.H. Powell for repairs, decoration lift &c dated 19 Nov. 1899 for £429.10.0.' The final amount paid was £566.3.2, and on 21 June 1900 he recorded that he 'paid A.H.P. commission £28.6.2.' (HRC, III, 63.7).

⁴⁶⁸ Maureen Batkin, *Wedgwood Ceramics 1846-1959* (London: Richard Dennis, 1982), 143.

Shaw's continuing endorsement of expensive hand-crafted work is evidenced by his involvement with the Arts and Crafts metal-worker John Paul Cooper. A shagreen and silver box⁴⁶⁹ by Cooper is in the drawing-room (figure 25). This may have been purchased in 1931 at the same time that Shaw commissioned an exquisite silver reliquary from Cooper to present as a gift to his friend Dame Laurentia (Margaret McLachlan), the Benedictine nun who became Abbess of Stanbrook Abbey. Shaw met Cooper in the summer of 1931, having been introduced to him through Sydney Cockerell,⁴⁷⁰ and asked him to design a reliquary: 'I have brought back from Bethlehem a small stone: a common scrap of limestone rock which I want to present to an Abbess as a relic.'⁴⁷¹ Shaw said he was willing to pay £50, and Cooper's letter to Shaw enclosing the design confirmed the price to be 'between £50 & £60.'⁴⁷² Shaw was pleased with the result, and felt the design to be 'perfect twelfth century.'⁴⁷³ Figure 26 shows the reliquary,⁴⁷⁴ whilst figure 27 is one of the numerous photographs he took of the piece in the garden at Shaw's Corner before he presented his gift to Dame Laurentia.⁴⁷⁵

In late 1912, Shaw had become the first patron of the Omega Workshops, founded by the artist, connoisseur and critic Roger Fry to provide work for avant-garde artists, in the form of decorating artefacts and furnishings for the home. Shaw's connection with Omega was rooted in personal acquaintance, with the young Fry attending a lecture given by the socialist 'from the purely scientific standpoint of a political economist'.⁴⁷⁶ Their worlds continued to coincide over the years through art exhibitions and criticism, and the two men became friends, with the Shaws visiting Fry's house Durbins in Guildford.⁴⁷⁷ Yet it was a business decision as much as it was about friendship, and a reflection of Shaw's desire to influence

⁴⁶⁹ NTIN 1275069. Oblong box in shagreen with silver, circa 1930.

⁴⁷⁰ See Shaw's letter to John Paul Cooper, 4 May 1931, quoted in Natasha Kuzmanović, *John Paul Cooper: Designer and Craftsman of the Arts & Crafts Movement* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999), 134. See also Shaw's letter to Sydney Cockerell, CL4, 228-29.

⁴⁷¹ Shaw to John Paul Cooper, 4 May 1931, quoted in Kuzmanović, *John Paul Cooper*, 134.

⁴⁷² John Paul Cooper to Shaw, 3 June 1931. (BL Add. MS 50520, f.52). Unfortunately the design is no longer with the letter. Cooper explained to Shaw how the piece would work: the 'stone rests on a little stand in the centre with claws to hold, but not fix it, in position.' For Shaw's correspondence with Laurentia McLachlan about his gift, see CL4, 264-65. Laurence describes the piece, but did not realize that Shaw had photographed it before presenting it to Dame Laurentia on 19 September 1931.

⁴⁷³ Shaw to John Paul Cooper, 18 September 1931, quoted in Kuzmanović, *John Paul Cooper*, 135.

⁴⁷⁴ The reliquary has been reproduced in Kuzmanović, *John Paul Cooper*, plate 13.

⁴⁷⁵ See NT Shaw Photographs 1715252.101-104; 1715559.9; 1715559.13-16. The artefact is currently catalogued incorrectly as a 'candlestick' or 'candle holder.' Shaw's photographs were taken in the garden at Shaw's Corner on 18 September 1931.

⁴⁷⁶ Roger Fry to Lady Fry, 19 February 1888, quoted in Denys Sutton, ed., *The Letters of Roger Fry*, vol.1 (London: Chatto & Windus, 1972), 120.

⁴⁷⁷ 'Saw Roger Fry's house at Guildford.' 1915, Charlotte Shaw Diary Summaries for 1876-1919. BL Add. MS 56500, f. 47. Charlotte is referring to 'Durbins', the house designed by Fry.

reform in the decorative and applied arts, joining art to utility and creating employment for artists.⁴⁷⁸

Nicholas Grene has recently argued that for Shaw, the Bloomsbury Group represented a lack ‘of the right – from his point of view – political engagement.’⁴⁷⁹ Shaw’s support of Fry’s project may seem surprising given the strong focus on aesthetics at the Omega, although as I explain in chapter two, Shaw would at times express elitist aesthetic judgements that had much in common with Fry’s attitude. The Workshops seemed to pay little attention to the social or moral concerns that usually occupied Shaw. Yet in the Omega prospectus, Fry stated that one of the main aims was to ‘discover a possible utility for real artistic invention in the things of daily life [...] a gain both to the producer and the consumer.’⁴⁸⁰ Fry had absorbed the ideas of Veblen, and in essence Omega was formed as a critique of the Morrisian enterprise and the associated Arts and Crafts.⁴⁸¹ In a fundraising letter to Shaw, Fry had argued: ‘since the complete decadence of the Morris movement nothing has been done in England but pastiche.’⁴⁸² The appeal for Shaw too was the attempt to join the forces of art with those of commerce; as one commentator has recently noted, with the Omega Workshops, ‘the question of art’s relationship to commerce takes on a specific resonance.’⁴⁸³

Fry had positioned Omega against the world of art history, patronage and criticism that both he and Shaw participated in, and this too was probably part of the attraction. As Spalding comments, there was a ‘certain anarchical element’ to the project, and Fry wrote to Shaw: ‘What is interesting and to me rather surprising is the intense hatred it arouses among the collector and art historian and generally over-cultured circles... I hear that the Burlington Fine Arts Club⁴⁸⁴ spends its times abusing me... I think perhaps it’s a sign that we’ve got hold of something real.’⁴⁸⁵ Shaw was convinced by the business plan presented by Fry, and

⁴⁷⁸ On this point we might compare the interests of the actress Lena Ashwell, a close friend of the Shaws, who invested in a London furniture shop in 1913 ‘to encourage the appreciation and purchase of furniture created by living craftsmen.’ See Margaret Leask, *Lena Ashwell: Actress, Patriot, Pioneer* (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2012), 114-15, n.139; 104. The furniture shop was in South Molton Street, London.

⁴⁷⁹ Nicholas Grene, ‘Heartbreak House: waiting for the Zeppelin’, in *Home on the Stage: Domestic Spaces in Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 81.

⁴⁸⁰ Roger Fry quoted in Christopher Reed, ed., *A Roger Fry Reader* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 199.

⁴⁸¹ See Harrod, *The Crafts in Britain*, 20.

⁴⁸² Roger Fry to Shaw, 11 December 1912; quoted in Frances Spalding, *Roger Fry: Art and Life* (Norwich: Black Dog Books, 1999 [1980]), 165. (BL Add. MS 50534).

⁴⁸³ Anne-Pascale Bruneau-Rumsey, ‘Modernism, Commerce, and Roger Fry’s Omega Workshops’, in *Marketing Art in the British Isles, 1700 to the Present*, ed. by Charlotte Gould and Sophie Mespède (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 227.

⁴⁸⁴ Shaw was a member of the Burlington Fine Arts Club, as I discuss in chapter two.

⁴⁸⁵ Roger Fry to Shaw, 22 March 1914; quoted in Spalding, *Roger Fry: Art and Life*, 181. (BL Add. MS 50534).

invested £250.⁴⁸⁶

By May 1914 however Shaw felt obliged to offer an additional £500⁴⁸⁷ when the workshops ran into financial difficulties, and thus advised Fry to expand Omega's social horizons.⁴⁸⁸ Recognizing the need to be competitive in the marketplace, Shaw wrote: 'you will need above all things a shop window. Morris found that out. It is all very well to live in a quiet London square and look like an Orthopaedic Institute, but the price you pay is that your business remains the secret of a clique.'⁴⁸⁹ Fry however did not heed Shaw's advice, and the lack of marketing and advertising meant that the wares were largely purchased by an artistic elite. Omega's wealthy patrons ironically included one of Shaw's friends Madame Lalla Vandervelde, the wife of the Belgian Socialist leader, who furnished her house with Omega products,⁴⁹⁰ and appeared in Shaw's playlet *Augustus Does His Bit* (1916).⁴⁹¹ Owing to the German occupation of Belgium, she lived in London during the First World War, and it was through her friendship that Shaw first met the painter Léon De Smet (a Belgian refugee, whose work can be found at Shaw's Corner as I discuss in chapter two), besides the composer Elgar.⁴⁹²

The Shavian strategy of parody emerges in many of Shaw's most pertinent discussions of artefacts and consumer goods, (often in relation to objects and artists he had personal connections to), and the Omega Workshops marquetry tray designed by the Bloomsbury artist Vanessa Bell he purchased in 1913 did not escape his satire. Initially Shaw had been pleased with the products, and he admired the textiles for example: 'I think the fabrics and bit of carpet which they showed me extremely good' he commented to Fry. On other products he wrote: 'I looked in at the Workshops one day, and even went the length of buying intarsia

⁴⁸⁶ Spalding, *Roger Fry: Art and Life*, 166. Shaw added a note to Fry's letter of 11 December 1912: 'Sent £250'. However Shaw must have promised Fry his assistance prior to this, since Fry had written to Wyndham Lewis on 7 December 1912: 'I'm working very hard trying to raise capital for our decorative scheme. So far the only help promised comes from Bernard Shaw.' Quoted in Denys Sutton, ed., *The Letters of Roger Fry*, vol.1, 361.

⁴⁸⁷ Shaw to Roger Fry, 22 May 1914, quoted in Spalding, *Roger Fry: Art and Life*, 177.

⁴⁸⁸ See Cork, *Art Beyond the Gallery*, 163.

⁴⁸⁹ Shaw to Roger Fry, 22 May 1914, quoted in Spalding, *Roger Fry: Art and Life*, 177. The Omega shop was located near to Shaw's old residence at 33 Fitzroy Square.

⁴⁹⁰ See Christopher Reed, *Bloomsbury Rooms: Modernism, Subculture, and Domesticity* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 200.

⁴⁹¹ Laurence states that Shaw wrote the play 'expressly for her to perform in aid of Belgian refugees.' Laurence and Leary, *Bernard Shaw Flyleaves*, 59.

⁴⁹² Shaw claimed that he 'first met Elgar in the house of Madame Vandervelde, wife of the Belgian Socialist leader, and herself a lady of considerable accomplishment. It was a select little luncheon party, the only guests being Elgar, myself, and Roger Fry, then at the height of his reputation as Aesthetic Pontiff.' Shaw went on to describe a disagreement between Fry and Elgar over the status of the visual arts versus music. See Shaw, flyleaf inscription to Sir Edward Elgar, *The Severn Suite*, quoted in Laurence and Leary, *Bernard Shaw Flyleaves*, 30.

which struck me as cheap.’⁴⁹³ However he went on to explain how the quality of the workmanship by the cabinet-maker Joseph Kallenborn was not what he had expected. Complaining in a manner befitting an outraged connoisseur, and evoking the Italian masters of the technique, he exclaimed:

I am not quite so convinced about this now; for I regret to say that the artificer, not having had the opportunity of being apprenticed to the people who did the intarsia work at Bergamo cathedral, does not know all the secrets of the trade. His beautiful surfaces are beginning to burst up as if a traction engine has gone over them; and my wife has naively proposed to send the plate back to get it set right. And indeed it might be as well to let the hopeful reviewer of the lost art see what happens when his slices of wood begin to blister and curl up.⁴⁹⁴

Denys Sutton however provides a picture of Shaw as a rather impatient consumer: ‘at times problems arose as, for instance, when Bernard Shaw insisted on the delivery of the furniture he had ordered, even though the varnish was not quite hard enough.’⁴⁹⁵ There is no extant material evidence of the ‘furniture’ Sutton is referring to here, although it suggests that perhaps the problems with the tray were not entirely the fault of the maker. Richard Shone claimed that the tray Shaw purchased was the ‘elephant’⁴⁹⁶ design by Duncan Grant however the survival of the version by Vanessa Bell at Shaw’s Corner suggests otherwise. Shone states that Shaw ‘was told by Winifred Gill that Fry considered it the best article at the Omega’, and he goes on to quote from a letter Vanessa Bell wrote to Grant where she repeats Shaw’s reply: “‘Would you very kindly tell him that I chose it myself without any prompting from you. He doesn’t believe I’ve got any taste at all.’”⁴⁹⁷

I discovered the tray, in a state of some disrepair, in one of the outbuildings at Shaw’s Corner

⁴⁹³ Shaw to Roger Fry, 22 May 1914, quoted in Spalding, *Roger Fry: Art and Life*, 177.

⁴⁹⁴ Shaw to Roger Fry, 22 May 1914, quoted in Spalding, *Roger Fry: Art and Life*, 177. The intarsia cycle for the cathedral at Bergamo is generally recognized as among the finest examples in the world.

⁴⁹⁵ Denys Sutton, ‘introduction’ in Denys Sutton, ed., *The Letters of Roger Fry*, vol.1, 52.

⁴⁹⁶ Richard Shone, *The Art of Bloomsbury: Roger Fry, Vanessa Bell and Duncan Grant* (London: Tate Gallery Publishing, 1999), 176. Other versions of the tray can be found in the collections of the V&A Museum: the elephant design by Duncan Grant (MISC.2:12-1934); and a design of Wrestlers by Henri Gaudier-Brzeska (W.30-1978).

⁴⁹⁷ Shaw, quoted by Vanessa Bell in a letter to Duncan Grant (30 November 1913), in Shone, *The Art of Bloomsbury*, 176. See also Richard Shone, *Bloomsbury Portraits: Vanessa Bell, Duncan Grant, and their circle* (London: Phaidon, 1976), 109.

where it had been stored for many years.⁴⁹⁸ Figures 28 and 29 show the tray before and after cleaning; and figure 30 is a photograph of the original Omega Workshops display where it featured in 1913.⁴⁹⁹ Its survival is fortuitous given the damage: the tray managed to survive the ‘sorting out’ of Shaw’s artefacts and furnishings that took place during the 1940s and early 1950s by Laden.⁵⁰⁰ The plan is to restore the tray and exhibit the artefact as a reflection of Shaw’s patronage of the Workshops, and friendship with Fry, who displayed the Duncan Grant version at Durbins.⁵⁰¹

Items of furniture by Dryad of Leicester, established by Harry Peach, were also on display at the 1916 Arts and Crafts Exhibition as part of the DIA exhibit of mass-produced goods. Owing to the success of the progressive Deutscher Werkbund, there was a desire to re-establish links between art and industry in the period, which led to the founding of the DIA in 1915, aimed at bringing together designers, manufacturers, retailers and consumers. As far as we can tell Shaw was never a member,⁵⁰² although he was interested in the possibilities opened up by machines and new technology, and as a socialist was keen to engage with the mass market. He was friends with many who were on the DIA board however, such as the model-maker, engineer and fellow-Fabian Wenman Joseph Bassett-Lowke (whose shop Shaw often visited in Holborn).⁵⁰³ Bassett-Lowke was also a regular visitor to Shaw’s Corner, as seen in a photograph taken in 1934, where he and Shaw are in the garden examining model ships made by Bassett-Lowke’s firm. (Figure 31).⁵⁰⁴ This image was taken

⁴⁹⁸ The tray was listed on an old Shaw’s Corner inventory card as ‘a circular wooden tray with inlaid abstract design of varied coloured woods’ and was stored in the Accumulator House. (NTIN 1274867).

⁴⁹⁹ This display of Omega products was published in the *Omega Workshops Descriptive Catalogue* (1914). See Shone, *The Art of Bloomsbury*, 176, where illustrated (figure 109). This image also appears in Alexandra Gerstein, ed., *Beyond Bloomsbury: Designs of the Omega Workshops 1913-19* (London: The Courtauld Gallery, 2009), 90. Vanessa Bell rugs of the period using similar motifs are discussed. A further Omega product can be found in the book collection at Shaw’s Corner: *Simpson’s Choice* by Arthur Clutton-Brock, featuring woodcuts by Roald Kristian, 1915. (NTIN 3061993). For more on this book see Gerstein, *Beyond Bloomsbury*, 155.

⁵⁰⁰ I expand on this shortly. Louise Rumball in the village recalled Laden speaking of discarding things from the house shortly after Shaw died: ‘She said: “I had decided to have one of my sorting out days. Already we had got rid of a good deal of rubbish and I knew there were a few more things the dustman could collect.’ Mrs. Laden, quoted in Louise Rumball, *George Bernard Shaw and Ayot St. Lawrence: Memories and Facts by a Villager 1905-1930* (Harpenden: 1987), 34.

⁵⁰¹ See Reed, *Bloomsbury Rooms*, 44, figure 20.

⁵⁰² Janet Bassett-Lowke claims in her biography of her uncle W.J. Bassett-Lowke that many of the early records of the DIA were lost during the Second World War. See Janet Bassett-Lowke, *Wenman Joseph Bassett-Lowke: A Memoir of his Life and Achievements 1877-1953* (Chester: Rail Romances, 1999), 74-75.

⁵⁰³ Other men with connections to Shaw were DIA signatories, such as John Hornby of W.H. Smith’s, and James Morton of Sundour Fabrics. Lord Aberconway (an industrialist, and a Liberal MP, who was married to Shaw’s friend Christabel McLaren) and H.G. Wells were also among those listed. See Janet Bassett-Lowke, *Wenman Joseph Bassett-Lowke*, 75.

⁵⁰⁴ HRC George Bernard Shaw Photography Collection. 957:0001:0679. A further copy is in the collection of Janet Bassett-Lowke, reproduced in Janet Bassett-Lowke, *Wenman Joseph Bassett-Lowke*, 197. She states that the photograph was taken by Harold Bassett-Lowke.

by Harold, Wenman Joseph's brother, who recorded film footage of Shaw with Wenman at Shaw's Corner where they are shown discussing the models.⁵⁰⁵ Shaw's absence from the DIA board may perhaps be explained by the fact that he had already committed himself financially to Fry's Omega Workshops by this date.

Among the items of furniture exhibited at the 1916 Exhibition were cane chairs designed by Benjamin Fletcher, manufactured by Peach's company Dryad. A later example of this furniture can today be seen in Shaw's writing hut in the garden at Shaw's Corner.⁵⁰⁶ (Figures 32 and 33). According to several press photographs taken of Shaw during the late 1920s, Shaw used the Dryad chair to sit in whilst he wrote. (Figure 34).⁵⁰⁷ Advertisements for Dryad furniture emphasized 'beauty and strength in English design and workmanship', and together with Peach's desire to adapt craft techniques to industry, there was much in his aesthetic and political philosophy to attract Shaw. Stylistically the chair in Shaw's writing hut appears to have been manufactured by Dryad during the period 1920-25 (figure 35), and given that the Shaws erected the hut in 1925, it was probably purchased then from Heal's or Maples.⁵⁰⁸

Examining the contemporary photographs, it is interesting to see that Shaw placed a Morris-covered cushion (*Jasmine Trellis*) on the Dryad chair: Peach was, like Shaw, a great admirer of Morris. In fact one of the reasons he was interested in design was because of his immersion in socialist politics,⁵⁰⁹ and he too joined the Fabian Society.⁵¹⁰ Equally there was the NACF, established in 1903, an institution that both Shaw and Peach supported. And as far as design reform was concerned Peach like Shaw, felt the Arts and Crafts movement failed because of its inability to connect with 'everyday conditions.'⁵¹¹ But whilst Dryad successfully negotiated the practical, commercial matters of production and consumption which Fry had neglected, Shaw meanwhile continued to demonstrate through his spending

⁵⁰⁵ See the Huntley Film Archive, <http://www.huntleyarchives.com/film/4030>. The silent footage is 51 seconds long.

⁵⁰⁶ NTIN 1274858. A label 'Dryad Furniture' is attached to the back of the chair. Dryad furniture is now scarce, because much of it was used in gardens and conservatories, and has deteriorated as a result. See 'Harry Peach and Dryad', in Greensted and Carruthers, *Good Citizen's Furniture*, 108.

⁵⁰⁷ NT Shaw Photographs 1715219.13. The photograph shows Shaw seated on the Dryad chair, using a cushion covered in Morris & Co. *Jasmine Trellis*. (NTIN 1275404).

⁵⁰⁸ See Pat Kirkham, *Harry Peach: Dryad and the DIA* (London: The Design Council, 1986), 30. Similar examples are illustrated here. Kirkham states that both Heal & Son and Maple & Co. were stockists of Dryad furniture, so given that Charlotte had accounts with each of these firms, we can presume the chair was purchased through one or the other. A chair at the time cost either £3-15, or £5-10, depending on the type of cane used.

⁵⁰⁹ Greensted and Carruthers, *Good Citizen's Furniture*, 107.

⁵¹⁰ On Peach's politics, see Kirkham, *Harry Peach*, 2.

⁵¹¹ Harry Peach, quoted in Michael T. Saler, *The Avant-Garde in Interwar England: Medieval Modernism and the London Underground* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 73.

and patronage an unequivocal commitment to Arts and Crafts makers.



Figure 1 Bechstein Arts & Crafts piano designed by Walter Cave, 1893. The hall, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274910). © National Trust.

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Figure 2 The hall, Shaw's Corner, March 1951. *The Illustrated London News* (17 March 1951), 407.

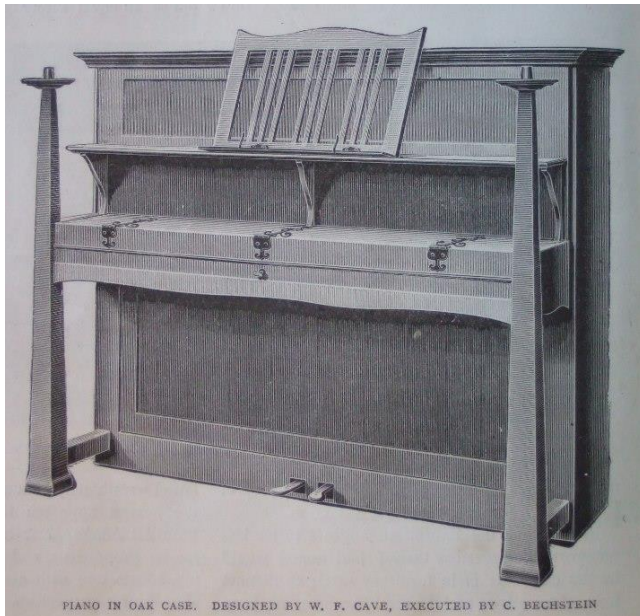


Figure 3 The Walter Cave Bechstein piano, illustrated in *The Studio: An Illustrated Magazine of Fine and Applied Art*, Volume 2 (1894), 11; 18.

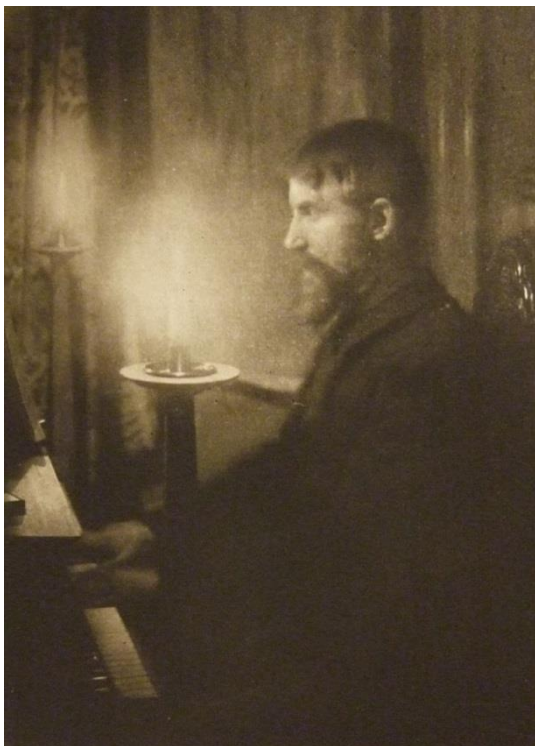


Figure 4 Shaw playing the Walter Cave Bechstein piano at Piccard's Cottage, self-portrait, 1901. Printed in a book of portrait photographs of Shaw compiled by W.H. Wise (NTIN 3063760). NT Shaw Photographs 1715213.112. Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.



Figure 5 Shaw playing Wagner on the Walter Cave Bechstein piano in the drawing-room at Adelphi Terrace, 1902. *The Sketch* (March 12 1902), 303. (BL Add. MS 50582A, f.13v). Photograph by Foulsham & Banfield. © British Library Board.



Figure 6 Shaw in the drawing-room at Adelphi Terrace, posing with Morris & Co. *Compton* curtains, beneath Morris's portrait by Frederick Hollyer. *The Sketch*, (March 12 1902), 303. (BL Add. MS 50582A, f.13v). Photograph by Foulsham & Banfield. © British Library Board.



Figure 7 *Compton* curtain by Morris & Co. (NTIN 1275386). © National Trust.

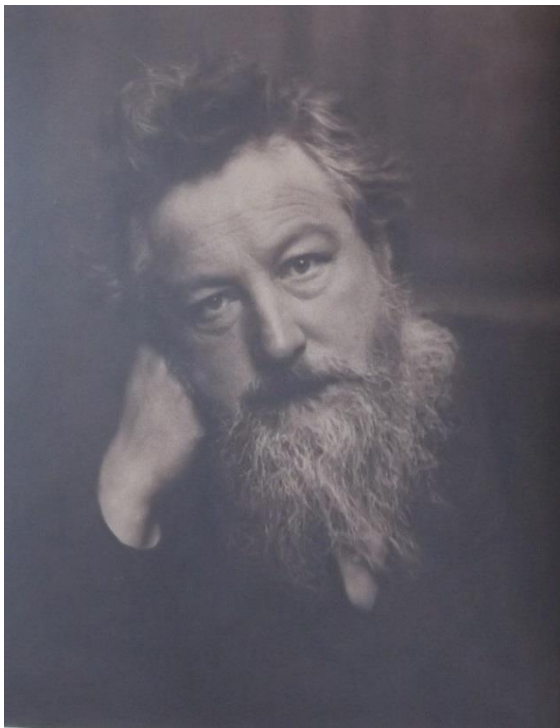


Figure 8 William Morris by Frederick Hollyer, 1886, Shaw's study. (NTIN 1274679). © National Trust.

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Figure 9 Shaw playing the Walter Cave Bechstein piano. Published in *The Tatler* (10 August 1932), 236. The photograph by Alfred Eisenstaedt was taken to celebrate Shaw's seventy-sixth birthday (26 July 1932). Bernard F. Burgunder Collection of George Bernard Shaw, #4617. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. For another version of this image see: <http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/543900707>

Title: The Hall
Date: 13.2.51.
Phgr: Cecil Hallam



Figure 10 The piano and the pianola in the hall, Shaw's Corner. Photograph by Cecil Hallam, 13 February 1951. (National Trust Archive, EERO). © National Trust.



Figure 11 Shaw's bed by Ambrose Heal, bedroom, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274869.1-2).
© National Trust.



Figure 12 Shaw's wardrobe by Maple & Co., bedroom, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274839).
© National Trust.

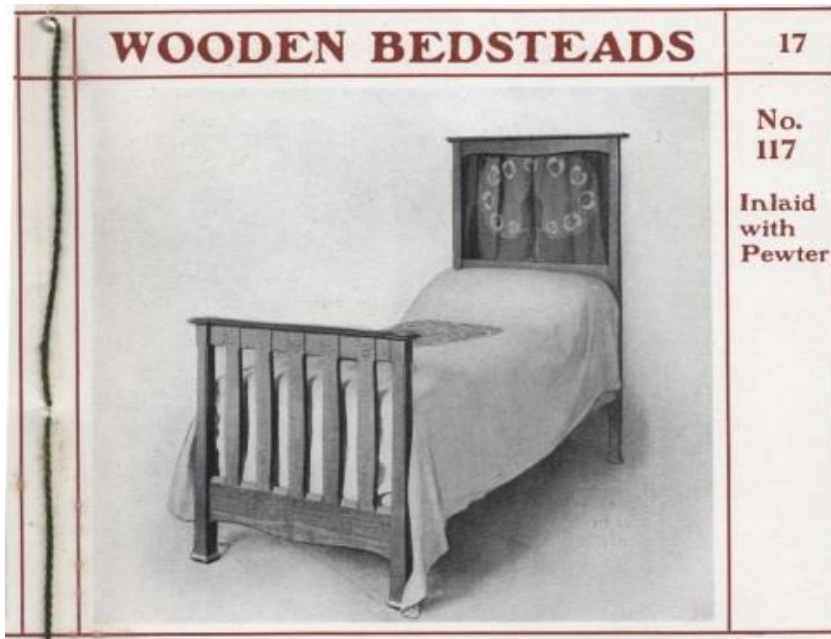


Figure 13 Ambrose Heal, wooden bedstead ‘no. 117’, inlaid with pewter, 1898. (Image courtesy of Oliver S. Heal).

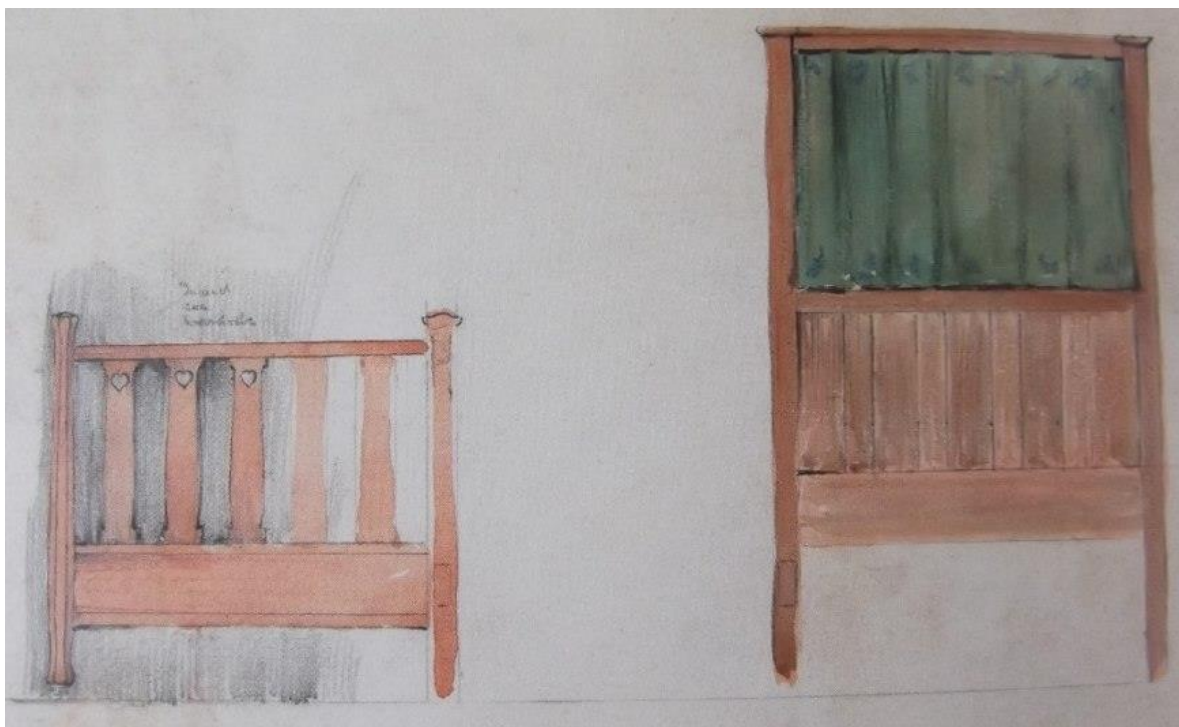


Figure 14 Ambrose Heal, colour wash design for bedstead ‘117’. (Image courtesy of Oliver S. Heal. Reproduced from Oliver S. Heal, *Sir Ambrose Heal and the Heal Cabinet Factory 1897-1939*, Oblong, 2014, 150).

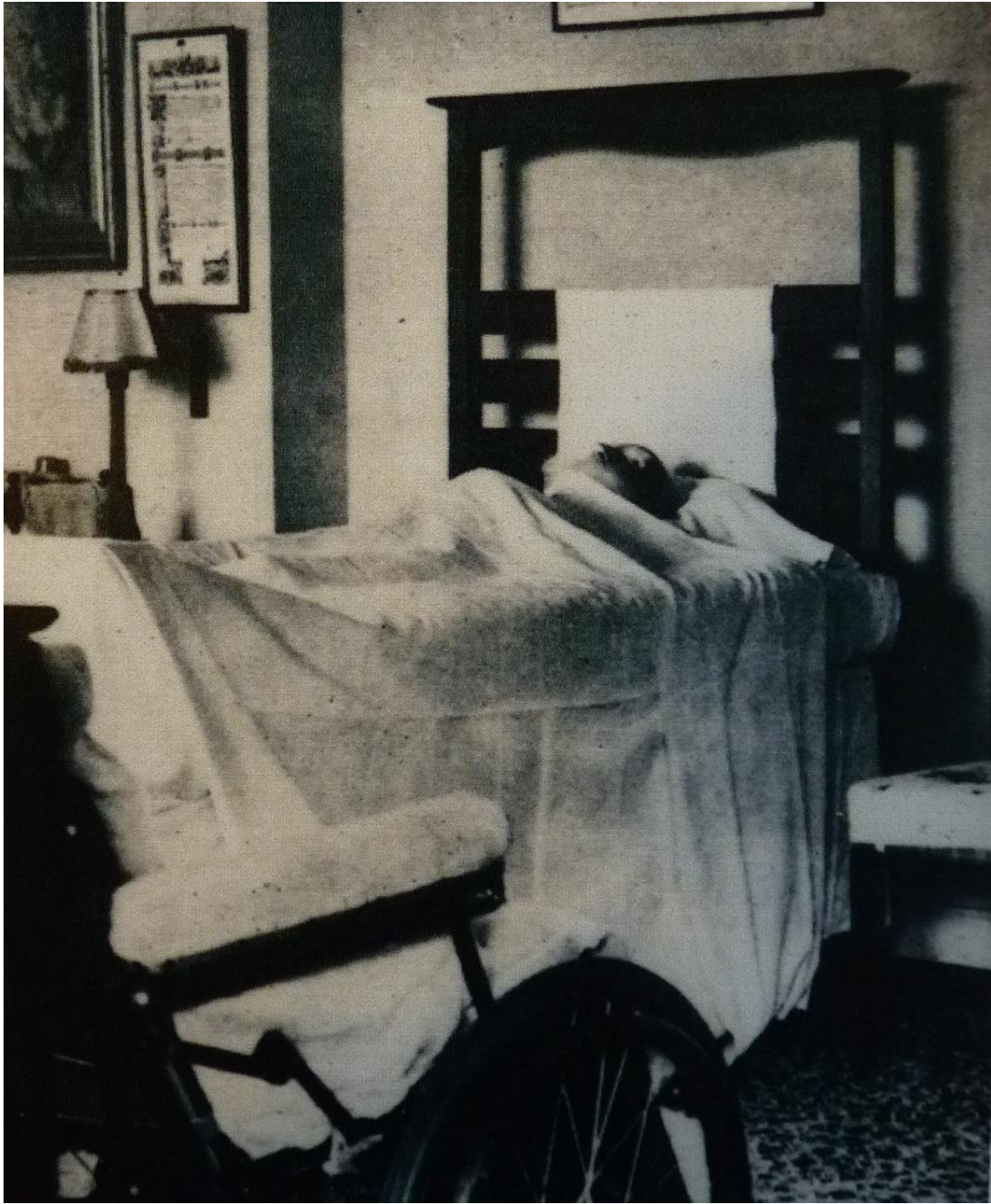


Figure 15 Shaw photographed after his death in his Heal's bed, dining-room, Shaw's Corner. Shaw's Corner Collection, © National Trust.



Figure 16 Oak lattice back writing armchair by Ambrose Heal, c.1925. (Image courtesy of The Millinery Works Ltd., Islington). The Shaws' original rush-seated chair was sold by the National Trust in 1954.



Figure 17 Photograph by Shaw of Siegfried Trebitsch standing next to the Heal's chair, taken in the garden at Shaw's Corner, 1927. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715506.14). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.

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Figure 18 The St. Albans auction room in 1954 prior to the sale of Shaw's artefacts, showing the Heal's chair suspended from the ceiling. 14 January 1954. Press photograph (Fox Photos).

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Figure 19 Shaw playing his clavichord by Arnold Dolmetsch in the drawing-room at Whitehall Court, 1932. Photograph by Alfred Eisenstaedt, published in *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*, 50. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715220.67). See also AP Images ID 3206131157

<http://www.apimages.com/metadata/Index/Watchf-AP-I-ENT-GBR-XEN-APHSL25660-Great-Britai-/c89b8ed52d894a06adc5e22f43f43a39/31/0>

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Figure 20 Charlotte's washstand, decorated by Louise Powell, made by Sydney Barnsley. (See Maureen Batkin and Mary Greensted, *Good Workmanship with Happy Thought: the work of Alfred and Louise Powell*, Cheltenham: Cheltenham Art Gallery and Museum, 1992, 9).



Figure 21 'GBS' beaker by Louise Powell, 1925, Shaw's study, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274575). © National Trust.



Figure 22 Charger by Louise Powell, and lidded vases by Alfred Powell, 1914, Shaw's study, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274566.1-2). © National Trust.



Figure 23 Beaker by Alfred Powell, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274592). © National Trust.

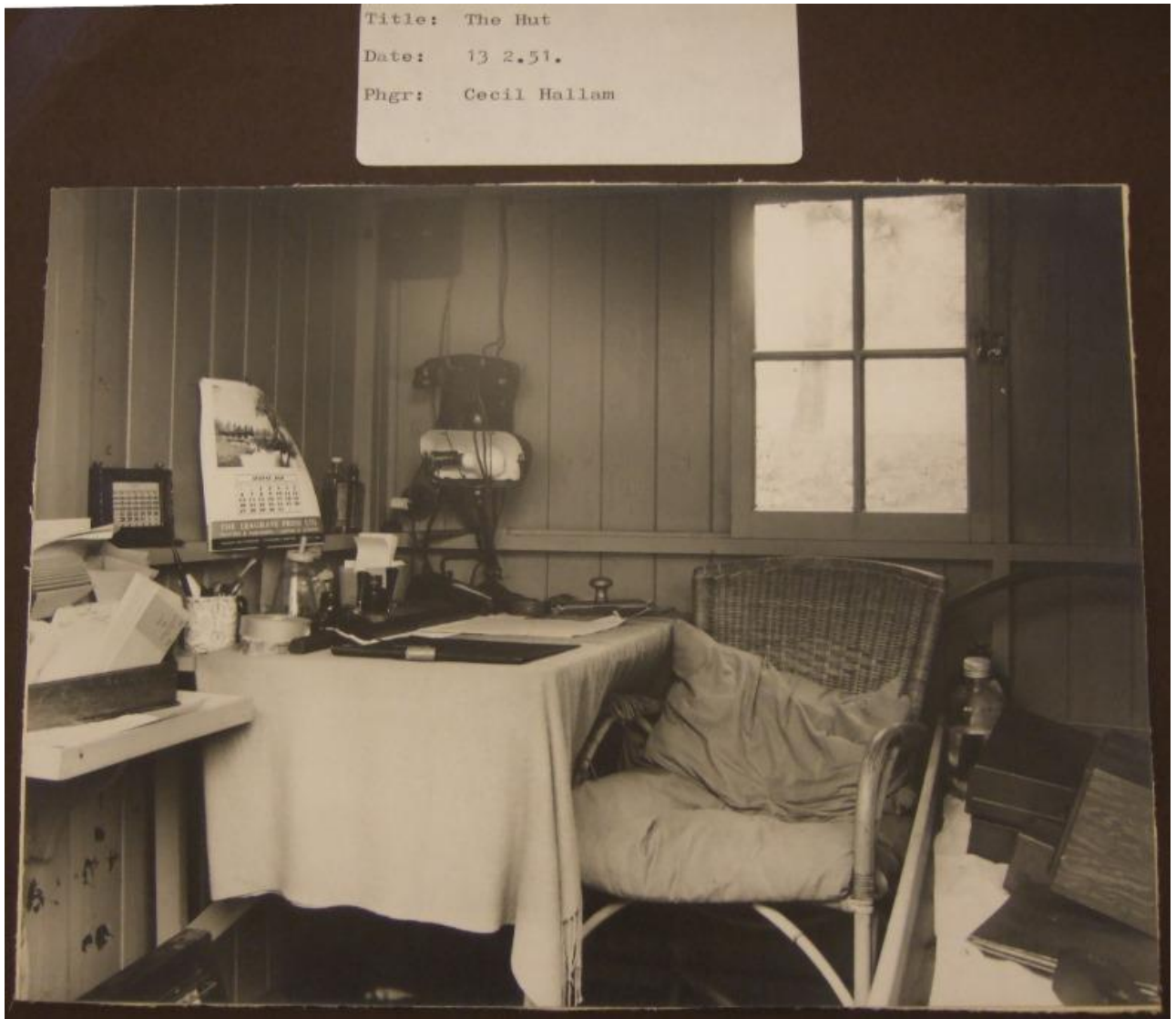


Figure 24 Beaker by Alfred Powell, shown in use in Shaw's writing hut as a pen-holder. (Photograph by Cecil Hallam, 13 February 1951, EERO, National Trust Archive). © National Trust.



Figure 25 Shagreen and silver box by John Paul Cooper, c.1930. Drawing-room, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1275069). © National Trust.



Figure 26 Silver reliquary commissioned from John Paul Cooper by Shaw, 1931, for presentation to Dame Laurentia (Margaret McLachlan), Abbess of Stanbrook. Image reproduced courtesy of Stanbrook Abbey, Warr.



Figure 27 Photograph by Shaw of the John Paul Cooper silver reliquary he presented to Dame Laurentia. Photographed in the garden at Shaw's Corner, September 1931. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715252.102). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.



Figure 28 Omega Workshops tray designed by Vanessa Bell, 1913, Shaw's Corner. (Before cleaning). (NTIN 1274867). © National Trust.



Figure 29 Omega Workshops tray designed by Vanessa Bell, 1913, Shaw's Corner. (After cleaning). (NTIN 1274867). © National Trust.



Figure 30 Omega Workshops display showing the Vanessa Bell tray, 1913. *Omega Workshops Descriptive Catalogue* (1914).



Figure 31 Shaw and Wenman Joseph Bassett-Lowke, photographed in the garden at Shaw's Corner, 1934, by Harold Bassett-Lowke. (George Bernard Shaw Photography Collection, Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin. 957:0001:0679). Image reproduced by kind permission of The 78 Dergate Trust.



Figure 32 Shaw's Dryad chair in the writing hut, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274858). © National Trust.



Figure 33 Dryad Furniture label attached to the back of Shaw's chair, writing hut, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274858). © National Trust.

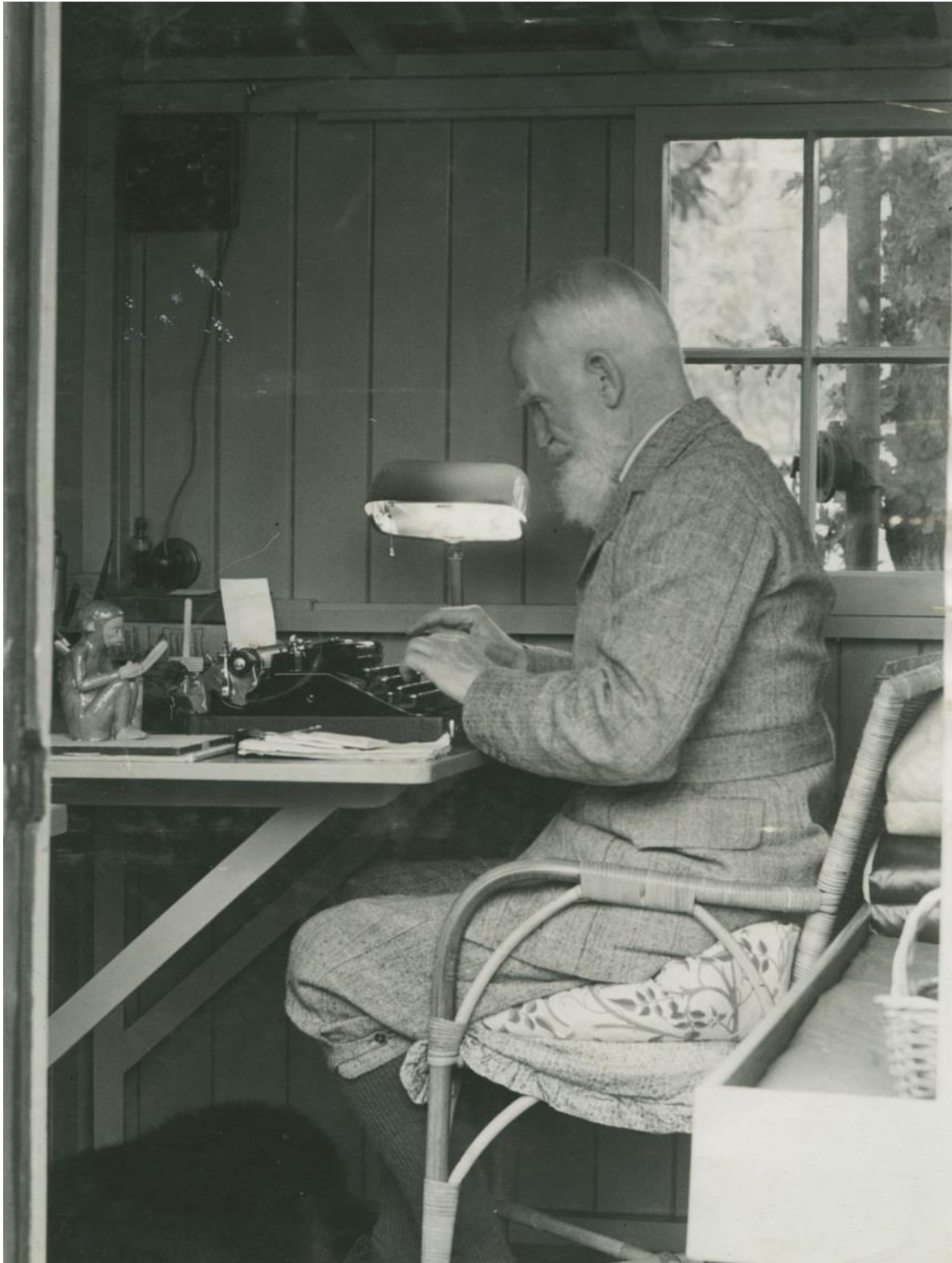


Figure 34 Shaw sitting in the Dryad chair in the writing hut, late 1920s. (NT Shaw photographs 1715219.13). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.



Figure 35 Dryad chairs, 1920s. (Reproduced from Pat Kirkham, *Harry Peach: Dryad and the DIA*, The Design Council, 1986, 30).

Shopping with Shaw: celebrating and parodying consumption

During the inter-war years, Shaw's interest in artefacts where there was an emphasis on quality and craftsmanship manifested in his personal endorsement of luxury brands, with vast sums spent on bespoke cars for example. His insistence on quality at times therefore contradicted his socialistic principle of equality, resulting in immense privileges as I outline shortly. However this period was also conversely characterized by a heightened desire to offer critiques of the capitalist consumption of luxury goods, and we see material evidence of this through his consumption practices and the retailers he supported.

In Shaw's everyday life, strategies were adopted to challenge the capitalist structures that underpinned consumption, subverting the prescribed ways in which goods were to be consumed once purchased. Shaw made an effort to have artefacts repaired as I explain in chapter three regarding his clothing. Analysis of his diaries reveals this role as a conscientious consumer was not a new one, as he frequently recorded taking umbrellas, watches and typewriters to be repaired when they broke or became damaged instead of simply replacing them.⁵¹² On 20 March 1892, he noted in his diary that his umbrella was 'run over and broken by a cyclist.'⁵¹³ The next day he took it to the 'Stores for mending'; and recorded on 24 March that the repairs had cost him '2/6.'⁵¹⁴ Through these utilitarian, everyday things he tried to break the cycle of capitalist obsolescence and waste where consumerism creates profit— in Shaw's sense perhaps they became the ultimate 'socialist' artefacts. One of his foremost criticisms of capitalist consumption occurred in his political play *The Apple Cart* (1928) where luxury goods such as 'racing motor boats and cars', 'tapestries' and 'the new crown Derby' form part of the wasteful culture that endorses the monopolistic business corporation 'Breakages, Limited'.⁵¹⁵ (VI, 309).

Before his marriage, working as a journalist in the 1880s and 90s, Shaw frequented "The

⁵¹² For example Shaw takes his typewriter to a mechanic in the City to be repaired. (29 March 1890, BSD1, 603).

⁵¹³ BSD2, 806.

⁵¹⁴ BSD2, 807.

⁵¹⁵ As Bernard F. Dukore explains, Shaw's point in the play is that under capitalism goods acquire built-in obsolescence that renders them easily breakable and expensive to repair. Instead of repairing things, the consumer merely purchases a new product. Objects have a short life, making waste profitable. Progress in the form of durable products was suppressed, whilst the exchange value of poor quality consumer goods increased. See Bernard F. Dukore, 'How to win an election', in *SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies* vol. 31, ed. by Michel W. Pharand (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 188.

Stores” off Tottenham Court Road.⁵¹⁶ According to his diaries it was here that he made practical purchases such as chessmen - to help visualize the movement of characters on stage,⁵¹⁷ had books bound (the French edition of Marx’s *Capital*)⁵¹⁸, and his watch repaired.⁵¹⁹ On other occasions he visited the more refined, smaller shops on Oxford Street where one of his favourite bookshops J. & E. Bumpus was located, as well as Morris & Co. There was also of course Jaeger’s (with branches at Regent Street, the Strand, and Cheapside) where he went regularly to purchase various items of clothing; the Aerated Bread Shop in the Strand; and Gamage’s of Holborn. The latter two were mentioned along with Whiteley’s department store in Shaw’s little-known but significant article ‘Socialism and the Shopkeeper’ (1908), where he employs them positively as examples of more egalitarian shops, contrasted against the individual ‘fashionable shopkeepers’ who are criticized for being dependent on ‘smart ladies.’⁵²⁰ Reviewing Charlotte’s counterfoils, we see that Shaw equipped his chauffeur Fred Day (based at Shaw’s Corner) with ‘livery, boots, leggings, rubbers, cap, suit, and gloves’ from A.W. Gamage Ltd. in 1929.⁵²¹ Shaw would also praise certain mass-produced commodities, writing to Beatrice and Sidney Webb for example, ‘I wish you would get a Ford motor car... They give very good value for the improvement in the quality of life.’⁵²²

Shaw’s favourable view of consumption is reflected in his approval of department stores and shops like Woolworths: acknowledging that poverty and the associated lack of goods can be the cause of human suffering. Shaw believed in consumption as a force for good, and this is synonymous with a contemporary material culture approach to artefacts. As anthropologist Daniel Miller explains, this more positive view of consumption is an ethical position where it is seen ‘as synonymous with the abolition of poverty or of the desire for development.’⁵²³ This was a lifelong goal of Shaw’s: he believed that poverty was the greatest crime, and

⁵¹⁶ Dukore explains the significance of the Stores as ‘shops where large cooperative societies offered goods for sale... at prices usually cheaper than at local, individually owned shops.’ Dukore, in *Bernard Shaw The Drama Observed: Volume III*, 1111.

⁵¹⁷ BSD2, 955. Shaw notes on 11 July 1893: ‘I bought some chessmen to work out the stage positions in my play.’ His note on his daily expenses at the bottom of the entry reads: ‘chess board & men at Stores (for staging play) 3/11.’ A chess set consisting of a box and chess-men survive in the collection: NTIN 1274794.1-2.

⁵¹⁸ BSD1, 303.

⁵¹⁹ BSD1, 389.

⁵²⁰ Shaw, ‘Socialism and the Shopkeeper’, *The New Age*, 1908, reprinted in Hubenka, ed. *Bernard Shaw Practical Politics*, 78-79.

⁵²¹ BL Add. MS 63202 Q, f.18. 17 June 1929, invoice paid for £26-15.

⁵²² Shaw to Beatrice and Sidney Webb, 5 October 1915, quoted in Alex C. Michalos and Deborah C. Poff, eds., *Bernard Shaw and the Webbs* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 155.

⁵²³ Daniel Miller, ‘Consumption’, in *Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. by Christopher Tilley et al (London: Sage, 2006), 341.

consumption was part of his solution to the problem. Miller observes that this kind of positive conceptualization of consumption (giving credit to the way consumers consume) does not have to diminish the critique of the exploitative practices of companies in their methods of manufacturing or selling; and this would certainly have been Shaw's position.⁵²⁴

Shaw argued in 'Socialism and the Shopkeeper' that shopping in department stores under socialism had the potential to illustrate the principle of the redistribution of wealth: the number of 'reasonably well-off' customers would increase, enabling 'everybody to pay a good price for a good article.'⁵²⁵ Indeed if we examine the Shaws' household accounts for London and Ayot, the documentary evidence suggests that he practiced what he preached, for besides having accounts with the more expensive, 'artistic' firms such as Morris & Co and Liberty (and the cheaper furniture stores exemplified by Maple's and Heal's) there was also regular spending on accounts held with department stores including Marshall & Snelgrove, Dickens & Jones, Selfridges & Co, John Lewis, Debenham & Freebody, Shoolbred & Co, Hampton & Sons, Gamage's Ltd, and the Army & Navy Stores.⁵²⁶

During the 1920s, Shaw harnessed the brand identity of one of the biggest American retailers, Woolworth's, in order to challenge notions of taste in the art world, but also to highlight his view that economic, commercial considerations must be the basis for art production and consumption. Shaw promoted a 'Woolworth Exhibition of Pictures' where pictures by the artist Gertrude Harvey were for sale at £5. As he explained in the foreword to the catalogue:

In the economics of fine art there is no more tragic chapter than the history of prices. [...] Recognizing the quality of Mrs. Harvey's work I called her attention to that great American genius Mr. Woolworth, who has given us wonderful shops in which you can buy any article for sixpence. No shop windows detain me in my walks as his do. [...] I exhorted her to become the first WOOLWORTH ARTIST, and give London the first one-woman-show of five pound pictures.⁵²⁷

⁵²⁴ Daniel Miller, 'Consumption', 343.

⁵²⁵ Shaw, 'Socialism and the Shopkeeper', in Hubenka, ed. *Bernard Shaw Practical Politics*, 79.

⁵²⁶ BL Add. MS 63202 A-O; 63202 P-AA; 63202 BB; 63202 CC.

⁵²⁷ Shaw, 'Mr. Shaw on Dear Pictures', *Daily Mail*, 18 September 1929, ('Note by Mr. Bernard Shaw' in the *Woolworth Exhibition of Pictures by Gertrude Harvey* catalogue, 1 October 1929), reprinted in Weintraub, LAS, 440. The artist Gertrude Harvey, who met Shaw through Dame Laura Knight, responded to his claim that art was too expensive by selling her work for £5 per painting. Shaw wrote the foreword to the catalogue for the Exhibition, which was hosted by his friend the pianist Harriet Cohen. As Weintraub states the Woolworth corporation (launched in Britain in 1909), had granted the use of the brand name for publicity purposes.

Shaw's foreword offered a critique of inflated art prices in the capitalist marketplace, which prompted an outraged response from the painter C.R.W. Nevinson, and a battle between the two was played out in the *Dail Mail*.⁵²⁸ In a letter to Virginia Woolf, Shaw would later recall issuing a warning to Roger Fry 'that nothing fundamental can be done by art until the economical problem is solved',⁵²⁹ reiterating his earlier statements on Ruskin. The focus on economics exposes a divergence in the Shavian and Morrisian positions. Shaw's endorsement of Woolworth's, and the exhibition of Harvey's paintings, shows the influence of his friend the economist Philip H. Wicksteed⁵³⁰ who based his ideas on Stanley Jevons's concept of 'marginal utility' rather than Marx's theory of value.⁵³¹ Shaw called Wicksteed his 'master in economics.'⁵³² Although Shaw and Morris both agreed that art must have a social function, they differed in terms of what might be achieved: Morris retained a belief in the revolutionary potential of art to change society, Shaw did not.

It is imperative to recognize that this dual influence on Shaw's socialist aesthetic was prominently displayed by Shaw at Shaw's Corner. At some point during the 1940s, Shaw rearranged the study to reflect the impact of both Morris and Wicksteed on his ideas: the Hollyer portrait of Morris was brought up from Whitehall Court to join a framed

⁵²⁸ See Shaw's response to C.R.W. Nevinson, 'Mr. Shaw's Retort, Advice to Mr. Nevinson Sell Paintings by the Foot "No Good Artist is a Gentleman"', reprinted in Weintraub, LAS, 441-43.

⁵²⁹ Shaw to Virginia Woolf, 10 May 1940, CL4, 557.

⁵³⁰ Wicksteed was a social reformer, Unitarian minister and theologian. See Shaw's description of Wicksteed in 'Marginalia: A hotch-potch of poetry, art, economics, and fiction', 18 December 1888, in Brian Tyson, *Bernard Shaw's Book Reviews, Vol. 2, 1884-1950* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), 58. Wicksteed and Shaw met in early 1885 at a meeting of the English Land Restoration League. (16 March 1885, BSD1, 70). Along with the dramatic critic William Archer, Wicksteed helped Shaw develop his interest in Ibsen, whose portrait rests on the mantelpiece in the dining room at Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274652). Shaw's diaries record his attendance at lectures given by Wicksteed on Ibsen ('P.H. Wicksteed on "Peer Gynt"', 7 January 1889, BSD1, 456); and his purchase of Wicksteed's later *Four Lectures on Henrik Ibsen* (1892), (2 July 1892, BSD2, 831). Wicksteed would later write the introduction to *Lyrics and Poems from Ibsen*, which can be found in Shaw's library (NTIN 3155069).

⁵³¹ Following Jevons, Wicksteed argued that the more commodities are consumed, the value of any additional unit decreases. See Shaw's review of 'Stanley Jevons: His *Letters and Journal*', where he described Wicksteed as 'an able follower of Jevons in economics', in Tyson, *Bernard Shaw's Book Reviews, Vol. 1*, 144. Shaw however remained a Marxist to some degree throughout his life, even after adopting the Jevonian view. See Mark Bevir, 'The Marxism of George Bernard Shaw 1883-1889', *History of Political Thought*, 13, 2 (1992), 311. A copy of *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* by Marx is in the library. (NTIN 3062622). A bust in the dining-room previously thought to represent Marx actually depicts Leo Tolstoy. (NTIN 1274922).

⁵³² Shaw inscribed this message to Wicksteed in a copy of *The Common Sense of Municipal Trading* in 1904. Quoted in C. H. Herford, *Philip Henry Wicksteed: His Life and Work* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1931), 123. See also Henderson, *Playboy and Prophet*, 224.

photographic portrait of Wicksteed. (Figure 36)⁵³³ These were carefully positioned either side of Shaw's writing desk along the east-facing wall. A press photograph (figure 37),⁵³⁴ dating to March 1951, shows an image of Shaw's study with the portraits of Wicksteed and Morris flanking the desk.⁵³⁵ Shaw's socialist aesthetic was shaped by Morris's art, but also by Wicksteed's focus on artefacts as commodities, and the role of consumption. Wicksteed applied the theory of marginal utility to the valuing of goods, and used artefacts to illustrate theoretical aspects of consumption: 'specimens of old china, pictures by deceased masters... the value of these things changes because their utility changes.'⁵³⁶

Through the *Woolworth's Exhibition*, Shaw was expressing an affinity with a shop that provided low-cost goods for a mass-market. In light of this, it is helpful to examine a letter he wrote to the actor Ernest Thesiger (who played the microbe in *Too True to be Good*, 1931), when gifts were being suggested for Shaw's eightieth birthday in 1936. It explains Shaw's delight in cheap, useful things:

Let me explain about birthday presents. I am not at all insensible to the

⁵³³ NTIN 1274678. The photograph shows Wicksteed in old age in about 1917 (reproduced in Herford, *Philip Henry Wicksteed*, opposite page 181). Shaw's admiration for Wicksteed was reflected in a letter he wrote to his eldest son Joseph H. Wicksteed upon his father's death in 1927. *Blake's Vision of the Book of Job, with reproductions of the illustrations*, written by Joseph, was sent in return bearing the inscription 'given to George Bernard Shaw with thanks for a letter. Cf. Matthew ch.viii.vv.21.' (NTIN 3061803). The Bible quotation refers to: 'Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my father.'

⁵³⁴ This photograph was one of several published in *The Illustrated London News* (17 March 1951), 407, to celebrate the opening of Shaw's Corner to the public.

⁵³⁵ This arrangement was changed by the National Trust in 2000 when the portrait of Wicksteed was moved to the opposite wall (next to the doorway), to allow the Aubrey Beardsley drawing to be positioned out of direct light for conservation reasons. The change was initiated following the assessment of the Beardsley by Calloway, who was concerned that the Beardsley drawing had been exposed for years 'in a vulnerable position.' See Calloway and Owens, 'A 'lost' Beardsley rediscovered', 50. A photograph by Cecil Hallam from the National Trust Archive, dated 13 February 1951, shows the Beardsley drawing hung next to the doorway.

⁵³⁶ Philip H. Wicksteed, *The Common Sense of Political Economy*, vol.2 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1933 [1910]), 722. This argument had originally been published in Philip H. Wicksteed, 'Das Kapital: A Criticism', *To-Day: A Monthly Magazine of Scientific Socialism* (October 1884), 388-409. According to Shaw's diaries, they viewed together some of the most important sales of paintings and ceramics of the 1880s, such as the Bleinheim Palace Sale held at Christies in 1886. See Shaw's diary entry for 24 July 1886 (BSD1, 187). During the late 1880s and early 1890s, Wicksteed gave lectures at the home of the anarchist Charlotte Wilson, and Shaw recalled the 'impassioned disputes as to whether the value of Mrs. Wilson's vases was fixed by the labour socially necessary to produce them, by their cost of production on the margin of cultivation, or by the "final utility" of the existing stock of vases.' Shaw, 'Bluffing the Value Theory', *To-Day: A Monthly Magazine of Scientific Socialism* (May 1889), 129. See HOL1, 180.

good feeling that prompts them; but I like them to be useful⁵³⁷ and friendly. Also they should be personal. A presentation into which the subscribers have been blackmailed is abhorrent to me. It results in some silver atrocity that I dont [sic] want – that no human being could ever possibly want (except to pawn) – and that I shall never see again. For instance, the Nobel Prize.⁵³⁸ Eight ounces of solid gold, with a stamp of less merit than a postmark. I havnt [sic] the faintest notion of where it is; and its possession has never given me a moment's gratification.

Also, as Charlotte and I have as much money as is good for us there is no use giving us anything expensive, as we have naturally bought all things of that sort for ourselves.

Subject to these sensible limitations I should be much gratified to receive a personal present from every member of the company⁵³⁹ who would like to give me one. Only, it must be a Woolworth present, a threepenny one. I should have a whole basketful of useful or amusing presents, which would give Charlotte and myself the greatest pleasure. And the donors would have the fun of buying and selecting them at Woolworth's regardless of expense.⁵⁴⁰

Roy Limbert, who founded the Malvern Festival with Barry Jackson for the purpose of staging Shaw's plays, recalled that Shaw's instructions 'led to a raid on the local branch of Woolworth's.'⁵⁴¹ The actress Wendy Hiller, who would star in the film version of *Pygmalion*

⁵³⁷ Shaw placed great emphasis on 'useful' presents: he was dismayed by the frequent gifts from actress Ellen Pollock for example, speaking of her 'mania for making presents, exchanging money which everyone wants for things that nobody wants.' Shaw to Ellen Pollock, 25 December 1947, quoted in Vivian Elliot, *Dear Mr Shaw* (London: Bloomsbury, 1987), 200. He was outraged when presented with a bison's foot inkstand ('a horrible object') by Pollock for his ninety-fourth birthday: 'Just arrived. The hideous foot of an animal in the form of an inkstand.' Shaw to Ellen Pollock, quoted in Elliot, *Dear Mr Shaw*, 200. Shaw gave it to the Ayot church fête for their sale.

⁵³⁸ Shaw was referring to his Nobel Prize medal for literature awarded in 1926. Evidently he had little regard for the artefact. Similarly his gold-plated Hollywood 'Oscar' statuette (NTIN 1274935), which was awarded to Shaw for his screenplay of *Pygmalion* in 1938, was apparently turned into a useful object: a gadget for cracking nuts. See Lambert, 'Historic Houses: George Bernard Shaw. The Playwright's English Home at Ayot St. Lawrence', 182.

⁵³⁹ The 'company' Shaw refers to here was the Malvern Festival Company.

⁵⁴⁰ Shaw to Ernest Thesiger, 24 July 1936, CL4, 436.

⁵⁴¹ Roy Limbert, quoted in Roger Hall-Jones, *George Bernard Shaw at Malvern* (Malvern: First Paige Publishing, 2012). See also Vivian Elliot, 'Gifts and Greetings' in *Dear Mr Shaw*, 207-08.

in 1938, remembered that her gift to Shaw was a ‘coat-hanger’.⁵⁴² Other presents included a pencil-sharpener in the shape of a globe which can still be seen at Shaw’s Corner⁵⁴³ (figure 38), some ink, sealing wax, and a razor blade.⁵⁴⁴ By emphasizing consumer choice here, Shaw again enacts a more positive view of consumption, which could be seen as part of a Marxist approach.⁵⁴⁵

As Shaw had shown in many of his plays, everyday domestic goods and trinkets had the potential to play significant roles in people’s lives. We might think here of the ‘brown delph ware’ teapot, the ‘black tray of japanned metal’ and the sofa with the leg that gives way, to be found in Cornelius Doyle’s house in *John Bull’s Other Island* (1904), (II, 946, 949). That Shaw was so in tune with the material culture and the realities of ordinary people’s lives is evidenced by an extraordinary letter he received from Annie Morgan, an Irish woman, about these furnishings:

Dear Sir, It has been my good fortune to receive a copy of John Bull’s Other Island [...] if ever you take a notion to visit our part of the country, we have a brown delph teapot, also a black japanned tea tray and even a sofa minus a leg – we prop it with a piece of an old leg of a table that went to pieces at one time. But you would get the bed - not the sofa.⁵⁴⁶

Like the black japanned tea trays that can be seen in the dining-room at Shaw’s Corner today⁵⁴⁷ (figure 39), these artefacts represented down-to-earth, homely, simple old household goods, appreciated by Shaw and used as props in the play because of their ability to evoke a more ‘authentic’ lifestyle in the face of the loss of certain traditional artefacts and handicrafts.⁵⁴⁸ Shaw was demonstrating that he was in touch with common humanity. In a Marxist sense, such things symbolized a way of life that was inalienable and beyond the

⁵⁴² Wendy Hiller, quoted in Vivian Elliot, ‘Genius Loci: the Malvern Festival Tradition’, in *Shaw’s Plays in Performance: SHAW, The Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, vol. 3, ed. by Daniel Leary (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1983), 202.

⁵⁴³ NTIN 1274987. The pencil-sharpener in the form of a globe was given to Shaw by the actress Mavis Walker in 1936. He used it on his desk in the writing hut according to contemporary photographs. See HOL3, 162-63.

⁵⁴⁴ HOL3, 162.

⁵⁴⁵ Clive Edwards, *Turning Houses into Homes*, 9.

⁵⁴⁶ Annie Morgan to Shaw, 13 March 1912 (BL Add. MS 50516, f.160-61). Part of this letter was reprinted in Elliot, *Dear Mr Shaw*, 188.

⁵⁴⁷ There are five of these trays in the dining-room, possibly the gift of T.E. Lawrence: NTIN 1275037.1-3; 1275038.1-2. Shaw and Charlotte posed for photographic portraits in the dining room (taken by Shaw, c.1933), where the trays are shown in the background. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715506.24; 1715506.25-30; 1715506.31-36).

⁵⁴⁸ See Talia Schaffer, *Novel Craft: Victorian Domestic Handicraft and Nineteenth-Century Fiction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 15.

domain of capitalist consumerism and fashion.

The same principles applied to the cheap mass-produced Staffordshire figure of Shakespeare, found by Shaw in a bric-à-brac shop, which cost him 23 shillings.⁵⁴⁹ Figure 40 shows the figurine in a photograph by Shaw, taken in the garden at Shaw's Corner.⁵⁵⁰ It is unfortunate that the statuette was stolen from the drawing room mantelpiece at Shaw's Corner in 1996,⁵⁵¹ for it has much to tell us about Shaw, in terms of his attitude towards commodities, but also to statuettes and the means by which literary 'celebrities' are commemorated (I expand on this in chapter three). According to Patch, he had 'picked up the Shakespeare ornament in a curio shop at Frinton-on-Sea'⁵⁵² when he was eighty-three in 1939. Also important in this regard is the ceramic monkey pencil-holder⁵⁵³ (figure 41) Shaw kept on his desk in the writing hut - purchased perhaps in emulation of the china monkey Charles Dickens kept on his desk.⁵⁵⁴ Figure 42 shows the interior of the writing hut in a photograph by Ernst Haas taken in 1948, where the monkey can be seen sitting on Shaw's desk.⁵⁵⁵ Dickens was one of Shaw's favourite authors. The first Marxist critical essay on Dickens in Britain 'From Dickens to Ibsen' had actually been written by Shaw in 1889; and he would later assert in his 1937 preface to *Great Expectations* that '*Little Dorrit* is more seditious than *Das Kapital*.'⁵⁵⁶ Shaw's china ornaments were expressive of a desire, like Dickens, to be sceptical of the reformers' imposition of 'good' taste on ordinary people (as in the case of Sissy Jupe's preference for flowers on her carpet in *Hard Times*).

In a similar way, the Shaws' use of textiles that were designed to be placed over pieces of furniture, subvert the polemics of the Arts and Crafts. A document survives entitled 'Mrs.

⁵⁴⁹ Shaw, *Sixteen Self Sketches*, facing page 122. A photograph of the Staffordshire figurine of Shakespeare taken by Shaw was reproduced with the caption: 'my favourite image of him. Cost me 23 shillings.'

⁵⁵⁰ NT Shaw Photographs 1715255.30; (1715225.169 is a duplicate). See also 1715260.88.

⁵⁵¹ The minutes of a National Trust Site Meeting held in 1997 recorded that a number of problems had been entered on the Trust's crime database including 'Staffordshire figure of Shakespeare stolen during open hours, April 1996.' Various small items had also been stolen from the writing hut in July 1991. Shaw's Corner Security Report, dated 28 April 1997. (EE08:64). Existing security arrangements were being reviewed following the appointment of Ruth Gofton as custodian.

⁵⁵² Patch, *Thirty Years with GBS*, 35.

⁵⁵³ NTIN 1274594. The monkey pencil-holder is currently in storage. Shaw photographed the monkey several times (see for example NTIN 1715523.18).

⁵⁵⁴ At the Dickens House Museum, London, the china monkey which Dickens always kept on his writing desk is on display. Without the monkey, Dickens was supposedly unable to write; see Biggers, *British Author House Museums*, 155-56.

⁵⁵⁵ Photograph of Shaw's writing hut taken by Ernst Haas in 1948: Getty Images 3139381.

⁵⁵⁶ Paul Schlicke, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Charles Dickens* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 141. The essay 'From Dickens to Ibsen' (1889) was first published in Dan. H. Laurence and Martin Quinn, eds., *Shaw on Dickens* (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1985). Shaw's preface to *Great Expectations* (1937) was reprinted in *Bernard Shaw, The Complete Prefaces, Volume III*, 300-13.

Bernard Shaw's List of Linen at Ayot'.⁵⁵⁷ Dated 1919, it is an inventory of 623 items of household textiles including 4 'chair covers', 8 'embroidered tray cloths', 9 'embroidered sideboard cloths', and 29 'lace D'Oyleys'.⁵⁵⁸ Many of these would have been considered either old-fashioned by this date, or illustrative of the 'wrong' kind of furnishings according to the Arts and Crafts domestic advice literature. Crane for example, as one of the primary agents of design reform, was much troubled by domestic interiors 'where the antimacassar is made to cover a multitude of sins.'⁵⁵⁹

As a critic and dramatist, Shaw's use of artefacts often negotiated these tensions in taste between the reformers (or connoisseurs), and ordinary consumers, and I am suggesting that he may well have intended the interiors at Shaw's Corner to equally reflect those tensions. Throughout the house, Arts and Crafts or Aesthetic artefacts and furnishings jostle with everyday commodities; and the application of this as a deliberate strategy can be illuminated if we examine the drawing room mantelpiece for example, in conjunction with a scenario he created for a play from the late 1890s. For the setting of the kitchen in Minister Anderson's house in *The Devil's Disciple* (1897), Shaw had arranged 'a rococo presentation clock on the mantelshelf, flanked by a couple of miniatures, a pair of crockery dogs with baskets in their mouths, and, at the corners, two large cowrie shells' (II, 84) in the sort of room, we are told, that Arts and Crafts architects like Philip Webb were aiming to replicate.⁵⁶⁰ The play was written at the beginning of a period of intense equivocality on Shaw's part towards the Arts and Crafts, and the presence of these domestic ornaments in such a space reflects this. Furthermore, given Shaw's curation of dramatic space and the transference of those skills to 'real' domestic space, the eclectic relationships on display at Shaw's Corner were not accidental, but self-consciously arranged iconographic schemes.⁵⁶¹

As Shaw well knew, his Shakespeare figurine embodied all the elements that the Arts and

⁵⁵⁷ 'Mrs. Bernard Shaw's List of Linen at Ayot', 1919. (HRC, IV, 64.2).

⁵⁵⁸ Three lace-edged, small circular D'Oyleys are still in the collections (NTIN 1275350.1-3); and two large white linen cloths (NTIN 1275348; NTIN 1275364). Both have an embroidered 'S' in one corner. Charlotte's letters to Dorothy Walker frequently show her discussing the purchase of domestic textiles. On one occasion she wrote: 'do you remember the lovely quilted quilt you showed me at Daneway? I saw a perfect beauty at the Irish Linen Co. in Bond St. I asked "how much?" They said "£45". Now what do you think of that!' Charlotte Shaw to Dorothy Walker, 11 April 1930. (HRC, IV, 65.4).

⁵⁵⁹ Walter Crane, *William Morris to Whistler*, 1911, quoted in Alice McEwan, 'The antimacassar in fact and fiction', in *Textiles and Text: Re-establishing the Links between Archival and Object-based Research*, ed. by Maria Hayward and Elizabeth Kramer (London: Archetype, 2007), 169.

⁵⁶⁰ Christopher Gray mentions Shaw's room descriptions in *The Devil's Disciple*, however his focus is almost entirely on the copperplate engraving of Raphael's *Saint Paul Preaching at Athens*, without interrogating Shaw's emphasis on the domestic artefacts that appear in the stage directions such as the clock and the crockery dogs on the mantelpiece, or the glass case of stuffed birds. Gray, 'The Devil on the Road to Damascus', 68.

⁵⁶¹ This relates to ideas expressed by Edwards and Hart in *Rethinking the Interior*, 13-14.

Crafts reformers found most repellent: cheap, mass-produced, and amateurish.⁵⁶² As a commodity, Staffordshire figurines in particular demonstrated ‘how far domestic handicraft amalgamated industry’ in that they were hand-painted, but manufactured for retail in a factory.⁵⁶³ Shaw too would have been aware that Staffordshire figurines had long existed as ‘prized markers of luxury for the working poor.’⁵⁶⁴ He did not always share the design reformers’ concerns, and the mantelpiece display in the drawing room is testament to this with its china ornaments. Such ornaments had the capacity to function as ‘socialist’ artefacts in Shaw’s world, but in a way that worked in the opposite direction to Morrisian aesthetics, and indeed to the aesthetics of Roger Fry. Alexandra Harris has highlighted Fry’s dismissal of ‘Victoriana’ in her discussion of his essay ‘The Ottoman and the Whatnot’ (1919), where she notes his rejection of the ‘flimsy caricature of rococo’.⁵⁶⁵ As Harris argues, the ‘determined exit from the parlour was one of modernism’s great works.’⁵⁶⁶

This disparagement of Victorian artefacts and cheap commodities I suggest was at the heart of the dismissal of Shaw’s Corner by David Garnett and Lees-Milne in the early literature, where the supposed lack of taste in the interiors was summed up by the ‘mantelpieces and tables crowded with a clutter of souvenirs and bric-à-brac;’⁵⁶⁷ and the ‘trout pools in cheap gilt frames...On the mantelpiece a late Staffordshire figure of Shakespeare...a china house, the lid of which forms a box.’⁵⁶⁸ Such mantelpiece ornaments (figure 43)⁵⁶⁹ constitute what has been termed the ‘material culture of domesticity’.⁵⁷⁰ If we examine a press photograph of Shaw taken in the drawing-room in July 1950 for the *San Francisco Examiner* (figure 44),⁵⁷¹ we see that in fact this was how Shaw lived, in a relaxed and comfortable atmosphere, with

⁵⁶² Schaffer, *Novel Craft*, 51.

⁵⁶³ Schaffer, *Novel Craft*, 8.

⁵⁶⁴ Schaffer, *Novel Craft*, 197, n.19.

⁵⁶⁵ Alexandra Harris, ‘The Antimacassar Restored: Victorian Taste in the Early Twentieth Century’, in *Strange Sisters: Literature and Aesthetics in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Francesca Orestano and Francesca Frigerio (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009), 258. Roger Fry, ‘The Ottoman and the Whatnot’, in *Vision and Design* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1940 [1920]), 40-46.

⁵⁶⁶ Harris, ‘The Antimacassar Restored’, 258. See also Alexandra Harris, *Romantic Moderns: English Writers, Artists and the Imagination from Virginia Woolf to John Piper* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2010), 87.

⁵⁶⁷ David Garnett, quoted in Gibbs, *Shaw Interviews and Recollections*, 446.

⁵⁶⁸ Lees-Milne, 9 February 1944, in *Diaries, 1942-1954*, 134.

⁵⁶⁹ This press photograph shows the mantelpiece in the drawing-room at Shaw’s Corner, photographed in 1946 by Ralph Morse for the article ‘G.B.S. is 90’, *Life* (29 July 1946), 42. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715225.156). The image shows both the Shakespeare statuette, and the ‘china house’ referred to by Lees-Milne. Shaw had brought the Sartorio portrait of Charlotte to Shaw’s Corner from Whitehall Court in 1945. (See Appendix 5). Published in *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*, 45.

⁵⁷⁰ Gerritsen and Riello, eds., *Writing Material Culture History*, 2. For Gerritsen and Riello, artefacts such as ‘china’ and ‘knick-knacks’ form part of the material culture that turns ‘a house into a home’ by personalizing a space and embodying personal memories.

⁵⁷¹ International News Photo, 25 July 1950, *San Francisco Examiner*.

the shelves in the background occupied by a large number of books and artefacts. In the photograph numerous artefacts are shown on top of the bookcase, including the copy of the Augustus John drawing of Lawrence, a lamp, various china ornaments, brass candlesticks, a Japanese print, the silver-cased carriage clock, and Shaw's marine chronometer with the lid raised.⁵⁷² Shaw's way of living in the house (subsequently erased by Laden⁵⁷³) was giving voice to the aesthetics of the everyday.

At times however Shaw's material possessions and spending patterns revealed a rather different picture altogether, establishing yet further ambivalences and contradictions, through what can only be classified as elite consumption. Shaw purchased expensive motor bikes and cars,⁵⁷⁴ including two Lanchesters and two Rolls Royces during the 1930s. Figure 45 is a press cutting from *Sphere* 1930⁵⁷⁵ showing his Lanchester, with the headline: 'Super-car for Superman', a reference to Shaw's play where a car had memorably featured as a part of the stage-set. Figure 46 reveals him posed stepping into his new Rolls Royce in 1935, with Fred Day at the wheel;⁵⁷⁶ the car cost £1732.6.11.⁵⁷⁷ Figure 47 shows two drawings sent to Shaw by the dealer Arthur Mulliner for his approval.⁵⁷⁸ The bespoke specifications for this vehicle included woodwork finished in burr walnut, with the seats upholstered in soft brown leather.⁵⁷⁹ A second Rolls Royce, a 'Silver Wraith' was purchased in 1939, and this time a

⁵⁷² Marine chronometer (NTIN 1274899). The carriage clock (NTIN 1274903) also remains in the collection.

⁵⁷³ By the time of the opening in March 1951, Laden had rearranged the artefacts, and tidied things away. A photograph of the room published in the *Illustrated London News* ('To be a memorial and shrine for Shavians: "Shaw's Corner", now open to the public', *The Illustrated London News* (17 March 1951), 407) reveals a different picture where everything is neat and tidy: the top of the bookshelf previously filled with artefacts is now empty. Only the chronometer remains there today; whilst the John print is displayed on the east-facing wall.

⁵⁷⁴ Shaw purchased his first car, a Lorraine-Dietrich, in 1908, and an A.C. Coupé was purchased in 1923 for £800. (See Laurence, CL3, 785). Shaw's first motor-bicycle was a 'Lea Francis', purchased from Frank Hucklebridge, Chelsea, for £68-5-0 on 10 January 1913. His second motor-bicycle was an 'Alldays "Allon" Two-Stroke', purchased in 1915. Shaw notes: 'I gave away this bicycle in December 1932, not having used it for a couple of years or so previously.' Burgunder Collection: BUR, XXI, Bound Manuscripts 50. Bernard Shaw Motoring Papers and Pictures (1913-1939).

⁵⁷⁵ *Sphere*, 3 May 1930, Durrant's Press Cuttings, marked 'G.B. Shaw'. (BUR, XXI, 50). The *Illustrated London News* also ran the story on 10 May 1930. This first Lanchester was sold when Shaw purchased his first Rolls Royce in 1935. A second Lanchester was purchased in 1933 and sold by the Trust in 1951.

⁵⁷⁶ This photograph of Shaw, Fred Day and the Rolls Royce was staged and shot by TecArt Studios, 'Technical and Art Photographers', Bloomsbury Street, London. (BUR, XXI, 50).

⁵⁷⁷ This was a chocolate-coloured 25 H.P. Rolls Royce Limousine, purchased in 1935 from Arthur Mulliner Ltd, Motor Agents & High Class Coachbuilders, Baker Street, London. Invoice dated 11 June 1935, shows the amount paid was £1732.6.11 (minus £300, part-exchange for Lanchester, bringing total to £1432.6.11). (BUR, XXI, 50).

⁵⁷⁸ 'Special Design for George Bernard Shaw Esq, Four Light Limousine on 20/25 HP Rolls Royce'. Design by Arthur Mulliner Ltd, London and Northampton. (BUR, XXI, 50).

⁵⁷⁹ Specification sent by Mulliner to Shaw, 17 April 1935. (BUR, XXI, 50). Fred Day recalled the seats being 'softly and luxuriously upholstered', especially those in the back of the vehicle where Charlotte 'was to sit'. Fred Day, quoted in Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager*, 44.

special illustrated feature appeared in *The Motor*,⁵⁸⁰ where Shaw was pictured posing on the drive-way of Shaw's Corner, looking intently at his new car. (Figure 48). This Rolls Royce was sold, along with Shaw's second Lanchester, by the National Trust in 1951.⁵⁸¹

Shaw was certainly aware of the ironies and contradictions embedded within his consumption patterns, as the following story about the events at one of his socialist lectures indicates. Speaking on the subject of inequality, he observed: 'As I came into the hall I noticed a Rolls-Royce which cost over £2,000. Is it right that one man should be allowed such money? Go and look at it for yourself and ponder over the slums of England and how much better this wealth could be spent making the lives of the poor possible and profitable.' Apparently parts of the audience were about to leave 'with the light of destruction in their eyes', when Shaw said: 'I sympathise with you, but before you smash that car I must tell you that it belongs to me.'⁵⁸² Socialism for Shaw was concerned with social equality, yet through his personal consumption of luxury artefacts he seemed to be endorsing inequality.⁵⁸³

Many observers noted this contradiction, including fellow-villagers in Ayot: Mrs. Sylvaine felt that 'a Socialist with five servants, two cars (one a Rolls), a country house and an expensive London flat (and who objected to paying his income tax) wasn't logical in any sense of the word.'⁵⁸⁴ Captain Ames compared Shaw to Puck (from Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*) to explain his contradictory character: 'Shaw was no Socialist! He was Conservative by temperament...unconvincing in his expression of his socialism. He was Shakespeare's 'Puck' fulfilled to perfection. He was, I believe, a great admirer of Puck.'⁵⁸⁵

Shaw deals with the ironies of his consumption practices through self-parody, but there is

⁵⁸⁰ Stuart Macrae, 'Mr. Bernard Shaw on Motoring', *The Motor* (18 July 1939), 943-46. The article included eight photographs of Shaw pictured in the grounds of Shaw's Corner, and revealed him stepping into the car. Macrae reported 'at the age of 83 he takes delivery of another Rolls-Royce – a 25-30 h.p. Wraith.'

⁵⁸¹ See Appendix 4.

⁵⁸² Shaw, quoted in Elliot, *Dear Mr. Shaw*, 253.

⁵⁸³ Morris stated that where there is a society based on inequality 'in which there are very rich people and very poor ones, the standard of usefulness is utterly confused.' William Morris, in A.L. Morton, ed., *The Political Writings of William Morris* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1984), 236. Originally published in May Morris, ed., *The Collected Works of William Morris*, 24 vols. (London: Longmans, Green, 1910-15).

⁵⁸⁴ Mrs. Sylvaine, quoted in Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager*, 141. Mrs. Sylvaine was the wife of the dramatist Vernon Sylvaine, who was associated with the Birmingham Repertory Theatre. They lived near the Shaws in Ayot.

⁵⁸⁵ Captain Lionel Ames, in Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager*, 144. William Archer also made this comparison: 'Having known him for forty years, I say without hesitation that his greatest moral failing, in my judgment, is (or was) a certain impishness, a Puck-like *Schadenfreude*, to which he would sometimes give too free play.' William Archer, 'The Psychology of G.B.S.', *Bookman*, December 1924, vol. LXVIII, reprinted in T.F. Evans, *Shaw: The Critical Heritage*, 301.

also an element of celebration. On one level Shaw's consumption dramatized the contradictions and negative aspects of the capitalist marketplace which legitimized and encouraged ridiculous extremes of wealth. The consumption of luxury goods represented capitalistic self-indulgence.⁵⁸⁶ On the other hand, lavish spending seemed perfectly logical for a socialist if aligned to progress: Shaw viewed the acquisition of beautiful and well-made things as a prerequisite to the health and development of society. His preface to *Androcles and the Lion* justifies this position where he argues that money enables people to purchase and consume desirable things that go beyond necessity: 'We have in the invaluable instrument called money a means of enabling every individual to order and pay for the particular things he desires over and above the things he must consume in order to remain alive.' (IV, 531).

Shaw had spoken positively of money in the preface to *Major Barbara* in terms of generosity and beauty: 'Money is the most important thing in the world. It represents health, strength, honor, generosity and beauty.' (III, 30). Seen in this light, consumption was a positive force, with the power to alleviate not only poverty, but to create beauty. Shaw was arguing for a democratization of luxury goods, and simultaneously justifying his personal, connoisseurial taste and possessions: 'When civilization advances to the point at which articles are produced that no man absolutely needs and that only some men fancy or can use, it is necessary that individuals should be able to have things made to their order and at their own cost.'⁵⁸⁷ (IV, 531).

Shaw viewed his bespoke Rolls Royce as a necessary tool to advance mankind, whereas the Webbs were critical of the 'cultural products of capitalist society' and would have seen the car as the embodiment of 'extravagance, waste and self-indulgence.'⁵⁸⁸ The problem becomes one of definition, and depends on whether the approach is from the perspective of individualism or collectivism. As Lauren Arrington has observed regarding Shaw's relationship to the Webbs: 'the tension between individualism and collectivism remained

⁵⁸⁶ Linda Dowling has observed that Morris's 'democratic ideal of a luxury of taste' became debased by the 'crassly plutocratic luxury of costliness.' Linda Dowling, *The Vulgarization of Art: The Victorians and Aesthetic Democracy* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1996), 59.

⁵⁸⁷ In his earlier essay 'Socialism for Millionaires' (1896) Shaw had called on millionaire philanthropists to 'create new needs'. The great benefactor, Shaw argued, is 'the man who makes the luxury of yesterday the need of to-morrow... John Ruskin set a wise example in this respect to our rich men...He has created energy instead of dissipating it, and created it in the only fundamentally possible way, by creating fresh needs. His example shows what can be done by a rich expert in fine art.' Shaw, 'Socialism for Millionaires', Fabian Tract no.107 (London: The Fabian Society, 1901), 14 (originally published in the *Contemporary Review*, February 1896).

⁵⁸⁸ Sidney Webb, 'The Difficulties of Individualism', quoted in Britain, *Fabianism and Culture*, 117.

unresolved during the course of their lifelong friendship.⁵⁸⁹ Pharand offers insight into Shaw's theory of creative evolution which has relevance here. Pharand explains that whilst there were spiritual or religious concerns underpinning Shaw's vitalism, there was also a sense of abundance: 'Creative evolutionism is rooted in a faith in spiritual progress, wherein (as Shaw wrote in 1921) "the driving force behind Evolution is a will-to-live, and to live, as Christ said long before, more abundantly."⁵⁹⁰ For Shaw I would suggest, the notion of 'abundance' has a material dimension, as much as a spiritual one. He hints at this through the portrait he commissioned from John Farleigh in 1933 to act as the frontispiece to *Prefaces by Bernard Shaw* (1934), requesting the use of symbols of plenty, stating that it should be executed in a 'cornucopian style with muses and torches and emblems.'⁵⁹¹ Farleigh based the design on a seventeenth-century architectural model in the English Baroque style.⁵⁹² (Figure 49).

Related to Shaw's celebration and parody of consumption (including his personal role as a connoisseur-consumer) was the actual experience of shopping. Shaw would recount a shopping trip in London, in a lecture titled "Socialism and the Labour Party" (1920). He told the story as follows: 'I was looking in a shop in Bond Street the other day at a metal vase, and a friend said to me: "That is a pretty little thing"; it was a William and Mary piece of metal work. We went into the shop and my friend said, as one does in these curio places: "If that is going for the sum I do not mind giving £20." They said: "The price is £2,500."⁵⁹³ That Shaw would be critical here of the obscene cost of such a luxury item, in the context of social and economic hardship can hardly be surprising: he mocks the millionaires who pay these prices 'in a country which is in debt after a war.' But what is interesting is that the passage also reveals to us his position as a connoisseur. The vision we are presented with is Shaw in the act of shopping in one of London's most prestigious retail environments, associated with expensive commodities. Furthermore, his choice of phrases used to relate the story ('as one does in these curio places') indicates that the experience of shopping for antiques in this way was not a new one.

⁵⁸⁹ Lauren Arrington, 'The Fabian Society', in *George Bernard Shaw in Context*, ed. by Brad Kent (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 16.

⁵⁹⁰ Michel W. Pharand, 'Creative Evolution: The Rise of the Life Force', in Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and the French*, 240. Pharand here quotes from Shaw's preface to *Back to Methuselah* (V, 282).

⁵⁹¹ Dan H. Laurence, ed., *Bernard Shaw: A Bibliography, vol.1* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 222.

⁵⁹² Laurence, ed., *Bernard Shaw: A Bibliography, vol.1*, 222. Laurence informs us that incorporated into the structure were characters from Shaw's plays, including Androcles and the Lion, and Saint Joan; at the base of the design were the figures of William Maxwell (Shaw's printer), and Otto Kyllmann (Shaw's publisher).

⁵⁹³ Shaw, 'Socialism and the Labour Party', the National Guilds League lecture delivered at Kingsway Hall, London, 29 January 1920. Reprinted in Hubenka, ed., *Bernard Shaw Practical Politics*, 153.

Shaw would utilize such experiences to create humorous scenarios in his plays: a concertina, for example, ‘in a shop in Green Street [Mayfair], ivory inlaid, with gold keys and Russia leather bellows’ appears in *Fanny’s First Play*, and is used to parody Count O’Dowda’s fetishization of beautiful things. (IV, 376). In other plays such as *The Inca of Perusalem* (1915) where excessive wealth is on display, Shaw parodies the connoisseur’s desire to separate himself from the realm of the consumer. When the Inca presents Ermyntrude with the brooch ‘as big as a turtle’⁵⁹⁴ from ‘His Imperial Majesty’, there is a focus on the exchange-value: Ermyntrude declares: ‘I’ll pawn it and buy something nice with the money.’ (IV, 969). The connoisseurial Inca replies, offended and annoyed: ‘Impossible, madam. A design by the Inca must not be exhibited for sale in the shop window of a pawnbroker.’ (IV, 969). This may be a reference to Shaw’s personal experience of pawnbrokers, and the gap between his own up-bringing and Charlotte’s.

At times Shaw showed a lack of compassion in his treatment of some of Charlotte’s personal possessions such as her jewellery. He wrote to Patch in 1944: ‘I am sending by this post a boxful of the rubbish from C.F.S’s jewel box. If there is any similar stuff at Whitehall Court, add it to the collection and sell it. There was a pair of heavy bracelets which nobody but Ftateeta could possibly wear: I think it might go too...we must get rid of this useless (to us) litter sometime.’⁵⁹⁵ The jewellery was sold as a group by Patch, as Shaw had instructed.⁵⁹⁶ Yet a letter Shaw had written earlier to Nancy Astor suggests his display of callousness towards Charlotte’s possessions was not the complete picture: ‘When I come across some intimate thing of Charlotte’s I still quite automatically say an affectionate word or two and am moved just for a moment.’⁵⁹⁷ As Wearing comments, such acknowledgments ‘reflect to a small degree some of the effects of Charlotte’s death upon Shaw.’⁵⁹⁸ Shaw’s affection for Charlotte is revealed in a photograph of them embracing, taken when they were visiting

⁵⁹⁴ Shaw often used jewellery and clothing to parody wealthy, powerful figures. This brings to mind the characterisation of the court of King Henry VIII by Greenblatt where he evokes ‘the sense of colossal waste, of inexhaustible appetite, of power utterly materialized in clothes and jewels.’ Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 29. We might compare here Shaw’s description of Ermyntrude’s brooch ‘as big as a turtle’ to the King’s diamond, which was ‘as big as a walnut’ according to the Venetian ambassador.

⁵⁹⁵ Shaw to Blanche Patch, 4 April 1944. (HRC, II, 42.1).

⁵⁹⁶ Thomas Jones commented to Violet Markham that Shaw had ‘sold Charlotte’s personal jewelry in a heap for six pounds! Nancy [Astor] was furious at this.’ Thomas Jones to Violet Markham, 15 June 1944, quoted in Thomas Jones, *A Diary with Letters*, 519.

⁵⁹⁷ Shaw to Nancy Astor, 25 October 1943, quoted in Wearing, ed., *Bernard Shaw and Nancy Astor*, 141.

⁵⁹⁸ Wearing, ed., *Bernard Shaw and Nancy Astor*, 141.

Troubetzkoy at Lago Maggiore, Italy in 1927. (Figure 50).⁵⁹⁹

On the subject of disparity, it is interesting to see that after Shaw gave Nancy Astor Charlotte's old Irish jewel-case, she wrote to say that she would return the box at some point whilst suggesting the role it might play in the house once Shaw's Corner became a 'shrine': 'It is a real picture of her aristocratic past and will explode her Communistic present!'⁶⁰⁰ This brings us to an important question about Shaw's own possessions, such as his cars, besides the more luxurious artefacts the Shaws had used as part of their life at Shaw's Corner (such as their silver, as I explain shortly). If Charlotte's jewel-case was to be displayed as an 'aristocratic' artefact to problematize her 'communistic' or Fabian image, we must ask whether Shaw wanted his artefacts to perform a similar role. The fact that the silver, cars and other possessions remained at Shaw's Corner upon his death, suggests that he did.

Shaw placed silver (or silver plated) artefacts in his stage-settings as a means of parodying the wealthy elite;⁶⁰¹ and figure 51 shows one of Shaw's self-portraits, reproduced in *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera* and captioned (not without a hint of irony): 'dining on vegetables in great splendour of silver plate in Derry, County Cork, his wife's birthplace.'⁶⁰² In their own homes the Shaws used many items of Georgian silver and silver plate, not just in London, but also in Ayot: Charlotte's 'List of Silver and Plated Articles at Ayot St. Lawrence' remains at LSE.⁶⁰³ The Shaw's Corner silver included some fine pieces, for instance, a George II silver coffee pot with wood handle by Richard Gosling, London, circa

⁵⁹⁹ Photograph by Lawrence Langner, captioned 'As they approached the camera, G.B.S. suddenly embraced Mrs. Shaw.' Published in Lawrence 25, 'The Sinner-Saint as Host: Diary of a Visit to G.B.S. at Stresa', *The Saturday Review of Literature*, 27, 30 (22 July 1944), 10. NT Shaw Photographs 1715211.25.

⁶⁰⁰ Nancy Astor to Shaw, 19 June 1944, quoted in Wearing, ed., *Bernard Shaw and Nancy Astor*, 157. The jewel-case remains in the collection, having been returned by Nancy Astor.

⁶⁰¹ 'Silverbacked hairbrushes and toilet articles' are among the objects on the 'handsome dressing table' in the opening scene of *Too True to be Good* (VI, 429); and in the interior of the old pub The Pig & Whistle in *The Millionairess*, the silver cruets and salt cellars are there 'to keep up appearances.' (VI, 917).

⁶⁰² This photograph by Shaw was reproduced in *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*, 32. It was originally published in Arthur Busch, 'George Bernard Shaw Photographer', *Popular Photography* (February 1945), 20, with the caption: 'The man is Shaw, but he made this flash shot mostly to record the silver.' Shaw made the selection of all the images for this article (as recounted by Busch, 103). See NT Shaw Photographs 1715256.39 (prepared for publication); also 1715217.7. (The image was reproduced in Holroyd, ed., *The Genius of Shaw*, 94, but without any contextual information).

⁶⁰³ 'List of Silver and Plated Articles at Ayot St. Lawrence', dated 28 April 1927, and (updated in October 1931); LSE Shaw Business Papers 22/5. This relates to the list of the Shaws' silver collection in the Shaw's Corner Probate Inventory, 1951, 22-23. The silver used at Ayot was distinct from the pieces used in London; the Adelphi Terrace Inventory of 1908 list of 'silver and electro plate silver' (ff.25-27) does not correspond with the Probate Inventory.

1740.⁶⁰⁴ Figure 52 shows the coffee pot, now in the HRC, Texas: the institution purchased the majority of the Shaws' silver collection from Shaw's Corner when it was sold by the National Trust at Sotheby's in 1952.⁶⁰⁵ The HRC also owns the Shaws' George III silver candlesticks (figure 53). These were converted into electric lamps by Harold Bassett-Lowke when the house was wired for electricity in 1930.⁶⁰⁶ Figure 54 is Shaw's self-portrait in the dining room where these silver candlesticks can be seen in use as lamps.⁶⁰⁷

Prior to the installation of electricity, oil lamps or candles were used at Shaw's Corner. In a lecture given in 1920, Shaw recalled the days when he used 'snuffers': 'I was born really in the seventeenth century...My father lived in the sort of house that Samuel Pepys used to live in... it was seventeenth century. I have used a pair of snuffers. I remember what they were for. I remember the sort of candle you used the snuffers for.'⁶⁰⁸ We might consider for a moment the magnificent seventeenth-century brass candlesticks⁶⁰⁹ on the hall mantelpiece at Shaw's Corner, (figures 55 and 56), which Shaw may have been thinking of here. These candlesticks, originally 'pricket' style, were adapted and fitted with 'pricket-socket

⁶⁰⁴ The coffee pot was sold by the Trust in 1952; see Sotheby & Co., *Catalogue of Fine Old English and Continental Silver*, property of George Bernard Shaw Esq, 29 May 1952, lot no.22. (Catalogue: BUR, XV, 59.14). The description in the catalogue was as follows: 'A George II Coffee Pot of small size, the tapered cylindrical body plain except for a crest, faceted spout and wood handle. Marked on body and cover, by Richard Gosling, apparently 1740 – 10 ozs.' In the Shaw's Corner Probate Inventory it was listed as 'a small coffee-pot with George II mark'. (Shaw's Corner Probate Inventory, 1951, 22). The piece is now in the collection of the HRC, Texas.

⁶⁰⁵ Sotheby & Co, *Catalogue of Fine Old English and Continental Silver*, 29 May 1952. A total of 215 pieces of silver were sold; and a further 119 plated items. The nett figure generated by the sale of the Ayot silver was £547-15-0 (Shaw's Corner Archive, Appendix D).

⁶⁰⁶ Bassett-Lowke was worried however about how the Shaws were using the lamps, as he expressed in a letter he wrote to Charlotte shortly after the installation: 'You will remember we recently wired some silver candlesticks for you. Mrs Higgs thinks you might be using these on the Dining Room table. If this is the case, you would need us to fix a plug underneath the table to avoid the flex trailing across the room.' Harold Bassett-Lowke to Charlotte Shaw, 12 September 1930, LSE Shaw Business Papers 25/5, f.11. Recent rewiring at the house has revealed that an electricity socket was specially fitted in the floor in the dining-room to allow the Shaws to safely use their converted silver candlesticks as lamps.

⁶⁰⁷ NT Shaw Photographs 1715544.11. The Shaws owned this set of four George III silver candlesticks, made by the neoclassical silversmith John Carter in 1776, and had the pieces fitted for electricity. They were listed as part of the Shaws silver collection in the Shaw's Corner Probate Inventory, 1951, 22, as 'a set of four Georgian candlesticks with Corinthian columns, London 1776, fitted for electric light'; valued at £25. (The artefacts were also listed in Charlotte's 'List of Silver and Plated Articles at Ayot St. Lawrence.' LSE Shaw Business Papers 22/5). The candlesticks were sold by the Trust with the Shaws' other items of silver at Sotheby's, 29 May 1952, lot no.4. The candlesticks were purchased by a dealer and sold to the HRC, Texas.

⁶⁰⁸ Shaw, 'Foundation Oration', lecture given before the Union Society of University College, London, 18 March 1920, reprinted in Laurence, ed., *Bernard Shaw: Platform and Pulpit*, 145. This passage had been adapted from a lecture Shaw gave the previous year on 'Socialism and Ireland', where he similarly evoked the image of the seventeenth-century interior and the snuffers: 'my father's house from the snuffers on the drawing room table to the sanitation in the yard was just precisely the sort of house that Samuel Pepys lived in.' Shaw, 'Socialism and Ireland' (a Fabian Society lecture 1919; supplement to *The New Commonwealth*, 12 December 1919), reprinted in Laurence and Greene, *Bernard Shaw, The Matter with Ireland*, 236.

⁶⁰⁹ A pair of large brass candlesticks, early seventeenth-century, on a triangular base; NTIN 1274915.1.

converters'⁶¹⁰ so that tallow candles could be used; and 'snuffers' were special scissors designed to trim the wicks of tallow candles.

The Shaws had accounts with some of the most exclusive retailers in London, including Fortnum & Mason, Harrods, Burberry, and House of Worth.⁶¹¹ The services of the high quality furniture manufacturers Waring & Gillow had been called upon to provide an inventory of the contents of Adelphi Terrace in 1908. There were also purchases from antique-dealers and retailers in Mayfair such as Lenygon & Morant, Charles Tozer, and Thomas Goode,⁶¹² although how much of this was Shaw's own purchasing is difficult to assess. As already discussed, Shaw's personal consumption was absorbed within Charlotte's, permitting some writers on Shaw to assume that he was something of an 'ascetic' as far as his lifestyle and spending were concerned. The fine quality pieces of Georgian furniture, ceramics, silver, and artworks owned by the Shaws were largely kept in the London flats, at least until 1920. Owing to the level of entertaining the Shaws did on a regular basis there, the interiors and furnishings were more ceremonious in London. The firms patronized by the Shaws were catering for exactly the type of wealthy and sophisticated clientele Shaw was busy satirising in his plays and political essays, so there may well have been an element of self-parody.⁶¹³

The Shaws lived with many pieces of high quality Georgian furniture in their London flats, evidenced by the Sotheby & Co sale of Shaw's furniture in 1949: among the pieces Shaw sent to auction were a 'Sheraton mahogany bookcase', an armchair of 'Chinese Chippendale design', and a 'Chippendale mahogany lounge armchair with upholstered seat, back and armrests, the framing carved with Chinese "blind fret" and the legs braced by pierced stretchers' – the quality of which was reflected by the purchaser, the dealer P. & D. Colnaghi

⁶¹⁰ Dillon, *Artificial Sunshine: A Social History of Domestic Lighting*, 62.

⁶¹¹ BL Add. MS 63202 A-O; 63202 P-AA; 63202 BB; 63202 CC.

⁶¹² Charlotte's account books reveal shopping at bespoke retailers and antique shops, with cheques paid for example to: Thomas Goode (china & glass); Lenygon & Morant ('for restoring tortoiseshell snuff box'), and Charles Tozer (china). See BL Add. MS 63202 F; 63202 I; 63202 S; 63202 V; 63202 AA.

⁶¹³ We see this in the opening scene of *Too True to be Good* (1931) where the bedroom is furnished with: 'a magnificent wardrobe, a luxurious couch, and a tall screen of Chinese workmanship which, like the expensive carpet and everything else in the room, proclaims that the owner has money enough to buy the best things at the best shops in the best purchaseable taste.' (VI, 429).

& Co.⁶¹⁴ Figure 57 shows Shaw in a self-portrait taken at Whitehall Court in the 1930s, sitting next to what is possibly the Sheraton bookcase.⁶¹⁵ According to a press report, other items of furniture including ‘Regency, Georgian and Sheraton tables’, and a ‘Georgian armchair’ were sold at an auction of Shaw’s personal effects held in St. Albans: these were all removed from Shaw’s Corner on the instructions of the Trust in 1954.⁶¹⁶ However Shaw’s fine quality eighteenth-century veneered walnut bureaux remain in the collection. James Lees-Milne noticed these when he first visited the house, commenting in his diary that there was one ‘rather good veneered Queen Anne bureau (for which G.B.S. said he had given £80’) in the drawing room; and ‘another Queen Anne bureau’ in the study.⁶¹⁷ Figure 58 reveals the study in a photograph from 1951 where the double-domed bureau can be seen on the right of the image.⁶¹⁸ The other bureau resides in the drawing-room, where Shaw would often sit and write.⁶¹⁹ Figure 59 shows a press photograph from 1947 where he is posed seated at the bureau in the act of writing surrounded by his sculpture, with Morris & Co. *Large Stem* curtains in the background.⁶²⁰

The Shaws’ homes were therefore in tune with the Aesthetic interiors of friends like the connoisseurs Ricketts and Shannon, or Walker,⁶²¹ where original Georgian or Regency furniture formed part of the furnishings alongside other artefacts of ‘good’ taste such as

⁶¹⁴ Sotheby & Co, 15 July 1949, *Catalogue of European and Chinese Ceramics and Works of Art, English Furniture*, The Property of G. Bernard Shaw Esq. (BL Auctioneers’ copies; Sotheby & Co. 1949, Catalogue 1748; see Appendix 3). ‘A Sheraton mahogany bookcase the upper part enclosed by a pair of glazed doors below a dentil cornice, five graduated drawers at the base, the whole inlaid with broad satinwood bands, resting on bracket feet’ (lot 54); ‘A Georgian mahogany Commode Armchair; another of Chinese Chippendale design with cane seat and loose squab; and a Lady’s Armchair, tub-shaped, on mahogany supports, loose covers’ (lot 58). The Chippendale chair, lot 59, was purchased by Colnaghi for £35-00. Two further Chippendale mahogany chairs were sold at Phillips, Son & Neale, 12 July 1949; see *A Catalogue of English and Continental Furniture, Decorative Porcelain, Eastern Rugs, Silver and Plated Ware and Jewellery*, the property of G. Bernard Shaw, Esquire, lots 41 and 42. (BL Auctioneers’ Copies, Phillips Sales Catalogues 14221-14240; Appendix 3).

⁶¹⁵ NT Shaw Photographs 1715220.84.

⁶¹⁶ The auction took place on 14 January 1954, Mandley & Sparrow Auctioneers, 38 Chequer Street, St. Albans. (See Appendix 4). ‘Shaw’s Armchair is coming under the Hammer’, press cutting, 13 January 1954, unknown newspaper. (MM). The news article announced the forthcoming auction at St. Albans of ‘George Bernard Shaw’s household possessions’.

⁶¹⁷ Lees-Milne, 9 February 1944, in *Diaries, 1942-1954*, 134-35.

⁶¹⁸ The photograph of the study is dated ‘13.2.51’; taken by Cecil Hallam just prior to the opening of the house. (EERO: Shaw’s Corner Archive). The bureau remains in the study: NTIN 1274810.

⁶¹⁹ NTIN 1274791.

⁶²⁰ This press photograph was taken on 11 July 1947.

⁶²¹ Aileen Reid notes that eighteenth-century furniture formed part of Walker’s interiors; see Aileen Reid, ‘7 Hammersmith Terrace, London: The Last Arts and Crafts Interior’, *The Decorative Arts Society, Arts & Crafts Issue*, 28 (2004), 201. Roger Fry too had incorporated Chippendale chairs into his eclectic scheme at Durbins. See Christopher Reed, *Bloomsbury Rooms*, 44.

Morris textiles.⁶²² Although Shaw criticized Morris & Co. products when he felt they exhibited signs of luxury or opulence,⁶²³ there was nevertheless much in the Morrisian aesthetic he admired in the way of domestic furnishings. There are many artefacts at Shaw's Corner that connect Shaw to Morris, but the largest extant group are the Morris & Co. textiles, and these are important because they were among the first artefacts Shaw and Charlotte employed to personalize the rooms of the house when it was rented.⁶²⁴ The majority of the Morris & Co. textiles were not on display when I commenced the project. Several boxes of largely uncatalogued, faded and worn curtains that had been in store at Shaw's Corner since the late 1940s (owing to Laden's interventions⁶²⁵), were investigated during the winter closure of the property in 2010-11. The original Morris & Co. textiles in storage at Shaw's Corner consist of a pair of curtains in *Kennet*, three pairs of curtains in *Jasmine*

⁶²² Potvin, 'Collecting intimacy one object at a time: material culture, perception, and the spaces of aesthetic companionship', 204; and Matt Cook, 'Domestic Passions: Unpacking the Homes of Charles Shannon and Charles Ricketts', *Journal of British Studies*, 51, 3 (2012), 626.

⁶²³ Shaw wrote to Morris (from Venice): 'The best art of all will come when we are rid of splendour and everything in the glorious line.' Shaw to William Morris, 23 September 1891, CL1, 312. Crane would later define the whole 'movement' in 1911 as lending itself to 'either simplicity or splendour.' Walter Crane, 'The English Revival in Decorative Art', *William Morris to Whistler*, 54; quoted in Greensted and Carruthers, eds., *Simplicity or Splendour*, 9. Shaw was critical of what he perceived to be the more elitist products of Morris & Co: 'We knew that he kept a highly select shop in Oxford Street where he sold furniture of a rum aesthetic sort, and decorated houses with extraordinary wallpapers.' Shaw, 'Morris as I Knew Him', 12.

⁶²⁴ The Shaw's Corner Household Expense Account Books (HRC, IV, 68.5) contain numerous references to 'Morris & Co.' parcels arriving at Ayot or being returned, during the period 1907-1919 whilst the house was rented. See for example 'parcel to Morris & Co.' (1 January 1915, f.202); 'parcel from Morris' (8 January 1915, f.203); another entry referred to paying the carrier 'for rugs from Morris'. (29 August 1918, f.118). (HRC, IV, 68.5). This suggests the Shaws were experimenting with different patterns, and were making use of the repairs and alterations service offered by Morris & Co.

⁶²⁵ As a consequence of Laden's major intervention at Shaw's Corner after Charlotte's death, all the Morris & Co. curtains were removed and replaced sometime between late 1947 and early 1950. Laden would later justify this on the grounds that they were too shabby. 'The old chintz curtains in the drawing room were nearly falling to pieces' she informed Chappelow, and new ones were needed to 'brighten up this drab old place.' (Laden, quoted in Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager*, 29). A photograph survives showing Shaw in the dining-room sitting in his armchair with Morris *Jasmine Trellis* curtains in the background, dated verso 'May 1947'. (See Figure 64. NT Shaw Photographs 1715211.55). Morris *Large Stem* curtains are visible in photographs of Shaw taken in the drawing-room in 1946: see for example *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*, 110. By the time of Allan Chappelow's photography (March 1950), the Morris curtains have disappeared and been replaced. See Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager*, photograph of Shaw facing page 12, where the curtains have been changed to nondescript Sanderson fabric chosen by Laden.

Trellis, a pair in *Compton* and another in *Yare*, and four pairs in *Large Stem*.⁶²⁶

It was Shaw who had both the personal and political connections that marked the textiles as significant in his own life, distinct from Charlotte (although she was the recipient of Morris & Co. invoices and receipts).⁶²⁷ Shaw's diaries⁶²⁸ and the reminiscences of Morris & Co. workers,⁶²⁹ record the presence of Shaw in the Morris & Co. shop at 449 Oxford Street, and at the Merton Abbey factory. Some of the extant textiles relate directly to Shaw's own experiences. In this respect, these can be interpreted as forming part of his ongoing tribute to Morris, paying homage to the ideas and people that shaped his aesthetic awareness.

Patterns such as *Peacock and Dragon* in the hall⁶³⁰ (figure 60) and *Kennet* in his bedroom at Shaw's Corner (figure 61) evoked personal memories, having also been present at Kelmscott Manor.⁶³¹ Shaw had lectured and dined at Hammersmith with the Morrises on a regular basis

⁶²⁶ *Kennet* curtains were used in Shaw's bedroom at Shaw's Corner, and possibly also in the study (NTIN 1275429.1-2); designed by Morris in 1883 (Parry, *William Morris Textiles*, 237, no.55). *Jasmine Trellis* curtains originally hung in the dining room at Shaw's Corner (NTIN 1275428; 'Morris and Company 449 Oxford Street, London. W' marks to selvedge). *Jasmine Trellis* was designed by Morris c.1868-70, his earliest known design for textiles (Parry, *William Morris Textiles*, 204, no.5). The *Yare* curtains may have been used at the window of the servant's landing at Shaw's Corner as the size corresponds (NTIN 1275430.1-2); designed by J.H. Dearle after 1892 (Parry, *William Morris Textiles*, 253, no.85). One of the curtains has a late Morris & Co. mark on the selvedge, which dates the textile to post-1917. *Large Stem* curtains originally hung in the drawing-room and hall at Shaw's Corner (NTIN 1275427.1-11); copied by Morris c.1868 after a printed cotton of the 1830s (Parry, *William Morris Textiles*, 203, no.2). Curtains in *Cray* (Parry, *William Morris Textiles*, 242, no.63) were used as an alternative hang in these rooms according to photographic evidence.

⁶²⁷ Charlotte Shaw Papers (cheque-book stubs), BL Add. MS 63202 A-CC. Charlotte's counterfoils record the spending on the Shaws' Morris & Co. account from 1916 to 1938. Most merely record the settling of the account, but one for April 26 1930 shows payment for 'curtains, rugs, and mending of rugs', when £17-11-7 was spent. (BL Add. MS 63202 S, f.38). The only invoice that has survived is dated 31 July 1936, for the sum of £30-19-6, and shows the purchase of large quantities of 'silk linen damask', sateen and cotton. (HRC, IV, 66.9).

⁶²⁸ Shaw's Diaries record visits to the Morris & Co. shop at 449 Oxford Street for example: 7 February 1888 (BSD1, 364), 14 April 1890 (BSD1, 607), 1 June 1893 (BSD2, 940); and to the factory at Merton Abbey: 31 March 1886 (BSD1, 156), 14 May 1886 (BSD1, 169), 17 June 1887 (where Shaw notes: 'we went through the works', BSD1, 278), 26 August 1890 (BSD1, 644). Shaw often made these visits with Morris's daughter May, or with the actress Florence Farr. When Shaw lived with May and her husband during 1892-3 at 8 Hammersmith Terrace – a period he would later describe as 'probably the happiest passage in our three lives' (Shaw, 'Morris as I Knew Him', 32), he was able to witness the practice of May's craft on a regular basis, as she ran the embroidery side of the Morris & Co. business from home.

⁶²⁹ See May Lea, 'Memories of Working for Morris and Company 1921', (recorded in March 1978), William Morris Gallery Archive, Walthamstow.

⁶³⁰ *Peacock and Dragon* woven cloth, NTIN 1275390. (Designed by Morris in 1878, Parry, *William Morris Textiles*, 224, no.36). A second *Peacock and Dragon* curtain is untraced, but was present in the hall according to the Shaw's Corner Probate Inventory performed by Sotheby & Co. in January 1951. 'Morris tapestry portière' were listed in the hall and cloak-room. (Shaw's Corner Probate Inventory, January 1951, 1-2). A further pair of 'Morris green figured tapestry curtains' (ten foot long) was sold at the Phillips auction of 21 June 1949, lot.226.

⁶³¹ Kelmscott Manor was a special place for Shaw, and many years later he would help to raise funds for the Morris Memorial Hall at Kelmscott, which he opened in 1934 during the Morris Centenary. A press cutting documents the occasion in the Shaw's Corner Collection: 'Mr. G. Bernard Shaw at Kelmscott', *Cheltenham and Gloucestershire Graphic*, 27 October 1934.

during the 1880s and 90s,⁶³² and stayed at Kelmscott Manor on a number of occasions where *Peacock and Dragon* curtains were hung at the windows of the ‘Tapestry Room’,⁶³³ and where *Kennet* lined the walls of the ‘Green Room’.⁶³⁴ Shaw wrote what would later become a chapter of *Fabian Essays in Socialism* ‘The Transition to Social Democracy’ at Kelmscott in August 1888, as his diary records: ‘Began my paper for the British Association and worked at it in the green room (which was reserved for my writing).’⁶³⁵ The interior where *Kennet* is extensively draped appears again in his diaries in December 1892: ‘I work all day in the green room.’⁶³⁶ Work has already begun to replace the erroneous Sanderson curtains with the Morris & Co. designs as they would have been used during the Shaws’ occupation of the house. Owing to the fortuitous reissuing of some of the designs by the firm ‘Morris & Co’⁶³⁷ in 2011, curtains in *Kennet* have recently been remade for Shaw’s bedroom and study, whilst *Large Stem* curtains are once again in the hall and drawing-room as part of the Trust’s commitment to implement the research findings of this project.⁶³⁸

An extant armchair in the dining room at Shaw’s Corner was found to be covered in remnants of Morris & Co. *Little Chintz*.⁶³⁹ (Figure 62). I was able to identify the original Morris textile on this particular chair during a ‘winter clean’ at the house, when the outer-cover was removed, having already acquired knowledge of the chair from two photographs of the drawing-room at Adelphi Terrace taken by Shaw in c.1902-04.⁶⁴⁰ Shaw’s friend the playwright Harley Granville-Barker is shown sitting in the *Little Chintz* armchair in both

⁶³² Henderson states that Shaw lectured at Kelmscott House more frequently than from any other venue; see Henderson, *George Bernard Shaw: Man of the Century*, 177.

⁶³³ The ‘Tapestry Room’ at Kelmscott Manor was mentioned in Shaw’s Diaries, when he was staying there with May and her husband in 1888: ‘we sat chatting in the tapestry room.’ (14 August 1888, BSD1, 403). Shaw also records playing there with Emery Walker’s daughter Dolly (who would become a lifelong friend): ‘in the tapestry room, we played “animal, vegetable, or mineral.”’ (16 August 1888, BSD1, 403).

⁶³⁴ The ‘Green Room’ was photographed by Shaw’s friend Frederick H. Evans. See A.R. Dufty, *Kelmscott: An Illustrated Guide*, (London: The Society of Antiquaries, 1991), 14; 31. Evans had given a talk on photography (with slides) for the Hammersmith Socialist Society at Kelmscott House on 1 December 1895, but Shaw was unable to attend due to his own lecturing commitments. (15 October 1895, CL1, 563). Afterwards Evans was specially commissioned to take a series of photographs of Kelmscott Manor shortly before Morris died. (See the albums in the William Morris Gallery, and the Metropolitan Museum, New York: Accession no. 68.519).

⁶³⁵ 15 August 1888 (BSD1, 403). Henderson confirms that it was written in ‘Morris’s medieval manor house’; see Henderson, *George Bernard Shaw: Man of the Century*, 177. See also Britain, *Fabianism and Culture*, 97.

⁶³⁶ 22 December 1892 (BSD2, 883).

⁶³⁷ ‘Morris & Co.’ is now a subsidiary of Walker Greenbank PLC, who also acquired the original printing blocks from Sanderson and Sons as part of the ‘Morris Archive’ when they took over the firm in 2003. *Kennet* was one of several designs reissued for the 150th anniversary celebrations of the original Morris and Company.

⁶³⁸ The size of the extant original *Kennet* curtains meant that they would have been hung in Shaw’s bedroom and possibly his study as well, thus it was decided to have them made for both rooms.

⁶³⁹ NTIN 1274763. The Shaw’s Corner catalogue had previously described the chair as being ‘upholstered in brown cotton with Indian style floral pattern in blue, red and black.’ *Little Chintz* was designed by Morris in 1876, see Parry, *William Morris Textiles*, 217, no.25.

⁶⁴⁰ NT Shaw Photographs 1715222.99; 1715262.102.

images. (Figure 63).⁶⁴¹ Shaw is depicted seated in this chair at Shaw's Corner in a drawing by Clare Winsten,⁶⁴² and a photographic self-portrait again shows him in the chair in the dining-room with Morris *Jasmine Trellis* curtains in the background. (Figure 64).⁶⁴³ Research revealed that the armchair was specifically a Morris & Co. chair. Figure 65 shows a detail of the chair leg. The same chair (upholstered in a different fabric) was pictured in the Company's catalogue *Specimens of Upholstered Furniture*.⁶⁴⁴ (Figure 66).

When Shaw utilized Morris & Co. textiles as the furnishings for Mrs. Higgins's interiors in *Pygmalion*, both in the stage-directions and for the actual staging of the play in 1914 at His Majesty's Theatre, London (figure 67),⁶⁴⁵ he was perhaps paying homage to the aesthetic interiors he had encountered as a socialist during the 1880s, such as the home of Stewart Headlam.⁶⁴⁶ But he was also referencing the work of his friend Henry Arthur Jones, who had gone 'to Mr. William Morris in search of a beautiful room,'⁶⁴⁷ as he reported in his review

⁶⁴¹ NT Shaw Photographs 1715222.99.

⁶⁴² The drawing is reproduced in Stephen Winsten, *Days with Bernard Shaw*, facing page 137. The Morris fabric cannot be seen in the drawing; however the distinctive chair leg is visible.

⁶⁴³ NT Shaw Photographs 1715211.55. Shaw was also photographed with Lisa Sheridan in the dining-room at Shaw's Corner, where the *Jasmine Trellis* curtains can be seen, and a chair is covered in the same fabric. See Studio Lisa, 1937, Getty Images 50711424. <https://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/50711424> The chair survives in the collection, with the Morris & Co. fabric extant on the upholstered back only: NTIN 1274805. A bergère armchair with a cushion covered in *Jasmine Trellis* also survives. (NTIN 1274772).

⁶⁴⁴ *Morris and Company: Specimens of Upholstered Furniture*, (c.1912), 50. The armchair features in the catalogue as No. 96: the "Anson" Easy Chair. I was able to locate the specific model through the chair shape, but also by the front legs with their distinctive moulding. The latter had been hidden by the (National Trust applied) loose cover.

⁶⁴⁵ This photograph shows Mrs. Higgins's drawing-room furnished with an ottoman covered in Morris & Co. *Honeysuckle*, an armchair covered in Morris & Co. *Strawberry Thief*, and curtains at the window in Morris & Co. *Medway*. The photographs of the stage-set of *Pygmalion* at His Majesty's Theatre were published in a Special Supplement of *The Sketch* magazine, 22 April 1914. (MM). (Reproduced in Weintraub, 'In the Picture Galleries', in *The Genius of Shaw*, 54). Shaw deliberately hired Denis Mackail (the son of Morris's biographer J.W. Mackail) to assist with the set-design. The photographs of the stage-set of *Pygmalion* at His Majesty's Theatre were published in a Special Supplement of *The Sketch* magazine, 22 April 1914. (MM).

⁶⁴⁶ A Christian Socialist who became a Fabian, Headlam used Morris furnishings to decorate his home in Bloomsbury. See Matt Cook, 'Wilde's London', in *Oscar Wilde in Context*, ed. by Kerry Powell and Peter Raby (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 57. The house was the home of the 'Church and Stage Guild' where Shaw enjoyed many evenings of music and entertainment during the 1880s and 90s. As the writer Ada Leverson recalled, Headlam's drawing-room was full of 'Morris wallpaper and curtains'. Ada Leverson, quoted in Rupert Hart-Davis, ed., *The Letters of Oscar Wilde* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1962), 563.

⁶⁴⁷ Shaw, 'Mr. John Hare', in *Bernard Shaw The Drama Observed: Volume II*, 476-77. Shaw was expressing his admiration for Morris & Co. in a critical piece on the methods employed by John Hare, an actor-manager at the Garrick Theatre in London from 1889 to 1895.

after seeing Jones's *The Crusaders*⁶⁴⁸ at the Avenue Theatre in 1891 where Morris & Co. designs were used for the stage-set. Shaw felt this to be 'the first piece of artistic as distinguished from commercial decoration' he had seen in the theatre 'as a representation of a modern room.'⁶⁴⁹

Shaw's role as a socialist included considerable thought devoted to beauty as he later admitted: 'Morris was in one respect in the same position as myself in the movement. We were both Aestheticists having to work with hopeless Philistines'.⁶⁵⁰ In his art criticism, Shaw foregrounded new modes of looking, and new ways of engaging with the Arts and Crafts: artefacts were meant to be looked at as well as used.⁶⁵¹ Hart has recently discussed the dialectic in *Arts and Crafts Objects*: 'Looking closely is associated with connoisseurship; focusing on reception rather than production implies a celebration of consumerism; and taking beauty into account may appear politically irresponsible.'⁶⁵² Shaw's part in unmasking the unstable categories and issues involved has not been recognized however. As an art critic he attempted to retain the reforming agenda of the (Morrisian) socialist-aesthete, whilst at times assuming the position of the consumer. On other occasions a connoisseurial position gained ascendancy. Shaw's aesthetic appreciation was certainly a strategy for distancing himself from his 'Philistine' colleagues among the Fabians or members of the Socialist League. Shaw was at pains to note: 'I was much more Morrisian than they were or ever could be...I was much less trying to Mrs. Morris as a socialist intruder in her beautiful house than some of the comrades.'⁶⁵³

As I have shown, the furnishings in the Shaws' interiors have often been interpreted in the literature as Charlotte's taste, but there is evidence to suggest that they were just as much Shaw's. His taste was in fact similar to Lady Gregory's in many respects; and when he

⁶⁴⁸ *The Crusaders* was a satirical comedy based on a group of social reformers. Morris advised Jones on the scenery and furnishings. Parry has revealed that among the textiles employed by Jones for *The Crusaders* was *Persian Brocatel* (Parry, *William Morris Textiles*, 83). The Shaws too had this fabric among their furnishings at Whitehall Court. Jones also used Morris textiles and wallpapers to decorate his personal interiors. A surviving photograph reveals him posed in his drawing room (Portland Place, London) in about 1905, where Morris *Pimpernel* wallpaper has been used, and a chair is covered in *Bird* woven fabric. (NPG Ax29614). Jones eventually took home one of the pieces of furniture employed as a stage prop in the play – a Morris & Co cabinet – to use as storage for his collection of Kelmscott Press books. (V&A Museum number W.42:1 to 8-1929).

⁶⁴⁹ Shaw, 'Mr. John Hare', in *Bernard Shaw The Drama Observed: Volume II*, 477.

⁶⁵⁰ Shaw to Harold Laski, 27 July 1945, CL4, 749.

⁶⁵¹ Shaw concluded his review of the first Arts and Crafts Exhibition in 1888 with the statement: 'The whole gives some faint notion of what a magnificent show of the arts and crafts the shop-windows of London will be when the soil from which the arts and crafts spring is a little improved.' Shaw, *The World*, 3 October 1888, reprinted in Weintraub, LAS, 240.

⁶⁵² Hart, *Arts and Crafts Objects*, 1.

⁶⁵³ Shaw to Hesketh Pearson, quoted in Pearson, *Bernard Shaw: His Life and Personality*, 96-97.

visited her at Coole Park,⁶⁵⁴ where there was an Aesthetic mix of Morris furnishings, Persian carpets,⁶⁵⁵ Japanese and Chinese artefacts, silver, and porcelain, she noted in her journal: ‘he liked the house, took real enjoyment in the beauty of the prayer carpets and the Japanese screens, and other lacquer.’⁶⁵⁶ The mention of Shaw’s appreciation of these artefacts relates to his long-standing interest in Japanese culture. On his bedroom wall at Adelphi Terrace, for example, the inventory describes the presence of a ‘Japanese picture on velvet: Interior of a Temple, in passe par tout frame.’⁶⁵⁷

Shaw’s taste for Japanese prints dates back to his days as an art critic. In a review of an exhibition of Japanese prints held at the gallery of the dealer Thomas Joseph Larkin, in New Bond Street, Shaw reminded his fellow-connoisseurs to make a trip to ‘the collection of Japanese engravings and block prints at the Burlington Fine Arts Club’ before it closed.⁶⁵⁸ He had also admired ‘Mr. Ernest Hart’s astonishing Japanese collection at the rooms of the Society of Arts in John Street, Adelphi.’⁶⁵⁹ Shaw was critical of the popular, commercial ‘Aesthetic’ interior in which he felt the assimilation of Japanese artefacts centred around cheap consumer goods, exhibiting in the process his connoisseurial position: ‘Britons whose ideas of Japanese aesthetics are based on the sudden appearance a few years ago of sixpenny umbrellas in their fireplaces, and paper fans on their mantelpieces, will gasp when they see scores of swords, buttons, and lacquer boxes, each of which is a separate and original miracle of such craftsmanship...’⁶⁶⁰ He praised the ‘pictures executed in metals of wonderful colours, chased and inlaid with a cunning and patience apparently infinite...in no instance has the extraordinary skill they evince been applied to objects not useful.’⁶⁶¹ Friendships also reflected this taste, particularly Laurence Binyon who was a curator at the British Museum,

⁶⁵⁴ Lady Gregory’s doorknob from the hall door of Coole Park, County Galway, was presented to Shaw as a memento on his birthday in 1947 by Frank Curran. (NTIN 1275073); and her portrait can be found on the wall in Shaw’s study (NTIN 1274692).

⁶⁵⁵ Shaw had paid particular attention to the carpet at Kelmscott House: ‘There was an oriental carpet so lovely that it would have been a sin to walk on it; consequently it was not on the floor but on the wall and half way across the ceiling...throughout it all there had reigned an artistic taste of extraordinary integrity.’ Shaw, ‘Morris as I Knew Him’, 22.

⁶⁵⁶ Lady Gregory, quoted in Daniel J. Murphy, ed., *Lady Gregory’s Journals Volume 1* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 261. For the mention of Lady Gregory’s Morris furnishings, see Caroline Walsh, *The Homes of Irish Writers* (Dublin: Anvil, 1982), 83.

⁶⁵⁷ Adelphi Terrace Inventory, 1908, 50.

⁶⁵⁸ Shaw, *The Star*, 27 March 1888, reprinted in Weintraub, LAS, 210.

⁶⁵⁹ Shaw, *The World*, 19 May 1886, reprinted in Weintraub, LAS, 116. See also Shaw’s diary, where he notes that he attended Hart’s ‘lecture on Japanese art.’ (BSD1, 166, 4 May 1886).

⁶⁶⁰ Shaw, *The World*, 19 May 1886, reprinted in Weintraub, LAS, 116-117.

⁶⁶¹ Shaw, *The World*, 19 May 1886, reprinted in Weintraub, LAS, 117.

and an expert on Japanese prints.⁶⁶²

Holroyd, Sally Peters, Margot Peters, Skidelsky, and Yde have persisted with the idea of Shaw as an ascetic as we have seen, and for some this perceived austerity was also reflected in his domestic environment. Margot Peters is one of the few scholars to examine the Adelphi Terrace Inventory, which formed part of her appraisal of the Burgunder Collection at Cornell.⁶⁶³ She searched the inventory, however, for material evidence of his lifestyle to endorse the position of Shaw the ‘puritan’, in contrast to the ‘sybaritic’ Charlotte, taking the lead from Holroyd who had described him working in a ‘monk’s cell’⁶⁶⁴ in the writing hut at Shaw’s Corner. According to Margot Peters, ‘Shaw’s habitual asceticism’⁶⁶⁵ was affirmed through the artefacts listed in his bedroom at Adelphi Terrace in the inventory, such as a ‘Khivan carpet.’ However she ignores the historical specificity: highly prized and valuable at the time, it was catalogued as a ‘red ground figured and bordered choice Khivan carpet.’⁶⁶⁶ Peters cites the valuation given in the inventory as £37, but fails to acknowledge that this was a large amount of money at this date. Other furnishings too were far from ‘ascetic’: Shaw had a pair of ‘flowered silk tapestry window curtains’⁶⁶⁷ in his bedroom, probably designed by Morris.⁶⁶⁸ The Adelphi Terrace Inventory provides a valuation of the total contents of the London flat (excluding any items at Shaw’s Corner), and this was estimated by Waring & Gillow at £3,788.19.6,⁶⁶⁹ a vast sum for 1908. This can hardly be described as frugal living.

Shaw would mischievously tease the press to suggest that he was not connected to homes or possessions, and had adopted an austere lifestyle. He gave interviews where he proclaimed: ‘I live nowhere...In fact any place that will hold a bed and a writing table is as characteristic of me as any other.’⁶⁷⁰ This quotation comes from a piece published in *The World* where the interiors and artefacts (aside from the books) of Adelphi Terrace are predominantly described

⁶⁶² Laurence Binyon was present at the Shaws’ flat at Whitehall Court when Virginia Woolf visited in 1933; see Gibbs, *Interviews and Recollections*, 442-43. There are numerous Japanese prints in the Shaw’s Corner collection, although their provenance is unknown.

⁶⁶³ Margot Peters, ‘Bernard F. Burgunder: Collector of Genius’, in *SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, vol. 15, ed. by Fred D. Crawford (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 169-184.

⁶⁶⁴ HOL3, 328. See also Holroyd, ‘Shaw at Shaw’s Corner’, 136.

⁶⁶⁵ Margot Peters, ‘Bernard F. Burgunder: Collector of Genius’, 177.

⁶⁶⁶ Adelphi Terrace Inventory, 1908, 5. (Valued at £37-0-0). Further examples could be found in other rooms: in Shaw’s study was a ‘green ground figured and bordered Turkey rug’ (valued at £11-11-0), f.1; and in the dining room an ‘amber ground figured and bordered Turkey carpet’ (valued at £15-0-0), f.20.

⁶⁶⁷ Adelphi Terrace Inventory, 1908, 6. (Valued at £4-15-0).

⁶⁶⁸ Morris & Co. also sold rugs and carpets. As I have shown, the Shaws made purchases from this department of the firm and had rugs repaired.

⁶⁶⁹ Adelphi Terrace Inventory, 1908, 54, (dated 16 May 1908).

⁶⁷⁰ Shaw, quoted in ‘Celebrities at Home’, reprinted in Gibbs, *Interviews and Recollections*, 428. See also Gibbs, *Bernard Shaw: A Life*, 271-72.

as belonging to ‘Mrs Shaw.’ Gibbs, who quoted from the article, astutely observed: ‘The style of the lively, unsigned piece about 10 Adelphi Terrace, reminiscent of his famous stage directions, suggests extensive Shavian involvement in its creation.’⁶⁷¹ Gibbs is one of the few scholars to appreciate both the playwright’s construction of his identity in this way, and the important reciprocal relationships between his actual domestic space and the domestic space he represented in his plays.

A revealing glimpse of a very different Shaw, an image again fashioned by himself, is provided by an article published in *Good Housekeeping* entitled: ‘Bernard Shaw, Vegetarian: An Interview.’⁶⁷² His control over the way he was portrayed in the media is evidenced by the extensive revisions he made to the journalist’s original document.⁶⁷³ Shaw used the article to stress that he was a ‘voluptuary’; and in a piece that was ostensibly concerned with his diet and health, over half of the first page (there were only three pages) was devoted to describing the interiors at the London flat he shared with Charlotte:

Mr Shaw’s suite of rooms is in a typical Adams house in Adelphi Terrace and is approached by a stone staircase covered by a thick Turkey carpet... As I waited for my host in his beautiful drawing room overlooking the Thames embankment, I noticed the surroundings that make a background to this twentieth century playwright, novelist, socialist and critic. The walls were covered with a delicately toned plain green paper, and on them hung several pictures in pastel by Sartorio, a painter better known in Munich and Rome than in England, and a portrait of William Morris, besides a profusion of woodcuts by Albert [sic] Dürer – “all reproductions,” as Mr Shaw delights in proclaiming... His championship of photography as a fine art is recalled by a stack of very fine prints by Alvin Langdon Coburn and Frederick H. Evans, mostly portraits of Mr Shaw himself.⁶⁷⁴

This description is extremely useful in that it provides us with information about items on view in the interiors at Shaw’s Corner today: the portrait of Morris, and also prints by Albrecht Dürer and the G.A. Sartorio landscapes. The overall message on health, typically

⁶⁷¹ Gibbs, *Bernard Shaw: A Life*, 272.

⁶⁷² Leonard Henslowe, ‘Bernard Shaw Vegetarian: An Interview’, *Good Housekeeping*, 45, 4 (4 October 1907), 370-73.

⁶⁷³ The original manuscript for Henslowe’s article, with Shaw’s extensive revisions, was sold at Christie’s, King Street, London, *Valuable Printed Books and Manuscripts*, 6 June 2001, Sale 6456, lot 40. The catalogue noted that Shaw’s revisions amounted to ‘a thorough rewriting’ of the article.

⁶⁷⁴ Henslowe, ‘Bernard Shaw Vegetarian’, 370.

didactic, was clear: the Shavian diet was important, but equally vital was the Shavian interior and the artefacts that underscored that vegetarian body. It helps us understand that Shaw categorized artefacts according to an aesthetic system. This ‘beautiful’ interior was captured by Shaw’s friend the fashionable portrait painter Sir John Lavery in his work *George Bernard Shaw at Adelphi Terrace*, 1927.⁶⁷⁵ (Figure 68). Kenneth McConkey has described the room as ‘Shaw’s study’⁶⁷⁶, but in fact the interior represented was the Shaws’ main drawing room, where we see the Rodin bust of Shaw in the background beside the head of Honoré de Balzac, the Sartorio landscapes on the wall, photographs of Shaw and Rodin on the bookcase by Evans and Coburn, the Dolmetsch clavichord, and the green walls decorated by Liberty’s. When a journalist came to interview Shaw at Adelphi Terrace for the *New York Times* in 1913, it was reported that the drawing room was ‘furnished in refined luxury, full of the evidences of its occupant being a connoisseur of the arts;’⁶⁷⁷ and the following year the Japanese poet and critic Yone Noguchi noticed how the ‘walls were tastefully filled with pictures, and with bookcases wherein I found books in *editions de luxe*, not particularly meant to be read...the rugs were perfectly superb.’⁶⁷⁸ The actress Eleanor Robson similarly remembered dining in style in the Shaws’ London flat: ‘the outline of fine etchings and other pictures on the walls, the perfection of the table appointments; rare old silver, Irish and English; fine china and linen. Everything about the Shaw apartment revealed exceptionally good taste.’⁶⁷⁹

Through the use of artefacts of ‘refined luxury’ and ‘good taste’ the Shaws were keeping alive the type of interiors that had been the ‘hallmarks of a kind of ‘Arts and Crafts Aestheticism’ associated with tastes of distinguished artists’⁶⁸⁰ from the 1890s. Like many of his friends who were deemed to possess ‘artistic’ taste at the turn of the century, Shaw

⁶⁷⁵ *George Bernard Shaw at Adelphi Terrace*, 1927, oil on canvas, signed J. Lavery, collection of The Hugh Lane, Dublin City Gallery. (Exhibited at Colnaghi’s, London, 1932).

⁶⁷⁶ Kenneth McConkey, *Sir John Lavery* (Edinburgh: Canongate Press, 1993), 99; 179. Lavery and Shaw had been acquainted since the 1890s, and both Lavery and his wife Hazel painted Shaw in 1925. J.M. Barrie, Shaw’s friend and neighbour at Adelphi Terrace, had been depicted in one of Lavery’s ‘portrait interiors’ in 1925, perhaps the stimulus for the 1927 portrait. Charlotte was invited to sit with Shaw, but declined.

⁶⁷⁷ *The New York Times*, 17 August 1913.

⁶⁷⁸ Yone Noguchi, ‘Bernard Shaw’, *The Bookman*, 47 (December 1914), 75.

⁶⁷⁹ Eleanor Robson Belmont, *The Fabric of Memory* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1957), 35.

⁶⁸⁰ Martina Droth, ‘Sculpture and Aesthetic Intent in the Late-Victorian Interior’, in *Rethinking the Interior, c.1867-1896: Aestheticism and Arts and Crafts*, ed. by Jason Edwards and Imogen Hart (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 220. See also Imogen Hart’s essay in this volume. Hart uses Shaw’s descriptions, among others, to argue that ‘Kelmescott House, in its considered eclecticism and its organized clutter, embodies a politicized aesthetics that fits somewhere between Arts and Crafts and Aestheticism.’ Hart, ‘An ‘Enchanted Interior’: William Morris at Kelmescott House’, in Edwards and Hart, *Rethinking the Interior*, 81.

singled out ‘Turkey carpets, Chippendale chairs, [and] Kelmscott Press books’⁶⁸¹ as the ultimate expression of man’s ‘cultivation’. Friends with Ricketts and Shannon over a period of many years,⁶⁸² the Shaws furnished their interiors in ways that resembled their eclecticism, particularly in the London flats at Adelphi Terrace and Whitehall Court, mixing paintings, Japanese prints and sculpture with Morris textiles, Persian rugs, and eighteenth-century furniture.⁶⁸³ Elements of this Aesthetic eclecticism had also characterized the interiors of Wilde: Hayes has discussed some of Wilde’s artefacts sold at auction in 1895, which included Chippendale chairs, Persian rugs, and Japanese items.⁶⁸⁴ The Shaws’ homes actually incorporated many of the kind of artefacts and furnishings promoted in the domestic advice literature of the 1880s by Mrs. Haweis or Robert Edis⁶⁸⁵ which included, for the ‘artistically inclined’: ‘Persian rugs, Sheraton style cabinets, Regency convex mirrors, [and] neo-classical silver...’⁶⁸⁶ Elements of ‘Aesthetic’ display at Shaw’s Corner therefore have their origins in Shaw’s interest in the Aesthetic movement of the late nineteenth century; and as Potvin has similarly argued for Ricketts and Shannon, their ‘modernity would for a long time remain firmly ensconced in the twilight years of the Aesthetic movement.’⁶⁸⁷

We see aspects of this taste in the hall at Shaw’s Corner: I suggest the hall mantelpiece and its surrounding artefacts and furnishings, together with the Morris & Co. *Peacock and*

⁶⁸¹ Shaw used these artefacts to highlight the difficulties faced by employers in the battle to raise the standard of conditions for employees among the ‘factory population.’ Shaw, ‘The New Factory Act’, 22 February 1896, reprinted in Tyson, *Bernard Shaw Book Reviews*, vol.2, 182.

⁶⁸² See Matt Cook, *Queer Domesticities: Homosexuality and Home Life in Twentieth-Century London* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 50. The Shaws’ friendship with Ricketts and Shannon is mentioned here.

⁶⁸³ Potvin, ‘Collecting intimacy one object at a time: material culture, perception, and the spaces of aesthetic companionship’, 204.

⁶⁸⁴ Richard W. Hayes, ‘Objects and Interiors: Oscar Wilde’, in *Symbolist Objects: Materiality and Subjectivity at the Fin de Siècle*, ed. by Claire O’Mahony (High Wycombe: The Rivendale Press, 2009), 61. A later version of Hayes’s essay was published as ‘At Home, 16 Tite Street’, in *Biography, Identity and the Modern Interior*, ed. by Anne Massey and Penny Sparke (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 37-51.

⁶⁸⁵ Shaw would almost certainly have been aware of the Aesthetic Movement architect Robert Edis, who wrote two influential books during the 1880s: *Decoration and Furniture of Town Houses* (1881) and *Healthy Furniture and Decoration* (1884). Robert Edis lived on the north side of Fitzroy Square at the same time as Shaw; and Shaw was later photographed by his daughter Olive. Mrs. H.R. Haweis was the author of several books including *The Art of Beauty* (1878), and *Beautiful Houses* (1882).

⁶⁸⁶ Collard, ‘Historical Revivals’, 47. This passage has also been quoted in Anne Anderson, ‘“Chinamania”: collecting Old Blue for the House Beautiful, c. 1860-1900’, in *Material Cultures, 1740-1920: The Meanings and Pleasures of Collecting*, ed. by John Potvin and Alla Myzelev (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 115. See also Anne Anderson, ‘Fearful Consequences...of Living up to One’s Teapot’: Men, Women and ‘Cultchah’ in the Aesthetic Movement’, in *Rethinking the Interior, c.1867-1896: Aestheticism and Arts and Crafts*, ed. by Jason Edwards and Imogen Hart (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 113. Anderson includes a quotation from Walter Hamilton’s book *The Aesthetic Movement in England* (1882) which cites ‘Chippendale furniture’ as one of the features of the Aesthetic interior.

⁶⁸⁷ John Potvin, ‘The Aesthetics of Community: Queer Interiors and the Desire for Intimacy’, in *Rethinking the Interior, c.1867-1896: Aestheticism and Arts and Crafts*, ed. by Jason Edwards and Imogen Hart (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 175.

Dragon curtain, should be read as a specific homage to the Aesthetic interior.⁶⁸⁸ (Figure 69). This arrangement, with its Regency convex mirror, candlesticks, use of Japanese prints, Persian carpet, and antique and reproduction furniture evokes Walter Crane's frontispiece to Clarence Cook, *The House Beautiful* (1878), a home-decorating manual. (Figure 70).⁶⁸⁹ O'Neill has spoken of Crane's frontispiece as a means of popularising the middle-class Aesthetic interior. But she also demonstrates how Crane's sense of 'house decoration' becomes 'synonymous with civilization', thereby reconnecting 'Aestheticism, the decorative interior and socialist politics.'⁶⁹⁰ Teukolsky similarly views this image as expressive of a 'cultural vision of the House Beautiful as a social symbol,'⁶⁹¹ whilst Matt Cook claims that the term was used by Walter Pater as 'a general metaphor for a space of art and pleasure.'⁶⁹² The arrangement in the Shaws' hall may have been concerned with paying homage to each of these perspectives. Shaw himself would use the term in an essay of 1896 *On Going to Church*, where he called the church parson the 'porter of the House Beautiful,'⁶⁹³ making reference to Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* (the pilgrims are received at the 'House Beautiful'). There was also of course the impact of Wilde: during the 1880s 'The House Beautiful' became the title of a lecture given by Wilde. Shaw would certainly have been aware of the use of the term in the literature on interior decoration. However Shaw would equally have been familiar with the notion of the 'House Beautiful' as the site for parody in the cartoons of Du Maurier:⁶⁹⁴ 'Music and Aesthetics' (1878) for example, as Kinchin has

⁶⁸⁸ The Probate Inventory records the presence of various items in the hall which are a reflection of this taste, including a 'Morris tapestry portière', 'Bokhara carpet', 'Shiraz runner', 'Hepplewhite mahogany bedpost-lampstand', 'Regency mahogany tea-table', and 'late 18th century convex mirror.' Shaw's Corner Probate Inventory, 1951, 1-2.

⁶⁸⁹ Walter Crane, 'My Lady's Chamber', wood engraving, frontispiece to Clarence Cook, *The House Beautiful* (New York, 1878). Reproduced in Teukolsky, *The Literate Eye*, figure 4.2; and in Anderson, 'Drawing Rooms: A Backward Glance - Fashioning an Individual Drawing Room', in *Domestic Interiors: Representing Homes from the Victorians to the Moderns*, ed. by Georgina Downey (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), 46, figure 3.2.

⁶⁹⁰ O'Neill, 'Paintings from Nowhere: Walter Crane, Socialism and the Aesthetic Interior', in *Rethinking the Interior, c.1867-1896: Aestheticism and Arts and Crafts*, ed. by Jason Edwards and Imogen Hart (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 150.

⁶⁹¹ Teukolsky, 'Aesthetic Socialism: The House Beautiful', in *The Literate Eye*, 153.

⁶⁹² Cook, *Queer Domesticities*, 36.

⁶⁹³ Shaw, *On Going to Church* (Boston: John W. Luce & Co, 1909 [1896]), 21. Reprinted in Dan H. Laurence, ed., *Selected Non-Dramatic Writings of Bernard Shaw* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965). Originally published in *The Savoy* (January 1896). An American version dating to 1905 survives in Shaw's library, see *From the Savoy: An Essay on Going to Church* (NTIN 3063705). This essay contains one of Shaw's most moving eulogies to the sensory delights of architecture: 'My appeal to the master-builder is: Mirror this cathedral for me in enduring stone; make it with hands; let it direct its sure and clear appeal to my senses, so that when my spirit is vaguely groping after an elusive mood my eye shall be caught by the skyward tower, showing me where, within the cathedral, I may find my way to the cathedral within me.' (17-18).

⁶⁹⁴ Holroyd has revealed that Du Maurier met Shaw's mother and the music teacher Vandeleur Lee at musical soirées in the 1880s, with Lee becoming the model for Svengali. Sketching the Shaws, he 'conceived his idea for *Trilby*.' HOL1, 66.

shown, reveals the short-sighted Madame Gelsma playing the piano whilst being rather unflatteringly reflected in the convex mirror above.⁶⁹⁵

Shaw had long employed parody in his criticism and drama as a strategy for mocking the taste and pretensions of the middle-classes. Morris's aesthetics, and Morris & Co. products, did not escape his satire. We see an example of this through the figure of the 'carpet merchant' Apollodorus in *Caesar and Cleopatra*, who has a 'temple of the arts' and brings the queen 'the three most beautiful Persian carpets in the world to choose from'. (II, 229). Apollodorus declares: 'I am a worshipper of beauty. My calling is to choose beautiful things for beautiful queens. My motto is Art for Art's sake.' (II, 226). But there is also a sense that Apollodorus works as a self-parody: the Shaw's Corner Probate Inventory of 1951 lists a 'Bokhara carpet' and a 'Smyrna carpet'⁶⁹⁶ among the most valuable furnishings in the Shaw's Corner collections. Similarly the Adelphi Terrace Inventory of 1908 included many examples of fine 'Turkey carpets.'⁶⁹⁷ Shaw's parodies often operated through mimicry or simulation, rather than direct opposition.⁶⁹⁸

Here we see Shaw negotiating his own ambiguous viewpoints concerning the role of art and its relationship with commerce. Adams notes that Shaw's 'gentle satire' of Morris in the play is a tribute too.⁶⁹⁹ The presence of Morris & Co. curtains at Shaw's Corner may thus be read as both a celebration and a parody of the consumption of Morris furnishings.⁷⁰⁰ We see this perhaps in Shaw's photographs of his cousin Judy Gillmore against the *Large Stem* curtains

⁶⁹⁵ See Juliet Kinchin, 'Performance and the Reflected Self: Modern Stagings of Domestic Space, 1860-1914', *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, (Fall-Winter 2008-2009), 67, figure 1. George Du Maurier, 'Music and Aesthetics,' with Madame Gelsma reflected in a convex mirror, *Punch*, (16 February 1878), 71.

⁶⁹⁶ 'A Bokhara carpet decorated with octagon-panels on a dull-rose ground (worn)' (valued at '£15-0-0') was listed among the hall contents; 'A Smyrna carpet with geometrical decoration on rose-and-brown ground' (valued at '£30-0-0') was recorded in the drawing room. Shaw's Corner Probate Inventory, 1-2. These carpets remain in the collections: Bokhara carpet NTIN 1275385; Smyrna carpet NTIN 1275366. Some of the carpets seen at Shaw's Corner today however were brought in from other sources to furnish the house after Shaw's death: for example this applies to those carpets listed as NTIN 1275394; 1275400; 1275402; 1275403.

⁶⁹⁷ Some of these carpets were sold at Sotheby's in 1949; see Sotheby & Co, 15 July 1949, *Catalogue of European and Chinese Ceramics and Works of Art, English Furniture*. Within this auction was a section on 'Oriental Rugs and Carpets' (lots 133-139, consisting of 12 artefacts including Persian and Afghan carpets, Kazak rugs, and a Soumac carpet), all marked 'the property of G. Bernard Shaw, Esq., Ayot St. Lawrence, Herts'.

⁶⁹⁸ In this we might compare Shaw to Victorian painters such as Dante Gabriel Rossetti and William Holman Hunt, who according to Julie Codell, forged a critique of 'middle-class tastes through mimicry and simulation.' Julie Codell, 'Exotic, Fetish, Virtual: Visual Excesses in Victorian Painting', in *The Uses of Excess in Visual and Material Culture, 1600-2010*, ed. by Julia Skelly (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 103.

⁶⁹⁹ Adams, *Bernard Shaw and the Aesthetes*, 113.

⁷⁰⁰ Interestingly Linda Parry has interpreted the success of Henry Arthur Jones's staging of *The Crusaders* as a marker of a cultural shift in the reception of Morris & Co: 'the firm had finally shaken off its enduring reputation as catering solely for the avant-garde and had become acceptable to a wider social clientele.' Parry, *William Morris Textiles*, 181.

in the drawing-room at Shaw's Corner (figure 71),⁷⁰¹ where he is possibly referencing James Craig Annan's⁷⁰² *Portrait of a Lady* (Mrs Grosvenor Thomas) (1897). (Figure 72).⁷⁰³ Morris & Co.'s *Large Stem* forms the backdrop to the image.

In his criticism Shaw regretted the fact that Morris's products were commercialized, copied by other firms, and appropriated by the consumer to display their artistic taste.⁷⁰⁴ Not all Morris's customers shared his socialistic views.⁷⁰⁵ Yet on other occasions Shaw was critical of Morris's elitism, observing: 'you would never dream of asking why Morris did not read penny novelettes, or hang his rooms with Christmas-number chromolithographs.'⁷⁰⁶ On the one hand Shaw appreciated the connoisseurial separate sphere of cultivated art and beauty Morris had come to occupy as a collector, and as a producer of beautiful things. But on the other there is a critique of Morris's rarified taste that renders him unable to engage with these emblems of mass culture that connote the domain of commerce.

Shaw's focus on individualism and commerce, and his appropriation of various strategies associated with the Aesthetic Movement, highlights the divergence between the two socialists. Peter Faulkner has recently stated that 'Morris himself had nothing but contempt for that movement,'⁷⁰⁷ and yet as he explains there is a paradox given that Morris's designs featured in the homes of many aesthetes. Shaw was interested in all aspects of Aestheticism, including the more commercial and satirical elements such as the Du Maurier cartoons and Gilbert and Sullivan operas. Shaw appreciated the work of the D'Oyly Carte Company – a

⁷⁰¹ NT Shaw Photographs 1715263.6.

⁷⁰² Craig Annan was one of the most successful 'art' photographers of the day (elected to the Brotherhood of the Linked Ring in 1896), he became friends with Shaw in the early 1900s.

⁷⁰³ Craig Annan's photograph was one of several where *Large Stem* featured in a staged 'domestic' interior designed by George Walton for the Eastman International Photographic Exhibition in 1897. The image was featured in the V&A Exhibition: *The Cult of Beauty*; see Stephen Calloway and Lynn Federle Orr, eds., *The Cult of Beauty: The Aesthetic Movement 1869-1900* (London: V&A Publishing, 2011), 251, plate 227.

⁷⁰⁴ The rented country houses in Surrey the Shaws inhabited shortly after their marriage had Morris-style wallpaper and chair-covers, which Shaw humorously parodied in the press. Without their original socialist meanings, Morris products he felt had become a meaningless affectation and inauthentic through middle-class consumption: 'our Hindhead and Haslemere population makes an almost oppressive parade of its devotion to art. Go where I will in the neighbourhood, I cannot escape from Bedford Park architecture... Morris or pseudo-Morris wall papers.' Shaw in a letter to the *Farnham, Haslemere & Hindhead Herald*, 15 July 1899, in Dan H. Laurence and James Rambeau, ed., *Bernard Shaw Agitations: Letters to the Press 1875-1950* (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1985), 61.

⁷⁰⁵ As Nicholas Cooper points out in *The Opulent Eye*, many people who used Morris papers and textiles in their homes 'had little understanding or time for any of his other exhortations.' Nicholas Cooper, *The Opulent Eye: Late Victorian and Edwardian Taste in Interior Design* (London: The Architectural Press, 1976), 12. See also Jason Edwards and Imogen Hart, 'The Victorian Interior: A Collaborative, Eclectic Introduction', in *Rethinking the Interior*, ed. by Edwards and Hart, 20, note 31.

⁷⁰⁶ Shaw, 'William Morris as Actor and Playwright', *The Saturday Review*, 10 October 1896, reprinted in PPR, 215.

⁷⁰⁷ Peter Faulkner, 'The odd man out: William Morris among the aesthetes', *The William Morris Society Newsletter*, Summer 2011, 12.

particular favourite was the Savoy Opera *Utopia, Limited*, and as Regina B. Oost has shown, he ‘viewed the operas from the dual perspectives of art connoisseur *and* consumer.’⁷⁰⁸ An engagement with the capitalist market was perfectly acceptable if there was quality in the product, Shaw felt.

On this point we can compare Shaw with Aubrey Beardsley. In the study at Shaw’s Corner, the original drawing for the decorative panel of the poster designed by Beardsley, used to advertise Shaw’s play *Arms and the Man*,⁷⁰⁹ 1894 (figure 73),⁷¹⁰ reflects the shared concern with art, commerce and consumption. Beardsley’s design was also used on the cover of the programme for *Arms and the Man* at the Avenue Theatre (figure 74).⁷¹¹ Beardsley had been willing to adapt his art to commercial projects, and his illustrations were defended by Shaw against criticism from Morris.⁷¹² The drawing had been placed (perhaps with ironic intent) next to the Hollyer portrait of Morris in Shaw’s study at the Whitehall Court flat, discernible in a press photograph of 1934.⁷¹³ When Shaw was asked by the London shop Harrods many years later in 1929 to write an advertisement for the store, he made the observation that there was nothing new in the linking of forces between the commercial, artistic and literary worlds, citing the example of the Beardsley poster.⁷¹⁴

Owing to capitalist value systems, the once cheap promotional poster of 1894 - in a sense a

⁷⁰⁸ Regina B. Oost, ‘Shopping at the Opera’, in *Gilbert and Sullivan: Class and the Savoy Tradition, 1874-1896* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 80. My italics. A particularly vivid passage from Shaw’s review of ‘The New Comic Operas’ (1892) illustrates his position: ‘Mr and Mrs D’Oyly Carte have unmistakable genius for management... You do not catch them spending ten guineas on two-penn’orth of show: they are at once munificent and economical, getting their full pound of beauty out of every yard of costly stuff on the stage.’ Shaw, ‘The New Comic Operas’, *The World*, 28 September 1892, reprinted in Dan H. Laurence, ed., *Shaw’s Music: The Complete Musical Criticism of Bernard Shaw, vol.2, 1890-1893* (London: Max Reinhardt, 1981), 692. Part of this passage was cited by Oost, 79-80.

⁷⁰⁹ Beardsley’s design was first used to advertise plays by John Todhunter and W.B. Yeats, but was subsequently altered to promote Shaw’s *Arms and the Man*. See Calloway and Owens, ‘A ‘lost’ Beardsley rediscovered’, 51.

⁷¹⁰ NTIN 1274672. An inscription on a label attached to the back of the drawing reads: ‘property of Florence Farr/price 60 guineas.’ See Calloway and Owens, ‘A ‘lost’ Beardsley rediscovered’, 54. As these authors note, Shaw probably purchased the drawing in 1912 before Farr departed for India. Calloway and Owens provide proof that it was in Shaw’s possession by 1929, but in fact photographs taken by Shaw at Adelphi Terrace show the drawing there from about 1915 onwards. (See for example NT Shaw Photographs 1715309.32).

⁷¹¹ Programme cover for *Arms and the Man*, 1894. (MM).

⁷¹² In a letter to Shaw, Morris had commented: ‘Beardsley – hm – I can only say that the illustrations to the M.D.A which I saw were quite below contempt: absolutely nothing [underlined] in them, except an obvious desire to be done with the job.’ William Morris to Shaw, 11 October 1894, quoted in Katharine A. Lochnan et al, eds., *The Earthly Paradise: Arts and Crafts by William Morris and his circle from Canadian Collections*, (Ontario: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1993), 81. Shaw owned a copy of the Caxton-Malory *Morte d’Arthur* which Beardsley had illustrated; see Laurence and Leary, *Bernard Shaw Flyleaves*, 26-27. Shaw sold his copy at Sotheby’s in 1949 (Sotheby & Co, 25 July 1949, lot no.141).

⁷¹³ Photograph of Shaw’s study at Whitehall Court by ‘Sasha’, 1934. Getty Images 3311218.

<https://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/3311218>

⁷¹⁴ Shaw, ‘Bernard Shaw and Harrods’, *The Observer* (3 March, 1929).

‘socialist object’ because of its mass availability, ironically became a connoisseurial artefact and a valuable commodity. Shaw indicated in his interview for Harrods that it was ‘now much sought after by collectors,’⁷¹⁵ and Foyle’s offered for sale a number of ‘proof’ prints of the image from Shaw’s collection.⁷¹⁶ Emma Sutton has argued that for many writers of the 1890s it was important to differentiate ‘between aesthetes as consumers and aesthetes as connoisseurs,’⁷¹⁷ however in Shaw’s case it is possible to think in terms of fluidity or ambiguity rather than polarization.

Shaw’s relation to Chippendale furniture was similarly characterized by ambivalence. We first find Shaw admiring ‘Chippendale chairs’ in his literary criticism during the 1890s.⁷¹⁸ He would later refer to Chippendale furniture in his plays in the stage directions,⁷¹⁹ with the aim of making specific points about taste relating to the quality of the furniture, or the class or wealth of the consumer; thus given the fact that the Shaws lived with such pieces, there was also a degree of self-mockery. He would claim that as far as his stage-settings were concerned, it did ‘not matter two straws whether the chair is Chippendale or Sheraton.’⁷²⁰ Shaw however is being disingenuous here. He claims these specifications are ‘inessential’; yet he was well aware that he was making a particular statement on taste by the very fact he describes the chairs as ‘Chippendale’ or ‘Sheraton’.

Six Chippendale chairs feature in *The Millionairess*. (1934). But these are not originals, they are ‘Chippendales of the very latest fake.’ (VI, 882). Unfortunately Epifania breaks one of them: when she sits down with a flounce, ‘the back of the chair snaps off short with a loud crack.’ Sagamore in mock devastation laments the loss of his chair: ‘My best faked Chippendale gone. It cost me four guineas.’ (VI, 889). Shaw admired what he termed ‘fake’

⁷¹⁵ Shaw, ‘Bernard Shaw and Harrods’. See also Shaw’s letter to Siegfried Trebitsch, 16 January 1905, discussing *Arms and the Man*: ‘the playbill was designed by Aubrey Beardsley; and copies of it are now worth a few pounds apiece’. Shaw, quoted in Samuel A. Weiss, ed., *Bernard Shaw’s Letters to Siegfried Trebitsch* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), 77.

⁷¹⁶ See Calloway and Owens, ‘A ‘lost’ Beardsley rediscovered’, 54, note 30.

⁷¹⁷ Emma Sutton, *Aubrey Beardsley and British Wagnerism in the 1890s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 139.

⁷¹⁸ Shaw, ‘The New Factory Act’, 22 February 1896, reprinted in Tyson, *Bernard Shaw Book Reviews*, vol.2, 182.

⁷¹⁹ Chippendale chairs feature in *Pygmalion* (IV, 721), in Part II of *Back to Methuselah* (V, 378), and in *The Millionairess* (VI, 889-90). Shaw also uses ‘Chippendale chairs’ in *The Intelligent Woman’s Guide to Socialism and Capitalism*, 229, as a means of explaining ‘domestic capital.’

⁷²⁰ Shaw to the actor Nugent Monck, 16 April 1924, quoted in HOL1, 403. Shaw outlined his method as follows: ‘I have to define positions on stage by specifications which are quite inessential. For instance, I call a certain chair a Chippendale chair so that when I write “The colonel sits down on the Chippendale chair” the producer may know which chair I mean, and the reader will not be upset by such an absurdity as “sits chair B”. But it does not matter two straws whether the chair is Chippendale or Sheraton.’

Chippendale furniture as part of his appreciation of Edwardian reproduction pieces. To satisfy consumer demand, ‘manufacturers created the first mass-market reproduction industry.’⁷²¹ Firms such as Heal’s, Maples, Waring and Gillow, and Morris & Co.⁷²² all patronized by the Shaws, manufactured Chippendale, Hepplewhite, and Sheraton revival furniture; and, as one critic noted in 1904, ‘reproductions of any examples are undertaken, and their faithfulness would hardly be credited.’⁷²³ It is likely that Charlotte’s mahogany bed at Adelphi Terrace came from Heal’s: it was described as a ‘3ft 6in Hepplewhite design mahogany four post bedstead’ in the 1908 inventory.⁷²⁴ Heal’s mainstay throughout the nineteenth-century had actually been traditional English beds, the designs based on ‘adaptations of Hepplewhite and other eighteenth-century and earlier models’.⁷²⁵

Droth has observed that the ‘more sophisticated aesthetic environments’ at this time, as reported in the journal articles where artists’ homes were described, typically mixed ‘historic *and* revival ‘Chippendale’ or ‘Sheraton’ furniture alongside contemporary Morris designs and textiles.’⁷²⁶ Participating in the vogue for these quality pieces, the Shaws purchased many examples evidenced by the furniture sold by Shaw in 1949.⁷²⁷ Like his character Sagamore, Shaw referred to his reproduction furniture as ‘fakes’ in a celebratory fashion.

Shaw felt the Georgian-revival pieces to be better quality than the eighteenth-century originals. In 1949 he protested when various items of furniture, including many of his reproductions and Charlotte’s Hepplewhite-style bed, were sold and fetched small sums at the Phillips, Son & Neale auction. As he explained in a letter to Apsley Cherry-Garrard: ‘my splendid Hepplewhites (first class fakes), fit for Windsor or Chatsworth... fetched

⁷²¹ Cohen, ‘Designs on the Past’, in *Household Gods: The British and Their Possessions*, 146.

⁷²² Morris & Co. catalogues featured many examples of reproduction Georgian furniture, such as ‘carved Chippendale’ chairs and settees; *Morris and Company: Specimens of Upholstered Furniture*, (c.1912), 58.

⁷²³ H.J. Jennings in W.S. Sparrow, ed., *The British Home of Today: A Book of Modern Domestic Architecture & the Applied Arts*, 1904, quoted in Jeremy Cooper, *Victorian and Edwardian Furniture and Interiors*, 236.

⁷²⁴ Adelphi Terrace Inventory, 1908, 3. The valuation was £37-0-0. Charlotte evidently used the same bed throughout her married life in the London flats: Alice Laden (her nurse at the time), described her getting out of ‘her large Hepplewhite four-poster bed’ on the day she died. See R.J. Minney, *The Bogus Image of Bernard Shaw* (London: Leslie Frewin, 1969), 60.

⁷²⁵ See Greensted and Carruthers, *Good Citizen’s Furniture*, 104.

⁷²⁶ Droth, ‘Sculpture and Aesthetic intent in the Late-Victorian Interior’, 220. My italics.

⁷²⁷ The Georgian revival pieces sold by Shaw at auction (Phillips, Son & Neale, London, 21 June 1949; see Appendix 3) included: ‘A Sheraton style open armchair, painted crimson and gilt, with cane seat and loose squab cushion’ (lot no.199); and ‘A Chippendale style mahogany open armchair with pierced ladder back and concave seat in red damask’ (lot no.200). A mahogany torchere in the manner of Hepplewhite survives in the collection. (NTIN 1274752). Other Georgian style chairs can also be seen at Shaw’s Corner, however not all of these are part of Shaw’s bequest. Some were brought in at a later date from the National Trust Regional Office (for example NTIN 1274885; and 1274887.1-2).

shillings.⁷²⁸ Further letters to Nancy Astor described Charlotte's bed as 'the best' and a 'beauty';⁷²⁹ and to Patch he wrote, 'Charlotte's bed went for £18. If it had been genuine Hepplewhite instead of a very much better first rate fake, it would have fetched 50 to 80 easily and probably 80 to 100.'⁷³⁰ Like Sagamore, Shaw proclaims the loss of the furniture, at the same time as highlighting the artefact's worth.

The Shaws also purchased items of furniture from W. Charles Tozer of Brook Street,⁷³¹ Mayfair, and like the prestigious firm of Lenygon and Morant, Tozer specialized in producing imitation eighteenth-century furniture in 'period' styles, with an emphasis on quality workmanship and materials. Japanned furniture was one of their specialities, and three Tozer chairs survive at Shaw's Corner in the drawing-room with chinoiserie decoration, two in the Regency revival style.⁷³² (Figures 75-77). Two of the chairs have the original Tozer labels. (Figure 78). Figure 79 reveals Shaw in a colour press photograph sitting in one of the Tozer chairs.⁷³³ A further image reveals him discussing a new production of *Man and Superman* with the actor Maurice Evans in 1947; both are seated in the chairs. (Figure 80).⁷³⁴ Figure 81 shows a drawing by Tozer suggesting a design for a small bookcase for the Shaws in 1935. It was attached to a letter to Charlotte from Tozer: 'I enclose herewith a suggestion for the open fronted lacquer bookcase as discussed... I believe it was in your mind to have this piece finished in a bluish green lacquer.'⁷³⁵ Tozer has been confirmed as the maker of the Shaws' surviving lacquer bureaux with chinoiserie decoration: one in red (in storage), and the other in a bluish green, seen today in the drawing-room.⁷³⁶ (Figure 82).

⁷²⁸ Shaw to Apsley Cherry-Garrard, 1949, quoted in HOL3, 506.

⁷²⁹ Shaw to Nancy Astor, 1949, quoted in HOL3, 506.

⁷³⁰ Shaw to Blanche Patch, 4 July 1949 (HRC, II, 42.2). Charlotte's bed was sold by Phillips, Son & Neale, London, 21 June 1949, lot no.188. It was listed in the catalogue as: 'A Hepplewhite style mahogany 4-post bedstead with carved fluted front pillars and blind fret cornice, fitted coil spring, and hair overlay with the green damask draperies, 3ft. 6in. wide'.

⁷³¹ Shaw may well have known that this address was the former home of George Frederick Handel, one of Charlotte's favourite composers.

⁷³² NTIN 1274790.1-2 (the two armchairs, one in beige and gold, the other in green and gold). NTIN 1274795 (a cane-seated small chair in yellow and gold). The beige and gold armchair bears the label: 'W. Charles Tozer, 25 Brook Street, London W1'; and the small chair has a similar label on the underside.

⁷³³ BL Add. MS 50582B, f.157.

⁷³⁴ This press photograph was taken on 23 August 1947.

⁷³⁵ Charles Tozer to Charlotte Shaw, 26 July 1935 (HRC, IV, 67.8). The estimate for the bookcase was £27-15-0. Charlotte made a note on the back of the letter: 'said would leave bookcase till September.' It is not known if she went ahead with the commission.

⁷³⁶ The bluish green lacquered bureau has a Tozer label on the inside of the uppermost drawer ('W. Charles Tozer, 25 Brook Street, London W1'); (NTIN 1274804). The red lacquered bureau is in the store room (NTIN 1274782). Lees-Milne noted the presence of a 'fake lacquer bureau' in the drawing-room. Lees-Milne, 9 February 1944, in *Diaries, 1942-1954*, 134.

In Shaw's view his 'first class fakes' parodied the demand for authenticity⁷³⁷ that characterized aspects of both connoisseurial and middle-class taste, and were therefore a means of disrupting the order of things.⁷³⁸ Retaining quality in furniture, he delighted in the copy rather than the original, although of course the Tozer pieces were still expensive items.⁷³⁹ However the fact that such pieces were commodifying the qualities of the originals in the capitalist marketplace, and catering for the middle-class consumer he had previously satirized, obviously caused him some amusement evidenced by the inclusion of the 'fakes' in *The Millionairess*. In a sense, Shaw's Tozer furniture mirrored its reception in the eighteenth-century: 'by the 1750s English chinoiserie was increasingly distanced from aristocratic European taste as it became more closely allied with fashionable consumer culture.'⁷⁴⁰ Both Katie Scott and Dena Goodman have discussed how taste transformed consumption, in Scott's words: 'from a roughly polarized moral economy, of luxury and necessity, to a smoothly continuous commercial order, of more or less expensive fashionable goods.'⁷⁴¹ We should remember that the furniture at Ayot was insured for £5000 in 1946, a sizeable sum.⁷⁴²

It is interesting to see that Shaw was perceived as a wealthy consumer, and was much criticized for this in the inter-war period. In Britain during the 1930s, Marxists such as Christopher Caudwell referred to him as a 'bourgeois superman', a figure 'helplessly

⁷³⁷ Elizabeth Outka has explained how questions of authenticity were at the forefront of Edwardian culture, and discusses Shaw's part in revealing its dialectical aspects through his drama. Elizabeth Outka, *Consuming Traditions: Modernity, Modernism, and the Commodified Authentic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). I discuss some of the issues she raises in Alice McEwan, 'Commodities, Consumption, and Connoisseurship: Shaw's Critique of Authenticity in Modernity', in *SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies, Shaw and Modernity*, vol. 35 (1), ed. by Lawrence Switzky (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015), 46-85.

⁷³⁸ Victoria Mills has explained how this was a deliberate strategy exhibited by certain fictional 'dandy-collectors' (Dorian Gray and Des Esseintes) in the novels of Wilde and J.K. Huysmans for example, who delighted in 'valorising the fake over the authentic', and in 'mixing things up.' See Victoria Mills, 'Bricabracomania! Collecting, Corporeality and the Problem of Things in Victorian Fiction', in *Literary Bric-à-Brac and the Victorians: From Commodities to Oddities*, ed. by Jonathon Shears and Jen Harrison (London and New York: Routledge, 2016 [2013]), 44-45.

⁷³⁹ The cost of the chairs and the lacquer bureaux is not known; however Tozer's estimate for the prospective bookcase in 1935 was expensive for the time, at £27-15-0.

⁷⁴⁰ Stacey Sloboda, 'Fashioning Bluestocking Conversation: Elizabeth Montagu's Chinese Room', in *Architectural Space in Eighteenth-century Europe: Constructing Identities and Interiors*, ed. by Denise Amy Baxter and Meredith S. Martin (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 134.

⁷⁴¹ Katie Scott, 'Introduction: Image-Object-Space', in Katie Scott and Deborah Cherry, eds., *Between Luxury and the Everyday: Decorative Arts in Eighteenth-century France* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 6. Scott cites Dena Goodman, 'Furnishing Discourses: Readings of a Writing Desk in Eighteenth-Century France', in *Luxury in the Eighteenth-Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods*, ed. by Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave, 2003), 71-88.

⁷⁴² See LSE Shaw Business Papers 25/8, f.14-15, Ecclesiastical Insurance Office Ltd., receipts for payment of insurance premiums: 'Furniture in Rectory, sum insured £5000', dated 18 March 1946. This excluded the furniture and furnishings at Whitehall Court.

imprisoned in the categories of bourgeois thought.’⁷⁴³ For Caudwell, Shaw failed to provide the answers to the problem of how to change the capitalist system. Part of this he believed stemmed from Shaw’s emphasis on money: ‘all through his plays and prefaces, money is the god, without which we are nothing, are powerless and helpless.’⁷⁴⁴ As Sidney P. Albert has pointed out, Shaw’s belief ‘that both socialism and capitalism must at this stage of the evolutionary process “travel the same road”’⁷⁴⁵ has led various commentators to criticize Shaw for reaching an agreement with capitalism.

Marxists outside of Europe too, especially Chinese communists, were critical of Shaw for his attitude towards consumption. Kay Li’s work has highlighted the way that Shaw’s visit to Shanghai in February 1933 ‘was announced by capitalist pomp.’⁷⁴⁶ Newspaper articles focussed on the luxurious interiors of the Empress of Britain, on which Shaw was travelling: ‘the interior decorations are beyond description; the hall in first class, the smoking room and sitting room are in European style with granite columns, metal engravings and the most expensive velvet carpets; the Chinese-style room has sandalwood furniture, painted with Fuzhou lacquer, and decorated with Chinese antiques and famous paintings.’⁷⁴⁷

By examining the contemporary press reports, Kay Li shows that Shaw’s arrival in this manner was perceived as a contradiction. One journalist wrote: ‘Though he believes in socialism he is a mean accumulator of material wealth, as well as a strong denouncer of charity. As a consequence, he has already become a millionaire sitting on immense wealth.’⁷⁴⁸ Perceived in this way, Shaw’s materiality classified him as a failed socialist. Thus I would argue that Shaw’s refashioning of the dining-room mantelpiece at some point after 1930 as a site for politicized display through the placement there of images of Stalin, Lenin and Dzerzhinskii (the background of figure 54 reveals that these images are absent in

⁷⁴³ Christopher Caudwell, *Studies in a Dying Culture* (London: Bodley Head, 1938), 17. This passage has been quoted in T.F. Evans, *Shaw: The Critical Heritage*, 24.

⁷⁴⁴ Caudwell, *Studies in a Dying Culture*, 16.

⁷⁴⁵ Sidney P. Albert, ‘Barbara’s Progress’, in *SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, vol. 21, ed. by Gale K. Larson (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 88. Shaw’s message in his major political work *The Intelligent Woman’s Guide to Socialism and Capitalism* (1928) was as follows: ‘The way to Socialism, ignorantly pursued, may land us in State Capitalism. Both must travel the same road; and this is what Lenin, less inspired than [John] Bunyan, failed to see when he denounced the Fabian methods as State Capitalism.’ Shaw, *The Intelligent Woman’s Guide to Socialism and Capitalism* (London: Constable, 1928), 298. The book was later revised to include ‘Sovietism and Fascism’ in the title. There are twelve copies (in various versions) at Shaw’s Corner.

⁷⁴⁶ Kay Li, ‘Globalization versus Nationalism: Shaw’s Trip to Shanghai’, in *SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, vol. 22, ed. by Gale Larson (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 159.

⁷⁴⁷ Li, ‘Globalization versus Nationalism: Shaw’s trip to Shanghai’, 160.

⁷⁴⁸ Li, ‘Globalization versus Nationalism: Shaw’s trip to Shanghai’, 160.

1930⁷⁴⁹) should be seen in the light of this criticism.

Shaw was well aware that Morris himself had been full of contradictions: a successful businessman and yet a revolutionary socialist.⁷⁵⁰ On this point, it is interesting to see Shaw's astute characterization of Morris's own awkward and contradictory relationship to shopping, where he portrays Morris as both a consumer and a connoisseur. He remembered, for instance, in 'Morris as I Knew Him' how Morris 'held that nobody could pass a shop window with a picture in it without stopping.'⁷⁵¹ And in his recounting of Morris as a collector of 'early printed books and medieval manuscripts' he provides a capitalistic rather than a socialistic image of him in 'certain West-End shops' wanting 'five hundred pounds' worth of something precious.⁷⁵² This was notably different from the fictional scenario of 'A Little Shopping' in Morris's utopian dream-world *News from Nowhere*, where we are told 'the people were ignorant of the arts of buying and selling.'⁷⁵³ As I make clear in chapter two, these contradictory elements would inform Shaw's collection of books, and book production.

⁷⁴⁹ Shaw self-portraits taken in the dining-room (NT Shaw Photographs 1715544.11, and 1715544.13) reveal that the mantelpiece display circa 1930 does not contain any of the photographs or prints that were in place by 1950.

⁷⁵⁰ Harrod, *The Crafts in Britain*, 16.

⁷⁵¹ Shaw, 'Morris as I Knew Him', 14.

⁷⁵² Shaw, 'The Parasitic Proletariat', *The New Age*, 1907, reprinted in Hubenka, ed. *Bernard Shaw Practical Politics*, 71.

⁷⁵³ William Morris, *News from Nowhere* (London: Penguin, 1993 [1891]), 70. Shaw refers to the passage in his preface to *Androcles and the Lion* as 'direct communism (Take what you want without payment, as the people do in Morris's News From Nowhere).' (IV, 531).



Figure 36 Philip H. Wicksteed, c.1917, Shaw's study, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274678). © National Trust.

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Figure 37 Shaw's study, Shaw's Corner, 1951, with the portraits of Wicksteed and Morris positioned each side of the desk. *The Illustrated London News* (17 March 1951), 407.



Figure 38 Shaw's globe pencil sharpener, writing hut, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274987). © National Trust.



Figure 39 Black japanned tea tray, dining-room, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1275037.1). © National Trust.



Figure 40 Shaw's Staffordshire figure of Shakespeare, photographed by Shaw in the garden at Shaw's Corner. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715255.30). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.



Figure 41 Shaw's ceramic monkey pencil-holder, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274594). © National Trust.

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Figure 42 Interior of the writing hut, photographed by Ernst Haas in 1948, showing the monkey pencil-holder sitting on Shaw's desk. (Getty Images 3139381. Getty caption: The writing desk of Irish dramatist George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950) at his home in Ayot St Lawrence, Hertfordshire. Three calendars and a thermometer hang on the wall behind it.)
<http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/3139381>

IMAGE HAS BEEN EXCLUDED FROM THE DIGITISED VERSION OF THE THESIS
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Figure 43 The mantelpiece in the drawing-room, Shaw's Corner, by Ralph Morse, 1946. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715225.156). See Getty Images:
<http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/50878377>

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Figure 44 Shaw in the drawing-room at Shaw's Corner. (International News Photo, 25 July 1950, *San Francisco Examiner*).

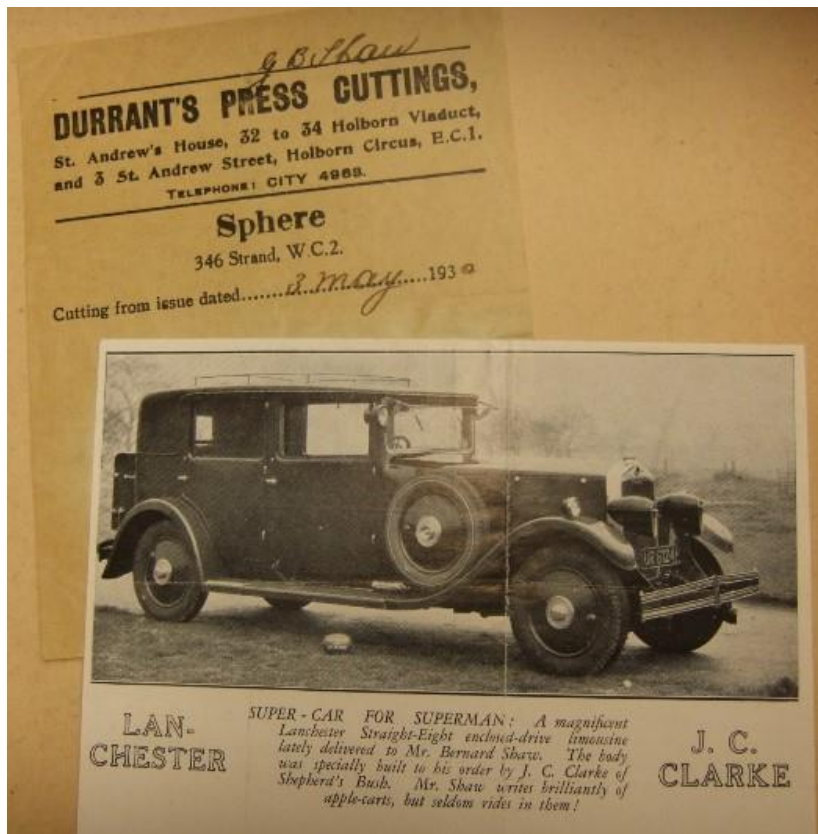


Figure 45 ‘Super-car for Superman’: Shaw’s first Lanchester, *Sphere*, 3 May 1930, Durrant’s Press Cuttings. (BUR, XXI, 50). Bernard F. Burgunder Collection of George Bernard Shaw, #4617. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.



Figure 46 Shaw photographed with his first Rolls Royce, and Fred Day at the wheel, 1935. (BUR, XXI, 50). Bernard F. Burgunder Collection of George Bernard Shaw, #4617. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

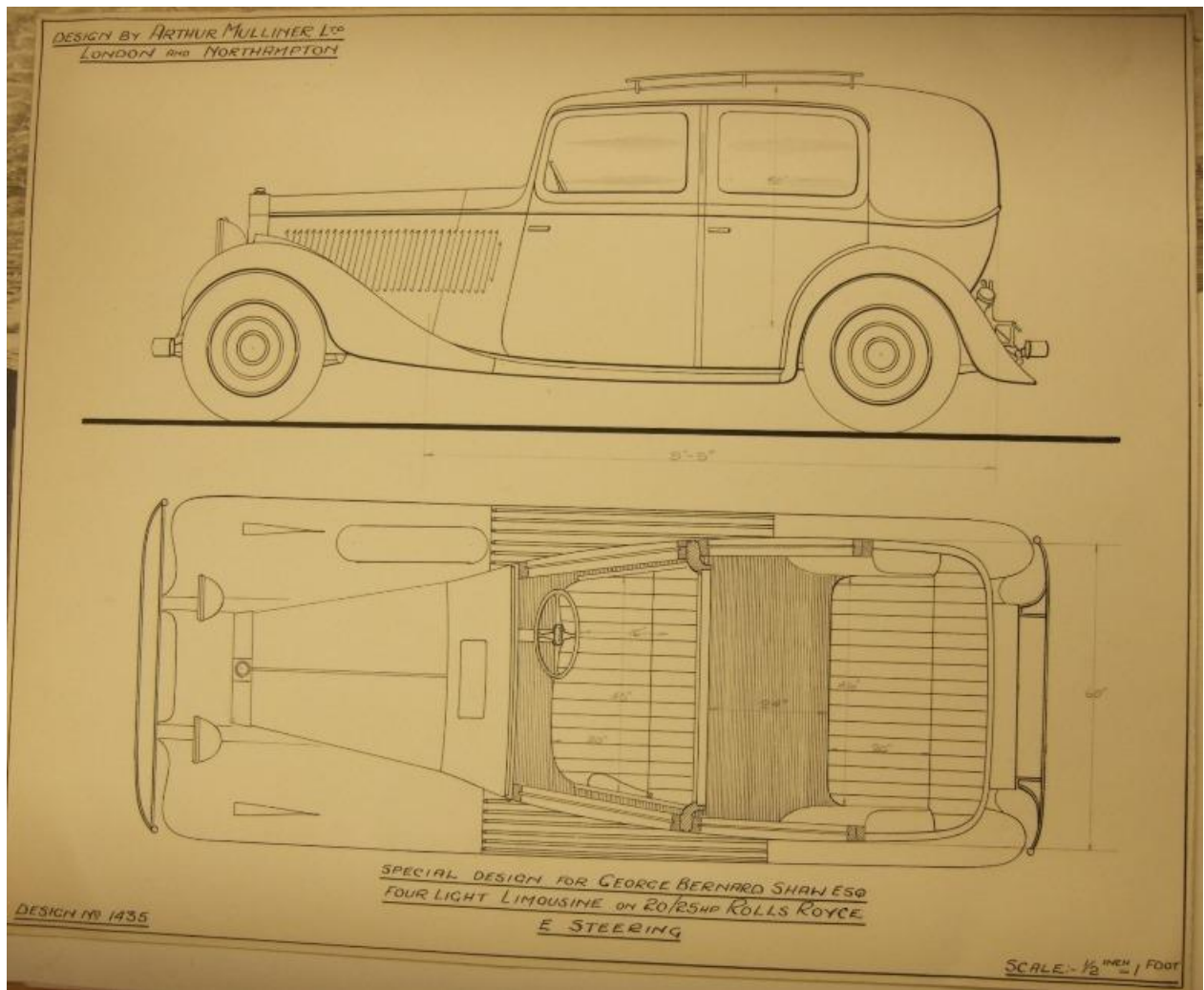


Figure 47 'Special Design for George Bernard Shaw Esq, Four Light Limousine on 20/25 HP, Rolls Royce'. Design by Arthur Mulliner Ltd, 1935. (BUR, XXI, 50). Bernard F. Burgunder Collection of George Bernard Shaw, #4617. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

July 18, 1939.

943

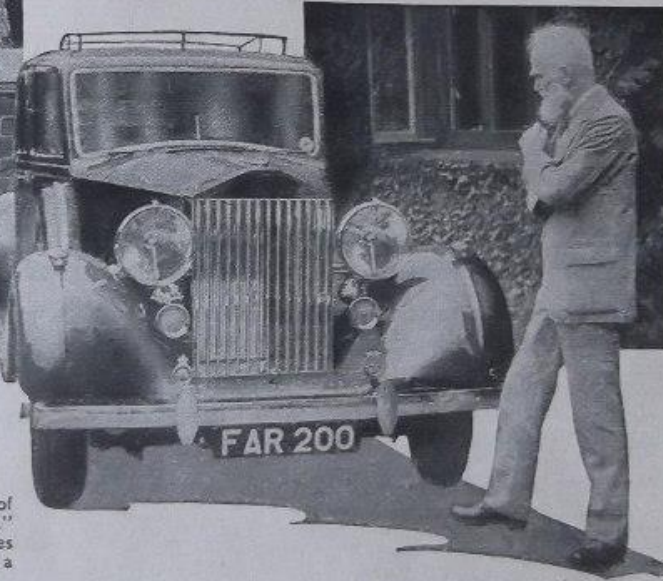
The Motor



Mr Bernard Shaw on Motoring

"Head erect, white hair and beard fluttering in the breeze, the man whose 'Pygmalion' of 27 years ago has proved one of the biggest hits in the cinema world of to-day, came marching out of the house."

"A wonderful piece of work, the modern car." Mr. Shaw contemplates the Wraith with a critical eye.



*At the Age of 83 He Takes Delivery of
Another Rolls-Royce—a 25-30 h.p. Wraith*

By Stuart Macrae

Figure 48 Shaw photographed on the drive-way of Shaw's Corner, with his second Rolls Royce. 'Mr. Bernard Shaw on Motoring', *The Motor*, 18 July 1939, 943. Shaw's Corner Archive.

IMAGE HAS BEEN EXCLUDED FROM THE DIGITISED VERSION OF THE THESIS
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Figure 49 Portrait commissioned by Shaw from John Farleigh in 1933 for the frontispiece to *Prefaces by Bernard Shaw* (1934). © The Estate of John Farleigh.

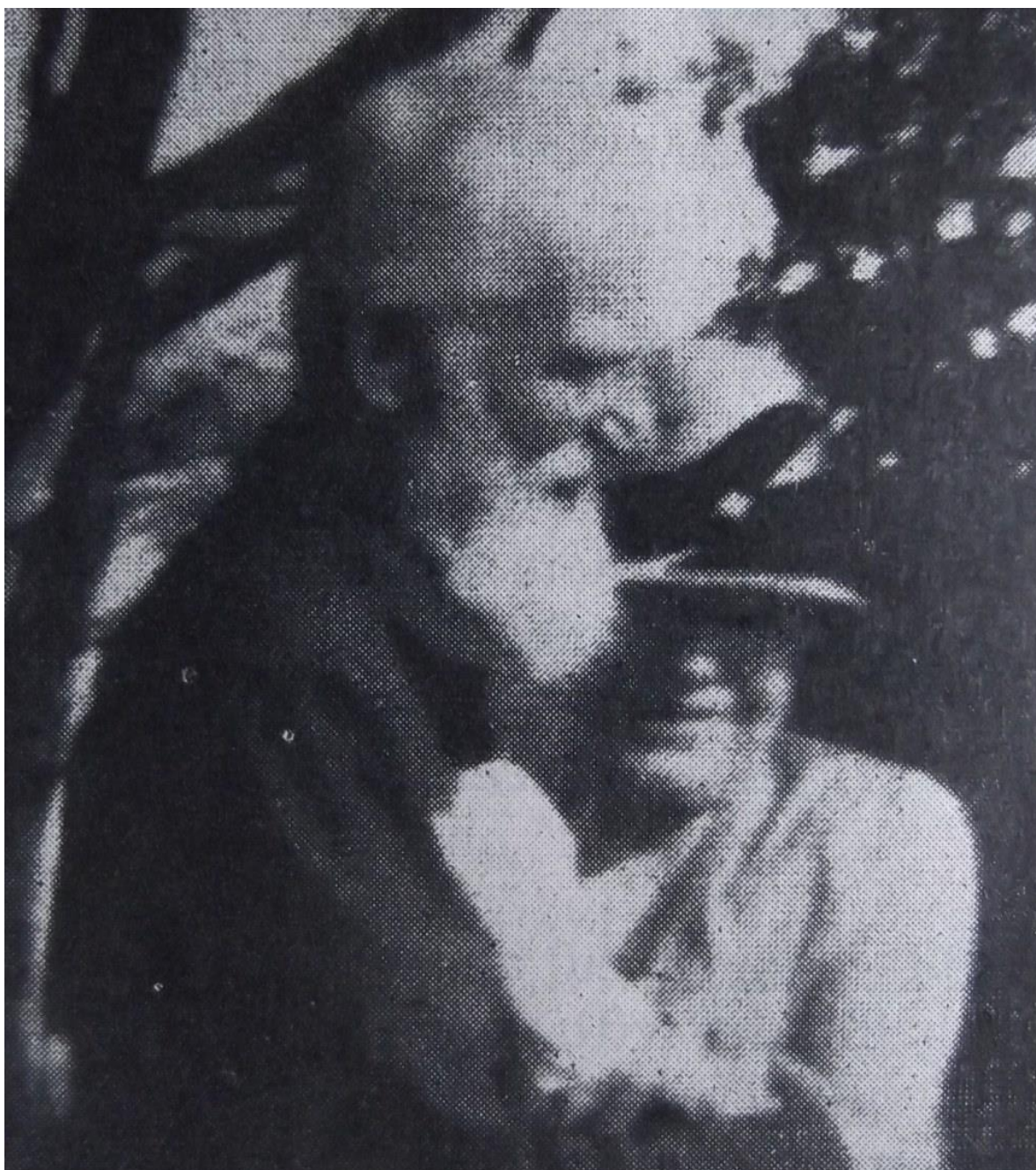


Figure 50 Shaw embracing Charlotte in the garden of Paul Troubetzkoy's villa, Lago Maggiore, Italy, 1927. Published in Lawrence Langner, 'The Sinner-Saint as Host: Diary of a Visit to G.B.S. at Stresa', *The Saturday Review of Literature*, 27, 30 (22 July 1944), 10. Photograph by Lawrence Langner. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715211.25). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.



Figure 51 Self-portrait: ‘dining on vegetables in great splendour of silver plate in Derry, County Cork, his wife’s birthplace.’ Published in *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*, 32. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715217.7). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.



Figure 52 George II silver coffee pot with wooden handle by Richard Gosling, c.1740. The Bernard and Charlotte Shaw collection of silver acquired from the National Trust sale, 1952. (George Bernard Shaw Personal Effects Collection, Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin). Reproduced with kind permission of the Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.



Figure 53 George III silver candlesticks by John Carter, 1776. The Bernard and Charlotte Shaw collection of silver acquired from the National Trust sale, 1952. (George Bernard Shaw Personal Effects Collection, Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin). Reproduced with kind permission of the Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.



Figure 54 Self-portrait. Shaw seated at the dining-room table, Shaw's Corner, with the Georgian silver candlesticks by John Carter converted into electric lamps. c.1930. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715544.11). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.



Figure 55 Seventeenth-century brass candlestick, fitted with pricket-socket converter. Shaw's Corner. NTIN 1274915.1. © National Trust.

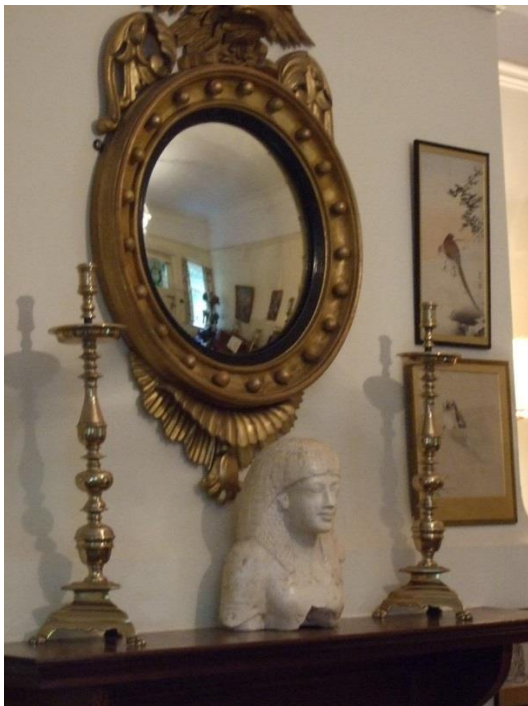


Figure 56 Pair of seventeenth-century brass candlesticks, fitted with pricket-socket converters. Hall, Shaw's Corner. NTIN 1274915.1. © National Trust.



Figure 57 Self-portrait: Shaw in the drawing-room at Whitehall Court, 1930s. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715220.84). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.



Figure 58 Shaw's study, showing the double-domed Queen Anne bureau on the right. Shaw's Corner. (Photograph by Cecil Hallam, 13 February 1951, EERO, National Trust Archive). © National Trust.

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Figure 59 Shaw writing at the Queen Anne bureau in the drawing-room, 1947. Press photograph, see Getty Images: <http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/51505764>



Figure 60 Morris & Co. *Peacock and Dragon* curtain. Hall, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1275390). © National Trust.



Figure 61 *Kennet* curtain by Morris & Co. (NTIN 1275429.1-2). © National Trust.



Figure 62 Morris & Co. armchair, the dining room at Shaw's Corner, covered in remnants of Morris & Co. *Little Chintz*. (NTIN 1274763). © National Trust.



Figure 63 Harley Granville-Barker photographed by Shaw, sitting in the Morris & Co. *Little Chintz* armchair at Adelphi Terrace, c.1902-04. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715222.99). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.

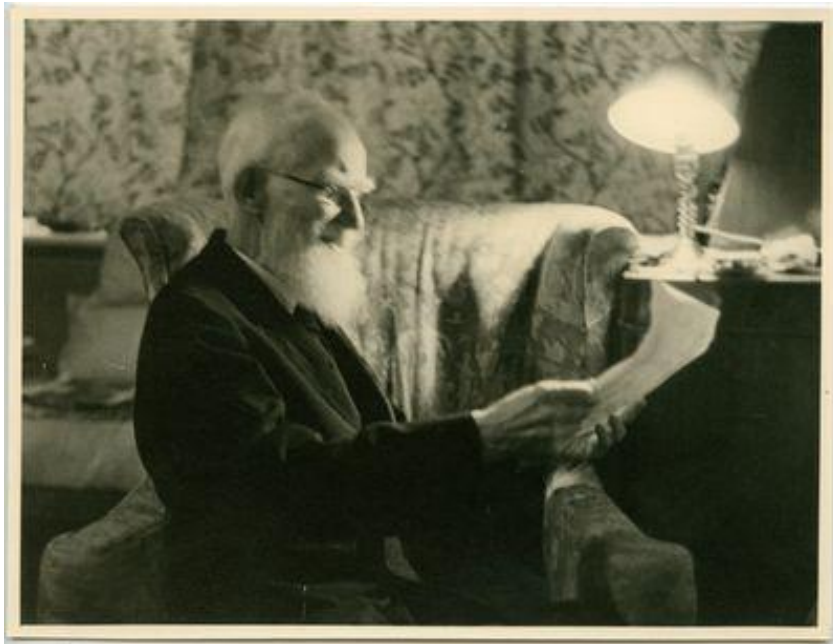


Figure 64 Self-portrait: Shaw in the dining-room at Shaw's Corner sitting in the Morris & Co. armchair, with Morris & Co. *Jasmine Trellis* curtains in the background. May 1947. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715211.55). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.



Figure 65 Detail of the Morris & Co. armchair, showing the chair leg. Dining-room, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274763). © National Trust.

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Figure 66 Morris & Co. catalogue *Specimens of Upholstered Furniture*, c.1912, 50. (V&A, NAL57.C.64). © Victoria & Albert Museum.

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Figure 67 Mrs. Higgins's drawing-room (Act III, *Pygmalion*, His Majesty's Theatre, 1914), revealing the use of Morris & Co. furnishings. Special Supplement of *The Sketch* magazine, 22 April 1914. Mander and Mitchenson / University of Bristol / ArenaPal (ARP1233486). See Mander, Raymond and Mitchenson, Joe, *Theatrical Companion to Shaw: A Pictorial Record of the First Performances of the Plays of George Bernard Shaw* (page 163).



Figure 68 Sir John Lavery, *George Bernard Shaw at Adelphi Terrace*, oil on canvas, 1927. Image courtesy of Dublin City Gallery, The Hugh Lane.



Figure 69 The hall mantelpiece and convex mirror, Shaw's Corner. © National Trust.



Figure 70 Walter Crane, *My Lady's Chamber* (1878). Image in public domain, http://www.wikigallery.org/wiki/painting_228438/Walter-Crane/My-Ladys-Chamber



Figure 71 Judy Gillmore in the drawing-room at Shaw's Corner, c.1911-12, photographed by Shaw with a Morris & Co. *Large Stem* curtain. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715263.6). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.

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Figure 72 *Portrait of a Lady* (Mrs Grosvenor Thomas) by James Craig Annan, 1897, photographed against Morris & Co. *Large Stem* fabric. Science and Society Picture Library, Image no. 10649310. © 2016 Kodak Collection/National Museum of Science & Media /Science & Society Picture Library - All rights reserved.

<https://www.scienceandsociety.co.uk/results.asp?image=10649310>



Figure 73 Aubrey Beardsley, original poster design used to promote *Arms and the Man*, 1894. Study, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274672). © National Trust.

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Figure 74 Programme cover using Aubrey Beardsley's design, *Arms and the Man*, Avenue Theatre, 1894. Mander and Mitchenson / University of Bristol / ArenaPal (ARP1415890). See Mander, Raymond and Mitchenson, Joe, *Theatrical Companion to Shaw: A Pictorial Record of the First Performances of the Plays of George Bernard Shaw* (page 37).



Figure 75 W. Charles Tozer armchair in the Regency revival style. Drawing-room, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274790.1). © National Trust.



Figure 76 W. Charles Tozer armchair in the Regency revival style. Drawing-room, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274790.2). © National Trust.



Figure 77 W. Charles Tozer chair. Drawing-room, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274795). © National Trust.



Figure 78 Original label on one of the armchairs, 'W. Charles Tozer, 25 Brook Street, London, W.1.' Drawing-room, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274790.1). © National Trust.

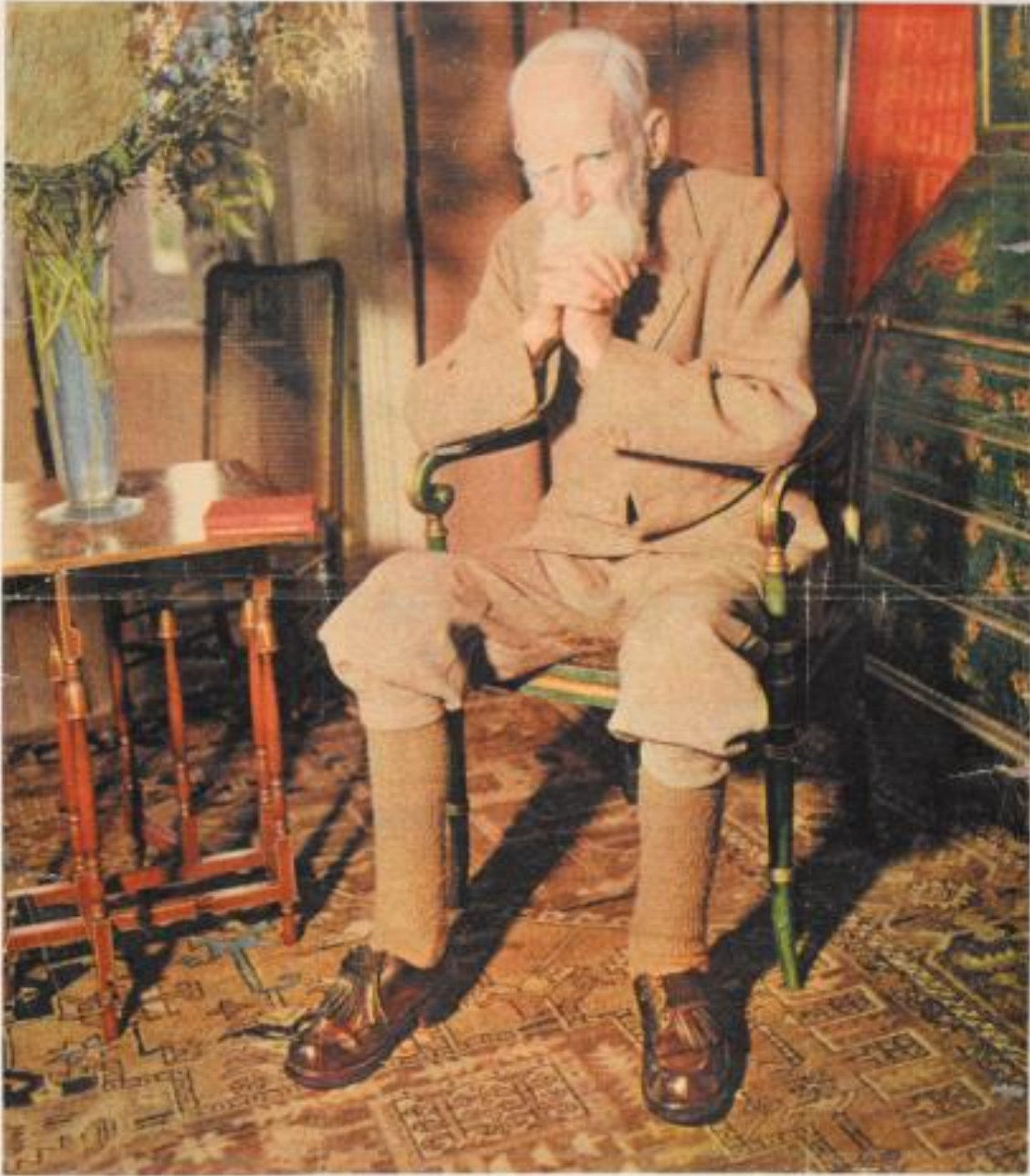


Figure 79 Shaw sitting in one of the W. Charles Tozer Regency revival armchairs, drawing-room, Shaw's Corner, late 1940s. (BL Add. MS 50582B, f.157). © British Library Board.

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Figure 80 Shaw discussing a new production of *Man and Superman* with the actor Maurice Evans in 1947, seated in the Tozer chairs, drawing-room, Shaw's Corner. Press photograph, see <http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/79042267>

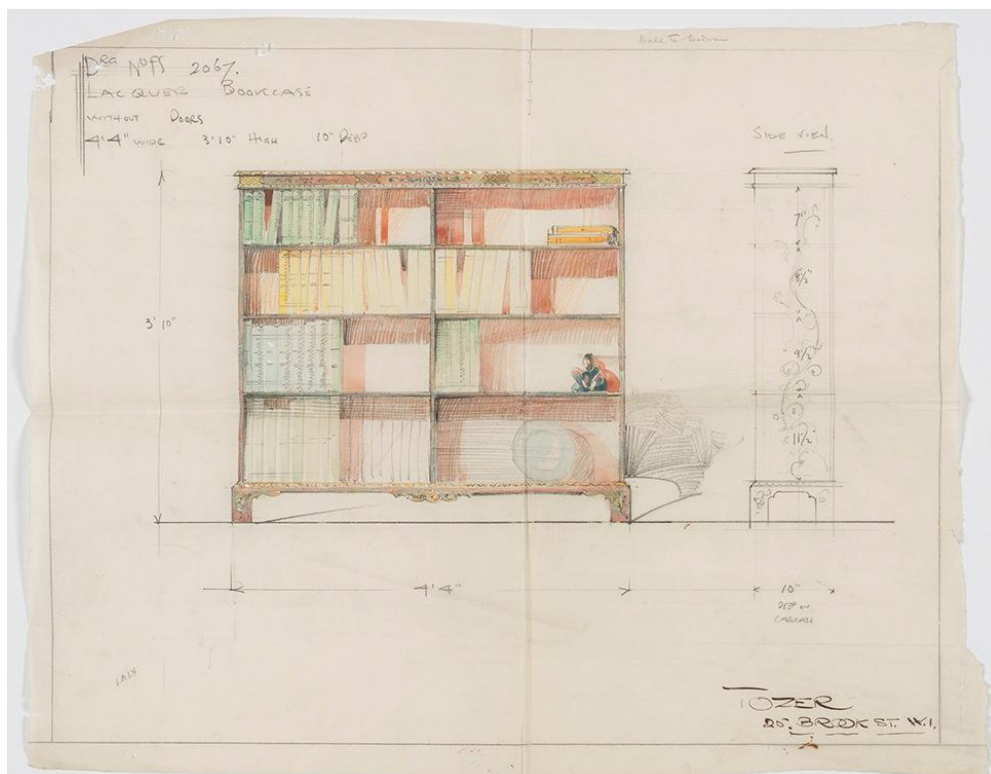


Figure 81 Drawing by W. Charles Tozer of Brook Street, for an open fronted lacquer bookcase, 1935. (George Bernard Shaw Manuscripts Collection, Series IV, 67.8, Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin). Reproduced with kind permission of the Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.



Figure 82 Green lacquer bureau with chinoiserie decoration by W. Charles Tozer, drawing-room, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274804). © National Trust.

CHAPTER TWO

SHAW THE CONNOISSEUR AND ART PATRON: PRIVATE PRESS BOOKS, PAINTINGS AND SCULPTURE

Private press books, typography, engraving, and book-binding: Shaw as collector and producer

‘I want something as simple and serious as Holbein’s Bible pictures but with modern beauty.’⁷⁵⁴

This section explores Shaw’s connoisseurial interest in various private presses, typography, engraving and book-binding through certain books remaining in the Shaw’s Corner collection, and examines how these concerns influenced the aesthetics of his own book production. Shaw was an avid consumer of books, regularly purchasing from John and Edward Bumpus,⁷⁵⁵ sellers of expensive private press books⁷⁵⁶ (whose company Shaw invested in),⁷⁵⁷ but he was also a producer of fine books and effectively ‘became his own publisher’.⁷⁵⁸ As Roderick Cave noted ‘one remembers the role George Bernard Shaw played in seeing that his books were presented in beautiful dress.’⁷⁵⁹ Volumes of *The Works of Bernard Shaw* (Standard Edition, 1931-51), for example, need to be viewed in conjunction with the playwright’s enduring fascination with private press books and medieval manuscripts.

⁷⁵⁴ Shaw to Siegfried Trebitsch, 15 May 1932, in Weiss, ed., *Bernard Shaw’s Letters to Siegfried Trebitsch*, 322. Shaw was describing the kind of engravings he wanted for his new work *The Adventures of the Black Girl in Her Search for God* (1932), and expressed his preference for the artist John Farleigh.

⁷⁵⁵ There are a number of books in the Shaw’s Corner collection that bear the Bumpus marks or labels, see for example: Harley Granville-Barker, *Prefaces to Shakespeare*, 1935 (NTIN 3063800); Charles Chamberlain Hurst, *The Mechanisms of Creative Evolution*, 1932 (NTIN 3062375); Lancelot Thomas Hogben, *Science for the Citizen* (NTIN 3062061). As early as 1893, we find Shaw recording in his diary that he had been ‘looking into the windows of Bumpus’s Shop in Oxford St.’ (1 February 1893, BSD2, 901). Laurence notes that Bumpus’s was where Shaw ‘made most of his book purchases’, and when the Shaws went travelling their bags were ‘crammed to the brim with recent publications acquired from Bumpus the bookseller’; see Laurence, CL4, 223; 596. John and Edward Bumpus Ltd, Oxford Street, was managed by J.G. Wilson, who became friends with the Shaws. A Bumpus flyer promoting a book on ‘Lettering’ by Professor Hermann Degering also survives in the Shaw’s Corner collection.

⁷⁵⁶ See Roderick Cave, *Fine Printing and Private Presses: Selected Papers by Roderick Cave* (London: The British Library, 2001), 4. Cave notes that for the British private presses Bumpus were one of the main distributors ‘who regularly carried a range of these expensive books.’

⁷⁵⁷ Documents at LSE reveal that Shaw invested in the company: LSE Shaw Business Papers 25/15, f.14-15; John and Edward Bumpus Ltd., notification of dividends paid to Shaw in 1949.

⁷⁵⁸ See Michel W. Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and His Publishers*, xv. Pharand states that Shaw was ‘dealing directly with printers R. & R. Clark and paying for his own composition, machining, paper, and binding.’

⁷⁵⁹ Cave, *Fine Printing and Private Presses*, 1-2.

Shaw's interaction with these artefacts can be viewed through the lens of aesthetic appreciation, personal relationships, and socialism. These joint perspectives are in evidence in one of the obituaries Shaw wrote on Morris's death where he described his friend's typographical endeavours at the Kelmscott Press, which he often visited,⁷⁶⁰ as: 'restoring the lost art of making beautiful books [...] in establishing the Kelmscott Press he did a greater service to society than by establishing the Socialist League.'⁷⁶¹ 'Beautiful books' were the site where Morris's aesthetic and socialist principles met; and a medieval manuscript was actually the source for a word that described Shaw's individuality: 'Shavian.' Shaw explained the connection to Pearson: 'The Word Shavian began when William Morris found in a medieval MS. by one Shaw the marginal comment 'Sic Shavius, sed inepte.'⁷⁶² Thus Shaw's very identity was forged through the scholarly pursuit of knowledge and aesthetic appreciation.

Shaw openly acknowledged the connoisseurial aspects of his own personality when it came to typography and book production. As Pharand has shown in his excellent volume *Bernard Shaw and His Publishers*, over a period of several decades 'Shaw tried to control the fate of his books from proofs to bookshop, and to have the last word on prices, advertising, copyright, and royalties as well as typeface, type size, margins, paper, binding, and colour.'⁷⁶³ The physical object and look of the printed page and binding were as significant as the words of the text.⁷⁶⁴ Shaw's specialist requirements thus significantly affected the material form of his book production, reflecting Morris's influence as he later recalled: 'My books changed considerably after the Kelmscott Press was founded. Caslon type set solid, with certain proportions of margin.'⁷⁶⁵ Figure 83 shows a page from Shaw's *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism*, revealing the Caslon Old Face type he used.

⁷⁶⁰ Shaw's diaries record several visits to the Kelmscott Press before Morris's death in 1896; see for example: 'looked in at the Kelmscott Press and found Morris there'. (20 September 1892, BSD2, 854).

⁷⁶¹ Shaw, 'William Morris as a Socialist', *The Clarion* (10 October 1896), 325.

⁷⁶² Shaw to Hesketh Pearson, quoted in Pearson, *Bernard Shaw: His Life and Personality*, 97. As Shaw noted, 'it provided a much needed adjective; for Shawian is obviously impossible and unbearable.' (Shaw quoted by Pearson, 97). See also Weintraub, *Bernard Shaw: A Guide to Research*, 23. Weintraub quotes from Sydney Cockerell's letter to the editor of the TLS in 1960 explaining how the term originated: Sydney Cockerell, 'Shavian', *Times Literary Supplement* (July 29 1960), 481.

⁷⁶³ Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and His Publishers*, xii. For Shaw's writings on printing, see Pharand, 'A Selected Bibliography of Writings by Bernard Shaw on Publishing, Printing, and Related Topics,' in *SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, vol. 27, ed. by MaryAnn Crawford and Michel W. Pharand (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 80-84.

⁷⁶⁴ Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and His Publishers*, xix-xxi. See also Kelly, 'Imprinting the stage', 42.

⁷⁶⁵ Shaw to Henderson, quoted in Henderson, *George Bernard Shaw: Man of the Century*, 182. Morrisian scholars such as Robin Page Arnot observed that Shaw applied to his own books 'lessons learned from the Kelmscott Press.' Robin Page Arnot, 'Bernard Shaw and William Morris', *Transactions of the William Morris Society* (London: William Morris Society, 1957), 2.

Shaw's Morrisian opinions were published in 'The Author's View: A Criticism of Modern Book Printing'.⁷⁶⁶ This essay was later reprinted in England as 'Typography' by George Bernard Shaw', a reissue by J.W.H. Elvin and H. Rose in 1933, who were both students at the London School of Printing, demonstrating Shaw's lasting influence.⁷⁶⁷ (Figure 84). An unusual, but important, reminder of Shaw's impact on printing scholarship is actually the Libraco filing cabinet in Shaw's study, with the tambour front and eight pull-out shelves.⁷⁶⁸ (Figure 85). A note in Shaw's hand survives showing his order of a Libraco 'roller curtain cabinet in fumed oak,' and he specifies that this piece is to go 'to Ayot'.⁷⁶⁹ Libraco Limited was founded in 1897 to offer a broad range of services to librarians, businesses and authors; but significantly given Shaw's interests, Libraco also had a publishing department until 1912. In relation to this side of Libraco's business, included in Shaw's papers at LSE, is a flyer for *Conspectus Incunabulorum: An Index Catalogue of Fifteenth Century Books*.⁷⁷⁰ This was a specialist catalogue published by Libraco in 1910, compiled by Robert Alexander Peddie, a printer and an expert on the history of printing and the book arts, who was the librarian at the St. Bride Typographical Library in London. Shaw assisted with the funding of this index of fifteenth-century books, and sent him money towards it in 1909.⁷⁷¹ Shaw had been acquainted with Peddie since the 1890s, as he was a member of the SDF.⁷⁷²

Morris had taught Shaw that the visual aspects of books were important, and Shaw would later inform the typographer and book designer Ruari McLean:

My acquaintance with Morris led me to look at the page of a book as a picture, and a book as an ornament. This led to a certain connoisseurship in types and typesetting. I chose old face Caslon as the best after Jensen. I discarded apostrophes wherever possible...and banished mutton quads between sentences because they made "rivers" of white in the black

⁷⁶⁶ Shaw, 'The Author's View: A Criticism of Modern Book Printing', *The Caxton Magazine*, II (January 1902), 119-121.

⁷⁶⁷ Shaw's essay was reprinted in America by Horace Carr at The Printing Press as 'Bernard Shaw on Modern Typography', Cleveland in 1915. See Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and His Publishers*, xxv; xliii.

⁷⁶⁸ NTIN 1274747.1. The Libraco label remains on the back of the cabinet.

⁷⁶⁹ LSE Shaw Business Papers 25/3, f.1. The cost was £3-3-0; 'ordered from Ayot 27 May 1911'. (The remainder of the order was for his study in Adelphi Terrace). Shaw's Libraco Office Cabinet advertising leaflet also survives (LSE Shaw Business Papers 25/23, f.21).

⁷⁷⁰ LSE Shaw Business Papers 25/1, f.24.

⁷⁷¹ See Robert Alexander Peddie to Shaw, 2 July 1909, (St. Bride Foundation), BL Add. MS 50515, ff.242-44; Peddie thanks Shaw for his gift of £40.

⁷⁷² See Weintraub's note, BSD2, 752. Shaw lectured for Peddie's branch of the SDF on 13 September 1891. Laurence describes Peddie as a 'bibliographer' however his accomplishments extended far beyond this. (Laurence, CL2, 555).

rectangle of print. I was particular about margins. When I visited Chantilly I turned over every page of the famous Psalter. All this began with Morris and his collection of MSS. The Kelmscott Press came afterwards when I already knew what he was driving at.⁷⁷³

Morris's 'collection of MSS.' included an English Illuminated Psalter of the early fourteenth century (figure 86), which Shaw would have seen at the library at Kelmscott House (the volume was later exhibited at the John and Edward Bumpus Morris Exhibition, held to celebrate the Morris centenary in 1934⁷⁷⁴). Morris, he stressed: 'awakened our artistic conscience to the fact that a book has to be looked at as well as read', and warned that a story might easily be turned into a 'disgusting spectacle by vile manufacture', ruining the appearance of a printed page for 'people with cultivated eyes.'⁷⁷⁵ Shaw's strong aesthetic sense emerges, echoing the words of Morris who was making a 'definite claim to beauty'⁷⁷⁶ through his books, and rejected 'letters which are positively ugly, and which, it may be added, are dazzling and unpleasant to the eye owing to the clumsy thickening and vulgar thinning of the lines.'⁷⁷⁷ Shaw was furious when American commercial printers tried to imitate Morris's printing, creating 'abominations which missed every one of his lessons.'⁷⁷⁸ He argued that 'Morris's artistic integrity was, humanly speaking, perfect', and it was this that made him 'unintelligible to the Philistine public.'⁷⁷⁹

Applying these principles to artefacts, Shaw removed one of Charlotte's personal books from Shaw's Corner on the basis that its ugliness offended his aesthetic sensibilities. He sold her family bible after her death, and outlined his reasons for doing so in the inscription he wrote on the flyleaf:

This ugly family Bible...is what is called a Breeches Bible... I found it among the books of my late wife...Except as a curiosity the book, as a material object, is a most undesirable possession. The binding is heavy,

⁷⁷³ Shaw to Ruari McLean, 28 March 1949, CL4, 843.

⁷⁷⁴ Many of the exhibits from the J. & E. Bumpus Morris Exhibition were reproduced in Gerald H. Crow, *William Morris Designer* (London: The Studio, 1934). The Illuminated Psalter was reproduced here (97).

⁷⁷⁵ Shaw, in his review of *Author and Printer: A Guide for Authors, Editors, Printer, Correctors of the Press, Compositors, and Typists*, F. Howard Collins, 1905, in Tyson, ed. *Bernard Shaw Book Reviews, Vol.2*, 216.

⁷⁷⁶ William Morris, *A Note by William Morris on his Aims in Founding the Kelmscott Press* (1898) quoted in William S. Peterson, *The Kelmscott Press: A History of William Morris's Typographical Adventure* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 3.

⁷⁷⁷ William Morris, quoted in Peterson, *The Kelmscott Press*, 9.

⁷⁷⁸ Shaw to Henderson, 11 September 1905, CL2, 557.

⁷⁷⁹ Shaw to Henderson, 11 September 1905, CL2, 557.

common and graceless. The printing is of the worst period. To anyone who has seen a page from the press of Jenson or William Morris it is heathenish. I must get rid of it. I really cannot bear it in my house. Ayot St. Lawrence, 28 August, 1947. G. Bernard Shaw.⁷⁸⁰

As the binding and typography are not Morrisian, his reaction is one of repugnance, resulting in the need to remove the artefact from Shaw's Corner. Even if we ignore the characteristic hyperbole, there remains nevertheless a revealing set of judgements of taste enacted through this 'material object', displaying the aesthetic discriminations and selectivity of the collector.

The notion of assembling material artefacts appreciated solely for their luxurious qualities, rarity, or ability to communicate elite taste and aesthetic sensibility divorced from social responsibility would, in theory, have been anathema to the socialist playwright. Yet as far as his private press books were concerned, Shaw seemed to epitomize Walter Benjamin's idea of the collector who bestows on artefacts 'only connoisseur value, rather than use value.'⁷⁸¹ As early as 1895 Shaw had declared: 'the books from [Morris's] Kelmscott Press, printed with type designed by his own hand, are pounced on by collectors like the treasures of our national museums.'⁷⁸² A book as a 'beautiful object' was separate from its value as a text. Shaw insisted that a book might be 'admired as such by a man who cannot read a word of it, exactly as a XII century chalice or loving cup may be treasured by a heathen or a teetotaler, quite apart from its use as a drinking cup.'⁷⁸³ According to Belk and Wallendorf an object must be granted 'non-utilitarian sacred status'⁷⁸⁴ in order to be categorized as part of a collection. In this sense, we may apply Belk's definition of a collector to Shaw, whereby 'collecting is the process of actively, selectively, and passionately acquiring and possessing things removed from ordinary use and perceived as part of a set of non-identical objects or experiences.'⁷⁸⁵

⁷⁸⁰ Shaw, inscription written inside Charlotte's bible; sold Sotheby's, 24 November 1947, *Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books*, [including] A Bible containing an interesting inscription by G. Bernard Shaw, sold by his order.' (Appendix 3). Lot 221: 'The property of G. Bernard Shaw, Esq. Shaw (G.B.) – Holy Bible (The), Geneva Version... from the library of the late Mrs. Bernard Shaw, sold as an association copy...' dated 1560. (Sotheby's Catalogue, NAL). Quoted in Laurence and Leary, *Bernard Shaw Flyleaves*, 10-11.

⁷⁸¹ Walter Benjamin, 'Louis Philippe, or the Interior', *The Arcades Project* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 1999), 19.

⁷⁸² Shaw, *The Sanity of Art*, 100.

⁷⁸³ Shaw to Henderson, quoted in Henderson, *George Bernard Shaw: Man of the Century*, 182.

⁷⁸⁴ Belk and Wallendorf, 'Of mice and men: gender identity in collecting', 240.

⁷⁸⁵ Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society*, 67. See also Russell W. Belk and Melanie Wallendorf, 'Of mice and men: gender identity in collecting', in *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, ed. by Susan M. Pearce (London: Routledge, 1994), 240.

Numerous scholars have written on topics associated with Shaw's interest in typography and printing at its point of intersection with his own publications over the years. More recently these have included Pharand, Kelly, and Hugo as previously stated; and the list is extensive if traced back to Shaw's own lifetime.⁷⁸⁶ However no scholarly study has been made of Shaw's personal collection of private press books, with Laurence emphasizing that Shaw 'had no collectors' instinct for books'.⁷⁸⁷ Even when Laurence published his *Bernard Shaw Flyleaves* (1977) to highlight the inscriptions Shaw had written inside eight volumes to increase their monetary value for the special sale of the books at Sotheby's in 1949, there was no attempt to uncover what these books had meant for Shaw personally in terms of art objects, or their connections to his own typographical interests, or indeed their significance in the history of the private press movement.

Laurence quoted from the inscription Shaw had written in Charlotte's bible, yet did not comment on his connoisseurial response, utilizing it merely to contextualize Shaw's other flyleaves. When he mentioned the hundreds of books Shaw sold at Sotheby's, they were described as 'an eclectic accumulation of mostly unread presentation copies mixed with some fine press books and reprints of classics.'⁷⁸⁸ Despite the fact that Shaw sold most of his collection of private press books at this sale (over thirty five volumes⁷⁸⁹) in the process of obtaining money to 'offset the Capital Levy'⁷⁹⁰, there are fortunately several examples of fine

⁷⁸⁶ The literature on Shaw and typography is outlined in Peterson, *The Kelmscott Press*, 352, n. 21. Many books and articles are also listed in Pharand, ed., *Bernard Shaw and His Publishers*; and in Pharand, 'A Selected Bibliography of Writings by Bernard Shaw on Publishing, Printing, and Related Topics,' 80-84. See also Adams, *Bernard Shaw and the Aesthetes*, 175-76. The list includes: B.H. Newdigate, "'G.B.S.'" and the Typography of His Books,' *The London Mercury* (August 1925), 420; Holbrook Jackson, 'Robert Bridges, George Moore, Bernard Shaw and Printing', *The Fleuron: A Journal of Typography* 4 (1925), 52; James Shand, 'Author and Printer: G.B.S. and R.&R. C[lark]: 1898-1948', *Alphabet and Image*, 8 (Winter 1948), 3-38; Joseph R. Dunlap, 'GBS and the Revival of Printing', *The Shavian*, vol.2 (1960); and Joseph R. Dunlap, 'Morrisian and Shavian Typography', *Independent Shavian*, 2 (Autumn 1964), 6-7.

⁷⁸⁷ Laurence, 'The Library at Shaw's Corner', 157. Elsewhere the Shaw's Corner library has been briefly discussed by Holroyd, who observed that the collection reflected 'Shavian' attitudes towards book production. Holroyd, 'Shaw's Corner', *Royal Oak Newsletter* (Autumn 1997), 3.

⁷⁸⁸ Laurence and Leary, eds., *Bernard Shaw Flyleaves*, 10.

⁷⁸⁹ See Sotheby & Co, 25 July 1949. (Appendix 3). The private press books sold by Shaw included examples by the Kelmscott Press, but also by the Doves, Ashendene, Cranach, Dun Emer, Golden Cockerel, Aquila, Corvinus, and Gregynog Presses.

⁷⁹⁰ See Holroyd, who notes that the Sotheby's sale of Shaw's books in total 'raised £2,649 15s. 0d: which [Shaw] used to offset the Capital Levy (a tax of between two and ten shillings in the pound on all incomes over £2,000...) which the Labour government introduced in 1948 to avoid national bankruptcy.' HOL3, 507. Holroyd states that in 1997 the amount raised was 'equivalent to £50,000'. Holroyd, *Bernard Shaw: The One-Volume Definitive Edition* (London: Vintage, 1998), 786. However as Laurence points out, this was actually disappointing (he gives the figure as £2,570.15.0), and was a 'far cry from the sum Shaw had hoped for.' Laurence and Leary, eds., *Bernard Shaw Flyleaves*, 12. The press reported that the book sale generated £2,570. (*The Illustrated London News*, 6 August 1949, 205). For Sotheby's correspondence with Shaw, and notification of monies paid, see LSE Shaw Business Papers 18/4, f.29-30; f.34-36; f.38-39; f.41. Some of this correspondence relates to Shaw's sales of furniture and other artefacts.

printing and bindings remaining in the library at Shaw's Corner, enabling us to gain insight into Shaw's interests.

Before we look at these in detail, it is important to outline Shaw's extensive connections to prominent figures working within the private press movement, and the book trade, and also to collectors. He cared passionately and at times obsessively, about the visual aspects of his own publications, and this was shaped and reflected by his friendships. However his relationships with many of these individuals associated with the private presses have been difficult to trace, as much of his correspondence with them does not feature in the *Collected Letters* edited by Laurence. (Shaw's correspondence with Katharine Adams is a good example of this⁷⁹¹). Whilst Shaw's connoisseurial appreciation and acquisition of many private press books, encompassing a fascination with fine bindings, printing and typography, was directly related to Morris's inspiration,⁷⁹² it was also influenced by his close friendships with the printer, engraver and expert on typography Emery Walker,⁷⁹³ and the connoisseur, bibliophile and director of the Fitzwilliam Museum Sydney Cockerell, who was an expert on medieval manuscripts and had been secretary of the Kelmscott Press. Figures 87 and 88 show Walker and Cockerell in photographs taken by Shaw in c.1898 and 1906 respectively.⁷⁹⁴ Another photograph by Shaw shows the pair with Charlotte. (Figure 89).⁷⁹⁵ Cockerell visited Chantilly with Shaw in 1906 to see the Musée Condé. Here, as Panayotova notes, 'Cockerell and Shaw marvelled at one of the most opulent Book of Hours in existence, the Très Riches Heures of Jean, Duc de Berry'.⁷⁹⁶ (Figure 90). Shaw was also friends with the bibliophile and philanthropist Charles William Dyson Perrins, who formed important collections of

⁷⁹¹ The correspondence between the bookbinder Katharine Adams and Bernard and Charlotte Shaw, is in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California. (BANC MS 2011/262, Box 2).

⁷⁹² Shaw noted in his diary that when staying at Kelmscott Manor with William Morris in 1892, they 'talked about printing in the evening'. (25 December 1892, BSD2, 883).

⁷⁹³ Shaw's long interest in printing and typography goes back to when he first met Walker in 1884, and the first reference to Walker in his diary is on 22 February 1885. (BSD1, 63). Weintraub and Pharand have both highlighted Walker's relationship with Shaw. (Pharand, ed., *Bernard Shaw and His Publishers*, 42, 89-90). Weintraub states that 'GBS and Charlotte were close to Walker, whose interests they shared, and to his daughter [Dorothy 'Dolly'] as well.' See Weintraub, 'Bowing a Knee to GBS: Augustus John on T.E. Lawrence', in *SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, vol. 35, no.2, ed. by Michel W. Pharand (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015), 254. The closeness recognized by Weintraub was neglected by Holroyd, who barely mentions Walker in his biography of Shaw, and does not mention Dorothy at all. Weintraub similarly observes that there is no reference to the Walkers in Holroyd's biography of Augustus John. (Weintraub, 'Bowing a Knee to GBS', 257).

⁷⁹⁴ Shaw's photograph of Emery Walker, c.1898 (HRC, II, 46.6); Shaw's photograph of Cockerell in the dining-room at The Old House, Harmer Green, 1906. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715222.19; see also 1715617.23).

⁷⁹⁵ NT Shaw Photographs 1715480.2. Currently the catalogue states that Sydney Cockerell and Charlotte are with 'an unidentified man', but the figure is Emery Walker.

⁷⁹⁶ Panayotova, *I Turned it into a Palace*, 2008, 173. Whilst staying in Stockholm in 1908, Shaw noted the presence of the 'Codex Aureus in the library' in a letter to Cockerell. Shaw to Sydney Cockerell, 18 July 1908, CL2, 802.

illuminated manuscripts and porcelain. Shaw and Charlotte visited their home in Malvern on several occasions, and were photographed by the press there in 1935.⁷⁹⁷ (Figure 91).⁷⁹⁸ The medieval scholar Helen Waddell similarly socialized with the Shaws during the inter-war years, together with her partner Otto Kyllmann, the chairman of Constable and Company (Shaw's publisher).

In addition Sydney's brother Douglas, renowned for his book-binding, formed a friendship with Shaw, as did the book-binder Katharine Adams, closely aligned to the Cockerell/Walker circle and a friend of May Morris since childhood. Furthermore, Shaw's diaries reveal that he formed acquaintances during the 1880s and 90s with many craftsmen who would soon be working at the Doves/Kelmscott Presses. These included the book-binder T.J. Cobden-Sanderson⁷⁹⁹ (who established the Doves Bindery and was Walker's partner in the Doves Press from 1901), the artist and silversmith Robert Catterson-Smith who worked on the Kelmscott Chaucer with Morris and Burne-Jones and had known Shaw since his school days,⁸⁰⁰ and the wood engraver William Harcourt Hooper who worked at the Kelmscott Press.⁸⁰¹ Given the worlds of artistic and journalistic culture Shaw himself was in contact with and worked across, it is interesting to see that Hooper had previously worked for *The Illustrated London News* and *Punch*.⁸⁰² Here was the dialectic of machine production and the hand-crafted; I return to this point in due course, as it has implications for Shaw's relationship to books, and the publishing of his own works.

Laurence has focused on the fact that many of the books sold by Shaw were 'unread

⁷⁹⁷ C.W. Dyson Perrins was the son of James Dyson Perrins, the owner of the Lea and Perrins Worcestershire sauce brand.

⁷⁹⁸ See NT Shaw Photographs 1715221.7. This is a press cutting showing the Shaws with the Dyson Perrins; in Shaw's hand: 'Worcestershire Advertiser, 4 Sept. 1935.'

⁷⁹⁹ There are numerous references to Cobden-Sanderson in Shaw's diary. For example in 1888 he went with Shaw, Bland and Annie Besant to give funds to the striking Bryant and May workers. (14 July 1888, BSD1, 394). Shaw attended Cobden-Sanderson's lecture on book-binding at the first Arts and Crafts Exhibition. (22 November 1888, BSD1, 436); and Shaw visited the Doves Bindery on 17 March 1894. (BSD2, 1019).

⁸⁰⁰ Weintraub states that Shaw and Catterson-Smith knew each other from 'their days at the School of Art, Dublin'. (BSD1, 223). Shaw had enrolled in drawing classes at the Royal Dublin Society School of Art in 1870, which he attended for around six months. (Gibbs, *A Bernard Shaw Chronology*, 29). See also Shaw's reference to the school – he refers to it as 'the School of Design' in his preface to *London Music* (1937), in *Bernard Shaw Complete Prefaces, Volume III*, 330. Shaw noted in his diary for 21 December 1886 that he renewed his 'old acquaintance with him' at the Strand Theatre. (BSD1, 222-23). Thereafter Shaw met Catterson-Smith regularly at socialist lectures at Kelmscott House. (See for example 9 January 1887, BSD1, 232; 18 December 1892, BSD2, 882).

⁸⁰¹ Shaw first met W.H. Hooper at Walker's home on 25 October 1886. (BSD1, 200). Shaw noted in his diary that he went with Hooper to his house to see 'his curiosities'.

⁸⁰² Weintraub, BSD1, 200. Although his note that Hooper was then (in 1886) working for Morris's Kelmscott Press is incorrect given that the press was not established until 1891.

presentation copies'.⁸⁰³ However there were also significant numbers of private press books sold at the auction, including some particularly meaningful mementoes, which evidence suggests he had not actually intended to sell as I explain in due course. During his lifetime Shaw owned books not only by Morris's Kelmscott Press, but by Walker's Doves Press, and by the Ashendene Press of C.H. St. John Hornby, who were at the forefront of the attempts to revive the craftsmanship and aesthetics of the medieval or Renaissance period as manifested in the early printed book. Taken together these three presses represent the most magnificent achievements in the fine press movement, described in the literature as 'the three great English private presses',⁸⁰⁴ with the Kelmscott *Chaucer*, Doves Press *Bible*, and the Ashendene *Tutte le Opere di Dante*, representing the 'triple crown'⁸⁰⁵ of fine press printing.

All three of these books were of great importance to Shaw: he owned the latter two, and although the Kelmscott *Chaucer* was never actually his possession, it assumed additional significance through the connections Shaw made between Rodin and Morris. Shaw had sat for Rodin in 1906, and to express his appreciation, Shaw asked Sydney Cockerell to purchase a copy of the Kelmscott Press edition of the Chaucer to present as a gift to the sculptor, who was, he felt 'extraordinarily like Morris.'⁸⁰⁶ The copy Shaw presented to Rodin was thus obtained on his behalf by Cockerell from Sotheby's⁸⁰⁷ specifically for that purpose, contradicting the existing literature.⁸⁰⁸

Archibald Henderson would later reminisce that Shaw 'presented [Rodin] with a copy of the

⁸⁰³ Laurence and Leary, eds., *Bernard Shaw Flyleaves*, 10.

⁸⁰⁴ Marianne Tidcombe, *The Doves Press* (London and Delaware: The British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2002), vii.

⁸⁰⁵ Colin Franklin, *Triple Crown: Kelmscott, Doves and Ashendene* (Dallas: Bridwell Library, Southern Methodist University, 1977).

⁸⁰⁶ Shaw to Sydney Cockerell, 20 April 1906, CL2, 618.

⁸⁰⁷ William S. Peterson uncovered the auction details of the particular Kelmscott Press Chaucer that was purchased by Shaw as a gift for Rodin in 1907, proving that Shaw did not own a copy (presumed to have been a gift to Shaw from Morris in the Shavian literature). See William S. Peterson and Sylvia Holton Peterson, *The Kelmscott Chaucer: A Census* (Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, 2011), 28; 153. Peterson lists the provenance as follows: 'Sotheby, 23 January 1907, lot 261 [Library of the late Samuel Eyres Wilson, Esq., Bedford Square] (sold to Sydney Cockerell for George Bernard Shaw for £49). Shaw to Auguste Rodin (gift from Shaw, 13 July 1907).' Charlotte's diary supports this: 'Cockerell called with Kelmscott Chaucer'. BL Add. MS 63190 E, diary entry for 23 January 1907; and Cockerell wrote to a friend: 'I bought one for Bernard Shaw the other day at Sotheby's for £49.' Sydney Cockerell to Harold Peirce, 12 February 1907, in Arthur L. Schwarz, ed., *Dear Mr. Cockerell, Dear Mr. Peirce* (High Wycombe: Rivendale Press, 2006), 106.

⁸⁰⁸ The mistake originated with Dan H. Laurence, who assumed that Shaw's mention of a book 'which Morris gave me' in a letter to the printer William Dana Orcutt (Shaw to Orcutt, 28 August 1903, CL2, 355) was a reference to the Chaucer, however this is incorrect – it was in fact a reference to the Kelmscott Press edition of *The Poems of William Shakespeare* (1893), as I explain shortly. Gahan repeated the error – see Gahan, 'Fouquet's Boccaccio', 83. Pharand too commented on Shaw's letter to Orcutt: 'the book which Morris gave Shaw is most likely the magnificent Kelmscott edition of *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*.' Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and his Publishers*, 90. Shaw's gift to Rodin is now in the Bibliothèque du Musée Rodin.

Kelmscott Chaucer⁸⁰⁹ after they had all lunched together at Adelphi Terrace, and Shaw replied: ‘In that very copy of the Kelmscott Chaucer I wrote these lines [12 July 1907]:

I have seen two masters at work, Morris who made this book,
The other Rodin the Great, who fashioned my head in clay:
I give the book to Rodin, scrawling my name in a nook
Of the shrine their works shall hallow when mine are dust by the way.⁸¹⁰

Although Shaw wanted to mark Rodin’s great artistic achievement through the presentation of what he viewed as a masterpiece, there was nevertheless a reforming element to Shaw’s gift, as he remarked to Cockerell that Rodin did ‘not know what a book is. He has Pliny in 20 volumes, Quintilian in a lot more...He knows absolutely nothing about books – thinks they are things to be read.’⁸¹¹ Shaw, exhibiting his connoisseurial position, declares the importance of sight as a means of sensual discrimination in the formation of taste.⁸¹² Many years later Shaw would again write to Cockerell on this topic: ‘Rodin had evidently never considered books as objects of art: his collection was one of presentation copies, modern éditions de luxe in crimson and gold, which Morris would have thrown into the dustbin. I thought the Chaucer might educate him a bit on that side.’⁸¹³

Although the Chaucer did not form part of Shaw’s collection, he possessed several other Kelmscott Press books. Figure 92 shows a page from Shaw’s copy of *The Story of Sigurd the Volsung and the Fall of the Niblungs*,⁸¹⁴ printed by the Kelmscott Press in 1898, using the gothic style Chaucer and Troy typeface. The book featured two illustrations by Burne-Jones, with decorative borders that ‘were almost the last that Morris designed.’⁸¹⁵ Morris stated that of all his books, he wanted *Sigurd* ‘more especially embodied in the most beautiful form I can give it.’⁸¹⁶ *The Story of Sigurd*, like the Kelmscott Chaucer, symbolized the integrity of hand-craft and artistic collaboration: Burne-Jones’s illustrations were drawn by Catterson-

⁸⁰⁹ Archibald Henderson, *Table-Talk of G.B.S.* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1925), 90.

⁸¹⁰ Shaw, quoted in Henderson, *Table-Talk of G.B.S.*, 90. This inscription has been frequently quoted in the literature; see Henderson, *Playboy and Prophet*, 739; Weintraub, *Shaw An Autobiography 1898-1950*, 67; Weintraub, LAS, 411; Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and the French*, 231.

⁸¹¹ Shaw to Sydney Cockerell, 20 April 1906, CL2, 618.

⁸¹² For more on this topic in the context of the eighteenth century, see Katie Scott, ‘Introduction: Image-Object-Space’, in Scott and Cherry, eds., *Between Luxury and the Everyday*, 6.

⁸¹³ Shaw to Sydney Cockerell, 28 July 1944. (HRC, II, 35.4).

⁸¹⁴ NTIN 3063781.

⁸¹⁵ William S. Peterson, *A Bibliography of the Kelmscott Press* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 102.

⁸¹⁶ William Morris, quoted in Florence S. Boos, ‘A Critique of the Empty Page: Morris’s “Lesser Arts” at the Kelmscott Press’, in *William Morris and the Art of Everyday Life*, ed. by Wendy Parkins (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 77.

Smith, with the woodblocks engraved by Harcourt Hooper. Shaw declared: ‘the Kelmscott Press ‘raised book manufacture to summit level among the fine arts at the end of the nineteenth century;’⁸¹⁷ and the success of the Press inspired the whole private press movement of bookbinders and bookmaking in England. Morris, Shaw felt, was ‘one of the greatest printers of all the centuries.’⁸¹⁸

The Story of Sigurd is the only extant artefact at Shaw’s Corner from Shaw’s original collection of seven Kelmscott Press books. Four others were sold at the Sotheby’s sale of 1949 (*A Dream of John Ball*, 1892⁸¹⁹; *The Life of Thomas Wolsey*, 1893⁸²⁰; *Sidonia the Sorceress*, 1893⁸²¹; and *The Poems of William Shakespeare*, 1893), whilst two are unaccounted for (*News from Nowhere*, 1892⁸²²; and *A Note by William Morris on his Aims in Founding the Kelmscott Press*, 1898⁸²³). It is not known exactly when Shaw acquired *The Story of Sigurd*, but it appears in the Adelphi Terrace Inventory of 1908.⁸²⁴ Printed after Morris’s death, there were personal reasons for Shaw to hold onto the book: during the early 1890s Morris had presented him with his own copy of *Sigurd* (probably the edition published by Ellis and White in 1876⁸²⁵). Shaw tells the story of Morris’s gift in ‘Morris as I Knew Him’, recalling how Morris would recite passages from *Sigurd*: ‘After one of these recitations

⁸¹⁷ Shaw, quoted in Laurence and Leary, eds., *Bernard Shaw Flyleaves*, 45. Shaw’s comments were inscribed in a copy of John Bunyan, *The Life and Death of Mr. Badman*, 1900, Heinemann.

⁸¹⁸ Shaw to Dana Orcutt, 28 August 1903, CL2, 353.

⁸¹⁹ *A Dream of John Ball and a King’s Lesson*, by William Morris (Kelmscott Press, 1892), octavo; sold at Sotheby’s, 25 July 1949, lot 36, vellum edition; listed in the Adelphi Terrace Inventory, 1908, 46. May Morris had presented Shaw with an earlier copy of *A Dream of John Ball*, (published by Reeves & Turner, 1888) on the occasion of his 32nd birthday, so his acquisition of the Kelmscott Press version had personal associations. May’s gift did not appear in any of the auction catalogues, and is no longer in the collection, so presumably it was lost when Shaw vacated his rooms at Fitzroy square. A letter accompanied her gift: ‘I send here a little book to remind you that tomorrow is the 26 July...’ [annotated in pencil by Shaw: ‘this was a copy of *A Dream of John Ball*’]. May Morris to Shaw, letter dated 25 July 1888, BL Add. MS 50541, f.90. The book appears on Reverend Mavor Morell’s bookshelves in *Candida*, alongside ‘other literary landmarks in Socialism’: copies of the *Fabian Essays*, and Marx’s *Capital*. (I, 517).

⁸²⁰ *The Life of Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal Archbishop of York*, by George Cavendish (Kelmscott Press, 1893), octavo; vellum edition sold at Sotheby’s 25 July 1949, lot 37. Listed in the Adelphi Terrace Inventory, 1908, 46.

⁸²¹ *Sidonia the Sorceress*, by William Meinhold translated by Lady Wilde (Kelmscott Press, 1893), quarto; sold at Sotheby’s 25 July 1949, lot 127; vellum edition. The book was possibly acquired after 1908, as it does not appear in the Adelphi Terrace Inventory. Aubrey Beardsley, a friend of Morris’s biographer Aymer Vallance, submitted a frontispiece to *Sidonia the Sorceress*, but this was rejected by Morris. The book was a favourite among aesthetes such as Burne-Jones and Rossetti.

⁸²² *News from Nowhere: Or, An Epoch of Rest, Being Some Chapters from a Utopian Romance* by William Morris (Kelmscott Press, 1893). Listed in the Adelphi Terrace Inventory, 1908, 46; present whereabouts unknown. The book did not feature in the 1949 sale.

⁸²³ *A Note by William Morris on his Aims in Founding the Kelmscott Press together with a Short Description of the Press* by S.C. Cockerell (Kelmscott Press, 1898). Listed in the Adelphi Terrace Inventory, 1908, 46; present whereabouts unknown. The book did not feature in the 1949 sale.

⁸²⁴ Adelphi Terrace Inventory, 1908, 43. According to Peterson, Shaw was on the Kelmscott Press list of potential customers; see Peterson, *The Kelmscott Press*, 191; 193.

⁸²⁵ The volume remains untraced. Other artefacts in the collection are supposedly the gift of Morris to Shaw, such as the walking stick in the hall, (NTIN 1274729), however this story is unsubstantiated.

he sat down beside me. I said ‘That is the stuff for me: there is nothing like it,’ whereupon he presented me with the copy he had read from.’⁸²⁶

Shaw had originally wanted to keep another book that was dear to him: his copy of *The Poems of William Shakespeare* (1893), inscribed with the words ‘to Bernard Shaw from William Morris’.⁸²⁷ This is the only Kelmscott Press book known to have been given to Shaw by Morris, and was the book referred to by him in a letter to Orcutt where he outlines his Morris-inspired aesthetic ideals regarding book design: ‘I have a book which Morris gave me – a single copy – by selling which I could cover the whole cost of setting up the ‘Superman’; and its value is due solely to its having been manufactured in the way I advocate...Kelmscott books and the Doves Press books of Morris’s friends Walker and Cobden Sanderson fetch fancy prices before the ink is thoroughly dry.’⁸²⁸ Morris’s gift was probably kept at Shaw’s Corner at this time, as it was not among the Kelmscott Press books listed in the Adelphi Terrace Inventory. This book was sold by mistake in 1949 at the Sotheby’s sale of Shaw’s books. Before the sale Shaw made his wishes clear in a letter to Cockerell: ‘I shall keep the Kelmscott Shakespear [sic] Sonnets which Morris gave me autographed.’⁸²⁹

It is not surprising that the error was made, as Shaw got into a muddle over the movement of various books between Ayot, Whitehall Court and Sotheby’s, and was trying to orchestrate the removal of allocated lots without coming to London. Weintraub has claimed that ‘up for auction at Sotheby’s were shelves of books he had emptied from the flat he was vacating at Whitehall Court.’⁸³⁰ Yet also included in the sale were items from Shaw’s Corner, as the catalogue acknowledged,⁸³¹ not all of which were intended for sale. Part of the fault lies with Shaw, as he admitted to Nancy Astor that he ‘did not bother to study the catalogues.’⁸³² Shaw

⁸²⁶ Shaw, ‘Morris as I Knew Him’, 39. Shaw had tremendous admiration for Morris’s work, calling it ‘the greatest epic since Homer’. (‘Morris as I Knew Him’, 39). Shaw first mentions Sinfiotli, a character from *Sigurd*, in a book review of 1886, indicating that he was familiar with the story by this date. See Shaw ‘Memoirs of a Famous Fiddler’, 5 July 1886, reprinted in Tyson, ed., *Bernard Shaw Book Reviews*, vol. 1, 156.

⁸²⁷ See Appendix 3: Sotheby & Co, 25 July 1949, lot 38, octavo, ‘Kelmscott Press, Shakespeare (Wm.) Poems, PRESENTATION COPY to Bernard Shaw from William Morris, printed in red and black, woodcut borders, initials, vellum with ties.’ (Capital letters are present in the original text).

⁸²⁸ Shaw to William Dana Orcutt, 28 August 1903, CL2, 355; see also Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and His Publishers*, 89.

⁸²⁹ Shaw to Sydney Cockerell, 14 July 1944, quoted in Viola Meynell, ed., *The Best of Friends*, 124.

⁸³⁰ Stanley Weintraub, ‘Who’s Afraid of Virginia Woolf?: Virginia and G.B.S.’, in *SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, vol. 21, ed. by Gale K. Larson (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 41.

⁸³¹ The Sotheby’s catalogue title included the words: ‘removed from 4 Whitehall Court SW1, and Ayot St. Lawrence, Welwyn’.

⁸³² Shaw to Nancy Astor, 27 June 1949, quoted in HOL3, 506. Laurence notes that ‘the Corvinus Press Lawrence and the Elgar *Severn Suite* were misplaced, and the books reached Sotheby’s too late for inclusion in the catalogue.’ Laurence and Leary, eds., *Bernard Shaw Flyleaves*, 11.

wrote to Patch in May 1949 shortly before the sales began: ‘do not dream of “sorting things out”. It would take you months, and probably kill you. And the furniture MUST be got out on Wednesday. Just empty the drawers out in a heap on the floor higgledypiggledy.’⁸³³ The chaotic arrangements, with Shaw at Ayot and Patch in London, meant that meaningful artefacts were sold by mistake.

Shaw was desperate for money during the 1940s as I have shown in the introduction, owing to his concerns over the war taxation and death duties.⁸³⁴ Shaw made this clear in a letter to Cockerell prior to the Sotheby’s sale of his books: ‘I must tell you that in this sale I am out for money: HARD...So for the rest of the year my name is Harpagon; and I shall make certain books more saleable by every trick in my power. Money, money, money I must have.’⁸³⁵ There is no doubt that Shaw sold many of his books to raise funds, but there was also pressure from Laden at Shaw’s Corner, as her reminiscences record: ‘His rooms were cluttered up with things; statues, pictures, old maps, and-oh! *books*. We had *so* many books in the house. Stacks and stacks of them... “Why don’t you get rid of some of your books and clear some space?” I once asked him. “Books are beautiful things,” he replied, and he would not budge on that.’⁸³⁶ Weintraub pointed out that in the Sotheby’s sale Shaw’s copy of Beardsley’s *Morte D’Arthur* ‘brought only £58...[and] a presentation copy of *A Room of One’s Own* from Virginia Woolf brought a meagre £6.10;’⁸³⁷ yet Shaw’s beloved Kelmscott Press *Poems of Shakespeare* raised the paltry sum of £20.⁸³⁸ Shaw’s complaint to Cockerell afterwards reveals his regret and disappointment: ‘Morris has slumped. My Kelmscotts went for nothing.’⁸³⁹

Other important books remained in the collection however: the Doves Press *Bible* (1903-05)⁸⁴⁰ in five volumes can today be seen in the drawing room, the masterpiece of the Doves Press. Figure 93 shows the Doves typeface on the opening page of the first chapter of Genesis (now one of the most famous pages in the history of printing), owing much to the fifteenth century Venetian printer Nicolas Jenson, with the initial and heading in red designed by

⁸³³ Shaw to Patch, 23 May 1949, CL4, 849.

⁸³⁴ See note 203.

⁸³⁵ Shaw to Sydney Cockerell, 26 May 1949. (HRC, II, 35.4). Parts of this letter have been published in Laurence and Leary, eds., *Bernard Shaw Flyleaves*, 9; and in HOL3, 507. Harpagon was the miser from Molière’s play, who was obsessed with wealth and saving money.

⁸³⁶ Laden, in Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager*, 29.

⁸³⁷ Weintraub, ‘Who’s Afraid of Virginia Woolf?: Virginia and G.B.S.’, 41.

⁸³⁸ Laurence and Leary, eds., *Bernard Shaw Flyleaves*, 12.

⁸³⁹ Shaw to Sydney Cockerell, 30 July 1949. (HRC, II, 35.4).

⁸⁴⁰ Shaw’s Doves Press Bible was listed in the Adelphi Terrace Inventory, 1908, 43. (NTIN 3155999).

Edward Johnston. In 1905 Shaw declared: ‘Since Morris’s death the finest books produced in England, as far as I know, are the Ashendene Press books of Mr. Hornby, and the Doves Press books of Cobden Sanderson and Emery Walker.’⁸⁴¹ Shaw would explain the visual appeal of the Doves Press: ‘When my late friends Emery Walker and Cobden-Sanderson produced their famous Doves Bible...I appreciated the gain in the richness of the colour distribution of the black and white, a point dear to artistic printers and fanciers of medieval manuscripts.’⁸⁴²

Besides the artistic appreciation, the Doves *Bible* is also a testament to Shaw’s longstanding friendship with Walker.⁸⁴³ He had written to the publisher Grant Richards in 1897: ‘Emery Walker...will look after me like a brother. He is the guide, philosopher & friend of many publishers in the matter of illustrated books... He is also a first rate authority on printing, and personally an almost reprehensibly amiable man.’⁸⁴⁴ Charlotte wrote to Walker: ‘I always feel you are G.B.S.’s best friend.’⁸⁴⁵ Shaw was also friendly with Cobden-Sanderson the co-founder of the Press, whose bindery had served the Kelmscott Press; and in 1907 Cobden-Sanderson presented Shaw with a copy of the Doves Press edition of Goethe’s *Faust: ein Tragoedie*, (1906) which remains in the collection.⁸⁴⁶ A later volume of Goethe’s *Auserlesene Lieder Gedichte und Balladen: ein Strauss* (1916), produced and edited by Cobden-Sanderson survives⁸⁴⁷; whilst three further Doves Press volumes were sold at Sotheby’s in 1949, and one is unaccounted for.⁸⁴⁸

The Ashendene Press was a small private press founded in 1895 and managed by C.H. St. John Hornby, a friend of Walker’s and also a partner in the firm W.H. Smith and Son. In

⁸⁴¹ Shaw, in his review of *Author and Printer*, 1905, in Tyson, ed. *Bernard Shaw Book Reviews, Vol.2*, 216.

⁸⁴² Shaw to Laurence Housman, *The London Mercury and Bookman*, 219 (January 1938), 327. In this context, Shaw was replying to Housman regarding his article on the Bible (published in the previous issue) and was actually arguing that the arrangement of the text in the Doves Bible made it somewhat inaccessible for the modern reader, though beautiful. I return to this point shortly.

⁸⁴³ Charlotte was friends with Emery and Dorothy Walker too, and a volume in the library entitled *Daneway: A Fairy Play for Emery Walker* (1929) produced by Loyd Haberly at the Seven Acres Press, was possibly a gift to her from the Walkers. NTIN 3063744. The binding is stamped ‘CFS’. Walker had also presented a copy to Sydney Cockerell. Haberly would later become the controller at the Gregynog Press.

⁸⁴⁴ Shaw to Grant Richards, 21 May 1897, CL1, 766-67.

⁸⁴⁵ Charlotte Shaw to Emery Walker, 2 April 1931. (HRC, IV, 65.1).

⁸⁴⁶ Inscribed ‘To G. Bernard Shaw 15 May 1907 from T.J. Cobden-Sanderson’; title page inscribed ‘G’ Bernard Shaw’; bound by Cobden-Sanderson at the Doves Press bindery in vellum, with gold lettered spine. NTIN 3063752. Listed in the Adelphi Terrace Inventory, 1908, 46.

⁸⁴⁷ NTIN 3063665; inscribed ‘G. Bernard Shaw.’

⁸⁴⁸ Sotheby & Co, 25 July 1949; the Doves Press volumes sold were as follows: lot 14, Cobden-Sanderson, *London* (1906); lot 15, Robert Browning, *Men and Women* (1908); lot 16, *Catalogue Raisonné of Books Printed and Published at the Doves Press 1900-16* (1916). Also listed in the Adelphi Terrace Inventory, (1908, 46), was the Doves Press edition of John Ruskin’s *Unto this Last*, present whereabouts unknown.

terms of the ‘triple crown’ of the private presses, Shaw’s copy of Dante’s *Tutte le Opere* by the Ashendene Press (1909) was also sold,⁸⁴⁹ despite being described by Shaw as ‘one of the great books of the world.’⁸⁵⁰ The real loss to the Shaw’s Corner collection however is Shaw’s precious Ashendene Press version of *La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri* (1902-05) in three volumes (figure 94), set in the ‘Subiaco’ type designed by Walker in collaboration with Cockerell, with illustrations by Catterson-Smith. The books were gifts from Sydney Cockerell (before 1908⁸⁵¹), but are missing from the collection. Shaw wrote to Cockerell revealing his attachment to these three volumes in particular, formed through the discourse of connoisseurship and the bond of friendship: ‘I wont part with the little Dante, as I have a special affection for it.’⁸⁵² He reinforced his attachment to the books again two years later: ‘I have two Ashendene Dantes. I prefer the small one illustrated by Botticelli-Catterson Smith, which you gave me.’⁸⁵³ Shaw is also displaying here his admiration for the work of his old school friend Catterson-Smith, this contemporary ‘Botticelli’ who would later become headmaster of the Central School of Art, Birmingham. Shaw praised the fact that he took: ‘the common English boy, with no more than a common taste for drawing, and elicited from him drawings that have all the medieval qualities.’⁸⁵⁴

Shaw’s library originally contained examples of many other private press books by the Cranach⁸⁵⁵, Golden Cockerel, Gregynog, Cuala, Pear Tree, Corvinus, Aquila, and Nonesuch Presses. Although many of these were sold in the Sotheby’s sale of 1949, there are still several fine specimens of their work at Shaw’s Corner. Shaw and Charlotte were friends with the Irishman George Lionel Seymour (Viscount Carlow) who founded the Corvinus Press in

⁸⁴⁹ Sold at Sotheby & Co, 25 July 1949, lot 169. Shaw’s Ashendene Dante *Tutte le Opere* was purchased by Apsley Cherry-Garrard for £110; see Laurence and Leary, eds., *Bernard Shaw Flyleaves*, 24. (Holroyd gives the figure as £115; HOL3, 506).

⁸⁵⁰ Shaw, quoted in Laurence and Leary, eds., *Bernard Shaw Flyleaves*, 24. As Laurence notes, Shaw makes a reference to ‘Acland’ and the Ashendene Press, where he means Hornby. (15; 57).

⁸⁵¹ The books are listed as ‘Dante, Ashendene Press, bound in vellum, 3 volumes’ in the Adelphi Terrace Inventory, 1908, 46.

⁸⁵² Shaw to Sydney Cockerell, 14 July 1944, quoted in Viola Meynell, ed., *The Best of Friends*, 124.

⁸⁵³ Shaw to Sydney Cockerell, 22 May 1946, quoted in Viola Meynell, ed., *The Best of Friends*, 173. Here Shaw is comparing Catterson-Smith with the Italian Renaissance painter. Catterson-Smith had made the drawings for this edition from the woodcuts in the 1497 edition.

⁸⁵⁴ Shaw, ‘Consolations and Responsibilities’ [part III of ‘Joy Riding at the Front’, from *The Daily Chronicle*, 8 March 1917], in Shaw, *What I Really Wrote About the War* (London: Constable, 1931), 264.

⁸⁵⁵ Shaw was friends with Count Harry Kessler, who established his Cranach Press in 1913. Shaw owned the Press’s magnum opus: a beautiful edition of Shakespeare’s *Hamlet* (1930) with woodcuts by Edward Gordon Craig. It was sold at Sotheby & Co, 25 July 1949, lot 179. Shaw wrote in the flyleaf that the book was ‘a masterpiece of modern book design and printing’; see Laurence and Leary, eds., *Bernard Shaw Flyleaves*, 15.

London in 1936 and published T.E. Lawrence's *Two Arabic Folk Tales* (1937).⁸⁵⁶ Figure 95 shows the title page with woodcut illustrations by the artist Eric Kennington, who was also friendly with the Shaws, and provided the design on the dust-jacket for *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism*.⁸⁵⁷ (Figure 96). Shaw also patronized another Irish private press: the Cuala Press established by the Yeats sisters. Although many examples of their work were sold,⁸⁵⁸ more ephemeral items from Cuala survive in the collection. Figure 97 for example shows a page from the Cuala Press publication *A Broadside* (1911). Shaw supported Lily and Elizabeth Yeats's Cuala Press, for whom Walker was an advisor, sending 'a gift to the Press of £300 through Lily'.⁸⁵⁹ Shaw promised Cuala a book on the basis that he had control of the proofs 'with a view entirely to the look of the page',⁸⁶⁰ and they eventually published his letters to Florence Farr in 1941.

One of the most important English private presses to interest Shaw was the Golden Cockerel Press, which produced beautiful limited editions on hand-made paper, with the type hand-set. Famed for the use of wood engravings, an example of the work of the Golden Cockerel Press remaining in the collection is *The True History of Lucian the Samosatene* (1927) with illustrations by Robert Gibbings (Figure 98).⁸⁶¹ An engraver and sculptor, and one of the founder members of the Society of Wood Engravers, Gibbings took over the running of the press in 1924, and commissioned engravings from John Farleigh, who would later illustrate Shaw's work, and other engravers Shaw admired including Agnes Parker Miller. As I explain shortly, Shaw would have various disputes with Gibbings; however he continued to purchase many items from the Golden Cockerel Press over the years. Six items were sold at Sotheby's,

⁸⁵⁶ NTIN 3062570; see also the Corvinus Press edition of Lawrence's *An Essay on Flecker*, 1937, inscribed: 'Another book for G.B.S. and Mrs. Shaw from Carlow.' No. 26 of 30 copies. NTIN 3063854. Shaw sold three further Corvinus Press books at Sotheby's, 25 July 1949; and Lawrence's *A Letter from T.E. Lawrence to His Mother* (1936), was sold at a later sale by Sotheby's on 15 November 1949.

⁸⁵⁷ Receipt from Eric Kennington to Shaw: 'July 1 [1928], Rec'd from G.B. Shaw £21 (twenty guineas) for a picture. Eric H. Kennington.' Shaw has written beneath: 'Design for jacket of the first edition of *The Intelligent Woman's Guide*'. (BUR, II, 8.12).

⁸⁵⁸ See Sotheby & Co, 25 July 1949, where seven Cuala Press volumes were sold. These included *O'Leary*, with illustrations by Jack Yeats; given that the painter was a favourite of Charlotte's, this volume may have been hers.

⁸⁵⁹ W.M. Murphy, *Family Secrets: William Butler Yeats and his Relatives* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 453. Shaw first met Lily Yeats at the Walker's house, 15 January 1891. (BSD2, 697). Shaw had met her brother W.B. Yeats at Kelmscott House on 12 February 1888. (BSD1, 348).

⁸⁶⁰ W.M. Murphy, *Family Secrets*, 261.

⁸⁶¹ NTIN 3061793. No.92 of an edition of 275.

and a further two purchases from 1946 and 1947 are untraced.⁸⁶² The celebrated binders Francis Sangorski and George Sutcliffe⁸⁶³ bound many of the Golden Cockerel books in leather, and Shaw's copy of *The True History of Lucian the Samosatene* provides an example of their work.

The bindings of books mattered greatly to Shaw. It is important to observe that when he praised Cobden-Sanderson's bindings at the first Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society display in 1888 (in his role as art critic), he viewed them from the start very much through a collector's eye: 'he binds books, and makes them pleasant to look at, pleasant to handle, pleasant to open and shut, pleasant to possess.'⁸⁶⁴ If we examine further books in the collection, we see that several fine bindings survive. Shaw was friends with many of the most famous binders associated with the Arts and Crafts and private presses, including Cobden-Sanderson as we have already witnessed, but also Katharine Adams and Cedric Chivers, with Douglas Cockerell being the greatest influence.

Douglas Cockerell was director of the book-binding workshop at W.H. Smith & Sons, Letchworth, from 1904-14, and he became a distinguished master bookbinder. Douglas's business appealed to Shaw on the basis that he attempted to extend his work 'across the boundaries of the commercial and private presses.'⁸⁶⁵ But this did not mean relinquishing quality: fine materials and technical ability remained priorities.⁸⁶⁶ He had set up his own bindery in 1897, following a period as Cobden-Sanderson's apprentice, and later founded Douglas Cockerell & Son in 1924. Douglas also taught at the Central School of Arts and Crafts, publishing widely on the subject, and a few of his educational books such as *Some Notes on Bookbinding*, and *Bookbinding as a School Subject*, both gifts to Shaw, are in the collection.⁸⁶⁷

⁸⁶² See Sotheby & Co, 25 July 1949; one of the volumes sold (lot 115) was the *Passio Domini Nostri Jesu Christi*, with wood engravings by Eric Gill, 1926. Other non-private press books (published by J.M. Dent) survive at Shaw's Corner with Gill's illustrations, for example Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* (NTIN 3154977); *King John* (NTIN 3154993); and *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (NTIN 3154996). For the untraced books, see the Golden Cockerel Press invoices at LSE regarding Shaw's purchase of *Supper at Beaucaire* (1945), 22 February 1946, LSE Shaw Business Papers 25/8, f.11; and Patrick de Heriz, *La Belle O'Morphi: A Brief Biography* (1947), 16 October 1947, LSE Shaw Business Papers 25/9, f.101.

⁸⁶³ Sangorski & Sutcliffe had studied under Shaw's friend Douglas Cockerell and established their own successful bindery in 1901. After Sangorski's death, Sutcliffe continued the business, binding books for the Golden Cockerel and Ashdene Presses, but also for Bumpus's bookshop.

⁸⁶⁴ Shaw, *The World*, 3 October 1888, in Weintraub, LAS, 238.

⁸⁶⁵ Sophia Wilson, 'Private Press Books', in Greensted and Wilson, eds., *Originality and Initiative*, 115.

⁸⁶⁶ Sophia Wilson, 'Private Press Books', in Greensted and Wilson, eds., *Originality and Initiative*, 115.

⁸⁶⁷ NTIN 3201791, inscribed: 'To Geo. Bernard Shaw from DC, 27.10.30.'; NTIN 3201800, inscribed: 'G. Bernard Shaw from D.C. 10/10/30.'

Receipts show that both the Shaws were customers over a great many years, and this relationship extended beyond business into friendship, with Douglas lunching at Shaw's Corner.⁸⁶⁸ Various artefacts survive as a testament to this, including Douglas's special binding for Shaw's *The Intelligent Woman's Guide*.⁸⁶⁹ His original drawing dating from 1927 for the blocks for the cloth cover, forming a Celtic design to be blocked in gold and dark green, is in the HRC. (Figure 99).⁸⁷⁰ Douglas's firm also bound numerous volumes of Shaw's music (figure 100).⁸⁷¹ But the most poignant object, one of the real treasures of the Shaw's Corner collection, is the volume belonging to Charlotte that Shaw had re-bound by Douglas as a present for her. (Figure 101). The book entitled *Natural History of Remarkable Insects* (1822) bears her signature and a touching inscription from Shaw: 'Discovered by me, husband of the above. G. Bernard Shaw 1937.' Beneath this, Douglas has written: 'Mended and bound by Douglas Cockerell & Son 1938.'⁸⁷² The binding in brown morocco features a spider's web design on both boards tooled in gold, with '1938' in the centre of the web on one side, and 'CFS' on the other. A series of little gold spiders adorn the spine. (Figure 102). Shaw continued to give commissions to his son Sydney (who achieved particular distinction as a producer of fine marbled papers) even after Douglas's death in 1945.

One commission from Shaw dating to 1945 was for the repair of the binding to his *Eikon Basilike: The Pourtraicture of His Sacred Majestie in His Solitudes and Sufferings* (1649).⁸⁷³ (Figure 103). The *Eikon Basilike* (The Royal Portrait) was based on the writings of King Charles I.⁸⁷⁴ The floral embroidery binding consisting of seventeenth-century silk covers on boards, was in a fragile state however when Shaw acquired it, and badly needed repairing. The book was a gift from the artist Hazel Lavery, the wife of the painter John Lavery, both of whom would later paint Shaw. The story was recounted in a letter from Shaw to Sydney Cockerell in May 1924:

The other day Lady Lavery thrust into my hand, saying "There's a present

⁸⁶⁸ See for example Charlotte's diary, 18 January 1912, 'Douglas Cockerell lunched.' BL Add. MS 63190 J.

⁸⁶⁹ NTIN 3018929.

⁸⁷⁰ HRC Art Collection, Box 483. Dated and signed 'Douglas Cockerell, 19.11.27' on an accompanying note.

⁸⁷¹ Receipts from Douglas Cockerell & Sons at LSE show orders from Shaw for similar bindings: 'in brown oasis Morocco with gold and blind tooling'. The latter referred to Shaw's order for the rebinding of *Ein Wagner Brevier*. Receipt dated 22 December 1947, LSE Shaw Business Papers 25/9, f.118; see also Shaw's order for rebinding a bible in a similar way, 17 September 1947, LSE Shaw Business Papers 25/9, f.91. The cost for each was £5-5s; and £5, respectively.

⁸⁷² NTIN 3061859. Stamped 'D.C. & Son 1938.'

⁸⁷³ NTIN 3063615. The frontispiece, depicting Charles I as a Christian martyr, is missing in Shaw's copy.

⁸⁷⁴ Published ten days following his execution, on 9 February 1649, it was viewed as his spiritual autobiography, and the text assumed the importance of a relic, a symbol of the King's martyrdom.

for you because Father Leonard says you are a good Catholic,” a duodecimo (or thereabouts) book with a silk brocade cover stitched on to it, very old. On opening it I found that it was a copy of *Eikon Basilike*, dated 1648, which was betimes, as Charles, whose last words are given, was executed in 1649. [n.p.] Is this book valuable? Lady Lavery says she picked it up in the Charing Cross Road for “some pence.” I propose to read the book; sell it; and give her the money, if there is enough in the transaction to excuse its sordidness. Except for the cover, the copy seems perfect, and the print is very clear.⁸⁷⁵

Dan Laurence provided the National Trust with information about the book in 1980, claiming that ‘since Shaw didn’t sell it, we may presume that Cockerell had informed him that it did not have very great monetary value.’⁸⁷⁶ There may ultimately, however, have been other more personal reasons for Shaw’s decision to keep the book that went beyond pecuniary concerns: his friendship with the Laverys, and as part of this, he may have wished to keep it as a memento given Hazel’s early death in 1935. A print of Hazel’s painting of Shaw survives in Shaw’s album of photographs of family and friends in the British Library which provides further evidence of their closeness, and is inscribed: ‘With love from the painter to the Genuis, November 1925, London.’⁸⁷⁷ Shaw did not merely store the book away, he took good care of it and had it repaired by Douglas Cockerell’s firm in 1945. The receipt reads: ‘To resizing, repairing & rebinding embroidered Eikon Basilike.’⁸⁷⁸ The book was among the artefacts returned to Shaw’s Corner in 1962 by the Public Trustee, according to a newspaper report. (Figure 104).⁸⁷⁹

At the other end of the spectrum was the commission Shaw gave Cockerell & Son in the same year: the binding of the manuscripts of four of his early novels, which he presented in 1946 to the National Library of Ireland in twelve volumes. As Grene has pointed out, this was a ‘major undertaking in both time and money, taking an estimated 500-600 hours, and costing

⁸⁷⁵ Shaw to Sydney Cockerell, 27 May 1924, quoted in Viola Meynell, ed., *The Best of Friends*, 36.

⁸⁷⁶ Dan H. Laurence, letter to the National Trust, 2 October 1980, Shaw’s Corner Archive.

⁸⁷⁷ BL Add. MS 50582A, f.43.

⁸⁷⁸ The cost of the repair was £1-15-0. Receipt dated 29 August 1945, addressed to Shaw from Douglas Cockerell & Son, Letchworth. The receipt is signed ‘R.P.’: this refers to Roger Powell, who had joined the firm in 1935, and worked alongside Douglas’s son Sydney M. Cockerell in the business after Douglas’s death. (BUR, II, 8.6).

⁸⁷⁹ ‘Shaw’s Treasure-chest’, *The Evening News and Star*, 16 June 1962. (MM). Personal artefacts belonging to Shaw, including the *Eikon Basilike*, fountain pens, spectacles, a pocket watch, and membership cards had been removed from the house and put into storage by the Public Trustee soon after Shaw’s death: these thirty two items of ‘Shaviana’ were later rediscovered and returned to Shaw’s Corner in 1962.

Shaw a total of £120.⁸⁸⁰ Shaw was photographed in the garden at Shaw's Corner proudly presenting one of the volumes bound by Douglas Cockerell to John Dulanty, the Irish High Commissioner in London. (Figure 105).⁸⁸¹

Whilst Douglas Cockerell, described by Shaw as 'the prince of English bookbinders'⁸⁸² made use of special tooling machinery, another bookbinder he admired was Katharine Adams, who returned exclusively to pre-industrial methods of hand-craft in her work. One of the most famous women bookbinders of the period, Adams had received training from Cobden-Sanderson before establishing her workshop first at Lechlade, near Kelmscott (the Morris family, together with Walker and Sydney Cockerell were friends), then at Broadway, Worcestershire from 1901-1915⁸⁸³ where the Shaws made visits to her Eadburgha Bindery. Adams used tools that had belonged to Cobden-Sanderson (given to her by May Morris), and Shaw would have seen these during visits there in 1911. In December that year Shaw wrote asking her to dine with them at the Lygon Arms, and always interested in her work suggested: 'we can retreat to the bindery after dinner.'⁸⁸⁴

Binding by Adams survives in the Shaw's Corner collection. Delicate gold detailing on leather covers a manuscript belonging to Charlotte's great grandfather *Autograph Poems by Horace Townsend of Derry*. (Figure 106). The binding bears Adams's distinctive monogram stamped in gold.⁸⁸⁵ (Figure 107). Charlotte was greatly pleased with the result, and wrote to thank Katharine in September 1912: 'we are just back [from Germany] and have found the 3 books which we are delighted with. I like them all, but I think my great grandfather's poems will be my favourite.'⁸⁸⁶ One of the other books she refers to here appears to be the gift Shaw ordered from Adams in 1912, possibly for Lillah McCarthy, who had been appearing as the rebellious daughter Margaret Knox in Shaw's *Fanny's First Play* at the Kingsway Theatre. Shaw wrote to Adams, comically assuming the air of a connoisseur who pretends to find her bindings tasteless (when he feels the opposite): 'Could you put the enclosed very dirty little

⁸⁸⁰ Nicholas Grene, 'The National Library of Ireland', 153. See Shaw's letter to John W. Dulanty, where he explains: 'Every page had to be detached, cleaned, mounted on expensive paper and bound by an eminent specialist at a cost of £120.' Shaw to Dulanty, April 1946 [undated], CL4, 765.

⁸⁸¹ This photograph was taken on 23 April 1946: see Shaw's letter to Richard J. Hayes, the Director of the National Library of Ireland (CL4, 766). The image was reproduced in *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*, 110.

⁸⁸² Shaw to Richard J. Hayes, 23 April 1946, CL4, 766.

⁸⁸³ See Marianne Tidcombe, *Women Bookbinders, 1880-1920* (London and Delaware: The British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 1996), 134.

⁸⁸⁴ Shaw to Katharine Adams, 21 December 1911, Bancroft Library (BANC MS 2011/262, Box 2). Five letters from Shaw to Adams are in this collection, dating from 1910 to 1912. Charlotte's diary entry for 23 December 1911 records the visit: 'to Miss Adams' workshop.' BL Add. MS 63190 I.

⁸⁸⁵ Sophia Wilson, 'Private Press Books', in Greensted and Wilson, eds., *Originality and Initiative*, 130-31.

⁸⁸⁶ Charlotte Shaw to Katharine Adams, 9 September 1912. (BANC MS 2011/262, Box 2).

book into some cheap and pretty – not to say tawdry – binding, suitable for a trumpery present to the young lady who plays the improper person in my play. Say two guineas or thereabouts.⁸⁸⁷ Like Charlotte, Shaw was appreciative of her work, and thanked her: ‘I did not return to England until yesterday, or I should have acknowledged the book sooner. Many thanks. The binding is so nice that I rather grudge the book to the lady. GBS.’⁸⁸⁸

Shaw would later refer to another book in a fine binding, possibly bound by Adams, in a letter to Patch in 1947: ‘There is a play by Granville Barker entitled Everytown or something like that. It is folio size, expensively bound in limp yellow calf. It is a very special possession. If you can find it send it to me.’⁸⁸⁹ This particular item is currently untraced, however a further Adams binding covers the Barker text *Our Visitor to Work-a-day* (A play in five acts), 1899, which Shaw donated to the British Library. Shaw made the following inscription in ink inside this volume: ‘This play was presented to my wife by Granville Barker with his instruction that it should be destroyed when read. Instead, she had it bound and kept it carefully until her death in 1943, when it came into my possession. On his death in 1946 I lent it to his publishers to copy, and now present it to the British Museum. G. Bernard Shaw.’⁸⁹⁰ The binding by Adams was tooled in gold featuring an intricately worked floral centrepiece.

Among the many binders represented in the Shaw’s Corner collections the figure of Cedric Chivers stands out, as he, like Douglas and Adams, knew the Shaws personally. As the Mayor of Bath during the 1920s and a successful businessman who helped establish a public lending library, Chivers’s interest in municipal politics inevitably made him appealing to Shaw. He also introduced various innovations into the trade of book-binding. The most beautiful of these was arguably his ‘vellucent’ bindings that became characteristic of his studio. This was the specialized technique of creating hand-painted pictures on the underside of translucent vellum, and then applying this to the book cover. We see an example of this work in the gift Chivers presented to the Shaws as a memento. It marked the occasion of the Shaws’ visit to Bath in 1923 for the unveiling of a tablet dedicated to the Irish playwright Richard Brinsley Sheridan; and a press photograph recorded the event, capturing the Shaws

⁸⁸⁷ Shaw to Katharine Adams, 2 July 1912. (BANC MS 2011/262, Box 2).

⁸⁸⁸ Shaw to Katharine Adams, 9 September 1912. (BANC MS 2011/262, Box 2).

⁸⁸⁹ Shaw to Blanche Patch, 7 January 1947. (HRC, II, 42.2).

⁸⁹⁰ BL C108fa. Shaw’s inscription was quoted in Eric Salmon, *Granville Barker: A Secret Life* (New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1984), 39.

with Chivers. (Figure 108).⁸⁹¹ Chiver's gift was one of Shaw's favourites: Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress: from this World to that which is to come*, bound by Chivers' studio, with the 'vellucent' picture on the upper board, gold tooled on burgundy morocco.⁸⁹² (Figure 109).

The Gregynog Press was another private press and bindery with personal connections for the Shaws, and is represented in the collection by four volumes, although there were originally more.⁸⁹³ The Gregynog Press was established by the art patrons and philanthropists Gwendoline and Margaret Davies of Greygnog Hall, near Newtown, Montgomeryshire, Wales⁸⁹⁴ in 1922, with the aim of producing books in the Arts and Crafts tradition where the emphasis was on wood engravings and fine bindings, printing and typography. Consultants on the Press included Douglas Cockerell and St John Hornby.⁸⁹⁵ According to Cave, the Davies sisters were 'two very well-connected and extremely wealthy Welsh ladies who owned substantial parts of the Rhondda coalfields and Barry Docks, but had a typical guilt about their wealth. To relieve it they wanted to 'do good' with their money in Wales.'⁸⁹⁶

Andrew Stephenson has offered a more nuanced assessment of the sisters as collectors and art patrons, revealing their 'Arts and Crafts beliefs that framed art patronage as a form of cultural philanthropy and civic responsibility.'⁸⁹⁷ There was much for Shaw to admire here in terms of the Morrisian ethics. Creating a forum for the arts and music at Gregynog was part of this ethos. The sisters had also amassed a substantial collection of paintings and prints, many of which were to Shaw's personal taste, including paintings by the French Impressionists, sculpture by Rodin, etchings by Augustus John and Whistler, and prints by Rembrandt and

⁸⁹¹ This photograph is reproduced in Henderson, *Playboy and Prophet*, photograph opposite page 320 (press image, *Bath Herald*).

⁸⁹² NTIN 3201762. The book is inscribed: 'To Mr & Mrs G.B. Shaw on the occasion of their visit to Bath October 26th 1923 from Cedric Chivers.' Stamped in gold on rear 'Cedric Chivers, Bath'; dated 1901. No.13 of 25 copies only, on Japanese vellum. A further book bound by Chivers was a gift to Charlotte (NTIN 3063765), William Enfield, *The Speaker, or Miscellaneous Pieces*, (1795).

⁸⁹³ Shaw sold ten Gregynog Press books at the Sotheby's sale of 1949.

⁸⁹⁴ Shaw was already familiar with North Wales through the Fabian Summer Schools, held at Penrallt Hall, Llanbedr, since 1907; and his good friend the photographer Alvin Langdon Coburn had moved to Harlech in 1920 where Shaw was often a visitor. There was also Wern Fawr at Harlech, designed by Scottish Arts and Crafts architect George Walton for the philanthropist, socialist and aesthete George Davison who knew Shaw through their shared passion for photography, music and art. Like Shaw, Davison became a patron of the Omega Workshops, and they had originally met at the London Camera Club. Shaw also attended musical evenings at Davison's house in Holland Park, and it was here that he probably met the composer Cyril Scott, and the dancer Margaret Morris. For more on Davison, see Karen Moon, *George Walton: Designer and Architect* (Oxford: White Cockade Publishing, 1993).

⁸⁹⁵ Cave, *Fine Printing and Private Presses*, 244, n.10.

⁸⁹⁶ Cave, *Fine Printing and Private Presses*, 23.

⁸⁹⁷ Andrew Stephenson, 'Feminine' Anatomies of Taste and Cultures of Collecting in Early Twentieth Century Britain: Gwendoline and Margaret Davies as Women Art Patrons', *Aurora: The Journal of the History of Art*, 4, 1 (2003), 181.

Dürer.⁸⁹⁸ Shaw probably encountered the Davies sisters as collectors through his membership of the Burlington Fine Arts Club. As Stephenson has discussed, paintings owned by the Davies sisters were shown as part of ‘The French School of the Last One Hundred Years’ exhibition held there in 1922.⁸⁹⁹

Dorothy Harrop, the historian of the Gregynog Press, notes that the ‘Shaws were friends of the sisters and visited Gregynog on several occasions.’⁹⁰⁰ The earliest recorded visit of the Shaws at the Gregynog Press is in 1930;⁹⁰¹ and they stayed at the hall during 1932, and 1933.⁹⁰² Shaw probably became familiar with the Press through Walker or Douglas Cockerell. It is also possible that Shaw knew of the Gregynog Press through Nancy Astor,⁹⁰³ whose influential friend Thomas Jones⁹⁰⁴ was advisor to the Davies sisters and chairman of the Press. Figure 110 shows Shaw with Jones at Gregynog in 1933.⁹⁰⁵ Gwendoline Davies is reported to have said: ‘Charlotte and G.B.S. came over from Malvern. We enjoyed them immensely. We just let him talk – and *we* talked to her!’⁹⁰⁶ Thomas Jones’s diary notes: ‘The great G.B.S. and Mrs. Shaw are among the guests and he is in excellent spirits and full of talk...After dinner, each evening, G.B.S. is reading to us his new [play] *On the Rocks*.’⁹⁰⁷

The earliest Gregynog Press book remaining in the collection is the *Autobiography of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury* (1928),⁹⁰⁸ which is generally recognized as the first masterpiece of the Press, with its fine hand-made paper, typography and engravings by Horace Bray hailed as a triumph when it was published.⁹⁰⁹ Charlotte commissioned a special binding for her copy of Shaw’s *The Intelligent Woman’s Guide to Socialism and Capitalism*

⁸⁹⁸ Bethany McIntyre, *Sisters Select: Works on Paper from the Davies Collection* (Cardiff: National Museums & Galleries of Wales, 2000), 15.

⁸⁹⁹ Andrew Stephenson, ‘Feminine’ Anatomies of Taste and Cultures of Collecting in Early Twentieth Century Britain: Gwendoline and Margaret Davies as Women Art Patrons’, 181.

⁹⁰⁰ Dorothy A. Harrop, *A History of the Gregynog Press* (Pinner: Private Libraries Association, 1980), 51.

⁹⁰¹ Harrop, *A History of the Gregynog Press*, 81.

⁹⁰² The Shaws stayed with the Davies at Gregynog on 26 and 27 August 1932; and again in late August 1933; see Harrop, *A History of the Gregynog Press*, 102; 126.

⁹⁰³ The Shaws first stayed with Nancy Astor at Cliveden in July 1922; see Gibbs, *A Bernard Shaw Chronology*, 245.

⁹⁰⁴ Thomas Jones was also Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet.

⁹⁰⁵ This photograph is from Thomas Jones, *A Diary with Letters*, published between pages 112-13.

⁹⁰⁶ Gwendoline Davies, quoted in Eirene White, *The Ladies of Gregynog* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1985), 44. Shaw wrote in the visitor’s book: ‘days of blessed rest – solo conversationalist, G. Bernard Shaw.’ See Harrop, *A History of the Gregynog Press*, 102.

⁹⁰⁷ Diary entry 27 August 1933, Thomas Jones, *A Diary with Letters*, 112.

⁹⁰⁸ NTIN 3062063. The book bears the ticket of a bookseller Shaw frequently bought from: Hugh Rees Ltd., Regent Street, London. The price was £4-4-0.

⁹⁰⁹ Harrop, *A History of the Gregynog Press*, 47-48. The book is printed using ‘Poliphilus and Blado italic on Batchelor handmade paper.’ (Harrop, *A History of the Gregynog Press*, 188). 1 of 275 copies ‘bound in brown buckram with Herbert arms blocked in gilt on upper cover.’

from the Press in 1930, and George Fisher, who became head of the bindery in 1925 (another former pupil of Douglas Cockerell), carried out the work.⁹¹⁰ Fisher also designed the binding for one of the versions of *Shaw Gives Himself Away: an Autobiographical Miscellany* (1939).⁹¹¹ The Shaw's Corner copy (figure 111) is rare, one of only four copies, specially bound by Fisher using Levant morocco, the gilt frame composed of onlaid bands of red and green, surrounding a design of vertical lines and diamond shapes in gold.⁹¹² Charlotte wrote to Gwendoline Davies to 'express their delight in the book.'⁹¹³

The 'ordinary' version of the Gregynog binding for *Shaw Gives Himself Away* was designed by the artist Paul Nash in dark green oasis, employing a design incorporating abstract letters in orange to form the 'GBS' monogram.⁹¹⁴ (Figure 112). Shaw however was not impressed, and wrote with typical candour 'to say that he did not like the Nash binding.'⁹¹⁵ The wood-engraver John Farleigh, who had achieved enormous success with his designs for Shaw's *The Adventures of the Black Girl in Her Search for God* (1932), had not fared much better during negotiations with Shaw over the frontispiece portrait of the author for *Shaw Gives Himself Away*, and was forced to change the beard to conform to Shaw's exact specifications.⁹¹⁶ (Figure 113). We shall return to the subject of Shaw's interest in wood-engraving shortly, but first it is important to give an account of an over-looked aspect of Shaw's book production, which is directly related to his more connoisseurial endeavours and to his connections with the Gregynog Press: the distinctive green and red fabric covers of his books.

Shaw's shift to the use of a specific shade of green, and then red fabric for the covers of his books published by Constable and Company from 1930 onwards, started when Thomas Jones had shown Shaw a copy of the *History of the Development of Fast Dyeing and Dyes* (1929), a booklet by James Morton,⁹¹⁷ whose textile firm Morton Sundour Fabrics had been revolutionizing fabrics since the early 1900s with new dyes and unfadable cloth. Morton

⁹¹⁰ NTIN 3018932. Binding in red morocco, with gold lettering.

⁹¹¹ NTIN 3063703.

⁹¹² Harrop, *A History of the Gregynog Press*, 167; 207. The cost of this version is unknown, but the Fisher binding was also available in the 'ordinary' cover which cost 9 guineas (a less glamorous binding without the green and red banding); the Nash version cost 3 guineas.

⁹¹³ Charlotte Shaw to Gwendoline Davies, 13 November 1939; quoted in Harrop, *A History of the Gregynog Press*, 167.

⁹¹⁴ NTIN 3063059.

⁹¹⁵ Harrop, *A History of the Gregynog Press*, 168.

⁹¹⁶ Harrop, *A History of the Gregynog Press*, 165-67. Shaw evidently felt that his beard appeared too dark; the subsequent revisions created an extra five hours work for Farleigh. In 1934, Farleigh had produced a wood-engraving of Morris which was published in Crow's catalogue, (*William Morris Designer*, 10), where Farleigh had paid careful attention to the hair and beard. Shaw may have seen this portrait at the Bumpus Exhibition.

⁹¹⁷ See Jocelyn Morton, *Three Generations in a Family Textile Firm* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), 299.

introduced his range of ‘Sundour’ fabrics in 1906.⁹¹⁸ These were the first textiles to be guaranteed against fading by sunlight or washing; and during the 1920s promotional material stressed their use ‘for curtains and furniture coverings of enduring beauty.’⁹¹⁹ (Figure 114) A swatch of fabric samples from the unfadable range shows a few of the beautiful colours available for domestic furnishings. (Figure 115). The firm had strong associations with Morris and the Arts and Crafts movement, since its predecessor Alexander Morton & Co, established by James’s father, had produced the woven textiles of many of the Arts and Crafts designers, including Morris and C.F.A. Voysey.⁹²⁰ James Morton was a passionate admirer of Morris, and had lectured on the subject of fabric dyeing at the Royal Society of the Arts in 1929. This booklet remains in Shaw’s collection.⁹²¹

Shaw had been searching for a new binding cloth, cheaper, but retaining quality, probably in response to the controversy caused by his choice of binding for his *Intelligent Woman’s Guide* (the Celtic design by Douglas Cockerell). Shaw’s Fabian colleague G.D.H. Cole had strongly criticized the book’s visual appearance, and hence cost, in the *Daily Herald* when it was published in 1928, highlighting the discrepancy between the message of socialist equality and the expensive artefact.⁹²² When Douglas Cockerell had been designing the cover, he included a note with the drawing to Shaw: ‘the gold can be omitted from the pattern if it is too costly.’⁹²³ Shaw however had proceeded with the design which included the gold. Such disparity between content and form is evident from three copies of *The Intelligent Woman’s Guide* as they are currently displayed in the Shaw’s Corner store, the spines revealing the sumptuous bindings by an unknown binder, together with the ones by Cockerell and Fisher, in green morocco with gold tooling, cloth decorated with Celtic motifs in green

⁹¹⁸ Lesley Jackson, *Twentieth-Century Pattern Design* (London: Mitchell Beazley, 2002), 23. The Morton Sundour Fabrics branch of the firm Alexander Morton & Co. was officially established in 1914, but had been producing unfadable fabrics since 1906.

⁹¹⁹ Advertisement for Sundour Fabrics, *The Graphic* (14 May 1922), 566.

⁹²⁰ See Lesley Jackson, *Alastair Morton and Edinburgh Weavers: Visionary Textiles and Modern Art* (London: V&A Publishing, 2012), 20-21.

⁹²¹ *History of the Development of Fast Dyeing and Dyes* (1929). NTIN 3062708.

⁹²² G.D.H. Cole argued that he did not understand why Shaw had chosen ‘to dress out his book in an expensive get-up that makes it look to me like a Victorian school-prize, or to equip its jacket with a revolting picture of what appears far less like an intelligent woman than a half-witted devotee of night-clubs. The outside might not matter if it had not affected the price. I sincerely hope Shaw will speedily produce a shorter version, in an ordinary dress, not at 15s., but at half-a-crown.’ G.D.H. Cole, ‘Citizen Equality Shaw’, *The Daily Herald*, 1 June 1928, press cutting. (MM). Constable published the book, and it went on sale for 15 shillings.

⁹²³ Note to Shaw from Douglas Cockerell, dated 19 November 1927. This accompanies the design for the blocks for the cover by Douglas Cockerell (HRC Art Collection, Box 483).

and gold, and red morocco with gold lettering respectively.⁹²⁴ (Figure 116).

In January 1930 Douglas was writing to Shaw about the proofs for the new volumes to be published by Constable, and knowing Shaw's interest in fine bindings was making some suggestions: 'I have put these in half leather cases with marble paper sides... Oxford University Press do a similar binding for Robert Bridges 'Testament of Beauty'.⁹²⁵ In any event, Douglas was concerned that they should 'try to use a more interesting material than any now offered by the Bookbinders Cloth makers.'⁹²⁶ Shaw agreed and permitted Douglas Cockerell to contact Morton regarding the binding of his Collected Works (*The Works of Bernard Shaw: Collected Edition*, 1930-38). Thomas Jones wrote to Charlotte: 'My friend James Morton has been specially consulted by Douglas Cockerell about the binding of the new edition of G.B.'s works.'⁹²⁷ Lunch at Shaw's Corner followed when Shaw discussed the binding with Cockerell, Morton and Jones.⁹²⁸

The outcome was a new product: Sundour unfadable book-cloth, developed specifically for Shaw.⁹²⁹ Morton applied the same technique that he was using to produce unfadable furnishing fabrics to producing book-cloths. Constable's *The Works of Bernard Shaw: Collected Edition* 1930-38, (limited edition, in 33 volumes) was published in green Sundour unfadable book-cloth; and Shaw inscribed a volume to Morton to thank him: 'its dress of eternal green is the work of James Morton, to whom it is gratefully inscribed by Bernard Shaw.'⁹³⁰ When Shaw cast his connoisseur's eye over the 'dummy copy' of the proposed American limited edition of his Collected Works, he replied to Elbridge Adams complaining that the cover of 'buckram' was unsuitable: 'for an *édition de luxe* it is out of the question.' What was needed was 'a beautifully dyed linen like the one in which my English Collected Edition is bound'⁹³¹ Shaw felt. Constable's *Works of Bernard Shaw Standard Edition* 1931-51, (the cheaper version in 37 volumes) were then published in Morton's 'special Venetian

⁹²⁴ The Cockerell and Fisher bindings have already been discussed. The third binding here is by an unknown maker; NTIN 3063015. The book was a gift from Shaw's American publisher Brentano, dated 16 October 1928.

⁹²⁵ Douglas Cockerell to Shaw, 27 January 1930, BL Add. MS 63186, f.60.

⁹²⁶ Douglas Cockerell to Shaw, 27 January 1930, BL Add. MS 63186, f.60.

⁹²⁷ Thomas Jones to Charlotte Shaw; quoted in Jocelyn Morton, *Three Generations in a Family Textile Firm*, 299.

⁹²⁸ Jocelyn Morton, *Three Generations in a Family Textile Firm*, 299.

⁹²⁹ Harrop, *A History of the Gregynog Press*, 86.

⁹³⁰ Shaw's inscription to James Morton, quoted in Jocelyn Morton, *Three Generations in a Family Textile Firm*, 301.

⁹³¹ Shaw to Elbridge Adams, 19 June 1931, quoted in Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and His Publishers*, 160.

red.⁹³² (Figure 117). Shaw had told William Maxwell, the managing director of his printers R. & R. Clark, in 1929 that he would stick to ‘Venetian blind green until I die’,⁹³³ but this was before he encountered the beauty of the Morton Sundour green and red cloth. The journal *The British and Colonial Printer and Stationer* reported in 1933 ‘Bernard Shaw claims to be the father of Sundour Book-cloths.’⁹³⁴ The distinctive covers of Shaw’s works became well-known and influential, with the press noting that his book-cloths: ‘were produced specially for him by Morton’s and thereafter the whole bookbinding trade followed suit.’⁹³⁵

The private presses continued to inspire and influence Shaw in other ways, particularly in the field of wood-engraving. Shaw’s passion for wood-engravings, from the work of Albrecht Dürer and Hans Holbein the Younger, to William Blake and Thomas Bewick lasted his whole life. When we examine the Shaw’s Corner collection of books inside the study, there are several volumes which provide vital clues to Shaw’s passionate interest in wood-engravings. One of the most notable is James J. Guthrie’s Pear Tree Press edition of *Some Poems of Edgar Allan Poe* (1901), which Shaw took out a subscription for. Figure 118 shows one of the engravings from the book. Working in the Pre-Raphaelite tradition, Guthrie, described as a ‘true Arts & Crafts printer’⁹³⁶ had purchased one of the Kelmscott presses for his Pear Tree Press, founded in 1899. He was an artist, typographer and printer; and he edited and hand-printed everything himself. Guthrie’s letter to Shaw accompanies the volume, and expresses the sentiments of one connoisseur of print to another: ‘Here is the book you subscribed for...the intaglio print is sure to give me a closer harmony as well as more pleasure & variety.’⁹³⁷

Shaw applied his expertise in this area to work alongside a superlative wood-engraver for his

⁹³² Jocelyn Morton, *Three Generations in a Family Textile Firm*, 301. Whilst Laurence has noted that Shaw’s Standard Edition was bound in ‘Venetian red fadeless Sundour Fabric’, he incorrectly applies the term ‘sail cloth’, and there is no mention of Morton. See Laurence, ed., *Bernard Shaw: A Bibliography*, vol.1, 206. A further error occurs in his listing of the *Collected Edition*, where he describes the books covered in ‘jade green Irish linen.’ Laurence, ed., *Bernard Shaw: A Bibliography*, vol.1, 183.

⁹³³ Shaw to William Maxwell, 10 February 1929, CL4, 129. Laurence argues in his commentary on this letter that Shaw permitted Maxwell ‘to convince him to scrap the long-used Venetian blind green binding cloth in favour of a non-fading Venetian red sailcloth fabric for the new Standard Edition of his works commencing in 1931’, however as I have shown, this is incorrect. The green for the *Collected Edition* (1930-38) was also by Morton Sundour (this was not the ‘Venetian blind green’, but the ‘eternal green’ described by Shaw); and Shaw made the decision to change to the new green binding after his meeting with Morton.

⁹³⁴ *The British and Colonial Printer and Stationer*, 112 (1933), 200.

⁹³⁵ *Britain To-day* (1947), 48.

⁹³⁶ Cave, *Fine Printing and Private Presses*, 4.

⁹³⁷ James J. Guthrie to Shaw, 4 November 1908, bound within the book: Edgar Allan Poe, *Some Poems*, 1908 (with drawings by James Guthrie). NTIN 3063457. Bound in vellum with gold lettering; Shaw’s signature on half-title: ‘G. Bernard Shaw.’ The book was a limited edition of 150 copies, available via subscription only.

own publications, resulting in the celebrated and well-documented⁹³⁸ collaboration with Farleigh for *The Adventures of the Black Girl in Her Search for God* (1932) (copies survive in the library⁹³⁹). Other projects with Farleigh followed, including work for *The Political Madhouse in America* (1933), *Prefaces by Bernard Shaw* (1934), *Short Stories, Scraps and Shavings* (1934), and *Back to Methuselah* (1939). Evidence shows that Shaw viewed Farleigh's work as the embodiment of a dialogue with the masters of the past, as he wrote to him regarding his engravings for *Back to Methuselah* for the Limited Editions Club: 'Nothing more exactly right for a unique edition could be imagined. The 1500 copies will sell like Blake's some day.'⁹⁴⁰ Maxwell had recommended Farleigh to Shaw in May 1932,⁹⁴¹ and the following week Shaw communicated his enthusiasm for the project to Trebitsch: 'I want something as simple and serious as Holbein's Bible pictures but with modern beauty. I am trying a young and unknown Englishman who works on the wood and is both designer and engraver, and who will design the picture as part of the book and not as an "illustration" stuck into it. If he succeeds his work can be reproduced everywhere.'⁹⁴²

Shaw provided sketches for Farleigh to give him an idea of what he wanted, and one of these was later published in *Country Life* in 1935, juxtaposed with Farleigh's own designs. (Figure 119). As one commentator has observed, Shaw's 'childhood ambition to paint surfaced not only in his early art criticism but in his later absorption with every aspect of the wood engravings.'⁹⁴³ The *Country Life* article entitled 'Mr. Bernard Shaw among the Craftsmen' featured the exhibits from the latest Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society show (where his work was displayed), and declared:

One exhibit which should draw visitors from far and wide is a series of original designs for Bernard Shaw's *Black Girl*, by John Farleigh, together with the author's own suggestions for improvement. Mr. Shaw's versatility is admitted by all, but few suspected that he was a draughtsman too.

⁹³⁸ See John Farleigh, *Graven Image* (London: Macmillan, 1940); William Zeltmann, 'Shaw, Farleigh and a Collection', *Shaw Review*, 4 (1961), 24-28; Selborne, *British Wood-Engraved Book Illustration*; and Hugo, *Bernard Shaw's The Black Girl in Search of God*.

⁹³⁹ See for example NTIN 3063125; *The Black Girl in Search of God, and some lesser tales* (London: Constable & Co, 1947).

⁹⁴⁰ Shaw to John Farleigh, quoted in a letter from Farleigh to George Macy, 27 August 1938, in Selborne, *British Wood-Engraved Book Illustration*, 364.

⁹⁴¹ See Shaw's letter to John Farleigh, 8 May 1932, CL4, 296-97; see also Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and His Publishers*, 163.

⁹⁴² Shaw to Trebitsch, 15 May 1932, in Weiss, ed., *Bernard Shaw's Letters to Siegfried Trebitsch*, 322.

⁹⁴³ Jane R. Cohen, *Charles Dickens and His Illustrators* (Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1980), 230. Cohen noted here that Shaw's work in this regard exceeded even Dickens's 'professional involvement with an artist.'

Anyone who examines the series can realize how enormously Farleigh's final designs benefitted by the ruthless but kindly admonitions of his patron.⁹⁴⁴

Shaw's letters to Farleigh reveal the extent of his knowledge and expertise, and also his interest in the work of other contemporary engravers, as this example shows: 'On Friday I visited the Gregynog Press, and saw some lovely wood cutting by Agnes Miller Parker. She blackens the block to begin with, and traces the design on the black with a red carbon paper. As the cuts leave the colour of the wood she has the whole thing in black and white without having to make trial impressions. Is this your way?'⁹⁴⁵ We should observe that upon hearing the news that he had been elected as an honorary member of the Art Workers' Guild in 1921, Shaw noted to Walker: 'it is on the score of my service to art rather than as an art worker myself.'⁹⁴⁶ There is perhaps a hint of regret here.

Shaw had a copy of Miller Parker's *The Fables of Esope* (Gregynog Press, 1931) in his library (sold at Sotheby's⁹⁴⁷); and when she produced the designs for H.E. Bates's *Through the Woods* (1936), Shaw exclaimed: 'A look through these miraculous engravings is better than a real woodland walk. You can actually feel the fur and smell the leaves.'⁹⁴⁸ Figure 120 depicts one of Miller Parker's engravings admired by Shaw from this book, which bears a resemblance to the framed engravings of birds by Thomas Bewick on the staircase at Shaw's Corner. Figure 121 shows four prints from this group: *The Yellow Wagtail*, *A Skylark*, *A Wheatear*, and *A Woodcock*;⁹⁴⁹ and figure 122 reveals *The Yellow Wagtail* in closer detail. Shaw was particularly fond of birds,⁹⁵⁰ and when he later discussed the siting of a possible memorial with Sydney Cockerell, he declared that he would like 'a beautifully designed urn on a little pedestal in the garden here in Ayot with Charlotte and myself inside listening for

⁹⁴⁴ Unsigned review, 'Mr. Bernard Shaw among the Craftsmen', *Country Life* (2 November 1935), 470-71. The review was of the sixteenth show of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, held at Dorland Hall, Lower Regent Street.

⁹⁴⁵ Shaw to John Farleigh, 29 August 1932, CL4, 306.

⁹⁴⁶ Shaw to Emery Walker, 10 November 1921 (HRC, II, 46.6). Walker had written to Shaw informing him of his election: Emery Walker to Shaw, 24 October 1921. (BUR, V, 31.45). At various points, Walker was Master of the AWG, and President of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society.

⁹⁴⁷ See Sotheby & Co, 25 July 1949, lot 117.

⁹⁴⁸ Shaw, quoted in Ian Rogerson, *The Wood Engravings of Agnes Miller Parker* (London: The British Library, 2005), 36.

⁹⁴⁹ *The Yellow Wagtail* (NTIN 1274698.1); *A Skylark* (NTIN 1274698.4); *A Wheatear* (NTIN 1274698.5); *A Woodcock* (NTIN 1274698.8).

⁹⁵⁰ Shaw had long admired Bewick's engravings, visiting an exhibition of his work in 1894 whilst in Newcastle. (31 October 1894, BSD2, 1047). Shaw had been struck by Gould's Ornithological volumes at Sotheran's bookshop in 1889 (8 March 1889, BSD1, 475); and a volume of Thorburn's *British Birds* can be found in the study (NTIN 3063335).

the first cuckoo and the nightingale.’⁹⁵¹ Shaw was probably influenced by Ruskin as far as Bewick was concerned. Ruskin much admired Bewick’s work, and considered him to be working in the tradition of Holbein.⁹⁵²

Shaw’s artistic collaboration with Farleigh was advertised in *Country Life* in a manner that firmly asserts his position as one of the craftsmen, alongside a silver tea set by Edward Spencer, and a walnut sideboard by Peter Waals. (Figure 123). Yet the report revealed that the Arts and Crafts Exhibition for that year also highlighted the influence of craftsmen on mass production. In the light of the criticism Shaw had received concerning *The Intelligent Woman’s Guide* this is important, because he had been particularly keen to bring his books to a much wider audience, shifting the emphasis towards quantity, not just quality. Shaw was aware of the economic difficulties faced by the consumer in the early 1930s.⁹⁵³ During the 1920s Shaw corresponded with the engraver and director of the Golden Cockerel Press Robert Gibbings who had asked if he could publish a ‘monumental edition’⁹⁵⁴ of Shaw’s complete works. Shaw’s response is revealing, as he declined on the basis that machine setting was now superior to hand-setting: ‘now that they have Caslon on the machines hand setting is pure superstition...the Golden Cockerel Press is not really up to date.’⁹⁵⁵ Shaw was speaking in economic terms: machine production was far less costly; and the desired quality was now achievable. In 1929 he had written to his American publisher William H. Wise & Sons, ‘I prefer machine setting: its results are now superior to those of hand setting.’⁹⁵⁶

As Shaw later explained to McLean: ‘I fought linotype and monotype’⁹⁵⁷ for some time because it would not justify as well as hand set could be made to do; but at last, as always

⁹⁵¹ Shaw to Sydney Cockerell, 3 May 1946, CL4, 767-68. In a recent essay, Tony Stafford acknowledged Shaw’s ‘lifelong devotion to nature.’ Tony J. Stafford, ‘Nature’, in *George Bernard Shaw in Context*, ed. by Brad Kent (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 305.

⁹⁵² Ruskin had declared: ‘the execution of the plumage in Bewick’s birds is the most masterly thing ever done in woodcutting.’ John Ruskin quoted in Jenny Uglow, *Nature’s Engraver: A Life of Thomas Bewick* (London: Faber & Faber, 2006), 527. Ruskin compared Bewick to Holbein in his *Works*, XXII, 362.

⁹⁵³ On this point, Emery Walker had written to Shaw about their friend Count Kessler’s publication of *Hamlet* (Shaw owned a copy): ‘The Cranach Press *Hamlet* doesn’t sell very well in spite of the silhouettes. The expense of them has handicapped the book.’ Emery Walker to Shaw, 8 November 1931, BL Add. MS 50520, f.132.

⁹⁵⁴ Robert Gibbings to Shaw, 28 July 1926, quoted in Martin J. Andrews, *The Life and Work of Robert Gibbings* (Bicester: Primrose Hill Press, 2003), 91.

⁹⁵⁵ Shaw to Robert Gibbings, quoted in Andrews, *The Life and Work of Robert Gibbings*, 92.

⁹⁵⁶ Shaw to William H. Wise & Sons, 8 November 1929, quoted in Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and His Publishers*, 152.

⁹⁵⁷ ‘Monotype’ refers to type-setting performed by machine.

happens, the machine outdid the hand, and got all the best types on it.’⁹⁵⁸ The shift Shaw refers to here was made manifest when Maxwell had given him two specimen pages to examine ‘a hand-set and a machine-set page side by side.’ Maxwell told the story: ‘Shaw got out his magnifying glass and various other gadgets, and retired to another room to examine the pages. Eventually he decided in favour of the one that happened to be machine-set.’⁹⁵⁹ There are ‘gadgets’ or optical apparatus⁹⁶⁰ aiding vision in the study at Shaw’s Corner, such as the glass magnifying cube,⁹⁶¹ and circular magnifying glass with light bulb in handle,⁹⁶² which enable us to form a picture of Shaw the connoisseur looking intensely at the printed page or image. (I explore this idea further in the next section).

By the 1930s Shaw was aiming at producing quality books at low prices, providing the consumer with value for money;⁹⁶³ and Farleigh’s engravings were an ideal example of artefacts that could be copied for mass consumption under commercial conditions. Shaw must be credited as a major force in the popularization of wood-engraving during the thirties.⁹⁶⁴ The collaboration was phenomenally successful artistically, but also commercially; and because of Shaw’s insistence that the books be cheap (two shillings and sixpence⁹⁶⁵), the first edition of twenty five thousand copies sold out quickly. Increasingly he advised authors and printers to be aware of the necessity for ‘adaptation to the demand of the people.’⁹⁶⁶ Shaw had written to Kyllmann at Constable and Company about his desire to ‘tempt the people I want to get at to indulge in the extravagance (for them) of two and six. I should like to sell 250,000 in the first five minutes after publication.’⁹⁶⁷ As Pharand notes, the book was

⁹⁵⁸ Shaw to Ruari McLean, 28 March 1949, CL4, 843. Shaw used Caslon for over thirty years. However when mechanical monotype printing in Fournier type had been used for the *Standard Edition*, Shaw was not entirely happy with the result, and eventually switched to Plantin type. See Shaw to R. &R. Clark, 8 January 1942, CL4, 623-24. Here Shaw states that he prefers ‘Bembo’; yet in his letter to Mclean he says that he switched to Plantin.

⁹⁵⁹ William Maxwell, ‘Printing for Bernard Shaw,’ *The Listener* (10 September 1949), 797, quoted in Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and His Publishers*, xxvi, and in Pharand, ‘Publishers and publishing’, in *George Bernard Shaw in Context*, ed. by Kent, 182. Pharand felt that ‘Maxwell tricked Shaw into giving up the Caslon handset type he had used since 1898.’ (Pharand, ‘Publishers and publishing’, 182). Shaw wrote to Otto Kyllmann: ‘by far the best looking page [Maxwell] brought me was the work of the monotype machine.’ Shaw to Kyllmann, 29 January 1920, quoted in Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and His Publishers*, 128. Shaw only made the final decision however after consulting with Emery Walker.

⁹⁶⁰ Shaw also owned a telescope which was sold by the National Trust at auction in 1954.

⁹⁶¹ NTIN 1274570.

⁹⁶² NTIN 1275181.

⁹⁶³ Shaw wrote to Max Reinhardt, 8 June 1949: ‘Nobody that buys a book of mine shall feel that he has not had full value for the money.’ Quoted in Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and His Publishers*, 220-21.

⁹⁶⁴ Selborne, *British Wood-Engraved Book Illustration*, 192.

⁹⁶⁵ *The Adventures of the Black Girl in Her Search for God* went on sale in early December 1932, for 2s.6d. See Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and His Publishers*, 164; Hugo, *Bernard Shaw’s The Black Girl in Search of God*, 75; and Selborne, *British Wood-Engraved Book Illustration*, 192.

⁹⁶⁶ Shaw to Laurence Housman, *The London Mercury and Bookman*, 327.

⁹⁶⁷ Shaw to Otto Kyllmann, 8 August 1932, quoted in Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and His Publishers*, 164.

‘reprinted fourteen times between 1932 and 1936’;⁹⁶⁸ and Shaw became ‘one of the best-selling authors of the twentieth century.’⁹⁶⁹

It is no surprise therefore to find Shaw writing to Basil Blackwell, having recently met him at Bumpus’s bookshop, in 1934: ‘I am looking forward to an order from Woolworths for a sixpenny edition.’⁹⁷⁰ The context for their discussion was Shaw’s arrangement with Odhams Press to publish an edition of his *Complete Plays* at ‘bargain prices, as a sales promotion, to its readers by the Daily Herald,’⁹⁷¹ a deal which had caused some controversy in the book-trade. Always searching for quality and value for his customers, Shaw had endorsed the advertisement in the newspaper which promoted three different editions: ‘Ordinary’, ‘De luxe’ and ‘Library’ to suit a variety of consumers. (Figure 124). The ‘Library’ edition was aimed at the ‘connoisseur’ with pages finished in ‘real gold leaf’; however the ‘Ordinary’ version was also adorned in ‘covers of red Sundour linen-faced fadeless cloth’ with a ‘tasteful’ medallion of the author embossed on the front and in gold on the spine, and a handsomely printed jacket wrapper which imparted ‘a finishing touch of distinction.’ Prices ranged from just three shillings and nine pence, to eight shillings and nine pence.⁹⁷²

Shaw retained a focus on beauty and quality in production, but was commercially minded. Later in life he became critical of the rarity of the beautiful books produced by the private presses, which inevitably made them costly and beyond the reach of ordinary people. Although in many respects he was a great admirer of beautiful things, he was constantly thinking about how they could be made available to all. Shaw’s personal collection of books was thus conceptualized using the framework of aesthetic and economic compromise that he had employed to make his own work and ideas more widely available to the consumer, as he expressed in a letter to Cockerell in 1946:

The scarcity of the Kelmscotts and Ashendenes exasperates me. What good are they if nobody except a few rich collectors ever see them? Is it not possible to form a company to obtain a subscription list of public libraries and private individuals willing to buy photographic reproductions of the

⁹⁶⁸ Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and His Publishers*, 164.

⁹⁶⁹ Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and His Publishers*, xxviii.

⁹⁷⁰ Shaw to Basil Blackwell, 25 October 1934, CL4, 382.

⁹⁷¹ Laurence, CL4, 381; see also Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and His Publishers*, 160.

⁹⁷² See figure 124. The prices have been extracted from the advertisement: ‘The “Daily Herald” announces a 1,220 page edition of the complete plays of Bernard Shaw at the astonishing price of 3/9’.

best work of the private presses, and then to manufacture such photostats.⁹⁷³

In this letter to Cockerell, Shaw was echoing the famous critique of the Kelmscott Press made by Veblen in 1899 when he declared: ‘A limited edition is in effect a guarantee...that this book is scarce and that it therefore is costly and lends pecuniary distinction to its consumer.’⁹⁷⁴ Shaw imagines an expanded role for his private press books through reproduction to combat the exclusivity, and is perhaps resigned to the fact that he must part with the originals. Yet at the close of the same letter Shaw reveals his attachment to one of the books in particular (as we have already witnessed): ‘I have two Ashendene Dantes. I prefer the small one illustrated by Botticelli-Catterson Smith, which you gave me.’⁹⁷⁵

That these opposing viewpoints can be expressed on the same page can come as no surprise, for they reflect the dual aspects of his personality. Here was Shaw the friend and connoisseur wishing to keep a memento of his connection to this world of beauty and the hand-crafted amidst the fast pace of technological change in contemporary society. On this point it is worth considering the recent essay by Lisa Otty on the role of the private press book during the inter-war years: ‘Countering the futurist celebration of mass media and new technology...was a rhetoric of nostalgia and handicraft that cast its eyes backwards rather than forwards and which centred on the book as a symbol of permanence and value amid the flickering and insubstantial signifiers of modern culture.’⁹⁷⁶ Yet when it came to the publishing of his own works Shaw had been able to adapt the Morrisian principles in printing to the production of books that were more affordable for the average consumer,⁹⁷⁷ harnessing the aesthetics of the Kelmscott Press to the service of a more ‘democratizing and universalizing art.’⁹⁷⁸ Through Constable and Company and their use of ‘new technology’, Shaw managed to reach a mass audience: now everyone might become a connoisseur.

⁹⁷³ Shaw to Sydney Cockerell, 22 May 1946, quoted in Viola Meynell, ed., *The Best of Friends*, 173.

⁹⁷⁴ Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, 98.

⁹⁷⁵ Shaw to Sydney Cockerell, 22 May 1946, quoted in Viola Meynell, ed., *The Best of Friends*, 173.

⁹⁷⁶ Lisa Otty, ‘Small Press Modernists: Collaboration, Experimentation and the Limited Edition Book’, in *The Aesthetics of Matter: Modernism, the Avant-Garde and Material Exchange*, ed. by Sarah Posman et al (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 128. Otty refers to the Gregynog Press here.

⁹⁷⁷ Kelly, ‘Imprinting the stage’, 42; 50.

⁹⁷⁸ Elizabeth Carolyn Miller, *Slow Print*, 33.

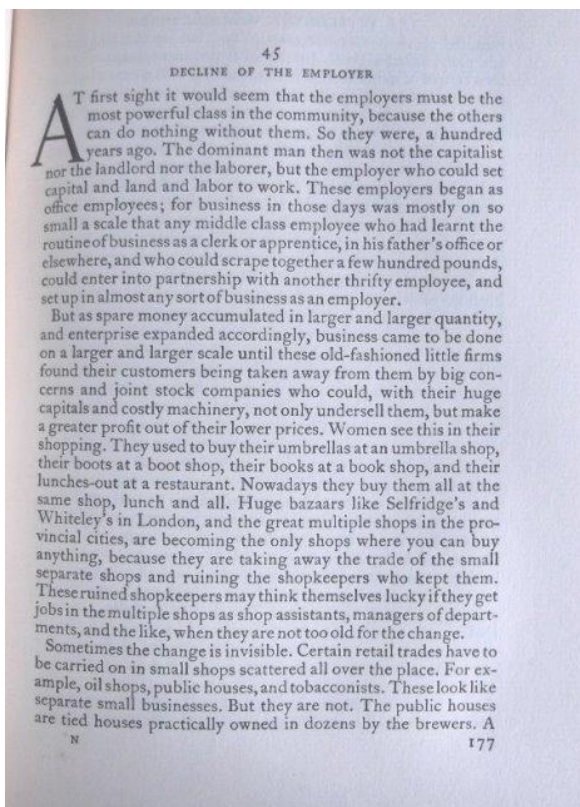


Figure 83 A page from Shaw's *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism*, 1928, in Caslon Old Face type. Shaw's Corner Collection, © National Trust.

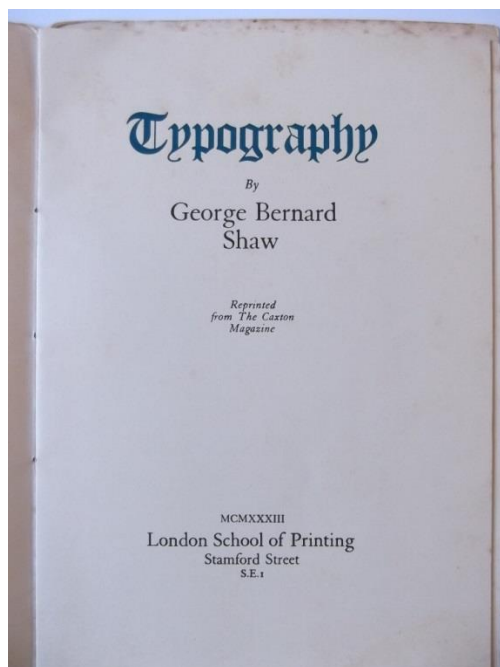


Figure 84 'Typography' by George Bernard Shaw', reprinted by J.W.H. Elvin and H. Rose, London School of Printing, 1933. Shaw's Corner Archive.



Figure 85 Libraco filing cabinet. Study, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274747.1). © National Trust.

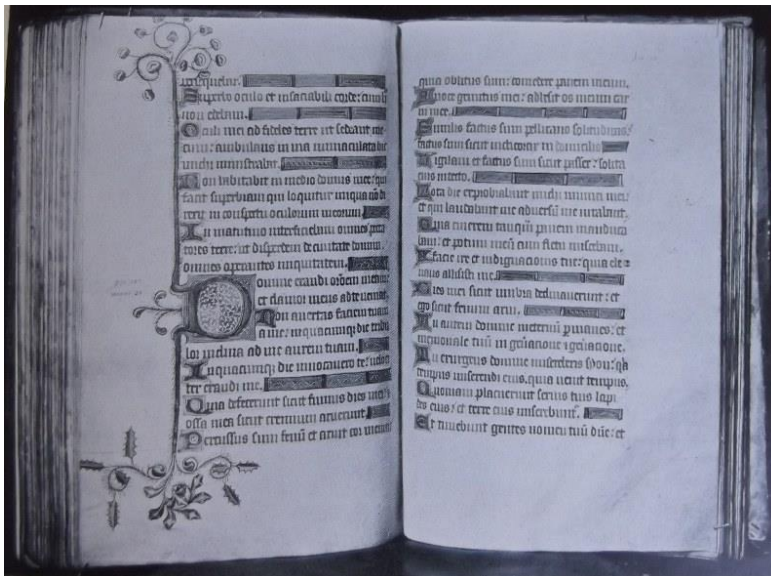


Figure 86 English Illuminated Psalter of the early 14th century, formerly in William Morris's library at Kelmscott House. Reproduced from Gerald H. Crow, *William Morris Designer*, The Studio, 1934, 97.

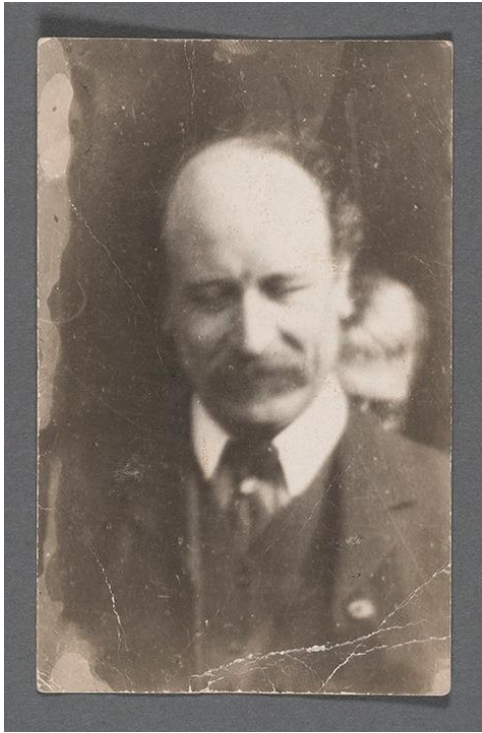


Figure 87 Emery Walker, photographed by Shaw, c.1898. (George Bernard Shaw Manuscripts Collection, Series II, 46.6, Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin). Reproduced with kind permission of the Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.



Figure 88 Sydney Cockerell photographed by Shaw in the dining-room, The Old House, Harmer Green, 1906. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715222.19). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.



Figure 89 Sydney Cockerell, Emery Walker, and Charlotte, photographed by Shaw, c.1906. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715480.2). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.



Figure 90 Limbourg Brothers, *January*, from the Très Riches Heures of Jean, Duc de Berry, 1411/2-16, Chantilly, Musée Condé. (Reproduced: Faksimile Verlag Luzern). Image in public domain,

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/8a/Les_Tr%C3%AAs_Riches_Heures_du_duc_de_Berry_Janvier.jpg



Figure 91 Shaw and Charlotte with the bibliophile and philanthropist C.W. Dyson Perrins and his wife, Malvern, 1935. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715221.7). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.

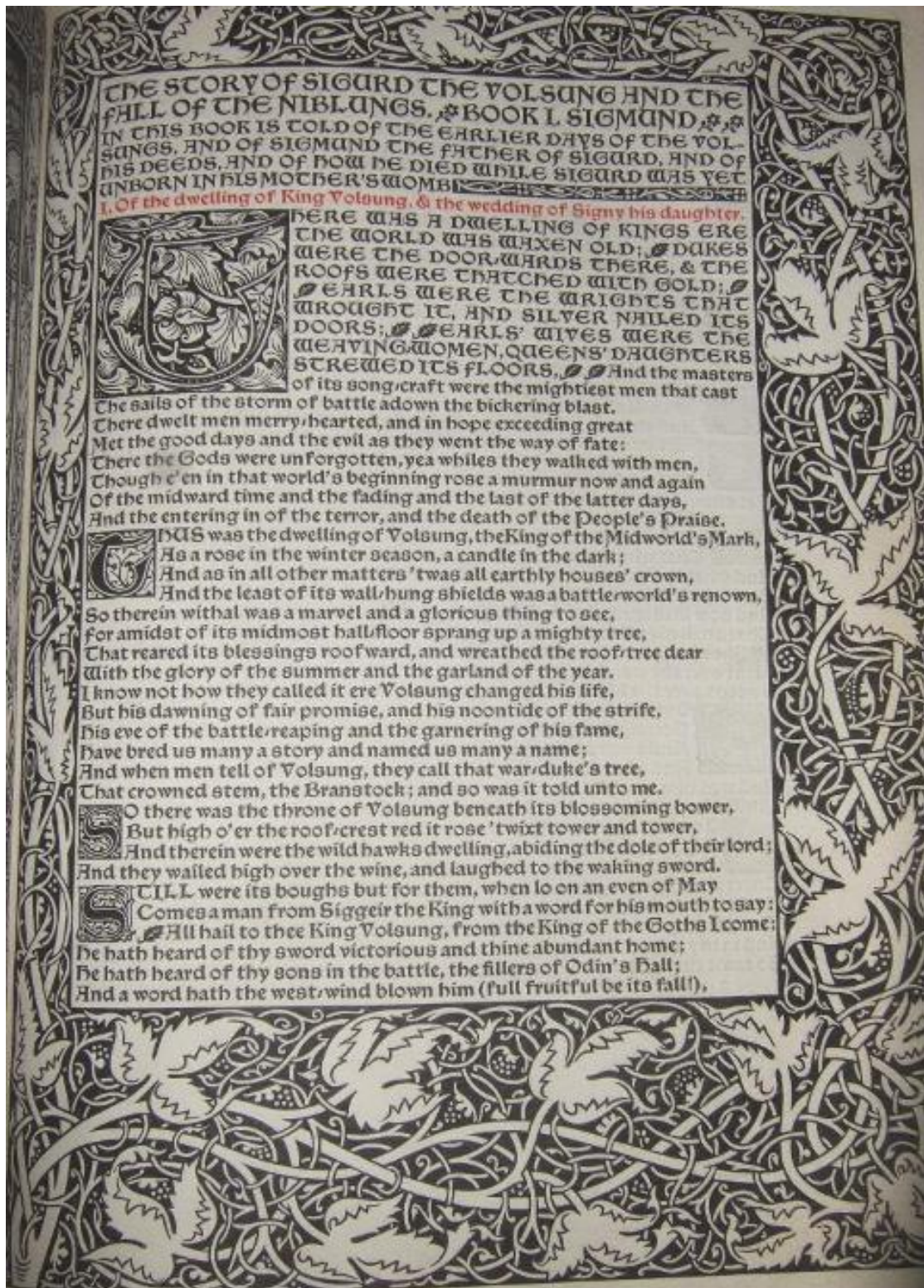


Figure 92 Kelmscott Press, *The Story of Sigurd the Volsung and the Fall of the Niblungs*, 1898, Chaucer and Troy typeface. Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 3063781). © National Trust.

IN THE BEGINNING

GOD CREATED THE HEAVEN AND THE EARTH. ¶ AND THE EARTH WAS WITHOUT FORM, AND VOID; AND DARKNESS WAS UPON THE FACE OF THE DEEP, & THE SPIRIT OF GOD MOVED UPON THE FACE OF THE WATERS.

¶ And God said, Let there be light: & there was light. And God saw the light, that it was good: & God divided the light from the darkness. And God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. And the evening and the morning were the first day. ¶ And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, & let it divide the waters from the waters. And God made the firmament, and divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament: & it was so. And God called the firmament Heaven. And the evening & the morning were the second day.

¶ And God said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear: and it was so. And God called the dry land Earth: and the gathering together of the waters called he Seas: and God saw that it was good. And God said, Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit after his kind, whose seed is in itself, upon the earth: & it was so. And the earth brought forth grass, & herb yielding seed after his kind, & the tree yielding fruit, whose seed was in itself, after his kind: and God saw that it was good. And the evening & the morning were the third day. ¶ And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, & years: and let them be for lights in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth: & it was so. And God made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: he made the stars also. And God set them in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth, and to rule over the day and over the night, & to divide the light from the darkness: and God saw that it was good. And the evening and the morning were the fourth day. ¶ And God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl that may fly above the earth in the open firmament of heaven. And God created great whales, & every living creature that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly, after their kind, & every winged fowl after his kind: & God saw that it was good. And God blessed them, saying, Be fruitful, & multiply, and fill the waters in the seas, and let fowl multiply in the earth. And the evening & the morning were the fifth day. ¶ And God said, Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle, and creeping thing, and beast of the earth after his kind: and it was so. And God made the beast of the earth after his kind, and cattle after their kind, and every thing that creepeth upon the

Figure 93 The Doves Press *Bible*, 1903-05, Doves typeface. Drawing-room, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 3155999). © National Trust.

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Figure 94 Ashendene Press, *La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri*, 1902-05, Subiaco typeface, with illustrations by Robert Catterson-Smith. © Victoria & Albert Museum.

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Figure 95 Eric Kennington, woodcuts. T.E. Lawrence, *Two Arabic Folk Tales*, 1937.
Corvinus Press. (NTIN 3062570). © The Estate of Eric Kennington.

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Figure 96 Eric Kennington, dust-jacket. Shaw, *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism
and Capitalism*, 1928. © The Estate of Eric Kennington.

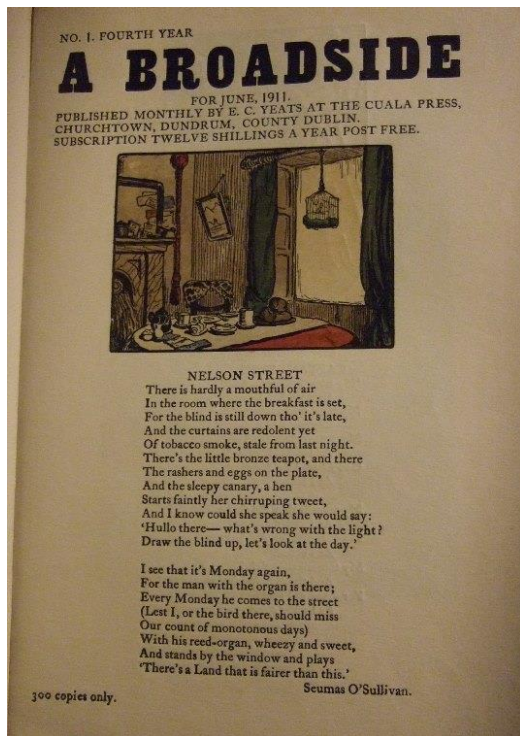


Figure 97 Cuala Press, *A Broadside*, 1911. Shaw's Corner Collection, © National Trust.

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Figure 98 Golden Cockerel Press, *The True History of Lucian the Samosatene*, 1927,
 illustrations by Robert Gibbings. (NTIN 3061793). © Robert Gibbings estate.

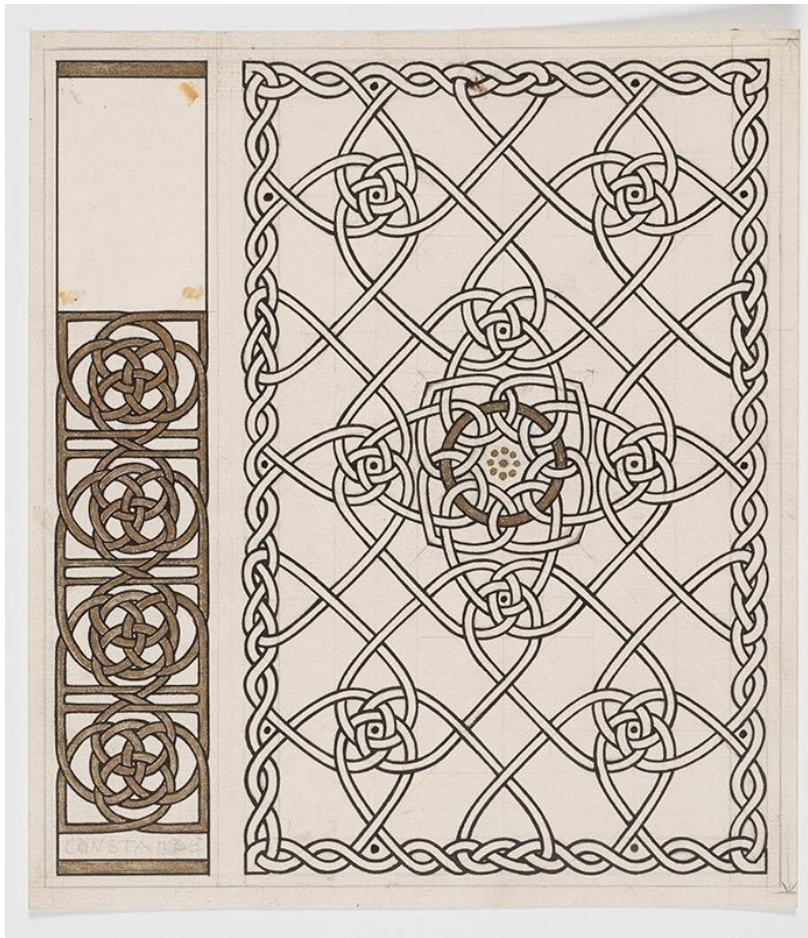


Figure 99 Douglas Cockerell, design for the cover of Shaw's *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism*, 1927. (George Bernard Shaw Art Collection, Box 483, Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin). Reproduced with kind permission of the Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.



Figure 100 Douglas Cockerell, bindings for volumes of Shaw's music. (Hall, Shaw's Corner Collection). © National Trust.

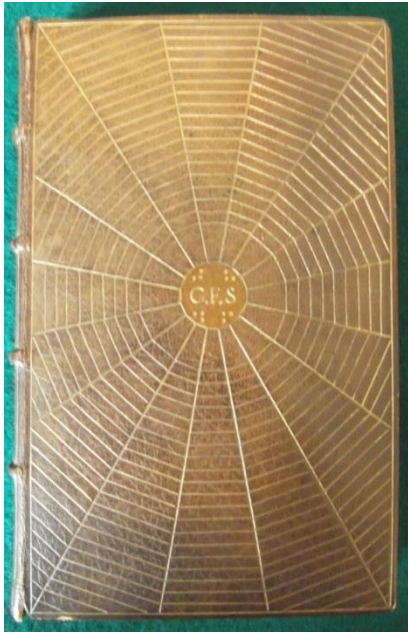


Figure 101 Douglas Cockerell, binding for *Natural History of Remarkable Insects*, 1938, cover with 'CFS' in the centre of a spider's web. (NTIN 3061859). © National Trust.

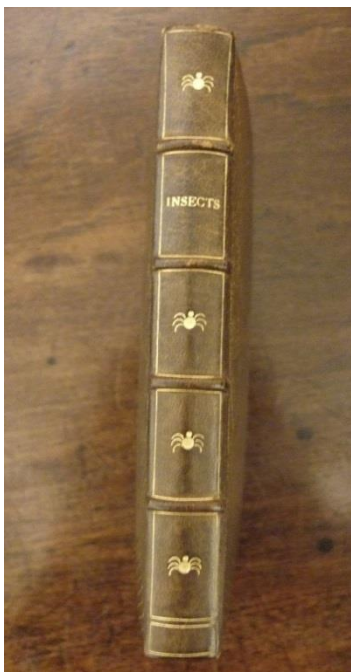


Figure 102 Douglas Cockerell, binding for *Natural History of Remarkable Insects*, 1938, spine adorned with spiders. (NTIN 3061859). © National Trust.



Figure 103 Embroidered silk on board covers, repaired by Douglas Cockerell & Son, Letchworth. *Eikon Basilike: The Pourtraicture of His Sacred Majestie in His Solitudes and Sufferings*. (NTIN 3063615). © National Trust.

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Figure 104 'Shaw's Treasure-chest', *The Evening News and Star*, 16 June 1962. Newspaper report of artefacts returned to Shaw's Corner in 1962, including the *Eikon Basilike*. Mander and Mitchenson / University of Bristol / ArenaPal (ARP1463269).

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Figure 105 Shaw photographed in the garden at Shaw's Corner, presenting one of the volumes bound by Douglas Cockerell to John Dulanty, the Irish High Commissioner in London, 1946. (See *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*, 110).

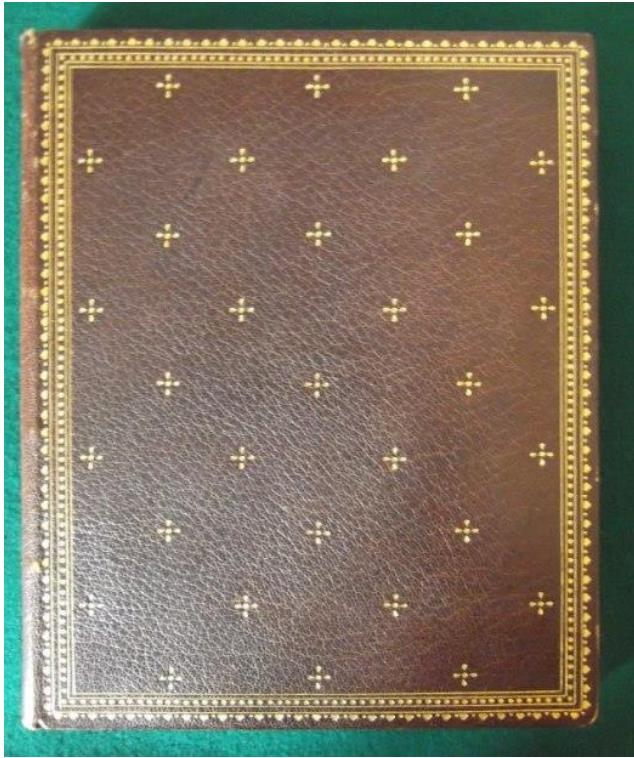


Figure 106 Katharine Adams, binding for *Autograph Poems by Horace Townsend of Derry*. (Shaw's Corner Collection). © National Trust.



Figure 107 Katharine Adams's monogram, binding for *Autograph Poems by Horace Townsend of Derry*. (Shaw's Corner Collection). © National Trust.

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Figure 108 Press photograph of Shaw and Charlotte Shaw with the book-binder Cedric Chivers. (See Archibald Henderson, *Playboy and Prophet*, reproduced opposite page 320).

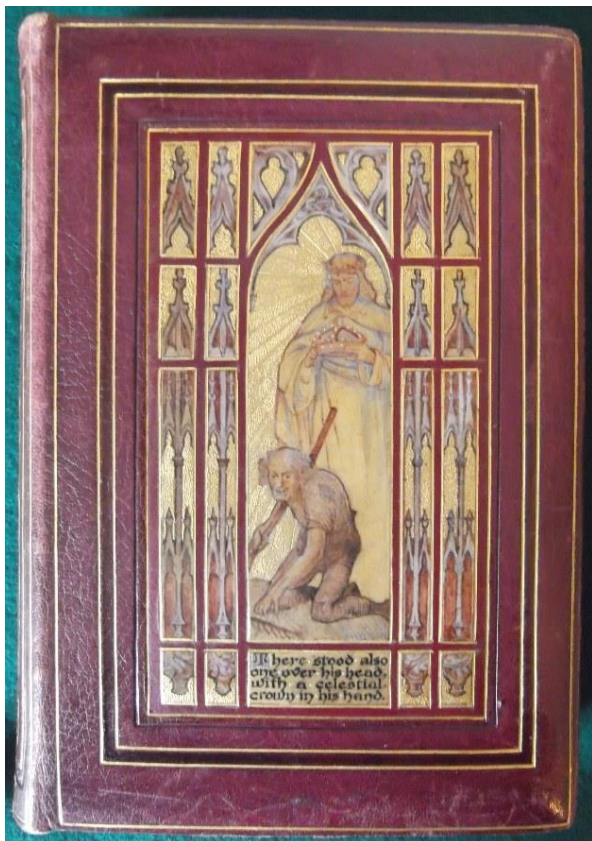


Figure 109 Cedric Chivers, 'vellucent' binding for John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress: from this World to that which is to come*. (NTIN 3201762). © National Trust.

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Figure 110 Photograph of Shaw with Thomas Jones at Gregynog, 1933. (See Thomas Jones, *A Diary with Letters*, reproduced between pages 112-13).

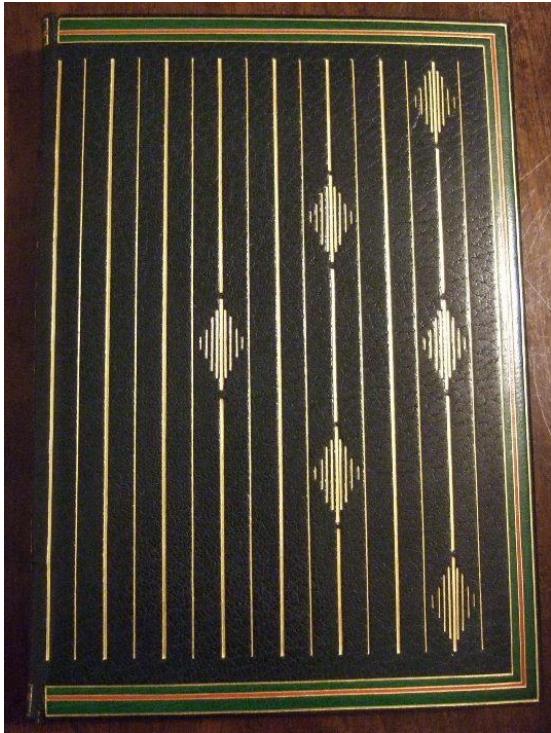


Figure 111 George Fisher, binding for *Shaw Gives Himself Away: an Autobiographical Miscellany*, 1939. (NTIN 3063703). © National Trust.

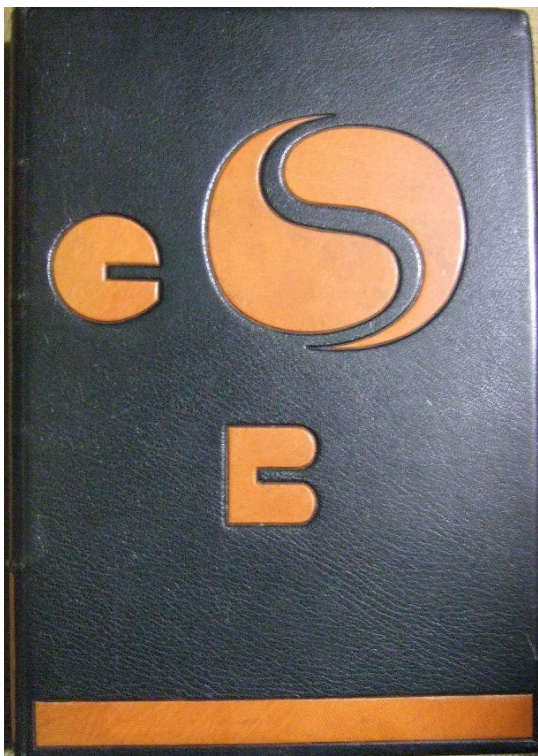


Figure 112 Paul Nash, binding for *Shaw Gives Himself Away: an Autobiographical Miscellany*, 1939. (NTIN 3063059). © National Trust.

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Figure 113 John Farleigh, portrait of Shaw (aged 37), wood-engraving, frontispiece to *Shaw Gives Himself Away: an Autobiographical Miscellany*, 1939. © The Estate of John Farleigh.



Figure 114 Advertisement for Sundour Fabrics, *The Graphic* (14 May 1922), 566.



Figure 115 'Sundour' unfadable fabrics. Science and Society Picture Library, Image no. 10312478. © Science Museum /Science & Society Picture Library - All rights reserved.

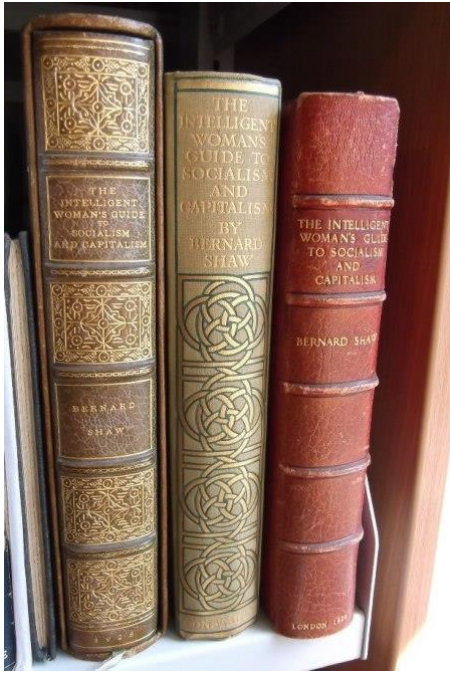


Figure 116 Three different bindings for *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism*; left to right: unknown; Douglas Cockerell; George Fisher. (Shaw's Corner Collection). © National Trust.

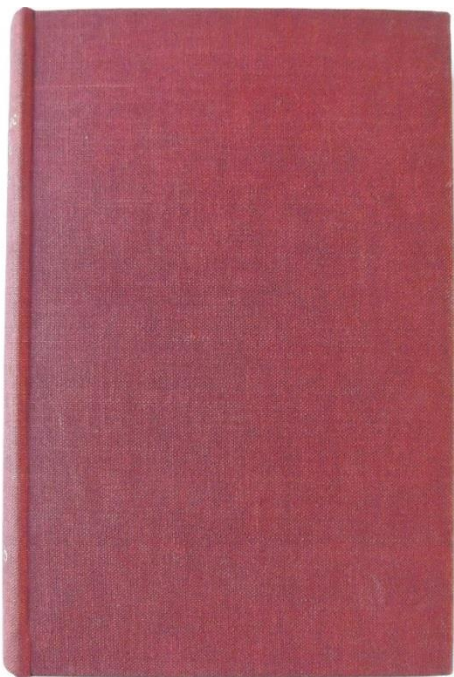


Figure 117 Morton Sundour 'special Venetian red' book-cloth, covering a volume of Constable's *Works of Bernard Shaw Standard Edition* 1931-51. © National Trust.



Figure 118 James J. Guthrie, engraving. Pear Tree Press, *Some Poems of Edgar Allan Poe* (1901). (NTIN 3063457). © National Trust.

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Figure 119 Shaw's drawing in the centre, with John Farleigh's drawings on either side, 'Mr. Bernard Shaw among the Craftsmen', *Country Life* (2 November 1935), 471. Shaw's Corner Archive. © The Estate of John Farleigh.

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Figure 120 Agnes Miller Parker, engraving for H.E. Bates's *Through the Woods* (1936). ©
The Estate of Agnes Miller Parker.



Figure 121 Thomas Bewick engravings, staircase, Shaw's Corner. *The Yellow Wagtail* (NTIN 1274698.1); *A Skylark* (NTIN 1274698.4); *A Wheatear* (NTIN 1274698.5); *A Woodcock* (NTIN 1274698.8). © National Trust.



Figure 122 Thomas Bewick, *The Yellow Wagtail*. Staircase, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274698.1). © National Trust.

IMAGE HAS BEEN EXCLUDED FROM THE DIGITISED VERSION OF THE THESIS
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Figure 123 'Mr. Bernard Shaw among the Craftsmen', *Country Life* (2 November 1935), 470. Shaw's Corner Archive.

IMAGE HAS BEEN EXCLUDED FROM THE DIGITISED VERSION OF THE THESIS
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Figure 124 Advertisement: 'The "Daily Herald" announces a 1,220 page edition of the complete plays of Bernard Shaw at the astonishing price of 3/9'. Shaw's Corner Archive.

Artistic networks, patronage, and connoisseurship: tracing the history of Shaw the art critic and connoisseur

Shaw's connoisseurial attitude evolved, becoming part of a process of democratization and patronage, and this egalitarian stance was directly linked to his socialism, but also to his long-standing interest in art. The presence of various paintings, prints and sculpture in the collection can be explained if we examine the kind of artistic networks Shaw operated in around the time of his move to Shaw's Corner in 1906, many of which originated from his time as an art critic. There has been little awareness in the literature of the fact that Shaw lived with many artefacts that provide information about these networks.

The Carfax Gallery, a commercial enterprise where Shaw was a shareholder, plays a part in uncovering the connections between various paintings and drawings. Shaw's personal taste, ranging from Flemish Old Masters to Hogarth and Blake, to Whistler and Beardsley, and to a more Francophile taste that included Rodin, Augustus John and Roger Fry, is interesting as it embodied the intersections between English art, the Symbolist movement and the more 'avant-garde' art of the continent that characterized the British art world in the first decade of the twentieth century. These were often the artists promoted through exhibitions at the Carfax. The artefacts at Shaw's Corner help us understand Shaw's participation in the art world of the early 1900's, and the development of his artistic taste. The artefacts also tell us much about his activities as a benefactor.

Dan Laurence has described Shaw as 'probably the most generous and public-spirited "giver" of time and skill in his generation',⁹⁷⁹ and St. John Ervine observed 'few people are so generous as G.B.S.'⁹⁸⁰ Holroyd similarly referred to Shaw's will as 'an extraordinarily public-spirited document',⁹⁸¹ and although he mentioned Shaw's generosity in terms of donations of paintings and sculpture to institutions, noting that he gave 'works of art by Augustus John, Rodin, Strobl, Sargent, Troubetzkoy to public galleries and theatres in

⁹⁷⁹ Laurence, quoted in 'Tribute to Dan. H. Laurence,' Bernard F. Dukore, ed., *SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies, 1992: Shaw and the Last Hundred Years*, vol. 14 (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 183.

⁹⁸⁰ Ervine, *Bernard Shaw*, 363.

⁹⁸¹ HOL3, 500. Mary Hyde has also described Shaw's will as 'one of the most public-spirited legal instruments ever drawn.' Mary Hyde, *Bernard Shaw and Alfred Douglas: A Correspondence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 199. Shaw had complained to Nancy Astor in 1944: 'My will is giving me no end of trouble. I want to leave all I possess to the country for the country's good, and find that the country places every obstacle to such a proceeding.' Shaw to Nancy Astor, 5 March 1944, quoted in Wearing, ed., *Bernard Shaw and Nancy Astor*, 148.

Britain, Ireland and the United States,⁹⁸² this was not contextualized or related to the artefacts at Shaw's Corner. Considering Shaw's donations to institutions in the context of his connoisseurship and artistic networks enables us to explore a variety of artefacts that remain at Shaw's Corner, but equally 'absent' drawings and sculpture: the gifts acquired by various beneficiaries. The financial support and encouragement of artists he provided, both to individuals and groups, together with his gift for nurturing artistic talent has equally received little attention in the literature, although Holroyd has mentioned that 'he provided artists with work and his commissioned portraits and busts may be seen as evidence of generous patronage.'⁹⁸³

I have already discussed Shaw's support of Dolmetsch, but there were also artists such as Léon De Smet. De Smet was a Belgian refugee who came to London during the First World War and became acquainted with various literary figures. Shaw with typical generosity acted as his patron, offering advice on possible exhibition venues and financial assistance.⁹⁸⁴ Shaw sat for his portrait in 1915. The resulting crayon drawing by De Smet was admired by Shaw: he liked 'its resemblance to his father.'⁹⁸⁵ The picture was kept at Ayot,⁹⁸⁶ and can be seen today in the dining room.⁹⁸⁷ It was published in *Colour* magazine to promote De Smet's work.⁹⁸⁸ (Figure 125).

Shaw befriended figures associated with various strands of artistic Modernism including Roger Fry who was an artist, connoisseur, critic and co-founder of *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* besides the founder of the Omega Workshops. Shaw owned a painting by

⁹⁸² HOL3, 500. See also Weintraub, 'Last Will and Testament' (Appendix I) in *Shaw: An Autobiography 1898-1950*, 227. In his will Shaw also left 'the National Gallery of Ireland one third of his residuary estate.' HOL2, 385. Shaw had previously given £1000 towards the establishment of the *New Statesman*; and £5000 towards the rebuilding of RADA during the 1920s. See HOL4&5, 28. For Charlotte's role as a benefactor see Gianna Pomata, 'Rejoinder to Pygmalion', 79-104.

⁹⁸³ HOL2, 181.

⁹⁸⁴ De Smet wrote to Shaw thanking him for a cheque he had sent, but refusing it: 'I do not think that I ever would be able to pay such a lot of money back.' Léon De Smet to Shaw, 28 December 1925, BL Add. MS 50519, f.275. Shaw had known De Smet for ten years by this point, so it is possible that this was not the first time that Shaw had sent money. De Smet thanked him for his help: 'I shall follow your advice, and try to do something with Chenil galleries. There is indeed perhaps more chance to sell modern work in Chelsea.'

⁹⁸⁵ Shaw, *Sixteen Self Sketches*, 125.

⁹⁸⁶ Shaw notes in his diary, written at Shaw's Corner: 'Wrote to De Smet, the Belgian painter, about getting his portrait of me, which hangs down here, up to town to his exhibition at the Leicester Gallery.' (7 January 1917, BSD2, 1177). This formed part of a diary fragment begun by Shaw in January 1917, but abandoned after ten days.

⁹⁸⁷ NTIN 1274653.

⁹⁸⁸ Shaw's portrait by De Smet was published in *Colour* magazine, (November 1915), 140.

Fry in the Post-Impressionist style (figure 126)⁹⁸⁹ which is now at Monk's House, the former home of Virginia Woolf, managed by the National Trust. Shaw had presented it as a gift to Virginia, writing to her in 1940: 'I have a picture by Roger which I will give you if you care to have it: a landscape.'⁹⁹⁰ The Shaws had seen Fry's *Manet and the Post-Impressionists* exhibition at the Grafton Galleries in 1910, and then visited at the same venue the Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition in January 1913.⁹⁹¹ Shaw would later write to D.S. MacColl: 'In a very short time I felt as much at home in the Grafton Gallery as I did in the old Grosvenor in the eighties.'⁹⁹²

Shaw was thus very familiar with the notable transformations in the sphere of the visual arts in Britain being instigated by friends such as Fry. His interest in journalistic culture also ensured that he remained conversant with new developments. Paul Edwards has highlighted the significant role of popular culture in disseminating these new ideas in art to a wide audience, particularly the role of the illustrated magazines including *The Tatler*, *The Sketch* and *The Illustrated London News*.⁹⁹³ As we shall see in chapter three, these were precisely the magazines Shaw was familiar with owing to his friendship with Clement Shorter, and were the vehicles of choice for his own lifelong self-promotion through images.

Other figures in the art world during the first decade of the twentieth-century were important to Shaw, and included John Lavery, Augustus John, and William Rothenstein, who were (like Fry) forging strong links to French art, and adopting an international, cosmopolitan perspective.⁹⁹⁴ In addition there were the gallery directors and curators Shaw knew and

⁹⁸⁹ NTIN 768413. The painting hangs in the sitting room at Monk's House, and is a study for *River with Poplars* by Fry in the Tate Gallery, London. The landscape shows the river at Angles-sur-l'Anglin, near Poitiers, France and was painted in 1911; see Shone, *The Art of Bloomsbury*, 75.

⁹⁹⁰ Shaw to Virginia Woolf, 10 May 1940, CL4, 557. Also quoted in Weintraub, 'Who's afraid of Virginia Woolf? Virginia and G.B.S.', 59.

⁹⁹¹ See Charlotte's diary: 'went with GBS to see Post-Impressionists', 16 January 1913, BL Add. MS 63190 K. The *Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition* (5 October to 31 December 1912) was extended until the end of January 1913; see Anna Gruetzner Robins, *Modern Art in Britain 1910-1914* (London: Merrell Holberton, 1997), 64.

⁹⁹² Shaw to D.S. MacColl, 26 May 1916. University of Glasgow Special Collections. (MS MacColl 5134). I thank Sue Morgan for her assistance in obtaining a copy of this previously unpublished letter. In the same letter Shaw defended the drawings by Cezanne and Picasso, which he had seen at the Grafton Gallery, claiming that Picasso 'lays on paint quite devilishly well and draws superbly.'

⁹⁹³ See Paul Edwards, 'Futurism, literature and the market', in *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-century English Literature*, ed. by Laura Marcus and Peter Nicholls (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 135. Anna Gruetzner Robins has reproduced several pages from *The Sketch* and *The Illustrated London News*; see Robins, *Modern Art in Britain*, 33; 61; 93; 97.

⁹⁹⁴ See Andrew Stephenson, 'Edwardian Cosmopolitanism, ca. 1901-1912', in *The Edwardian Sense*, ed. by O'Neill and Hatt, 251-84.

corresponded with, including MacColl,⁹⁹⁵ who was Keeper of the Tate Gallery (1907-1911), Keeper at the Wallace Collection (1911-1924), and co-founder of the NACF; Rimbault Dibdin,⁹⁹⁶ the second curator of the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool from 1904 to 1920; Laurence Binyon, who became Assistant Keeper of the Department of Oriental Prints and Drawings at the British Museum in 1913; Lawrence Scobie, acting secretary of The Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts; and Whitworth Wallis, the first director of Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery from 1885. Viewing the different roles adopted by these individuals in tandem is helpful in our assessment of Shaw, as it enables us to see that he similarly saw his own position through this nexus of connoisseurship and art management, shaping and broadening artistic taste, supporting international artists and sculptors who were to play a part in developing art in Britain such as Jacob Epstein.⁹⁹⁷

Before examining the artefacts, I also want to reveal the extent of Shaw's connections to the world of the 'connoisseur', a category I am considering not only through associations forged with those connected to the Arts and Crafts movement and Aestheticism (Sydney Cockerell, Walker, and Ricketts and Shannon), but also as I explain in due course, through certain figures such as the Sitwells and Lord Berners, defined by Alexandra Harris as 'Romantic Moderns'.⁹⁹⁸ At the same time as Shaw was forging links with Modernist art galleries, close ties to a more overtly aesthetic, connoisseurial, or eccentric culture where a sophisticated passion for the visual arts prevailed were established and maintained. This owed much to friendships and acquaintances, and to the fact that he had often commented on private collections and displays of artefacts and antiquities as an art critic. Shaw came into contact with many artists, collectors and connoisseurs, some of whom became lifelong friends such as Ricketts and Shannon. Ricketts created stage-sets and/or costumes for several of Shaw's plays including *The Dark Lady of the Sonnets* (1910), *Fanny's First Play* (1911), *Annajanska* (1917), and most famously for *Saint Joan* (1924); figure 127 shows his watercolour design

⁹⁹⁵ Shaw knew D.S. MacColl through Frank Harris's *Saturday Review*, where Shaw was the drama critic. MacColl took up the post of art critic in 1896. See Maureen Borland, *D.S. MacColl: Painter, Poet, Art Critic* (Harpden: Lennard Publishing, 1995), 98.

⁹⁹⁶ For Rimbault Dibdin's letters to Shaw, see BL Add. MS 50516.

⁹⁹⁷ Shaw introduced Robert Ross to Epstein's works, writing excitedly about Epstein's 'amazing drawings' in 1905, conveying the message that he wished to exhibit them at the Carfax; see Shaw to Robert Ross, 13 March 1905, CL2, 521. Epstein created a bust of Shaw in 1934, which Charlotte disliked and refused to accommodate at Whitehall Court or at Shaw's Corner (see Shaw's letter to Margaret Epstein, 29 December 1937, CL4, 486).

⁹⁹⁸ Alexandra Harris, *Romantic Moderns: English Writers, Artists and the Imagination from Virginia Woolf to John Piper* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2010).

for a curtain for the staging of *Saint Joan* in 1924.⁹⁹⁹ Sydney Cockerell was also a continuing influence in Shaw's life, and was appointed Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1908, where he made radical transformations.¹⁰⁰⁰

As part of this process of contextualizing some of the artefacts at Shaw's Corner, I aim to dismantle the view that the playwright had little time for art or beauty. This was the opinion expressed in *Thirty Years with GBS*.¹⁰⁰¹ Ricketts's biographer too made a clear distinction between Shaw's concern for 'social reform'¹⁰⁰² and Ricketts's desire for 'beauty'. Contrary to this, I suggest we need to allow room for interpreting Shaw through the prism of 'beautiful' things, elite culture and art appreciation. Delaney felt that for Ricketts (opposed to Shaw), 'the good things in life – art, literature and noble achievements in thought – had to be defended against the incursions of the vulgar or unappreciative',¹⁰⁰³ yet in many respects this was also Shaw's position.

Shaw had expressed connoisseurial views whilst an art and drama critic in the 1890s. A typical response can be witnessed through his review of a musical farce in 1897. Ridiculing the domestic interiors created as part of the scenery, he asks: 'why is it so ugly? In the first act, an attempt at a harmony in two shades of terra cotta, carried out in the wallpaper, curtains, and upholstery, is murdered by a ceiling, a carpet, and a conservatory, of such horribly discordant colors that it is difficult to look at them without a shriek of agony.'¹⁰⁰⁴ In an earlier article, he evoked the spectre of Mrs. Lessingham, who dies 'by her own hand, after a prolonged scene of deepening despair, in a room like Maple's shop window.'¹⁰⁰⁵ In his criticisms, stage, shop window and domestic interior were often conflated; and this was underpinned through a connoisseurial attitude towards domestic furnishings. Shaw adopted a role as an arbiter of taste in the theatre, which intersected with his own personal taste.

⁹⁹⁹ Fitzwilliam Museum (Object Number 1649); presented to the museum in 1933 by the NACF. Shaw however disliked the limited edition of *Saint Joan* (Constable, 1924), with Ricketts illustrations – this was the first of Shaw's works to contain illustrations. Shaw wrote to Henderson in 1946: 'The pictures were designed as theatre costumes and not as book illustrations. The result was a monster.' Quoted in Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and His Publishers*, 140.

¹⁰⁰⁰ See Panayotova, 'I Turned it into a Palace': *Sydney Cockerell and the Fitzwilliam Museum*; and Giles Waterfield, 'Art Galleries and the Public: A Survey of Three Centuries', in Richard Verdi, ed., *Art Treasures of England: The Regional Collections* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1998), 45-46.

¹⁰⁰¹ Patch, *Thirty Years with GBS*, 246.

¹⁰⁰² Delaney, 'Charles Ricketts and his unlikely friendship with George Bernard Shaw', 3.

¹⁰⁰³ Delaney, 'Charles Ricketts and his unlikely friendship with George Bernard Shaw', 5.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Shaw, 'A Musical Farce', *Saturday Review*, 9 January 1897, reprinted in *Bernard Shaw The Drama Observed: Volume II*, 742.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Shaw, 'Mr. John Hare', *Saturday Review*, 21 December 1895, reprinted in *Bernard Shaw The Drama Observed: Volume II*, 475.

This perspective, governed by art appreciation and a discerning eye, similarly informed his directorial strategies: thus Shaw rushes through the V&A Museum and the Wallace Collection in search of the right kind of porcelain to provide the inspiration for the costume worn by Count O’Dowda’s daughter in *Fanny’s First Play*.¹⁰⁰⁶ He also wrote excitedly to Ricketts from Germany, showing the interior of the Margravia Opera House in Bayreuth on his postcard, one of the most magnificent Baroque theatres in Europe (figure 128):¹⁰⁰⁷

This is the sort of Court Theatre we want. You should make a tour in Bavaria: the Baroque is irresistible. In Amberg, which is worth ten Nurembergs, there is a convent church [which] might have been consecrated to the Pompadour if she had been a real lady; and here (in Ratisbon) there is a converted church (Romanesque to Baroque) in which the singing galleries in the choir are in the style of the most exquisite sedan chairs – or rather like the stern windows of some amazing festival galley.¹⁰⁰⁸

Shaw may have criticized Morris’s fastidiousness in the preface to *Major Barbara*, but there was equally a critique of the masses who ‘want very much to wallow in all the costly vulgarities’. (III, 29). Roger Fry noticed this, and quoted from a speech Shaw made at the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool in December 1911¹⁰⁰⁹: ‘Speaking recently at Liverpool, Mr. Bernard Shaw placed the present situation as regards public art in its true light. He declared that the corruption of taste and the emotional insincerity of the mass of the people had gone so far that any picture which pleased more than ten per cent of the population should be burned...’¹⁰¹⁰ Shaw demonstrated a certain aristocratic custodianship of taste and a refined aesthetic sensibility similar to that of both Fry and Ricketts, which points to a contradiction in his outlook.

In Shaw’s writings he was often keen to disassociate himself from the ‘art-for-art’s-sake’ position linked to the aesthetes and to the Aesthetic movement, as he would state in the

¹⁰⁰⁶ See Shaw to Charles Ricketts, 10 April 1911, in Charles Ricketts, *Self-Portrait*, 162-63. I quoted from this letter in the introduction. See also Dukore, *Shaw’s Theater*, 122, and Dukore, *Bernard Shaw Director*, 160.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Postcard from Shaw to Ricketts, 4 August 1908, BL Add. MS 58090, f.85, Ricketts & Shannon Papers. The interior shown in Shaw’s postcard was designed by Guiseppe Galli Bibiena, in 1744-48.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Postcard from Shaw to Ricketts, 4 August 1908, BL Add. MS 58090, f.85, Ricketts & Shannon Papers. The text reprinted in Charles Ricketts, *Self-Portrait*, 148 (with errors).

¹⁰⁰⁹ See Gibbs, *A Bernard Shaw Chronology*, 195. Shaw gave his lecture on art at the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool on 29 December 1911.

¹⁰¹⁰ Roger Fry, ‘Art and Socialism’, in *Vision and Design*, 58-59. Fry’s essay ‘Art and Socialism’ had originally been published in 1912.

preface to *Man and Superman*: ““for art’s sake” alone I would not face the toil of writing a single sentence.’ (II, 527). However his personal connections to many who are generally considered ‘aesthetes’, together with his engagement with visual and material culture at times problematizes this position and blurs the boundaries. On this point, in chapter three I consider Shaw appropriating traits of the ‘dandy’ in his mode of dress and self-fashioning.

Meisel has brought to our attention the fact that the opening of the Grosvenor Gallery in 1877 occurred just a short while after Shaw first arrived in London.¹⁰¹¹ Weintraub has stated that even before Shaw was an art critic, he was ‘a regular at the Grosvenor Gallery’,¹⁰¹² which showcased work by Aesthetic movement artists Shaw admired including Walter Crane, Burne-Jones, John Singer Sargent,¹⁰¹³ and Whistler.¹⁰¹⁴ Significantly he also attended exhibitions at the Burlington Fine Arts Club prior to his official post as art critic: he tells us in ‘Morris as I Knew Him’ that he saw an exhibition of Rossetti’s paintings there, which had taken place in 1883.¹⁰¹⁵ Paintings by Shaw’s old friend Cecil Lawson were exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in the same year, and were admired by those connected to the Grosvenor, including Whistler and Comyns Carr;¹⁰¹⁶ and thus in the setting for Mrs. Higgins’s drawing room in Act III of *Pygmalion* where we are told there is ‘a Cecil Lawson on the scale of a Rubens’ (IV, 720) we have Shaw not merely (as Weintraub suggests) paying ‘a private Shavian tribute to a long-dead young friend,’¹⁰¹⁷ but paying homage to Aestheticism and the Grosvenor Gallery, that ‘Palace of Art’, and to the Burlington Fine Arts Club.

Shaw was a member of the Burlington Fine Arts Club, a fact that has not been recognized in the literature. Over the years he met various artists and architects there, including Henry

¹⁰¹¹ Meisel, ‘Visual arts’, 184.

¹⁰¹² Weintraub, LAS, 30.

¹⁰¹³ Shaw genuinely appreciated aspects of Aesthetic culture, for example Sargent’s painting *Carnation, Lily, Lily, Rose* (1885-6), which he reviewed very favourably at the Royal Academy, describing the work as ‘a brilliant extravaganza in children and Chinese lanterns.’ Shaw, *The World*, 4 May 1887, reprinted in Weintraub, LAS, 164. The work was possibly the inspiration for Shaw’s setting for Act IV of *You Never Can Tell* (1896) where ‘strings of Chinese lanterns are glowing among the trees outside.’ (I, 767).

¹⁰¹⁴ Shaw was attracted to Whistler as an artist, and as ‘rebel and wit’; see Weintraub, LAS, 9. Weintraub notes that Shaw ‘spent six shillings for a catalogue’ after attending one of Whistler’s exhibitions. (Weintraub, BSD1, 506).

¹⁰¹⁵ Shaw, ‘Morris as I Knew Him’, 26. Shaw writes: ‘I had seen a collection at the Burlington Fine Arts Club.’ Weintraub notes that Shaw ‘regularly praised Dante Gabriel Rossetti.’ Weintraub, LAS, 8.

¹⁰¹⁶ Allen Staley, “‘Art Is upon the Town!’ The Grosvenor Gallery Winter Exhibitions’, in *The Grosvenor Gallery: A Palace of Art in Victorian England*, ed. by Susan P. Casteras and Colleen Denney (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), 65.

¹⁰¹⁷ Weintraub, ‘In the Picture Galleries’, in *The Genius of Shaw*, 54.

Tonks¹⁰¹⁸ and Edwin Lutyens. Shaw mentions the Club in several letters: for example he wrote to Lady Gregory in February 1918, ‘I have just met Tonks at the Burlington Fine Arts Club.’¹⁰¹⁹ Tonks was a painter and surgeon, who had taught Augustus John at the Slade, and became an official war artist in 1918. He and Shaw were photographed by the press together at the unveiling of Rex Whistler’s murals at the Tate in 1927, and in his foreword to the *Woolworth Exhibition of Pictures* Shaw would evoke the murals in order to highlight the utility of art: ‘Wisely did Mr. Tonks say when Mr. Rex Whistler painted the walls of the Tate Gallery at so much per square foot, like any honest tradesman, “Artist your place is in the kitchen”’.¹⁰²⁰ Figure 129 reveals Shaw and Tonks on the right, with Rex Whistler and Lord D’Abernon on the left. Shaw and Lutyens had long been acquainted owing to their association with the AWG, and both were involved in the planning of the National Theatre during the 1930s. Figure 130 shows Shaw with Lutyens in the drawing-room at Whitehall Court examining the architect’s plans for the Theatre, in March 1939.¹⁰²¹

The Burlington Fine Arts Club was a private London gentleman’s club based in Savile Row, Mayfair, originally ‘formed for the encouragement of the Fine Arts’ with the aim of ultimately influencing ‘the taste and judgment of the public,’¹⁰²² and earlier members had included Ruskin and Whistler. According to Allen Staley, members of the Club, founded in 1866, were ‘Amateurs, Collectors, and others interested in Art’, and the exhibitions held there were ‘the most adventurous and interesting taking place in late Victorian England.’¹⁰²³ Unfortunately Shaw’s Burlington Fine Arts Club catalogues were sold at one of the Sotheby’s sales: these related to exhibitions on ancient Greek art, ancient Egyptian art, the work of Blake, and early drawings of London.¹⁰²⁴ A number of Shaw’s invitation cards survive in the HRC, Texas, however, dating from 1927 to 1936. These cards provide evidence of Shaw’s continuing membership of the Club, and were issued to members only for use by guests. Shaw gave them to his neighbour at Ayot Cherry-Garrard so that he could

¹⁰¹⁸ Tonks was among the artists who had provided pictures for the staging of the Epilogue of *The Doctor’s Dilemma* in the revival of the play at the Savoy Theatre in 1913.

¹⁰¹⁹ Shaw to Lady Gregory, 5 February 1918, CL3, 527.

¹⁰²⁰ Shaw, ‘Mr. Shaw on Dear Pictures’, *Daily Mail*, 18 September 1929, reprinted in Weintraub, LAS, 440.

¹⁰²¹ Getty Images 3311231.

¹⁰²² ‘The Burlington Fine Arts Club’, *The Burlington Magazine*, xciv, 589 (April 1952), 97.

¹⁰²³ Staley, “‘Art Is upon the Town!’ The Grosvenor Gallery Winter Exhibitions’, in *The Grosvenor Gallery: A Palace of Art in Victorian England*, ed. by Casteras and Denney, 64.

¹⁰²⁴ Shaw’s Burlington Fine Arts Club catalogues date from 1904 to 1927. Sotheby & Co, 25 July 1949, lot 102-105; and lot 174. (Appendix 3).

accompany him to certain exhibitions.¹⁰²⁵ This problematizes Weintraub's assertion that 'by the 1930s, Shaw was no longer visiting galleries.'¹⁰²⁶ Figure 131 is an example, relating to the exhibition 'Works of some Neglected English Masters' staged in the summer of 1932.¹⁰²⁷

One of the clearest instances of Shaw's passion for the visual arts was displayed through his intense interest in early Netherlandish painting and sculpture, and this was reflected in his unaccompanied trip to Bruges in 1902 with the sole purpose of viewing one of the most important art exhibitions of the early twentieth century: the *Exposition des Primitifs Flamands à Bruges* (Exhibition of Flemish Primitives at Bruges) where over four hundred works were shown. Abandoning all his prior commitments which included committee meetings of the St. Pancras Borough Council, Shaw wrote to Ensor Walters (who was seeking aldermanship), to say that he would not be attending; 'I am off tomorrow morning to Bruges to see the collection of Flemish art there: it is a sort of thing that I must see as a matter of business as the chance may never occur again during my lifetime as a critic.'¹⁰²⁸

What Shaw writes here however is misleading, for this special visit had little to do with 'business'; it was actually about his own personal interest given that he was no longer officially writing as an art critic,¹⁰²⁹ and no review was written. Holroyd mistakenly gives this as an example of Shaw travelling 'for work',¹⁰³⁰ not recognizing that the visit was purely for aesthetic pleasure. The picture I am providing of Shaw as a committed connoisseur of art, who as I have shown was prepared to forsake everything else to travel to Bruges for the exhibition, similarly challenges the assumptions made by Ian Britain in *Fabianism and Culture* who stated: 'Shaw's own involvement in art was never so intense as to make him neglect more immediately pressing social and political commitments.'¹⁰³¹

It is important to remember that Shaw often positioned himself as an 'Aesthete', against the 'Philistine' Fabians as he called them. Here he was evoking not only Matthew Arnold's

¹⁰²⁵ HRC, III, 63.7. Admission cards presented to Apsley Cherry-Garrard by Shaw, for the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1927-36.

¹⁰²⁶ Weintraub, LAS, 37. Although Weintraub acknowledged that Shaw's diaries 'in the 1890s are full of references to press views and private views' after he ceased to be an art critic, he does not investigate the ways in which this activity extended well into the inter-war period. See Weintraub, LAS, 15.

¹⁰²⁷ Other cards presented by Shaw gave Cherry-Garrard access to the display of Holbein's Portrait of Henry VIII (Winter 1933-1934), to the exhibition of 'Pictures, Drawings, Furniture and other Objects of Art' (Winter 1927-1928), and to the 'Exhibition of Gothic Art in Europe' staged in the summer of 1936. (HRC, III, 63.7).

¹⁰²⁸ Shaw to Ensor Walters, 19 September 1902, CL2, 283. The initial dates of the Exhibition were from 15 June to 15 September, however it was extended until 5 October owing to the public demand.

¹⁰²⁹ During the period Shaw would write several essays and articles on photography, but not fine art or sculpture.

¹⁰³⁰ HOL2, 61.

¹⁰³¹ Britain, *Fabianism and Culture*, 107.

Culture and Anarchy (1869), but the art criticism of MacColl where the battle between ‘the Aesthete and the Philistine’¹⁰³² was played out. MacColl ‘passionately believed that the worship of beauty and the maintenance of good taste were two of the cardinal rules of a civilized nation.’¹⁰³³ There are elements of Shavian taste that align him to the ‘aesthetic snobbery’ that can be traced through Arnold to Wilde and Whistler, and to the Aesthetes and Bloomsbury, where the art of the nineteenth century is anathema.¹⁰³⁴ On this note, we also need to acknowledge Shaw’s relationships with several prominent members of the aristocracy, from Nancy Astor, to Lord Berners, Lady Aberconway, and the Sitwells.

To those more attuned to the idea of Shaw as a Fabian, Shaw appears as a surprising consort of the Sitwells; but if we view him as possessing certain characteristics of the aesthete, it becomes perfectly feasible. Certainly these traits were discerned by cartoonists of the inter-wars years, and hence we find the cartoon entitled *George Bernard Shaw, Edith Sitwell, Sir Osbert Sitwell, and Sir Sacheverell Sitwell* by Robert Stewart Sherriffs (c.1927-1930) depicting Shaw inviting the Sitwells to join him in his elite realm where he enjoys a ‘very rare atmosphere.’¹⁰³⁵ (Figure 132). The drawing is captioned ‘Mr. Shaw (to the Sitwells) “Come up here, My Dears.”’ The cartoon may on one level have been concerned with the Sitwells weathering the storm of critical disapproval¹⁰³⁶, but it also worked as an acknowledgement that Shaw, (clad in his conspicuous tweed suit), is perfectly at home in the world of the English aesthete. James Lees-Milne, always observant, noted the presence of ‘Osbert Sitwell’s latest publication prominently displayed on a table’ when he visited Shaw’s Corner in 1944.¹⁰³⁷ Osbert recalled that he had first met Shaw at a dinner in 1917 hosted by the journalists Henry Nevinson and H.W. Massingham;¹⁰³⁸ and various books in the Shaw’s Corner collections are testament to their friendship, with *The Scarlet Tree* being inscribed to

¹⁰³² Borland, *D.S. MacColl: Painter, Poet, Art Critic*, 75.

¹⁰³³ Borland, *D.S. MacColl: Painter, Poet, Art Critic*, 75.

¹⁰³⁴ See Robin Gilmour, *The Victorian Period: The Intellectual and Cultural Context of English Literature 1830-1890* (London and New York: Longman, 1993), 197. There was also the ‘animosity between the dandy-aesthetes and the philistine-hearties’ that formed part of Oxbridge folklore; see Aaron Jaffe, *Modernism and the Culture of Celebrity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 76.

¹⁰³⁵ NPG D4468. Illustrated in Joanna Skipwith, ed., *The Sitwells and the Arts of the 1920s and 1930s* (London: The National Portrait Gallery, 1994), 239.

¹⁰³⁶ Skipwith, ed., *The Sitwells*, 116.

¹⁰³⁷ Lees-Milne, 9 February 1944, in *Diaries, 1942-1954*, 134.

¹⁰³⁸ Skipwith, ed., *The Sitwells*, 116.

Shaw with a message for his 90th birthday in 1946.¹⁰³⁹ Shaw and Edith shared an admiration for the poetry of W.H. Davies, whilst all the Sitwells and Shaw appreciated the talents of the clavichordist and pianist Violet Gordon Woodhouse, a former pupil of Dolmetsch.¹⁰⁴⁰ Dorothy Walker lived with Woodhouse during the 1940s at her home Nether Lypiatt Manor, in Gloucestershire, and Shaw kept in touch with her there.

Emery Walker had rented another property in Gloucestershire, Daneway House, from 1922, and as Greensted has shown, Daneway became the ‘meeting place for a creative circle’¹⁰⁴¹ which included the Sitwells, William Rothenstein, Woodhouse, Katharine Adams, Cherry-Garrard, and T.E. Lawrence, all of whom were friends with the Shaws. Greensted does not mention the Shaws, but they too were frequent visitors at Daneway, both Shaw and Charlotte being close to Dorothy and Emery as I have shown, evidenced by the numerous letters exchanged, entries in Charlotte’s diaries,¹⁰⁴² and photographs taken by Shaw.¹⁰⁴³ Shaw wrote to Dorothy: ‘My Dear Dolly, Hunting for an old photograph I have just come on the last half dozen I took at Daneway, with duplicates...So I send them along now, when you no longer have the original under your eyes...Bless you, dear Dolly, G. Bernard Shaw.’¹⁰⁴⁴ What is particularly interesting about this group for a study of Shaw is the inclusion of the Sitwells and Rothenstein, demonstrating how figures associated with the Arts and Crafts and socialism (the Walkers), were socializing with individuals usually defined as aesthetes, or as part of a cultured elite.

Shaw was also acquainted with society hostesses like Lady Ottoline Morrell and Madame Lalla Vandervelde through Roger Fry, he knew Lady Sibyl Colefax, the interior decorator and socialite,¹⁰⁴⁵ and Lord Berners (Gerald Tyrwhitt-Wilson), the classical composer, aristocrat, writer, painter and aesthete who, like Shaw, owned a Rolls Royce. Shaw wrote to

¹⁰³⁹ *The Scarlet Tree* (the second volume of *Left Hand, Right Hand*, an autobiography by Osbert Sitwell), 1946. (NTIN 3094599). Inscribed: ‘For Bernard Shaw with best wishes and many happy returns, from Osbert Sitwell, July 21, 1946.’ Another in the collection *Open the door! A volume of Stories*, is inscribed: ‘For Mr G Bernard Shaw and Mrs. Shaw with the deepest admiration and respect, from Osbert Sitwell, November 1941.’ (NTIN 3094437). In total there are seven books by the Sitwells in the library.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Skipwith, ed., *The Sitwells*, 73. Woodhouse played the piano for Shaw at her house in Mayfair in 1943, with Osbert and Sacheverell present.

¹⁰⁴¹ Greensted, ‘Emery Walker: printer, artist and ‘universal Samaritan’, in Greensted and Wilson, *Originality and Initiative*, 20.

¹⁰⁴² Charlotte records several visits to Daneway in her diary, see for example 24 April 1924: ‘to Daneway House – to lunch with Walkers.’ BL Add. MS 63191 I.

¹⁰⁴³ See NT Shaw Photographs 1715226.74; Emery Walker with his horse ‘Aisha’ at Daneway, 1927.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Shaw to Dorothy Walker, 7 December 1936. (HRC, II, 46.5). Shaw’s reference here to ‘the original under your eyes’ was to Daneway, which Dorothy had reluctantly given up after Emery’s death.

¹⁰⁴⁵ A postcard of Saint Joan from Sibyl Colefax to Shaw, dated 6 June 1927, survives in the British Library. (BL Add. MS 63186, f.44).

Nancy Astor: ‘We have known B[erners] for years and years. He is no ordinary peer: he writes, paints, and composes music quite outstandingly, and is enough of a good fellow to be friends with us.’¹⁰⁴⁶ We should remember that the Shaws had always socialized and befriended members of the artistic and cultural elite, including upper-class eccentrics, artists, writers, and intellectuals. Shaw was friends with the wealthy nobleman and art collector Lord Howard de Walden,¹⁰⁴⁷ who appears in the ‘cowboys’ photograph¹⁰⁴⁸ in Shaw’s study; and befriended the London socialite Edith Vane-Tempest-Stewart (Lady Londonderry) whose picture can also be found in the study on the mantelpiece.¹⁰⁴⁹ (Figure 133). The wealthy bibliophile Carlos Blacker Senior,¹⁰⁵⁰ friend of Wilde and Robert Ross, who co-authored *Paintings of the Louvre: Italian and Spanish*, (1905) and ‘lent to Shaw valuable books and manuscripts, became close to Shaw in the first two decades of the twentieth century.’¹⁰⁵¹ There was also Christiana Herringham, the art patron,¹⁰⁵² from whom the Shaws rented Piccard’s Cottage in 1900 with its Morris furnishings and rare books.¹⁰⁵³

The Shaws went to see Diaghilev’s Ballet Russes in 1913, with Shaw writing to Mrs. Patrick Campbell: ‘I went to the Russian Ballet and consoled myself with Karsavina and Charlotte with Nijinsky’;¹⁰⁵⁴ and this was at a time when Ernest Ansermet, Diaghilev’s conductor observed that the Ballet was attended by ‘the English elite.’¹⁰⁵⁵ We should note too that Lady Aberconway (Christabel McLaren), with her palatial mansion in South Street, Chelsea, has

¹⁰⁴⁶ Shaw to Nancy Astor, 30 April 1942, quoted in Wearing, ed., *Bernard Shaw and Nancy Astor*, 105. Lord Berners was also friends with Robert Ross, and the Sitwells.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Lord Howard de Walden was friends with Ricketts, and posed for a bust by Rodin in 1907.

¹⁰⁴⁸ NTIN 1274695. For further copies see NT Shaw Photographs 1715227.34; and BL Add. MS 50582, f.39. Lord Howard de Walden is shown on the far left. The other figures are G.K. Chesterton, J.M. Barrie, and William Archer, who were being filmed by Barrie in a field near to Shaw’s Corner.

¹⁰⁴⁹ NTIN 1274683. This is a print of the original watercolour by Beatrice Wainwright (NTIN 1220357) located at another National Trust property Mount Stewart, Northern Ireland, the former home of Lady Londonderry. The picture shows her in robes for the coronation of George VI in 1937.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Shaw was friends with Carlos Blacker Senior; not to be confused with his son Carlos Paton Blacker (1895-1975).

¹⁰⁵¹ Dan H. Laurence, ‘Shaw’s children’, in *SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, vol. 25, ed. by MaryAnn K. Crawford (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 26, n.5.

¹⁰⁵² Christiana’s father was the wealthy patron Thomas Wilde Powell, who supported the British Arts and Crafts movement.

¹⁰⁵³ Shaw borrowed Christiana’s books according to a letter he wrote to his publisher Grant Richards: ‘The lady of this cottage has lent me an extraordinarily delightful set of eastern stories - a sort of exquisite Arabian Nights – entitled ‘A Digit of the Moon’’. He continued: ‘it was only lent to me by special favour & taken away again in cotton wool when I had finished it; but I daresay it is accessible at the Museum.’ Shaw to Grant Richards, 30 December 1900, written from Piccard’s Cottage, St Catherine’s, Guildford, Surrey, quoted in Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and His Publishers*, 60. As Pharand notes, the Shaws rented the cottage ‘periodically from mid-November 1900 to mid-April 1902.’

¹⁰⁵⁴ Shaw to Mrs. Patrick Campbell, 18 July 1913, in Alan Dent, ed., *Bernard Shaw and Mrs. Patrick Campbell: Their Correspondence* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1952), 134.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Ernest Ansermet, quoted in David Peters Corbett, *The Modernity of English Art, 1914-30* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 140.

been portrayed in the literature as Charlotte's friend¹⁰⁵⁶, but she was just as much Shaw's,¹⁰⁵⁷ and was part of a circle which included MacColl and Osbert Sitwell. Christabel met Shaw through Hazel Lavery, who had given him the *Eikon Basilike*.¹⁰⁵⁸ Both Christabel and Osbert were also friends with Cecil Beaton, who designed the costumes and photographed the sets for the 1943 West End revival of *Heartbreak House*. (Figure 134).¹⁰⁵⁹ Beaton then presented Shaw with a set of the photographs, which Shaw in turn gave to Gabrielle Enthoven for her collection at the V&A.¹⁰⁶⁰

It is testament to Shaw's social versatility that he was able to mix in a variety of artistic and cultural circles, and during the Edwardian period his friendship with several of these figures, including MacColl, Fry, and Herringham had been cemented through the establishment of the British charity the NACF, which Shaw had supported from its inception. The NACF 'had been set up in 1903 to preserve works of art for the nation,'¹⁰⁶¹ an idea that took inspiration from Ruskin's lectures. Shaw gave the NACF address for the Annual General Meeting in 1907 when he claimed in typically provocative fashion that: 'the money actually in England, belonging to a people who did no work for it and who really had only to spend it intelligently to justify their existence, amounted to £500,000,000.'¹⁰⁶² For Shaw wealth brought social

¹⁰⁵⁶ See Laurence, who refers to 'Charlotte's friend, the Hon. Christabel McLaren.' Laurence, CL3, 87.

¹⁰⁵⁷ See the correspondence between Shaw and Christabel McLaren, BL Add. MS 52556. I quote from one of Shaw's letters to her, where he describes his spine during a bout of influenza as 'a rusty poker, jarring my skull most unpleasantly' (9 July 1925, Add. MS 52556, f.145); see Alice McEwan, 'The "Plumber-Philosopher": Shaw's Discourse on Domestic Sanitation', in *SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies, Dilemmas and Delusions: Bernard Shaw and Health*, vol. 34, ed. by Christopher Wixson (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014), 104, note 64.

¹⁰⁵⁸ See Christabel's memoir, Christabel Aberconway, *A Wiser Woman? A Book of Memories* (London: Hutchinson, 1966), 63.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Cecil Beaton, photograph. A scene from *Heartbreak House*, Cambridge Theatre, 18 March 1943. Deborah Kerr is shown in the foreground as Ellie Dunn. Verso: 'Given by G. Bernard Shaw, 1945.' V&A Theatre and Performance Collection.

¹⁰⁶⁰ In 1945 Shaw presented his collection of photographs of productions of certain plays to Gabrielle Enthoven, specifically for her collection at the V&A. These include photographs of *Major Barbara* (Royal Court, 1905); *Fanny's First Play* (1911, The Little Theatre); *The Music Cure* (1914, The Little Theatre); *Arms and the Man* (1919, Duke of York); and *Heartbreak House* (1943, Cambridge Theatre). Patch wrote to Loewenstein: 'All the photos of London stage productions were given by GBS to Mrs. Gabrielle Enthoven for her collection at the Victoria & Albert Museum.' BL Add. MS 50565, f.129. Patch to Loewenstein, 3 February, 1947.

¹⁰⁶¹ Waterfield, 'Art Galleries and the Public: A Survey of Three Centuries', in Verdi, ed, *Art Treasures of England*, 47.

¹⁰⁶² Shaw, in *Report of the Third Annual General Meeting Held in the Rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, Piccadilly, 25 April 1907*, quoted in Poole: *Stewards of the Nation's Art*, 108-09.

responsibility. ‘Private’ money belonged to the nation.¹⁰⁶³

Shaw argued in a passage on education in his preface to *Misalliance* that the position of the connoisseur comes with great moral responsibility. He suggests that ‘the powers enjoyed by brilliant persons who are also connoisseurs in art’ are not to be taken lightly: ‘The influence they can exercise on young people who have been brought up in the darkness and wretchedness of a home without art, and in whom a natural bent towards art has always been baffled and snubbed, is incredible to those who have not witnessed and understood it. He (or she) who reveals the world of art to them opens heaven to them.’ (IV, 133). Art could be used to enlighten humanity.

Shaw’s definition of a connoisseur was based on the Renaissance model, where there was a moral dimension to patronage: ‘[Giorgio] Vasari often speaks of it in this language, praising particular patrons or even whole cities for the opportunities and encouragement they gave to artists.’¹⁰⁶⁴ As one art historian has observed ‘the patron-collector-connoisseur with sharpened eye and informed judgement came to play a conspicuous role in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the formation of collections that today are at the heart of some of the major European museums.’¹⁰⁶⁵ Shaw would have seen parallels between his own commitment to shaping the public collections of British art in the early twentieth century, and the endeavours of the seventeenth-century art patron. As both reformer and arbiter of taste with an early modern mind-set, he criticized the way in which the word ‘passion’ had become associated with ‘trivial sensuous enjoyments’¹⁰⁶⁶ in the early twentieth century, unlike the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when men aimed at ‘sublimity’ in art and science.

Through the NACF we witness an overlap between Shaw’s connoisseurial pursuits and patronage: here was another example of the interdependence of his aesthetic interests and

¹⁰⁶³ Shaw’s speech continued: ‘Though our public collections of Art in this country are almost wholly dependent on what are called private donations, that it to say donations made by private people with money which they undoubtedly are in the habit of regarding as private money, but which I regard as money held in trust for the nation... We must continually remind our rich classes not only that we want more money, but that they owe it to us. How else can we face the overwhelming competition of the American millionaires who are stripping us of Art treasures more ruthlessly than Napoleon stripped Italy and Spain.’ Shaw, in *Report of the Third Annual General Meeting Held in the Rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, Piccadilly, 25 April 1907*, quoted in Juliet Gardiner, ‘Rebels and Connoisseurs’, in Verdi, ed., *Saved! 100 Years of the National Art Collections Fund*, 21-22.

¹⁰⁶⁴ David Cast, *The Delight of Art: Giorgio Vasari and the Traditions of Humanist Discourse* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), 85.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Pauline Maguire, ‘The Picture: Italy and France’, in Martin Kemp, eds., *The Oxford History of Western Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 216.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Shaw drew attention to what he termed his ‘seventeenth century’ disposition in his ‘Foundation Oration’ delivered before the Union Society of University College, London, in 1920. Shaw, ‘Foundation Oration’, reprinted in Laurence, ed., *Bernard Shaw: Platform and Pulpit*, 145.

socialistic concerns. We must not forget that Shaw's interest in art had blossomed at the same time as his socialist theories evolved. According to Shaw's philosophy, beauty must be put to good use and be instructive. Jan McDonald has argued in 'Shaw among the Artists' that the playwright highlights the role of the creative arts in 'improving the human condition.'¹⁰⁶⁷ Art and beautiful things therefore embodied moral concerns, and were perceived to be useful if aligned to social responsibility. The Shaws had a print of Holbein's *Christina of Denmark (the Duchess of Milan)* in the drawing room at Adelphi Terrace:¹⁰⁶⁸ the NACF had helped purchase the painting for the National Gallery, in May 1909. (Figure 135). The NACF would also purchase a cast of Rodin's sculpture *The Burghers of Calais* in 1911,¹⁰⁶⁹ which inspired Shaw's play *The Six of Calais*.¹⁰⁷⁰ (1934).

Shaw had developed and assumed many of the traits of the connoisseur during the 1880s, which was also the period of his intense involvement in socialism, and this had its parallels in the character of Trefusis, the hero of *An Unsocial Socialist*. As noted by Tracy C. Davis, 'the autobiographical component of Shaw's novels shows most markedly in the leading male protagonists.'¹⁰⁷¹ Like Shaw, Trefusis is a connoisseur as well as a socialist. The mansion that had belonged to his ancestor (who merely 'passed for a man of exquisite taste'¹⁰⁷²) has fallen into decay, but this is portrayed as a fitting outcome because the colours used in the decorative scheme are in poor taste, applied 'apparently by a color-blind artist.' The frieze, we are told, is 'imitated from the works of Donatello, and very unskillfully executed.'¹⁰⁷³ As Davis has observed, 'he confronts the enemy in its own territory, trapping it with its preferred luxuries.'¹⁰⁷⁴ We can detect traces of this in Shaw's personality where artefacts are concerned, working within existing capitalist systems rather than external to them.

As we have seen in chapter one, Shaw often supported a more 'socialist' or egalitarian form of consumption, and, and to some extent this came into conflict with his personal tastes and consuming habits; however he acknowledged that this incongruity might be mediated through

¹⁰⁶⁷ Jan McDonald 'Shaw Among the Artists', in *A Companion to Modern British and Irish Drama: 1880-2005*, ed. by Mary Luckhurst (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 66.

¹⁰⁶⁸ The presence of this print by Holbein was noted by Yone Noguchi on visiting Shaw at Adelphi Terrace; see Yone Noguchi, 'Bernard Shaw', *The Bookman*, 47 (December 1914), 77.

¹⁰⁶⁹ See Rodin's correspondence with various individuals associated with the NACF concerning the purchase, including Shaw, in Claudine Mitchell, ed., *Rodin: The Zola of Sculpture*, 164-69.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Pharand points out that the play had the subtitle: 'A Medieval War Story in One Act, by Jean Froissart, Auguste Rodin and Bernard Shaw.' See Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and the French*, 235.

¹⁰⁷¹ Tracy C. Davis, *George Bernard Shaw and the Socialist Theatre* (Connecticut and London: Praeger, 1994), 13.

¹⁰⁷² Shaw, *An Unsocial Socialist*, 197.

¹⁰⁷³ Shaw, *An Unsocial Socialist*, 196.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Davis, *George Bernard Shaw and the Socialist Theatre*, 12.

patronage. Connoisseurship was legitimized through ‘art for society’s sake’. The NACF was concerned with bringing art to a wider audience, and Shaw could channel his aesthetic tendencies through patronage, finding ways for his connoisseurial taste to exist in a productive dialogue with his socialistic ideals based on equality.

On this point we should note Shaw’s endorsement of groups and societies such as the Medici Society and the Arundel Club, formed to reproduce and disseminate art via quality prints and engravings: a means to bring art and pleasure to a wider audience. Shaw’s friend Robert Ross (co-owner of the Carfax Gallery, and like Shaw a supporter of the NACF) established the Arundel Club in 1904 with the art historian Martin Conway to promote the ‘photographic reproduction of paintings which the general public would otherwise be unable to see.’¹⁰⁷⁵ Shaw also knew Conway (Lord Conway of Allington) through the NACF, who founded the Conway Library at the Courtauld Institute in 1931. Among Conway’s sculpture collection was the bust of Shaw by Kathleen Scott. This is the bust of Shaw which appears in the photograph in Shaw’s study.¹⁰⁷⁶ Figure 136 shows the bust when it went on display at Ackermann’s Galleries, New Bond Street, in 1938.¹⁰⁷⁷

The Arundel Club was derived from the Arundel Society (1848-1897) named after Thomas Howard, the Earl of Arundel, a connoisseur and one of the first major patrons of the arts in Britain, as a means of promoting the knowledge of art by reproducing and publishing works by the old masters, and as a way of educating public taste. The Shaws had various Arundel Society chromolithographs on their walls at Adelphi Terrace, referred to in the 1908 Inventory as ‘Arundel Publications’, including Perugino’s *The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian*,¹⁰⁷⁸ and Benozzo Gozzoli’s *The Procession of the Magi*.¹⁰⁷⁹ (Figure 137). In Shaw’s bedroom at Shaw’s Corner there is an Arundel Society chromolithograph reproducing

¹⁰⁷⁵ Poole: *Stewards of the Nation’s Art*, 126.

¹⁰⁷⁶ NTIN 1274694. I discuss this press photograph further in the next section.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Photograph of bust of Shaw by Kathleen Scott, on display at Ackermann’s Gallery, 1938. (MM).

¹⁰⁷⁸ Adelphi Terrace Inventory, 1908, 53.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Adelphi Terrace Inventory, 1908, 52. The cataloguer incorrectly spelt the painter’s name and it was listed as ‘Arundel Publication: Renozzo Goggoli, *The Procession of the Maji and Pines*, The Ricardi Palace.’ In Shaw’s collection of photographs there is also a postcard of one of Gozzoli’s paintings *St. Dominic Resuscitates Napoleone Orsini Who Has Fallen from a Horse* (1461). (NT Shaw Photographs 1715244.13). Shaw would probably have seen the Gozzoli panels in Milan and Florence during his second trip to Italy with the Art Workers’ Guild in September 1894.

Andrea Mantegna's *St. James before Herod Agrippa* (1451) (figure 138).¹⁰⁸⁰ Shaw also collected prints of Hans Holbein the Younger's Tudor portrait drawings, part of the 'Windsor Castle' series issued by the Medici Society, which were advertised in *The Burlington Magazine* from 1913. Outstanding quality chromolithographs, they were considered to be the finest achievement of the Medici Society. Figure 139 shows one of the surviving examples, a copy of the Holbein drawing of *Lady Audley*.¹⁰⁸¹

The fact that Shaw possessed certain skills and attributes associated with the art critic or connoisseur, including close analysis of artefacts, visual scrutiny of prints and drawings, and a desire to act as a commentator on public taste, became the subject of self-parody with Shaw assuming the pose of a connoisseur. Figure 140 shows a photograph of Shaw by Craig Annan posed as a connoisseur, with his quizzing glass. This photograph was published on the back of a popular magazine entitled *Photographic Art Studies*.¹⁰⁸² Shaw's writing on the image reads: 'This portrait of me was taken by Craig Annan in Glasgow on the 28th October 1910. The picture, which is quite as interesting pictorially as the man looking at it, is by Muirhead Bone.'¹⁰⁸³

Shaw was probably making ironic reference to a magazine of the day *The Connoisseur: A Magazine for Collectors*, (copies of which were recorded at the Shaws' flat in the Adelphi Terrace Inventory¹⁰⁸⁴) where the front page displayed a connoisseur or antiquarian with his magnifying glass examining a document or picture. (Figure 141). Equally Shaw's pose served as a mocking reference to his personal obsession with fine detail, precision, optics, and ways of seeing. Shaw's remarkable vision has been noted by Berst: drama offered 'a widely spectrumed, sharply apperceptive route from seeing to understanding.'¹⁰⁸⁵ Shaw possessed

¹⁰⁸⁰ NTIN 1274707. The print is a chromolithograph after the watercolour copy made by Cesari Mariannecci; the original fresco by Mantegna in the Ovetari Chapel, church of Eremitani, Padua, was destroyed during World War Two. Shaw toured northern Italy (Milan, Verona, Venice, Padua, Mantua, and Pavia) during September 1891 with the Art Workers' Guild. In September 1894 he toured with the group again, staying in Florence for nine days, but also visiting Milan, Pisa, Genoa, Como, and Pallanza; see Elsie B. Adams, 'The Pursuit of Art: Shaw's Italian tours of 1891 and 1894', in *Shaw Abroad: The Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, vol. 5, ed. by Rodelle Weintraub (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1985), 13-24.

¹⁰⁸¹ See also *Fifty Two Coloured Holbeins*, NTIN 3061828; and *24 Farbrige Handzeichnungen*, NTIN 3061829. NTIN 1274670 refers to the print of Jane Seymour.

¹⁰⁸² *Photographic Art Studies* (date unknown, but assigned to c.1910); Isidor Saslav Collection, Texas. See McEwan, 'Commodities, Consumption, and Connoisseurship', 68, where reproduced.

¹⁰⁸³ I discuss a further photograph of Shaw by Craig Annan in the next chapter.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Adelphi Terrace Inventory, 1908, 41; the Inventory records the presence of *The Connoisseur*, vols. 5 to 12, in 4 volumes. Shaw also subscribed to *Apollo Magazine*; see the receipts for the years 1945-49 in Shaw's Business Papers (LSE Shaw Business Paper 25/7, f.36; 25/8, f.48; 25/10, f.34-35; 25/12, f.55).

¹⁰⁸⁵ Berst, 'The Action of Shaw's Settings and Props', 43.

‘20-20 vision’ and thus ‘he saw things more clearly than most people.’¹⁰⁸⁶ Shaw remarked upon his own acute vision: ‘it saw things differently from other people’s eyes, and saw them better.’¹⁰⁸⁷ Shaw was also interested in all manner of visual aids which extended vision, particularly those devices employed in early modern Europe such as magnifying glasses and telescopes. Shaw possessed his own telescope,¹⁰⁸⁸ which was sold by the Trust in 1954. (Figure 142).¹⁰⁸⁹

Jonathan Crary in *Techniques of the Observer* has highlighted a ‘modulation in the relation between eye and optical apparatus’¹⁰⁹⁰ during the nineteenth-century, noting a shift away from a relationship characterized by metaphor (in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), towards one based on metonymy. In the early modern period as Crary explains, ‘the eye and the camera obscura’¹⁰⁹¹ or the eye and the telescope or microscope were allied by a conceptual similarity, in which the authority of an ideal eye remained unchallenged.’¹⁰⁹² It is with the

¹⁰⁸⁶ Berst, ‘The Action of Shaw’s Settings and Props’, 43. The ability to see things clearly is a theme that resonates in both Shaw’s art historical interests, and his plays. The opening scene of *Man and Superman*, for example, reveals a metaphysical conceit that runs throughout many of his works, where things that obscure vision (the window blinds) appear together with things that aid vision (the enlarged photograph, the absence of dust). In Ramsden’s study, the surfaces are spotlessly clean; ‘not a speck of dust is visible.’ (II, 533). Clear vision, both in the philosophical and bodily sense, is highlighted in this scene: we struggle to see Ramsden’s profile through the blinds (II, 534); although we cannot miss the image of T.H. Huxley, because it is presented in the form of an ‘enlarged photograph’, and the bust of Herbert Spencer is prominently displayed on a pillar. On the wall, we are told, is a ‘family portrait of impenetrable obscurity’ (II, 534) (for Ramsden cannot see the significance of inheritance in evolutionary terms). Kirsten Shepherd-Barr has noted the enlargement of the photograph in her discussion of *Man and Superman*; see Kirsten Shepherd-Barr, *Theatre and Evolution from Ibsen to Beckett* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 311, n.62.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Berst, ‘The Action of Shaw’s Settings and Props’, 43.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Shaw placed telescopes in plays such as “*In Good King Charles’s Golden Days*” (1939), and *Back to Methuselah*, where the artefact is a satirical device, a metaphor symbolizing the ability to ‘see’ clearly. Shaw’s way of seeing relates to iconographic interpretations of seventeenth century painting, where everyday objects are read as physical emblems for the divine or metaphysical world, and can be decoded to reveal underlying moral truths. It is also productive to compare Shaw’s method with William Hogarth’s strategies. Of particular note here is the satire which Shaw draws on to evoke the surreal chaos produced by the First World War, Hogarth’s engraving *Royalty, Episcopacy, and Law*, an emblematic satire on the moon seen through a telescope. Shaw refers to ‘the moon seen through a telescope’ in his report on visiting Ypres in 1917, so it is clear that he knew of Hogarth’s satire. Shaw, ‘Bombardment’ [part 1 of ‘Joy Riding at the Front’], *The Daily Chronicle*, 5 March 1917, in Shaw, *What I Really Wrote About the War* (London: Constable, 1931), 252; quoted in Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and the French*, 286. For Hogarth’s engraving, see David Porter, ‘A Wanton Chase in a Foreign Place: Hogarth and the Gendering of Exoticism in the Eighteenth-century Interior’, in Dena Goodman and Kathryn Norberg, eds., *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century: What Furniture Can Tell Us about the European and American Past* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 56.

¹⁰⁸⁹ AP Images ID: 5401140347. The auction took place on 14 January 1954, at St. Albans, when 56 artefacts from Shaw’s Corner were sold by the Trust. The caption to the image reads: ‘porters Mr. G. Lyons and Mr. A. Bolton show some of Shaw’s effects to Miss Gillian Gray in the auction rooms at St. Albans.’ See Appendix 4 for a list of the auctions of Shaw’s possessions organized by the National Trust.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1992), 129.

¹⁰⁹¹ In Shaw’s play “*In Good King Charles’s Golden Days*”, Newton informs the painter Godfrey Kneller that he can draw his portrait with a ‘camera obscura.’ (VII, 280).

¹⁰⁹² Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, 129.

apparatus of this earlier period that Shaw seems particularly fascinated. In light of this I would suggest it is no coincidence that a convex mirror is one of the first artefacts we see at Shaw's Corner. (Figure 143).¹⁰⁹³ The dualistic role of these mirrors in the Aesthetic interior of the late nineteenth-century has been highlighted. However the convex mirror (and new ways of seeing) was also a recurring motif in the Flemish Renaissance painting Shaw so admired: the *Arnolfini Portrait* by Jan van Eyck, with its famous portrayal of the convex mirror, survives in Shaw's collection of postcards. (Figure 144).¹⁰⁹⁴

The topic of the art connoisseur, and the associated feat of acute observation, was represented by satirists such as Thomas Rowlandson,¹⁰⁹⁵ familiar to Shaw through his days as an art critic. But two other sources were particularly significant in this regard: the work of Samuel Butler and William Hogarth. The bronze statuette of the *Farnese Hercules*, after the antique marble original in the Museo Nazionale in Naples, which today stands on the mantelpiece in Shaw's study (figure 145),¹⁰⁹⁶ provides possible clues. I will discuss Hogarth's *The Analysis of Beauty* (1753) as one source for Shaw's interest in this figure in the next chapter; here I focus on the connections to Butler it illuminates.

A large statuette of the *Farnese Hercules* featured in Butler's satirical painting *Mr Heatherley's Holiday: An Incident in Studio Life* (1873) (figure 146),¹⁰⁹⁷ where various artefacts linked to the study of antique sculpture were represented in the studio. A statuette of the *Farnese Hercules* can also be seen in Butler's rooms at Clifford's Inn where Shaw was a visitor in 1889, becoming acquainted with Butler through Walker.¹⁰⁹⁸ (Figure 147).¹⁰⁹⁹ Shaw's image of Butler on the study wall is a copy of a photogravure by Walker, taken from

¹⁰⁹³ Regency convex mirror, gilt wood and gesso frame, NTIN 1274751.

¹⁰⁹⁴ NT Shaw Photographs 1715252.150. As an art critic, Shaw would have been aware of the importance this painting had for the Pre-Raphaelites, with its symbolism and intensely observed details.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Shaw, 'Humourists at the Institute', *The World*, 12 June 1889, reprinted in Weintraub, LAS, 285.

¹⁰⁹⁶ NTIN 1274963. The Shaw's Corner Probate Inventory records the presence of the statuette in Shaw's study in 1951, where it is listed in the bronzes section as 'a small figure of Hercules' (page 21). The inventory taken in March 1955 is more detailed and lists the exact contents of the study mantelpiece and the adjacent wall. The 'statuette Hercules on plinth' is described as being 'on the mantelpiece'. Inventory, Shaw's Corner, March 1955, 7. (EERO.GF20:5).

¹⁰⁹⁷ Tate Britain, London, N02761. See Shaffer, *Erewhons of the Eye*, 54, plate 32.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Shaw recorded in his diary that he 'called at his rooms' (15 November 1889, BSD1, 559). Emery Walker's firm 'Walker and Boutall' had a city office at Clifford's Inn, next-door to Butler's rooms. See Tyson, *Bernard Shaw's Book Reviews*, vol.2, 395. Sydney Cockerell's letters to Shaw reveal an occasion when Butler attended a lunch party given by the Shaws at Adelphi Terrace: 'very many happy luncheons at Adelphi Terrace, including the one to which I brought Samuel Butler.' Cockerell to Shaw, 14 July 1941, BL Add. MS 50531, f.73.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Photograph. *Samuel Butler at the piano [in his room at Clifford's Inn]*. (Samuel Butler Collection, St. John's College Library, University of Cambridge. Butler/IX/2/9).

a photographic portrait by Alfred Cathie in 1898.¹¹⁰⁰ (Figure 148). The statuette possibly originated from Charlotte’s childhood home of Derry House¹¹⁰¹, and may be seen in 1904 on the drawing room mantelpiece at 10 Adelphi Terrace in a press photograph of Shaw published in *The Tatler* (figure 149).¹¹⁰² The similarities between Shaw and Butler are striking, since Butler was not only a writer,¹¹⁰³ but also an art critic and photographer. Elinor Shaffer has shown that Butler was proficient in the practice of assuming ‘humorous photographic poses’ (often in a ‘style of flamboyant self-deprecation’), continuing a ‘satiric tradition in painting’¹¹⁰⁴ learnt from Rowlandson and Daumier, where connoisseurs and collectors, the artefacts they cherish, and the classical tradition were parodied. I suggest Shaw drew on Butler’s paintings and photographic work in this way.

In other images however, Shaw appears absorbed in the act of looking intently at a print where the satirical element seems absent. Figure 150 is a photograph by Ernest H. Mills taken at Adelphi Terrace in 1905, where he is captured examining a Dürer print.¹¹⁰⁵ The possibility that this is genuine connoisseurial interest, rather than a staged satirical pose is endorsed through the survival of material evidence. Dürer was an important artist for Shaw, evidenced by the three prints surviving in the collection, and he had dozens of Dürer prints in the London flats (I discuss more of these in the next chapter).¹¹⁰⁶ He shared this interest in Dürer with many other writers and artist-craftsmen around the turn of the century, including Morris. A magazine article on Morris’s London home reported that: ‘the hall inside is adorned with

¹¹⁰⁰ The image of Butler in the study (NTIN 1274690) relates to a book in Shaw’s library *The Note-Books of Samuel Butler, Author of “Erewhon”* (NTIN 3193164), which uses the same portrait for the frontispiece. Shaw’s copy of *The Illiad* (NTIN 3062166) was translated by Butler, and bears the inscription: ‘Mr. G. Bernard Shaw with the translator’s very kind regards Feb.4. 1902.’

¹¹⁰¹ Derry House Inventory, Rosscarbery, dated January 1901 (taken after the death of Charlotte’s mother). Charlotte marked certain artefacts that she wanted as ‘self’. These included ‘2 small bronze figures on marble stands’ from the dining room. BL Add. MS 63198A, f.56.

¹¹⁰² *The Tatler* (16 November 1904). This photograph of Shaw at Adelphi Terrace was used to illustrate the following article: Clement Shorter, ‘George Bernard Shaw – A Conversation Concerning Mr. Shaw’s New Play’, *The Tatler*, 177 (16 November 1904), 242. Gibbs briefly discusses the article and mentions the image; see Gibbs, *A Bernard Shaw Chronology*, 162. The statuette was not listed in the Adelphi Terrace Inventory of 1908, thus it is reasonable to surmise that the object was kept at Shaw’s Corner after 1906. In the photograph *Violet and Columbine* by Morris & Co. can be seen on the chair back and seat. (Parry, *William Morris Textiles*, 233, no.51).

¹¹⁰³ A copy of Butler’s *Unconscious Memory* is in the library (NTIN 3062557).

¹¹⁰⁴ Shaffer, *Erewhons of the Eye*, 23.

¹¹⁰⁵ Shaw photographed by Ernest H. Mills, Adelphi Terrace, 1905. Getty Images 3251110.

¹¹⁰⁶ Henderson informs us that Shaw’s study at Adelphi Terrace ‘had its plain walls almost hidden by Albrecht Dürer prints in the excellent reproductions of the Dürer Society.’ Henderson, *Playboy and Prophet*, 736. The Adelphi Terrace Inventory states these were ‘scenes from the Life of Christ.’ There was also a print of a Dürer self-portrait in the drawing-room, which can be detected in a photograph of the Shaws by Ernest H. Mills from 1905. See Getty Images 96234081. <https://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/96234081> The photograph is reproduced in Holroyd, ed., *The Genius of Shaw*, 182.

wood engravings from the drawings of Albert [sic] Dürer'.¹¹⁰⁷ Shaw was a member of the Dürer Society, formed in 1897, whose aims were, according to the Society's *Report* that survives in the collection, to reproduce 'by facsimile processes' the works of Dürer and his school.¹¹⁰⁸ Shaw had known the Secretary of the Dürer Society Sidney Montagu Peartree since 1891, when he was lecturing on socialism.¹¹⁰⁹ Two of the Dürer prints surviving at Shaw's Corner were published by the Dürer Society, and these include *Christ as the Man of Sorrows with Hands Bound*, 1512, (now in the study, figure 151)¹¹¹⁰ and *Christ as the Man of Sorrows* [frontispiece to] *Small Passion*, 1511, (in the hall).¹¹¹¹ There was also perhaps an allusion here to Wilde's *De Profundis*, a text Shaw read in manuscript form,¹¹¹² where Wilde discusses the influence of Jesus Christ: 'he made of himself the image of the Man of Sorrows.'¹¹¹³ Other Dürer prints owned by Shaw included images of the Hare and Owl. Figure 152 shows Shaw in a photograph leaning on the drawing-room mantelpiece at Shaw's Corner in about 1910, where these can be seen.¹¹¹⁴ The Hare survives in the collection,¹¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰⁷ Unsigned interview, 'Representative Men at Home: Mr. William Morris at Hammersmith', *Cassell's Saturday Journal* (18 October 1890), 80-2, reprinted in Tony Pinkney, ed., *We Met Morris: Interviews with William Morris, 1885-96* (Reading: Spire Books, 2005), 44. May Morris's list of artefacts in the rooms at Kelmscott Manor, noted the presence of 'Dürer's Apocalypse prints' in the lobby to the Panelled Room. (May Morris, 'Memorandum of Articles', dated 17 June 1926, William Morris Gallery Archive, Walthamstow). This document also recorded 'Dürer's Melancholia from W.M.'s study at Hammersmith' in 'William Morris's room'. In his diary, Shaw described how he had 'talked to Morris about Dürer, etc. before we went to bed' when he stayed there in the winter of 1892. (24 December 1892, BSD2, 883).

¹¹⁰⁸ The *Dürer Society Report* for 1906 survives among the pamphlets in the store room, NTIN 3201078. The works reproduced included 'paintings, drawings, engravings and woodcuts.' The Adelphi Terrace Inventory for 1908 records the presence of 'Dürer Society Publications for 1904' among the books in the drawing-room (f.46). The two extant prints depicting 'Christ's Passion' on display at Shaw's Corner were listed in the 1906 *Report* (10) as being available in the Society's Second Portfolio, 1899, no.16: from *The Engraved Passion*. Shaw's prints were part of the set of twenty two that were originally on display at Adelphi Terrace. Through the Society, Shaw would probably have met Campbell Dodgson, the Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum, and an authority on Dürer.

¹¹⁰⁹ Shaw lectured to the Pimlico Radical Club, 19 April 1891, on 'Socialism, Old and New', an event organized by 'Sid M. Peartree.' (BSD2, 713).

¹¹¹⁰ NTIN 1274684.

¹¹¹¹ NTIN 1274615. A photograph by E.O. Hoppé of Shaw and Henderson in 1924 reveals the presence of twelve scenes from Dürer's *The Engraved Passion* (1507-1512) on top of the main bookcase in the drawing room at Adelphi Terrace; see Henderson, *George Bernard Shaw: Man of the Century*, between pages 672-673.

¹¹¹² Gibbs, *A Bernard Shaw Chronology*, 211. Gibbs notes that Carlos Blacker lent Charlotte a copy of the manuscript, which Shaw also read. (August 1914).

¹¹¹³ Oscar Wilde, *De Profundis*, in Frank Harris, *Oscar Wilde*, 233. See also Shaw's letter to Frank Harris (headed 'Bernard Shaw & Jesus the Christ'), 20 October 1916, CL3, 430-33.

¹¹¹⁴ NT Shaw Photographs 1715217.38; and 1715256.59. See Colin Eisler, *Dürer's Animals* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), for the Owl, Plate 9; and for the Hare, Plate 13.

¹¹¹⁵ The print of Dürer's *Young Hare*, 1502, (next to the drawing-room mantelpiece, NTIN 1274661), may be a later edition as it was not listed in the 1906 *Dürer Society Report*. Shaw's request to Clara Higgs in 1921 for various items of clothing to be sent to him at the Fabian Summer School, Godalming, was written on a postcard depicting Dürer's Hare. Shaw to Clara Higgs, 13 August 1921, the postcard recorded as a 'reproduction of Albrecht Dürer's drawing of The Hare.' The text only was reprinted in Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager*, 60, however Chappelow noted that 'picture-postcards, rather than plain ones or letters, were frequently sent' to Harry and Clara Higgs (the Shaws' gardener and housekeeper), reflecting the 'intimate' relationship the Shaws had with the couple. (Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager*, 58-59).

and is now placed on the wall rather than the mantelpiece, in its passé partout frame.¹¹¹⁶

Shaw had long been part of the London art scene, and we must not underestimate the vast number of significant connections he had to artists, galleries, collectors and administrators. Over the course of his life in London the galleries and institutions Shaw was associated with, visited, had shares in, or was a member of, included the Burlington Fine Arts Club, the Carfax Gallery, the New English Art Club, the Leicester Gallery, Colnaghi's, the Grafton Gallery and the Chenil Gallery. Despite Weintraub's collection of Shaw's art criticism, Shaw's extensive personal connections to the art market and galleries have not been the subject of detailed investigation, although Weintraub has noted that Shaw owned shares in the Carfax Gallery.¹¹¹⁷ It is beyond the scope of the present study to offer that here, however further exploration of the Carfax in particular is useful for the information it provides concerning a number of artefacts remaining in the Shaw's Corner collections, and to those works he donated to various institutions.

The Carfax Gallery was an exhibition space and commercial premises in St. James's, London, established in 1899 by William Rothenstein and John Fothergill, with Robert Ross as director from 1901. The work of the art historian Samuel Shaw on William Rothenstein and the Carfax is vital to our understanding of Shaw's participation, as he has listed the Gallery's exhibitions,¹¹¹⁸ revealing many that featured artists Shaw was interested in such as Rodin, Beardsley, Augustus John, Ricketts and Shannon, Fry, John Trivett Nettleship,¹¹¹⁹ Neville Bulwer-Lytton, Sargent, Whistler, Blake and Hogarth.¹¹²⁰ We can therefore view certain paintings and sculptures at Shaw's Corner in terms of representing his associations with the Carfax.

¹¹¹⁶ This type of low-cost frame was popular among artists for framing small pictures, and numerous images are framed in this way in the collection. Henderson refers to the interiors of Adelphi Terrace before 1927: 'pictures cover the remaining wall spaces and lie about, passpartouted between glass.' Henderson, *Playboy and Prophet*, 736. According to the Adelphi Terrace Inventory the Shaws had dozens of prints 'in passe par tout frames.'

¹¹¹⁷ Weintraub states that 'Shaw owned shares in the Carfax Gallery'; see Weintraub, 'In the Picture Galleries', in *The Genius of Shaw*, 53; and Weintraub, *LAS*, 27.

¹¹¹⁸ Samuel Shaw, "'The new ideal shop': Founding the Carfax Gallery, c.1898-1902', *The British Art Journal*, 13, 2 (2012), 35-43. This article provides a list of the Carfax exhibitions from 1898-1921.

¹¹¹⁹ Shaw knew John Trivett Nettleship from his days as an art critic, viewing his exhibitions of pastels (31 October 1890, BSD1, 663; 20 February 1892, BSD2, 796), and also visiting his studio (2 August 1892, BSD2, 841). Nettleship was also a member, like Shaw, of the Browning Society, which was where they first met. (30 October 1885, BSD1, 121). I discuss this further in the next section. Nettleship's wife Ada was a seamstress, who made the famous 'beetle' dress worn by Ellen Terry for her performances as Lady Macbeth. John and Ada's daughter Ida Nettleship married Augustus John.

¹¹²⁰ Shaw identifies Blake and Hogarth as being among those 'artist-philosophers' he most admires in the preface to *Man and Superman*. (II, 519).

Although a number of books and paintings were sold,¹¹²¹ significant artefacts remain in the house in the form of the Augustus John oil painting, the Rothenstein portrait, the Beardsley watercolour, and the pastel by Nettleship: these were all artists whose work was exhibited at the Carfax. The Carfax Gallery also staged an important early exhibition of drawings by Rodin in 1900, his first London show. The pastel of the *Diving Heron*¹¹²² (1893) by Nettleship, now in the hall (figure 153), was probably purchased by Shaw at the exhibition of his work at the Carfax in 1903.¹¹²³ The oil portrait of Shaw by Rothenstein¹¹²⁴ (figure 154) dating to circa 1930 is a reflection of the long-standing friendship between Rothenstein and Shaw. A drawing dated 1928,¹¹²⁵ and a further oil painting survive in the collections of the HRC. Rothenstein's first portrait of Shaw, a pastel drawing had been created in 1895, and a lithograph in 1897.¹¹²⁶ Rothenstein also made several drawings of Rodin at the time Shaw was sitting for Rodin's bust in 1906 at Meudon.¹¹²⁷ Figure 155 shows Rodin sculpting Shaw in a drawing by Rothenstein reproduced in Henderson's biography¹¹²⁸ entitled *G.B.S. Sitting to Rodin*; and figure 156 is a chalk drawing of Rodin, a gift to Shaw from Rothenstein, exhibited at the Carfax in 1907, and subsequently donated to the Tate Gallery by Shaw in 1910 through the NACF.¹¹²⁹

The Rodin bronze bust of Shaw (figure 157)¹¹³⁰ now displayed in the drawing room at

¹¹²¹ Shaw's Whistler etching (kept at Adelphi Terrace) was sold, together with numerous books on Blake and Beardsley, at the Sotheby's sale of 1949; see Sotheby & Co, 25 July 1949. The Whistler etching was of 'Old Hungerford Bridge' (rare second state), lot 206. Shaw lent Sydney Cockerell his copy of what he describes as 'Hogarth's book' in 1946; what Shaw meant by this is unclear, however the item was not returned. See Shaw to Sydney Cockerell, 29 April 1946, quoted in Viola Meynell, ed., *The Best of Friends*, 153.

¹¹²² NTIN 1275274; signed lower left, 'J.T. Nettleship'. The drawing was listed in the Adelphi Terrace Inventory, 1908; it is not known when it was brought to Shaw's Corner.

¹¹²³ Carfax Gallery, 'Pastels and sketches by the late J.T. Nettleship', 1903; see Samuel Shaw, "'The new ideal shop": Founding the Carfax Gallery' (information taken from the appendix providing a list of the Carfax Exhibitions). Nettleship had died in 1902.

¹¹²⁴ NTIN 1274501.

¹¹²⁵ Rothenstein states that the 1928 drawing was owned by Shaw. See William Rothenstein, *Men and Memories: Recollections of William Rothenstein*, vol.2 (London: Faber & Faber, 1931-32), reproduced facing page 264. However the original in the HRC (65.149), is inscribed and signed verso in Shaw's hand: 'I dedicate myself to Lillah [McCarthy], who has bought me from Rothenstein, 12 December 1929.'

¹¹²⁶ For the pastel drawing of Shaw see: Rothenstein, *Men and Memories: Recollections of William Rothenstein 1872-1900*, vol.1, facing page 208. The 1897 lithograph was published in *English Portraits*, 1897.

¹¹²⁷ The Shaws made daily visits to Rodin's studio at Meudon for three weeks from 16 April 1906 to 8 May 1906. (See Gibbs, *A Bernard Shaw Chronology*, 170-71; and Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and the French*, 226). Rodin then visited the Shaws the following year at Adelphi Terrace, 4 July 1907. (Gibbs, *A Bernard Shaw Chronology*, 177).

¹¹²⁸ See Henderson, *Playboy and Prophet*, reproduced between pages 738-39.

¹¹²⁹ Tate Britain, N02683.

¹¹³⁰ NTIN 1274943.

Shaw's Corner (kept at Adelphi Terrace,¹¹³¹ and then Whitehall Court until 1945¹¹³²), is often described as Charlotte's commission,¹¹³³ but the interest in Rodin's work originated through Shaw owing to his connections in the art world. Shaw first met Rodin over two years before the bust was created, on 9 January 1904 at the banquet staged to honour Rodin given by the International Society of Sculptors, Painters and Gravers at the New Gallery, after he was elected president.¹¹³⁴ A version of Rodin's statue *The Thinker* was exhibited at the New Gallery at this time,¹¹³⁵ and it was here that Shaw first saw the sculpture.¹¹³⁶ Shaw was in fact elected 'an Honorary Lay Member of the International Society of Sculptors, Painters and Gravers' in 1908,¹¹³⁷ a body of artists which included Rothenstein, Ricketts and Shannon, Kathleen Scott, and John Lavery, who had been one of the founders of the society.¹¹³⁸

The Carfax Gallery also staged several exhibitions of Augustus John's paintings and drawings between 1901 and 1907, and there is a possibility that Shaw first met John through

¹¹³¹ The bronze bust of Shaw by Rodin arrived at Adelphi Terrace in October 1906 (see Shaw's letter to Augustin Hamon, 4 December 1906, CL2, 665); and Catherine Lampert, ed., *Rodin* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2006), 249. It was listed in the Adelphi Terrace Inventory, 1908, 35: 'Bronze bust of Mr. Bernard Shaw, 20 in high, by A. Rodin'. The cost of the bronze in 1906 was £800, with the marble costing £1000. Charlotte had lodged £1000 in Rodin's account in March 1906. See Shaw, *Sixteen Self Sketches*, 124; Minney, *The Bogus Image of Bernard Shaw*, 179.

¹¹³² The bronze bust of Shaw by Rodin was moved to Shaw's Corner from London at some point during late 1945. The bust was kept at Adelphi Terrace and then Whitehall Court. Denis Johnston remembered it at Whitehall Court in 1934; see Rory Johnston, ed., *Orders and Desecrations: The Life of the Playwright Denis Johnston* (Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 1992), 178. When Lees-Milne visited Shaw's Corner in 1944, he recorded that he had seen the 'copy' of the Rodin, referring to the plaster version, which had always been at Ayot. (Lees-Milne, 9 February 1944, in *Diaries, 1942-1954*, 135).

¹¹³³ See HOL2, 181; and Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and the French*, 225. Rodin had lunch with the Shaws at Adelphi Terrace on 1 March 1906.

¹¹³⁴ Lampert, *Rodin*, 249. Lampert states that by 1904 'Shaw had already had his portrait made by the sculptors Paul Troubetzkoy and Jacob Epstein', but this is incorrect. The first Troubetzkoy bust of Shaw was created in late 1906 (or early 1907); whilst the Epstein bust was not sculpted until 1934. Lampert also states that the Rodin bronze of Shaw (exhibited RA, 2006), originated from Shaw's personal collection, however this too is an error.

¹¹³⁵ See Andrew Stephenson, 'Edwardian Cosmopolitanism, ca. 1901-1912', in *The Edwardian Sense*, ed. by O'Neill and Hatt, 273. Stephenson reproduces a photograph of Rodin and members of the International Society posed beneath *The Thinker*. (275, figure 80).

¹¹³⁶ Shaw may also have seen photographs in the society journals and magazines. Images of Rodin and *The Thinker* were widely disseminated via illustrated magazines such as *The Tatler*. When the presidential banquet was held in 1904, *The Tatler* included a photograph of Rodin posed beneath *The Thinker*, alongside the report: 'There was a very fine representation of English social life at the conversazione given by the International Society of Sculptors, Painters, and Gravers to meet M. Rodin, the president. Everybody who was anybody was at the New Gallery, and M. Rodin was lionised to the utmost point by artistic and Bohemian London.' *The Tatler*, 'Gossip of The Hour' (20 January 1904), 87.

¹¹³⁷ See the letter to Shaw from C. Bakker, secretary to the International Society of Sculptors, Painters and Gravers, 5 February 1908, BL Add. MS 50515, f.105. According to Charlotte's diaries, the Shaws visited the Exhibitions of the International Society of Sculptors, Painters and Gravers. For example, in 1913 they attended the exhibition when it was held at the Grosvenor Gallery. (Charlotte Shaw Diary entry, 17 May 1913, BL Add. MS 63190 K).

¹¹³⁸ Andrew Stephenson, 'Edwardian Cosmopolitanism, ca. 1901-1912', in *The Edwardian Sense*, ed. by O'Neill and Hatt, 270.

his connections to the gallery.¹¹³⁹ In 1915 Shaw visited Lady Gregory at Coole Park in Ireland, and he would explain to Mrs. Patrick Campbell that it was during his stay there that ‘Augustus John painted six magnificent portraits of me in 8 days. Unfortunately, as he kept painting them on top of one another until our protests became overwhelming, only three portraits have survived.’¹¹⁴⁰ One of the ‘lost’ portraits however survived in photographic form owing to Shaw’s desire to record the process. (Figure 158).¹¹⁴¹ Of the three final versions, Shaw purchased two, which he kept at Adelphi Terrace.¹¹⁴² He donated one to the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1922, (figure 159)¹¹⁴³ an event that was reported in *The Illustrated London News*;¹¹⁴⁴ whilst the other version remained in London (first at Adelphi Terrace, then at Whitehall Court) until 1945 when it was brought to Shaw’s Corner. The assumption in the literature has been that the painting always hung at Shaw’s Corner, (and this applies to many of the artefacts in the house), but this is incorrect.¹¹⁴⁵ Figure 160 shows a detail of the painting out of its frame when it was recently cleaned.¹¹⁴⁶

Shaw had asked Patch to bring the painting up to Ayot as part of his strategy of staging the interiors ready for the time when the house would be open to the public after his death. Shaw wrote in September 1945 from Ayot, asking her to ‘transport hither...the Augustus John portrait of me.’¹¹⁴⁷ He explained this was part of his ‘policy of leaving all my works of art of any interest either in Ayot for the National Trust or to some public gallery.’¹¹⁴⁸ Around this

¹¹³⁹ It is also possible that Shaw met John through the Walkers. Weintraub points out that Dorothy Walker had ‘been a Slade School Art classmate of Augustus John.’ See Weintraub, ‘Bowing a Knee to GBS: Augustus John on T.E. Lawrence’, 255.

¹¹⁴⁰ Shaw to Mrs. Patrick Campbell, 15 May 1915, in Dent, ed., *Bernard Shaw and Mrs. Patrick Campbell: Their Correspondence*, 175. One of the portraits was exhibited the following month (24 May - June 1915) at the New English Art Club summer show. Shaw wrote to her again on 14 June: ‘the Augustus John portrait is at the New English Art Club’, although it is not certain which of the versions he is referring to. (Dent, 177). See also Shaw to Frances Chesterton, 5 May 1915, CL3, 294-95.

¹¹⁴¹ This photograph by Shaw of John in the act of painting was published in *The Countryman*, 15, 1 (April-June 1937), 97. NT Shaw Photographs 1715223.109. (For the group of photographs see 1715223.109-122).

¹¹⁴² The third version, known as ‘The Sleeping Philosopher’ owing to the fact that it represented Shaw with his eyes closed, was purchased by the Queen Mother in 1938. For a photograph of this version see NT Shaw Photographs 1715212.35. Reproduced in Weintraub, ‘In the Picture Galleries’, in *The Genius of Shaw*, 62.

¹¹⁴³ Fitzwilliam Museum (Object Number 1071). Reproduced in Weintraub, ‘In the Picture Galleries’, in *The Genius of Shaw*, 62.

¹¹⁴⁴ ‘G. Bernard Shaw by Augustus John’, *The Illustrated London News* (6 May 1922), reporting Shaw’s donation of the work to the Fitzwilliam Museum. When Sydney Cockerell came to Adelphi Terrace to collect the painting on 25 March 1922 he was accompanied by T.E. Lawrence, thus the occasion was the first meeting of the Shaws with Lawrence. See Gibbs, *A Bernard Shaw Chronology*, 243; and HOL3, 85.

¹¹⁴⁵ Weintraub for example has claimed that Augustus John’s portrait of Shaw was kept at Ayot. See Weintraub, ‘In the Picture Galleries’, in *The Genius of Shaw*, 63.

¹¹⁴⁶ NTIN 1275285. Oil on canvas. Labels on the frame show that the painting was exhibited at the Corporation Art Gallery, Bradford, and the Daily Mail Ideal Home Exhibition. Further research is needed to establish whether this was during Shaw’s lifetime.

¹¹⁴⁷ Shaw to Patch, 19 September 1945, CL4, 751.

¹¹⁴⁸ Shaw to Patch, 19 September 1945, CL4, 752.

time Shaw presented further artefacts to the main London museums, including two drawings by John of T.E. Lawrence, which had belonged to Charlotte.¹¹⁴⁹ Shaw donated these drawings to the NPG in 1944: one of these is represented by a print in the drawing-room at Shaw's Corner.¹¹⁵⁰ (Figure 161).¹¹⁵¹ At the same time he offered his drawing of Granville-Barker by Sargent to the NPG, although it did not enter the collection there until 1960. (Figure 162).¹¹⁵²

I believe that Shaw made his personal interests, patronage and connections to the art world explicit in the staging of *The Doctor's Dilemma* at the Royal Court Theatre in 1906, where Weintraub tells us 'contemporary drawings from Robert Ross's Carfax Gallery'¹¹⁵³ were displayed to represent the work of the artist Louis Dubedat (supposedly based on a combination of Beardsley and Rossetti¹¹⁵⁴). The original programme for the Vedrenne-Barker staging of *The Doctor's Dilemma* reads as follows: 'The Picture Gallery in Epilogue arranged by Carfax & Co, Ltd., 24 Bury Street, St. James's.'¹¹⁵⁵ Thus in a sense the mise-en-scène Shaw created for the epilogue of *The Doctor's Dilemma* ('a Bond Street Picture Gallery') needs to be seen in conjunction with the interiors at Shaw's Corner, as Shaw's gallery or 'shop window', a metaphor he frequently employed.

Weintraub argues that the staging of the epilogue in this way in 1906, which included the works of Rothenstein, Beardsley and John to represent Dubedat's posthumous exhibition, was regrettable on Shaw's part.¹¹⁵⁶ Weintraub described the effect as one of 'confusion', and spoke of Shaw's 'failure to leave the problem of the artist's genius to audience imagination...The ex-art critic in Shaw had pressed himself too convincingly upon the playwright.'¹¹⁵⁷ This however was not simply a matter of Shaw advertising his critical or

¹¹⁴⁹ Shaw wrote to H.M. Hake, the director of the National Portrait Gallery, on 15 July 1944, offering the drawings to the NPG: 'If they are eligible for the Gallery they are at your disposal.' NPG 3187 (1a).

¹¹⁵⁰ NTIN 1274660.

¹¹⁵¹ The original pencil drawing is in the NPG (NPG 3187, pencil, 1919), with the other drawing of Lawrence by John (NPG 3188, pencil, 1923), donated by Shaw in 1944. The 1919 drawing marked the occasion when Lawrence was attending the Paris Peace Conference; see Charles Saumarez Smith, *The National Portrait Gallery* (London: The National Portrait Gallery, 1997), 183.

¹¹⁵² Harley Granville-Barker by John Singer Sargent, chalk, 1900. NPG 4178. See Shaw's letter to H.M. Hake, 15 July 1944, NPG 3187 (1a). See Weintraub, 'Last Will and Testament' (Appendix I) in *Shaw: An Autobiography 1898-1950*, 227.

¹¹⁵³ Weintraub, 'In the Picture Galleries', in *The Genius of Shaw*, 53.

¹¹⁵⁴ Weintraub, 'In the Picture Galleries', in *The Genius of Shaw*, 53.

¹¹⁵⁵ Programme for the Vedrenne-Barker staging of *The Doctor's Dilemma*, November-December 1906, Royal Court Theatre. (MM). Mander and Mitchenson add the following comment on the staging: 'This was done by Robert Ross and the pictures included works by John, Orpen, Rothenstein.' See Mander and Mitchenson, *Theatrical Companion to Shaw*, 113.

¹¹⁵⁶ Weintraub, 'In the Picture Galleries', in *The Genius of Shaw*, 53.

¹¹⁵⁷ Weintraub, 'In the Picture Galleries', in *The Genius of Shaw*, 53. See also Weintraub, LAS, 28.

curatorial skills; more importantly I would suggest he was performing a service to these artists and to the Carfax Gallery, paying homage to their influence, impact and friendship, and we should see his bequests to institutions, including the National Trust, in the same light. We should note too that Shaw's Corner was first occupied by the Shaws in November 1906, the same month as *The Doctor's Dilemma* opened at the Royal Court Theatre, with the artist and his wife played by Shaw's friends Granville-Barker and his new wife Lillah McCarthy, who were the Shaws' first guests at the house.

Throughout his life, Shaw would continue to find ways to pay homage to the artists, critics, connoisseurs and collectors whose work he valued, many of whom were friends, and were similarly dedicated to their work as benefactors. Shaw wrote to Hugh Lane, who had founded the Municipal Gallery of Modern Art (now The Hugh Lane, Dublin City Gallery), offering the marble version of the bust of himself by Rodin to the gallery as a gift: 'I had much rather the bust were under your care in the quite extraordinarily good collection you have founded in my native city, than hidden in a private house which already possesses an even more cherished masterpiece in the bronze cast taken from the original plaster.'¹¹⁵⁸ Rodin's permission was obtained, and Shaw donated the marble bust to Lane's gallery in October 1908.¹¹⁵⁹ (Figure 163).

Sir Whitworth Wallis, the director of Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, known to Shaw through the NACF, wrote to him in 1912: 'I really hope that some attempt will be made to erect a suitable gallery for the holding of the Sir Hugh Lane Collection... a good gallery is an excellent investment as you say.'¹¹⁶⁰ Shaw's benefaction included the loan of the Rodin bronze for exhibitions, such as the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts' fifty-second Annual Exhibition in 1913. Scobie, acting secretary for the Institute, wrote to thank Shaw: 'The Council... are very glad to learn from Mr. John Lavery that you have consented to lend the bronze bust of yourself by Rodin for our forthcoming Exhibition.'¹¹⁶¹ Scobie wrote to Shaw again later that year: 'Important works, such as this, contribute very materially to the success of an Exhibition, and the Council feel that they are greatly indebted to you for the

¹¹⁵⁸ Shaw to Hugh Lane, 5 October 1908, CL2, 811. Holroyd has pointed out that Shaw would later campaign 'with Lady Gregory to recapture Hugh Lane's pictures' for his gallery in Dublin. See HOL2, 384.

¹¹⁵⁹ See Lampert, *Rodin*, 249.

¹¹⁶⁰ Sir Whitworth Wallis to Shaw, 3 December 1912, BL Add. MS 50516, f. 285. Wallis was a member of the council of the NACF. His connection to the Shaws' plaster copy of the Egyptian bust on the hall mantelpiece at Shaw's Corner is explored in chapter three.

¹¹⁶¹ Lawrence Scobie to Shaw, 7 August 1913, BL Add. MS 50516, ff. 342-343.

support you have given to their undertaking by lending the bust.’¹¹⁶²

Shaw’s generosity extended to friends such as Trebitsch, to whom he presented as a gift a plaster version of the Rodin bust in 1914.¹¹⁶³ Shaw’s own plaster copy of the bust, a gift from Rodin in 1906,¹¹⁶⁴ was kept on top of the white bookcase in the drawing-room at Shaw’s Corner. Figure 164 shows the plaster bust in one of the many photographs he took in the garden.¹¹⁶⁵ During Trebitsch’s visit to Ayot in October 1925, Shaw marked the occasion by staging a photograph where both men stand either side of the bust. This was a way of referencing the gift, and also the memory of the sitting, when Trebitsch had visited Rodin’s studio in 1906 to see the bust being created.¹¹⁶⁶ Figure 165 shows one of the photographs.¹¹⁶⁷ Today the plaster bust is in storage, whilst the Rodin bronze (brought to Ayot in 1945) occupies the same place on top of the bookcase.

Shaw ensured that a number of sculptures were also presented to various theatres. Shaw gave the small head of himself by Rodin to RADA in 1945: figure 166 shows the bronze in one of his own photographs where he positioned the piece in the garden at Shaw’s Corner.¹¹⁶⁸ Shaw recorded further gifts to institutions in a letter to Sydney Cockerell in 1944: ‘My bust by Strobl I have bequeathed to the Shakespear Memorial National Theatre...The Troubetskoy busts in the Tate¹¹⁶⁹ and the Theatre Guild of New York I leave to them respectively with a

¹¹⁶² Lawrence Scobie to Shaw, 19 November 1913, BL Add. MS 50516, f.360.

¹¹⁶³ See Weiss, *Bernard Shaw’s Letters to Siegfried Trebitsch*, 173-74. Weiss notes: ‘Shaw’s generous gift to Trebitsch was paralleled by Rodin’s offering the plaster bust to Shaw for 900 francs instead of his usual 2,900.’ (174, n.2).

¹¹⁶⁴ NTIN 1275324. See Shaw, *Sixteen Self Sketches*, 124.

¹¹⁶⁵ NT Shaw Photographs 1715213.6; see also 1715213.2; 1715213.9-10; 1715213.12-13. A photograph of the plaster version was used as the frontispiece to *Selected Passages from the Works of Bernard Shaw. Chosen by Charlotte F. Shaw* (London: Constable, 1912); see Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and the French*, 229.

¹¹⁶⁶ Siegfried Trebitsch, *Chronicle of a Life* (London: Heinemann, 1953), 187-90, quoted in Gibbs, *Interviews and Recollections*, 284-85.

¹¹⁶⁷ NT Shaw Photographs 1715218.19. Another version of this photograph (NT Shaw Photographs 1715309.13) was published in Weiss, *Bernard Shaw’s Letters to Siegfried Trebitsch*, 265, and reprinted in Weintraub, ‘Indulging the Insufferable: Shaw and Siegfried Trebitsch’, in *Shaw’s People: Victoria to Churchill* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), 197.

¹¹⁶⁸ NT Shaw Photographs 1715213.16; dated verso by Shaw 1934. See also 1715213.3

¹¹⁶⁹ Charlotte had donated the later bust of Shaw by Troubetzkoy (1926) to the Tate in 1927. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715213.35). The small seated statuette which can be seen at Shaw’s Corner, also dates from 1926.

reversion of the latter to the Metropolitan Museum should the Guild be dissolved.’¹¹⁷⁰ This bronze donated by Shaw to the Theatre Guild was the early sculpture by Troubetzkoy Shaw had sat for in late 1906 (or early 1907), created over just three hours in Sargent’s studio.¹¹⁷¹ Figure 167 shows an image of the plaster bust published in *The Graphic* in 1907, with the title: ‘The Celebrated Russian Sculptor Prince Troubetzkoy, and his wife, with a specimen of his rapid work.’¹¹⁷² As an art critic Shaw had first encountered Troubetzkoy’s work when he attended a press view of an exhibition at Dowdeswell’s Gallery ‘Troubetzkoy’s portraits and studies in oils’ in 1892.¹¹⁷³ The friendship between Shaw and Troubetzkoy resulted in numerous portraits of Shaw: four bronze sculptures,¹¹⁷⁴ and two pencil drawings, sold by Shaw in 1949.¹¹⁷⁵

The bequests to museums and other institutions however, being portraits of Shaw, were not merely donated out of generosity, but were driven by vanity and a desire for memorialization. An inscription added by Shaw to a photograph of Sigismund de Strobl’s bust of Shaw (now at the National Theatre owing to his bequest), which he humorously pasted onto the first folio of his copy of Shakespeare’s *Comedies, Histories and Tragedies*, (sold in 1949) urged the

¹¹⁷⁰ Shaw to Sydney Cockerell, 29 September 1944, CL4, 724. See also Weintraub, ‘Last Will and Testament’ (Appendix I) in *Shaw: An Autobiography 1898-1950*, 227. It would appear however that Shaw’s wishes were not followed as Grioni has documented the artefact’s history: ‘It stayed in Shaw’s possession till the twenties, when he gave it as a mark of esteem to his American producer Lawrence Langner of New York’s Theatre’s Guild, and there it stood from 1925 throughout the presidency of his son Phillip Langner until the 1990s, then entering The Fine Art Society collection in London where it was lately on view.’ Grioni, ‘A Lifetime Friendship’, 4-5. According to Shaw’s will, upon dissolution of the Theatre Guild, the bust should have passed to the Metropolitan Museum in New York, rather than being offered for sale. Shaw made it clear that he did not want it sold, and had expressed his fears to Langner when the original terms of the acquisition were being negotiated: ‘if you go on producing my plays, you’ll be bankrupt... My bust will be the chief asset of the Guild, and will be sold at public auction.’ Shaw to Lawrence Langner, quoted in Lawrence Langner, ‘The Sinner-Saint as Host: Diary of a Visit to G.B.S. at Stresa’, *The Saturday Review of Literature*, 27, 30 (22 July 1944), 11.

¹¹⁷¹ Shaw described the sitting in his article on Rodin; see Shaw, ‘Rodin’, from *The Nation*, 9 November 1912, and 24 November 1917, reprinted in *Bernard Shaw, Pen Portraits and Reviews* (London: Constable, 1932), 228.

¹¹⁷² *The Graphic* (9 February 1907), 214. The plaster maquette for this sculpture, as for all the Shaw pieces, is in the Museo del Paesaggio, Verbania Pallanza, Lago Maggiore, Italy. A similar photograph of the 1906-07 bust by Troubetzkoy was reproduced in Henderson, *George Bernard Shaw, His Life and Works*, 1911, facing page 480.

¹¹⁷³ Shaw attended the Troubetzkoy exhibition on 25 November 1892. (BSD2, 875).

¹¹⁷⁴ See Grioni, ‘A Lifetime Friendship’, 4.

¹¹⁷⁵ One of the pencil drawings of Shaw by Troubetzkoy, dating to 1927, was sold by Shaw at the Sotheby’s sale of Shaw’s paintings and drawings; see Sotheby & Co, 27 July 1949, lot no.147. (Appendix 3). This drawing was purchased by the dealer Chas J. Sawyer, London, and offered for sale; see Chas J. Sawyer, *Original Drawings* (London: Chas J. Sawyer Ltd., 1949), 14. (NAL). It was described in the catalogue as: ‘G.B. Shaw portrait: an original pencil sketch by Paul Troubetzkoy, 1927, from Mr. Shaw’s collection.’ Grioni’s article reproduces two pencil sketches of Shaw, drawn by Troubetzkoy during 1926-7, (both are now in private collections). See Grioni, ‘A Lifetime Friendship’, 7. The drawings were reproduced on the cover and on page 8 of his article.

reader to 'see the genius he has made of me.'¹¹⁷⁶ (Figure 168).¹¹⁷⁷ It would be a recurring theme in Shaw's ongoing dialogue with statues and sculpture.

¹¹⁷⁶ Shaw's inscription, written beneath the photograph of Strobl's bust, pasted into Shakespeare's *Comedies, Histories and Tragedies*. The book was sold: Sotheby & Co, 25 July 1949, lot no.199. I discuss Shaw's inscription further in chapter three.

¹¹⁷⁷ The photograph with Shaw's verse was reproduced as the frontispiece to the Sotheby's catalogue, 25 July 1949. For a selection of Shaw's own photographs of the Sigismund de Strobl bust, see NT Shaw Photographs 1715213.56; 1715213.58; 1715213.71-72; 1715213.74-76.

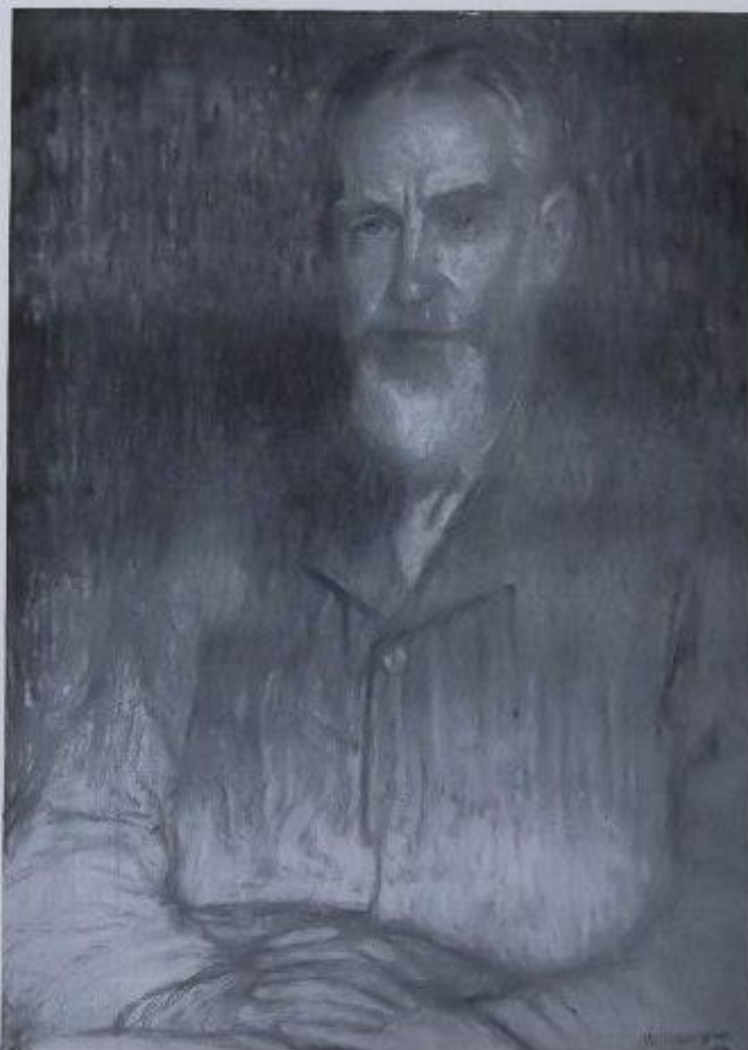
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"PORTRAIT OF G. BERNARD SHAW"

By Léon de Smet
(Belgian)

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Figure 125 Léon De Smet, *Bernard Shaw* (dining-room, Shaw's Corner), published in *Colour* magazine, (November 1915), 140. © National Trust.



Figure 126 Roger Fry, study for *River with Poplars* (the river at Angles-sur-l'Anglin, near Poitiers, France) 1911, Monk's House. (NTIN 768413). Presented to Virginia Woolf by Shaw in 1940. © National Trust.



Figure 127 Charles de Souza Ricketts, Design for the tapestry curtain for *Saint Joan*, by George Bernard Shaw, 1924. (© The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, no.1649). Image reproduced courtesy of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.



Figure 128 Postcard sent by Shaw to Charles Ricketts (1908): interior of the Margravial Opera House in Bayreuth. (BL Add. MS 58090, f.85, Ricketts & Shannon Papers). © British Library Board.

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Figure 129 Press cutting of Shaw with Henry Tonks (right), Rex Whistler and Lord D'Abernon at the unveiling of the Rex Whistler wall paintings at the Tate Gallery, 1927.

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Figure 130 Shaw with Edwin Lutyens in the drawing-room at Whitehall Court, examining plans for the National Theatre, 1939. Published in 'A National Theatre is Born', *Picture Post*, 113. (Photo by Kurt Hutton/Picture Post/Getty Images. Getty caption: 25th March 1939: Playwright George Bernard Shaw looking at plans for Britain's first National Theatre with Edwin Lutyens.) <http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/3311231>

Summer 1932

Burlington Fine Arts Club

17 SAVILE ROW, W. 1

April 1932

THE Members of the Burlington Fine Arts Club
have the honour to invite

Apsley Cherry-Garrard

to see a Collection of the WORKS OF SOME
NEGLECTED ENGLISH MASTERS
[1750-1830], now in the Gallery of the Club.

Admission between the hours of 10 and 5, and on
Sundays from 2 to 7 p.m.

The Exhibition will be open on Tuesday, 10th May,
and will close about the end of July.

Introduced by *G. Bernard Shaw*

The Committee desire to remind Members that they are
responsible for every Visitor admitted over their signature.
Each and every admission order must be signed, and filled
in with the name of the Visitor, who must sign the book
on entering. The Porter has instructions not to admit
anyone on a blank order. Members are particularly
requested not to allow unsigned orders to get out of their
possession.

Figure 131 Admission card, permitting entry to a Burlington Fine Arts Club exhibition, 1932. Presented to Apsley Cherry-Garrard by Shaw. (George Bernard Shaw Manuscripts Collection, Series III, 63.7, Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin). Reproduced with kind permission of the Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.



Figure 132 Robert Stewart Sherriffs, *George Bernard Shaw, Edith Sitwell, Sir Osbert Sitwell, and Sir Sacheverell Sitwell*. Cartoon ink on paper, 401 x 289mm (National Portrait Gallery no.D4468). © reserved; collection National Portrait Gallery. Reproduced with kind permission of the National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 133 *Edith Vane-Tempest-Stewart (Lady Londonderry)*. Print after the watercolour by Beatrice Wainwright. Study, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274683). © National Trust.

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Figure 134 Cecil Beaton, photograph. A scene from *Heartbreak House*, Cambridge Theatre, 18 March 1943. (© V&A Theatre and Performance Collection, donated by Shaw).



Figure 135 Hans Holbein the Younger, *Christina of Denmark (Duchess of Milan)*, 1538, oil on oak, 179.1 x 82.6cm. Presented by the Art Fund with the aid of an anonymous donation, 1909. Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International Public License, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/legalcode> . © The National Gallery, London.

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Figure 136 Kathleen Scott, *Bernard Shaw*, on view at Ackermann's Galleries, New Bond Street, 1938. Mander and Mitchenson / University of Bristol / ArenaPal.



Figure 137 Benozzo Gozzoli, *The Procession of the Magi*, 1459-61. (Cappella dei Magi, Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, Florence). Image in public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gozzoli_magi.jpg



Figure 138 Copy after Andrea Mantegna, *St. James before Herod Agrippa*, 1451. Arundel Society chromolithograph. Shaw's bedroom, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274707). © National Trust.



Figure 139 Hans Holbein the Younger, *Lady Audley*. Medici Society chromolithograph. (Study, Shaw's Corner Collection). © National Trust.

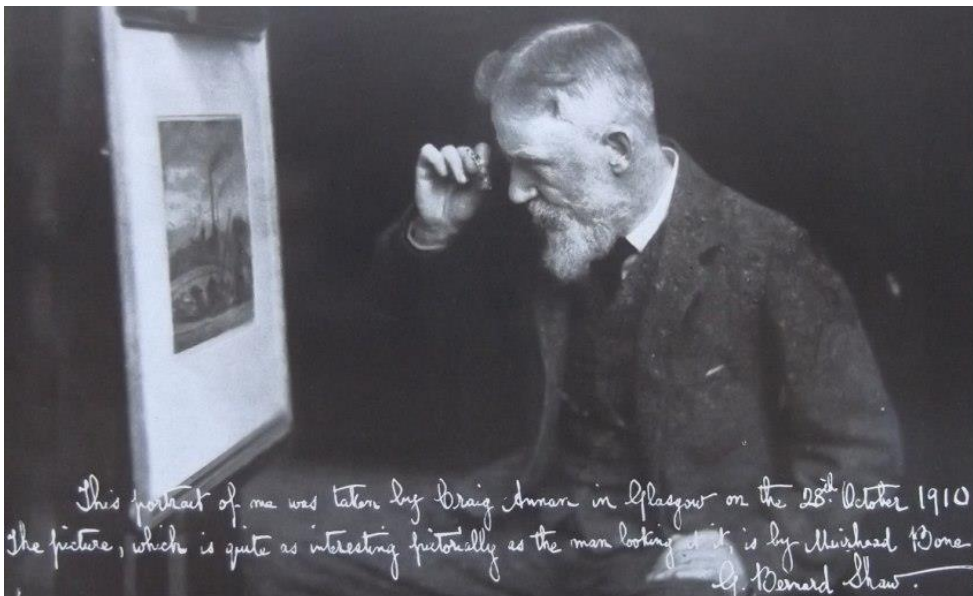


Figure 140 James Craig Annan, photograph of Shaw, 1910. *Photographic Art Studies*. (Reproduced courtesy of the Ann and Isidor Saslav George Bernard Shaw Collection, Texas).

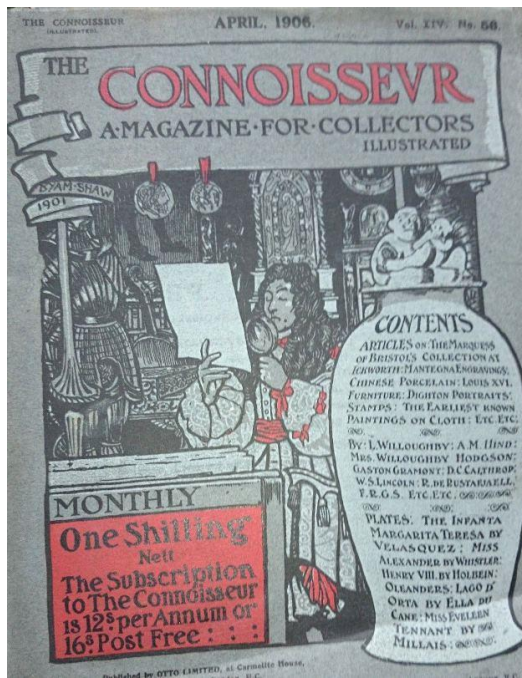


Figure 141 *The Connoisseur: A Magazine for Collectors*, April 1906.

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Figure 142 Shaw's telescope at the St. Albans auction rooms being examined by a porter and a prospective buyer, prior to the sale of Shaw's artefacts organized by the National Trust in 1954. (AP Images ID: 5401140347). <http://www.apimages.com/metadata/Index/Watchf-AP-L-XEN-GBR-APHS367859-George-Bernard-Shaw/28e659225c7547e4baa26e7e17ed9f34/1/0>



Figure 143 Regency convex mirror. Hall, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274751). © National Trust.



Figure 144 Jan van Eyck, *Arnolfini Portrait*. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715252.150). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.



Figure 145 *Farnese Hercules*, bronze statuette. Study, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274963). © National Trust.



Figure 146 Samuel Butler, *Mr Heatherley's Holiday: An Incident in Studio Life*, 1873. © Tate. Available under a CC-BY-NC-ND 3.0 (unported) licence, <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/butler-mr-heatherleys-holiday-an-incident-in-studio-life-n02761>.



Figure 147 *Samuel Butler at the piano [in his room at Clifford's Inn].* (Samuel Butler Collection, St. John's College Library, University of Cambridge. Butler/IX/2/9). By Permission of the Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge.

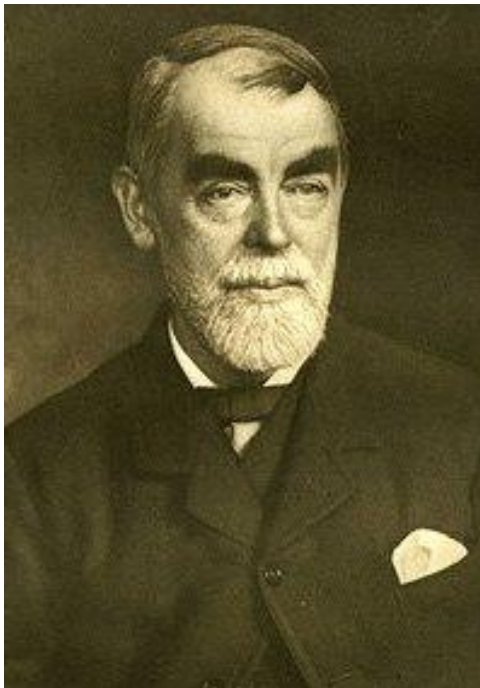


Figure 148 *Samuel Butler*, photogravure by Emery Walker, after the photographic portrait by Alfred Cathie, 1898. Study, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274690). © National Trust.

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Figure 149 Shaw in the drawing-room at Adelphi Terrace, 1904. (The Hercules statuette can be seen on the mantelpiece). *The Tatler*, 177 (16 November 1904), 242. Shaw's Corner Archive.

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Figure 150 Shaw examining a Dürer print at Adelphi Terrace, 1905. (Photograph by Ernest H. Mills, Getty Images 3251110). Getty Images caption: George Bernard Shaw (1856 - 1950), the dramatist, critic, writer, and vegetarian who was born in Dublin. <http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/3251110>



Figure 151 Albrecht Dürer, *Christ as the Man of Sorrows with Hands Bound*, 1512. Dürer Society print. Study, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274684). © National Trust.



Figure 152 Self-portrait: Shaw in the drawing-room at Shaw's Corner, with the Dürer prints of the Hare and the Owl on the mantelpiece. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715217.38). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.



Figure 153 J.T. Nettleship, *The Diving Heron*, 1893. Hall, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1275274). © National Trust.

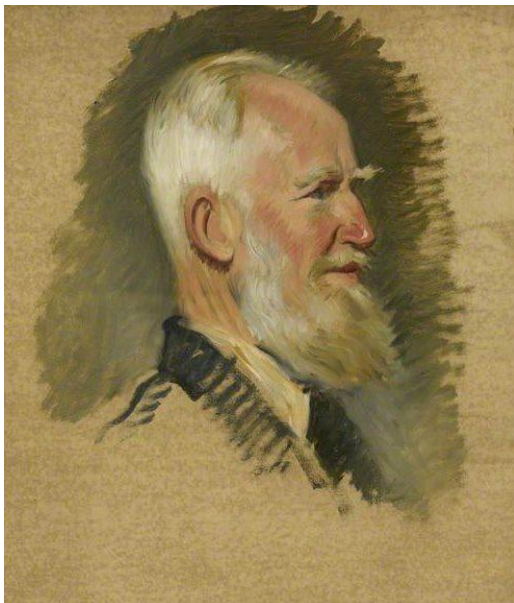


Figure 154 William Rothenstein, *Bernard Shaw*, oil on canvas, c.1930. (NTIN 1274501). © The Estate of Sir William Rothenstein. All Rights Reserved 2016 / Bridgeman Images © National Trust.

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Figure 155 William Rothenstein, *G.B.S. Sitting to Rodin*, drawing, 1906. (See Archibald Henderson, *Playboy and Prophet*, between pages 738-39).

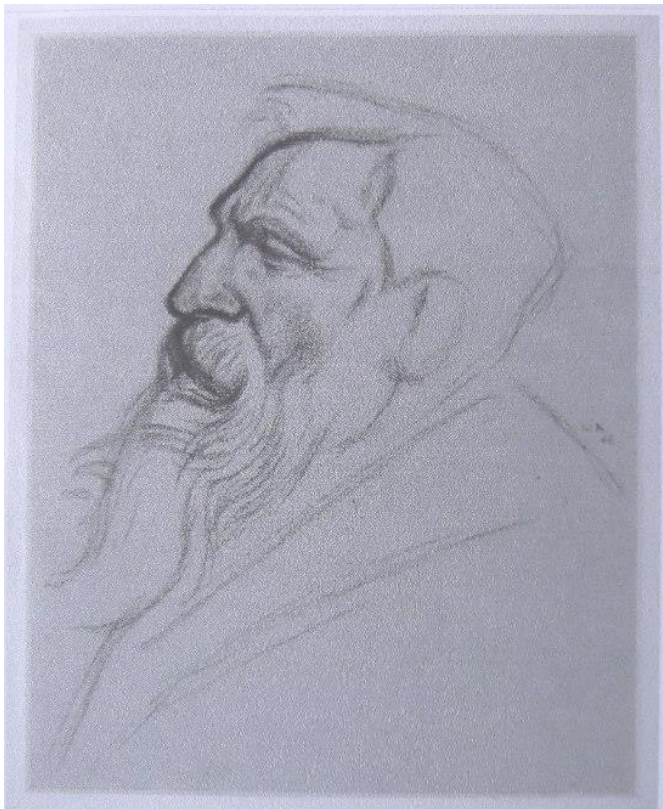


Figure 156 William Rothenstein, *Rodin*, drawing, 1906. Donated to the Tate Gallery by Shaw in 1910 through the NACF. © Tate, London, 2016. Available under a CC-BY-NC-ND 3.0 (unported) licence, <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/rothenstein-auguste-rodin-n02683>.



Figure 157 Auguste Rodin, bust of *Bernard Shaw*, bronze, 1906. Drawing-room, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274943). © National Trust.



Figure 158 Photograph by Shaw of Augustus John painting one of the versions of the Shaw portrait (subsequently painted over), 1915. Published in *The Countryman*, 15, 1 (April-June 1937), 97. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715223.109). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.

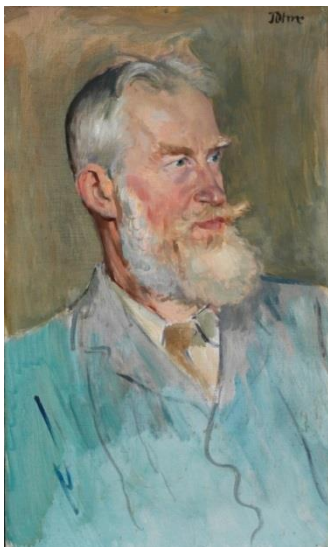


Figure 159 *Portrait of George Bernard Shaw* (1856-1950) 1915 (oil on canvas), John, Augustus Edwin (1878-1961). © The Estate of Augustus Edwin John, RA/ Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, UK / Bridgeman Images. Image reproduced by kind permission of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and Bridgeman Images.

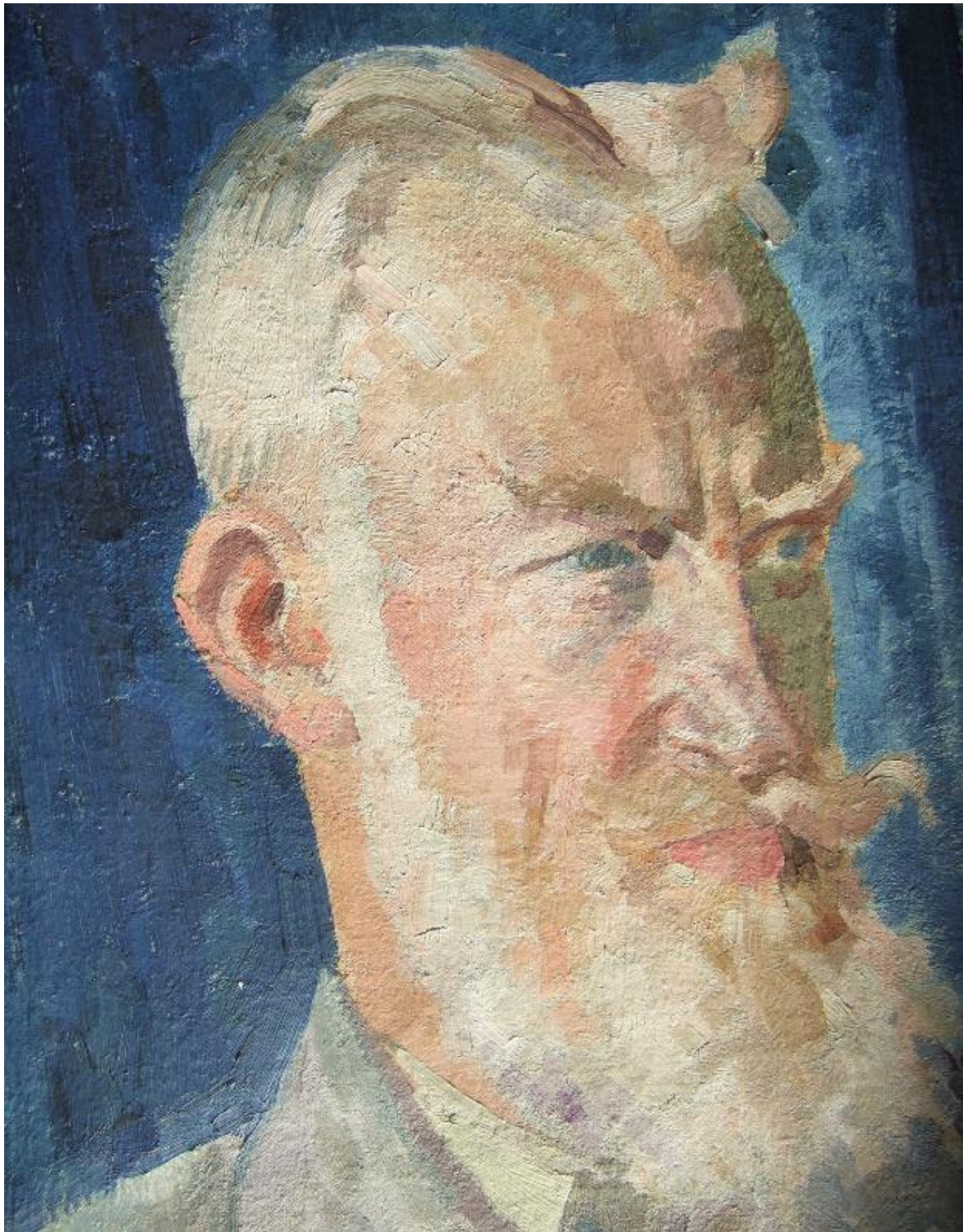


Figure 160 Augustus John, *Bernard Shaw*, oil on canvas, 1915. Dining-room, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1275285). © The Estate of Augustus Edwin John, RA. All Rights Reserved 2016 / Bridgeman Images © National Trust.



Figure 161 Augustus John, *T.E. Lawrence*, print after the original drawing donated by Shaw to the National Portrait Gallery, London. Drawing-room, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274660). © The Estate of Augustus Edwin John, RA. All Rights Reserved 2016 / Bridgeman Images © National Trust / J.M. Burgess, G. Berry, J. Steadman.



Figure 162 John Singer Sargent, *Harley Granville-Barker*, drawing, chalk, 1900. Donated by Shaw to the National Portrait Gallery, London. (NPG 4178). Available under a CC-BY-NC-ND 3.0 (unported) licence, <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw02697/Harley-Granville-Barker?> © National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 163 Auguste Rodin, bust of Bernard Shaw, 1906, marble, 59 x 47.5 x 28cm. Presented by George Bernard Shaw to the Municipal Gallery of Modern Art (Dublin City Gallery The Hugh Lane, Dublin). Image courtesy of Dublin City Gallery, The Hugh Lane.



Figure 164 Shaw, photograph of Rodin's plaster bust of *Bernard Shaw*, taken in the garden at Shaw's Corner. c. 1930s. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715213.6). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.



Figure 165 Shaw, photograph: *Self-portrait with Siegfried Trebitsch in the drawing-room, Shaw's Corner, 1925.* (NT Shaw Photographs 1715218.19). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.



Figure 166 Shaw, photograph of Rodin's small bronze head of *Bernard Shaw*, taken in the garden at Shaw's Corner, 1934. Donated to RADA. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715213.16). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.

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Figure 167 'The Celebrated Russian Sculptor Prince Troubetzkoy, and his wife, with a specimen of his rapid work', *The Graphic* (9 February 1907), 214. Shaw's Corner Archive.

IMAGE HAS BEEN EXCLUDED FROM THE DIGITISED VERSION OF THE THESIS
DUE TO THIRD PARTY COPYRIGHT RESTRICTIONS

Figure 168 Photograph of Sigismund de Strobl's bust, pasted by Shaw into his copy of Shakespeare's *Comedies, Histories and Tragedies* with a verse by Shaw. (Sotheby & Co. Catalogue, 25 July 1949, National Art Library, V&A Museum).

CHAPTER THREE

THE SCULPTED BODY, DRESS AND SELF-FASHIONING

‘Iconography for a live religion’: sculpture and statuary from the Life Force to memorialization

‘Art has never been great when it was not providing an iconography for a live religion.’¹¹⁷⁸ (V, 333).

The prominence of sculpture and statuary in Shaw’s life and work is showcased in the interiors of Shaw’s Corner where there are many examples. Shaw admired the genre more than any other art form, and this is reflected in his connoisseurial focus on iconographic meanings of sculpture, and his role as a benefactor, donating numerous pieces - often portraits of himself - to museums and other institutions as we have seen. I want to start by presenting a series of press photographs published in *The Illustrated London News* in 1946 to celebrate Shaw’s 90th birthday.¹¹⁷⁹ Figure 169 reveals the sheet of images, taken at Ayot. Of these seven photographs, which Shaw would have selected personally, three show him posing with his sculpture. Figure 170 shows one image in greater detail, revealing Shaw in the drawing room at Shaw’s Corner as if in dialogue with his Rodin bust. The busts and statuettes were carefully staged by Shaw to suggest that he had a special relationship to sculpture.¹¹⁸⁰

Shaw’s Corner literally became a ‘stage-set’ at this time, with the Irish playwright Denis Johnston directing a BBC documentary.¹¹⁸¹ The importance of the 90th birthday celebrations for Shaw lay in the potential for expressing the performative possibilities of the artefacts, as he explained to Lees-Milne: ‘I shall transfer from London all the pictures and statuettes and

¹¹⁷⁸ Shaw, ‘The Religious Art of the Twentieth Century’, preface to *Back to Methuselah* (1921). The full title of Shaw’s play is *Back to Methuselah: A Metabiological Pentateuch*, making reference to the first five books of the Old Testament.

¹¹⁷⁹ ‘On the eve of his 90th birthday: George Bernard Shaw at home’, *The Illustrated London News* (27 July 1946), 87. Shaw’s 90th birthday was on the 26 July 1946.

¹¹⁸⁰ This relationship is also suggested by Shaw’s use of a photograph of his bust by Rodin to illustrate an article published in *Homes and Gardens* magazine in 1946. Proofs for the article (stamped 19 December 1945) are in the HRC, (HRC, V, 73.3). ‘Shaw’s Corner’, *Homes and Gardens* magazine, 27 (March 1946), 16-17. The article was written by Loewenstein, but was revised by Shaw, and featured his own photography.

¹¹⁸¹ An extant photograph shows Johnston’s team filming Shaw in the back garden at Shaw’s Corner. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715211.23). Reproduced in Johnston, ed., *Orders and Desecrations*, between pages 116-117. At the time Denis Johnston was programme director of BBC Television. Shaw also starred in several short films made by British Pathé in 1946, where we see him emerging from the house, walking in the garden, and entering the writing hut. British Pathé Film ID 1404.30 (Shaw filmed at Shaw’s Corner, 22 July 1946 by Terry Ashwood); see also Film ID 2315.01; 1235.27.

busts that are there to titivate Shaw's Corner as a show place.¹¹⁸² As part of his self-fashioning in the press, Shaw had always carefully controlled how his homes and artefacts were represented, mindful of how he was perceived by an audience.¹¹⁸³ Shaw deliberately fashioned his image not just as a writer, but as an artist, photographer, and celebrity.¹¹⁸⁴ He used Shaw's Corner and its artefacts to communicate his artistic taste and interests to the world, and there are hence comparisons to be made with other writers of the late nineteenth century (such as Edmond de Goncourt and Count Robert de Montesquiou-Fezensac) who had aligned themselves with artists because of their 'predilection for the visual arts,'¹¹⁸⁵ or indeed 'fashioned themselves as visual artists.'¹¹⁸⁶ We should note too that the aesthete Montesquiou was similarly sculpted by Troubetzkoy in 1907 (figure 171), and the sculpture of the greyhound Shaw acquired for the garden at Shaw's Corner formed part of that work. (Figure 172).¹¹⁸⁷ It is significant that only one of the seven images produced for the *Illustrated London News* specifically to celebrate his 90th birthday shows Shaw in the act of writing.

In this section I argue that Shaw was interested in the possibilities offered by sculpture and statuary as a means of memorialization and commemoration. He was familiar with the ways in which biography was culturally constructed through texts and artefacts such as portrait busts: in the nineteenth-century an 'ideology of commemoration'¹¹⁸⁸ celebrating 'illustrious

¹¹⁸² Shaw to Lees-Milne, 12 August 1944, CL4, 722.

¹¹⁸³ We are given clues to the importance of the audience, the viewing public, in Shaw's world as soon as we enter the hall at Shaw's Corner, with the painting by Laura Knight *First Night at the Stalls*, where the subject is not the performance itself but those who are there to experience it. (NTIN 1275267).

¹¹⁸⁴ My study of Shaw contradicts the arguments made by Diana Fuss regarding the 'writer's house'. Fuss has spoken in terms of the 'increasingly private act of dwelling', maintaining that writers did not follow other professions 'into the public sphere' but stayed within the domestic interior: 'the new ideology of the house as place of solitary retreat perfectly suited the contemplative work of writing.' Fuss, *The Sense of an Interior*, 10. Shaw publicized his home in various press articles, and through the medium of photography as part of his self-promotion. A piece in *The Tatler* from 1938 for example entitled 'The Restful Retreat where "G.B.S." Relaxes' consisted of a photo-essay formed of seven photographs. The article explained that postcards retailed by Mrs. Jisbella Lyth, the village postmistress, were 'mainly of what is called by the locals "Shaw's Corner", and are from snapshots taken by the great man himself.' ('The Restful Retreat where "G.B.S." Relaxes', *The Tatler* (16 November 1938), 306-07. BL Add. MS 50582 B, f.124-25). A further article from *The Illustrated London News* reported that Shaw chose for his home a 'modest creeper-covered building' in the 'peaceful Hertfordshire village of Ayot St. Lawrence'. See 'Timeless English Beauty: The Home of George Bernard Shaw, A Genius Unquenched by Time', *The Illustrated London News* (6 August 1949), 205.

¹¹⁸⁵ Emery, *Photojournalism*, 25; 32-33. See also Emery, 'Misunderstood Symbolism: Rereading the Subjective Objects of Montesquiou's First Maison d'un artiste', in *Symbolist Objects: Materiality and Subjectivity at the Fin de Siècle*, ed. by Claire O'Mahony (High Wycombe: The Rivendale Press, 2009), 19-43; and Claire O'Mahony, 'La Maison d'un artiste: The Goncourts, Bibelots and Fin de Siècle Interiority', in *Writers' Houses and the Making of Memory*, ed. by Harald Hendrix (London: Routledge, 2008), 187-202.

¹¹⁸⁶ Emery, *Photojournalism*, 221.

¹¹⁸⁷ NTIN 1274982. The 'Greyhound', 1911. (Troubetzkoy's sculpture of the aesthete Comte Robert de Montesquiou-Fezensac is in the collection of the Musée d'Orsay).

¹¹⁸⁸ Caterina Albano, 'Displaying lives: the narrative of objects in biographical exhibitions', *Museum and Society*, 5, 1 (March 2007), 16.

citizens' was forged through institutions such as the National Portrait Gallery and the establishment of the *Dictionary of National Biography* (copies of which are in Shaw's study¹¹⁸⁹). As Caterina Albano has observed, portraits and life stories became a 'means of shaping the moral and social conscience of the nation by grounding it in historical examples of its most distinguished citizens.'¹¹⁹⁰ Shaw would certainly have viewed both the portraits, and indeed the gift of Shaw's Corner to the Trust, in this light.

Shaw's rearrangement of the interiors in 1946 to showcase the sculpture (and the decision to publish images of the drawing-room) was concerned with articulating the shift from personal artefacts to cultural icons those pieces embodied. Shaw explained to his biographer Henderson, in typical facetious fashion, that his interest in sculpture was linked to the forging of his legacy for the purposes of posterity and achieving immortality: 'I have already taken measures to ensure my immortality by binding it to that of Rodin. The biographical dictionaries of the distant future will contain the entry: "Bernard Shaw, subject of a bust by Rodin, otherwise unknown."¹¹⁹¹ Sculpture in this sense represented what Elsner and Cardinal have termed a 'triumph of remembrance over oblivion.'¹¹⁹² Simultaneously, the sculpture embodied his 'religion' of the Life Force. Rodin's bust also became 'an appropriate symbol of the ever-evolving Life Force of which Shaw felt he was a part.'¹¹⁹³ In theory the two perspectives generated conflicts between permanence and mutability. I will argue, however, that Shaw did not necessarily perceive them as antithetical.

I utilize the broad category of 'the statue' here as defined by Kenneth Gross, which includes a wide variety of inanimate figures such as 'funeral effigies, wax dummies, puppets, manikins, and scarecrows.'¹¹⁹⁴ Shaw was fascinated by all of these.¹¹⁹⁵ Various artefacts at Shaw's Corner as I explain are either directly or indirectly affiliated with this notion of the 'statue', often symbolizing the threshold states between life and death. Elizabeth Hallam has argued that death 'is everywhere encoded in life and life is encoded in death in a complex self-

¹¹⁸⁹ NTIN 3190132.1-2.

¹¹⁹⁰ Albano, 'Displaying lives', 16.

¹¹⁹¹ Shaw, quoted in Henderson, *Playboy and Prophet*, 738. A similar quotation appeared in Henderson, *Table-Talk of G.B.S.*, 91.

¹¹⁹² Elsner and Cardinal, eds., *The Cultures of Collecting*, 4.

¹¹⁹³ Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and the French*, 231.

¹¹⁹⁴ Gross, *The Dream of the Moving Statue*, 23.

¹¹⁹⁵ I focus here on Shaw's fascination with effigies, wax figures, puppets, and artists' manikins. Gross's category of 'statue' also includes scarecrows, and there are photographs of Shaw posing with a scarecrow, see NT Shaw Photographs 1715215.57. The scarecrow was in the garden at one of the houses rented by the Shaws early in their marriage, possibly Pitfold, or Blen-Cathra.

referential relationship.¹¹⁹⁶ Death as a theme occupied Shaw as part of his concern with self-commemoration. He explored the theme through images, sculptures and statues, and these inform our understanding of his iconographic interests, both secular and religious. In relation to his fascination with inanimate figures was the theme of the double/copy: his self-portraits and portraits by others often acknowledged the close relation between portraiture and mortality. As Fuss observes in her study of writers' rooms 'to enter onto these literary chambers is to enter into conversation with the dead.'¹¹⁹⁷ These are 'memorial spaces' where the writers 'confront their own fears of mortality.'¹¹⁹⁸

Shaw's interest in sculpture and statuary extended far beyond his days as an art critic, and was considerably more substantial than previous scholars have acknowledged, although commentators have long observed the prominence of Shawian portraits in his homes. Shaw himself remarked in an ironic tone: 'No wonder H.G. Wells complained that he could not move a step without being outfaced by an effigy of Shaw.'¹¹⁹⁹ In a similar vein Weintraub described Shaw's flats and the study at Shaw's Corner as 'narcissistic art galleries;'¹²⁰⁰ Holroyd claimed that 'people were aghast at Shaw's Everest of vanity',¹²⁰¹ and Pharand observed that 'countless artists have captured a likeness of the physical Shaw.'¹²⁰²

Framed images of statues, sculpture and busts had long been important in Shaw's creation of his personal domestic interiors, before he met Charlotte. We can see this fascination as part of the wider, extensive cultural interest in sculpture during the late Victorian period.¹²⁰³ Shaw's diaries from the 1890s, for example, mention that he called 'at the Stores to get a photograph

¹¹⁹⁶ Elizabeth Hallam et al, *Beyond the Body: Death and Social Identity* (London: Routledge, 1999), 10.

¹¹⁹⁷ Fuss, *The Sense of an Interior*, 213.

¹¹⁹⁸ Fuss, *The Sense of an Interior*, 213. Fuss's essay 'Freud's Ear' includes fascinating insights into the relationship between photography, statuary and memorialization that have relevance for Shaw, and warrant further investigation. See 'Freud's Ear', in Fuss, *The Sense of an Interior*, 70-105.

¹¹⁹⁹ Shaw, *Sixteen Self Sketches*, 126. Shaw's use of the term 'effigy' encompasses the statue, sculpture, model, figurine, guy, image, bust, and likeness. In his preface to an exhibition of the work of the sculptor Sigismund de Strobl, Shaw similarly quipped 'H.G. Wells had complained vehemently that it is impossible to move about the world without coming up against some effigy of my too familiar beard and eyebrows.' Shaw, 'Portraits and Figures of Sigismund de Strobl', White Allom Galleries, London, 1935, (NAL). Reprinted in *Bernard Shaw, The Complete Prefaces III*, 226.

¹²⁰⁰ Weintraub, 'In the Picture Galleries', in *The Genius of Shaw*, 57.

¹²⁰¹ HOL2, 181.

¹²⁰² Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and the French*, 225.

¹²⁰³ See David J. Getsy, ed., *Sculpture and the Pursuit of a Modern Ideal in Britain c.1880-1930* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

of [Robert Bontine] Cunninghame Graham's bust'¹²⁰⁴ which he had left there to be framed, so that he could hang it on his wall. On another occasion he 'bought a couple of Italian photographs'¹²⁰⁵ – these were of Donatello's equestrian statue of Gattamelata at Padua, and the Horse's head at Naples. The photographs of statues taken or commissioned by Shaw are also testimony to his special relationship with sculpture. The NT Shaw Photographic Archive contains literally hundreds of photographs of sculpture and statuary, and whilst this is not the place for the specific art historical analysis these require, I will nevertheless highlight specific images in this section to illuminate certain artefacts in the house.

Shaw's concern with iconography and iconology, especially in relation to statues, busts and portraiture, intersect in certain ways with his role as art benefactor; and to grasp Shaw's motives in the construction of the interiors at Shaw's Corner we need to consider the two in tandem. Sculpture and statuary traditionally had the power to evoke Vanitas and memento mori themes, and in Shaw's world gifts to institutions, like sculpture, offered the promise of memorialization and immortality: a means through which society and future generations might remember the playwright's achievements. Weintraub has argued that Shaw 'encouraged the practice' of artists and sculptors seeking to capture his image; and his comment that Shaw was 'in some cases assuming that he was engaging in art patronage rather than self-indulgence'¹²⁰⁶ is testimony to the close relationship between the two.

Shaw was certainly conscious of the way in which both portraiture and sculpture were narcissistic art forms, and also potentially invited idolatry: this is made clear in his typically satirical engagement with forms of Shakespeare 'worship' and memorialization. Shaw reacted against what he called 'bardolatry', the 'idoltrous and insensate worship of Shakespeare.'¹²⁰⁷ We see this in a photograph of Shaw in a saintly pose, with 'hands clasped

¹²⁰⁴ 15 August 1892, BSD2, 844. Shaw mentions the photograph of the bust in his amusing self-parodying 'interview' entitled 'The Playwright on His First Play' where the imagined journalist (Shaw himself) records his rooms at Fitzroy Square, and notes the presence of 'Mr. Toft's bust of Cunninghame Graham over the mantelshelf'. (I, 123). This was the bust of Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham by Albert Toft (1891). Cunninghame Graham was the radical politician, writer and adventurer who played a heroic part in Bloody Sunday, and was much admired by Shaw; he was the model for Captain Brassbound in *Captain Brassbound's Conversion* (1899), and for Saranoff in *Arms and the Man* (1894). (See Weintraub, BSD1, 352). Shaw's diary records their first meeting, at a Socialist League entertainment held at Kelmscott House, 25 February 1888.

¹²⁰⁵ 7 September 1892, BSD2, 851. Shaw took them to be framed at the Stores – these were collected on 27 September 1892. (BSD2, 856).

¹²⁰⁶ Weintraub, 'In the Picture Galleries', in *The Genius of Shaw*, 57.

¹²⁰⁷ See Henderson, *Playboy and Prophet*, 325; and Michael Rosenthal, 'Shakespeare's Birthplace at Stratford: Bardolatry Reconsidered', in *Writers' Houses and the Making of Memory*, ed. by Harald Hendrix (London: Routledge, 2008), 37-38. Shaw's term 'bardolatry' was taken from Ben Jonson.

as in prayer, eyes raised to heaven'¹²⁰⁸ taken to deliberately mock the 'Shakespeare industry' entitled *Bardolater – Shaw at Stratford*.¹²⁰⁹ (Figure 173). This was Shaw's way of continuing a tradition begun in *Punch* magazine (figure 174)¹²¹⁰ where statues of Shaw were shown playfully engaging with those of Shakespeare, such as the *Shakespeare Memorial* in Westminster Abbey by Peter Scheemakers. (Figure 175).¹²¹¹ The *Punch* cartoon was also a satire on the birth of celebrity culture in the theatre, embodied in the famous pose by the actor David Garrick in the eighteenth-century, who had consciously imitated Scheemakers's statue whilst leaning against a bust of Shakespeare in Thomas Gainsborough's painting *Garrick with a bust of Shakespeare*. (Figure 176 shows a copy after the lost original).¹²¹²

Shaw's Shakespeare Staffordshire statuette (figure 177), stolen from the Trust in 1996 as I have explained, was positioned by Shaw on the drawing room mantelpiece to highlight the ongoing dialogue between the two 'great' dramatists, who are both part of this culture. 'Bardolatry' lost the association with hagiolatry once placed ironically on the Shavian mantelpiece in the form of a Staffordshire ornament. However images of Shaw with the statuette, such as the formal portrait taken by Adolf Morath in 1948,¹²¹³ (figure 178), also suggest veneration. This is one of the few photographs to depict Shaw holding an artefact from the Shaw's Corner collection. Another photograph in colour from the same period shows Shaw gazing at the statuette on the mantelpiece. (Figure 179).¹²¹⁴ If we study Shaw's diaries, we find that his search for Shakespearean mementoes was not new: as far back as 1887 his diary noted that he and William Archer 'went down to the Bankside to look for relics of the Globe Theatre and other Shaksperiana.'¹²¹⁵

There are several items remaining in the collection which evoke this dialogue between Shaw and Shakespeare, and these include the bookends by Nancy Catford in Shaw's bedroom (figure 180) which support twenty four volumes of *The Modern Readers Bible* between them,

¹²⁰⁸ Rosenthal, 'Shakespeare's Birthplace at Stratford', 37.

¹²⁰⁹ This photograph by J.H. Bird is reproduced in Rosenthal, 'Shakespeare's Birthplace at Stratford', 38, figure 3.3. The image was originally used by Ivor Brown and George Fearon as the frontispiece to their book *Amazing Monument: A Short History of the Shakespeare Industry*, 1939.

¹²¹⁰ The *Punch* cartoon by Edward Tennyson Reed (3 October 1906) was reproduced in *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*, 60 (and in Henderson, *Playboy and Prophet*, facing page 321). It was given the title *Design for a statue of "John Bull's Other Playwright" after certain hints by "G.B.S."*

¹²¹¹ Peter Scheemakers, *Shakespeare Memorial* (1740). Westminster Abbey.

¹²¹² *David Garrick with a bust of Shakespeare* (a copy of the destroyed painting of 1766/69), after Thomas Gainsborough; the painting is in Charlecote Park, owned by the National Trust. (NTIN 533870).

¹²¹³ Shaw by Adolf Morath, 1948, BL Add. MS 50582 B, f.161.

¹²¹⁴ Getty Images 515170162. This press photograph was taken on 25 March 1947.

¹²¹⁵ 7 September 1887, BSD1, 297.

and the photograph of sculptor Kathleen Scott with her bust of Shaw in the study.¹²¹⁶ (Figure 181). Shortly after seeing this press photograph of the bust, Shaw wrote to Alfred Douglas describing it as a ‘Shakespearean tomb.’¹²¹⁷ The Waldo Lanchester puppet provides another example: in the performance of Shaw’s marionette play *Shakes versus Shav* (1949) the Shaw puppet triumphs over Shakespeare. (Figure 182).¹²¹⁸ But the play ends with Shav saying: ‘We both are mortal. For a moment suffer my glimmering light to shine. [A light appears between them]. Shakes: Out, out, brief candle! [He puffs it out].’ (VI, 477). Despite his emphasis on mocking shrines dedicated to Shakespeare, Shaw insisted on giving various busts and portraits to institutions. The small ‘Shaw’ head by Rodin was bequeathed to RADA by Shaw in 1945 as I have indicated, and was placed opposite the existing one of Shakespeare (figure 183).¹²¹⁹ And through his own endeavours his home (and the sculpture inside it) became a site of literary pilgrimage in the same way as the Shakespeare birthplace he satirized.

There are tensions that need to be investigated here in Shaw’s contradictory responses to idolatry and iconoclasm, where there are shifts between (self)-preservation or self-fashioning, consumption, and destruction. Dialectical strands of his thought emerge in his relations to things, and difficulties are posed by the ‘relic’¹²²⁰ or icon, for the ‘radical “Protestant”’.¹²²¹ As Yde points out, Shaw was not a ‘Protestant Christian,’¹²²² although he was interested in Protestant reformers such as Bunyan. In the light of this we should note that when Shaw speaks of his attempt at writing ‘a new Book of Genesis for the Bible of the Evolutionists’ (II, 532) he is referring to the third act of *Man and Superman* (the ‘Don Juan in Hell’ scene), and it is here that the devil evokes *Ecclesiastes* with the phrase ‘Vanitas vanitatum’ in conversation with Don Juan and the Statue. (II, 683). Added to this was the Nietzschean interplay between creation and destruction.

¹²¹⁶ NTIN 1274694; the photograph shows Kathleen Scott at the exhibition of her work at Ackermann’s Galleries, 33 New Bond Street in 1938. Her bust of Lloyd George can be seen in the background. A related photograph appears in Weintraub’s article ‘Shaw’s Sculptress, Kathleen Scott’, 174; however this is incorrectly captioned as ‘her studio-gallery, 1933.’ The original bust of Shaw by Scott is now in the collection of the Russell-Cotes Art Gallery and Museum, Bournemouth.

¹²¹⁷ Shaw to Lord Alfred Douglas, 12 November 1938, quoted in Hyde, *Bernard Shaw and Alfred Douglas*, 99. See also Weintraub, ‘Shaw’s Sculptress, Kathleen Scott’, 182.

¹²¹⁸ This photograph was published (after Shaw’s death) in an article on the Waldo Lanchester Marionette Theatre, see *The Illustrated London News* (12 December 1953), 991. The article quoted Shaw, who had referred to Lanchester as: ‘our chief living puppet master.’

¹²¹⁹ This press photograph is taken from Henderson, *George Bernard Shaw: Man of the Century*, reproduced between pages 672-73.

¹²²⁰ We should remember that Shaw declared to Ellen Pollock: ‘I am not a dealer in relics. As a baptized Irish Protestant, I abhor them.’ Shaw to Ellen Pollock, 29 August 1949, CL4, 855.

¹²²¹ Yde, *Bernard Shaw and Totalitarianism*, 90.

¹²²² Yde, *Bernard Shaw and Totalitarianism*, 216, n.44.

Lawrence Switzky makes important links between Shaw and the Italian Futurists in this regard, noting that when Shaw refers to Ibsen's play *When We Dead Awaken* (which is concerned on one level with the creation and destruction of a statue) he evokes Marinetti's dismissal of museums as 'the prisons of works of art.'¹²²³ Shaw would write to MacColl in 1916: '*Blast* has more to teach us now than [Lethaby] has'¹²²⁴ alluding to Wyndham Lewis's Nietzschean publication, which he felt was overthrowing 'the old Morrisian clique'.¹²²⁵ This in turn relates back to Shaw's own focus on sculpture: for all the statues and busts in his plays (*Caesar and Cleopatra*, *Man and Superman*, *Saint Joan*, *Back to Methuselah*, *Passion*, *Poison and Petrification*, and *The Six of Calais*), there are just as many that get smashed or broken¹²²⁶, and one is even humorously turned into a 'limestone cadaver.'¹²²⁷ In the short story 'A Dressing Room Secret' a plaster bust of Shakespeare starts talking and is eventually broken.¹²²⁸ Trefusis is an iconoclast-socialist who smashes statues in *An Unsocial Socialist*: in his ancestral home there are 'arched niches in which stood life-size plaster statues, chipped, broken, and defaced in an extraordinary fashion.'¹²²⁹ However much connoisseurial Shaw venerated beautiful or religious artefacts, there was always an iconoclastic Shaw ready to lay waste to it all.¹²³⁰

On this point we should consider Shaw's probable reading of Clement of Alexandria (c.150-c.215 AD). Shaw was certainly aware of Clement's works: two copies of *The Writings of*

¹²²³ Shaw, 'The Quintessence of Ibsenism', (1891) in *Major Critical Essays* (London: Constable, 1932), 115, quoted in Lawrence Switzky, 'Shaw among the Modernists', in *SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, vol. 31, ed. by Michel W. Pharand (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 136.

¹²²⁴ Shaw to D.S. MacColl, 26 May 1916. University of Glasgow Special Collections. (MS MacColl 5134).

¹²²⁵ Shaw to D.S. MacColl, 26 May 1916. University of Glasgow Special Collections. (MS MacColl 5134).

¹²²⁶ In *Back to Methuselah* for example, Martellus informs Arjillax that he has smashed the busts that he had previously sculpted. (V, 587); and in *Man and Superman*, Ana recalls the disfigurement caused by school boys to her father's statue: 'the mischievous ones broke it; and the studious ones wrote their names on it... I had to leave it to its fate at last; and now I fear it is shockingly mutilated.' (II, 640).

¹²²⁷ See Berst, 'The Action of Shaw's Settings and Props', 62. In the farce *Passion, Poison and Petrification* (1905) Magnesia's bust is liquified in an attempt to save Adolphus who swallows lime from the plaster ceiling, and becomes a 'living statue' and 'his own monument.' (III, 220).

¹²²⁸ Shaw, 'A Dressing Room Secret', in Bernard Shaw, *Short Stories, Scraps and Shavings* (London: Constable, 1934), 91.

¹²²⁹ Shaw, *An Unsocial Socialist*, 197.

¹²³⁰ Shaw's writings are full of examples of his iconoclasm. Upon visiting Cologne Cathedral he exclaimed: 'I am extremely susceptible to stained glass, and the old glass there transports me, whilst the new glass makes me want to transport it – with bricks.' Shaw, 'Impressions de Voyage', *The Star*, 2 August 1889, reprinted in Dan H. Laurence, ed., *Shaw's Music: The Complete Musical Criticism of Bernard Shaw, vol.1, 1876-1890* (London: Max Reinhardt, 1981), 719. Even Venice provoked the following in a letter to Morris: 'Somehow there is a painful element in the whole affair which throws me back on my old iconoclastic idea of destroying the entire show.' Shaw to William Morris, 23 September 1891, CL1, 311.

Clement of Alexandria are in the Shaws' library.¹²³¹ A major critic of idols, images and their worship, who mocked those whose perception of God was sensual and visual, and not cerebral, Clement wrote treatises attacking idolatry, aimed at a Christian audience who were still steeped in Greco-Roman traditions.¹²³² In his writings Clement referenced the connection between statues (*agalmata*) and corpses: 'the statue is a corpse – a wooden corpse.'¹²³³ Shaw acknowledged the intimate relationship between body, statue and corpse in a letter to Scott: 'You can start my monument as soon as you please... the corpse will be ready.'¹²³⁴ The metaphor Shaw used to describe the effect of work by the Hungarian sculptor Sigismund de Strobl 'here was classic sculpture suddenly come to life again after dying and being buried in a state of dry decomposition'¹²³⁵ implies a similar understanding.

Focussing on Shaw's philosophy in relation to Clement's is revealing in that it helps us understand the paradoxes that shape his engagement with statues and the body. Like the early Christians, Shaw often appears to be caught in a web of contradictions as far as statues and images are concerned. Michael Squire has explained the paradox: 'the more saints and martyrs relinquished the body...the more venerable their material bodies became.'¹²³⁶ But as he points out: 'Even in its most vehement denials of corporeality, Christianity is a religion premised upon the body.'¹²³⁷ Gross has highlighted the dialectic of preservation and decay/destruction that the statue embodies. The statue: 'both preserves and destroys something – god, person, idea, fantasy, or body.'¹²³⁸ In the context of iconoclasm, we might compare here Shaw's extraordinary description of Rodin's 'ruthless mutilations' of his clay bust during his sitting for the sculptor, writing that Charlotte 'half expected to see the already terribly animated clay bleed.'¹²³⁹ Here Shaw mockingly treats his own sculpted body as incarnate, as if it is a religious icon, making a facetious reference to the Lollard iconoclasts in

¹²³¹ Saint Clement of Alexandria (c.150-c.215), *The Writings of Clement of Alexandria* (1868-69), NTIN 3062086; and Saint Clement of Alexandria (c.150-c.215), *Extracts from the Writings of Clement of Alexandria* (1905), NTIN 3062087.

¹²³² See Stijn Bussels, 'Cult statues at the boundaries of humanity', in Stijn Bussels, *The Animated Image: Roman Theory on Naturalism, Vividness and Divine Power* (Leiden: Akademie Verlag/Leiden University Press, 2012), 152.

¹²³³ Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Greeks*, quoted in Michael Squire, *The Art of the Body: Antiquity and its Legacy* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2011), 172.

¹²³⁴ Shaw to Kathleen Scott, 20 May 1926, CL4, 23. The sculptor was preparing to create her statuette of Shaw, who had been overworking on his vast political tract *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism*.

¹²³⁵ Shaw, 'Portraits and Figures by Sigismund de Strobl', in *Bernard Shaw: The Complete Prefaces Volume III*, 227.

¹²³⁶ Squire, *The Art of the Body*, 172.

¹²³⁷ Squire, *The Art of the Body*, 172.

¹²³⁸ Gross, *The Dream of the Moving Statue*, 19.

¹²³⁹ Shaw, 'Rodin', PPR, 228.

Britain of the 1380s, who ‘beheaded a statue of Saint Catherine to see whether it could prove its divine powers by bleeding.’¹²⁴⁰

An array of ‘religious’ artefacts, incorporating aspects of Christian iconography, exist at Shaw’s Corner however. Their very presence in the house problematizes the notion of Shaw the ‘iconoclast’. The literature has had little to say on this apparent contradiction, although Gale K. Larson remembered the prominence of the bibles.¹²⁴¹ There are in fact fifty three bibles or related texts in the house.¹²⁴² But there are also images of tombs and churches, Dürer prints of Christ’s Passion, Fra Angelico angels, and the Léon De Smet painting of the Virgin and Child statuette (more on this shortly), the latter three being situated in, or in close proximity to Shaw’s study and bedroom, all of which seems extraordinary for a man who had at one point (albeit tongue-in-cheek) styled himself as an ‘atheist’.¹²⁴³ Yet perhaps we should not be so surprised given Shaw’s friendships during the inter-war years with the priest Father Joseph Leonard, who acted as ‘technical advisor’ on *Saint Joan*¹²⁴⁴, and Reverend Inge, the Dean of St. Paul’s Cathedral (1911-1934), who described Shaw’s religion of the ‘Life Force’ as ‘lay Christianity’.¹²⁴⁵ There was also Dame Laurentia the Abbess of Stanbrook Abbey, (for whom Shaw commissioned the Arts and Crafts reliquary), and his friendship with the Rector of Ayot the Reverend R.J. Davies.¹²⁴⁶

¹²⁴⁰ Stacy Boldrick, ‘Iconoclasm Past and Present: Conflict and Art’, in *Art Under Attack: Histories of British Iconoclasm*, ed. by Tabitha Barber and Stacy Boldrick (London: Tate Publishing, 2013), 20.

¹²⁴¹ Gale K. Larson pointed out in a discussion of Shaw’s allegory *The Adventures of the Black Girl in Her Search for God* (1932), ‘visitors to Shaw’s Corner in Ayot St. Lawrence will recall the proliferation of Bibles throughout the house, one most conspicuously on a small table beside his bed.’ Gale K. Larson, ‘Bernard Shaw’s “The Black Girl in Search of God”: The Story Behind the Story by Leon Hugo’ (review) in *Dionysian Shaw, SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, vol. 24, ed. by Pharand, 241.

¹²⁴² Shaw would humorously make reference to this in *Misalliance* through Tarleton, who explains to Lord Summerhays how many Bibles are in the house: ‘Theres [sic] the family Bible, and the Doré Bible, and the parallel revised version Bible, and the Doves Press Bible, and Johnny’s Bible...’ (IV, 198). The preface to *Misalliance* included a section entitled ‘The Bible’. (IV, 131-33).

¹²⁴³ At the first public meeting of the Shelley Society in 1886 Shaw had declared himself to be ‘like Shelley, a Socialist, Atheist, and Vegetarian.’ Shaw, *Sixteen Self-Sketches*, 58.

¹²⁴⁴ Tyson discusses Shaw’s friendship with the priest Father J. Leonard who was living during the 1920s at Strawberry Hill, Twickenham. See Brian Tyson, *The Story of Shaw’s “Saint Joan”* (Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1982), 4.

¹²⁴⁵ Dean Inge, ‘Bernard Shaw: Socialist or Rebel?’, *The Listener*, 10 October 1946, reprinted in T.F. Evans, *Shaw: The Critical Heritage*, 373.

¹²⁴⁶ We might add to this St. John Ervine’s account of the time when the Shaws were staying with him in Devon: ‘we motored to Buckfastleigh to see the Abbey built there by the monks themselves. This was the sort of enterprise which interested G.B.S. enormously. A Belgian monk, who had probably never heard of him, showed us round, and in a few moments, he and G.B.S. were engaged in a discussion of the Authorised Version of the Bible.’ Afterwards, as they were leaving, Ervine saw Shaw ‘stuffing Treasury Notes into the box marked Building Fund.’ Ervine, *Bernard Shaw*, 366.

In a survey entitled *Bernard Shaw's Remarkable Religion* (2002) Stuart E. Baker¹²⁴⁷ failed to discuss the material dimension to Shaw's 'religion' and as part of this oversight, did not mention his friendships with Father Leonard, Dean Inge, or Dame Laurentia. Elsie B. Adams's work on the other hand is more useful in that she acknowledges the way that Shaw's religion is 'catholic'¹²⁴⁸ in the sense of being diverse or all-encompassing. As Adams argues, Shaw's religion of creative evolution (through which the Life Force works) 'encompasses all sincerely held beliefs, including the Christian socialism of Morell, the revolutionary doctrine of John Tanner, the Catholicism of Saint Joan, even the capitalism of Andrew Undershaft.'¹²⁴⁹ Adams too points out the number of essays or articles that address the subject of the relationship between the theatre and the church, such as 'Church and Stage'¹²⁵⁰, and *On Going to Church*.

Shaw's 'religion' of creative evolution is explained in the preface to *Back to Methuselah*, and in the section entitled 'The Religious Art of the Twentieth Century' he declares that 'art has never been great when it was not providing an iconography for a live religion.' (V, 333). This statement explains his admiration for medieval art. On this point it is important to note the nature of Shaw's 'religious' pieces at Shaw's Corner: a number of artefacts allude to the art of the late medieval or early renaissance periods. As I have shown, Shaw visited the *Exposition des Primitifs Flamands à Bruges* in 1902, where he would have seen pieces made for private devotion such as *The Cardon Chapel*, c.1400, (figure 184),¹²⁵¹ depicting a portable statuette of the Virgin and Child, flanked by shutters painted with scenes from the Life of the Virgin. This relates to the iconography of the secular, domesticated Virgin Mary and Child represented in the Flemish artist Léon De Smet's painting *Still Life with an Image of the Madonna in a Glass Case* (1923) which today can be seen in Shaw's bedroom.¹²⁵² (Figure 185). The painting depicts miniature devotional statuary: a wax doll carrying a child

¹²⁴⁷ Stuart E. Baker, *Bernard Shaw's Remarkable Religion: A Faith that Fits the Facts* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002).

¹²⁴⁸ Adams, *Bernard Shaw and the Aesthetes*, 23. Shaw would write of his new 'living religion' of creative evolution: 'There is only one religion, though there are a hundred versions of it.' Shaw, preface to *Plays Pleasant* (I, 372-73).

¹²⁴⁹ Adams, *Bernard Shaw and the Aesthetes*, 162-63. 'Morell' here refers to The Reverend James Mavor Morell in *Candida*; 'John Tanner' is the revolutionary in *Man and Superman*; 'Andrew Undershaft' refers to the capitalist manufacturer of *Major Barbara*.

¹²⁵⁰ Shaw, 'Church and Stage', *Saturday Review*, 25 January 1896, reprinted in *Bernard Shaw: The Drama Observed Volume II*, 502-08. Here Shaw discusses the conflicting views relating to religious iconography between the 'Cromwellian Puritans', those who divided art into the 'sacred and profane', and those who would 'excommunicate' the theatre only, 'leaving the cathedral, [and] the picture gallery' untouched. Shaw appears to be advocating the latter position.

¹²⁵¹ The Cardon Chapel is now in the Louvre, Paris.

¹²⁵² NTIN 1275305.

surrounded by artificial flowers and suspended in a glass case. This was a popular Catholic symbol in Vienna and Germany during the mid-nineteenth century, used to evoke the idea of the Virgin and Child and often imbued with religious meaning.

I believe the domestication of the Virgin in these works appealed to Shaw because they related to his idea of Saint Joan, and other female saints, who become meaningful for ordinary people in ways which transcend their saintliness, affecting everyday life. Leonard Conolly makes the very important point when discussing a talk by Shaw, broadcast via the BBC in 1931, that Shaw's Joan 'is a human being, not a saint; Shaw compares her experiences and values to those of Leon Trotsky and Sylvia Pankhurst... Shaw's purpose in the talk was not to venerate Joan but to scrutinize her human and historical dimensions and show how she and her circumstances can "contact with our life and circumstances."¹²⁵³ We see this too in Shaw's 1907 preface to *The Sanity of Art* where he speaks of his admiration for 'Carpaccio painting the life of St. Ursula exactly as if she were a lady living in the next street to him.'¹²⁵⁴ Figures such as Saint Ursula he felt 'are still alive and at home everywhere.'¹²⁵⁵

This De Smet painting of the Madonna was originally kept in Shaw's study at Whitehall Court, and we know the work had personal significance for him as it was one of the paintings he specifically requested to be brought up from London. Saved in this way, it did not suffer the fate of Shaw's other De Smet paintings which were consigned to Sotheby's and sold in 1949.¹²⁵⁶ In 1945 he wrote to Patch, asking her to send 'the odd little picture by De Smet in the study.'¹²⁵⁷ For the last five years of his life, Shaw therefore slept in his bedroom opposite a painting depicting a statuette of the Virgin Mary, imitating the fictional domestic space of King Charles the Seventh of France in *Saint Joan* (1923), who we are told in the Epilogue to the play, sleeps beside 'a picture of the Virgin.' (VI, 190).

Gofton has stated that the painting is of a 'portable altar,'¹²⁵⁸ however it is more accurate to describe it as a depiction of a group of 'religious' everyday domestic artefacts (the statuette, ceramics, and mounted icons) on a sideboard in an interior, which functioned as a kind of

¹²⁵³ Shaw, a talk on Joan of Arc, broadcast on the radio on 30 May 1931, quoted in Leonard W. Conolly, *Bernard Shaw and the BBC* (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 60.

¹²⁵⁴ Shaw, *The Sanity of Art*, 2.

¹²⁵⁵ Shaw, *The Sanity of Art*, 2.

¹²⁵⁶ Shaw owned four further paintings by De Smet, which were kept in the London flats; one had been a gift from the artist. See Sotheby & Co., *Catalogue of Modern Drawings and Paintings*, 27 July 1949, lot numbers 150-153.

¹²⁵⁷ Shaw to Patch, 19 September 1945, CL4, 752.

¹²⁵⁸ Gofton, *Shaw's Corner*, 25.

shrine for worship within the home. What we are seeing here is actually a representation of De Smet's own personal domestic space in Brussels which he shared with his wife and reflected their Catholic faith, with its emphasis on Mariolatry. Evidence is provided from an examination of further paintings by the artist, and a photograph. Figure 186 shows De Smet posed in his interior, leaning on a sideboard displaying a wax doll of the Madonna in a hexagonally shaped glass case.¹²⁵⁹ And figure 187 is a detail of a *Still Life* from 1926 where the same Madonna and Child depicted in Shaw's painting is displayed in a rounded case, flanked by wax flowers under glass shades, and a Staffordshire figurine in the foreground.¹²⁶⁰ The presence of the work in Shaw's bedroom has long puzzled visitors to Shaw's Corner. Trevor Allen, for example, specifically asked about the painting in 1952 (he could not view the work as only the three main downstairs rooms were open to the public at that time): 'I inquired about a strange symbolical picture which used to hang opposite the foot of his rather gaunt, austere bed, so that he saw it last thing at night, first thing in the morning. There was a vague figure in it, and friends who had seen it described it as grotesque or ugly and wondered if there was a "story" behind his evident liking for it. It is still there, hugging its mystery.'¹²⁶¹

I suggest that we need to see both *The Cardon Chapel* and the De Smet *Madonna* in the context of many further examples of Shaw's fascination with the subject of the Virgin and Child.¹²⁶² As far back as 1894 he had made a special visit to see the *Darmstadt Madonna*¹²⁶³ (1526-8) by Hans Holbein the Younger, depicting the Madonna and Child standing in a niche. (Figure 188). Shaw had gone to Germany to write on Wagner, but deviated from his plan: 'out of pure devotion to art I have given my train the slip and imprisoned myself in Darmstadt for five hours, all for the sake of Holbein's Madonna.'¹²⁶⁴ Weintraub observes: 'his exposure to some of the great Virgin canvases, had an impact upon his "mother play", *Candida*'¹²⁶⁵ since Shaw's opening scene of that play reveals 'Titian's Assumption of the Virgin' on the wall above the fireplace. (I, 517). Shaw also kept a set of Dürer's prints

¹²⁵⁹ Emile Langui, *Léon De Smet 1881-1966* (Deurle, 1976), 10.

¹²⁶⁰ Langui, *Léon De Smet*, 36.

¹²⁶¹ Allen, 'The sad story of Shaw's Corner', 762.

¹²⁶² Gibbs states that Shaw received (and kept) a 'medal of the Virgin Mary' as a gift from a Mrs E.A. Collier in March 1878; see Gibbs, *A Bernard Shaw Chronology*, 36.

¹²⁶³ The painting is also known as the Madonna of Jakob Meyer zum Hasen (the 'Meyer Madonna').

¹²⁶⁴ Shaw, 'Pursuing Holbein's Madonna', reprinted in Weintraub, LAS, 364.

¹²⁶⁵ Weintraub, LAS, 363.

representing *The Life of the Virgin* in his study at Whitehall Court (figure 189).¹²⁶⁶ Figure 190 shows ‘The Nativity’ from this series.

Further photographs and postcards are testament to Shaw’s interest in the Catholic iconography of the Virgin and Child: a postcard of *The Presentation in the Temple* (1510) by Vittore Carpaccio;¹²⁶⁷ and one of Shaw’s photographs of Charlotte, taken at Piccard’s Cottage in 1901, reveals her posed beneath a plaster copy of Michelangelo’s *The Virgin and Child with the Infant St. John* (Taddei Tondo). (Figure 191).¹²⁶⁸ Writing to Mrs. Patrick Campbell in 1913, he urged her to look at the postcard he was sending of the Madonna from the triptych in Moulins Cathedral: ‘with a magnifying glass you will find that the two angels crowning the Madonna are lovely beyond words.’¹²⁶⁹ Figure 192 shows the central panel. This helps explain the presence of the framed prints of the Angels from the upper portion of the panel of Fra Angelico’s *The Coronation of the Virgin* (c.1432) on the wall outside Shaw’s bedroom. (Figure 193).¹²⁷⁰ It is interesting to see that when he discussed the origins of the Sphinx in *Caesar and Cleopatra* (to whom Caesar asks ‘Have I read your riddle, Sphinx?’¹²⁷¹), Shaw declared that the inspiration lay in an image he had seen whilst a boy, which: ‘remained in the rummage basket of my memory for thirty years before I took it out.’¹²⁷² This was an engraving he had seen in a shop window of ‘the Virgin and Child lying asleep in the lap of a colossal Sphinx staring over a desert’.¹²⁷³ Meisel and Weintraub have both convincingly argued that Shaw was referring to a print after the painting by Luc Olivier Merson, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (1879).¹²⁷⁴ Figure 194 shows a detail of the Merson

¹²⁶⁶ A number of *The Life of the Virgin* series are visible from the photographs of Shaw’s study: ‘The Refusal of Joachim’s Offer’, ‘The Visitation’, ‘The Adoration of the Shepherds’, ‘The Adoration of the Magi’, ‘The Nativity’, ‘The Presentation of Christ in the Temple’, ‘The Flight into Egypt’, and ‘Christ among the Doctors in the Temple.’ The set were sold: Sotheby & Co., 25 July 1949, lot no.210: ‘A. Dürer. Reproductions of the Life of the Virgin; the copper-plate Passion, etc. in twenty frames.’ This press photograph was reproduced in Winsten, *Jesting Apostle*, facing page 176.

¹²⁶⁷ NT Shaw Photographs 1715252.141.

¹²⁶⁸ NT Shaw Photographs 1715231.66.

¹²⁶⁹ Shaw to Mrs. Patrick Campbell, 10 September 1913, in Dent, *Bernard Shaw and Mrs. Patrick Campbell: Their Correspondence*, 147. Shaw’s words were written on two postcards from Moulins Allier, France. The Moulins Triptych, c. 1498, Moulins Cathedral, by Jean Hey. (Known formerly as the Master of Moulins).

¹²⁷⁰ NTIN 1274659.1-2. Shaw would probably have seen the Fra Angelico works (in Florence) during his second trip to Italy with the Art Workers’ Guild in September 1894. This version of Fra Angelico’s *The Coronation of the Virgin* is now in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

¹²⁷¹ *Caesar and Cleopatra* (II, 182).

¹²⁷² Shaw to Hesketh Pearson, quoted in Pearson, *Bernard Shaw: His Life and Personality*, 221; also quoted in Weintraub, ‘In the Picture Galleries’, in *The Genius of Shaw*, 50. Shaw however is exaggerating here, as he would have been 23 years old, not a ‘boy’, when the picture was painted in 1879.

¹²⁷³ Shaw to Hesketh Pearson, quoted in Pearson, *Bernard Shaw: His Life and Personality*, 221.

¹²⁷⁴ Martin Meisel, ‘Cleopatra and “The Flight into Egypt,”’ *Shaw Review*, 7, 2 (May 1964), 62-63; and Weintraub, ‘In the Picture Galleries’, in *The Genius of Shaw*, 50. See also Meisel, ‘Visual arts’, 189.

painting.¹²⁷⁵

In a different, though not entirely unrelated context, Shaw's interest in the De Smet painting of the wax dolls representing the Madonna and Child also brings to mind his fascination with various forms of (wax) inanimate figures, identified by Gross as an extension of the statue. First of all we must acknowledge Shaw's personal willingness to become a wax exhibit at Madame Tussaud's. Despite his criticism of Tussaud's in the 1890s,¹²⁷⁶ as early as 1913 a bust of Shaw was exhibited at the wax-works.¹²⁷⁷ And a photograph of a later 'Shaw' wax-work (figure 195) appeared in an article on Tussaud's gallery in *The Illustrated London News* in 1950, with the heading 'Wax and the Man: George Bernard Shaw, our most famous living playwright, takes his place in the silent company.'¹²⁷⁸ This caption, with its evocation of the 'living' sculpture co-existing with the 'silent company' suggests the liminal state occupied by the statue between life and death, between body and corpse. That Shaw conceptualized wax figures in this way can be seen in a letter where he describes seeing Charlotte's body shortly after her death: 'On Monday there was nothing but a beautiful wax figure.'¹²⁷⁹ Here he evokes the scene from *Oliver Twist*, where Dickens sees the corpses as wax figures: 'A many, many beautiful corpse she laid out as nice and neat as wax-work.'¹²⁸⁰ Shaw was also drawing on the tradition in the late medieval period when wax effigies had 'served commemorative and funerary purposes.'¹²⁸¹

As Deborah Lutz argues, 'the thing itself and its material replacement become meshed, reminding us of the body as always a member of the world of things.'¹²⁸² This dovetailing of body and statue was in evidence through Shaw's own relationship to his Rodin bust. The

¹²⁷⁵ The painting has been reproduced in Weintraub, 'In the Picture Galleries', in *The Genius of Shaw*, 51.

¹²⁷⁶ Shaw had complained about commercial drama, using the wax museum as an example of degraded taste: 'Nobody goes to the theatre except the people who also go to Madame Tussaud's [...] It does not create beauty: it apes fashion.' Shaw, 'William Morris as Actor and Playwright', PPR, 215.

¹²⁷⁷ A 'Shaw' wax-work was listed among the exhibits in 1913: *Madame Tussaud's Exhibition Catalogue* (1913), 10, figure 12 (Shaw was placed next to Dickens). Shaw's wax-work was unveiled on Christmas Eve, 1913: see Gibbs, *A Bernard Shaw Chronology*, 207. His appearance as a wax-work was parodied in a *Punch* cartoon. See *Punch* (4 March 1914), 175. Several versions of 'Shaw' were created in wax. Shaw had visited Madame Tussaud's as early as 1886. (BSD1, 177).

¹²⁷⁸ This photograph of Shaw's wax-work appeared in an article on Tussaud's Gallery in *The Illustrated London News* (29 April 1950), 655.

¹²⁷⁹ Shaw to Lady Mary Murray, 21 September 1943, CL4, 680.

¹²⁸⁰ Charles Dickens, quoted in Deborah Lutz, *Relics of Death in Victorian Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 87.

¹²⁸¹ Jane Munro, *Silent Partners: Artist and Mannequin from Function to Fetish* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 156.

¹²⁸² Lutz, *Relics of Death in Victorian Literature and Culture*, 87-88.

bronze version of the bust, which he felt to be ‘a *chef d’oeuvre*’¹²⁸³ became ‘the living head of which I carried the model on my shoulders.’¹²⁸⁴ This evokes Wilde’s story of transformation and doubling *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1890) where, as Hayes explains ‘the book’s namesake becomes ever more object-like, calcified as an unchanging eternal youth, while an inanimate object – the painting alluded to in the title – takes on active life.’¹²⁸⁵ In his essay on Rodin, Shaw declared: ‘the bronze is me (growing younger now)’.¹²⁸⁶

Shaw’s preoccupation with sculpture was informed by the idea of copies, reproductions, and a doubling motif, in both portraiture and self-portraiture, and this relates to the theme of the statue’s liminality, and also the body as ‘thing’. This interest is captured in staged photographs of Shaw, taken during sittings at Troubetzkoy’s ‘studio at the Villa Cabianna on Lago Maggiore’¹²⁸⁷ in 1926-7, which exist as both portraits of Shaw and portraits of his sculpted body. Figure 196 shows Shaw posed with his statuette in Troubetzkoy’s studio in 1926 (this artefact is now in the drawing-room),¹²⁸⁸ whilst figure 197 pictures him posing in the garden of Troubetzkoy’s villa with his life-size statue in 1927.¹²⁸⁹ Lawrence Langner took further photographs on this occasion, where Shaw and his ‘copy’ stand either side of a Troubetzkoy sculpture of a mother and child. (Figure 198).¹²⁹⁰

Shaw’s posing questions the ‘aura’ of the work of art, and the relationship of the real to the copy, and the original to the reproduction.¹²⁹¹ Shaw articulates the complex relationship between sculpture and photography, and as a broad theme this subject has been explored in a recent exhibition *The Original Copy: Photography of Sculpture, 1839 to Today* (2010).¹²⁹² It was argued here that from the very beginning, sculpture was intimately linked to photography’s history. Furthermore, photography was concerned with ‘copying what had

¹²⁸³ Shaw to Augustin Hamon, 4 December 1906, CL2, 665. Shaw wrote: ‘His bust of me - I have received the bronze - is a *chef d’oeuvre*’.

¹²⁸⁴ Shaw, ‘Rodin’, in PPR, 229.

¹²⁸⁵ Hayes, ‘Objects and Interiors: Oscar Wilde’, 45.

¹²⁸⁶ Shaw, ‘Rodin’, in PPR, 230.

¹²⁸⁷ Shaw, letter to Jacob Epstein, quoted in Hesketh Pearson, *Bernard Shaw: His Life and Personality*, 319.

¹²⁸⁸ The photograph was reproduced in Winsten, *Days with Bernard Shaw*, facing page 57.

¹²⁸⁹ This photograph was reproduced in Henderson, *Playboy and Prophet*, facing page 739. This sculpting session featured in a British Pathé film entitled ‘George Bernard Shaw: Pathé cameraman induces the great dramatist hitherto most ‘screen shy’ of famous personalities to grant exclusive cine interview during holiday on Lake Maggiore.’ Issued 27 October 1927; film ID 704.03.

¹²⁹⁰ Photograph by Lawrence Langner, published in Lawrence Langner, ‘The Sinner-Saint as Host: Diary of a Visit to G.B.S. at Stresa’, *The Saturday Review of Literature*, 27, 30 (22 July 1944), 11.

¹²⁹¹ I discuss this theme in greater detail in McEwan, ‘Commodities, Consumption, and Connoisseurship’, 71-72.

¹²⁹² Roxana Marcoci, ed., *The Original Copy: Photography of Sculpture, 1839 to Today* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2010).

already been copied.’¹²⁹³ Photographs of sculpture were from the 1840s onwards ‘a celebration of copying itself, of the ability to own copies, and of the act of copying those copies.’¹²⁹⁴ Shaw perceptively draws on that history through his own photographs, both in terms of his role as a photographer, and in his posing as a model.

In photographic portraits Shaw enjoyed experimenting with this idea of copies and doubling, witnessed by numerous press photographs where he is shown interacting with his ‘copy’ or ‘double’, whether in the form of an actor or an image. We see, for example, Shaw arranging the costume of the almost puppet-like actor who will play the part of ‘GBS’ on stage in a play by Lionel Britton in 1932: the photograph, reproduced in *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera* shows ‘the real G.B.S. assisting Edgar Norfolk with make-up at the rehearsal of “Spacetime Inn”’.¹²⁹⁵ (Figure 199). Peter McNeil has explored the ‘macaroni persona’ in ways that illuminate Shaw’s relationship to his image here: ‘A ‘real’ macaroni saw exaggerated images of ‘himself’ on stage, in the print-shops and on the streets, and emulated them; perhaps seeking to outdo the image in his own reality.’¹²⁹⁶

Shaw’s self-awareness surfaces again where he deliberately recreates the pose he had assumed in earlier portraits: figure 200 is a photograph captioned by Shaw ‘portrait of G.B.S. by Augustus John with the aged original.’¹²⁹⁷ Here Shaw was possibly making reference to a remark he had made at the time of the original sitting: ‘my vanity rebels against being immortalized as an elderly caricature of myself.’¹²⁹⁸ It also stands as an example of Shaw’s self-reflexive strategies: embedded within the portrait is a copy of that image. This is the technique of *mise en abyme*¹²⁹⁹ – used most famously in *Las Meninas* (1656) by Velázquez, one of his favourite artists. Max Beerbohm applied the motif of the portrait within a portrait

¹²⁹³ Geoffrey Batchen, ‘An almost unlimited variety: photography and sculpture in the nineteenth century’, in *The Original Copy: Photography of Sculpture, 1839 to Today*, ed. by Roxana Marcoci (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2010), 21.

¹²⁹⁴ Batchen, ‘An almost unlimited variety: photography and sculpture in the nineteenth century’, 22.

¹²⁹⁵ Reproduced in *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*, 75. (Fox Photos). The play is in the collection, and bears the inscription ‘To Bernard Shaw, this is my tribute to you and my way of thanking you for having given me the chance to come alive, Lionel Britton, Oct. 1st 1932.’ (NTIN 3062262).

¹²⁹⁶ Peter McNeil, ‘Macaroni Masculinities’, in *The Men’s Fashion Reader*, ed. by Peter McNeil and Vicki Karaminas (London: Bloomsbury, 2009), 71.

¹²⁹⁷ NT Shaw Photographs 1715221.19, the caption written verso in Shaw’s hand. Reproduced (with the same caption) in *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*, 65.

¹²⁹⁸ Shaw to Frances Chesterton, 5 May 1915, CL3, 295. In a remark to Henderson, Shaw had described the work as ‘the portrait of my great reputation.’ Shaw quoted in Henderson, *George Bernard Shaw: Man of the Century*, 789. (See also Weintraub, LAS, 41).

¹²⁹⁹ Pamela J. Warner has shown how the device was employed in photographic portraits by the French writer and collector Edmond de Goncourt in 1890. See Warner, ‘The Competing Dialectics of the *Cabinet de Travail*: Masculinity at the Threshold’, in *Interior Portraiture and Masculine Identity in France, 1789-1914*, ed. by Balducci et al, 163.

in 1907 to highlight Shaw's obsession with his image: a cartoon of Shaw and himself as art critics, (figure 201)¹³⁰⁰ portrays the pair discussing Bertha Newcombe's portrait of Shaw *The Platform Spellbinder*. A 'woodburytype' print after the original painting of 1892 is in the drawing-room at Shaw's Corner. (Figure 202).¹³⁰¹ In terms of literary forms, Shaw used the technique (the "play within a play") as a mirroring strategy in *Fanny's First Play*.

Apart from the distorting (and revealing) convex mirror in the hall, there were no mirrors hung in the public rooms at Shaw's Corner. This signals an absence of vanity; yet the evidence provided by numerous photographic portraits of Shaw suggests that he took pleasure in posing in front of mirrors in other people's houses, or in the accommodation the Shaws rented. Figure 203 for example, shows a self-portrait taken at Blen-Cathra (1899) where he gazes into a mirror to create a double portrait;¹³⁰² and figure 204 reveals a playful Shaw in a staged photograph posed in front of a mirror at the Winstens' house for the American *Look* magazine in 1948.¹³⁰³ Shaw's manipulation of his portrait in this way points to the paradoxical nature of the mirror: 'its antinomous symbolism of frivolous superficiality and metaphysical depth, of surface and soul, of illusion and verification.'¹³⁰⁴ In *Back to Methuselah*, The She-Ancient would dismiss the power of the mirror and of art itself: 'You use a glass mirror to see your face: you use works of art to see your soul. But we who are older use neither glass mirrors nor works of art.' (V, 617). Through direct engagement with art and photography however, Shaw seems more ambivalent, acknowledging the power of the mirror through duality, as a symbol of both Vanitas and Veritas. Indeed this section of 'As Far as Thought Can Reach' in *Back to Methuselah* might be read as a discourse on Narcissus.

¹³⁰⁰ Max Beerbohm, 'A Council of Perfection. G.B.S. (to myself): "Now why can't you do me like that?"', 1907. Published in John Mason Brown, 'Back to Methuselah: A Visit to an Elderly Gentleman in a World of Arms and the Man', *The Saturday Review of Literature*, 27, 30 (22 July 1944), 7.

¹³⁰¹ NTIN 1274697. Newcombe's portrait depicted Shaw in his role as an orator, addressing an audience at a socialist meeting. Shaw reproduced the portrait in *Sixteen Self-Sketches*, 56. The Shaw's Corner copy is a 'woodburytype' print, referring to a photomechanical process developed to create high quality images. When Hesketh Pearson asked Shaw for a copy of Newcombe's work many years later, he replied: 'the picture hangs at full length in the Labour Club. But I have an excellent Woodburytype of it which I can get reproduced if the painter consents.' Shaw's note appears on a letter Pearson had written to Shaw, 13 February 1940. (HRC, II, 52.6). The 'picture' Shaw refers to here was the original oil painting, which was recently rediscovered. In 2012 Professor Audrey Mullender, Principal of Ruskin College Oxford, noticed the painting in a common room in the college, and contacted a member of the International Shaw Society. It was confirmed as the 'lost' work by Newcombe. The painting had originally belonged to the Labour Party, and was returned to their headquarters in London in 2013.

¹³⁰² NT Shaw Photographs 1715257.87; 1715213.89.

¹³⁰³ 'A New Picture Album of George Bernard Shaw', *Look*, 13, 11 (24 May 1949), 50-57. This image was published across pages 56-57. The article was promoting Stephen Winsten's new book *Days with Bernard Shaw* (1949), where the image was reproduced facing page 177. The photograph had been taken in the drawing-room of the Winstens' house (unknown photographer).

¹³⁰⁴ Helen Goscolo, 'The Mirror in Art: Vanitas, Veritas, and Vision,' *Studies in 20th & 21st Century Literature*, 34, 2 (2010), 291.

Vanitas art has been characterized as a means of contrasting ‘the nugatory nature of youth, beauty, and earthly pleasures with the interior world of spiritual activity.’¹³⁰⁵

Fiona Kearney has recognized the performative aspects to Shaw’s interaction with the camera, where he draws our attention to the constructed nature of the image, highlighting ‘the tensions between viewer and viewed, between director and performer.’¹³⁰⁶ She also briefly discusses his use of statuary in his poses. Shaw’s blatantly narcissistic interest in doubling and Vanitas themes however is not discussed by Kearney, despite her title ‘Double Exposure’, and the fact that one of Shaw’s self-portraits posed with a camera in front of a mirror is reproduced in the article. This type of self-exposure takes him beyond reflections on temporality to contemplations of mortality; and it was a trait that had been exhibited in photographic self-portraits from his earliest experiments with a camera during the late 1890s, when he literally employed the technique of double exposure (figure 205).¹³⁰⁷ In Freudian terms, such conceptualization of the ‘double’ evoked the idea of ‘preservation against extinction.’¹³⁰⁸

At this time Shaw was probably making reference to Ibsen’s *Peer Gynt* (1867), having completed his major essay ‘The Quintessence of Ibsenism’ in 1891. Indeed it might be argued that Shaw sees elements of himself in Peer, with all his illusions of self. In the play, Begriffenfeldt ironically praises Peer as the ‘Emperor of Self,’¹³⁰⁹ as ‘a man who has fathomed the Sphinx’s enigma.’ But for Peer this is problematic: ‘I *am* myself – from beginning to end. But, unless I’m mistaken, in here it’s a question of being one’s Self *beside* one’s self.’¹³¹⁰ Shaw’s doubles operate metaphorically like Peer Gynt’s onion in the play, exposing layers of the self. As Shaw explains: ‘He picks up an onion, and, playing with the idea that it is himself, and that its skins are the phases of his own career wrapped round the kernel of his real self, strips them off one after another, only to discover that there is no

¹³⁰⁵ Goscilo, ‘The Mirror in Art’, 291.

¹³⁰⁶ Fiona Kearney, ‘George Bernard Shaw: Double Exposure’, *Irish Arts Review*, 27, 4 (Winter 2010), 88. Kearney’s article was published to coincide with the exhibition ‘The Moderns: The Arts in Ireland from the 1900s to the 1970s’ staged at the Irish Museum of Modern Art, Dublin in 2010. A selection of Shaw’s photographs formed part of the exhibit.

¹³⁰⁷ NT Shaw Photographs 1715313.75. This double exposure was taken at Blen-Cathra, c.1898. One of Shaw’s photographs from this session (not a double exposure) is reproduced in *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*, 30.

¹³⁰⁸ Sigmund Freud, ‘The Uncanny’, in *Art and Literature, The Penguin Freud Library*, vol. 14, (London: Penguin, 1990 [1919]), 356. According to Sidney P. Albert, Shaw may have been aware of Freudian theory as early as 1904 through the work of Havelock Ellis; see Sidney P. Albert, ‘Reflections on Shaw and Psychoanalysis’, *Modern Drama*, 14, 2 (September 1971), 172. See also Gahan, ‘Jitta’s Atonement: The Birth of Psychoanalysis and “The fetters of the feminine psyche”’, in *Dionysian Shaw, SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, vol. 24, ed. by Pharand, 138-42; 162.

¹³⁰⁹ Ibsen, *Peer Gynt* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970 [1867]), 164.

¹³¹⁰ Ibsen, *Peer Gynt*, 157. The italics are in the original text.

kernel.¹³¹¹

Before I explore the notion of the double further in relation to specific eschatological themes, or self-realization, it is important to also situate Shaw's playful engagement with sculpture or statues in the satirical tradition of both Butler and Hogarth. Butler participated in a 'style of flamboyant self-deprecation',¹³¹² and as Shaffer has shown, took humorous photographs of himself posed with statues.¹³¹³ (Figure 206).¹³¹⁴ Shaw's debt to Hogarth is evidenced by an amusing letter he wrote to Trebitsch where he makes the connection between portraiture and sculpture: 'If you took to painting and made a portrait of me, you would give me the leg of Apollo and the torso of the Farnese Hercules.'¹³¹⁵ This I would suggest is a specific reference to Hogarth's *The Analysis of Beauty*, Plate 1, (figure 207) where we see both the Farnese Hercules and Apollo. As Ronald Paulson explains, Hogarth has emptied the statues of 'their iconographical as well as their aesthetic significance by placing them as lead copies in a sculpture yard (thus turning them into vanitas symbols).'¹³¹⁶ Shaw would later reference *The Analysis of Beauty* in "Good King Charles's Golden Days" (1939), when the portraitist Godfrey Kneller declares: 'The right line, the line of beauty, is a curve.' (VII, 271). Weintraub has argued that this alludes to 'an Einsteinean curvilinear universe'¹³¹⁷ however Shaw is referring to Hogarth's 'serpentine line' which forms part of his theory of aesthetics in *The Analysis of Beauty*. He informs us in the preface: 'it was Hogarth who said "the line of beauty is a curve"'. (VII, 205).

Shaw's own facetious poses similarly drew attention to the way that statues functioned as empty signifiers ready for embodying new meanings, and self-mockingly evokes his own vanity and narcissism. His satirical nude imitation of the pose of Rodin's famous statue *The Thinker* in a photograph by Coburn, was staged at Shaw's suggestion on 24 April 1906, three

¹³¹¹ Shaw, 'The Quintessence of Ibsenism', in *Major Critical Essays* (London: Constable, 1932 [1891]), 47, note 1.

¹³¹² Shaffer, *Erewhons of the Eye*, 23.

¹³¹³ Shaffer, *Erewhons of the Eye*, 109.

¹³¹⁴ Shaffer, *Erewhons of the Eye*, 108. The photograph is titled: 'Stefano Scotto with Mr S Butler, Ecce Homo Chapel, Sacro Monte, Varallo, c.1882.' (Figure 57).

¹³¹⁵ Shaw to Siegfried Trebitsch, 26 December 1902, CL2, 297.

¹³¹⁶ Ronald Paulson, 'The Aesthetics of Mourning', in *Studies in Eighteenth-century British Art and Aesthetics*, ed. by Ralph Cohen (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 155; see also Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth: Art and Politics, 1750-1764, vol.3* (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 1993), 107.

¹³¹⁷ Weintraub, 'In the Picture Galleries', in *The Genius of Shaw*, 57.

days after both he and Coburn had witnessed the statue being unveiled in Paris.¹³¹⁸ (Figure 208).¹³¹⁹ Shaw proposed that he should photograph him ‘as Le Penseur all complete. You have exhausted all aspects of my head and clothes: why not try the real forked radish of Carlyle? My wife is still very reluctant...but I have pleaded for a memorial, and she may relent.’¹³²⁰ Here Shaw is making reference to Carlyle’s satire and philosophical treatise *Sartor Resartus*: ‘a forked radish with a head fantastically carved’ is humorously evoked in contemplation of a ‘naked House of Lords.’¹³²¹

The photograph was not published in Shaw’s lifetime however it was exhibited at the London Salon of Photography in 1906, and the response to the image was characterized by astonishment. One reviewer recognized Shaw’s face, beard and hands, but was surprised by his well-developed body: ‘the anatomy shows more muscular development than some people would expect of a combination of high thinking and vegetarianism.’¹³²² This comment pays ironic tribute to Shaw’s article ‘The Religion of the Pianoforte’ where he had made a link between ‘high thinking’, ‘vegetarianism’, and the ‘education of the senses.’¹³²³ Another reporter declared after visiting the London Salon: ‘the sensation of the show is Mr. Coburn’s “Le Penseur”’.¹³²⁴ Coburn wrote: ‘I think G.B.S. was quite proud of his figure, and well he may have been, as the photograph testifies.’¹³²⁵

Shaw was also satirically appropriating the fashionable mode of display known as the ‘Living

¹³¹⁸ Shaw had written to Coburn on 23 April 1906 suggesting that Coburn come to his room the next morning to photograph him nude as ‘Le Penseur’. (They were both staying in the same hotel). See Valentina Branchini, ‘An Artistic Intimacy: Alvin Langdon Coburn and George Bernard Shaw’, *Image*, 47, 1 (Spring 2009), 12-19. (Butler, Pharand, and Gibbs give the date of the photographing session as 22 April, but this is incorrect). Shaw’s letter to Coburn is in the collection of George Eastman House, New York. Coburn and Sydney Cockerell accompanied Shaw and Charlotte to the unveiling of Rodin’s *The Thinker*, on 21 April 1906.

¹³¹⁹ Alvin Langdon Coburn, *Le Penseur* (Bernard Shaw), 1906. Coburn’s photograph is in the collection of George Eastman House. Reproduced in Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, eds., *Alvin Langdon Coburn Photographer: An Autobiography* (New York: Dover Publications, 1978), plate 7. The image has also been reproduced in Butler, *Rodin: The Shape of Genius*, 392, figure 161; Lampert, *Rodin*, 285, figure 360; and Weintraub, ‘In the Picture Galleries’, in *The Genius of Shaw*, 59. Lampert gives the title as *George Bernard Shaw Assuming the Pose of ‘The Thinker’*. For further photographs of Shaw posing as ‘The Thinker’ (taken by Harley Granville-Barker) see NT Shaw Photographs for example 1715219.16, where Shaw poses on the beach in Mevagissey, Cornwall in August 1906. (This image was reproduced in Kearney, ‘George Bernard Shaw: Double Exposure’, 88; and in Holroyd, ed., *The Genius of Shaw*, 200, alongside several other nude or partially-clothed portraits of Shaw by Granville-Barker).

¹³²⁰ Shaw to Coburn, 23 April 1906, collection of George Eastman House, quoted in Branchini, ‘An Artistic Intimacy: Alvin Langdon Coburn and George Bernard Shaw’.

¹³²¹ Thomas Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus: The Life and Opinions of Herr Teufelsdröckh* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1849), 66. I discuss this further in the next section.

¹³²² Unsigned review, quoted in Branchini, ‘An Artistic Intimacy: Alvin Langdon Coburn and George Bernard Shaw’.

¹³²³ Shaw, ‘The Religion of the Pianoforte’, 119-20.

¹³²⁴ Unsigned review, *British Journal of Photography*, 53, 21 (September 1906), 747.

¹³²⁵ Coburn, quoted in Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, eds., *Alvin Langdon Coburn Photographer*, 40.

Sculptures’, or ‘Living Pictures.’ This phenomenon was an imitation of the *tableaux vivants* performed in the late eighteenth-century, popularized in France as the *poses plastiques*, where a figure or group adopted the pose of classical statuary. In 1895 Shaw had in fact reviewed the music-hall version of ‘Living Pictures’ at the Palace Theatre of Varieties in Shaftesbury Avenue in his role as a drama critic,¹³²⁶ a spectacle where semi-nude actresses (their faces and bodies powdered with white make-up) assumed the poses of well-known statues. In a similar vein, photography captured these illusory effects, blurring the boundary between body and artefact.¹³²⁷ In *The Haunted Gallery*, Lynda Nead discusses this popular culture of ‘visual illusions created by the technologies of nineteenth-century mass entertainment’ in ways that I would suggest have particular meaning for Shaw, noting the relationship between ‘the fantasy of the inanimate object that comes to life and the dream of the living body that turns to stone.’¹³²⁸ Nead argues that this concern in the period with ‘states of animation and petrification...can be traced to early Christian beliefs in miraculous images and relics’,¹³²⁹ which accords with Shaw’s personal interest in the subject.

In Shaw’s ‘tragedy’ *Passion, Poison, and Petrification* (1905), Adolphus Bastable becomes a ‘living statue’ after he is poisoned with plaster by Fitztollemache (III, 218); and in *Man and Superman*, Ana’s father is described as a ‘living statue of white marble’ who declares: ‘I am so much more admired in marble than I ever was in my own person that I have retained the shape the sculptor gave me.’ (II, 642). Scholars have noted Shaw’s use of ‘petrified bodies and theatricalized statues’¹³³⁰ in his plays, but have not considered the phenomenon in the broader contexts of his life.

Shaw’s humorous engagement and self-identification with statues however had a darker side, especially in the case of Rodin’s *Thinker* which originally had been designed to represent Dante, the author of the *Divine Comedy*, contemplating the circles of Hell. Many of Rodin’s sculptures embodied the struggle between the aspirations of the body and those of the soul.

¹³²⁶ Shaw, ‘The Living Pictures’, *Saturday Review*, 6 April 1895, reprinted in *Bernard Shaw The Drama Observed: Volume I: 1880-1895*, ed. by Bernard F. Dukore (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), 301-07. This article is discussed in Gail Marshall, ‘Living statues and the literary drama’, in *Actresses on the Victorian Stage: Feminine Performance and the Galatea Myth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 131.

¹³²⁷ For examples of these ‘Statuette Portraits’, see Lynda Nead, *The Haunted Gallery: Painting, Photography, Film c.1900* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 69, figures 29-30.

¹³²⁸ Nead, *The Haunted Gallery*, 69.

¹³²⁹ Nead, *The Haunted Gallery*, 69.

¹³³⁰ See Elwira M. Grossman, ‘Witkacy and Shaw’s Stage Statues’, in *Shaw and Science Fiction, SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, vol. 17, ed. by Milton T. Wolf (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 39.

This was the theme of *Back to Methuselah*, as we have already witnessed in our consideration of Shaw's engagement with Vanitas imagery. It has been argued that Shaw's thinking 'about the relationship between matter and spirit in humanity is central to *Back to Methuselah*'.¹³³¹ The sculptors Arjillax and Martellus in 'As Far as Thought Can Reach' articulate issues surrounding embodiment and art through their discussion of busts and statues, which represent the human body. Arjillax still has faith in sculpture, declaring: 'the busts are only the beginning of a mighty design.' (V, 585). Martellus on the other hand is disillusioned and concludes: 'As I have broken my idols, and cast away my chisel and modelling tools, so will you too break these busts of yours.' (V, 588). The She-Ancient however has the last word on statues, evoking Rodin's *Thinker* in her rejection of the body.¹³³² The body was to be scrapped: 'we must free ourselves from that tyranny. It is this stuff [*indicating her body*], this flesh and blood and bone and all the rest of it, that is intolerable.' (V, 623).

Gahan listed sculpture as one of the key metaphors in *Back to Methuselah*. He cites the metaphors that are 'repeatedly associated with creative imagination', and these include many of the themes and artefacts I have been highlighting as significant in Shaw's visual and material world such as mirrors, telescopes, sculpture, vision, images, art and death.¹³³³ However in reality Shaw places great importance not only on sculpture's ability to augment the 'creative imagination' but the physical act of sculpting itself as a metaphor for the Life Force. We see this clearly articulated in his essays on Rodin, where he describes the sculptor's creation of his bust (in the drawing-room) which 'passed through every stage in the evolution of art before my eyes in the course of a month... Rodin's hand worked, not as a sculptor's hand works, but as the Life Force works.'¹³³⁴ Figure 209 reveals Shaw's photograph of Rodin sculpting his bust in 1906.¹³³⁵

Shaw's continuing belief in sculpture, and its ability to embody the Life Force, is indicative of his continuing faith in the power and importance of the body. Shaw demonstrates that he does not share the vision of the Ancients – he is not in favour of language losing its

¹³³¹ Susan Stone-Blackburn, 'Science and Spirituality in *Back to Methuselah* and *Last and First Men*', in *Shaw and Science Fiction, SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, vol. 17, ed. by Milton T. Wolf (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 185.

¹³³² 'I sat on a rock with my four chins resting on four of my palms, and four of my elbows resting on four of my knees. And suddenly it came into my mind that this monstrous machinery of heads and limbs was no more me than my statues had been me, and that it was only an automaton that I had enslaved.' Shaw, *Back to Methuselah* (V, 620).

¹³³³ Gahan 'Back to Methuselah: An Exercise of Imagination', 222.

¹³³⁴ Shaw, 'Rodin', PPR, 229.

¹³³⁵ NT Shaw Photographs 1715225.12. The photograph was reproduced in Holroyd, ed., *The Genius of Shaw*, 148, incorrectly captioned as 'Shaw's photograph of Rodin at work on *The Thinker*.'

‘metaphoric basis’.¹³³⁶ Scholars often mistakenly assume that Shaw’s personal views are in accordance with those expressed by The She-Ancient, who rejects art, matter, and the body for thought, (as reiterated by Martellus): ‘Nothing remains beautiful and interesting except thought, because the thought is the life.’ (V, 622). The She-Ancient’s words have permitted authors such as Yde to make erroneous statements: ‘Shaw’s horror of the body culminates in the final play of the cycle’¹³³⁷ he maintains, believing his ‘misanthropy and hatred of the body’¹³³⁸ to be palpable.

Shaw’s striking and prominent celebration of his own nude body in numerous photographic portraits and self-portraits,¹³³⁹ his faith in sculpture and the related artefacts we see at Shaw’s Corner however counteract the concluding messages of *Back to Methuselah*, and problematize Yde’s argument. By emphasizing sculpture’s physical properties in his articles on Rodin, Shaw is holding onto a material world of things and the senses, and the importance of the materiality of the body. Adams similarly claims that Shaw’s position is in tune with Arjillax who states: ‘The statue comes to life always. The statues of today are the men and women of the next incubation.’ (V, 622). Adams argues that ‘Shaw would probably place himself, the iconographer of a living religion...at the stage of Arjillax. Arjillax notably espouses Shavian theories of art.’¹³⁴⁰ These include, she argues, ‘a belief in the artist’s godlike powers to reveal spirit in form, a desire to provide artistic models worthy of imitation, and a desire to forecast the next stage of evolution.’¹³⁴¹ Shaw’s viewpoint thus differs considerably from The She-Ancient who argues for a ‘direct sense of life’ in pure thought, and advises the nymph Ecrasia to ‘put aside your mirrors and statues, your toys and your dolls.’ (V, 617). As Shaw grows older, far from putting aside his ‘statues’ and ‘dolls’, he turns to them with ever greater fervour, purpose and commitment. I return to this point in due course.

Gahan’s article is concerned with explaining that ‘a poetically structured theory of

¹³³⁶ Gahan argues that the Ancients increasingly aim to remove themselves ‘from the world of the senses toward a world of thought, where language would lose its metaphoric basis.’ Gahan ‘*Back to Methuselah: An Exercise of Imagination*’, 230.

¹³³⁷ Yde, *Bernard Shaw and Totalitarianism*, 132.

¹³³⁸ Yde, *Bernard Shaw and Totalitarianism*, 134.

¹³³⁹ Besides the famous photograph by Coburn of Shaw as Rodin’s ‘Le Penseur’, there are a number of self-portraits (and portraits by Granville-Barker) in the NT Shaw Photographic Archive where Shaw is pictured nude, or semi-nude. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715213.124; 1715214.29; 1715260.90-95). Three of these images were reproduced in Kearney, ‘George Bernard Shaw: Double Exposure’, 87.

¹³⁴⁰ Adams, *Bernard Shaw and the Aesthetes*, 140.

¹³⁴¹ Adams, *Bernard Shaw and the Aesthetes*, 140.

imagination, one intimately bound up with an awareness of death¹³⁴² is at the heart of *Back to Methuselah*. Gahan talks of the Shavian dialectic here: ““death” – the concept of death and the experience of death in life, which are both acts of imagination and catalysts for imagination – is at the root of his dialectic in this play.”¹³⁴³ This is important for an understanding of Shaw’s relationship to sculpture, and the related artefacts at Shaw’s Corner. I am suggesting however that the presence of a variety of artefacts at the house, particularly the ‘Shaw’ puppet by Waldo Lanchester, the lay figure in the study, and the tomb photographs, (more on these shortly) blur the distinctions Gahan observes in *Back to Methuselah* between ‘life/death and life/matter’.¹³⁴⁴ Shaw’s engagement with the material world as a way of negotiating the life/death antithesis through images and sculpture is rooted in, and dependent on, the ‘world of the senses’, especially vision. Gahan argues that for Shaw, creative evolution meant a ‘growth of imagination as the solution to the problems of civilization.’¹³⁴⁵ However Shaw’s personal creative imagination, like his interest in statues, did not grow solely through language – it worked through bodies, things and images.

As part of this process Shaw had a profound interest in artefacts, images and statues/sculpture that articulate the borderline between life and death, or states beyond the body. This did not mean however that he lost sight of the body, or indeed that he had a ‘horror of the body’ as Yde argues. Perhaps the easiest way of explaining this eschatological dimension to his fascination is by viewing the Rodin bust in context with another photograph (and its negative), commissioned from Coburn in 1906 at the time of sitting for Rodin. Figure 210 shows Shaw with his clay bust and the sculptor.¹³⁴⁶ The Cristoid film negative (figure 211)¹³⁴⁷ enhances the ghostliness of the image, so that the demarcation lines between the ‘real’ Shaw and the sculpted version, between the animate and inanimate are blurred. As Freud observes: ‘from having been an assurance of immortality, [the double] becomes the

¹³⁴² Gahan ‘*Back to Methuselah: An Exercise of Imagination*’, 215.

¹³⁴³ Gahan ‘*Back to Methuselah: An Exercise of Imagination*’, 236.

¹³⁴⁴ Gahan ‘*Back to Methuselah: An Exercise of Imagination*’, 230.

¹³⁴⁵ Gahan ‘*Back to Methuselah: An Exercise of Imagination*’, 216.

¹³⁴⁶ See Branchini, ‘An Artistic Intimacy: Alvin Langdon Coburn and George Bernard Shaw’, 12-19. This photograph is in the collection of George Eastman House. Coburn recalled: ‘I made a number of photographs including one of Shaw and Rodin with the clay model of the bust between them in process of creation – a really historic picture.’ Coburn, quoted in Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, eds., *Alvin Langdon Coburn Photographer*, 40. Other photographs of the Rodin ‘Shaw’ bronze bust were taken by Coburn at this time, and one was reproduced in Henderson, *George Bernard Shaw: His Life and Works*, facing page 500.

¹³⁴⁷ Coburn, *Shaw and Rodin with the clay model of the bust of Shaw*. 1906, Cristoid film negative, George Eastman House.

uncanny harbinger of death.¹³⁴⁸ Eschatological themes become entangled with narcissism.

The tensions between the material and spiritual world are explored, and Shaw constantly reminds us of the true meaning of images – to represent what is absent, but nevertheless constantly present (death). The double signifies the ‘image’ (Shaw) and its ‘other’ (the corpse). The exploration of metaphysical states of being, doubling, and Ovidian themes of metamorphosis were prevalent in *fin de siècle* and Symbolist art, and these images relate to that culture. Shaw’s interest in Balzac can be situated in this context. Various works by Balzac survive in the Shaws’ library,¹³⁴⁹ and it is likely that Shaw had read Balzac’s story ‘Le Chef d’Oeuvre Inconnu’ where the relationship between portraits and bodily transcendence is dramatized.

The exact date of the Shaws’ acquisition of the small bronze *Head of Balzac* (figure 212)¹³⁵⁰ is not known, however it would have been purchased after 1908 (and before 1927¹³⁵¹), and appears in a press photograph of Shaw taken six months after he moved to Whitehall Court. (Figure 213).¹³⁵² Shaw’s admiration for Rodin’s large statue of Balzac was made clear in an article of 1913 when he spoke of the ‘incredible folly of the rejection of the magnificent monument to Balzac by Rodin.’¹³⁵³ The American photographer Edward Steichen, who had visited Shaw at Adelphi Terrace in July 1907 and taken photographs of him (figure 214)¹³⁵⁴ also photographed Rodin’s plaster statue of Balzac in the garden at Meudon by moonlight in

¹³⁴⁸ Freud, ‘The Uncanny’, in *Art and Literature*, 357.

¹³⁴⁹ The works include *Illusions Perdue* (NTIN 3061841); and *La Recherche de l’Absolu* (NTIN 3061842).

¹³⁵⁰ NTIN 1274944. The *Head of Balzac* originally dates to 1897; see Butler, *Rodin: The Shape of Genius*, 303, figure 124, for a comparable version.

¹³⁵¹ The Balzac sculpture is not listed in the 1908 Adelphi Terrace Inventory, thus it would have been acquired after this date. It appears in the painting of Shaw at Adelphi Terrace by Lavery in 1927. According to Stephen Winsten (an unreliable witness according to both Laurence and Weintraub) Charlotte ‘bought the head of Balzac to go with [the Rodin bust] in her sitting-room’; see Winsten, *Jesting Apostle*, 141. The sculpture was kept at Whitehall Court until 1945.

¹³⁵² Shaw in the drawing-room at Whitehall Court, 1928. (MM). Press photograph titled ‘No longer an Adelphic oracle’; cutting from an unknown publication, dated 21 April 1928. The Shaws had moved to Whitehall Court on 6 October 1927 (Gibbs, *A Bernard Shaw Chronology*, 265).

¹³⁵³ Shaw, ‘A neglected moral of the Wagner centenary’, *The New Statesman*, 31 May 1913, reprinted in Laurence, ed., *Shaw’s Music: The Complete Musical Criticism of Bernard Shaw*, vol.3, 646. Here Shaw was referring to the rejection of the Balzac statue by the Société des Gens de Lettres, the commissioners of the work.

¹³⁵⁴ Steichen’s four-colour half-tone portrait of Shaw at Adelphi Terrace was published in Alfred Stieglitz’s *Camera Work*, 22 (April 1908). Shaw spoke of Steichen’s visit in a letter to Frederick H. Evans: 25 July 1907, CL2, 702. Two further photographs of Shaw by Steichen were published (in black and white) in Henderson, *George Bernard Shaw: His Life and Works*, facing pages 80, and 336. Stieglitz published several of Shaw’s essays on photography in *Camera Work*; and a photograph of Coburn by Shaw was published in *Camera Work*, 15 (July 1906). Steichen had already photographed Rodin: the resulting photomontage famously depicted him posed with *The Thinker* and his *Monument to Victor Hugo*. Edward Steichen, *Rodin, The Monument to Victor Hugo and The Thinker*, 1902; published in *Camera Work*, 9 (January 1905).

1908 (*Balzac: The Open Sky*, figure 215).¹³⁵⁵ This image was one of a series of photographs by Steichen which highlighted the ghostly qualities of the sculpture, with Rodin's biographer commenting: 'Il semblait le double astral rendu perceptible aux yeux des profanes de l'immortel écrivain, tel un être venu du monde de l'occult et qui va y retourner.'¹³⁵⁶ The statue of Balzac in the garden at Meudon was also photographed by Shaw, the monument overshadowing Rodin and Charlotte who stand at one side. (Figure 216).¹³⁵⁷ Kearney has argued that when Shaw posed on the beach semi-nude as Rodin's *Thinker*, he also assumed the pose of the statue of Balzac.¹³⁵⁸

There are in fact several similarities between Shaw and Balzac, not least of which are the comparable strategies of visualisation the two writers employed. Janell Watson has shown how Balzac 'used his own interiors directly in his writing',¹³⁵⁹ which relates to the way Shaw drew upon interiors and furnishings he was familiar with as I have indicated. Balzac also kept a collection of miniature dolls on his desk as inspiration – and here I want to compare Shaw's interest in puppets. There is an uncanny aspect to both dolls and puppets; Shaw would emphasize their 'unearthly' qualities, and placed rather disturbing automata in the final part of *Back to Methuselah*. (V, 600). Having been interested in puppets since his childhood, Shaw told Helen Haiman Joseph (a writer of plays for marionettes) about the 'permanent marionette exhibition in Dublin' he had known as a child.¹³⁶⁰ He had also attended, and was critical of, a puppet show staged by the Arts and Crafts puppet-maker William Simmonds,

¹³⁵⁵ Edward Steichen, *Balzac: The Open Sky*, 1908. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Alfred Stieglitz Collection.

¹³⁵⁶ Judith Cladel, quoted in Jeannine Guichardet, 'Le "Balzac" de Rodin, catalogue de l'exposition', *Romantisme*, 29, 104 (1999), 109. An approximate translation reads: 'Made visible to profane eyes, he looked like the astral double of the immortal writer, like a being from the occult world.'

¹³⁵⁷ NT Shaw Photographs 1715225.145. Marcoci states that the plaster sculpture of Balzac was moved out into the garden during the summer of 1908 however Shaw's photograph suggests an earlier date. See Roxana Marcoci, 'Auguste Rodin: the sculptor and the photographic enterprise', in *The Original Copy: Photography of Sculpture, 1839 to Today*, ed. by Roxana Marcoci, 86.

¹³⁵⁸ Kearney, 'George Bernard Shaw: Double Exposure', 88. Here Kearney is referring to the two photographs (mounted together) taken of Shaw by Granville-Barker on the beach in Cornwall in 1906; see NT Shaw Photographs 1715219.16. Kearney reproduces both photographs in her article.

¹³⁵⁹ Janell Watson, *Literature and Material Culture from Balzac to Proust*, 68.

¹³⁶⁰ Shaw to Helen Haiman Joseph, 25 January 1918, CL3, 526.

who at the time was living with Shaw's friends the ceramicists Alfred and Louise Powell.¹³⁶¹

Figure 217 shows the Waldo Lanchester Shaw puppet at Shaw's Corner,¹³⁶² created for Shaw's play *Shakes versus Shav* (1949); figure 218 is an image of the puppets being created by Lanchester,¹³⁶³ whilst figure 219 is a postcard revealing Shaw enjoying a performance at the Lanchester Marionette Theatre in Malvern.¹³⁶⁴ Kenneth Gross is one of the few critics who has grasped Shaw's fascination with the puppet theatre as this following passage reveals: 'Puppet theatre always suggests not just translation but reduction, a terrible simplification, an embrace of wooden-ness, and makes of this the ground for a more powerful lie. This was George Bernard Shaw's thought.'¹³⁶⁵ Shaw's prefatory note to Max von Boehn's *Dolls and Puppets* (1932) provides insight into his interest in the disquiet the puppets engender: 'I always hold up the wooden actors as instructive object-lessons to our flesh-and-blood players...The puppet is the actor in his primitive form...its unchanging stare, petrified (or rather lignified) in a grimace expressive to the highest degree attainable by the carver's art, the mimicry by which it suggests human gesture in unearthly caricature – these give to its performance an intensity to which few actors can pretend.'¹³⁶⁶

Shaw's fascination with these inanimate figures is transposed in his imagination into the related theme of doubles and mortality: the boundary between actor and puppet is blurred,

¹³⁶¹ The Powells rented out the top floor flat at their home in Hampstead, London, to William Simmonds and his wife during the First World War. William Simmonds would later become a professional puppeteer during the 1920s and 30s, and some of his shows were staged at Muriel Rose's Little Gallery in Sloane Street, a shop frequented by Charlotte, so it possible that Shaw attended these also. See Greensted and Carruthers, *Simplicity or Splendour*, 120-21. See Shaw's letter to William Simmonds, 5 April 1916, CL3, 393. Laurence has made the assumption that the letter (addressed to 'Dear Sir') was to Alfred Powell, but this is incorrect. Powell was a ceramicist and architect, (not a puppeteer). He also knew Shaw very well, thus the formality of Shaw's letter in any case rules him out as the recipient.

¹³⁶² NTIN 1275141. The play was commissioned by Waldo Lanchester for the Malvern Marionette Theatre. Lanchester donated the Shaw puppet to the National Trust in 1976. The backcloth to the Shaw marionette is also in the collection. (NTIN 1275307).

¹³⁶³ See NT Shaw Photographs 1715253.54. Jack Whitehead carved the heads of Shaw and Shakespeare.

¹³⁶⁴ The credit reads: 'by courtesy of the "Birmingham Gazette."' The image also appears on the website of the National Puppetry Archive, which has material relating to *Shakes versus Shav*.

¹³⁶⁵ Kenneth Gross, 'Love Translated: The Little Players', in *Articulate Objects: Voice, Sculpture and Performance*, ed. by Aura Satz and Jon Wood (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009), 196. See also Kenneth Gross, *Puppet: An Essay on Uncanny Life* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), 30. Here Gross aligns Shaw's interest in puppets with that of Edward Gordon Craig, Bertolt Brecht, and Antonin Artaud, who all 'found in the puppet a powerful tool with which to frame their ambitions for the human stage'.

¹³⁶⁶ Shaw, preface to Max von Boehn's *Dolls and Puppets* (translated from the original German *Puppen und Puppenspiele* by Josephine Nicoll), 1932; there is a copy of the book in Shaw's library, with an inscription from the translator, NTIN 3062082. The preface was also published as Shaw's afterword to *Shakes versus Shav: A Puppet Play* (Stratford-upon-Avon: Waldo S. Lanchester, n.d.), 15; reprinted in *Bernard Shaw: The Complete Prefaces Volume III*, 114. Shaw corresponded with several puppeteers, including Vittorio Podreca.

and the humans are ‘lifeless dolls’.¹³⁶⁷ Although the puppet can be imbued with life, it is nevertheless steeped in the traditions of death.¹³⁶⁸ Gross tells us that ‘almost any puppet show, using even the most solid of puppets, can resonate with the theme of the double.’¹³⁶⁹ It is interesting to see that Shaw described his media persona as a ‘puppet’: ‘I was at home only in the realm of my imagination, and at my ease only with the mighty dead. Therefore I had to become an actor, and create for myself a fantastic personality...adaptable to the various parts I had to play as author, journalist, orator, politician, committee man, man of the world, and so forth...I daily pulled the threads of the puppet who represented me in the public press.’¹³⁷⁰

I want to examine in this context the sinister wooden lay figure who sits in the background of the artist Dubedat’s studio in Shaw’s play about death *The Doctor’s Dilemma*. Figure 220 shows the staging of Act III of *The Doctor’s Dilemma*, at the Royal Court Theatre, in late 1906.¹³⁷¹ In a detail of the image, the lay figure can be seen placed next to the easel. (Figure 221). I suggest its presence in the play needs to be seen in conjunction with the lay figure, or artist’s model which today stands in Shaw’s study. (Figure 222).¹³⁷² The latter were commercially produced by 1900, and figure 223 shows a page from a contemporary catalogue of artists’ supplies.¹³⁷³ I believe there is a connection to be explored between the lay figure in *The Doctor’s Dilemma* and the wooden lay figure in the study. These models are rarely remarked upon, although Meisel has recently mentioned in a footnote that the artist’s studio in the play is ‘presided over by a lay figure enthroned as ‘Cardinal Death’ (like the articulated skeleton common in studio depictions and pedagogy)’.¹³⁷⁴ Both figures however represent important insights into Shaw’s way of linking death and ‘statues’, and to the theme of the double as a harbinger of death: the lay figure silently mirrors the artist whilst constantly reminding him of his mortality. Weintraub has argued that Dubedat’s name in the

¹³⁶⁷ Shaw, preface to Max von Boehn’s *Dolls and Puppets*, 1932; reprinted in *Bernard Shaw: The Complete Prefaces Volume III*, 114.

¹³⁶⁸ Gross, *Puppet: An Essay on Uncanny Life*, 22; Gross explains that in certain Asian cultures ‘puppets were brought to life precisely to provide homes for the souls of the dead.’

¹³⁶⁹ Gross, *Puppet: An Essay on Uncanny Life*, 137.

¹³⁷⁰ Shaw, preface to *Immaturity*, reprinted in *Bernard Shaw: The Complete Prefaces Volume III*, 35.

¹³⁷¹ These images are from a press cutting taken from *The Bystander* magazine (12 December 1906) revealing the staging of Act III of *The Doctor’s Dilemma*, Royal Court Theatre, November-December 1906. (MM). The photograph has been reproduced in Weintraub, ‘In the Picture Galleries’, in *The Genius of Shaw*, 53. The programme for the original 1906 staging at the Royal Court includes the following note: ‘Studio effects, lay figures, etc., by Chas. Chenil & Co, King’s Road, Chelsea.’ (V&A Theatre and Performance Collection). Shaw knew the owner of the Chenil Gallery, Jack Knewstubb, who was the brother-in-law of William Rothenstein.

¹³⁷² NTIN 1274815.1.

¹³⁷³ See Munro, *Silent Partners: Artist and Mannequin from Function to Fetish*, 154, (plate 167). This image shows a page from the catalogue of the artists’ supplier Charles Roberson, c.1901-3.

¹³⁷⁴ Meisel, ‘Visual arts’, 191, note 16.

play suggests ‘double-dealing’;¹³⁷⁵ whilst Bertolini has specifically interpreted it as a ‘doppelganger play’ in ‘*The Doctor’s Dilemma: The Art of Self-Undoing*,’¹³⁷⁶ although neither mentions the lay figure.

The lay figure, or artist’s mannequin, was more than a studio tool by the early twentieth-century: a recent exhibition has shown the connection to the Freudian uncanny, through the association with dolls, puppets and wax figures.¹³⁷⁷ In the nineteenth-century Pre-Raphaelite artists such as John Everett Millais used mannequins as models ‘to create the impression of a figure on the brink of death,’¹³⁷⁸ and Shaw is symbolically making reference to that tradition here. Shaw uses the lay figure as an emblem of death in the play, and we see this in the description of Dubedat’s studio: ‘A lay figure, in a cardinal’s robe and hat, with an hour-glass in one hand and a scythe slung on its back, smiles with inane malice at Louis.’ (III, 379). With the specific reference to the ‘cardinal’s robe and hat’, I would suggest Shaw is alluding to a recently completed portrait of himself posed in imitation of Velázquez’s *Portrait of Pope Innocent X*, by the artist Neville Lytton.¹³⁷⁹ This portrait entitled *The Modern Pope of Wit and Wisdom* (1906) which Shaw referred to as a ‘witty jibe at my poses,’¹³⁸⁰ was reproduced next to the original by Velázquez in Henderson’s biography. (Figure 224).¹³⁸¹ This further extends the theme of the double. But is the lay figure Shaw’s double or Dubedat’s?

In *The Doctor’s Dilemma*, Act IV opens with a bleak vision of the artist’s studio where ‘Cardinal Death, holding his scythe and hour-glass like a sceptre and globe, sits on the throne.’ (III, 408). With the reference to the ‘scythe and hour-glass’ here, Shaw evokes the Vanitas or memento mori emblems which feature in Holbein’s allegorical Dance of

¹³⁷⁵ Weintraub, ‘In the Picture Galleries’, in *The Genius of Shaw*, 53.

¹³⁷⁶ Bertolini, ‘*The Doctor’s Dilemma: The Art of Self-Undoing*’, in *The Playwrighting Self of Bernard Shaw*, 78.

¹³⁷⁷ Munro, *Silent Partners: Artist and Mannequin from Function to Fetish*, 203.

¹³⁷⁸ Munro, *Silent Partners: Artist and Mannequin from Function to Fetish*, 92.

¹³⁷⁹ The portrait had been painted in early April 1906, and *The Doctor’s Dilemma* was begun in August. (Gibbs, *A Bernard Shaw Chronology*, 170-71). Neville Bulwer-Lytton (3rd Earl of Lytton) was represented in various photographs Shaw took, which reveal him painting in his studio (NT Shaw Photographs 1715309.125). Lytton lent Granville-Barker his smock for his role as Dubedat. (HOL2, 171). Shaw later explained that the portrait was ‘suggested by Granville-Barker’s remark that Velasquez’s portrait of Pope Innocent was an excellent portrait of Shaw.’ (Shaw, *Sixteen Self Sketches*, 125). The present whereabouts of the painting is unknown. Wilfred Scawen Blunt recalled that the portrait was painted whilst Shaw sat ‘in an ancient cinque-cento chair, a grotesque figure.’ Wilfred Scawen Blunt, quoted in Gibbs, *Interviews and Recollections*, 283.

¹³⁸⁰ Shaw on Troubetzkoy, in ‘Rodin’, PPR, 228.

¹³⁸¹ The paintings were reproduced in Henderson, *George Bernard Shaw: His Life and Works*, facing page 262. Also reproduced in Weintraub, ‘In the Picture Galleries’, in *The Genius of Shaw*, 62. For a discussion of Henderson’s employment of Shavian portraits (including the Lytton portrait) in his biographies, see Martha Fodaski Black, *Shaw and Joyce: “The Last Word in Stolen Telling”* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1995), 330.

Death.¹³⁸² Figure 225 for example, shows The Bishop being confronted by death, the hour-glass at his feet. Shaw owned several copies of the Holbein Dance of Death woodcuts in a limited edition of platinotypes published by his friend the photographer Frederick H. Evans.¹³⁸³ One of these books remains in Shaw's study. Shaw actually purchased three copies, revealing his admiration for this work.¹³⁸⁴ An earlier version of the Holbein woodcuts, *Imagines Mortis* (1550), was also owned by Shaw, although the volume is no longer in the collection.¹³⁸⁵ It is interesting to see that Shaw had reviewed Maudsley's *Natural Causes and Supernatural Seemings* in 1886, prompting commentary on Holbein's Dance of Death, which reveals his early awareness of, and long-standing interest in this work. The ghost stories written by novelists of the day would not last the test of time Shaw felt, whereas 'Holbein imparted a fascination to his skeletons which has already lasted some three centuries.'¹³⁸⁶ Pointon has argued that the Dance of Death was 'a means of keeping the thought of death ever present in the lives of the living.'¹³⁸⁷

Symbols such as skeletons and hour-glasses allude to the transience of life and the vanity of earthly, mortal pleasures, imparting moralistic messages. In this sense, Shaw's philosophy can be aligned to the rather bleak, pessimistic vision of *Ecclesiastes* (one of the 'Wisdom' Books from the Old Testament) and Koheleth (the wise teacher or preacher).¹³⁸⁸ Death was the great leveller, and for Shaw quotations from *Ecclesiastes* had relevance for thinking about an egalitarian society. The Devil muses on the futility of earthly life in *Man and Superman*, echoing the words of *Ecclesiastes*.¹³⁸⁹ Koheleth's phrase 'vanitas vanitatum' reminds us that

¹³⁸² Shaw may also have been thinking of Holbein's portrait of *Sir Brian Tuke* 'with an hour-glass and Death armed with a scythe looming behind'; see Nigel Llewellyn, *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual c.1500 - c.1800* (London: Reaktion Books, 1991), 23.

¹³⁸³ One of these survives in Shaw's study: Hans Holbein the younger, *The Dance of Death*, enlarged facsimiles in platinotype by Frederick H. Evans, 1913, NTIN 3061830. Shaw's copy was one of only four.

¹³⁸⁴ Shaw's other versions of Holbein's *The Dance of Death* reproduced by Evans were sold at Sotheby & Co, 25 July 1949, lot nos. 123-24.

¹³⁸⁵ Holbein, *Imagines Mortis*, 1550, was listed in the Adelphi Terrace Inventory, 1908, 47; however it was not in the Sotheby's sale.

¹³⁸⁶ Shaw, 'A Handbook of Human Error', 28 July 1886, reprinted in Tyson, *Bernard Shaw's Book Reviews*, Vol. 1, 170.

¹³⁸⁷ Pointon, *Portrayal and the Search for Identity*, 201.

¹³⁸⁸ In the Shaws' library are the following texts: Richard Green Moulton's *Old Testament Bible Stories* (NTIN 3154929); and Shaw's copy of *Ecclesiastes and the Wisdom of Solomon* by the same author (1896), (NTIN 3154940).

¹³⁸⁹ The Devil: 'you will no longer imagine that every swing from heaven to hell is an emancipation, every swing from hell to heaven an evolution. Where you now see reform, progress, fulfilment of upward tendency, continual ascent by Man on the stepping stones of his dead selves to higher things, you will see nothing but an infinite comedy of illusion. You will discover the profound truth of the saying of my friend Koheleth, that there is nothing new under the sun. Vanitas vanitatum.' (II, 683).

humanity's idealisms 'have no guarantee but a cadaver.'¹³⁹⁰ That Shaw had an increasingly high regard for the Devil's 'friend Koheleth' is indicated by the numerous references to *Ecclesiastes* in his later writings.¹³⁹¹ We see evidence of this in the 'Preface on days of Judgment' in *The Simpleton of the Unexpected Isles* (1934) where Shaw includes the following quotation: "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave whither thou goest." (VI, 751).¹³⁹²

We might align therefore the more pessimistic side to Shaw's divided nature during the inter-war period to that of *Ecclesiastes*. But there were other influences in a similar vein: Mephistopheles from Goethe's *Faust*,¹³⁹³ and the Button Moulder from Ibsen's *Peer Gynt*. Pharand points out that Shaw deliberately cultivated a 'devilish appearance and persona', and in an interview in 1932 Shaw claimed 'I was literally possessed by the desire to have a mephistophelian face.'¹³⁹⁴ Ibsen's Mephistophelian figure of the Button Moulder, an existentialist, or a messenger of death, had a significant impact on Shaw's use of symbols. His employment of the phrase 'liquidate' in various plays and other writings originates from the Button Moulder, who is a sculptor of sorts, moulding society, equipped with a casting ladle. The Button Moulder sends Peer Gynt to be melted down because he has wasted his talents as a human being: 'Now *you* were designed as a shining button on the coat of the world... but your loop was missing, which is why you must go in the pile with the throw-outs...'¹³⁹⁵

I will explain in the next section on dress how Shaw would equate the process of drama-making with sewing; and he would do the same with sculpture. Both are suggested through the metaphor of the button and button-moulder respectively. It is important to locate Shaw's predilection for sculpting metaphors, using words such as 'liquidating' and 'modelling',

¹³⁹⁰ Maurice Blanchot, quoted in Gross, *The Dream of the Moving Statue*, 22.

¹³⁹¹ In *Too True to be Good* (1931), Shaw possibly identifies with the character Aubrey Bagot (the Burglar), whose speech concludes the play: 'I am by nature and destiny a preacher. I am the new Ecclesiastes.' (VI, 527). In the preface to one of his last plays, *Farfetched Fables* (1948), Shaw compared his own prefaces to the 'sermons of Bunyan, and the wisecracks of Koheleth and Ecclesiasticus.' (VII, 382-83).

¹³⁹² Shortly before this Shaw had written to Dame Laurentia, explaining his biblical fable *The Adventures of the Black Girl in Her Search for God*: 'she meets Ecclesiastes (Koheleth) the Preacher, who thinks that death reduces life to futility and warns her not to be righteous overmuch.' Shaw to Dame Laurentia, 12 [14th] April 1932, CL4, 281.

¹³⁹³ There are numerous copies of *Faust* in the library, including one with lithographs by Eugene Delacroix which Shaw particularly admired (NTIN 3063823); another has Shaw's signature (NTIN 3063825). A further copy was printed by the Doves Press (as discussed in chapter two).

¹³⁹⁴ Shaw quoted in Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and the French*, 228. When Shaw was sculpted for the first time by Troubetzkoy, he claimed the resulting bust had a 'touch of Mephistopheles'. Shaw, 'Rodin', PPR, 228.

¹³⁹⁵ Ibsen, *Peer Gynt*, 199.

‘forging’ and ‘casting’, as part of his engagement with Ibsen. Shaw’s use of ‘liquidate’ is metaphorical, grounded in the rich visual realm of Ibsen’s symbols, and his evocation of objects throughout *Peer Gynt*. In a similar way, Shaw would write to Sidney Webb employing a sculptural metaphor, warning him against ‘worshipping the idol you have yourself fashioned, with the marks of the potter’s thumb all over its still moist clay.’¹³⁹⁶ Shaw regards sculpture as analogous to his work as a playwright: ‘playwrights, like sculptors, study their figures from life.’¹³⁹⁷ (III, 19).

Shaw tells us of the impact of Ibsen’s Button Moulder in the preface to *The Simpleton of the Unexpected Isles* where he discusses the role of the Commissar Dzerzhinskii. (VI, 754). Dzerzhinskii’s portrait is on the mantelpiece in the dining-room, placed next to those of Stalin and Lenin by Shaw, probably during the 1930s.¹³⁹⁸ (Figure 226). Shaw created a fantasy or fable in the play, an ‘up-to-date Vision of Judgment’ where people are judged ‘by a supernatural being’ to determine whether their existence is ‘a social asset or a social nuisance.’ (VI, 760). But we have seen this ‘supernatural being’ before. Shaw tells us: ‘He has appeared on the stage in the person of Ibsen’s button moulder. And as history always follows the stage, the button moulder came to life as Djerjinsky [sic].’ (VI, 760). The job of the Button Moulder (Dzerzhinskii) is to ascertain whether an individual ‘is a creator of social values or a parasitical consumer and destroyer of them.’ (VI, 761). But Shaw’s tongue-in-cheek rant singles out for ‘liquidation’ only those members of society who commit capitalistic crimes (‘gentlemen’), who ‘employ labor at a profit, or buy things solely to sell them again for more than he gave for them.’ (VI, 761). Men, like goods, must be useful to society: idle ‘gentlemen’ will be melted down like the buttons. Shaw’s conflation of bodies and things possibly has its origins in Dickens’s satirical tactic of reification and

¹³⁹⁶ Shaw to Sidney Webb, 26 July 1901, in Michalos and Poff, eds., *Bernard Shaw and the Webbs*, 56.

¹³⁹⁷ Shaw, preface to *Major Barbara* (1905).

¹³⁹⁸ Signed photograph of Joseph Stalin c.1931, photogravure of Dzerzhinskii c.1931, and print of Lenin by Nikolai Nikileevich Andreev c.1921-1931. Dzerzhinskii (NTIN 1274647), Lenin (NTIN 1274648), and Stalin (NTIN 1274649). Shaw described what he termed ‘the success of the Russian experiment’ in a lecture he presented to the Fabian Society 26 November 1931, entitled ‘What Indeed?’ (published in Hubenka, ed. *Bernard Shaw Practical Politics*, 211). In the lecture he commented: ‘I have always liked to call myself a Communist... I like the name just as William Morris liked the name.’ (Hubenka, 212-13). The talk was part of a series ‘Capitalism in Dissolution: What Next?’. (See Gibbs, *A Bernard Shaw Chronology*, 284).

anthropomorphism employed in novels such as *Our Mutual Friend* (1864-5)¹³⁹⁹ where the subject-object binary is disrupted to connote their shared economic value as ‘commodities’ in capitalist society. Both Ibsen and Shaw inhabit this culture where the model is ‘a self projected onto things, which then reflect back the self to the self.’¹⁴⁰⁰

I would suggest that Shaw’s Ibsenian metaphors have been taken rather too literally by some recent critics, particularly Yde, who has claimed in *Bernard Shaw and Totalitarianism* that Shaw: ‘was clear about the need to exterminate (or “liquidate”) all of those who would not engage in productive activity.’¹⁴⁰¹ There is a significant failure on Yde’s part to contextualize Shaw’s use of language within the visual and historical sources of his day. Shaw’s use of language itself is figuratively grounded in the visual and material, and we are drawn to this constantly by considering his intense engagement with artefacts. This is why a study of Shaw’s visual and material world matters, and why it is imprudent to consider Shaw’s texts without their counterpart in visual or material culture. If we study Shaw’s interest in art and sculpture, and his way of thinking through artefacts, a more human vision of the playwright emerges, and it becomes easier to perceive Shaw’s frequent use of artefactual metaphors in the way they were originally intended for satirical or ironic effect. As Christopher Innes has said in his review of Yde’s work, the book significantly ‘overlooks Shaw’s famous sense of irony.’¹⁴⁰²

Once we dissect Shaw’s so-called ‘destructive’ metaphors, it becomes evident that his promotion of violence is symbolic, and thus playful, perverse and deliberately provocative. Of course owing to the events of the time during the 1930s and 40s, it is highly insensitive and irresponsible; but it remains metaphorical or symbolic nonetheless. Yde’s failure to consider the visual dimension to Shaw’s work, and to locate it historically, and to understand the literary, historical and material sources for many of his symbols, means that his ideas can

¹³⁹⁹ For further discussion of Dickens’s animation of artefacts and furnishings, see Andy Williams ‘Pot-Bellied Salt-Cellars and Talking Plates: Fetishism and Signification in *Our Mutual Friend*’, in *Consuming Culture in the Long Nineteenth-Century: Narratives of Consumption, 1700-1900*, ed. by Tamara S. Wagner and Narin Hassan (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), 81-95. Williams cites the case of Twemlow in *Our Mutual Friend*: ‘owned’ by the Veneerings, he is described by Dickens as ‘an innocent piece of dinner-furniture.’ See also Isobel Armstrong, ‘Bodily Things and Thingly Bodies: Circumventing the Subject-Object Binary’, in *Bodies and Things in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture*, ed. by Katharina Boehm (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 22-23. Ian Britain has observed that Dickens was among the most frequently discussed subjects in the Fabian lectures of an artistic nature. (Britain, *Fabianism and Culture*, 199).

¹⁴⁰⁰ Armstrong, ‘Bodily Things and Thingly Bodies: Circumventing the Subject-Object Binary’, in *Bodies and Things in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture*, ed. by Boehm, 32.

¹⁴⁰¹ Yde, *Bernard Shaw and Totalitarianism*, 10.

¹⁴⁰² Christopher Innes, ‘Bernard Shaw and Totalitarianism: Longing for Utopia by Matthew Yde’, (review), *Modern Drama*, 57, 3 (Fall 2014), 449.

be challenged and problematized. I suggest such opinions have been formed without seeing the complete picture.

Shaw's metaphorical application of 'putty' is an example, signifying the moulding of the utopian Soviet Communist Man. This new human type might be 'shaped' analogous to the way a piece of clay is modelled in the formation of sculpture, as he articulated in an address to America explaining the aims of the Soviets: 'before you go to Russia you had better study human nature scientifically. The easiest way to do that is to send to the nearest glazier's for a piece of putty. Putty is exactly like human nature... you can twist it and pat it and model it into any shape you like...the Soviet Government has shaped the Russian putty very carefully.'¹⁴⁰³ For Shaw, the socialistic elements coalesce with the artistic via his Lamarckian 'religion' of creative evolution.

Rodin's sculpture embodied Shaw's socialistic theories of creative evolution and the Life Force.¹⁴⁰⁴ Rodin's way of working was 'a process for the embryologist to study, not the aesthete'¹⁴⁰⁵ by which he meant to emphasize the robust, powerful nature of this mode of artistic creation. Shaw described the creation of his Rodin bust in terms of the stylistic changes the piece went through as the bust evolved, passing 'through every stage in the evolution of art before my eyes.' The bust 'went back to the cradle of Christian art' forming a 'Byzantine masterpiece' before looking 'as if Bernini had meddled with it.' Shaw continued: 'to my horror, it smoothed out into a plausible, rather elegant piece of eighteenth-century work, almost as if Houdon had touched up a head by Canova or Thorwaldsen, or as if Leighton had tried his hand at eclecticism in bust-making.'¹⁴⁰⁶ Shaw's evocation of Frederic Leighton here informs us that this was not a job for the 'aesthete', but for a labourer. Rodin was a 'workman', doing a job 'like a river-god turned plasterer.'¹⁴⁰⁷

It is significant that Shaw was often drawn to sculptors who were vegetarians, particularly

¹⁴⁰³ Shaw, 'Look, You Boob! A Little Talk on America', published as a pamphlet by the Friends of the Soviet Union, (15 December 1931), and reprinted in Laurence, ed., *Bernard Shaw: Platform and Pulpit*, 231-32. Shaw had originally presented the material as a talk, broadcast to the United States from London, 11 October 1931. See also HOL3, 249, where Holroyd discusses aspects of Shaw's talk.

¹⁴⁰⁴ See Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and the French*, 227-28. Henri Bergson, whose expression 'elan vital' was appropriated by Shaw, also admired Rodin's sculpture; see Joan Vita Miller and Gary Marotta, *Rodin: The B. Gerald Cantor Collection* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986), 145. For more on Shaw's relationship to Bergson, see Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and the French*, 243-52.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Shaw, in 'Rodin', PPR, 229.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Shaw, in 'Rodin', PPR, 229.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Shaw, in 'Rodin', PPR, 229.

Troubetzkoy and Rodin, whose work dominates the drawing room.¹⁴⁰⁸ In his descriptions of both men he emphasized their strength and powerful physiques. Shaw described Rodin in a letter to Coburn in 1906 as ‘the biggest man you ever saw’¹⁴⁰⁹ and the sculpture of Rodin by Troubetzkoy (figure 227)¹⁴¹⁰ was originally conceived around this time.¹⁴¹¹ In his preface to Troubetzkoy’s exhibition at Colnaghi’s in 1931, Shaw described the sculptor as ‘a gigantic and terrifying humanitarian who can do anything with an animal except eat it.’¹⁴¹² The conflicting concepts evoked by the juxtaposition of the words ‘terrifying’ and ‘humanitarian’ are typically provocative; yet his engagement with Troubetzkoy’s sculpture emphasizes the humanity, as shown in a photograph of Shaw taken in the garden at Shaw’s Corner in 1937 with his sculpture of a lamb.¹⁴¹³ (Figure 228). This work was probably a gift from the sculptor to Shaw in 1936, and was inscribed ‘A mon ami GBS.’¹⁴¹⁴ According to Grioni, Troubetzkoy gave the piece the title ‘How could you eat me?’,¹⁴¹⁵ thus it became an explicit reflection of their life-long friendship forged through vegetarianism. Shaw’s life-size statue by Troubetzkoy (now outside the National Gallery, Dublin) featured in the Colnaghi show, as did the small statuette of a seated Shaw (today at Shaw’s Corner¹⁴¹⁶), which he described as ‘beautiful work.’¹⁴¹⁷ (Figure 229).¹⁴¹⁸ Shaw declared: ‘it is as a faithful vegetarian that I am

¹⁴⁰⁸ The press drew attention to the associations between various famous artists, writers and actors, and their vegetarianism; for example an article in *The Boston Herald*, (11 May 1913) entitled ‘Some famous vegetarians and why they shun meat’, included photographs of Rodin and Shaw, who were listed among those who ‘thrive on a diet of fruit and cereals.’

¹⁴⁰⁹ Shaw to Alvin Langdon Coburn, 17 April 1906, CL2, 617.

¹⁴¹⁰ NTIN 1274945. Stamped ‘Troubetzkoy 1932’; originally sculpted circa 1905, cast in bronze by the Attilio Valsuani foundry in 1932.

¹⁴¹¹ Rodin and Troubetzkoy met during the winter of 1905-6; see Butler, *Rodin: The Shape of Genius*, 377.

¹⁴¹² Shaw, ‘A Word’, *Sculpture by Prince Paul Troubetzkoy*, London, P.&D. Colnaghi, December 1931 (NAL). Reprinted in *Bernard Shaw: The Complete Prefaces III*, 98; and also in Weintraub, LAS, 444. In *Bernard Shaw’s Rhyming Picture Guide to Ayot Saint Lawrence*, 21, Shaw similarly referred to Troubetzkoy as a ‘pugnacious Aryan, sculptor and giant vegetarian.’

¹⁴¹³ NTIN 1275315. Signed ‘Paul Troubetzkoy, 1936.’ The bronze cast dates to 1936; from the original sculpture created in 1912. The photograph by Studio Lisa (1937) was reproduced in *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*, 39. Shaw also photographed the lamb himself (see for example NT Shaw Photographs 1715243.220; 1715524.11), and used one of his images in *Bernard Shaw’s Rhyming Picture Guide to Ayot Saint Lawrence*, 21. A further sculpture by Troubetzkoy at Shaw’s Corner represents a ‘Young Woman (Angela Baroni) Feeding a Wolf’, 1906. (NTIN 1274947). According to Grioni, ‘the wolf was one of Troubetzkoy’s wild Siberian specimens, which he pretended to be “tame” and fed as vegetarians.’ See Grioni, ‘A Lifetime Friendship’, 12.

¹⁴¹⁴ Grioni, ‘A Lifetime Friendship’, 12.

¹⁴¹⁵ Grioni, ‘A Lifetime Friendship’, 12.

¹⁴¹⁶ NTIN 1274946. Signed ‘Paul Troubetzkoy, 1926.’ The statuette was created at Troubetzkoy’s studio on Lago Maggiore during July 1926, when the Shaws were on holiday at nearby Stresa, celebrating his 70th birthday. Shaw purchased the statuette, paying Troubetzkoy 100,000 lira. See Grioni, ‘A Lifetime Friendship’, 7.

¹⁴¹⁷ Grioni, ‘A Lifetime Friendship’, 7.

¹⁴¹⁸ Photograph of the Troubetzkoy Shaw statuette by Ralph Morse for *Life* magazine; it was reproduced in *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*, 66.

immortalized in bronze in this exhibition.’¹⁴¹⁹

Shaw associated vegetarianism with radicalism and social reform.¹⁴²⁰ And in 1918 we find him arguing that ‘the vegetarian of to-day may be the Bolshevik of to-morrow.’¹⁴²¹ According to this logic, the diet suited soldiers and men of action, who embodied his notion of Lamarckian strength and purpose: ‘vegetarians are the most ferocious beings in English society.’¹⁴²² Yet the new socialist he envisaged, healthier and stronger, was also ‘modelled’ beautifully. Jisbella Lyth recalled that Shaw always took pride in maintaining his personal fitness: ‘Mr Shaw was a fine well-built man... When Sir Herbert Barker¹⁴²³ came to see him he said he had the finest physique for a man of his age he had ever seen. Mr Shaw would be about seventy-five to eighty then.’ She attributed this to his vegetarianism: ‘He was very careful with his diet – vegetarian of course – and weighed himself every day. He kept his weight the same to within two ounces like this.’¹⁴²⁴

Returning to the specific discussion of Ibsenian metaphors in Shaw’s conception of the body, the important observation to make about Shaw’s use of *Peer Gynt* is that he does not merely identify with the Button Moulder, but with Peer himself.¹⁴²⁵ In fact Shaw, like Peer, seeks ways of challenging and defeating the Button Moulder, and expresses his fear of this ominous figure:

Peer Gynt, returning to the scenes of his early adventures, is troubled with

¹⁴¹⁹ Shaw, ‘A Word’, *Sculpture by Prince Paul Troubetzkoy*, in *Bernard Shaw: The Complete Prefaces III*, 98.

¹⁴²⁰ Shaw recalled that at the first public meeting of the Shelley Society in 1886 he had declared himself to be ‘like Shelley, a Socialist, Atheist, and Vegetarian.’ Shaw, *Sixteen Self-Sketches*, 58. His diary records that this meeting took place on 10 March 1886. (BSD1, 151). The Shelley Society was founded by the philologist Frederick James Furnivall, who also founded a number of other literary and philological societies such as the Browning Society and the New Shakspeare [sic] Society. Shaw’s diaries show that he attended the meetings of all of these societies. (BSD1, 58-59). A copy of Shelley’s *A Vindication of Natural Diet* can be found in the library. (NTIN 3063447). Shaw’s copy includes notes dated 15/10/89; and is inscribed ‘G. Bernard Shaw 1886.’

¹⁴²¹ Shaw, ‘Life without Meat’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 1 March 1918, quoted in Henderson, *Playboy and Prophet*, 133.

¹⁴²² Shaw, in a lecture to the Vegetarian Society of London University, 1923, quoted in Henderson, *Playboy and Prophet*, 132.

¹⁴²³ Sir Herbert Atkinson Barker was an ‘anti-establishment’ doctor who became friends with Shaw during the inter-war period. Specializing in damaged joints, he believed in manipulative therapy. His autobiography *Leaves from my Life*, 1927, is in Shaw’s library (NTIN 3061844).

¹⁴²⁴ Mrs. Jisbella Lyth, quoted in Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager*, 84. According to Chappelow, Laden also contributed, ‘weighing out carefully the calory [sic] and protein value.’ Chappelow, 25. Laden would publish her *George Bernard Shaw Vegetarian Cookbook* in 1972, which included many recipes she had supposedly cooked for Shaw. Livesey has claimed that Shaw had his ‘own cookbook’, but Laden’s volume was published many years after his death and Shaw had no part in the project. (Livesey, *Socialism*, 121). There are weighing scales in the bathroom (NTIN 1275231); however this item is not original to the collection.

¹⁴²⁵ There is a discussion of the ‘doubling’ effect of the photograph for example, where Peer learns that the ‘negative image’ is named after himself: ‘if, in the course of its life, a soul has remained a negative photograph, they don’t, for that reason, destroy the plate.’ Ibsen, *Peer Gynt*, 217.

the prospect of meeting a certain button moulder who threatens to make short work of his realized self by melting it down in his crucible with a heap of other button-material. Immediately the old exaltation of the self realizer is changed into an unspeakable dread of the button moulder Death.¹⁴²⁶

As Shaw sees Dzerzhinskii as the Button Moulder, the expression here of Peer's (and thus his own) 'dread' of this figure problematizes readings of the dining-room mantelpiece where the portraits of the Soviet leaders are viewed purely through the prism of Shavian veneration. Harry M. Geduld, for example, believed that Shaw 'cherished a photograph of Djerjinsky [sic]',¹⁴²⁷ and using this secondary source, Yde has incorrectly stated that Shaw 'kept a picture of [Dzerzhinskii] above his desk in his office'¹⁴²⁸ the inaccuracy of which suggests that he has not visited Shaw's Corner. I would suggest the dining-room mantelpiece needs to be read rather more dialectically, where the figure of Ibsen (and also Gandhi¹⁴²⁹) represents a humanitarian outlook that is staged to deliberately challenge the Soviet presence.

Shaw's relationship to *Ecclesiastes* is similarly defined by contradiction and duality; and whilst he endorses the opinions of the preacher on occasion, he also rejects and parodies them. A more positive viewpoint on mankind in general and the body is thereby engendered, and this is reflected in his attitude towards sculpture and statuary that specifically commemorate the dead, which is characterized by care and devotion. In the context of a discussion on *Ecclesiastes*, it is important to note that Shaw was a member of the Browning Society from 1883,¹⁴³⁰ and was aware of a famous poem by Robert Browning entitled 'The Bishop Orders His Tomb at Saint Praxed's Church', which parodies the association between Vanitas themes and sculpture, for the 'tomb' in question was to be inscribed with 'Vanity, saith the preacher, vanity'.

¹⁴²⁶ Shaw, 'The Quintessence of Ibsenism', in *Major Critical Essays* (London: Constable, 1932 [1891]), 46-47.

¹⁴²⁷ Harry M. Geduld, ed., *The Rationalization of Russia by Bernard Shaw* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1964), 132.

¹⁴²⁸ Yde, *Bernard Shaw and Totalitarianism*, 105-06; and 217, note 64.

¹⁴²⁹ There are two images of Gandhi at Shaw's Corner: the photograph on the dining-room mantelpiece (NTIN 1274646); and the drawing in Shaw's bedroom (NTIN 1274709).

¹⁴³⁰ Shaw claimed in a letter to Henderson that he had been elected to the Browning Society by mistake, though he 'stood by the mistake willingly enough.' Shaw felt that the press had characterized the Browning Society as 'an assemblage of longhaired aesthetes.' But in his view, it was a 'conventicle where pious ladies disputed about religion with Furnival, and Gonner and I (Gonner is now a professor of political economy in Liverpool) egged them on.' Shaw to Henderson, 3 January 1905, CL2, 487. 'Furnival' was Shaw's friend the philologist F.J. Furnivall. Browning had also written on Shelley, and this work *An Essay on Shelley* (1888) is in Shaw's library (NTIN 3063454), inscribed 'G. Bernard Shaw' and dated 12/10/89.

Shaw was also familiar with Browning's poem of 1855 'The Statue and the Bust', where the carver 'moulds the clay no love will change', and 'fixes a beauty never to fade.'¹⁴³¹ Shaw attended a lecture at the Browning Society in 1885 given by his friend the painter John Trivett Nettleship (whose drawing of the heron is in the hall) on 'Browning's Development as Poet or Maker'.¹⁴³² In a review of the poet Richard Le Gallienne's *The Book-Bills of Narcissus* (1891), Shaw mentions Browning's poem 'Rabbi Ben Ezra'¹⁴³³ which contains musings on a potter, his wheel and his clay, and is sourced from the biblical parable of the 'Divine Potter' in Jeremiah¹⁴³⁴ and Isaiah.¹⁴³⁵ Brian Tyson explains the meaning in the notes to Shaw's review: 'God is the Potter; we are the clay, receiving our shape and form and ornament by every turn of the wheel and faintest touch of the Master's hand.'¹⁴³⁶ The poem was discussed by Furnivall and the Browning Society according to the Society's records, where the quotation appears: 'Shall man be esteemed as the potter's clay.'¹⁴³⁷ It is important to align this Biblical metaphor of the potter and his clay to Shaw's appreciation of the body, for it shapes the way he feels about memorial sculpture and statuary such as effigies and tombs.

To uncover the origins of how Shaw's philosophical and religious thought intersected with sculpture, as a means of memorialization especially, we need to similarly return to the 1880s, when his diaries reveal that he attended lectures given by Thomas Tyler on Hittite antiquities at the British Museum. Shaw acknowledged his personal connection with, and debt to the theological and literary scholar Thomas Tyler, with whom he formed an acquaintance at the British Museum reading room during the early 1880s.¹⁴³⁸ Shaw recorded in the preface to his

¹⁴³¹ Robert Browning, 'The Statue and the Bust', in John Woolford et al, eds., *The Poems of Robert Browning, Volume Three: 1847-1861* (London: Pearson-Longman, 2007), 354. The 'statue' in the poem was of Grand Duke Ferdinand by Giovanni da Bologna; whilst the Della Robbia 'bust' was fictional. Shaw alludes to the poem in a review of his friend G.K. Chesterton's work *Irish Impressions*: 'Mr. Chesterton begins with a fantasia on Browning's theme the Statue and the Bust.' Shaw, 22 November 1919, 'How Ireland Impressed Mr. Chesterton', in Tyson, *Bernard Shaw's Book Reviews, Vol. 1*, 399.

¹⁴³² 30 October 1885, BSD1, 121. Weintraub notes that Nettleship was the author in 1868 of *Essays on Robert Browning's Poetry*.

¹⁴³³ Shaw, 'The Book Bills of Narcissus', 12 September 1891, reprinted in Tyson, *Bernard Shaw's Book Reviews, Vol. 2*, 84.

¹⁴³⁴ Jeremiah, Chapter XVIII, 1-23. The Potter and the Clay: 'saith the LORD. Behold, as the clay is in the potter's hand, so are ye in mine hand...'

¹⁴³⁵ Isaiah, lxiv.8: 'But now, O Lord, thou art our Father: we are the clay, and thou our Potter; and we are all the work of thy hand.' Quoted in Hiram Corson, *An Introduction to the Study of Robert Browning's Poetry* (Boston: D.C. Heath & Co, 1904), 292.

¹⁴³⁶ Tyson, *Bernard Shaw's Book Reviews, Vol. 2*, 88.

¹⁴³⁷ F.J. Furnivall, *Bibliography of Robert Browning* (Browning Society Papers), quoted in Corson, *An Introduction to the Study of Robert Browning's Poetry*, 133.

¹⁴³⁸ Shaw would also meet him at the New Shakspeare Society, of which Tyler was a founder-member. (11 March 1887, BSD1, 249).

play *The Dark Lady of the Sonnets* (1910) that Tyler had ‘made a translation of Ecclesiastes’ and produced a study of Shakespeare’s Sonnets,¹⁴³⁹ and recalled that: ‘we talked about Shakespear, and the Dark Lady, and Swift, and Koheleth, and the cycles, and the mysterious moments when a feeling came over us that this had happened to us before... He remains a vivid spot of memory in the void of my forgetfulness.’ (IV, 273). It was Tyler’s theory that Mary Fitton was Shakespeare’s ‘dark lady’ and Shaw applied this to his play¹⁴⁴⁰; but what Shaw also mentions in the preface is that Tyler was fascinated by Mary’s image, visiting her tomb: ‘whither he made a pilgrimage and whence returned in triumph with a picture of her statue.’ (IV, 273).

Tyler in fact had long been interested in many different forms of sculpture and related artefacts from a variety of cultures, including reliefs and tablets from the ancient Middle East; and during the 1880s he lectured on Hittite antiquities at the British Museum. Shaw’s diaries show that he attended Tyler’s lectures from 1885-1889, for example: ‘Tyler’s 2nd lecture on the Hittites...British Museum. Assyrian basement.’¹⁴⁴¹ These lectures, together with the focus on the ‘dark lady’s tomb’, may well have fostered Shaw’s interest in the subject of sculpture and monuments, whether in the form of reliefs or statues. Tyler may also have stimulated his long-standing fascination with the figure of the sphinx - an important mythological creature in several cultures including Hittite, Assyrian, and Egyptian, which features prominently in his play *Caesar and Cleopatra*. Figures 230 and 231 show scenes from the 1906 staging of the play,¹⁴⁴² with the huge sphinx who looks ‘forward and upward in infinite fearless vigil’ (II, 181) in the opening scene of Act I, and the miniature sphinx, brought to the table by Cleopatra for the purposes of summoning the Nile in Act IV. (II, 271).

Various friends and acquaintances of the Shaws were similarly interested in Egyptology. The interiors of several houses occupied by Ricketts and Shannon, to which the Shaws were visitors, incorporated significant collections of Egyptian artefacts. Figure 232 for example shows an Egyptian statue of an official, plastered and painted wood, circa 23rd century

¹⁴³⁹ “Shakspeare’s Sonnets.” Facsimile in Photo-lithography of the first Quarto. With an introduction by Thomas Tyler, London, 1885. The book was reviewed by Shaw: ‘The Truth about Shakspeare’, 7 January 1886, reprinted in Tyson, *Bernard Shaw’s Book Reviews, Vol. 1*, 79-83.

¹⁴⁴⁰ See Weintraub, BSD1, 60.

¹⁴⁴¹ 25 January 1889, BSD1, 462. Shaw’s diaries mention Tyler’s ‘Hittite lectures’ on eight occasions; and he attended six of them. Tyson notes that Shaw attended lectures by Tyler, though without discussing the impact of these on Shaw, focussing instead on their membership of the New Shakspeare Society; see Tyson, *Bernard Shaw’s Book Reviews, Vol. 1*, 82.

¹⁴⁴² Both images are promotional postcards (MM), which advertised the New York staging of *Caesar and Cleopatra* in 1906. The photograph of the opening scene of Act I is reproduced (in black and white) in the Bernard Shaw Special Volume of *The Play Pictorial*, 10, 62 (October 1907).

BC,¹⁴⁴³ which Shaw would have seen in their collection.¹⁴⁴⁴ Whitworth Wallis too was friends with the Shaws, and was behind their acquisition of the plaster copy of the Egyptian bust, seen today on the hall mantelpiece at Shaw's Corner (figure 233).¹⁴⁴⁵ The original 'Limestone New Kingdom Bust'¹⁴⁴⁶ (late 18th Dynasty) is in the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, and had been presented to Wallis by a Miss Hanson in 1896. Wallis then donated it to the Museum, and it was copied at the suggestion of the Birmingham-based music critic Ernest Newman who was well known to Shaw.¹⁴⁴⁷ Several plaster copies were made in the early twentieth century, of which the Shaws' bust is one. The journalist H.V. Morton wrote an article on the bust in 1914 in *The Connoisseur* where he described it as a 'marble bust of the goddess Isis'.¹⁴⁴⁸ (Figure 234). It became renowned as the 'Mona Lisa of Ancient Egypt' and 'The Birmingham Isis', however today it is generally accepted as a representation of a 'high status male official c.1310 BC, wearing the typically elaborated 'double-style' wig fashionable at the time.'¹⁴⁴⁹ (Figure 235). We know that the Shaws' copy was acquired before 1908, as it appears on the Adelphi Terrace Inventory¹⁴⁵⁰ although it is unclear when it was brought to Shaw's Corner. It is significant however that it appears on the mantelpiece, as H.V. Morton's article in *The Connoisseur* stated that Wallis had admired the bust at the home of Miss Hanson: 'he very frequently cast covetous glances at Isis, as she smiled from a central position on the mantelpiece.'¹⁴⁵¹

The bust should be seen as part of Shaw's long-standing interest in the visual culture of Ancient Egypt. Figure 236 shows Shaw's photograph of the Great Sphinx at Giza.¹⁴⁵² His fascination with the topic has not been the subject of thorough investigation partly because

¹⁴⁴³ In 1937 Shannon bequeathed the collection he had formed with Ricketts to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Object Number: E.40.1937. See Joseph Darracott, *All for Art: the Ricketts and Shannon Collection* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 24.

¹⁴⁴⁴ The statue can be seen in a photograph of their drawing-room at Lansdowne House; see Cook, *Queer Domesticities*, 39, figure 3.

¹⁴⁴⁵ NTIN 1275316. Shaw photographed the bust numerous times: see for example NT Shaw Photographs 1715252.97-98.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Egypt, New Kingdom, Late 18th Dynasty, 1400-1300 BC, Limestone. An image of the bust is reproduced in Martin Ellis et al, eds., *World Art: from Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery* (London: Merrell Holberton, 1999), 38.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Ernest Newman was the music critic of *The Birmingham Post*, and wrote studies of three of Shaw's favourite composers: Richard Wagner (1914), Edward Elgar (1906), and Richard Strauss (1908). Shaw had a series of heated debates with Newman about Strauss in *The Nation* in 1910.

¹⁴⁴⁸ H.V. Morton, 'The "Mona Lisa" of Ancient Egypt', *The Connoisseur: A Magazine for Collectors*, 39, 153 (May 1914), 27. H.V. Morton signed the piece 'H.C.M.'

¹⁴⁴⁹ Joann Fletcher, 'The Decorated Body in Ancient Egypt: Hairstyles, Cosmetics and Tattoos', in *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, ed. by Liza Cleland et al (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005), 5.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Adelphi Terrace Inventory, 1908, 31, listed as '12 inch plaster bust of Isis.'

¹⁴⁵¹ H.V. Morton, 'The "Mona Lisa" of Ancient Egypt', 28.

¹⁴⁵² The Shaws visited Egypt in 1931 and Shaw took photographs of the Great Sphinx at Giza; see NT Shaw Photographs 1715266.167-168; 1715494.11-12.

we have become accustomed to reading about his scathing dismissal of Florence Farr's work in the field of Egyptian mysticism and her book *Egyptian Magic* (1897) as 'exoteric Egyptology.'¹⁴⁵³ Yet we should remember that the Egyptian gods Osiris and Isis, both associated with the protection of the dead and/or burial rituals, are summoned by the nurse Ftateeta in *Caesar and Cleopatra* (II, 178-9; 228). Shaw's conceptualization of the body and death through statuary relates to Egyptology: within the statue (mummy) rests the corpse. As Freud reminds us, the desire for preservation 'led the Ancient Egyptians to develop the art of making images of the dead in lasting materials.'¹⁴⁵⁴ E.A. Wallis Budge was an Egyptologist at the British Museum, and the author of books in the study at Shaw's Corner: *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection* and *The Book of the Dead*.¹⁴⁵⁵ (Figure 237). Budge described how the Egyptians venerated the powers of Isis, her seeming 'immunity from death.'¹⁴⁵⁶

In the context of thinking about monuments to the dead, we might consider Shaw's profound interest in medieval funerary art, particularly tombs and effigies, the latter being 'three-dimensional renderings of the body on tombs.'¹⁴⁵⁷ Figure 238 shows his photograph of Blanche de Grandison's effigy and tomb¹⁴⁵⁸ (on the mantelpiece bookcase in the study), whilst figure 239 is a photograph taken by Shaw of the effigy and tomb-chest of Sir Francis Wolryche and his wife, from the church of St. Andrews, Quatt, Shropshire.¹⁴⁵⁹ As Hallam and Hockey argue, it is the physical body that has 'provided some of the central iconography of medieval and early modern monuments. The effigy provided a means by which the impermanence of the flesh could be counteracted to ensure the future presence of the dead amongst the living.'¹⁴⁶⁰ Survival of the 'social body' was made possible, acting 'as a

¹⁴⁵³ Shaw in a letter to Florence Farr, quoted in HOL1, 309. Florence was one of the models for Cleopatra in Shaw's play *Caesar and Cleopatra*.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Freud, 'The Uncanny', in *Art and Literature*, 357.

¹⁴⁵⁵ NTIN 3062551; NTIN 3062544.

¹⁴⁵⁶ E.A. Wallis Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, 280. Shaw was also influenced by the most famous Egyptologist of the day Flinders Petrie, known for his detailed study of artefacts. Petrie's large collection of Egyptian artefacts was sold to University College, London, and is now the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology. His name occurs in numerous different contexts in Shaw's work, and is evoked several times in *Back to Methuselah*. Petrie's work *The Revolutions of Civilisation* (1912) is in Shaw's library (NTIN 3063235). He inspired Shaw particularly in the 1920s; see David Gange, *Dialogues with the Dead: Egyptology in British Culture and Religion, 1822-1922* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 299; 316.

¹⁴⁵⁷ Elizabeth Hallam and Jenny Hockey, *Death, Memory and Material Culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 52.

¹⁴⁵⁸ NTIN 1274685. The tomb is the late fourteenth century memorial to Blanche Mortimer, wife of Sir Peter Grandison, Much Marcle Church, Herefordshire. Charlotte's writing appears on the back of the photograph. See also Shaw's postcards of the Mausoleum of the Duke of Montmorency (Chapelle du Lycee Banville, Moulins, France), by the Anguier brothers. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715251.111).

¹⁴⁵⁹ NT Shaw Photographs 1715502.24. Dated 1933. See also 1715249.26.

¹⁴⁶⁰ Hallam and Hockey, *Death, Memory and Material Culture*, 51-52.

reminder of the living form of the natural body.’¹⁴⁶¹ Hence we see Shaw showing real concern over the lack of care shown toward the effigies in the old Norman Church at Ayot: if the sculpted body is not adequately preserved and cared for, it means that the real body it commemorates will be forgotten. Critics such as Yde seem only prepared to see a one-dimensional man (the writer who is an iconoclast). Shaw however was not interested in bodily dissolution, but bodily preservation. Far from a ‘horror of the body’, his fascination with tombs and memorials displayed a concern for preserving the body for the future. His photograph of the tomb and an earlier engraving (figure 240), together with his rhymes were published in *Bernard Shaw’s Rhyming Picture Guide to Ayot Saint Lawrence*:

For centuries this pious twain
Lifted their hands in silent prayer.
Where are those hands?...
You ask in vain
Through our unchristian lack of care
They in the dirt debased had lain
For years before I found them there.
A wiser rector: one more recent
Has done his best to make them decent.¹⁴⁶²

During the 1930s and 1940s Shaw was increasingly thinking in terms of sculpture to act as a monument to him after his death, and therefore self-fashioning was directed towards posthumous remembrance. When he encountered his bust by Kathleen Scott he wrote to her about sculpting a ‘tomb’: ‘In Droitwich I was conscious of Shakespear’s ridiculous monument in Stratford Church... Then I thought of Swift’s monument in St Patricks cathedral

¹⁴⁶¹ Llewellyn, *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual c.1500 - c.1800*, 101, quoted in Hallam and Hockey, *Death, Memory and Material Culture*, 52.

¹⁴⁶² Shaw, *Bernard Shaw’s Rhyming Picture Guide to Ayot St. Lawrence*, 5. We should note here that the front cover of the *Rhyming Picture Guide* featured a memorial to Shaw rather than to the village: a photograph of the bronze portrait medallion Shaw commissioned from the sculptor Theodore Spicer-Simson in 1921. The medallion remains in the Shaw’s Corner Collection (NTIN 1275406.1); inscribed ‘George Bernard Shaw, T.S.S. fecit.’ The companion piece is a medallion of Charlotte. (NTIN 1275406.2).

in Dublin [figure 241 shows where Swift's grave is marked by a plaque]¹⁴⁶³ ...with its famous inscription about his lacerated heart. And all this was because I was haunted by our statue in some cloister wall or nave.'¹⁴⁶⁴ Shaw then explained to Scott how he had composed a few lines for the inscription of his imagined tomb which included the words: 'CARVE HIM SUB SPECIE AETERNITAS: THUS, WHEN HIS WORKS SHALL ALL FORGOTTEN BE, YET SHALL HE SHARE YOUR IMMORTALITY.'¹⁴⁶⁵ There is of course a typical Shavian element of facetiousness here; but mixed in with this is a more serious desire for memorialization through statuary, reflected in the invocation of the philosopher Spinoza's 'divine or universal perspective' *sub specie aeternitas* (under the aspect of eternity).¹⁴⁶⁶

Shaw saw sculpture as a means of celebrating his life, as he is speaking in the context of Scott creating a bust that will commemorate him. When he was discussing possible memorials and their siting with Sydney Cockerell in 1944, although he wished to be cremated, he specifically mentioned the sculpture by Scott: 'for a tomb in a cathedral or cloister wall I should recommend the half length by Lady Kennet of the Dene.'¹⁴⁶⁷ Shaw added to Cockerell: 'What I should like as a London monument is a replica on the Embankment of the full length statue of me in my platform pose as an orator by Troubetskoy which is now in the National Gallery in Dublin.'¹⁴⁶⁸ Thus when Shaw considers his own death, he does not wish to be buried, but seeks to become a monument, to be immortalized as a statue.

Gross however explains that the desire to become a statue sits within the genre's

¹⁴⁶³ Here Shaw was referring to the bust and plaque commemorating Jonathan Swift, in Saint Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, where Swift had been Dean from 1713 until 1745. His epitaph on the wall reads: 'Here lies the body of Jonathan Swift, Doctor of Divinity and Dean of this Cathedral Church, where savage indignation can no more lacerate his heart...' See Joseph McMinn, 'Swift's life', in Christopher Fox, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Swift* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 29. Swift's grave is marked by a brass plaque on the Cathedral floor in the middle aisle: this appears in the photograph on the wall in Shaw's study. (NTIN 1274681). See also *The Works of Dr Jonathan Swift, 1765* (NTIN 3063763).

¹⁴⁶⁴ Shaw to Kathleen Scott, 8 October 1938, CL4, 513. Here Laurence refers to Scott as 'Lady Kennet', her title after 1935. She had married Edward Hilton Young in 1922, who became Baron Kennet of the Dene in 1935.

¹⁴⁶⁵ Shaw to Kathleen Scott, 8 October 1938, CL4, 513. (This section was reproduced in capital letters in the text). A variant of this inscription was published in Shaw, *Sixteen Self Sketches*, 123; and in one of Shaw's letters to Alfred Douglas (12 November 1938), quoted in Hyde, *Bernard Shaw and Alfred Douglas*, 99. See also Weintraub, 'Shaw's Sculptress, Kathleen Scott', 183.

¹⁴⁶⁶ Baruch Spinoza, quoted in Vincent Geoghegan, *Socialism and Religion: Roads to Common Wealth* (London: Routledge, 2011), 92. Geoghegan cites Spinoza in a discussion of the work of Olaf Stapledon, who has been compared to Shaw by Susan Stone-Blackburn. See Stone-Blackburn, 'Science and Spirituality in *Back to Methuselah* and *Last and First Men*', in *Shaw and Science Fiction*, 185-98. Both Shaw and Stapledon speculate on the 'future evolution of humankind.' (Stone-Blackburn, 186).

¹⁴⁶⁷ Shaw to Sydney Cockerell, 29 September 1944, CL4, 724.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Shaw to Sydney Cockerell, 29 September 1944, CL4, 724. Shaw reiterated this wish in a later letter to Cockerell: his statue by Troubetskoy was to be 'a memorial' to him in England. Shaw to Sydney Cockerell, 19 November 1947, quoted in Viola Meynell, ed., *The Best of Friends*, 181.

‘contradictory genealogy’;¹⁴⁶⁹ when a living being is transformed into clay or stone, it can ‘seem by turns an evolution and a regression, a finding and a loss, an authentication and a reduction.’¹⁴⁷⁰ There is something of this tension explored by Pointon in her article ‘Casts, Imprints, and the Deathliness of Things’ where she examines casts and death masks, which are on the one hand suggestive of ‘the connection between a body that is no longer there and a material thing that remains’, but can at the same time signal ‘absences’ and ‘disembodiment.’¹⁴⁷¹ We might consider here Shaw’s death mask (now in the British Museum¹⁴⁷²) modelled by Charles Smith, a sculptor’s moulder: ‘in 1950 he took the death mask of George Bernard Shaw and casts of the playwright’s hands.’¹⁴⁷³ Dan Laurence states that the mask (no mention of ‘hands’) was made on the orders of Nancy Astor.¹⁴⁷⁴

Given Shaw’s fascination with death and commemoration through a variety of sculptural forms it is tempting to assume this was in accordance with his wishes, however caution is needed. There is no record of Shaw expressing a desire for a death mask, even with Sydney Cockerell with whom he frequently discussed his funeral arrangements and the statuary he wished to act as memorials. In her discussion of these artefacts Pointon speaks of investigating the ‘relation between the biological body and its representation’,¹⁴⁷⁵ but this is misleading given that biology is a science of living things, and the death mask is taken from a corpse. Despite his profound interest in Vanitas artefacts and liminality, I suggest that ultimately Shaw saw sculpture as very much a ‘living’ genre, thus he did not ever discuss the idea with Cockerell, and focussed on sculpture formed from his *living* body however much he played with the idea of the doubling motif. The effigies he admires are fashioned from the body in life (albeit in rest, or prayer), not the cadaver.

‘Busts’ Shaw told Henderson, ‘outlive plays.’¹⁴⁷⁶ Sculpture in Shaw’s eyes could

¹⁴⁶⁹ Gross, *The Dream of the Moving Statue*, 21.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Gross, *The Dream of the Moving Statue*, 19.

¹⁴⁷¹ Marcia Pointon, ‘Casts, Imprints, and the Deathliness of Things: Artifacts at the Edge’, *The Art Bulletin*, 96, 2 (June 2014), 178.

¹⁴⁷² Shaw’s death mask is in the collection of the British Museum. (Museum no. 1977.0101.1). The artefact was donated by the Committee of Management for the Shaw Estate in 1977. Later casts of the mask can be found in the collections of RADA, the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, and the HRC, Texas. A plaster cast of the death mask was first exhibited at the HRC in 1977. (Laurence, *Shaw: An Exhibit*, catalogue no. 765).

¹⁴⁷³ Peter Malone, ‘How the Smiths made a living’, in *Plaster Casts: Making, Collecting and Displaying from Classical Antiquity to the Present*, ed. by Rune Frederiksen and Eckart Marchand (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 175. The ‘hands’ referred to here have not been located.

¹⁴⁷⁴ Laurence however gave no source for this information. (Laurence, CL4, 884). Holroyd repeats Laurence’s assertion in HOL3, 514. Laurence states that the mask was made on 3 November 1950; see Laurence, *Shaw: An Exhibit*, catalogue no. 765.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Pointon, ‘Casts, Imprints, and the Deathliness of Things: Artifacts at the Edge’, 170.

¹⁴⁷⁶ Shaw quoted in Henderson, *Table-Talk of G.B.S.*, 90.

simultaneously act as a memorial, and embody the Life Force: statues carried on ‘living’, and hence he places emphasis on the words ‘outlive’, or ‘life’. As far as sculpture was the Life Force made material, there was potential conflict between the creative act and the artefact created owing to the antithetical forces at work. Mutability and progress were held in tension with preservation and permanence. Nevertheless, the Shavian dialectic negotiated the idea of the ever-changing and the ever-lasting, and as Pharand has eloquently stated: ‘Creative evolution was alive and well and living at Meudon.’¹⁴⁷⁷ Shaw pointed out that Rodin had ‘wished to represent “eternally changing man.”’¹⁴⁷⁸

There was an awareness of the need to commemorate the dead, but also recognition of the power of the inanimate: as Gross argues, ‘to find this life in objects returns as to life...The thought of life has to do with how things survive.’¹⁴⁷⁹ Enduring symbols can speak to future generations, and sculpture outwits Nature. The triumph of life over death in this way is articulated through Shaw’s view of Sigismund de Strobl’s work. The photograph of the Strobl bust Shaw pasted into one of the books of Shakespeare’s works he sold (see figure 168) included the following in its inscription: ‘This bust thou seest here portrayed; It was by Sigmund Strobl made; A master who in daily strife; With Nature could outdo the life.’¹⁴⁸⁰

In the drawing room Shaw’s hand, sculpted in marble by Strobl (figure 242)¹⁴⁸¹ is on display on a small table. The importance of this artefact to Shaw is highlighted by the fact that when he was at Ayot rearranging the interiors of Shaw’s Corner to create the ‘showplace’, he wrote very firmly to Patch in London asking for it: ‘The marble of my hand by Sigmund Strobl is precious. I will not sell it. Send it down here.’¹⁴⁸² A British Pathé film made in 1937 records Shaw with Strobl in his studio;¹⁴⁸³ and a still from the film reveals the two men shaking hands (figure 243).¹⁴⁸⁴ The Strobl piece is not the hand of the ‘writer’. Neither is it intended to evoke the ‘mortiferous connections’ of the ‘anatomical specimen’ Pointon sees in the

¹⁴⁷⁷ Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and the French*, 228.

¹⁴⁷⁸ Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and the French*, 230.

¹⁴⁷⁹ Gross, *Puppet: An Essay on Uncanny Life*, 165.

¹⁴⁸⁰ Sotheby & Co, 25 July 1949. The photograph with Shaw’s verse was reproduced as the frontispiece to the Sotheby’s catalogue.

¹⁴⁸¹ NTIN 1275320. Circa 1932, signed ‘S. Strobl.’ Also in the collection are: a marble crab by Strobl (NTIN 1275318); and two photographs of Shaw’s bust (NTIN 1274713), with a letter from the sculptor to the custodian Mr. Boucher, dated 1 August 1956: ‘I am including the photos we spoke about. Please put them beside the others on the mantelpiece.’ Strobl is possibly referring to the mantelpiece in the dining-room.

¹⁴⁸² Shaw to Blanche Patch, 20 May 1949. (BUR, IV, 17.82).

¹⁴⁸³ ‘Camera Interviews: Strobl, the famous Hungarian sculptor’, 1937, British Pathé film ID 1156.01.

¹⁴⁸⁴ NT Shaw Photographs 1715211.60.

limbs cast after actual bodies.¹⁴⁸⁵ Strobl's work is articulating something rather different, and in this context it is important to note that Shaw admired a piece by Rodin entitled *The Hand of God*: figure 244 shows Rodin with his sculpture circa 1910.¹⁴⁸⁶ This photograph has recently been interpreted as evidence of Rodin attempting to 'undermine his own godlike status',¹⁴⁸⁷ projecting an image of a 'toiling artisan' to contrast against the 'glorified genius' represented by the work. This I would argue is Shaw's position, regarding his own hand as well as Rodin's: 'His "Main de Dieu" is his own hand.'¹⁴⁸⁸ By this Shaw did not mean artistic genius, but to confer the idea of Rodin as an ordinary worker, driven by the Life Force: the 'acquired skill of his hands', he felt, was 'shared with any stone-mason.'¹⁴⁸⁹ In a sense 'we are all vitalists in the making.'¹⁴⁹⁰

Shaw may have belittled the body and materiality, and indeed sculpture and sculpting in plays such as *Back to Methuselah*, where he endorsed the spiritual dimension to the Life Force; however his commitment to sculpture problematizes this as the dominant reading of his attitude towards life and the body generally. His desire to augment humanity's creative powers had an embodied, material dimension besides a spiritual one, and this is what Shaw's Corner and its artefacts articulate. His iconographic focus on symbols shows that images of the Virgin and Child for example, worked against the pessimism of Ecclesiastes, bringing messages of hope; whilst a sense of his own mortality was mediated by faith in sculpture as the Life Force. Through the presence of these artefacts brought to Shaw's Corner, we have to acknowledge that the playwright was accepting the humanizing attributes of art and material culture: the importance of materiality which diminished the de-humanizing aspects of certain writings, and enabled Shaw to construct sites for memorialization.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Pointon, 'Casts, Imprints, and the Deathliness of Things: Artifacts at the Edge', 186-87.

¹⁴⁸⁶ Rodin at his studio at the Dépôt des marbres, next to *The Hand of God* (unknown photographer), reproduced in Natasha Ruiz-Gómez, 'Auguste Rodin, Photography and the Construction of Masculinity', in *Interior Portraiture and Masculine Identity in France, 1789-1914*, ed. by Temma Balducci et al (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 205.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Ruiz-Gómez, 'Auguste Rodin, Photography and the Construction of Masculinity', 204.

¹⁴⁸⁸ Shaw, 'Rodin', PPR, 229.

¹⁴⁸⁹ Shaw, 'Rodin', PPR, 231.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Pharand, 'Creative Evolution: The Rise of the Life Force', in Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and the French*, 239.

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Figure 169 'On the eve of his 90th birthday: George Bernard Shaw at home', *The Illustrated London News* (27 July 1946), 87. Shaw's Corner Archive. Press photographs, see Getty Images for the portrait of Shaw with his statuette of Rodin by Troubetzkoy:
<http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/103213104>

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Figure 170 Shaw with his bust by Rodin, drawing-room, Shaw's Corner. Detail from 'On the eve of his 90th birthday: George Bernard Shaw at home', *The Illustrated London News* (27 July 1946), 87. Shaw's Corner Archive. Press photograph, see Getty Images: <http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/104409818>

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Figure 171 Paul Troubetzkoy, *Comte Robert de Montesquiou* [with his greyhound], bronze, 1907. (Musée d'Orsay, Paris, Inventory number RF 3476). © RMN/ Musée d'Orsay, Paris.



Figure 172 Paul Troubetzkoy, *The Greyhound*, 1911. Garden, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274982). © National Trust.

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Figure 173 *Bardolater – Shaw at Stratford*. Photograph by J.H. Bird, c.1939. (See Ivor Brown, *Amazing Monument: A Short History of the Shakespeare Industry*, London: William Heinemann, 1939).

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Figure 174 *Design for a statue of “John Bull’s Other Playwright” after certain hints by “G.B.S.”* Cartoon by Edward Tennyson Reed, *Punch*, 1906. (See *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*, 60).



Figure 175 Peter Scheemakers, *Shakespeare Memorial* at Poets' Corner, 1740. (Westminster Abbey).



Figure 176 *David Garrick with a bust of Shakespeare* (a copy of the destroyed painting of 1766/69), after Thomas Gainsborough. Charlecote Park. (NTIN 533870). © National Trust.



Figure 177 Staffordshire statuette of William Shakespeare, c.1870, similar to the model stolen from the drawing-room mantelpiece in 1996.

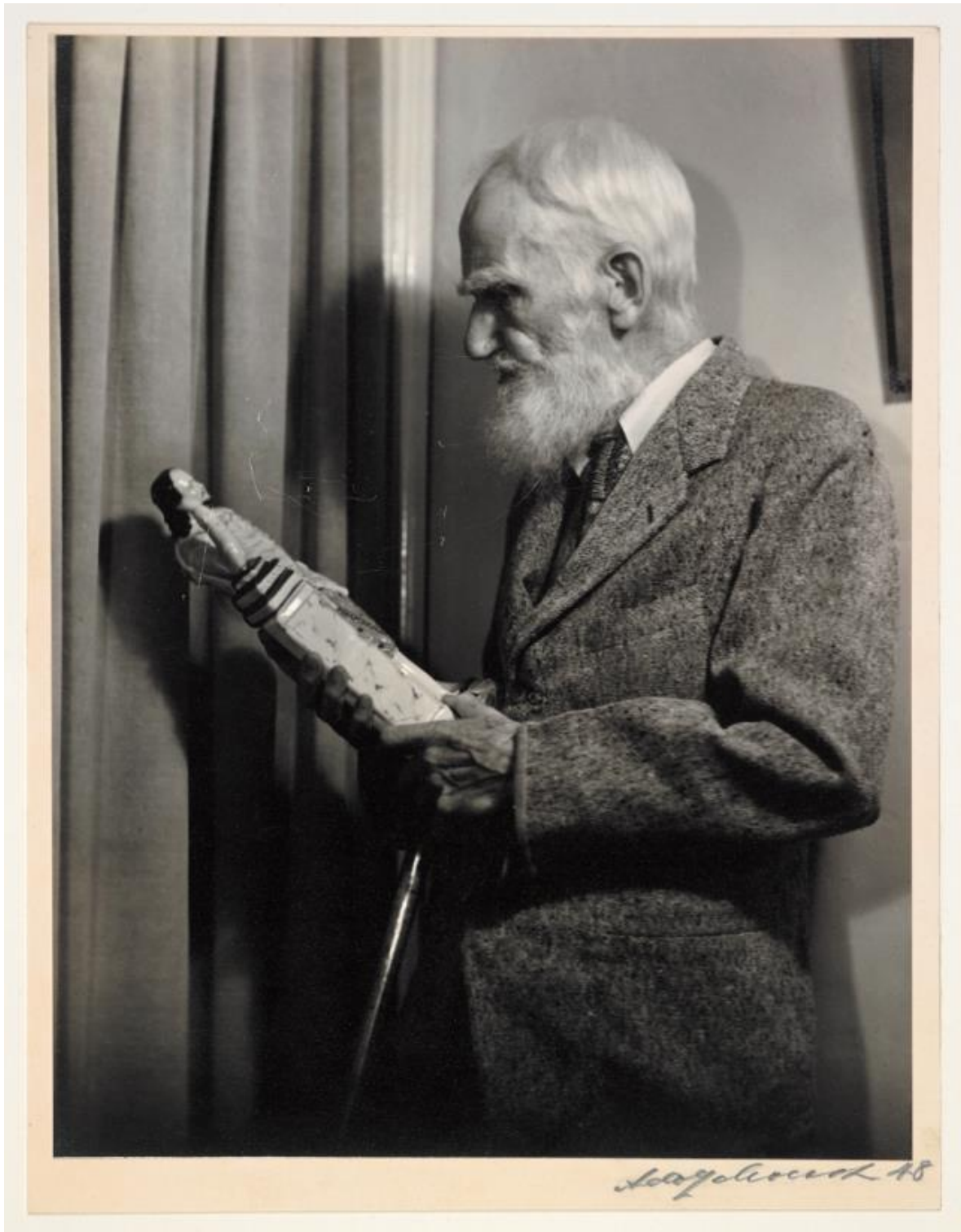


Figure 178 Adolf Morath, photograph of Shaw holding his Shakespeare statuette, 1948. (BL Add. MS 50582 B, f.161).). Reproduced with kind permission of the British Library. © British Library Board.

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Figure 179 Shaw gazing at his Shakespeare statuette on the drawing-room mantelpiece, Shaw's Corner, 1947. (Getty Images, Bettmann Collection 515170162. Getty caption: 3/25/1947: Portrait of author George Bernard Shaw at home, gazing at mantelpiece).
<http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/515170162>



Figure 180 Shaw and Shakespeare bookends by Nancy Catford. Shaw's bedroom, Shaw's Corner Collection. © National Trust.



Figure 181 Photograph of sculptor Kathleen Scott with her bust of Shaw at Ackermann's Galleries, 1938. Study, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274694). © National Trust.

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Figure 182 ‘Shaw getting the upper hand: a scene from “Shakes versus Shav”’. The Lanchester Marionettes. *The Illustrated London News* (12 December 1953), 991. Shaw’s Corner Archive.

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Figure 183 Grand staircase at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art (RADA), showing busts of Shakespeare and Shaw. Central Press Photos Ltd. (See Archibald Henderson, *Man of the Century*, reproduced between pages 672-73).

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Figure 184 *The Cardon Chapel*, c.1400. (Louvre, Paris) © R.M.N/Hervé Lewandowski
<http://www.louvre.fr/mediaimages/chapelle-cardon>



Figure 185 Léon De Smet, *Still Life with an Image of the Madonna in a Glass Case*, oil on canvas, 1923. Shaw's bedroom, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1275305). © National Trust.

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Figure 186 Léon De Smet in his apartment, Brussels. (See Emile Langui, *Léon De Smet 1881-1966*, Deurle, 1976, 10).

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Figure 187 Léon De Smet, *Still Life*, 1926. (See Emile Langui, *Léon De Smet 1881-1966*, Deurle, 1976, 36).



Figure 188 Hans Holbein the Younger, Madonna of the Lord Mayor Jacob Meyer zum Hasen, 1525/26 and 1528, oil on wood, 146.5 x 102 cm, Würth Collection, Inv. 14910, (Würth Museum, Johanniterkirche, Schwäbisch Hall, Germany). Photo: Philipp Schoenborn, Munich.

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Figure 189 Photograph of Shaw in his study at Whitehall Court, standing in front of Albrecht Dürer's *The Life of the Virgin* (1502-11). (See Stephen Winsten, *Jesting Apostle*, facing page 176).



Figure 190 Albrecht Dürer, 'The Nativity' from *The Life of the Virgin*, 1511, woodcut, ink on paper (print), 29.9 x 20.9cm. Donated by Louise Dudgeon, (New Walk Museum and Art Gallery, Leicester). Image reproduced by kind permission of Leicester City Council.



Figure 191 Photograph of Charlotte by Shaw, posed beneath a plaster copy of Michelangelo's *The Virgin and Child with the Infant St. John* (Taddei Tondo). Piccard's Cottage, 1901. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715231.66). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.



Figure 192 Jean Hey, *The Moulins Triptych* (central panel) c. 1498-99. (Cathedral, Moulins).
The Web Gallery of Art: <https://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?html/m/master/moulins/>



Figure 193 Detail from Fra Angelico, *The Coronation of the Virgin*, c.1432. Upper landing, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274659.1). © National Trust.

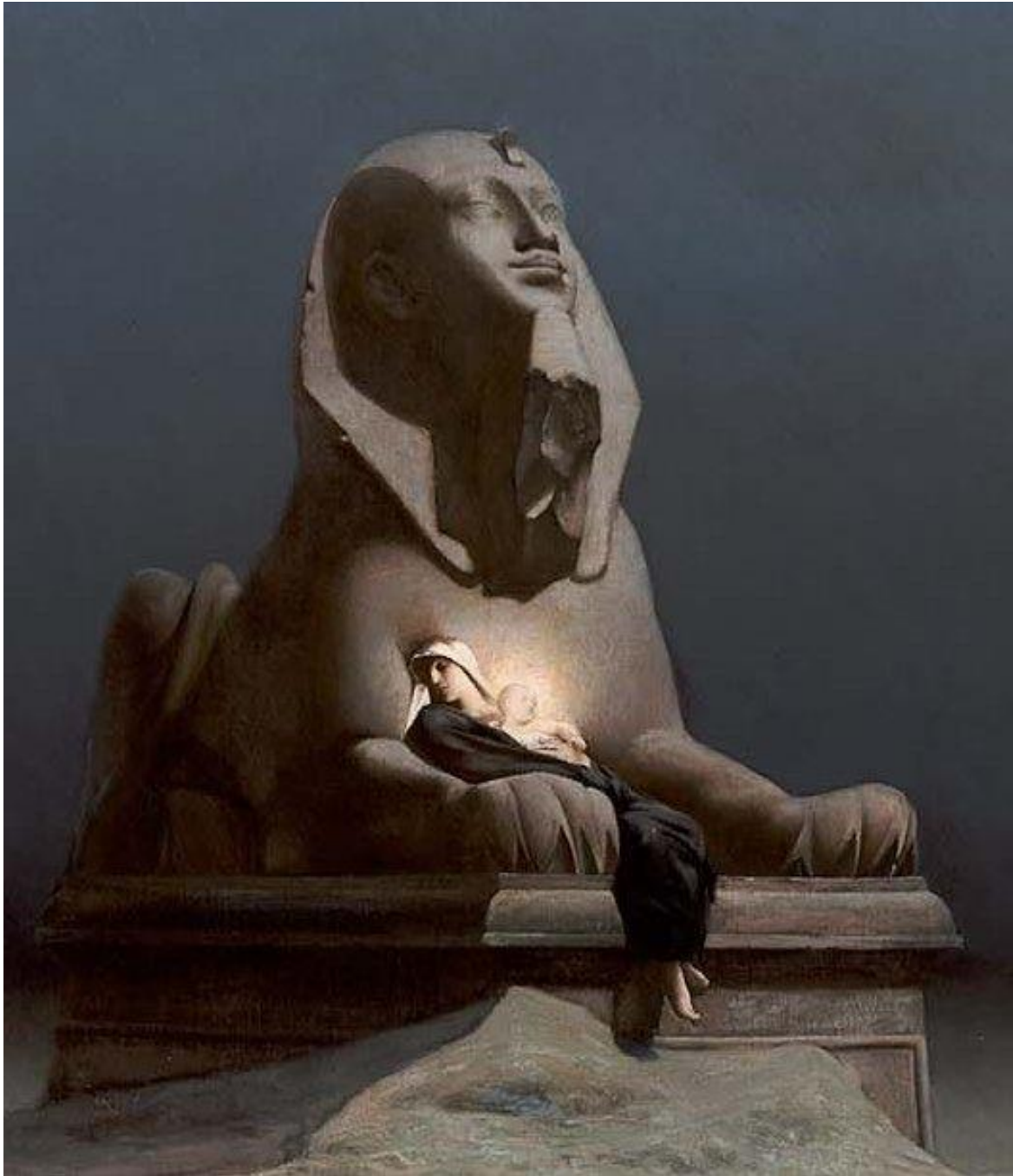


Figure 194 Detail from Luc Olivier Merson, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, 1879. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Merson_Rest_on_the_Flight_into_Egypt.jpg
Luc-Olivier Merson [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons.

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Figure 195 ‘Wax and the Man: George Bernard Shaw, our most famous living playwright, takes his place in the silent company.’ *The Illustrated London News* (29 April 1950), 655. Shaw’s Corner Archive.

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Figure 196 Photograph of Shaw posed with his statuette by Paul Troubetzkoy, 1926. (See Stephen Winsten, *Days with Bernard Shaw*, facing page 57).

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Figure 197 Photograph of Shaw posed alongside his life-size statue by Paul Troubetzkoy, 1927, at Troubetzkoy's villa, Lago Maggiore. (See Archibald Henderson, *Playboy and Prophet*, facing page 739).



Figure 198 Photograph of Shaw posed alongside his life-size statue by Paul Troubetzkoy (and Troubetzkoy's 'Mother and Child'), 1927, at Troubetzkoy's villa, Lago Maggiore. Photograph by Lawrence Langner. Published in Lawrence Langner, 'The Sinner-Saint as Host: Diary of a Visit to G.B.S. at Stresa', *The Saturday Review of Literature*, 27, 30 (22 July 1944), 11.

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Figure 199 The real 'G.B.S' assisting his 'double' (the actor Edgar Norfolk) to dress for the part of 'G.B.S.' in *Spacetime Inn*, 1932. (See *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*, 75). <http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/541050967> (Photo by ullstein bild/ullstein bild via Getty Images).

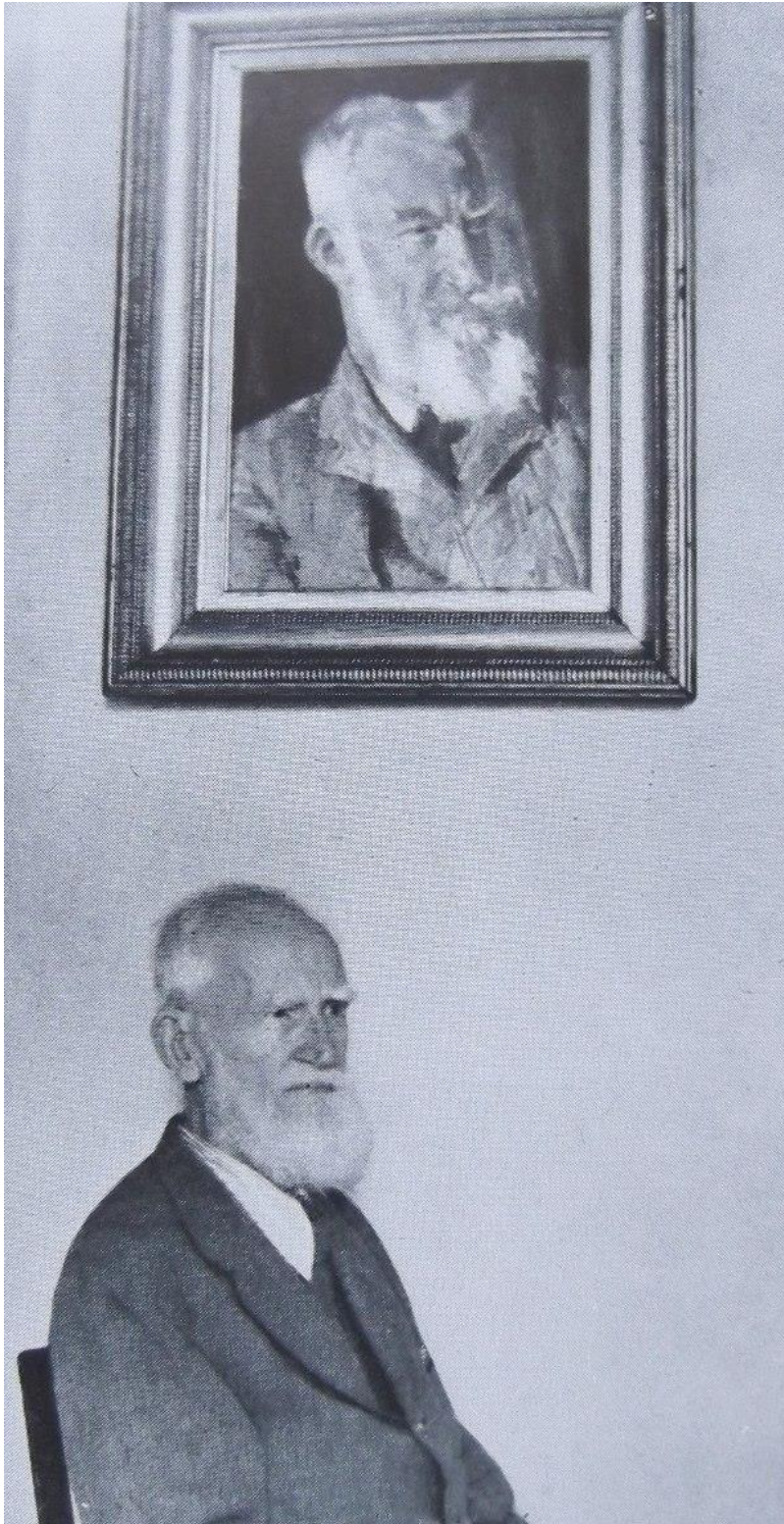


Figure 200 'Portrait of G.B.S. by Augustus John with the aged original.' (See *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*, 65). (NT Shaw photographs 1715221.19). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.

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Figure 201 Max Beerbohm, 'A Council of Perfection. G.B.S. (to myself): "Now why can't you do me like that?"', 1907. Published in *The Saturday Review of Literature*, 27, 30 (22 July 1944), 7. © The estate of Max Beerbohm.



Figure 202 *The Platform Spellbinder*, by Bertha Newcombe, 1892. Woodburytype print. Drawing-room, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274697). © National Trust.



Figure 203 Double self-portrait at the mirror, Blen-Cathra, 1899. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715257.87). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.

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Figure 204 Shaw posing in front of the mirror at the Winstens' house, Ayot St. Lawrence, 1948. (Photograph published in *Look* magazine, 24 May 1949, 56-57). Shaw's Corner Archive.



Figure 205 Self-portrait: double exposure. Shaw at Blen-Cathra, c.1898. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715313.75). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.

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Figure 206 Samuel Butler posed with a statue: ‘Stefano Scotto with Mr S Butler, Ecce Homo Chapel, Sacro Monte, Varallo, c.1882.’ (See Elinor Shaffer, *Erewhons of the Eye*, figure 57, 108).

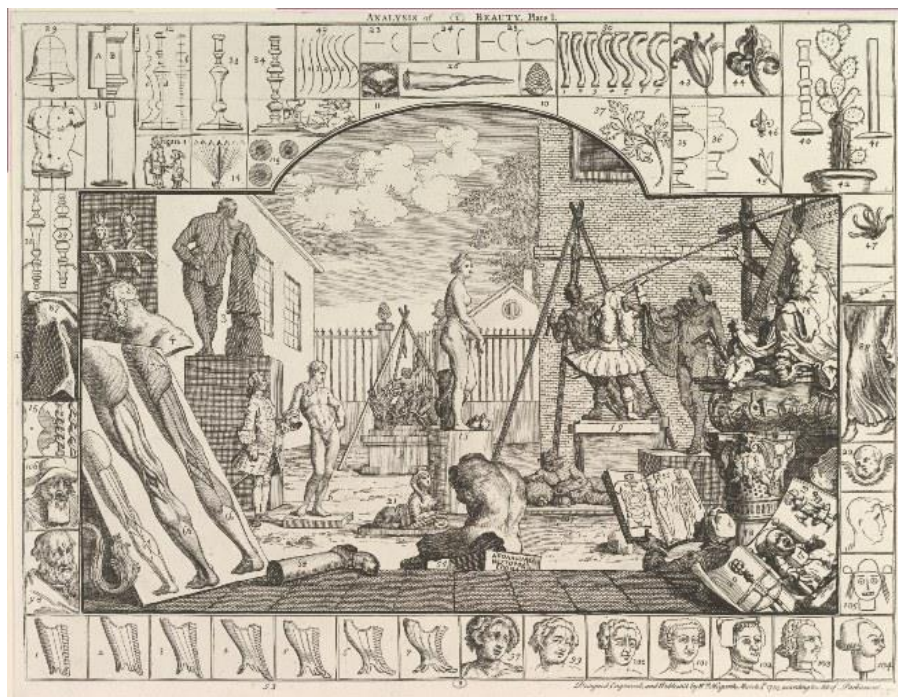


Figure 207 William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty*, Plate 1.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Analysis_of_Beauty_Plate_1_by_William_Hogarth.jpg William Hogarth [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons



Figure 208 Alvin Langdon Coburn, *Le Penseur* (*George Bernard Shaw [1856-1950]*), Paris April 1906. Gum bichromate over platinum print. Courtesy George Eastman Museum. © The Universal Order (www.theuniversalorder.org.uk; www.thefintrytrust.org.uk).



Figure 209 Rodin sculpting the clay bust of Shaw. Photographed by Shaw at Meudon, 1906. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715225.12). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.

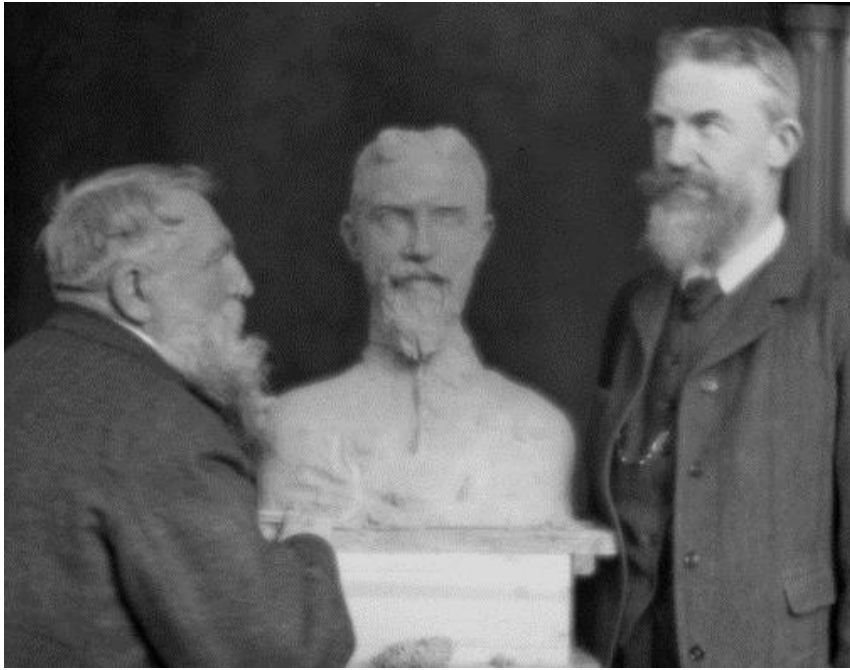


Figure 210 Alvin Langdon Coburn, *Rodin and G.B. Shaw*, 1906. Digital positive from the original negative in the George Eastman Museum's collection. Courtesy George Eastman Museum. © The Universal Order (www.theuniversalorder.org.uk; www.thefintrytrust.org.uk).



Figure 211 Alvin Langdon Coburn, *Rodin and G.B. Shaw*, 1906. Negative, gelatin on gelatin. Courtesy George Eastman Museum. © The Universal Order (www.theuniversalorder.org.uk; www.thefintrytrust.org.uk).



Figure 212 Auguste Rodin, *Head of Balzac*. Drawing-room, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274944). © National Trust.

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Figure 213 Shaw in the drawing-room at Whitehall Court, 1927. Mander and Mitchenson / University of Bristol / ArenaPal. For another version of this image see <http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/500920702> (Photo by Keystone-France/Gamma-Rapho via Getty Images).

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Figure 214 Edward Steichen, *Bernard Shaw*, 1907. Four-colour half-tone portrait of Shaw at Adelphi Terrace, published in Alfred Stieglitz's *Camera Work*, 22 (April 1908). © Artists Rights Society NY (Joanna T Steichen). Also available online in Rebecca Costello, A Writer and His Image, in *Scene: The Online Magazine for the Colgate Community*, Summer 2009, http://colgate.imodules.com/s/801/scene_inside_2col.aspx?sid=801&gid=1&pgid=1769

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Figure 215 Edward Steichen, *Balzac: The Open Sky – 11.00pm*, 1908 (printed 1909), direct carbon print. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Alfred Stieglitz Collection, 33.43.46. (See Roxana Marcoci, *The Original Copy: Photography of Sculpture, 1839 to Today*, New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2010, 94, figure 74). 1933, 33.43.46. © Artists Rights Society (Joanna Steichen). See: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/267841>



Figure 216 Auguste Rodin and Charlotte with Rodin's statue of Balzac, photographed by Shaw in the garden at Meudon, 1906. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715225.145). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.



Figure 217 Waldo Lanchester, Bernard Shaw puppet, created for *Shakes versus Shaw* (1949). Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1275141). © National Trust.

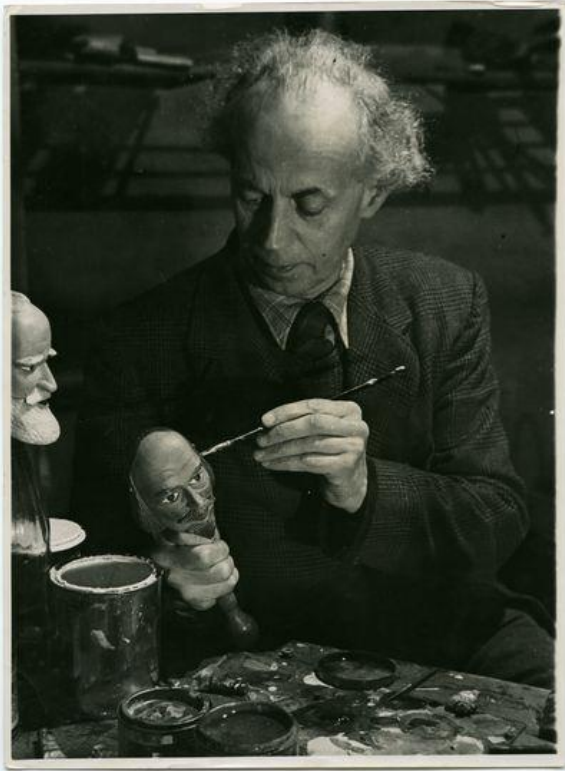


Figure 218 Waldo Lanchester making the Shaw and Shakespeare puppets. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715253.54). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.

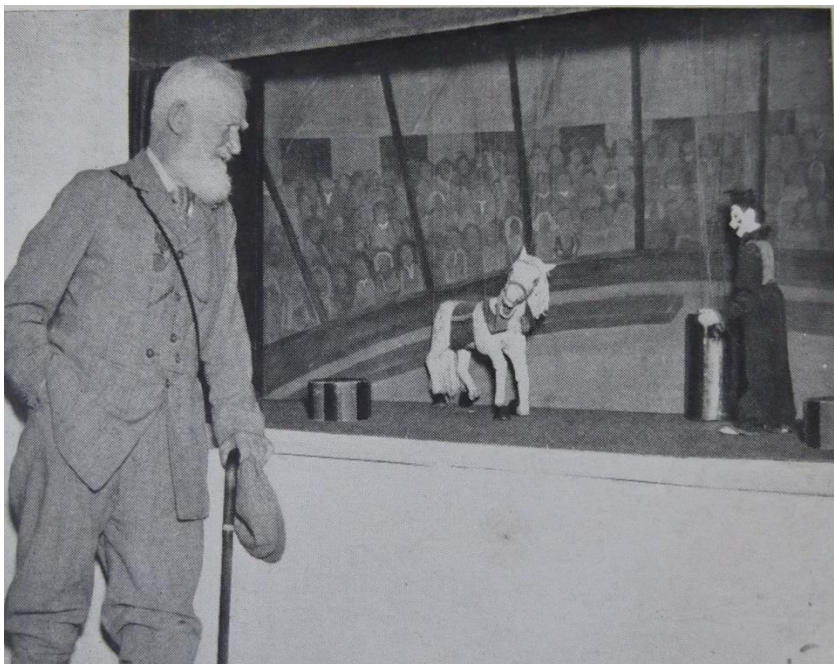


Figure 219 Shaw enjoying a performance at the Lanchester Marionette Theatre in Malvern, late 1930's. (Postcard). Shaw's Corner Archive.

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Figure 220 Act III, *The Doctor's Dilemma*, Royal Court Theatre, 1906. *The Bystander* magazine (12 December 1906). Mander & Mitchenson / University of Bristol / ArenaPal ARP1415886. (See Mander, Raymond and Mitchenson, Joe, *Theatrical Companion to Shaw: A Pictorial Record of the First Performances of the Plays of George Bernard Shaw* (page 117).

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Figure 221 Detail of the stage-set showing the clothed lay figure. Act III, *The Doctor's Dilemma*, Royal Court Theatre, 1906. *The Bystander* magazine (12 December 1906). Mander & Mitchenson / University of Bristol / ArenaPal ARP1415886. (See Mander, Raymond and Mitchenson, Joe, *Theatrical Companion to Shaw: A Pictorial Record of the First Performances of the Plays of George Bernard Shaw* (page 117).



Figure 222 Artist's model or lay figure. Study, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274815.1). © National Trust.

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Figure 223 Wooden lay figure in a sales catalogue of the artists' supplier Charles Roberson, c.1901-3. (See Jane Munro, *Silent Partners: Artist and Mannequin from Function to Fetish*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014, 154, plate 167).

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Figure 224 Neville Lytton, *Bernard Shaw posed as Velázquez's Portrait of Pope Innocent X*; and Diego Velázquez, *Portrait of Pope Innocent X*, 1650. (See Archibald Henderson, *George Bernard Shaw: His Life and Works*, facing page 262).

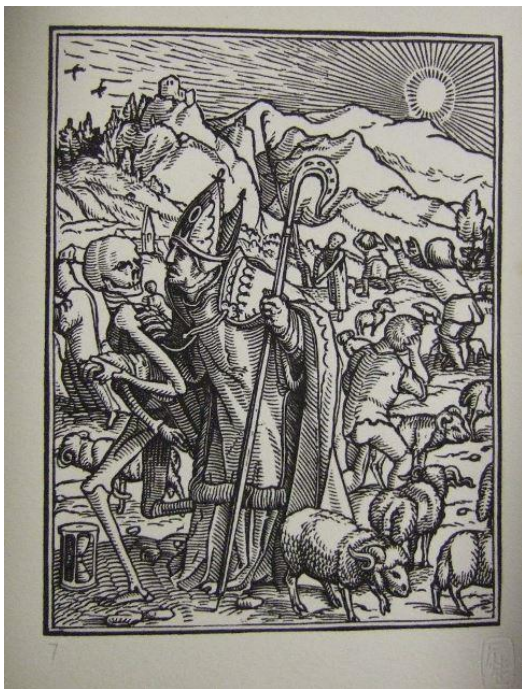


Figure 225 Hans Holbein the younger, *The Dance of Death*, 'The Bishop'. Enlarged facsimiles in platinotype by Frederick H. Evans, 1913. Study, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 3061830). © National Trust.



Figure 226 Images of Dzerzhinskii, Lenin, and Stalin on the mantelpiece in the dining-room, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274648), (NTIN 1274649), (NTIN 1274647). © National Trust.



Figure 227 Paul Troubetzkoy, *Auguste Rodin*. 1932 [c.1905]. Drawing-room, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274945). © National Trust.

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Figure 228 Shaw sits beside Paul Troubetzkoy's sculpture of a lamb in the garden, Shaw's Corner. Photograph by Lisa Sheridan (Studio Lisa), 1937. (See *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*, 39). <http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/50711423>

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Figure 229 Photograph of the Troubetzkoy seated Shaw statuette (drawing-room, Shaw's Corner) by Ralph Morse for *Life* magazine, 1946. (See *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*, 66). <http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/50868919>

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Figure 230 Caesar and Cleopatra (Forbes-Robertson and Gertrude Elliott) with the Sphinx, Act I, *Caesar and Cleopatra*, New York, 1906. Mander and Mitchenson / University of Bristol / ArenaPal ARP1415916. See Mander, Raymond and Mitchenson, Joe, *Theatrical Companion to Shaw: A Pictorial Record of the First Performances of the Plays of George Bernard Shaw* (page 66).

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Figure 231 The miniature Sphinx, Act IV, *Caesar and Cleopatra*, New York, 1906. Mander and Mitchenson / University of Bristol / ArenaPal. See Mander, Raymond and Mitchenson, Joe, *Theatrical Companion to Shaw: A Pictorial Record of the First Performances of the Plays of George Bernard Shaw* (page 69).



Figure 232 Egyptian statue of an official, plastered and painted wood, c.23rd century BC. Donated by Charles Shannon (© The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, no. E.40.1937). Image reproduced courtesy of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.



Figure 233 Plaster copy of the bust of an Egyptian high status male official. (Formerly thought to be a bust of the goddess Isis). Hall, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1275316). © National Trust.



Figure 234 H.V. Morton, 'The "Mona Lisa" of Ancient Egypt', *The Connoisseur: A Magazine for Collectors*, 39, 153 (May 1914), 27. Shaw's Corner Archive.



Figure 235 Detail of the bust of an Egyptian high status male official, showing the 'double-style' wig. Hall, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1275316). © National Trust.



Figure 236 The Great Sphinx at Giza, photographed by Shaw. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715266.167). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.

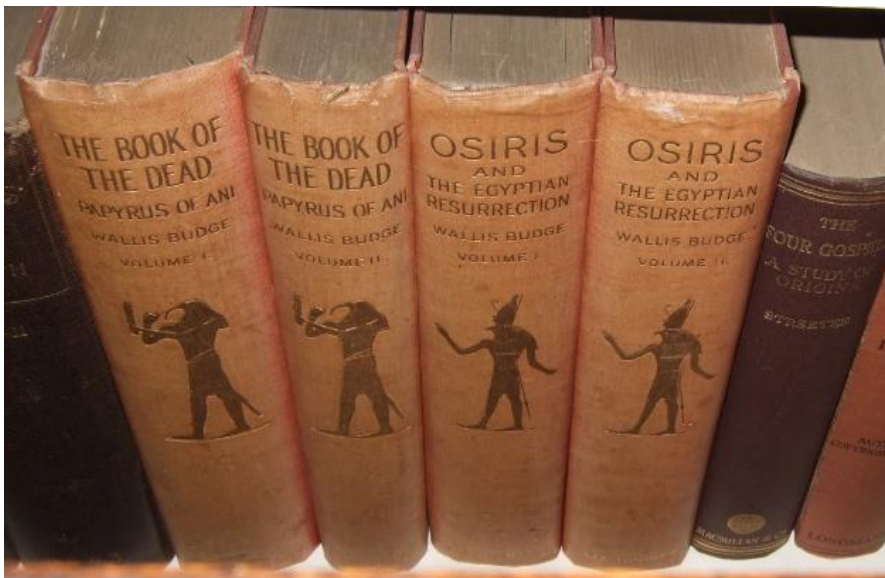


Figure 237 E.A. Wallis Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection* and *The Book of the Dead*. Study, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 3062551; NTIN 3062544). © National Trust.



Figure 238 Blanche de Grandison's effigy and tomb. Study, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274685). © National Trust.



Figure 239 Effigy and tomb-chest of Sir Francis Wolryche and his wife, from the church of St. Andrews, Quatt, Shropshire, photographed by Shaw, 1933. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715502.24). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.



For centuries this pious twain
Lifted their hands in silent prayer.
Where are those hands?



You ask in vain
Through our unchristian lack of care
They in the dirt debased had lain
For years before I found them there.



Figure 240 Engraving of the effigy and Shaw's photograph of the tomb in the old Norman Church at Ayot. (Reproduced in *Bernard Shaw's Rhyming Picture Guide to Ayot Saint Lawrence*, 5). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.



Figure 241 Jonathan Swift's grave, marked by a brass plaque on the floor in the middle aisle, St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. Study, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274681). © National Trust.



Figure 242 Sigismund de Strobl, marble sculpture of Shaw's hand, c.1932. Drawing-room, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1275320). © National Trust.



Figure 243 Shaw with Sigismund de Strobl in his studio. Still from the film: ‘Camera Interviews: Strobl, the famous Hungarian sculptor’, 1937, British Pathé. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715211.60). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.

IMAGE HAS BEEN EXCLUDED FROM THE DIGITISED VERSION OF THE THESIS
DUE TO THIRD PARTY COPYRIGHT RESTRICTIONS

Figure 244 Unknown photographer, *Rodin at the Dépôt des marbres, next to The Hand of God*, c.1910. Paris, Musée Rodin. See Ruiz-Gómez, Natasha, ‘Auguste Rodin, Photography and the Construction of Masculinity’, in *Interior Portraiture and Masculine Identity in France, 1789-1914*, ed. by Temma Balducci et al (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011) page 205.

Dress and self-fashioning: the ‘Philosopher of Clothes’ and the ‘Jaegerized butterfly’

This section examines Shaw’s clothing, his dialectical relationship to dress, and his continuing focus on the body as a vehicle for self-expression and self-fashioning. As a prolific producer and consumer of images of himself, it can come as no surprise that Shaw was equally someone who purchased many items of clothing and paid much attention to dress. Pointon has highlighted the relationship between portraits and dress in *Portrayal and the Search for Identity* (2013), where she applies the term ‘the culture of appearances’¹⁴⁹¹ which I would suggest has much relevance for our discussion of Shaw.

I will argue here that for Shaw clothing the body was ‘a means of constructing and presenting the bodily self,’¹⁴⁹² and that at the same time, dress became a means by which the famous playwright’s body was aestheticized, memorialized and mythologized. Peter Stallybrass and Ann Rosalind Jones have spoken of wearing clothes as specific acts of ‘material memorialization,’¹⁴⁹³ and Sandra Weber and Claudia Mitchell have explained that ‘how we dress can be read as an expression or even an extension of multiple aspects of our identities, or as a way to narrate aspects of self.’¹⁴⁹⁴ Clothes formed a major part of Shaw’s identity reflecting his beliefs and personality, and Gibbs has observed how Jaeger clothing in particular became ‘a distinctive mark of Shaw’s public persona.’¹⁴⁹⁵

Studying Shaw’s relationship to his clothes involves considering the intersections between Shaw the critic and cultural commentator (the ‘Philosopher of Clothes’¹⁴⁹⁶) and Shaw the celebrity/dandy who wears the clothes (the ‘Jaegerized butterfly’¹⁴⁹⁷). Most helpful here is the theoretical model identified by Carole Collier Frick: ‘Clothing existed in three distinct realms, which all referred to one another, that is: the clothes themselves, writing about the

¹⁴⁹¹ Pointon, *Portrayal and the Search for Identity*, 127.

¹⁴⁹² Sandra Weber and Claudia Mitchell, eds., *Not Just Any Dress: Narratives of Memory, Body, and Identity* (Bern, Peter Lang, 2004), 262.

¹⁴⁹³ Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 12.

¹⁴⁹⁴ Weber and Mitchell, eds., *Not Just Any Dress: Narratives of Memory, Body, and Identity*, 261.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Gibbs, *A Bernard Shaw Chronology*, 60.

¹⁴⁹⁶ The term was applied to Shaw by the critic Julius Herman (who wrote as Herbert Skimpole), deliberately referencing Carlyle’s character Teufelsdröckh from *Sartor Resartus*; see Herbert Skimpole, *Bernard Shaw: the Man and His Work* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1918), 92.

¹⁴⁹⁷ This was an epithet used by Frank Harris in his biography of Shaw; see Frank Harris, *Bernard Shaw* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1931), 114.

clothes, and the manufactured image of the clothes.’¹⁴⁹⁸ That Shaw was aware of the power of dress in this way is made apparent by his media appearances as I explain throughout this section. I will start however by showing a press cutting from a newspaper published on the day he died. (Figure 245).¹⁴⁹⁹ Shaw’s focus on clothing was highlighted in two of the photographs, one of which displayed his body clothed in a hooded robe (pictured whilst on holiday), and the other image revealed an array of his favourite hats, captioned ‘dress reformer, hat-stand, Ayot St. Lawrence’. The hat-stand at Shaw’s Corner (figure 246)¹⁵⁰⁰ thus gained worldwide fame as one of the potent visual markers of ‘the man who smashed idols’: embodying the outspoken critic and ‘dress reformer’. And the robe evoked Shaw the ‘prophet’: an epithet suggested by his biographer Henderson, who had placed a similar press image of the playwright alongside the ‘socialist’ Shaw dressed in Jaeger (photographed by Walker), in his biography of 1932. (Figure 247).¹⁵⁰¹ The images suggested that Shaw’s clothing conveyed important messages associated with identity, dress reform, and aesthetics.

Dress reform had always been a guiding principle for Shaw, both in terms of his criticism, and personal clothing as we shall see with regards to his adoption of the Jaeger sanitary woollen system in due course. In an important article entitled ‘The Tailor and the Stage’¹⁵⁰² (1896), which has been neglected by Shavian scholars and dress historians alike, and anticipates the satirical tone of the work on dress by Adolf Loos (‘Men’s Fashion’¹⁵⁰³), Shaw criticized the dress of English actors and bemoaned the fact that there was little sign of the influence of the dress reformers and the Healthy and Artistic Dress Union in the theatre. Here Shaw evoked the popular stage phenomenon of the ‘Living Statues’.¹⁵⁰⁴

Actors had become ‘little more than walking fashion-plates’ Shaw felt, in their traditional frock-coats, trousers and tall hats. The ‘living’ dress of the future must move away from a

¹⁴⁹⁸ Carole Collier Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence: Families, Fortunes, & Fine Clothing* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 147.

¹⁴⁹⁹ Beverley Baxter, ‘Shaw: The man who smashed idols’, 2 November 1950. Press cutting, Shaw’s Corner Collection.

¹⁵⁰⁰ For a comparable image see the photograph by Ralph Morse, taken for *Life* magazine, 29 July 1946, reproduced in *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*, 37.

¹⁵⁰¹ See Henderson, *Playboy and Prophet*. The photographs were published together, facing page 181.

¹⁵⁰² Shaw, ‘The Tailor and the Stage’, *Saturday Review*, 15 February 1896, reprinted in *Bernard Shaw The Drama Observed: Volume II*, 519-24.

¹⁵⁰³ Adolf Loos, ‘Men’s Fashion’, 1898, reprinted in *Ornament and Crime, Selected Essays* (California: Ariadne Press, 1998 [1898]), 39-44. Also within this volume are Loos’s essays on ‘Gentlemen’s Hats’, ‘Footwear’, ‘Shoemakers’, ‘Ladies Fashion’, and ‘Underwear’.

¹⁵⁰⁴ ‘We have come to the right moment for Living Pictures from the year 1925 (say) by the Healthy and Artistic Dress Union. I respectfully recommend them to the attention of our “leading gentlemen” of the stage as a possible chance for them to persuade the public that the prevalent notion that they cannot act is but an illusion produced by their tailors.’ Shaw, ‘The Tailor and the Stage’, 524.

concern with ‘the black and white ideal of purity’¹⁵⁰⁵ that dominated men’s dress. Indeed the sight of a man in a white collar was an affront to his aesthetic sensibilities: ‘By the study and love of art my eyes have become so cultivated that the spectacle of myself in a looking-glass or in a shop window in a shiny white collar would give me greater pain than does the utter contempt of the English public when it passes me by without one.’¹⁵⁰⁶ Shaw equally deplored the capitalistic cycle of fashion, aimed at stimulating sales. In the preface to *Too True to be Good*, he ironically assumed the position of ‘luxury merchants’ who seduce customers by shouting: ‘Come and buy our latest fashions in dress: you cannot possibly be seen in last season’s garments.’ (VI, 409-10). This was not the fault of the tailor: ‘he will make you a tunic and a pair of knee-breeches or knickerbockers just as willingly as a coat and trousers, if you give him the order. Why do you not give him the order? The answer must take the shape of a profound disquisition on morals and civilization.’¹⁵⁰⁷ The capitalistic, wealthy consumer was also to blame, who maintained ‘an air of supporting the arts by substituting respectability for the beauty of life, regularity of arrangement for the beauty of form, laundry work for beauty of color, historical interest for beauty of theme.’¹⁵⁰⁸

Shaw was indebted to the various dress reform societies of the late Victorian period, particularly the Healthy and Artistic Dress Union, whose goal was the fusion of the aesthetic with the hygienic. In the context of health reform, he shared many of the aims of this group, believing that Victorian clothing was an encumbrance to the body in terms of its restrictiveness, impeding natural movement: hence in his writings he often rebukes the stiffness and formality of the ‘starched collar’ or the ‘upholstered’ body.¹⁵⁰⁹ The idea behind women’s clothing, he maintained, ‘was to conceal the fact that she was a human being and make her like a very attractive and luxurious sofa.’¹⁵¹⁰ Although Shaw would claim, with typical mock-disinterestedness, that he had little knowledge of the Healthy and Artistic Dress Union (‘the aims of this Society I infer from its title, having no further acquaintance with it than an occasional glimpse of its illustrated fashion journal *Aglaia*’¹⁵¹¹), he actually knew

¹⁵⁰⁵ Shaw, ‘The Tailor and the Stage’, 524.

¹⁵⁰⁶ Shaw, ‘Literature and Art’, lecture delivered from the pulpit of the Reverend R.J. Campbell’s City Temple, London, 8 October 1908, reprinted in Laurence, ed., *Bernard Shaw: Platform and Pulpit*, 47.

¹⁵⁰⁷ Shaw, ‘The Tailor and the Stage’, 522.

¹⁵⁰⁸ Shaw, ‘The Tailor and the Stage’, 522.

¹⁵⁰⁹ In the preface to *Major Barbara* Shaw would refer to a ‘stock-broker’s cheap and dirty starched white shirt and collar’ (III, 30); and in an address given to the third International Congress of the World League for Sexual Reform (13 September 1929) he criticized ‘the upholstered ladies’ of the Victorian period. Shaw, ‘The need for expert opinion in sexual reform’, quoted in Laurence, ed., *Bernard Shaw: Platform and Pulpit*, 204.

¹⁵¹⁰ Shaw, ‘The need for expert opinion in sexual reform’, 204.

¹⁵¹¹ Shaw, ‘The Tailor and the Stage’, 519-520.

several people connected to the Society including the painters Walter Crane and Louise Jopling-Rowe, who both served as vice-presidents, and the Pre-Raphaelite painter and stained-glass designer Henry Holiday, who founded and edited *Aglaia*.¹⁵¹²

Shaw shared with the Union a philosophy for change based on an alliance between health and aesthetics. Wearing ‘fine clothes’ was beneficial to the body according to his essay *The Sanity of Art*: here he highlighted the need for ‘clean, wholesome, handsome fabrics to wear...which call the heightened senses and ennobled faculties into pleasurable activity.’¹⁵¹³ These ideas would later be formulated into Shaw’s theory of Aesthetic Science, as I discuss in due course, which were rooted in his engagement with Aesthetic culture of the 1880s and 1890s. Stella Mary Newton’s work *Health, Art and Reason* (1974), has stressed how aesthetic ideas were prominent in the minds of the dress reformers of the 1880s.¹⁵¹⁴ E.W. Godwin, the architect-designer associated with Whistler and ‘Anglo-Japanese’ taste, expressed views that were actually very similar to Shaw’s. Godwin viewed dress as ‘the art and science of clothing’ where the aim was ‘to construct and decorate a covering for the human body that shall be beautiful and healthy...Science and art must walk hand in hand if life is to be worth living. Beauty without health is incomplete. Health can never be perfect so long as your eye is troubled with ugliness.’¹⁵¹⁵

During the latter part of the nineteenth-century, many artists like Morris and Crane who developed close links with Shaw through socialism as we have already seen, had similarly viewed their practice of interior and aesthetic decoration as being conterminous to the formation of a ‘healthy’ home (Morris had lectured on ‘Textile Art’ at the International

¹⁵¹² Shaw’s diaries reveal numerous meetings with Walter Crane because of his socialist connections, but also with Jopling-Rowe and Henry Holiday: see for example 27 November 1892 (BSD2, 876), where he attends one of Crane’s lectures at Kelmscott House, and had ‘a few words with Mrs. Jopling afterwards’. Shaw attended a concert at Holiday’s studio on 30 January 1890 (BSD1, 584), and dined with him on 18 March 1890 (BSD1, 600). Holiday was friends with John Trivett Nettleship (the painter of Shaw’s ‘Diving Heron’). Holiday would later correspond with Shaw on dress in ancient Egypt (in relation to *Caesar and Cleopatra*); see BL Add. MS 50515, f.85, H. Holiday to Shaw, 1907. According to his diary, Shaw was scheduled to speak on “Dress” for the Union in June 1895, however he could not attend. (11 June 1895, BSD2, 1083).

¹⁵¹³ Shaw, *The Sanity of Art*, 68-69.

¹⁵¹⁴ Stella Mary Newton, *Health, Art and Reason: Dress Reformers of the Nineteenth Century* (London: John Murray, 1974).

¹⁵¹⁵ E.W. Godwin, *Dress and its relation to Health and Climate*, Pamphlet, 1884, quoted in Newton, *Health, Art and Reason*, 93-94. Godwin gave a lecture on the subject at the International Health Exhibition of 1884.

Health Exhibition of 1884¹⁵¹⁶), but also a healthy body; and both had connections to dress reform. Mark Wigley has argued that Morris's idea of reforming the artefacts of everyday life was part of his wider utopian desire 'to reform all the spaces that enclose the body, whether those of the building or of clothes,'¹⁵¹⁷ and I suggest we need to consider Shaw's views in similar terms. In fact in 1891, we find Shaw posing for a series of photographs by Walker against Morris & Co. *Bird and Vine* woven woollen fabric (figure 248),¹⁵¹⁸ which he then had mounted as cabinet cards for dissemination or display.¹⁵¹⁹ Shaw's appropriation of this Morris *woollen* cloth in this way as part of his self-fashioning, brings to mind Potvin's recent consideration of clothing and textile furnishings as 'the loci of play and meaning', the site where links between 'the materiality of the body, fabric and space' are made manifest.¹⁵²⁰

Related to these ideas on design reform was Shaw's assimilation of evolutionary theory, which shaped his teleological 'eugenic vitalism', and was profoundly influenced by what he had termed 'the Lamarckian theory of functional adaptation' in 1891.¹⁵²¹ His account of

¹⁵¹⁶ William Morris, 'Textile Art', 11 July 1884, International Health Exhibition; see Nicholas Salmon and Derek Baker, eds., *The William Morris Chronology* (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1996), 133. Shaw mentions the "Health Exhibition" in a letter to Alice Lockett (13 October 1884, CL1, 97); and Shaw's anthropometric measurements were recorded at Francis Galton's stand at the Exhibition on 16 August 1884. (Wixson, 'Dilemmas and Delusions: Bernard Shaw and Health', 1). We do not know exactly how many times Shaw was a visitor there, as his detailed diaries do not commence until early 1885, but he may have heard the lectures given by both Morris and Godwin at the Exhibition.

¹⁵¹⁷ Mark Wigley, *White Walls, Designer Dresses: The Fashioning of Modern Architecture* (Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2001), 135.

¹⁵¹⁸ This particular image was one of two photographs of Shaw by Walker (besides another two engraved by him) that are preserved in the special book of portrait photographs at Shaw's Corner compiled by W.H. Wise, as discussed earlier. (NTIN 3063760). Shaw's diaries record the occasion at 3 Hammersmith Terrace (Walker's House): 19 July 1891, BSD2, 740. The following Sunday his diary notes: 'finished our photographing'. (26 July 1891, BSD2, 742).

¹⁵¹⁹ Photographs from this session showing Shaw against *Bird and Vine* fabric as cabinet cards are among the NT Shaw Photographs: 1715215.3; 1715215.9-10; 1715215.12-13; 1715215.19 The date 'July 1891' appears verso on several. A group of fourteen half-plate glass negatives of Shaw by Walker, several picturing Shaw against Morris & Co. fabrics, recently came to light, and have now been acquired by the National Trust for the Shaw's Corner Collection. (See Dominic Winter Auctioneers & Valuers, *Printed Books & Maps, India, Asia & the Middle East, Photography*, 9/10 April 2014, lot no.609). The negatives were accompanied by a letter from Loewenstein (dated 10/7/47) who was writing on Shaw's behalf and requesting to use some of the images for publication in *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*. Copies also can be found at Cornell, and the HRC, whilst the NPG holds three glass plate negatives showing the fabric (NGP x19649; NPG x19671; NPG x19673).

¹⁵²⁰ John Potvin, 'The velvet masquerade: fashion, interior design and the furnished body', in *Fashion, Interior Design and the Contours of Modern Identity*, ed. by John Potvin and Alla Myzelev (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 12, 15.

¹⁵²¹ Shaw, letter to E.C. Chapman, 29 July 1891, CL1, 301, quoted in Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and the French*, 241. Pharand's chapter on 'Creative Evolution' explains the importance of Lamarck, for whom evolution 'occurs through the inheritance of characteristics acquired in response to environmental demands.' Shaw's theories were related to the Lamarckian notion that "'living organisms change because they want to.'" Pharand, *Bernard Shaw and the French*, 241, quoting Shaw, preface to *Back to Methuselah* (V, 271).

creative evolution was thus purposeful¹⁵²², and based on the Lamarckian idea that evolutionary change might occur owing to changes in environmental conditions: artefacts, fabrics and interiors (the things and places we are surrounded by) had the power to shape human development, aiding ‘adaptive bodily change’.¹⁵²³ Teukolsky has borrowed from Diane Paul to posit a similar framework for Morris and Crane who ‘espoused a Lamarckian idea of environmental effects on humans and their art.’¹⁵²⁴ Paul argues “‘given the assumption that acquired characteristics are heritable, it follows that poor environments, whether natural or cultural, are almost inexorably bound to be reflected biologically.’”¹⁵²⁵ Indeed Morris had pilloried those who chose to live in a ‘vulgar stuccoed house crowded with upholstery [...] in all respects degrading to the mind and enervating to the body to live in.’¹⁵²⁶

According to these sociobiological theories ‘beautiful’ things, clothing and buildings improve the body. Shaw had outlined his theory to this effect in *The Sanity of Art* as we have seen. Conversely, ‘luxurious’ things, which Shaw associates with wealth and idleness, are bad for one’s health. We have already observed that when he created the opening scene for his play *Too True to be Good* (1932) he focussed on expensive, luxurious furnishings and clothing in the bedroom: a deliberate strategy to reflect the illness of the patient being nursed there. The ‘magnificent wardrobe’ (VI, 429) for example, contains a valuable fur cloak ‘worth forty-five guineas.’ (VI, 453). He wrote to his friend the bacteriologist Almroth Wright for advice when he was searching for an authentic medical disease to assign to his patient: ‘Will you study the case for me, and tell me what the young lady ought to be suffering from?...Is there any imaginary fever produced by idleness, unhealthy habits, and too much money? Park Lane fever or something like that.’¹⁵²⁷ This relates to Shaw’s characterization of the idle rich: ‘a

¹⁵²² Shaw was influenced by both Samuel Butler and Lamarck in this respect, summed up by what one critic has described as ‘the Butler-Lamarckian “striving of the individual” in adapting to the environment’. See Jeffrey M. Wallmann, ‘Evolutionary machinery: foreshadowings of science fiction in Bernard Shaw’s dramas’, in *Shaw and Science Fiction, SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, vol. 17, ed. by Milton T. Wolf (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 85-86. Shaw stressed the importance of man’s free will – it was within man’s power to shape the environment. He was critical of Darwin for removing human will from the universe. The power of the Life Force had the capacity to instigate evolutionary change: this was ‘purposeful direction’. Shaw’s perspective was non-scientific like Butler’s; he reacted against Mendel’s theories that gave scientific credence to the deterministic position of Darwinism.

¹⁵²³ Philip Steadman, *The Evolution of Designs: Biological Analogy in Architecture and The Applied Arts* (London: Routledge, 2008 [1979]), 180.

¹⁵²⁴ Teukolsky, *The Literate Eye*, 172.

¹⁵²⁵ Diane B. Paul, ‘“In the Interests of Civilization”: Marxist Views of Race and Culture in the Nineteenth Century,’ *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 42, 1 (January-March 1981), 117, quoted in Teukolsky, *The Literate Eye*, 172.

¹⁵²⁶ William Morris, ‘How We Live and How We Might Live’, in *William Morris: Selected Writings and Designs*, ed. by Asa Briggs (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973 [1887]), 176.

¹⁵²⁷ Shaw to Sir Almroth Wright, 24 June 1932, CL4, 299.

useless lady or gentleman with lots of money.’¹⁵²⁸ But he is also highlighting the relationship between environment and health, and identifies the wealthiest street in London as the site for illness: wealth (used unwisely to purchase the ‘wrong’ kind of clothes and furniture) has its own microbe.¹⁵²⁹

Shaw does not acknowledge Godwin’s ideas in his writings, and neither does he mention the work on physiological or psychological aesthetics conducted by prominent writers such as Grant Allen¹⁵³⁰ and Vernon Lee. Instead he chose to focus on the work of Almroth Wright as the source for his theories, who had argued that the effect of sanitation was aesthetic. Shaw perceived elements of Lamarckianism in Wright’s emphasis on environmental factors, tracing a line of thought that permitted the inclusion of the Jaeger Sanitary Woollen System and Morris whose art had embodied for Shaw during the 1890s a ‘solid usefulness’. But equally Morris and Jaeger were forging through their craft a ‘higher beauty’ thereby adding a ‘fresh extension of sense to the heritage of the race.’¹⁵³¹ In this context ‘sanitary’ reform became a mechanism through which to produce aesthetic taste, whether in homes or clothing.¹⁵³²

Shaw therefore understood his personal consumption of Jaeger clothing as being an aid to health; and by this I mean ‘health’ according to Shaw’s expanded, personal definition, incorporating not just ideas about hygiene and fitness, but also physical beauty. In *The Sanity of Art*, he ridiculed Nordau’s view of dress. According to Shaw, Nordau had argued that if a man is meticulous about his clothes, he is ‘degenerate: silk dressing-gowns and knee-breeches are grave symptoms, and woollen shirts conclusive.’¹⁵³³ Thus for Shaw, Jaeger

¹⁵²⁸ Shaw, ‘Look, You Boob! A Little Talk on America’, in Laurence, ed., *Bernard Shaw: Platform and Pulpit*, 231.

¹⁵²⁹ In the preface to *Too True to be Good* Shaw speaks of the ‘misery of riches’ (VI, 408): ‘I understand perfectly why Florence Nightingale fled from fashionable society in London to the horrors of the Crimean hospitals rather than behave like a lady... Better the wards of the most terrible of field hospitals than a drawingroom [sic] in Mayfair.’ (VI, 407-08).

¹⁵³⁰ Shaw was well versed in the theories of Grant Allen (his neighbour at Blen-Cathra, Hindhead in the late 1890s) who wrote an influential book *Physiological Aesthetics*, in an attempt to explain judgements of taste in terms of the human senses. Shaw took several photos of Allen, see for example NT Shaw Photographs 1715286.23 (Blen-Cathra Album). Shaw reviewed several of Allen’s books, including his work on Darwin, and novels including *The Devil’s Die*. It is possible too that Shaw had read Allen’s critique of the Victorian domestic interior ‘The Philosophy of Drawing Rooms’; see Anderson, ‘Drawing Rooms: A Backward Glance - Fashioning an Individual Drawing Room’, 43, where Allen is discussed.

¹⁵³¹ Shaw, *The Sanity of Art*, 69-70.

¹⁵³² Eileen Cleere, ‘Victorian Dust Traps’, in *Filth: Dirt, Disgust, and Modern Life*, ed. by William A. Cohen and Ryan Johnson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 140. See also Newton, *Health, Art and Reason*, 110-14.

¹⁵³³ Shaw, *The Sanity of Art*, 89.

woollens as ‘fabrics to wear’ are not merely ‘clean’ and ‘wholesome’, but ‘handsome’.¹⁵³⁴ Whilst Breward states that Jaeger ‘prioritized health over beauty’ in the Jaeger book and clothing system, he makes the important point that it was nevertheless ‘understood that the pursuit of a hygienic ideal in fashion would automatically give rise to a more pleasing visual effect.’¹⁵³⁵ Dress, in practical terms, means satisfying basic human needs such as warmth, and involves considering qualities such as durability; but dress can also be viewed through the prism of consumption as appropriation, defined as ‘a social activity by which objects produced by others become one’s own by subjecting them to personal meanings and differential uses.’¹⁵³⁶

Before examining in greater detail the relationship between Shaw, dress and self-fashioning, I want to look at the origins of Shaw’s interest in clothing and dress reform, to understand the attractions for the health-conscious socialist-aesthete. Shaw was influenced by ‘hygienic dress’ and the work of Dr. Gustav Jaeger whose book *Health Culture* was translated into English by Lewis Tomalin in 1884¹⁵³⁷; and he attended the International Health Exhibition of the same year where he would have seen the Jaeger goods on display.¹⁵³⁸ Tomalin had opened the first Jaeger shop in Fore Street, London, in February 1884, selling the “Sanitary Woollen System” of clothing which was adopted by Shaw when he inherited some money in 1885.¹⁵³⁹

It is important to note that Shaw’s friend and fellow-socialist Andreas Scheu, known to him through the SDF, was one of the first agent’s for Jaeger’s company in Britain.¹⁵⁴⁰ Once Shaw acquired various items the two men were soon sharing tips on cleaning their woollen clothing, as Peter Symms shows in his article on Shaw’s underwear.¹⁵⁴¹ Scheu had lent Shaw

¹⁵³⁴ Shaw, *The Sanity of Art*, 68-69. ‘Frowzy clothing’ was offensive on the grounds of both aesthetics and hygiene.

¹⁵³⁵ Christopher Breward, *Fashion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 67. Breward notes that beyond Newton’s *Health, Art and Reason*, there is little published in English on Jaeger’s career and philosophies.’ (Breward, *Fashion*, 243, note 7).

¹⁵³⁶ Frank Dikötter, *Things Modern: Material Culture and Everyday Life in China* (London: Hurst & Co, 2007), 11.

¹⁵³⁷ H. R. Tomalin, in Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager*, 238.

¹⁵³⁸ Jaeger’s stand at the Exhibition was awarded a gold medal.

¹⁵³⁹ 19 June 1885, BSD1, 91-92.

¹⁵⁴⁰ Peter Symms, ‘George Bernard Shaw’s Underwear’, in *Costume*, 24 (1990), 94.

¹⁵⁴¹ Symms, ‘George Bernard Shaw’s Underwear’, 95. Scheu’s letter to Shaw dated 22 October 1885 is in the BL (Add. MS 50511, f.132-134), with a copy in the Scheu Archive, Amsterdam. Livesey presents the Scheu-Shaw correspondence on ‘the best techniques of washing, mangling, and ironing new Jaeger garments’ as new scholarship without referencing Symms, (Livesey, ‘Masculinity and the ‘Faddist Sage’, in *Socialism*, 121); however Symms had included this in his 1990 article.

one of the early editions of Jaeger's essays in June 1884.¹⁵⁴² Having read the book, Shaw sent it back to Scheu with a humorous reply, making it clear he understood Jaeger's thesis that certain types of fabric were the causes of not only bodily discomfort but ill-health.¹⁵⁴³ In a discussion of the body clothed in cotton (which he despised), Shaw evoked the spectre of the corpse through the 'shroud.' This relates to the absence of dress reform in the theatre: upon seeing Mrs. Patrick Campbell in *Romeo and Juliet*, for example, he disliked her dresses so intensely he wished they had been 'carried out and buried.'¹⁵⁴⁴

Jaeger focused on 'the sanitary advantages of pure animal wool', which if correctly made according to the Jaeger methods, would ensure 'the reduction of the abnormal or excessive heat of the animal body.'¹⁵⁴⁵ Although doctors had long advised wearing wool in the form of 'flannel' underwear, Jaeger's new theory was that 'natural wool, unbleached, and knitted (by hand or machine), worn next to the skin'¹⁵⁴⁶ aided the escape of perspiration and bodily poisons (the 'elimination of effete matters'), whilst retaining heat in cooler weather. By comparison, vegetable fibres such as cotton and linen were harmful and 'even poisonous in their effect.'¹⁵⁴⁷ Lewis Tomalin was struck by the 'subject of pure wool and its hygienic value as clothing and as bedding,'¹⁵⁴⁸ leading him to translate Jaeger's work and open the Jaeger shop in Fore Street. In October 1884 *The Times* published an article on its leader page promoting the Sanitary Woollen System: 'A new gospel has reached us... it is a medical theory, based on the close observations of animal life, demonstrated by scientific experiments, and proved by practical experience... already adopted by some of our most

¹⁵⁴² Symms, 'George Bernard Shaw's Underwear', 94.

¹⁵⁴³ 'I return your diabolical book... Before I read it I was happy in the belief that my vegetarianism was a safeguard against all the ills of my life. Now my leather braces give me rheumatism; the lining of my hat gives me meningitis; my handkerchief gives me chronic catarrh; my collar deprives me of my voice; my waistcoat threatens me with fatty degeneration of the heart; dropsy lurks in my trousers... and instead of sleeping comfortably between the sheets, I lie naked in a blanket which gives me the itch. Curses on this Jaeger! What did it matter to me that I was unsanitarily clothed so long as I did not know it?...The cholera is coming, and I feel that my cotton shirt is destined to be my shroud.' Shaw to Andreas Scheu, 30 June 1884, reprinted in Symms, 'George Bernard Shaw's Underwear', 94. (Shaw's letter forms part of the Shaw-Scheu correspondence held in the Scheu Archive, International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam). Scheu had invited Shaw to meet on 14 June 1884, so the book was probably loaned then.

¹⁵⁴⁴ Shaw, 'Romeo and Juliet', *Saturday Review*, 28 September 1895, reprinted in *Bernard Shaw: The Drama Observed Volume II*, 407. See also Weintraub, BSD2, 1091. Shaw informs his audience that, according to the programme, the dresses had been created for Mrs. Patrick Campbell by 'Mrs Mason, of New Burlington Street'.
¹⁵⁴⁵ Gustav Jaeger, *Selections from Essays on Health-Culture* (New York: Dr. Jaeger's Sanitary Woollen System Co., 1891), 4.

¹⁵⁴⁶ Newton, *Health, Art and Reason*, 98.

¹⁵⁴⁷ Jaeger, *Selections from Essays on Health-Culture*, 7.

¹⁵⁴⁸ Malcolm MacKenzie, 'Jaeger: Health Gospel of 1884, Fashion Movement of 1937', *Art and Industry*, 23, 134 (August 1937), 42.

eminent sanitary reformers.’¹⁵⁴⁹

Despite Jaeger’s status as a professor of Zoology and Physiology, his clothing system did not actually have a scientific basis and there was no empirical evidence to substantiate his claims. But this would not have mattered to Shaw, whose approach to medical matters was often unorthodox and anti-scientific, as his objection to germ theory and support of the sanitary reformers shows.¹⁵⁵⁰ Moreover, Shaw’s longstanding objections to cotton on socio-economic grounds conveniently converged with Jaeger’s ideas (cotton was anathema) so that when Shaw wrote that ‘cotton clothing is unhealthy’¹⁵⁵¹ he was voicing his opinion that cotton was injurious to both the collective body of the worker, and the individual consumer. His continuing interest in textiles, and the ethics of production, can be witnessed through his objection to cotton. In 1890 for example, we find him visiting a cotton mill at Hyde, Manchester,¹⁵⁵² a fact that invites comparisons to his earlier fictional portrayal of Trefusis ‘the rich son of a successful cotton-spinner’¹⁵⁵³ in *An Unsocial Socialist*. Trefusis offers a Marxist critique of his father’s business: ‘The manufactured cotton is more valuable than the raw cotton, because the manufacture costs wear and tear of machinery, wear and tear of the factory, rent of the ground upon which the factory is built, and human labor, or wear and tear of live men.’¹⁵⁵⁴

Shaw disapproved of the capitalist manufacturing techniques associated with cotton. John Styles has shown how cotton was ‘the fibre of industrial revolution’;¹⁵⁵⁵ and in Shaw’s mind the fabric became synonymous with unscrupulous profit-making on the part of factory owners during the early nineteenth-century. We see evidence of this in *Man and Superman*

¹⁵⁴⁹ MacKenzie, ‘Jaeger: Health Gospel of 1884, Fashion Movement of 1937’, 42. Part of this statement has been quoted in Elizabeth Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 214.

¹⁵⁵⁰ See Wixson, ‘Dilemmas and Delusions: Bernard Shaw and Health’, 3; and also McEwan, ‘The “Plumber-Philosopher”’: Shaw’s Discourse on Domestic Sanitation’, 77, 79.

¹⁵⁵¹ See for example his Preface to *The Shewing-Up of Blanco Posnet*, (III, 727): ‘the inspectors appointed to carry out these Acts [Public Health and Building Acts] never go to a manufacturer and inform him that unless he manufactures woollens instead of cottons... he will be forbidden to place his products on the market.’ Although Shaw would eventually use linen products as I discuss shortly, he never used cotton-based articles by firms such as Aertex (manufactured by the Cellular Clothing Company, which promoted the health-giving properties associated with cotton through aeration), thus maintaining his ideological stance against cotton.

¹⁵⁵² Shaw visited the mill 29 September 1890 (BSD1, 653-4): ‘Call on Rylett to go through factory... Went through one of Ashton’s cotton mills at Hyde.’ Shaw would often use his position as critic to attack the Manchester cotton mills; see Shaw, ‘Manchester still expiating’, *Saturday Review*, 12 February 1898, reprinted in *Bernard Shaw The Drama Observed: Volume III*, 999.

¹⁵⁵³ Shaw, *An Unsocial Socialist*, 162.

¹⁵⁵⁴ Shaw, *An Unsocial Socialist*, 68.

¹⁵⁵⁵ John Styles, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 109.

(1902): ‘in the unregulated trades the private trader may still sponge [sic] on the regulated trades and sacrifice the life and health of the nation as lawlessly as the Manchester cotton manufacturers did at the beginning of last century.’ (II, 745).¹⁵⁵⁶ In terms of social reform, the environment might be improved if haberdashers filled their shops ‘with woollen jackets instead of cotton bodices.’¹⁵⁵⁷ Related to this was his sociobiological distaste. Regarding his personal health he felt that woollen clothing was beneficial as it allowed the skin to breathe. Writing to actress Ellen Terry in 1897 he claimed: ‘the curse of London is its dirt.... My much ridiculed Jaegerism is an attempt at cleanliness & porousness: I want my body to breathe...I always have the window wide open night & day;¹⁵⁵⁸ I shun cotton & linen & all fibrous fabrics that collect odors.’¹⁵⁵⁹

The first Jaeger suit purchased by Shaw in June 1885 was paid for with money from his father’s estate. He noted in his diary: ‘Ordered clothes at Jaeger’s – the first new garments I have had for years. These will be paid for out of the insurance on my father’s life.’¹⁵⁶⁰ His diary entry records the following purchases: ‘clothes - all wool suit £5/15/0; black coat and vest ditto £4/4/0; collars 4/-; cravat 2/-; pants 16/-; [total] £11/1/0.’¹⁵⁶¹ This was a vast sum for a journalist living in what were often straightened circumstances. As Weintraub notes: ‘Even in the later 1880s he lived so hand-to-mouth that toward the end of one month he had to telegraph his mother, who was away, for a ten-shilling postal order.’¹⁵⁶² A few weeks later, on 10 September 1885, we find him paying for a further suit, a more radical ‘knitted tunic and trousers’ which cost £3.¹⁵⁶³ And a ‘knitted woollen suit’ he had ordered from Jaeger’s on 10 August,¹⁵⁶⁴ was possibly a bifurcated item in the style of ‘combinations’. Newton has stated that ‘Dr Jaeger extended his ideas on male Sanitary dress to include a combination garment designed to be worn on the outside...the most famous Briton to adopt the Jaeger System, George Bernard Shaw, is reported as wearing this even more extreme form of

¹⁵⁵⁶ Shaw’s fictional ‘Revolutionist’s Handbook’ was written by his character John Tanner who had the following letters after his name ‘M.I.R.C.’ (Member of the Idle Rich Class).

¹⁵⁵⁷ Shaw to Amy Lawrence, 1 November 1892, CL1, 369-70. Lawrence was a fellow-Fabian who had asked for advice when her landlord increased her rent, and Shaw used a clothing analogy to explain some economic principles.

¹⁵⁵⁸ At Shaw’s Corner Harry Rayner remembered that Shaw always had the bathroom window open too: ‘I used to see him in his dressing gown through the bathroom window. He always had the window wide open.’ Harry Rayner, quoted in Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager*, 125. Shaw slept with the window open during his stay at Kelmscott Manor with Morris in the freezing winter of 1892. (27 December 1892, BSD2, 884).

¹⁵⁵⁹ Shaw to Ellen Terry, 31 December 1897, CL1, 839-40.

¹⁵⁶⁰ 19 June 1885, BSD1, 91.

¹⁵⁶¹ Shaw paid for these clothes on 27 June 1885, (BSD1, 93). By this date Jaeger had opened a shop in Prince Street, Oxford Circus, conveniently located for Shaw who was living at Fitzroy Square.

¹⁵⁶² Weintraub, BSD1, 8-9.

¹⁵⁶³ 10 September 1885, BSD1, 110.

¹⁵⁶⁴ 10 August 1885, BSD1, 103.

dress.¹⁵⁶⁵ None of these early purchases have survived, although Shaw was photographed by Emery Walker wearing a Jaeger wool suit in 1886: a jacket with a ‘triple-breasted front’¹⁵⁶⁶ and trousers (figures 249 and 250).¹⁵⁶⁷ This is probably the Jaeger ‘knitted tunic and trousers’ Shaw paid for on 10 September 1885.

Weintraub speaks of the ‘contrast between the texture of Shaw’s life as he lived it and the persona he displayed to his London world’, and he argues that this gap is evident from Shaw’s diaries.¹⁵⁶⁸ This statement however does not acknowledge Shaw as a prolific consumer of Jaeger, the role assigned to the clothing by him as an agent of mediation, and its part in constructing that persona. There is also no mention in the literature of the large amounts of money Shaw was spending on himself through his Jaeger account. Newton has highlighted the fact that Jaeger products were expensive: ‘it was impossible to produce pure woollen cloths of high quality cheaply.’¹⁵⁶⁹ When we examine in detail Shaw’s Jaeger expenditure, recorded in his diaries from 1885-97,¹⁵⁷⁰ we see that he spent over £90 during the first five years (1885-1890),¹⁵⁷¹ a staggering sum for a man who had very little money over the course of this period and was living ‘hand-to-mouth’.¹⁵⁷² The Jaeger purchases were ostensibly an investment in his health; but arguably it was also a statement of faith in his clothed body, and a means of attracting attention.

Shaw purchased dozens of Jaeger products over the years from 1885 through to the 1940s, including jerseys, socks, capes, suits, shoes, slippers, scarves, gloves, cravats, collars and ‘underwear’ (which took the form of shirt and pants, or ‘combinations’ where the two formed

¹⁵⁶⁵ Newton, *Health, Art and Reason*, 138-39.

¹⁵⁶⁶ H.R. Tomalin, in Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager*, 241.

¹⁵⁶⁷ Shaw dated the photograph to about 1886 in a letter to Henry Ferdinand Tomalin, (son of Lewis Tomalin), 4 March 1934, reprinted in Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager*, 241. Figure 250 is from MacKenzie, ‘Jaeger: Health Gospel of 1884, Fashion Movement of 1937’, 44. (Also reproduced in Skidelsky, ‘The Fabian Ethic’, in *The Genius of Shaw*, 126). Figure 249 is from the University of Guelph Library (Shaw Collection of Dan H. Laurence), reproduced in Sally Peters, *Bernard Shaw: The Ascent of the Superman*, between pages 144-45.

¹⁵⁶⁸ Weintraub, BSD1, 8.

¹⁵⁶⁹ Newton, *Health, Art and Reason*, 102.

¹⁵⁷⁰ Shaw visited various Jaeger shops on about 68 different occasions during this period. Between 1885 and 1897 there are numerous references across the two volumes of diaries to Jaeger, in the form of making purchases, paying bills, having items altered, and to trying on clothes in Jaeger’s shops. See for example pages 92-94; 160-61; 267; 310; 344-45; 387; 434; 530; 630; 743; 777.

¹⁵⁷¹ Shaw’s diaries record the following expenditure on Jaeger during 1885-1890 (excluding many smaller items): 27 June 1885, £11/1/0; 10 September 1885, £3/1/6; 12 April 1886, £4/4/0; 6 May 1886, 7/6; 24 May 1886, 21/6; 12 November 1886, £1/4/6; 24 December 1886, £7/14/6; 15 January 1887, £2/18/6; 7 May 1887, £2/10/6; 14 September 1887, 39/3; 13 January 1888, £6/10/9; 19 January 1888, 3/0; 30 April 1888, £7/16/6; 14 November 1888 £5/7/4; 29 April 1889 £2/10/9; 10 August 1889, £9/3/6; 7 January 1890 £7/1/0; 30 June 1890, £2/14/0; 23 December 1890, £12/5/6.

¹⁵⁷² Weintraub, BSD1, 8.

one garment¹⁵⁷³). Prior to his marriage in 1898, much of Shaw's consumption of Jaeger products was recorded in his diary; and afterwards certain items were listed in Charlotte's account books. Her cheque-book stubs (from 1917 to 1941) reveal numerous Jaeger purchases on Shaw's behalf, including jerseys, slippers, and socks.¹⁵⁷⁴ However his suits were purchased from a 'Jaeger tailor' as I explain in due course and these separate accounts do not appear to have survived.

The Shaw's Corner household account books endorse the notion that the Jaeger wool itself was valuable: as far back as 1914, the following is listed among the provisions purchased: 'Dr Jaeger for mending wool.'¹⁵⁷⁵ But are we to interpret this as a feature of Shaw's general sense of economy, or as an indicator that he found Jaeger wool to be the most comfortable and wearable, or as a sign of his ideological preference for the material on health and aesthetic grounds? It was probably a synthesis of all of these factors at that date. We see for example a Jaeger advert of the period (figure 251) promoting health, comfort, and value: 'for health's sake (and for comfort!) Jaeger Wear is worth every penny asked for it.' This advertisement featured in the special 'Bernard Shaw Number' of the popular theatre magazine *Play Pictorial* (1907) where Shaw promoted his own plays alongside advertisements for several consumer products and businesses.¹⁵⁷⁶ Thus instead of the usual advertisements for fashionable ladies' furs, dresses and corsets that characterized the reciprocity between home and stage in consumer culture underpinning the commercial theatres, we find in the Shaw volume promotional material for Jaeger underwear, Heal & Son's bedroom furniture, Foulsham & Banfield photographers, and a car manufacturer.

This was more than simply advocating a certain taste or a different kind of shopping however: Shaw's *Play Pictorial* was about promoting the idea of a Shavian individual 'lifestyle', utilizing the platform provided by the increasingly image-focused and photography-filled popular magazines to augment his own self-fashioning. Lynda Nead has made an important point on the dissemination and popularisation of images in response to Breward's essay 'Ambiguous role models: fashion, modernity and the Victorian actress',

¹⁵⁷³ Newton, *Health, Art and Reason*, 100.

¹⁵⁷⁴ Charlotte Shaw cheque-book stubs, BL Add. MS 63202 A-O; 63202 P-CC. Examples include: 63202 F: f.45, 2 November 1917, Jaeger Co Ltd, for 'jersey' £2-14-6; 63202 Q, f.5, 29 March 1929, Jaeger Co Ltd, 'pillowcases, slippers (GBS)' £6-1-6; 63202 T, f.50, 5 April 1937, Jaeger Co Ltd, 'for six pairs of socks for GBS' £2-5. A further Jaeger item in the collection is Shaw's black wool and satin tailcoat (NTIN 1275444), although no receipt has been found.

¹⁵⁷⁵ 31 March 1914, Shaw's Corner Household Account Books. (HRC, IV, 68.5).

¹⁵⁷⁶ Bernard Shaw Number of *The Play Pictorial*, October 1907.

which is that any consideration of the theatre of the period needs to embrace the wider picture of ‘the history of photography and the growth of the modern press.’¹⁵⁷⁷ I would argue that nowhere is this relationship more visible than in Shaw’s life as it is played out in the media and through photography; and Shaw we must remember, was a professional journalist and an amateur photographer, with considerable contacts and knowledge in both fields. I return to these points in due course.

In the light of this it is important to recognize that press photographs often focussed on, or commented on, Shaw’s dress. Figures 252 and 253 show the ‘Norfolk suit’ with knee-breeches and Jaeger socks he wore to promote his play *The Apple Cart* at the Malvern Theatre Festival in 1929, for example.¹⁵⁷⁸ Such press images are useful records, providing information about how Shaw wore clothes. Newton has commented that ‘in full length photographs he is seen in not trousers but knee-breeches with stockings, in the approved compromise admitted by Jaeger.’¹⁵⁷⁹ Figure 254 shows another photograph of Shaw in this outfit, taken in 1915.¹⁵⁸⁰ Shaw wore a coarsely woven Norfolk suit on a regular basis, a garment he would have been familiar with owing to his interest in cycling. Norfolk suits were sold by retailers such as John Piggott of London, a City Cyclists’ and General Outfitters. The Norfolk suit was often made in tweed owing to its durability, and was advertised in magazines, for example, *The Cyclists’ Touring Club Gazette*. (Figure 255).¹⁵⁸¹

Newton has explained however that the preference for knee-breeches worn with thick stockings was prevalent among the aesthetes from the 1870s and 80s, including Oscar Wilde;¹⁵⁸² and I suggest this was another important source for Shaw’s appropriation of this form of dress. Although there are examples of ‘knicker suits’ in the collection with knee-breeches instead of trousers, no Norfolk suits survive. However the HRC owns one example that belonged to Shaw: figure 256 shows the Norfolk jacket from this suit. Shaw was pictured in a similar Norfolk suit in an article published in *The Mentor* magazine in 1927.¹⁵⁸³ (Figure 257). The caption to the photograph, taken at Shaw’s Corner reads: ‘A favourite seat of the

¹⁵⁷⁷ Lynda Nead, ‘Response’ to Christopher Breward, ‘Ambiguous Role Models: Fashion, Modernity and the Victorian Actress’, in *Fashion and Modernity*, ed. by Christopher Breward and Caroline Evans (Oxford: Berg, 2005), 123.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Shaw at Malvern, Associated Press Photo, 31 August 1929.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Newton, *Health, Art and Reason*, 140.

¹⁵⁸⁰ Photograph of Shaw in his Norfolk suit, 1915, whilst staying with Lady Gregory in County Galway, Ireland. Printed in a book of portrait photographs of Shaw compiled by W.H. Wise (NTIN 3063760).

¹⁵⁸¹ Detail from John Piggott advertisement, *The Cyclists’ Touring Club Gazette* (February 1900), vii.

¹⁵⁸² Newton, *Health, Art and Reason*, 140.

¹⁵⁸³ Gilbert W. Gabriel, ‘George Bernard Shaw: An Exciting Minority of One’, *The Mentor*, 15, 4 (May 1927), 3.

mighty Mr. Shaw: in a quiet corner of the veranda of the author's country home.'

A later photograph (figure 258), again taken on the veranda at Shaw's Corner in 1947, leaves us with valuable evidence of his continuing use of Jaeger stockings or socks.¹⁵⁸⁴ Shaw became something of a connoisseur of Jaeger socks, paying much attention to their details. To date, the only extant Jaeger pair belonging to Shaw has been located in the collection of the HRC, Texas. (Figures 259 and 260). Jaeger also sold socks 'like a glove, with a separate receptacle for each toe,'¹⁵⁸⁵ which he may also have purchased. Dorothy Walker, who knitted socks and gloves for him, recalled that 'Shaw was addicted to socks that had a separate 'finger' for the big toe.'¹⁵⁸⁶ He would write to her about his specific requirements, which included different socks for the right and left foot: 'I send you a pair because they are knitted rights and lefts, as all sensible stockings should be; and you may not be acquainted with this refinement.'¹⁵⁸⁷

Also among Shaw's numerous letters to Dorothy is evidence that he wished to recycle the Jaeger wool. In 1943 for example, he thanked her for sending the latest batch of 'stockings', asking if she might consider making 'new' ones out of the old Jaeger ones: 'I impose 3 pairs of old ones which are getting too small in the feet and have been a good deal darned. Have they the making of two renovated pairs? They are shop articles (Jaegers) presumably not hand knitted. Does that make their wool inextricable?'¹⁵⁸⁸ In a similar vein Shaw sent Patch a note accompanying a scorched single mitten with the words: 'Urgent. Can this be repaired?'¹⁵⁸⁹ Wool was scarce during wartime, and we find Ethel Walters writing to Shaw in 1944: 'In Worthing I was lucky enough to get enough REAL [underlined] wool to make you 2 pairs of socks. I enclose a bit [dark blue wool is woven into the letter paper]. My only fear is that they may be rather thick, but will I hope be warm & comfortable. If you prefer thinner ones I will try to find suitable wool...I am using a new-fangled pattern (2 needles only). When

¹⁵⁸⁴ Shaw wearing Jaeger socks, Shaw's Corner, 1947. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715211.39).

¹⁵⁸⁵ John J. Weisert, 'Clothes Make the Man', *The Shaw Review*, 4, 1 (January 1961), 30. Jaeger's 'digital' socks are illustrated in Newton, *Health, Art and Reason*, figure 38. Adams mentions Shaw's Jaegers socks, quoting from Weisert's article (Adams, *Bernard Shaw and the Aesthetes*, 151).

¹⁵⁸⁶ Dorothy Walker, 'House by the River', *The Times*, 21 March 1960, quoted in *The Shavian*, 1, 8-16 (1960), 38. Vivian Meynell also recalled that the socks knitted for Shaw by Dorothy 'provided him with an exaggerated extension to contain his big toe, rather like the thumb of a mitten.' Vivian Meynell, *In Memory of Dorothy Walker, 2 April 1878 - 20 September 1963* (privately printed, 1964). (Collection of Isidor Saslav, Texas).

¹⁵⁸⁷ Shaw to Dorothy Walker, 5 March 1943. (HRC, II, 46.5).

¹⁵⁸⁸ Shaw to Dorothy Walker, 30 December 1943. (HRC, II, 46.5).

¹⁵⁸⁹ See Patch, *Thirty years with GBS*, 223. The mitten was apparently scorched owing to Shaw warming it on the stove. The HRC has a pair of Shaw's mittens from Patch's collection which she had kept as 'Shaw relics.'

I have made one sock I will send it to you for inspection.’¹⁵⁹⁰ She wrote again the following month: ‘My dear GBS, here are your socks. If they are not exactly the Shavian pattern I hope they will fit you & that you will like them.’¹⁵⁹¹

Many of these textiles are equally important in revealing a more poignant, personal side to Shaw as he becomes increasingly vulnerable in old age during the 1940s. After Charlotte’s death in 1943 the women in his life, particularly Dorothy Walker, Nancy Astor, Ethel Walters and Blanche Patch, rally round and offer protection through hand-made knitted socks and/or gloves, and by mending existing items as we have seen. There was even an element of competition that entered into the knitting and darning as Shaw indicates in one of his letters to Dorothy (who had actually been knitting for Shaw since the mid-1930s): ‘Dearest Dolly, I possess 18 pairs of stockings in various stages of damage and shrinkage, but all still wearable and presentable. The two latest are by Lady Astor, who is poaching on your preserves.’¹⁵⁹² A photograph by Thérèse Bonney used to illustrate a *Vogue* magazine article on Shaw in 1944, shows him with Lady Astor, who is knitting.¹⁵⁹³ (Figure 261).

That Shaw would enjoy in old age a special relationship with women who sew, carry out repairs and make things for him can come as no surprise. For Shaw the practice of sewing had always been an act of friendship, and even mediation, as on the occasion when his fellow-Fabian E. Nesbit had to make her rather Bohemian friends presentable for dinner: ‘I have a vivid recollection of Mrs. Bland stopping us at the door with a needle & thread, and sewing up the sleeve of a brown velveteen jacket of Olivier’s’ Shaw later wrote to his biographer.¹⁵⁹⁴ Such stories are echoed in the actions of Lady Cicely in *Captain Brassbound’s Conversion* (1899), when she mends the sleeve of Brassbound’s coat. (II, 369). For Shaw a coat is loaded with personal and symbolic meanings, and in *Arms and the Man* we are told that Petkoff’s coat has been pawned. (I, 448). I would suggest he evokes Karl Marx’s coat in *Capital* here which not only introduced the idea of the commodity, but signified his personal turmoil and had to be pawned to pay family bills as Stallybrass has

¹⁵⁹⁰ Ethel Walters to Shaw, 26 March 1944, BL Add. MS 50524, f.29.

¹⁵⁹¹ Ethel Walters to Shaw, 16 April 1944, BL Add. MS 50524, f.35.

¹⁵⁹² Shaw to Dorothy Walker, 5 March 1943. (HRC, II, 46.5).

¹⁵⁹³ NT Shaw Photographs 1715231.6. This image was published in *Vogue Magazine* to illustrate an article by the photographer Thérèse Bonney: ‘Bernard Shaw: A week with the Irish playwright, prophet, wit, and wag, at Lady Astor’s country house’, *Vogue* (January 1944), 46. The caption is: ‘GBS talks, Lady Astor knits.’ A photograph by Bonney was also published (page 47) showing Shaw holding his camera wearing knitted gloves.

¹⁵⁹⁴ Shaw to Henderson, 3 January 1905, CL2, 496.

recounted.¹⁵⁹⁵

Marx's wrinkles in the sleeve are paralleled by Shaw's own torn garments; and the 'memory' for Shaw is embodied through the stitching that constitutes the repair. We might consider for a moment a Burberry coat that survives in the collection: a mackintosh belonging to Shaw that has been extensively repaired (Figure 262).¹⁵⁹⁶ It is no coincidence that metaphors of sewing and weaving appear in Shaw's writings, where he deliberately evokes the origins of the word 'text' meaning to weave.¹⁵⁹⁷ Indeed the very act of stitching is aligned to the complex, radical art of drama-making (and hence the identity of the dramatist) in a revealing letter to Mrs. Patrick-Campbell: 'there are lots of beautiful people about; and some of them can perhaps even thread needles with their toes; but they cant [sic] take a filament of grey matter from their brains and thread it infallibly through that most elusive of eyelet holes in the top of a dramatist's needle.'¹⁵⁹⁸

As we have seen in Shaw's play *The Apple Cart*, repairs take objects out of the circulation of commodities because they affect the exchange-value as in the case of Shaw's fictional manufacturer 'Breakages, Limited' who makes artefacts that cannot be repaired: hence the coat becomes a 'socialist' artefact. If we examine other items of Shaw's clothing surviving in the collection and elsewhere, it is clear that the majority of items bear the traces of similar darning or stitching in some form to render the artefact wearable, extending the utility and challenging accepted norms of fashion and taste that control value.¹⁵⁹⁹ Similarly a woollen jacket belonging to Shaw in the collections of the HRC has extensive repairs on the cuffs using bright green baize cloth (figures 263 and 264), and through examining contemporary recollections I have been able to locate a description of this garment. The Shaws' neighbour in Ayot Mrs Tuke, remembered him wearing the jacket: 'I called on Mrs Shaw this afternoon... G.B.S. came in while I was there - looking *glittering* with health and very gay-looking in his attire. He had on a light grey Norfolk suit with large patches in the knees which

¹⁵⁹⁵ Peter Stallybrass, 'Marx's Coat', in *Border Fetishisms: Material Objects in Unstable Spaces*, ed. by Patricia Spyer (London: Routledge, 1998), 196.

¹⁵⁹⁶ This 'weatherproof' garment, made by Burberry and possibly a driving coat, has several heavily stitched repairs to tears in the fabric, although it is not known who carried out the repairs. NTIN 1275436. A photograph of Shaw wearing it survives (NT Shaw Photographs 1715211.28); and an invoice from Burberry's for 'cleaning, reproofing and relining' the coat is at LSE Shaw Business Papers 25/8, f.38, dated 16 April 1946.

¹⁵⁹⁷ Shaw probably borrowed the device from Thomas Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*. For Carlyle's use of the metaphor see Chris Vanden Bossche, *Carlyle and the Search for Authority* (Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1991), 42.

¹⁵⁹⁸ Shaw to Mrs. Patrick Campbell, 22 November 1901, CL2, 240.

¹⁵⁹⁹ For example at Shaw's Corner a pair of woollen trousers by Askew & Co. of Conduit Street survives in the collection (NTIN 1275433.3) revealing darning at the gusset.

he proudly pointed out; bright green, sort of jagged cuffs (as the original ones had frayed), and an equally bright blue tie. With his sparkly beard and pink cheeks and bright blue eyes he really did ‘look a picture.’¹⁶⁰⁰

We can read Shaw’s repairs as a socialistic comment on capitalist consumption; however Mrs. Tuke’s recollection also highlights the importance of aesthetics, and the contribution made by the repaired items of clothing to his self-fashioning. The repair itself is aestheticized and celebrated: the patches are ‘proudly pointed out’ by Shaw. Max Beerbohm, who knew Shaw well, exploited the fact that dress has rich symbolic meaning for the playwright and acts as a signifier of his ideas. Beerbohm would employ clothing metaphors to evoke the power of Shaw’s writing, for instance: ‘In swiftness, tenseness and lucidity of dialogue no living writer can touch the hem of Mr. Shaw’s garment.’¹⁶⁰¹ But his familiarity with Shaw’s clothes is most in evidence in a perceptive, satirical caricature of Shaw from 1914 where the joke relies on personal knowledge of the playwright’s perception of dress and the ways in which he cared for, and repaired, his clothes.

In this particular cartoon, the playwright-critic (Shaw) is portrayed as a consumer demanding ‘immortality’ from the pawnbroker (the philosopher Georg Brandes) in exchange for his clothing (repaired with noticeable mending and patches). (Figure 265).¹⁶⁰² The pawnbroker however is reluctant to take them: ‘Come, I’ve handled these goods before! Coat, Mr. Schopenhauer’s; waistcoat, Mr. Ibsen’s; Mr. Nietzsche’s trousers.’ Shaw replies: ‘Ah, but look at the patches!’ The full meaning of this cartoon – symbolizing the playwright’s practice of stitching ideas together and constructing meaning from the ensemble - can only be fully appreciated once we are familiar with the materiality of Shaw’s clothes: the darning, stitching and patches that constitute the repairs. There was also his personal experience of pawnshops. Shaw would have been well aware of the relationship between clothing and the pawnbrokers, where the working classes’ best clothes were at risk of spending most weekdays at the pawnshop.¹⁶⁰³ Beerbohm highlights the way that Shaw’s work fuses the ideas of several philosophers and playwrights; but in its material referent (clothing) it signifies the dominant

¹⁶⁰⁰ Mrs Tuke, diary extract, quoted in Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager*, 132. The italics appear in the original text.

¹⁶⁰¹ Max Beerbohm, *Saturday Review*, 12 September 1903, quoted in T.F. Evans, ed., *Shaw: The Critical Heritage*, 104.

¹⁶⁰² The cartoon, dating from 1914, was originally published in Max Beerbohm, *A Survey* (London: W. Heinemann, 1921), plate 44. It was given the title: ‘Life-Force, Woman-set-free, Superman, Etc.’ Brandes asks Shaw ‘What’ll you take for the lot?’, and Shaw replies ‘Immortality.’

¹⁶⁰³ Robert Roberts, *The Classic Slum: Salford Life in the First Quarter of the Century* (London: Penguin, 1990 [1971]), 26.

role dress has in proclaiming Shaw's identity, and the repairs which constitute a major part of that. This cartoon is often discussed in the literature, most recently by David Kornhaber, but without ever examining or even mentioning his actual clothes.¹⁶⁰⁴

I now want to return to the specific domestic contexts for Shaw's consumption of Jaeger, to explore the extent to which he adhered to the Jaeger system in practice. Examining the household records, we see that Jaeger sheets¹⁶⁰⁵ and pillowcases were also purchased for use by Shaw, showing that he embraced the wider concept of Jaegerism which incorporated bedding. Figure 266 shows Shaw in a press photograph dated 1946, where he is pictured in bed at Whitehall Court with what is probably a Jaeger blanket.¹⁶⁰⁶ Jaeger had warned in his essays: 'complete purification and deodorization can never be effected unless by means of the Sanatory [sic] Woollen Clothing and Bedding, and of open bedroom windows at night.'¹⁶⁰⁷ It is interesting to see too that the Shaws possessed only the best 'Turkey' carpets: Jaeger generally disapproved of carpeting unless it consisted of 'the most expensive imported oriental rugs.'¹⁶⁰⁸ Although we should note here that despite the fact that Jaeger's advice on wool for bedding included furnishings and curtains¹⁶⁰⁹, Shaw did not follow this, using Morris *Kennet* curtains at the windows of his bedroom, and probably his study, as I have already shown. These were not only printed cotton, but made using vegetable dyes (both rejected by Jaeger) thus here was an example of Shaw's inconsistencies where aspects of his so-called 'scientific' methods come into direct conflict with his aesthetic choices and allegiances. Purchases from Liberty's recorded in Charlotte's account books similarly contradicted the woollen ethos, featuring 'plush for curtains and silk for cushions.'¹⁶¹⁰

Further inconsistencies are uncovered relating to the retailer and fabric choice once we

¹⁶⁰⁴ David Kornhaber, 'Philosophy', in *George Bernard Shaw in Context*, ed. by Brad Kent (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 308. (The cartoon was reproduced as figure 37.1) See also HOL2, 69; and Baker, *Bernard Shaw's Remarkable Religion*, 4.

¹⁶⁰⁵ Charlotte Shaw cheque-book stubs, Jaeger Co Ltd, 'pair of sheets for Adelphi Terrace' £7-11. (BL Add. MS 63202 N, f.48, 20 October 1924). Jaeger Co Ltd, 'pillowcases, slippers (GBS)' £6-1-6. (Add. MS 63202 Q, f.5, 29 March 1929). By the 1920s Jaeger had many stores all over London; but Jaeger sheets and blankets were also sold at Heal & Son, Tottenham Court Road, connecting Shaw's bedding to his bed: see Heal's catalogue *A Book of Bedroom Furniture* (London: Heal & Son Ltd, 1907). Shaw's use of Jaeger sheets has been noted by H.R. Tomalin, who remarked that 'when Shaw went to stay with a mutual friend, he invariably took his own bed-sheets with him.' (Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager*, 241) See also Ervine, *Bernard Shaw*, 309; and Newton, *Health, Art and Reason*, 167.

¹⁶⁰⁶ AP Images ID: 4610090112. For a press cutting of the same image (*Daily Mail*, October 1946) see MM.

¹⁶⁰⁷ Jaeger, *Selections from Essays on Health-Culture*, 62.

¹⁶⁰⁸ Newton, *Health, Art and Reason*, 111.

¹⁶⁰⁹ 'Whoever can afford it, should have woollen curtains, and whoever cannot, has the economical alternative of dispensing with curtains altogether.' Jaeger, *Selections from Essays on Health-Culture*, 137.

¹⁶¹⁰ Charlotte Shaw cheque-book stubs, Liberty & Co. account £8-18-9. (BL Add. MS 63202 O, f.39, 27 March 1925).

analyse Shaw's underclothing in more detail. We know from the Scheu-Shaw correspondence in Symms's article that during the 1880s and early 1890s Shaw favoured Jaeger woollen underwear, and notes from his diary support this: 'went to Jaeger's to buy some warm underclothing to wear with my evening suit, which is very light'.¹⁶¹¹ However he was soon writing to Scheu about his interest in 'combinations' from another retailer. By 1893 he writes to confirm that he now preferred the more luxurious 'cashmere stuff' retailed by Lutz: 'I ordered two combinations and am going to take lessons in the art of putting them on.'¹⁶¹² And during the 1920s, Charlotte's cheque-book stubs reveal purchases for combinations and stockings 'for GBS' from other tailors besides Jaeger, for example T.G. Morton, and Beale & Inman.¹⁶¹³ Moreover, Shaw actually wore Dr. Deimel's 'Linen-Mesh' Underwear¹⁶¹⁴ according to a letter sent by Shaw to Clara Higgs (the Shaws' housekeeper) in 1937. Evidently he was away from Ayot, staying in a hotel and was running low on his warmer, long combinations: 'I have only three white Deimel combinations with me; and I want four. Please send me one. Until the cool weather set in I used the short beige colored ones that I keep in London; but it is now too cold for them.'¹⁶¹⁵

The combinations remaining at Shaw's Corner are wool, although they are not necessarily by Jaeger as they are unmarked and the manufacturer is unknown¹⁶¹⁶ (figure 267); and we cannot necessarily assume that the combinations Shaw posed in for photographs taken on the beach in Cornwall whilst on holiday at Mevagissey in 1906, are by Jaeger either.¹⁶¹⁷ (Figure

¹⁶¹¹ 18 October 1892, BSD2, 862. Although Shaw's diary does not record the details of the 'underwear', it is possible he was referring to undergarments known as 'sanitary stockinette combinations', a staple product of Jaeger's at this time. See Elizabeth Ewing, *Fashion in Underwear: from Babylon to Bikini Briefs* (London: Batsford, 1971), 70; and Breward, *Fashion*, 68.

¹⁶¹² Shaw to Andreas Scheu, 11 January 1893, reprinted in Symms, 'George Bernard Shaw's Underwear', 95. Shaw's diary shows that he made several visits to the underwear manufacturers Lutz and Company: 'went into the city to buy some woollen things.' (10 January 1893, BSD2, 892-93). He purchased a 'shirt & pants at Lutz's' for 13/4. Weintraub states in the commentary for this diary entry that the company 'had the striking cable address, "Ramfleece, London."' Shaw made another visit there on 6 February 1893, noting in his diary: 'my business in the city was to get the woollen combinations I ordered at Lutz's.' (BSD2, 903).

¹⁶¹³ T.G. Morton, 'for combinations for GBS', £6-19-8. (BL Add. MS 63202 J, f.21, 29 December 1920); and Beale & Inman (tailors) 'for 6 pairs of knitted stockings for GBS', £4-7-6. (Add. MS 63202 J, f.46, 22 January 1921).

¹⁶¹⁴ Manufactured by the Deimel Fabric Co, Cheapside, Deimel promoted its products from the early 1900s as 'porous linen', which 'allows the fresh air to come in contact with every part of the body, insuring a vigorous, active skin, without which there can be no continued good health.' Deimel Underwear advertisement, *The Illustrated London News* (22 August 1903), 291.

¹⁶¹⁵ Shaw to Clara Higgs, postmark 19 September 1937, postcard sent from the Victoria Hotel, Sidmouth, reprinted in Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager*, 72. The postcard is illustrated opposite page 187. A further postcard was sent the following summer: 'I intended to pack 4 of my white summer long combinations; but I find that I only packed three. Please send me one. They are in the drawer of my dressing table.' Shaw to Clara Higgs, 23 August 1938, reprinted in Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager*, 72.

¹⁶¹⁶ NTIN 1275512; NTIN 1275514.

¹⁶¹⁷ July-August 1906, NT Shaw Photographs 1715217.28.

268). Shaw's letters to Clara Higgs about his Deimel combinations, and also the Scheu-Shaw correspondence on the Lutz cashmere product, suggest that the Jaeger brand was relinquished owing to a desire for warmth and comfort, perhaps even luxury in the case of the cashmere. Furthermore the postcards concerning the Deimel combinations reveal that Shaw did not always adhere to the principles of Jaeger wool. In fact his use of Deimel underwear, being linen, shows that he ignored Jaeger's advice on hygiene, contradicting his own self-styled preferences.

Sally Peters has specifically used Shaw's Jaeger clothing as a means of classifying the Fabian socialist as an ascetic, faddist, and puritan: her biography argued that Shaw was an obsessive character who was deeply attached to Jaeger woollen garments owing to his supposed secret psychoses and homosexuality.¹⁶¹⁸ For Livesey, Jaeger was adopted by Shaw for rational, scientific reasons, but this again was seen as part of an 'ascetic' lifestyle.¹⁶¹⁹ These theoretical positions are problematized, however, once we examine in detail Shaw's actual clothing and purchases which highlight the particularities of consumption and use. Furthermore such arguments are problematic because they insist that Shaw's Jaegerism was reactive rather than proactive, with no room for agency. As I show through Shaw's engagement with photography, he made efforts to manipulate the products to his own ends, which often had little to do with Jaeger's original doctrine. Although Livesey has noted Shaw's 'carefully staged iconography as poster-boy for Dr Jaeger's Sanitary Woollen Clothing System,'¹⁶²⁰ because she has not contextualized the material, she cannot comment on his use of the clothing beyond the framework of 'asceticism.' Breward has stressed the 'rational body' in his assessment of Jaeger in the period of Shaw's adoption of the system, arguing that the ideology of 'physical practicality' behind the designs moved 'away from a concern with surface elaboration,'¹⁶²¹ however Shaw's use of Jaeger detracts from this argument as I will show.

One of the most interesting items remaining in the dress collection is a woollen cape in green

¹⁶¹⁸ Sally Peters, 'The Jaegerized Butterfly' in *Bernard Shaw: The Ascent of the Superman*, 97-105.

¹⁶¹⁹ Livesey, *Socialism*, 121.

¹⁶²⁰ Livesey, *Socialism*, 103.

¹⁶²¹ Breward, *Fashion*, 65.

and fawn check attributed to Jaeger.¹⁶²² (Figure 269). Records show that Shaw purchased a Jaeger cape from the shop in Conduit Street in October 1897,¹⁶²³ although it is not known if the extant document relates to the particular item in the collection. When Shaw's Corner was first opened to the public in 1951, one of Shaw's capes was displayed in the hall on the hat-stand, as shown in a press photograph taken shortly afterwards¹⁶²⁴ (figure 270), and recorded in the Inventory of 1955.¹⁶²⁵ Shaw can be seen wearing the cape attributed to Jaeger as late as the 1940s in press photographs taken in the grounds of Shaw's Corner.¹⁶²⁶ (Figure 271).

But it is the series of early colour photographs taken by Coburn (figures 272¹⁶²⁷ and 273¹⁶²⁸) that are my focus. The latter group is especially interesting given my critique of the literature. I suggest Shaw used his Jaeger clothes to enhance the aesthetics of his self-image, often choosing to be represented by photographers such as Coburn, who were concerned with capturing atmospheric visual effects. Coburn lectured on the subject of aesthetics, and his essay 'Photography and The Quest for Beauty' (1924) is in the Shaw's Corner collection.¹⁶²⁹ Coburn's autochromes of Shaw wearing what is probably a Jaeger cape amplify the aesthetic, surface qualities where man meets wool, anticipating G.K. Chesterton's notion that his clothes had become 'a part of his personality; one can come to think of the reddish-brown Jaeger suit as if it were a sort of reddish-brown fur.'¹⁶³⁰ Chesterton's remark reflects the cochineal dyes used by Jaeger, and Breward has spoken of the 'subdued autumnal colours' employed.¹⁶³¹ We

¹⁶²² NTIN 1275326. Another Jaeger cape in fine khaki wool (NTIN 1275501) was returned to the collection in 2012 by Alison Lane. The cape had been presented as a gift to her mother during the 1970s by the custodian at the time. The Lanes were tenants at Shaw's Corner from 1965 until the early 1970s. The latter cape bears a label: 'Dr Jaeger's Co. Ltd, Tailors, 42 Conduit Street, London, W.' Shaw had previously purchased coats and other capes from Jaeger's. In April 1886 he records some purchases: 'clothes Jaeger's £4/4/0'. (12 April 1886, BSD1, 160). This visit to the shop probably included the purchase of a coat, as two days later his diary notes another visit to Jaeger's 'to get my new coat altered.' (14 April 1886, BSD1, 161). A cape was ordered in June 1888: 'to Jaeger's to have an eyelet hole put in my shoe and to order a cape.' (19 June 1888, BSD1, 387).

¹⁶²³ Shaw to 'Dr Jaegers Sanitary Woollen Co, 42 Conduit Street, W.', postcard dated 8 October 1897, concerning the purchase of a cape. (BUR, IV, 10.55).

¹⁶²⁴ This press photograph was taken on May 17 1951.

¹⁶²⁵ 'A 19th century coat tree, with green check cape'. (Inventory, Shaw's Corner, March 1955, 3). The Probate Inventory of 1951 does not itemize articles of clothing, but merely lists all Shaw's clothes together as 'wearing apparel.' (Shaw's Corner Probate Inventory, 1951, 28).

¹⁶²⁶ *Daily Herald* press photograph reproduced in *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*, 44. (Shaw is also pictured wearing the cape on page 47. For a similar image see NT Shaw Photographs 1715211.67).

¹⁶²⁷ Autochrome of Shaw by Alvin Langdon Coburn in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1907. Alfred Stieglitz Collection. (55.635.8).

¹⁶²⁸ Autochrome of Shaw by Alvin Langdon Coburn, 1907, the Royal Photographic Society Collection (V&A Photography Centre). The image has been reproduced in Holroyd, ed., *The Genius of Shaw*, facing page 177, dated incorrectly to 1908.

¹⁶²⁹ NTIN 3201049. Alvin Langdon Coburn, 'Photography and The Quest for Beauty', reprinted from the *Photographic Journal* (April 1924).

¹⁶³⁰ G.K. Chesterton, *George Bernard Shaw*, 1910, quoted in Breward, *Fashion*, 69.

¹⁶³¹ Breward, *Fashion*, 70.

see this through a further autochrome of Shaw by Coburn, (figure 274)¹⁶³² where the soft brown palette of his Norfolk suit is enhanced by the beauty of the autumnal woodland landscape. This woollen suit was probably made by Askew & Company for Shaw using material woven in Jaeger wool, or possibly a tweed variant. As I explain later in this section, for several decades after the 1890s, Shaw's tailor was exclusively Askew & Company of 42 Conduit Street, who were known as 'Jaeger tailors'. The photograph was taken when Shaw and Coburn were experimenting at Ayot with the autochrome process.¹⁶³³ Augustin Hamon, the French socialist author who became Shaw's translator, recalled that the way he dressed created a 'symphony in brown' in a 'fine-spun golden brown suit' worn with his 'cream-coloured shirt and his dull-green tie.'¹⁶³⁴

If Shaw felt the effects of wearing 'sanitary' clothing to be aesthetic, it made sense to employ one of the best photographers in the world to capture that beauty and evoke the sense of the clothing as an embodied experience. Shaw described Coburn as 'one of the most accomplished and sensitive artist-photographers.'¹⁶³⁵ This suggests there was a strong aesthetic and visual dimension that characterized his response to these clothes, which forges a stark contrast to the way his attitude has been portrayed in the literature through the prism of asceticism. Coburn's photographs then, and now, signified in a particular aesthetic discourse, which highlights Shaw's concern with self-image, beauty, and physical embodiment, opposing the view assumed by many scholars (directed of course by much in Shaw's own writings) that he was operating purely within a rationalistic, scientific, and ascetic framework. This sense of aesthetic engagement is intensified further when we place such images of Shaw in their proper historical context: the catalogue accompanying the recent exhibition *Edwardian Opulence* (2013) provides a good example of this much-needed contextualization, where we are shown one of Coburn's autochromes of Shaw alongside a beautiful image of his friend Lillah McCarthy (figure 275).¹⁶³⁶

¹⁶³² Autochrome of Shaw by Coburn, autumn 1907. (The Royal Photographic Society Collection, V&A Photography Centre).

¹⁶³³ In the autumn of 1907, Shaw and Coburn photographed the landscape around Ayot experimenting with colour photography. Shaw's autochrome of the church was published in *The Studio* in 1908, and these images of Shaw probably date from that occasion.

¹⁶³⁴ Augustin Hamon quoted in Gibbs, *Interviews and Recollections*, 267.

¹⁶³⁵ Shaw, Preface to 'Photographs by Mr. Alvin Langdon Coburn', Exhibition at the Royal Photographic Society, 1906, quoted in Jay and Moore, *Shaw on Photography*, 103; and in Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, *Alvin Langdon Coburn Photographer*, 36.

¹⁶³⁶ The autochromes of Shaw and Lillah McCarthy by Coburn are reproduced together in Trumble and Wolk Rager, eds., *Edwardian Opulence*, 213. The portrait of McCarthy is described as 'Portrait of a Lady with Head on Hand.' Both images are part of the Royal Photographic Society Collection, V&A Photography Centre.

Grant McCracken has problematized the ‘communicative aspect of clothing’,¹⁶³⁷ and Colin Campbell has warned about the dangers of ‘ascribing meaning to an item of clothing’ given that this can lead to making assumptions about ‘the meaning of an individual’s action in selecting and displaying it.’¹⁶³⁸ In Shaw’s example I would argue that this is exactly what has happened in the literature, especially as far as Livesey and Sally Peters are concerned. These scholars have made a number of assumptions about the meanings of Jaeger clothing, and have interpreted Shaw’s actions and reasons for purchasing the items through the prism of asceticism. I am showing however, that this was not necessarily the case. As Campbell suggests, establishing ‘the meaning’ of an individual’s actions is far more complex. The other part of the problem is that it is typically scholars of literature and drama who have made attempts at interpreting Shaw’s clothing, not historians of design or dress. Where the latter have examined Shaw, the focus has always been on Jaeger, and (with the exception of Symms), this has been conducted in the context of a wide-ranging survey, not an in-depth case-study.¹⁶³⁹

Both Livesey and Peters use the phrase ‘Jaegerized butterfly’¹⁶⁴⁰ to describe Shaw: a term coined by Frank Harris in his biography of Shaw (possibly Shaw himself given his role in that work).¹⁶⁴¹ Harris had described Shaw’s transformation into ‘the Jaegerized butterfly from the desperately seedy chrysalis’, noting the Jaeger ‘craze’ for ‘an ideally healthy single garment or combination in brown knitted wool, complete from sleeves to ankles in one piece, in which a human being resembled nothing but a forked radish in a worsted bifurcated

¹⁶³⁷ Grant McCracken, *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 64.

¹⁶³⁸ Instead Campbell places emphasis on cost and how easy the clothing was to wear. Colin Campbell, ‘The Meaning of Objects and the Meaning of Actions, a Critical Note on the Sociology of Consumption and Theories of Clothing’, *Journal of Material Culture*, 1, 1 (March 1996), 97-100. See also Colin Campbell ‘When the Meaning is not a Message: A Critique of the Consumption as Communication Thesis’, in *Buy this Book: Studies in Advertising and Consumption*, ed. by Mica Nava et al. (London: Routledge, 1997), 340-52.

¹⁶³⁹ Shaw has been neglected too in prominent recent studies where dress of the Victorian, Edwardian and inter-war periods has been the subject of scrutiny: Laura Ugolini’s work on men’s sartorial consumption failed to mention Shaw (despite his diaries containing numerous references to shopping for clothing), as did Rosy Aindow’s study of dress and British literary culture. See Laura Ugolini, *Men and Menswear: Sartorial Consumption in Britain 1880-1939* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); and Rosy Aindow, *Dress and Identity in British Literary Culture, 1870-1914* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010).

¹⁶⁴⁰ Sally Peters, ‘The Jaegerized Butterfly’, in *Bernard Shaw: The Ascent of the Superman*, 97-105; Livesey, ‘Masculinity and the ‘Faddist Sage’, in *Socialism*, 108.

¹⁶⁴¹ Frank Harris, *Bernard Shaw* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1931), 114. Harris died whilst writing the biography, thus it was partially written by a ghost writer Frank Scully, and then ‘completed’ by Shaw. Weintraub has argued that ‘privately Shaw considered it mostly his book’; see Weintraub, *Bernard Shaw: A Guide to Research*, 21; and Holroyd has quoted Shaw on his input: ‘I have had to fill in the prosaic facts in Frank’s best style, and fit them to his comments as best I could; for I have most scrupulously preserved all his sallies at my expense.’ HOL3, 178.

stocking,¹⁶⁴² a description that has been applied to Shaw and repeated in the literature from Norman and Jeanne MacKenzie to Tracy C. Davis, to Livesey and Peters, culminating in Waller's inadequate assessment of Shaw's dress in *Writers, Readers, and Reputations* (2006): 'The effect, thought Frank Harris, was to make him look like a radish. Shaw's Jaeger outfit, along with his vegetarianism, henceforth became the badge of a progressive writer, rivalled only by Edward Carpenter's sandal-wearing fellowship, yoga, and buggery.'¹⁶⁴³ Both phrases 'Jaegerized butterfly' and 'forked radish' actually have specific historical and cultural contexts, but have been used repeatedly in the secondary literature without any awareness of the original usage and implications intended by Shaw/Harris – I return to this shortly.

The majority of the literature relies, to some extent at least, on the characterization of 'ascetic Shaw' derived from, or in relation to, Carpenter. This is an erroneous position given Shaw's mocking stance, leaning towards antipathy at times. Despite the fact that Shaw supported the idea of certain aspects of dress reform, particularly the body freed from Victorian restrictive garments, and certain works by Carpenter appear in the Shaws' library,¹⁶⁴⁴ Shaw would wryly recall visits to his friends the Salts in the country where Carpenter was often present in his home-made Indian-style sandals: 'Here you have the link between me and the Humanitarians. Intimate in the Salt household was Edward Carpenter. We called him the Noble Savage. He also played duets with Kate, and induced me to wear sandals, which I discarded after my first long walk in them ended with bleeding feet.'¹⁶⁴⁵ Shaw's friend the novelist E. Nesbit had caricatured Salt and Carpenter as the typical 'simple-lifers' in her novel *The New Treasure Seekers* (1904): 'Eustace Sandal... is a vegetarian and a Primitive Social Something, and an all-wooler, and things like that.'¹⁶⁴⁶ And if we examine Shaw's letters, his own satirical position on Carpenter pre-dates this, as we find him writing to Charlotte describing Carpenter's circle rather disparagingly as 'the sandal making village set.'¹⁶⁴⁷ The writer Lowes Dickinson remembered how Shaw would criticize Carpenter 'for

¹⁶⁴² Frank Harris, *Bernard Shaw*, 114.

¹⁶⁴³ Waller, *Writers, Readers, and Reputations*, 571. See also Sally Peters, *Bernard Shaw: The Ascent of the Superman*, 102; Livesey, *Socialism*, 108; Norman and Jeanne MacKenzie, *The Fabians* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1977), 50; and Davis, *George Bernard Shaw and the Socialist Theatre*, 20. The phrase was also quoted in Newton, *Health, Art and Reason*, 143.

¹⁶⁴⁴ Several texts by Carpenter survive in the library at Shaw's Corner, such as *The Art of Creation* (NTIN 3062546) and *Pagan and Christian Creeds* (NTIN 3062522).

¹⁶⁴⁵ Shaw, *Sixteen Self Sketches*, 67. Shaw originally recounted these trips to the Salts (again using the phrase 'Noble Savage') in a letter to Henderson (3 January 1905, CL2, 490). Shaw's diaries record the occasions; see for example 20 August 1891, (BSD2, 748-49); and 4-7 August 1892 (BSD2, 823).

¹⁶⁴⁶ E. Nesbit, *The New Treasure Seekers*, 1904, quoted in Julia Briggs, *A Woman of Passion: The Life of E. Nesbit 1858-1924* (London: Hutchinson, 1987), 66.

¹⁶⁴⁷ Shaw to Charlotte Payne-Townshend (before their marriage), 31 October 1897, CL1, 818.

going into the country and “doing what he liked.”¹⁶⁴⁸ The ‘simple lifer’ Shaw felt was ‘really a beach-comber.’¹⁶⁴⁹

When it came to Shaw inventing his own version of the ‘Simple-Lifer’ during the 1920s, he evoked not the Carpenterian image, but a more beguiling one from the Italian Renaissance. In *Back to Methuselah* Franklyn’s daughter Cynthia, known as ‘Savvy’ (who christens her father’s theory ‘Back to Methuselah’) is ‘like an Italian youth in a Gozzoli picture’, and seems to be wearing nothing ‘but her short skirt, her blouse, her stockings, and a pair of Norwegian shoes.’ (V, 383). We have already noted Shaw’s interest in Gozzoli and the presence of Gozzoli’s *The Procession of the Magi* in the Adelphi Terrace flat. It is interesting to see in this context that Gozzoli was a painter celebrated for his depiction of fabrics, inspired by his father, a tailor,¹⁶⁵⁰ and in *The Procession of the Magi* (figure 137) there are several beautiful youths dressed in damask tunics who may have provided the inspiration for Savvy’s dress. I would suggest that here Shaw draws on the aesthetic comparative model provided by Henry Holiday in his journal *Aglaia*, produced for the Healthy and Artistic Dress Union, where Holiday juxtaposed aspects of contemporary dress with early Italian Renaissance garments pictured in frescoes.¹⁶⁵¹

Livesey’s argument that Shaw’s Jaegerism engages with Carpenter’s brand of ‘idealist ethical socialism’ through ‘faddism’¹⁶⁵² is flawed once we are aware of the depth of Shaw’s cynicism. Furthermore her conception of his clothing as part of his ‘ascetic bodily regimes’¹⁶⁵³, used as a starting point for a discussion on his evolutionary thought becomes problematic, given Shaw’s disavowal of asceticism. Livesey also seems confused about Shaw’s relationship to embodiment, claiming on the one hand ‘his continued ascetic fads displayed his debt to the belief in progress through the body’¹⁶⁵⁴ whilst maintaining simultaneously that it was through Jaegerism that he viewed the body as a ‘dispensable surface’ to be supplanted by the will.¹⁶⁵⁵ Like Livesey, Peters’s work too emphasizes Shaw’s

¹⁶⁴⁸ G. Lowes Dickinson, ‘Edward Carpenter as a Friend’, in Gilbert Beith, ed., *Edward Carpenter: In Appreciation* (London: Routledge, 2014 [1931]), 41.

¹⁶⁴⁹ Shaw, ‘The Climate and Soil for Labour Culture’, Fabian Society lecture, 10 May 1918, quoted in Britain, *Fabianism and Culture*, 145; originally reprinted in Louis Crompton, ed., *Bernard Shaw: The Road to Equality* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), 327.

¹⁶⁵⁰ Diane Cole Ahl, *Benozzo Gozzoli* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), 92.

¹⁶⁵¹ Henry Holiday compared men’s dress from Pinturicchio’s frescoes in the Piccolomini Library, Duomo, Siena with clothing of the 1890s. See Newton, *Health, Art and Reason*, 141.

¹⁶⁵² Livesey, *Socialism*, 103.

¹⁶⁵³ Livesey, *Socialism*, 121.

¹⁶⁵⁴ Livesey, *Socialism*, 131.

¹⁶⁵⁵ Livesey, *Socialism*, 129.

‘ascetic lifestyle’ through Jaeger clothing, placing him in opposition to Wilde to enforce her spurious theories: ‘if Wilde was the dandy, Shaw was the ascetic’¹⁶⁵⁶ she insists. Shaw’s ‘Jaeger suit resembled a monk’s habit’, providing a means of dealing with disgust at unwanted ‘dirt and decomposition’.¹⁶⁵⁷

It is significant that both Livesey and Peters relied heavily on the secondary literature, thus reproducing errors perpetuated by previous scholars. Neither examined any artefacts, and hence there was no attempt made to draw together the different types of material. Peters made use of a few primary Shavian sources (the published letters and diaries), but only selectively (ignoring the details, the contexts for purchases and the materiality of the products), and there was no archival research. There were even attempts on Peters’s part to sensationalize Shaw’s sexuality in her claims that Jaeger called for underwear to be discarded.¹⁶⁵⁸ Jaeger did in fact promote the adoption of woollen underclothing¹⁶⁵⁹; whilst Shaw’s purchases of underclothes were ignored.

Peters has manipulated many of the mythologies surrounding Shaw’s Jaeger clothing in order to uphold her argument: the clothes were ‘enveloped in a web of psychological meaning’.¹⁶⁶⁰ There was certainly a strong association in Shaw’s mind between the purchasing of new clothes and the death of his father; but Peters highlights this repeatedly in terms of ‘an inner metamorphosis’ to strengthen her claim that Shaw was consumed with ‘secret psychoses’¹⁶⁶¹ linked to his fear of dirt and his own sexuality. His Jaeger suit, according to her thesis, ‘represented the spotless ethereal realm.’¹⁶⁶² Throughout her book, Peters understates Shaw’s distinctly satirical nature, and falls into the trap of taking him at face value (other scholars such as Livesey and Yde also make this mistake), when he is very often playfully acting roles, or assuming identities, sometimes in dialogue with other aspects of visual culture. Shaw’s talent for self-mockery is either misunderstood, or put to one side. His first mention of ‘trying on clothes at Jaeger’s’ in his diary, for example, actually coincided with another

¹⁶⁵⁶ Sally Peters, *Bernard Shaw: The Ascent of the Superman*, 104.

¹⁶⁵⁷ Peters characterized Shaw’s Jaeger clothing as ‘a sanitary conduit that drained away filth, forming an antiseptic barrier against anxiety. In donning those clothes, Shaw recoiled from the dirt and decomposition most recently evoked by his father’s death... Physical garments had been transformed into psychic garments, magic talismans and disguises to protect him from threats launched from within his body, from the surrounding natural world, and from the social world.’ Sally Peters, *Bernard Shaw: The Ascent of the Superman*, 105.

¹⁶⁵⁸ Sally Peters, *Bernard Shaw: The Ascent of the Superman*, 103. Peters included Walker’s image of Shaw in the Jaeger tunic and trousers, claiming it was ‘without knickers.’ (Image reproduced between pages 144-145).

¹⁶⁵⁹ Jaeger, *Selections from Essays on Health-Culture*, 8.

¹⁶⁶⁰ Sally Peters, *Bernard Shaw: The Ascent of the Superman*, 102.

¹⁶⁶¹ Sally Peters, *Bernard Shaw: The Ascent of the Superman*, 72.

¹⁶⁶² Sally Peters, *Bernard Shaw: The Ascent of the Superman*, 105.

event: ‘spent most of the afternoon going through Sir John Soane’s Museum’ he recorded.¹⁶⁶³ Here Shaw would have encountered Hogarth’s moralising and satirical series *A Rake’s Progress* (1733), (later mentioned in his preface to *Three Plays for Puritans*),¹⁶⁶⁴ and would perhaps have been amused to discover some parallels to his own situation in the tale of Tom Rakewell, who in the first painting entitled *The Heir* is being measured for new clothes, having inherited money following the death of his father. (Figure 276 shows a detail from this painting). Shaw would later write: ‘The greatest painter England ever produced is Hogarth.’¹⁶⁶⁵

I argue that dress can certainly provide clues to aspects of Shaw’s psychology (though not in the way Peters infers), and his diary entries reveal purchases at specific moments which suggest the use of his Jaeger clothing to boost his confidence and cultivate an image. Examples include the ordering of new clothes prior to important public engagements. Just before going to Leicester to lecture for the National Secular Society on ‘Practical Socialism’ his diary reads ‘ordered a pair of trousers at Jaeger’s for Leicester’.¹⁶⁶⁶ However the most revealing perhaps are the occasions when women accompany him during the shopping expeditions: in August 1885 when a striking ‘one-piece’ suit was purchased, Shaw recorded the presence in the Jaeger shop of his mother and his lover Jenny Patterson, who possibly contributed to the choice of garment.¹⁶⁶⁷ His documenting of their presence on this occasion has little to do with ‘health’ as it has been conventionally defined by Peters, but instead points towards seeking reassurance about his new image from an admiring audience.

Gibbs’s biography highlights a fascinating letter from Jenny Patterson concerning his Jaeger purchases: ‘Are you over come by your new “Jager” [sic] filled with vanity. Of course I know you will be quite too beautiful & that you will run many dangers from my abandoned

¹⁶⁶³ 23 June 1885, BSD1, 92.

¹⁶⁶⁴ Shaw referred to Hogarth’s *A Rake’s Progress*, a series of eight paintings telling the story of Tom Rakewell who pursues a life of vice after obtaining his inheritance, in his preface: ‘Hogarth drew the rake and the harlot without glorifying their end.’ (II, 38). Shaw would refer to ‘Hogarth’s Rake’ again in *Getting Married* (III, 648) through the figure of Sykes, however as that character is represented sitting in a chair near the hearth with his hands in his pockets, the painting Shaw is thinking of here is probably *After the Marriage*, ‘Marriage-a-la-Mode’ No.2, (National Gallery, London). Hogarth’s *Works* was listed in the Shaws’ library at Adelphi Terrace. (Adelphi Terrace Inventory, 46).

¹⁶⁶⁵ Shaw, in ‘Edgar Allan Poe’, *The Nation*, 16 January 1909, reprinted in PPR, 224. Shaw was comparing Hogarth’s genius to that of the caricaturist Thomas Rowlandson and the writer Edgar Allan Poe, in the context of a discussion about the neglect of great artists in Britain and America.

¹⁶⁶⁶ 31 January 1888, BSD1, 344. The next day he notes ‘called at Jaeger’s and ordered a black coat’ (1 February 1888, BSD1, 345). The following day he tried on a suit at Jaeger’s. He recorded that he had ‘an audience of about 180’ in Leicester. (5 February 1888, BSD1, 346).

¹⁶⁶⁷ 10 August 1885, BSD1, 103. The diary entry reads: ‘Mother and JP at Jaeger’s too.’ On another occasion Shaw visits Jaeger’s with May Morris. (17 July 1893, BSD2, 957).

sex... Now you are newly clothed will you not give us a treat & amaze the eyes of the Broadstairsites with a sight of ‘the coming man?’¹⁶⁶⁸ Patterson’s letter playfully acknowledges Shaw’s desire to become a well-known figure in literary and artistic circles, and the role that his Jaeger clothing might have in securing that position for him, whilst teasing him about his vanity and alluring persona. The art critic Elizabeth Robins Pennell (biographer of Whistler with her husband Joseph, and later neighbours of the Shaws at Adelphi Terrace¹⁶⁶⁹), recalled attending a Fabian Social Evening in London in 1889 with the writer Amy Levy, where Shaw held court in ‘Jaeger get-up, flirting outrageously with all the girls in the room.’¹⁶⁷⁰ As Shaw would later remark to Harris ‘when at last I could afford to dress presentably I soon became accustomed to women falling in love with me.’¹⁶⁷¹ These were the ‘plumes and tunic of Don Juan.’¹⁶⁷² Peters’s characterization of a Jaegerized ascetic Shaw ‘camouflaged in brown wool’¹⁶⁷³ is exposed as a fallacy. Shaw used his Jaeger clothing in self-promotion, drawing attention to his body; and people remembered him partly because of his clothes, as these recollections and letters record.

Shaw’s diary records that whilst shopping at Jaeger with his mother and Patterson in 1885 he ordered a ‘knitted woollen suit’.¹⁶⁷⁴ According to Weintraub, the costume he purchased that day ‘combined upper garment and trousers in one piece, and buttoned (cravat-less) up to the neck and along one side...He would create a sensation along Tottenham Court Road.’¹⁶⁷⁵ This oft-cited description of the infamous Jaeger ‘one-piece’ suit has prompted much

¹⁶⁶⁸ Jenny Patterson to Shaw, 13 April 1886, quoted in Gibbs, *Bernard Shaw: A Life*, 137. Shaw’s diary entry records: ‘try on clothes at Jaeger’s’. (9 April 1886, BSD1, 159). He buys the clothes, 12 April 1886, ‘clothes Jaeger’s £4/4/0’. (BSD1, 160). Jenny’s letter is written the next day, whilst staying in her seaside home at Broadstairs, Kent.

¹⁶⁶⁹ Elizabeth’s husband Joseph Pennell succeeded Shaw as art critic for *The Star* in 1888. Shaw had endorsed this position. (BSD1, 354). Shaw attended the private view of the ‘London Impressionists’ at Goupil’s gallery with Joseph Pennell, 29 November 1889 (BSD1, 564). He had known Elizabeth’s parents as they were among the founders of the Fellowship of the New Life, the forerunner to the Fabian Society (BSD1, 77). Joseph and Elizabeth were neighbours of the Shaws at Adelphi Terrace, and would later become Whistler’s biographers. See Kimberly Morse Jones, *Elizabeth Robins Pennell: Nineteenth-Century Pioneer of Modern Art Criticism* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 132.

¹⁶⁷⁰ Elizabeth Robins Pennell quoted in Linda Hunt Beckman, *Amy Levy: Her Life and Letters* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2000), 179. According to Shaw’s diary, the date was 12 April 1889. (BSD1, 489). Gibbs notes that Shaw’s first public appearance in his new Jaeger clothing was at a meeting of The Women’s Protective and Provident League (Shaw was a member). Gibbs, *A Bernard Shaw Chronology*, 60. (30 June 1885, BSD1, 94).

¹⁶⁷¹ Shaw to Frank Harris, 24 June 1930, CL4, 192.

¹⁶⁷² Frank Harris, *Bernard Shaw*, 119; quoted in HOL1, 160.

¹⁶⁷³ Sally Peters, *Bernard Shaw: The Ascent of the Superman*, 228.

¹⁶⁷⁴ 10 August 1885, BSD1, 103.

¹⁶⁷⁵ Weintraub, BSD1, 103. Weintraub does not provide any evidence for the details of Shaw’s specific purchase, but probably used the information provided by the Harris biography. The latter part of Weintraub’s statement has been quoted by Sally Peters, *Bernard Shaw: The Ascent of the Superman*, 101. See also Gibbs: ‘Shaw purchases an unconventional one-piece knitted woollen suit from Jaeger’s.’ Gibbs, *A Bernard Shaw Chronology*, 61.

mythologizing in the literature, and it was generated by the Shaw/Harris description of Shaw ordering ‘a specimen’ of the ‘single garment or combination in brown knitted wool.’¹⁶⁷⁶ He would later attempt to tone down the impact, and when asked by H.F. Tomalin to provide photographs of the garment, he claimed that Jaeger had done ‘dreadful things’ in the early days,¹⁶⁷⁷ and recalling the images taken by Walker, commented ‘there was nothing unusual about the trousers except the material, which was brown worsted knitted.’¹⁶⁷⁸ As Shaw/Harris observed ‘it was easier to get rid of the clothes than of the crop of legends they started about the rash experimenter.’¹⁶⁷⁹

Extant visual culture reveals a different Shaw however who, far from wishing to get rid of the legends, was busy cultivating them. When H.F. Tomalin sought Shaw’s assistance with the images from the 1880s Shaw was happy to oblige, and the result was the article in *Art and Industry* (1937), revealing Shaw in his Jaeger suit beneath one of the flagship stores.¹⁶⁸⁰ (Figure 277). The article stated that Shaw was an ‘early supporter of the “cult”...who had a remarkable suit made for him in brown knitted wool. It was complete from sleeves to ankles in one piece and thus attired Mr. Shaw proceeded on his way up Oxford Street.’¹⁶⁸¹ Moreover Conolly in his study exploring Shaw’s relationship with the BBC revealed that ‘Shaw even made it onto the BBC as a fashion icon, featuring in a talk from Cardiff on 20 August 1928 (by ‘Antoinette’) on clothes and personality.’¹⁶⁸² Evidently the *Radio Times* reported: ‘No public character better expresses his individuality in his clothes than Mr. Bernard Shaw.’¹⁶⁸³ And a photograph of Shaw in Jaeger accompanied the text.¹⁶⁸⁴ H.R. Tomalin, the grandson of Lewis Tomalin, would actually credit Shaw, alongside Wilde, with the worldwide success of the Jaeger brand: ‘its huge and quite unpredicted increase in popularity with the general public was very largely due to Bernard Shaw’s support.’¹⁶⁸⁵

¹⁶⁷⁶ Frank Harris, *Bernard Shaw*, 114.

¹⁶⁷⁷ Shaw to H.F. Tomalin, quoted in Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager*, 240. Shaw’s comment is undated, but is probably from the mid-late 1930s, as it was also quoted in MacKenzie, ‘Jaeger: Health Gospel of 1884, Fashion Movement of 1937’, 44.

¹⁶⁷⁸ Shaw to H.F. Tomalin, 4 March 1934, quoted in Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager*, 240.

¹⁶⁷⁹ Frank Harris, *Bernard Shaw*, 115.

¹⁶⁸⁰ MacKenzie, ‘Jaeger: Health Gospel of 1884, Fashion Movement of 1937’, 44. Walker’s half-length photograph of Shaw with the caption: ‘Mr. George Bernard Shaw as a pioneer of the Jaeger cult wearing an outer garment in which he walked along Oxford Street. “Jaeger did dreadful things in those days,” said Mr. Shaw to Mr. H. E. Tomalin.’

¹⁶⁸¹ MacKenzie, ‘Jaeger: Health Gospel of 1884, Fashion Movement of 1937’, 45.

¹⁶⁸² Conolly, *Bernard Shaw and the BBC*, 30.

¹⁶⁸³ *Radio Times*, 17 August 1928, quoted in Conolly, *Bernard Shaw and the BBC*, 30.

¹⁶⁸⁴ According to Conolly, this statement appeared beneath a ‘photograph of Jaeger-clad Shaw.’ Conolly, *Bernard Shaw and the BBC*, 30.

¹⁶⁸⁵ H.R. Tomalin, quoted in Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager*, 239.

Shaw's relentless self-promotion contributed to his widespread fame and notoriety as a writer and critic, with the inevitable result that the media often focused on how he dressed and looked, as much as what he said. Brad Kent has argued that the 'self-fashioning and creation of a public personality was an integral element of literary culture in the modern period.'¹⁶⁸⁶ In 1900 in his preface to *Three Plays for Puritans* Shaw had attempted to explain his position: 'the critics were the victims of the long course of hypnotic suggestion by which G.B.S. the journalist manufactured an unconventional reputation for Bernard Shaw the author.' (II, 32). He continued, arguing that 'recognition of really original work...propagates itself so slowly', thus he felt justified in being deliberately provocative to attract attention and promote his work. It is important to acknowledge that this is a feature of dandyism as it has been defined in the late Victorian period – a topic I return to shortly. James Eli Adams has observed 'young men with literary aspirations, saw in dandyism a mode of self-fashioning that might capture the public eye far more readily than the obscure labours of authorship.'¹⁶⁸⁷ Shaw's strategy was to advance his fame through 'sedulous advertisement', and he concluded 'I have advertised myself so well that I find myself, whilst still in middle life, almost as legendary a person as the Flying Dutchman.' (II, 32).

Shaw's friend the painter Laura Knight recalled: 'The greatest weakness I detected in Shaw was for the Press photographers.'¹⁶⁸⁸ Margot Peters has argued that Shaw became 'the most photographed, painted, and sculpted celebrity in the world'¹⁶⁸⁹ between 1925 and 1950, whilst Laurence observed that as a result of the Nobel Prize laureateship, Shaw became 'England's Greatest Export-Commodity.'¹⁶⁹⁰ But in fact the construction and cultivation of the 'GBS' figure as a marketable commodity in the global marketplace was well advanced by the close of the Edwardian era, as Ryan, Waller, and Hugo have noted.¹⁶⁹¹ Shaw advertised consumer products that he used personally such as 'Formamint'¹⁶⁹² in 1912. However in the

¹⁶⁸⁶ Brad Kent, 'Bernard Shaw, the British Censorship of Plays, and Modern Celebrity', *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920*, 57, 2 (2014), 231.

¹⁶⁸⁷ James Eli Adams, 'Dandyism and late Victorian masculinity', in *Oscar Wilde in Context*, ed. by Kerry Powell and Peter Raby (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 221.

¹⁶⁸⁸ Laura Knight, quoted in Minney, *The Bogus Image of Bernard Shaw*, 181.

¹⁶⁸⁹ Margot Peters 'Bernard F. Burgunder: Collector of Genius', 175.

¹⁶⁹⁰ Laurence, CL4, 5.

¹⁶⁹¹ Ryan notes the 'self-penned "interviews"' and 'spoof diary entry'; see Ryan, "'Considering the Alternatives'", 179-180; see also Hugo, *Edwardian Shaw*, 20-26; and Waller, *Writers, Readers, and Reputations*, 360-62.

¹⁶⁹² Evidence survives in Shaw's letters to Charlotte, proving that they both used the product. Shaw wrote to Charlotte, (2 May 1912), 'Judy's cold became overwhelming yesterday; so I went & got her some formamint, which was rather successful.' CL3, 89. ('Judy' was Georgina Gillmore); Shaw to Charlotte, 24 August 1912: 'The formamint has just come. You got a new bottle; as I did just before I left: it is in my trunk. It is very welcome anyhow'. BL Add. MS 46506, f. 68.

advertisement (figure 278)¹⁶⁹³ it was not the product that was pictured, but Shaw himself, in a striking image which had been taken several years earlier in 1906 by the famous photographer of celebrities Lizzie Caswall Smith. The same photograph of Shaw by Caswall Smith had been published originally in *The Sketch* magazine to promote his play *The Doctor's Dilemma* in 1906 (figure 279), and was captioned 'Physician to the Doctors',¹⁶⁹⁴ bringing an irony to the subsequent use of the same image for the 'Formamint' advertisement. Shaw also made appearances in popular women's journals such as *Good Housekeeping Magazine* as we have already seen. His prominent role in the journalistic media over the decades, as celebrity rather than writer, is celebrated in one of the framed portraits on the wall in the study where he is pictured in a caricature on the cover of the *San Francisco Chronicle* in 1949, captioned 'women invariably hug him'.¹⁶⁹⁵ (Figure 280).

The origins of Shaw's strategies for self display actually lay in the culture of the late Victorian and Edwardian periods. Emery has shown that there was a shift in photojournalism during this period 'from work (literature) to personality (biography).'¹⁶⁹⁶ Emery's study demonstrates how 'the public became less interested in literature than in artistic spirit, eventually shifting its attention to those who were famous largely for being famous, for cultivating the attention of the press.'¹⁶⁹⁷ Shaw's participation in relation to the way his various homes have been portrayed in the media both articulates and parodies this shift. Publicity images in the form of postcards used to promote Henderson's study of Shaw *Is Bernard Shaw A Dramatist?* (1929) showed Shaw and Henderson in the drawing-room at Adelphi Terrace posing with chairs upholstered in Morris & Co. *Windrush* and *Rose*.¹⁶⁹⁸

¹⁶⁹³ 'Mr. Bernard Shaw on Formamint!', *The Graphic* (3 August 1912), 181. This advertisement also appeared in *The Illustrated London News* (10 May 1913), 660.

¹⁶⁹⁴ 'Physician to the Doctors', *The Sketch* (21 November 1906), 179. Photograph of Shaw by Lizzie Caswall Smith, taken in her studio in 1906. This photograph has been incorrectly dated to 1913 by the NPG (NPG Ax199040; and NPG Ax199041). The image was also incorrectly assigned to 1913 when it was used (without crediting Caswall Smith) on the cover of Brad Kent, ed., *George Bernard Shaw in Context* (2015).

¹⁶⁹⁵ Shaw by Hubert Buel, *San Francisco Chronicle*, 12, 47 (March 27 1949). NTIN 1274693.

¹⁶⁹⁶ Emery, *Photojournalism*, 222. Harald Hendrix recently argued that whilst Emery's book showed that the photojournalistic celebrity culture of 'late nineteenth-century Paris was a fertile ground for the rise of the French writer house museum', he felt it was 'less persuasive when it comes to demonstrating a direct link.' Harald Hendrix, review of Elizabeth Emery, *Photojournalism and the Origins of the French Writer House Museum (1881-1914): Privacy, Publicity, and Personality*, in *Journal of the History of Collections*, 25, 2 (July 2013), 298. Yet the connection Emery identifies between the phenomenon of the writer house museum and the celebrity culture where there was a 'sudden proliferation of photographs that exposed contemporary domestic interiors,' particularly the 'at home' photographic interviews given by figures in the public eye, is very compelling. Shaw embodies that link in the British context.

¹⁶⁹⁷ Emery, *Photojournalism*, 222.

¹⁶⁹⁸ *Windrush* and *Rose* were designed by Morris in 1883, see Parry, *William Morris Textiles*, 237, no.56, and 239, no.59. The photograph by Hoppé appeared as the frontispiece in Archibald Henderson, *Is Bernard Shaw A Dramatist?* (New York and London: Mitchell Kennerley, 1929).

(Figure 281). This photograph by E.O. Hoppé taken in 1923 had previously been used to advertise Henderson's *Table-Talk of G.B.S.* in *Harper's Magazine* (1925).¹⁶⁹⁹ As early as the 1902 photographic interview for *The Sketch* magazine, we see evidence of Shaw's performative engagement and self-consciously satirical posing: in the final image he stands on the stairs and says to his audience 'Goodbye! Come again!' (Figure 282).¹⁷⁰⁰

As a journalist writing for commercial papers, Shaw was no stranger to the idea of media exposure and the kind of new display strategies offered by the burgeoning photographic and print mass media. Cohen's chapter 'Home as a Stage: Personality and Possessions' draws our attention to the case of Edmund Yates, the famous journalist who founded not only *The World* but the 'celebrity profiles' he commissioned for the paper entitled 'Celebrities at Home': 'Never before had the homes – and possessions – of public figures been exposed in print.'¹⁷⁰¹ As I have mentioned, Yates employed Shaw as an art critic in 1889, and Shaw was featured in the 'at home' profile.¹⁷⁰²

Kearney has made a welcome contribution in terms of addressing the performative aspects of Shaw's photography.¹⁷⁰³ Kearney detected a 'studied imitation of domesticity' in his photographs, and a 'parallel between this kind of play-acting and his own work for the theatre.'¹⁷⁰⁴ Shaw would also have been very familiar with the ways in which actors in the Edwardian period manipulated the genre of photojournalism in their self-promotion. Actors regularly featured in 'at home' articles published in *The Sketch* and *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, where at times it was difficult to discern whether the staged photograph

¹⁶⁹⁹ See 'A Dialogue on Things in General between George Bernard Shaw and Archibald Henderson', *Harper's Magazine*, 148 (May 1924), 707. A further three images by Hoppé (including one of Shaw sitting in the *Windrush* chair) were used in the book; see Archibald Henderson, *Table-Talk of G.B.S.* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1925).

¹⁷⁰⁰ *The Sketch* (March 12 1902), 303.

¹⁷⁰¹ Deborah Cohen, *Household Gods*, 122.

¹⁷⁰² A letter to Shaw from the photographers Elliot & Fry reads as follows: 'we are forming a Series of Portraits of Celebrities taken with all the pleasant surroundings of home.' (10 November 1899, BL Add. MS 50512 f.194). It is unclear however as to whether this proposed photograph relates to *The World* feature of 1900.

¹⁷⁰³ Kearney, 'George Bernard Shaw: Double Exposure', 86-89.

¹⁷⁰⁴ Kearney, 'George Bernard Shaw: Double Exposure', 88. My own work has emphasized the connection between his staged photographic portraits in various interiors and the strategies he employed for visualizing scenes in his plays. See McEwan, 'Shaw Shots', *The World of Interiors* (July 2013), 92-97. This article was published to coincide with my exhibition 'Bernard Shaw's Photographs of Interiors'; it was staged as part of the 'Shaw at Home' Conference, Ayot St. Lawrence, 2013. A total of 54 photographs were exhibited.

was taken in their real homes or in the theatre.¹⁷⁰⁵ As Juliet Kinchin has argued, around 1900 there was great interest in the theatre, when ‘actors became paradigms of creative individuals who could reinvent themselves constantly, performing multiple identities and disrupting apparently stable categories. The domestic interior provided a vehicle for this kind of performative engagement.’¹⁷⁰⁶ Laurie Dahlberg points out that ‘for those already in the public eye, the production of faceted identities via photography was a natural extension of celebrity performance.’¹⁷⁰⁷

Shaw’s journalistic background and contacts enabled him to control and manipulate his public image, rewriting articles on behalf of journalists assigned to interview him, and contacting editors suggesting which photographs would be best to use in the ‘celebrity portraits’. As late as 1947, for example, we find Shaw writing to Harold White, his printer and publisher, regarding the images for the mass-produced photo-essay *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera* (previously thought to have been edited by Loewenstein): ‘I am now at work hunting up photographs to replace the pages I have ruthlessly cut out, and which I send in a separate bundle... Could you do a colored frontispiece? I have a very good Lumière transparency of myself that would serve.’¹⁷⁰⁸ White reiterated Shaw’s intense involvement with the image selection: ‘he supplied many photographs and negatives and helped me sort through a drawer which contained thousands of pictures.’¹⁷⁰⁹

As a journalist Shaw was friends with important figures in the media including the influential editor Clement Shorter,¹⁷¹⁰ who was a pioneer in the field of the pictorial press and in the

¹⁷⁰⁵ See for example ‘Miss Lily Hanbury, the heroine of “The Degenerates” at the Haymarket: specially photographed at home for “The Sketch”’, *The Sketch* (4 October 1899), 473; ‘Concerning Louie Pounds’, *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* (28 September 1901), 126; and ‘Miss Marie Tempest “at home”’, *The Sketch* (25 October 1899), 20. The Daily Mirror Studios similarly blurred the boundaries between home and stage in the early 1900s, offering a photographic service to both the theatre, and to the public. Domestic interiors created as stage-sets for various plays (including Shaw’s plays) were photographed by the Daily Mirror Studios; whilst for the public, staged interiors complete with domestic ‘props’ were offered as a backdrop for photographic portraits.

¹⁷⁰⁶ Kinchin, ‘Performance and the Reflected Self: Modern Stagings of Domestic Space, 1860-1914’, 65.

¹⁷⁰⁷ Laurie Dahlberg, ‘At Home with the Camera: Modeling Masculinity in Early French Photography’, in *Interior Portraiture and Masculine Identity in France, 1789-1914*, ed. by Temma Balducci et al (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 70.

¹⁷⁰⁸ Shaw to Harold White, 4 November 1947, quoted in Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager*, 281.

¹⁷⁰⁹ Harold White, in Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager*, 281. White would also publish Shaw’s *Bernard Shaw’s Rhyming Picture Guide to Ayot St Lawrence* in 1950.

¹⁷¹⁰ Shaw first met Clement Shorter in 1888. (12 January 1888, BSD1, 338). Both Shaw and Shorter were writing for *The Star* in 1888. Shorter would soon become editor of *The Illustrated London News* (from 1891); and he founded *The Sketch* in 1893, and *The Sphere* in 1900. During the 1890s he was also editor and part proprietor of a satirical illustrated comic entitled *Pick-Me-Up*, which featured drawings by cartoonists including Max Beerbohm (who would depict Shaw on many occasions). For more on Shorter see Tyson, *Bernard Shaw Book Reviews*, vol.2, 95.

reproduction of art photo-mechanically, editing *The Illustrated London News*,¹⁷¹¹ and he was also the founder of both *The Sketch* and *The Tatler*. All of these journals regularly featured articles on Shaw, accompanied by images. In the days of the new photographic media, compelling the public to listen to him inevitably meant that messages were conveyed pictorially as well as textually. Shaw's photographic self-portraits were published to illustrate articles in *The Sketch*, besides those taken by Shaw's favourite photographers such as Frederick H. Evans.¹⁷¹² In an article from *The Sketch* in 1900, (figure 283) he assumes various poses in his Jaeger suit in 'Bernard Shaw and Shaw-ism'.¹⁷¹³ The photographs, taken by Shaw, reveal him humorously posing as a beggar dressed in Jaeger (the caption reads: 'Mr. George Bernard Shaw supporting himself in the intervals of play-writing'), or seated writing a play.¹⁷¹⁴

Owing to his journalistic connections, Shaw would have been familiar with the offices of *The Sketch* magazine, a place where the editorial staff worked closely with images as a revealing contemporary article on the journal demonstrated. The piece, published in *The Sketch*, stated that the accompanying photographs of the offices 'represent the rooms in which the editorial business of this journal is carried out.'¹⁷¹⁵ One of the rooms illustrated (figure 284), belonging to the assistant-editor, had its walls decorated with literally dozens of photographs of actors and celebrities in various costumes and poses: 'from the walls which are covered with photographs look down all the beauties of the modern English stage.'¹⁷¹⁶ Through such contextualization, we can see how Shaw was exposed in his everyday life as a journalist, and subsequently as a playwright, to this image-led culture, and learnt to place great emphasis on self-promotion, and performativity, via photographs in the press. He understood perfectly the 'photography effect' noted by Crary, where photography was 'a crucial component of a new cultural economy of value and exchange.'¹⁷¹⁷

Images of Shaw adorned the title page of the high society magazine *The Tatler* (figure

¹⁷¹¹ A volume of *The Illustrated London News* (1935) survives in the collection: NTIN 3156026.

¹⁷¹² See for example 'George Bernard Shaw: His Ways, His Plays', in *The Sketch* (8 June 1898), 254, where Shaw is described as a 'Jaegerite' accompanied by an Evans portrait of Shaw in Jaeger.

¹⁷¹³ H. Chance Newton, 'Bernard Shaw and Shaw-ism', *The Sketch* (2 May 1900), 70.

¹⁷¹⁴ Shaw was on crutches following foot surgery. See NT Shaw Photographs 1715214.19; 1715216.5; 1715216.36.

¹⁷¹⁵ *The Sketch* (6 April 1898), 459.

¹⁷¹⁶ *The Sketch* (6 April 1898), 459. For further visual imagery relating to this culture of celebrity photography in the late nineteenth-century, see Manuel Charpy, 'How Things Shape Us: Material Culture and Identity in the Industrial Age', in *Writing Material Culture History*, ed. by Gerritsen and Riello, 211; and Christopher Breward, 'Ambiguous Role Models: Fashion, Modernity and the Victorian Actress', in *Fashion and Modernity*, ed. by Christopher Breward and Caroline Evans (Oxford: Berg, 2005), 104, 109, 112, 115.

¹⁷¹⁷ Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, 13.

285).¹⁷¹⁸ The photograph was captioned: ‘The Man of the Hour’, and included the following witticism: ‘Mr. Shaw resembles Nelson in that he is always to be found on the top of a column – a newspaper column.’¹⁷¹⁹ Shaw’s life-long shaping of his identity in this way relied upon a playful engagement with the media, where he is portrayed as someone who both courts the limelight and attempts to negate his own celebrity status. Again in *The Tatler*, he featured in the fashion and news pages in 1930 chatting to Ellen Terry’s niece the actress Phyllis Neilson-Terry, who would later take the lead in *Candida* at Malvern. (Figure 286). This image was accompanied by the following ironic caption: ‘At the Malvern Festival the camera people would not leave Mr. Shaw in peace in spite of his well-known dislike for publicity.’¹⁷²⁰ The latter however was all part of the Shavian ‘stage tricks.’¹⁷²¹

Press images documenting Shaw’s arrival in America in 1933 acknowledged his self-advertisement as a mocking ploy, telling the story of how ‘GBS’ sought privacy whilst courting the media.¹⁷²² (Figure 287). Shaw portrayed himself embroiled in a battle with the press, whilst taking advantage of the platform the cult of celebrity engendered. Shortly before he died Shaw was still trying to control his media image according to the front page of the *Daily Express*, (October 1950) where a photograph of ‘Shaw’ was humorously shown being ‘censored’ by a cartoon version of ‘G.B.S.’ who is attempting to crop the picture of himself with a large pair of scissors. (Figure 288). For some, like the Fabian Beatrice Webb, Shaw’s media presence was interpreted through the prism of narcissism, and it is interesting to see that she noted in her diary as early as 1893: ‘I am not so sure that the vanity itself is not part of the mis-en-scène.’¹⁷²³ Kermode would later comment that Shaw was ‘preoccupied with his own celebrity’, believing it to be ‘of an intensity unmatched by any author since.’¹⁷²⁴

For over half a century therefore, Shaw was rarely out of the public eye; and whilst much of this was owing to his immense capacity for provocation and argumentation, his personal magnetism and vivid personality, there was often a distinct sartorial element to his

¹⁷¹⁸ *The Tatler* (8 November 1905), 187. Unknown photographer.

¹⁷¹⁹ *The Tatler* (8 November 1905), 187.

¹⁷²⁰ *The Tatler* (27 August 1930), 395. When it was first founded *The Tatler* had the subtitle ‘an illustrated journal of society and the drama.’

¹⁷²¹ Shaw used the phrase to describe his strategy for self-presentation: ‘I keep up appearances by stage tricks.’ Shaw to Beatrice Webb, 13 June 1940, quoted in Michalos and Poff, eds., *Bernard Shaw and the Webbs*, 245.

¹⁷²² The newspaper headline was as follows: ‘Shaw basking in limelight after his valiant effort to escape it’, *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, New York, 11 April 1933. (BL Add. MS 50741, f.40; press cutting).

¹⁷²³ Beatrice Webb, 17 September 1893, 296, *Typescript Diary*, 1 January 1889 – March 1898, LSE Passfield/1. Webb noticed the ‘crowd of journalists and literary hangers-on around him’. Beatrice Webb, *Diary*, 1905, quoted in Waller, *Writers, Readers, and Reputations*, 527.

¹⁷²⁴ Kermode, ‘Georgian Eyes are Smiling: Shaw and Conrad in Their Letters’, 257.

engagement with the media. Kent is one of the few scholars to credit Shaw's 'trademark Jaeger clothing' with this performative role, seeing the playwright's adoption of 'distinguishable dress' as part of the formation of a 'marketable persona.'¹⁷²⁵ If we probe further into the role played by Shaw's clothing, the press cuttings, photographs and other media coverage that constitute the extant visual and material culture reveal that dress played a very important part in this self-fashioning.

Early on in his career, Shaw had combined an acute aesthetic awareness of issues pertaining to image reproducibility with an eye for items of clothing that provided distinction and denoted his character. For instance, when he sent the editor Ernest Rhys a photograph of himself for publication, he spoke of the trouble he had taken: 'I have tried all my photographs on the papers for processing purposes with disastrous results except the enclosed, which, though not a desirable album ornament, is the only one that presents a few characteristic black and white lines in combination with an unmistakable Shaw hat.'¹⁷²⁶ Writing with the authority of the print connoisseur he concluded: 'The only other one I have to spare is a good photo; but the results of processing it the other day in a Northumberland paper were unspeakable.'¹⁷²⁷ In the end, the photograph chosen was the one taken by Charlotte Roche in 1888, with the 'Shaw hat'.¹⁷²⁸ (Figure 289). Even Fabian Society literature such as the tract *Socialism and Superior Brains* (1909), which ostensibly did not require any image, was graced by a stylish photograph of Shaw on the cover (figure 290) taken by the fashionable photographer Marie Leon¹⁷²⁹ of Regent Street, who had recently photographed Henry and William James.

Although Waller has highlighted the ways in which many writers became celebrities during the Victorian and Edwardian periods, advertising commodities and advertising

¹⁷²⁵ Kent, 'Bernard Shaw, the British Censorship of Plays, and Modern Celebrity', 232.

¹⁷²⁶ Shaw to Ernest Rhys, 16 November 1890, CL1, 270.

¹⁷²⁷ Shaw to Ernest Rhys, 16 November 1890, CL1, 270.

¹⁷²⁸ Shaw's postscript to Rhys includes the following note: 'the photograph was taken one Sunday in Cadogan Gardens by Miss Charlotte Roche, a niece of Moscheles the painter...Miss Roche has photographed innumerable socialists and musicians.' Shaw to Ernest Rhys, 16 November 1890, CL1, 270. The photograph was taken on 1 July 1888. (BSD1, 390). This photograph has been incorrectly attributed to Beresford (NT Shaw Photographs 1715215.26). The NPG gives the photographer as Emery Walker. (NPG x19647); the image has been reproduced in Holroyd, ed., *The Genius of Shaw*, 166, but with no contextual information.

¹⁷²⁹ Marie Leon opened her studios at 50 Regent Street, London, in about 1900. She photographed Henry and William James in 1901. (NPGx18720).

themselves,¹⁷³⁰ there were few who chose to do this so emphatically through clothing, with the exception of Wilde. I would suggest that aspects of Shaw's original interest in Jaeger were in direct response to Wilde's adoption of the clothing system. When Shaw met Wilde at an exhibition in 1890 for example, he visited Jaeger's again 'to order clothes' a few days later.¹⁷³¹ There may have been a competitive element here. Many years later in the Jaeger article of 1937, the 1880s were recalled through the evocation of Wilde conducting 'parties of ladies to the premises. His enthusiasm as an advocate was greatly to the advantage of the House of Jaeger.'¹⁷³² Holroyd has aptly described Jaeger clothing as 'the Shavian equivalent to Oscar Wilde's aesthetic costumes,'¹⁷³³ and despite the fact that he does not acknowledge the Jaeger clothing worn by Wilde, Holroyd nevertheless astutely places Shaw's focus on dress as part of that aesthetic culture, and this is a position my research endorses.

Margaret D. Stetz too argues that Shaw borrowed from Wilde: 'Shaw learned from the example of his Irish compatriot Oscar Wilde, that the road to success in England was paved with cloth. It was not enough merely to affect a suitable persona; an artist who believed that he had nothing to declare but his genius had to announce that fact while wearing an idiosyncratic outfit.'¹⁷³⁴ Stetz however goes on to contrast Wilde's 'aesthetic costume of silk, furs, and velvet' with Shaw's 'no-nonsense Jaeger woolens'; but in a work on portraits rather than clothing, she misses the point that there was also an aesthetic, sensual dimension to this so-called practical Jaeger cloth. This fact was highlighted through satire: we see this in the caricature of Shaw by the *Punch* cartoonist David Wilson, who conveys an extreme sense of the texture of the wool that is all-enveloping. (Figure 291).¹⁷³⁵ It was an abrasive aesthetic, but an aesthetic nonetheless, and one that guaranteed a memorial. Osbert Sitwell, for example, remembered more than anything 'the texture of his clothing'.¹⁷³⁶

Like Wilde, Shaw was capable of nurturing a sensationalistic position when it came to his

¹⁷³⁰ See 'Product Advertising and Self-Advertising' in Waller, *Writers, Readers, and Reputations*, 2006, 329-63. Waller highlights how writers such as Arnold Bennett, and the actor-manager Sir John Hare, promoted products such as Sanatogen in 1911. We can compare this to Shaw's appearance in advertisements for Formamint from 1912, although these are not mentioned in Waller's study.

¹⁷³¹ 20 August 1890, BSD1, 643. Shaw and Wilde had met by chance at a 'Military Exhibition.' (14 August 1890, BSD1, 642). Shaw had attended Lady Wilde's drawing-room parties (her 'at-homes') since 1879; see Gibbs, *A Bernard Shaw Chronology*, 38. Shaw attended one of her 'at-homes' on 18 July 1885. (BSD1, 97).

¹⁷³² MacKenzie, 'Jaeger: Health Gospel of 1884, Fashion Movement of 1937', 45.

¹⁷³³ HOL1, 160.

¹⁷³⁴ Margaret D. Stetz, *Facing the Late Victorians: Portraits of Writers and Artists from the Mark Samuels Lasner Collection* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007), 106.

¹⁷³⁵ 'Mr. George Bernard Shaw', by David Wilson, circa 1900. Wilson worked as a cartoonist for *Punch*, *The Graphic*, *The Sketch*, and *The Tatler*. (MM).

¹⁷³⁶ Osbert Sitwell, *Noble Essences* (London: Macmillan, 1950), 274.

clothes, which brings to mind Wilde's aphorism: 'One should either be a work of art or wear a work of art.'¹⁷³⁷ Press cuttings from an extant album at Shaw's Corner contain articles where he is pictured actively promoting his clothing as a subject of interest on its own merit. One press cutting from 1938 in particular makes this explicit through the headline: 'Pay Attention to My Clothes'¹⁷³⁸ accompanied by three photographs revealing Shaw in different outfits (figure 292). The photographs were accompanied by captions penned by 'G.B.S': "I'm not a Foreign Office attache who rushes to his tailor"; "A Norfolk suit is not the only type of suit we wear", said G.B.S. defensively' (this photograph was taken in the drawing-room at Shaw's Corner¹⁷³⁹); and "A very good firm of tailors have made my clothes for years." Shaw's parody of and play with his photographic persona was a form of self-fashioning that acknowledged his own commodification as a product/simulacrum. The reader/viewer is often encouraged to consume the 'GBS' image as part of a branded identity, as evidenced by a popular magazine article for *The Family Circle* in 1941, where press images that focus on characteristic elements of his holiday or travelling dress form the major component of the heading. (Figure 293).¹⁷⁴⁰

Shaw acknowledged the role dress had in the formation of his identity, and in the creation of his public persona; yet he was wary of assigning too much agency to clothes. As a result, in his writings he would sometimes playfully trivialize clothing. An essay on photography where he was praising nudity, for example, features the following claim: 'I delight in mankind as nature makes it, and take such a moderate interest in mere garments that my tailor, though an irreproachable artist, has positively had to change his name to avoid the public discredit of my callous abuse of his masterpieces.'¹⁷⁴¹ Controversial or contradictory statements of course formed part of his strategy of keeping himself in the limelight. We even see a press article where Shaw mischievously insists he is to be referred to as 'Bernard Shaw suit of clothes', mocking the power assumed by his dress in the media. The newspapers reported that Shaw had refused an invitation to a society wedding on the basis that he had no suitable clothes. Typically provocative, he had sent a cheque to the happy couple for the

¹⁷³⁷ Oscar Wilde, quoted in Eric Warner and Graham Hough, eds., *Strangeness and Beauty: An Anthology of Aesthetic Criticism 1840-1910*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 122; see also Emma Sutton, *Aubrey Beardsley*, 125.

¹⁷³⁸ *Weekly Illustrated* (5 November 1938). Shaw's Corner Album of Press Cuttings.

¹⁷³⁹ The original press photograph is in the collection of the HRC (957:0001:0488). Photograph of Shaw standing in front of the drawing-room fireplace at Shaw's Corner, dated verso 1937.

¹⁷⁴⁰ *The Family Circle*, 19, 7 (15 August 1941), 10. Collection of Isidor Saslav, Texas.

¹⁷⁴¹ Shaw, 'Some Criticisms of the Exhibitions. The 'Life Study,' The Fuzzygraph,' and 'The Under-Exposed,'' *The Amateur Photographer*, 16 October 1902, reprinted in Jay and Moore, *Shaw on Photography*, 87.

purchase of an appropriate suit, apparently accompanied by a letter which stated that ‘if there was a list of presents he was to be entered as “Bernard Shaw, suit of clothes”, and that if there was an exhibition of presents a tailor was to lend a dummy on which these festive garment were to be displayed.’¹⁷⁴²

The clothing stands in for Shaw, or rather ‘G.B.S.’, and this parodies what he had become through the media representation: a ‘suit of clothes’. Shaw wanted to convey the impression that ‘G.B.S.’ was a constructed persona, a performance, and like a ‘suit of clothes’ or a theatrical costume, it could be cast off and exchanged for another. As such the meaning is all on the surface, a superficial exterior. Shaw would speak as if there might be a ‘real’ Shaw hiding beneath the fictional ‘G.B.S.’ He treated this figure as if he was a puppet: ‘I have over and over again taken him to pieces before the audience to shew the trick of him.’¹⁷⁴³ Scholars have taken this at face value. Purdom declared that G.B.S. ‘was certainly a puppet – an artificial creature, not the real Shaw at all.’¹⁷⁴⁴ Devlin felt there was a ‘more honest “I” behind all the Shavian personae, postures, and roles.’¹⁷⁴⁵ ‘G.B.S.’ was a mask: Minney argued that ‘a clear line can separate the two Shaws – the public Shaw, and the real Shaw as he was in private.’¹⁷⁴⁶ Yet the true picture was far more complex, with the boundaries blurred as we have seen. As Richard Dietrich has recently observed: ‘this is one man playing two parts, which reminds us that, after all, G.B.S. and Bernard Shaw were the same person, public and private Shaw.’¹⁷⁴⁷

There was a price to pay for this fame, as Shaw knew only too well. In a letter to Ellen Terry, Shaw portrayed his body as a thing-like commodity (‘a luxury’) in the marketplace: ‘Everything real in life is based on *need*...beyond that I am only a luxury, and, for luxuries, love and hate are the same passion.’¹⁷⁴⁸ Shaw’s self-portrayal parallels his complex, dualistic relationship to artefacts. As Francescato has explained in his study on consumption and aesthetics in the work of Henry James, a ‘consumerist attitude’ encompasses ‘both the economic meaning of consumption as a “satisfaction of needs” *through* the object and the

¹⁷⁴² ‘The Bride and Bernard Shaw’ by Peggy Leigh (Mrs. Chas. Graves), *Daily News*, press cutting, stamped May 1930. (MM).

¹⁷⁴³ Shaw, ‘The Chesterbelloc: A Lampon’, *The New Age*, 15 February 1908, reprinted in PPR, 73.

¹⁷⁴⁴ Purdom, quoted in Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager*, 193.

¹⁷⁴⁵ Daniel Dervin, *Bernard Shaw: A Psychological Study* (New Jersey and London: Associated University Presses, 1975), 78.

¹⁷⁴⁶ Minney, *The Bogus Image of Bernard Shaw*, 9.

¹⁷⁴⁷ Richard Farr Dietrich, ‘Novels’, in *George Bernard Shaw in Context*, ed. by Brad Kent (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 174.

¹⁷⁴⁸ Shaw to Ellen Terry, 12 October 1896, CL1, 676.

etymological meaning of consumption as “the action of destruction” of the object.’¹⁷⁴⁹ In a discussion of Shaw’s references to himself in *The Doctor’s Dilemma* Bertolini makes the point that the playwright is ambivalent about the artist’s identity: ‘the artist is at once everything and he is nothing.’¹⁷⁵⁰ As Bertolini suggests, this paradox means that Shaw’s ‘self-advertisement becomes self-effacement’.¹⁷⁵¹ Thus Shaw’s self-fashioning highlights a complex dialectic embodying both celebration and erasure, especially if we interpret it through the words of Ibsen’s *Button Moulder*: ‘Being one’s self means slaying one’s Self.’¹⁷⁵² Greenblatt has argued that at the heart of self-fashioning, there is always ‘some effacement or undermining, some loss of self.’¹⁷⁵³

This paradox has implications for our consideration of Shavian dress, which can be seen through the dialectic of surface/depth to function in a similar way to the anxieties expressed by Peer Gynt about self and non-self. The unmaking is vital to the making of the self. As Alexandra Warwick and Dani Cavallaro have argued in *Fashioning the Frame* (1998), dress has the power to ‘quiz conventional understandings of the relationship between surface and depth...the superficial forms of people and objects are seen to possess their own kind of depth.’¹⁷⁵⁴ Dress is an ambiguous frame, a paradox, it reveals but conceals, creating ‘both a margin and a boundary’.¹⁷⁵⁵ In *Wild Things: The Material Culture of Everyday Life* (2000) Judy Attfield has criticized the work of Cavallaro and Warwick here, owing to their focus on ‘representation and visuality’,¹⁷⁵⁶ which she feels is at the expense of embodiment and materiality. Yet *Fashioning the Frame* poses questions that have relevance for Shaw precisely because of his complex philosophizing about clothes, which cannot always be separated from his materialized identity. The meaning of Shaw’s dress is mediated by his

¹⁷⁴⁹ Francescato, *Collecting and Appreciating*, 2; ‘consumption’ here is discussed based on the definition from the *Oxford English Dictionary*, (3rd edition). In *Things Modern* (2007) Frank Dikötter points out that when the term ‘consumption’ came into use in the fourteenth century, it was assigned prodigal connotations by religious authorities: ‘it meant to waste, devour, use up to the point of exhaustion.’ (Dikötter, *Things Modern*, 11). Shaw had used a consumption analogy in *Man and Superman*: the joy of life is ‘being thoroughly worn out before you are thrown on the scrap heap.’ (II, 523). Shaw, ‘Epistle Dedicatory’, *Man and Superman*, 1903. Quoted in Hugo, *Edwardian Shaw*, 25.

¹⁷⁵⁰ Bertolini, *The Playwrighting Self of Bernard Shaw*, 92.

¹⁷⁵¹ Bertolini, *The Playwrighting Self of Bernard Shaw*, 92.

¹⁷⁵² Ibsen, *Peer Gynt*, 210.

¹⁷⁵³ Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 9. A comparison can be made with Shaw and Wilde in this regard. Julia Skelly has observed that Wilde’s public image (associated with excess) was something that could be ‘celebrated and embraced’, but could ‘also be used to degrade and destroy’. Julia Skelly, ‘The Paradox of Excess: Oscar Wilde, Caricature, and Consumption’, in *The Uses of Excess in Visual and Material Culture, 1600-2010*, ed. by Julia Skelly (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 140.

¹⁷⁵⁴ Alexandra Warwick and Dani Cavallaro, *Fashioning the Frame: Boundaries, Dress, and the Body* (Oxford: Berg, 1998), xxiii.

¹⁷⁵⁵ Warwick and Cavallaro, *Fashioning the Frame*, xvii.

¹⁷⁵⁶ Attfield, *Wild Things*, 239 (note 7), and 242.

control of the material surface.¹⁷⁵⁷ His clothed body as a surface becomes a site for debate, and this is achieved through Shaw's relentless concern with self-representation and immersion in visual culture.

Of all Shaw's responses to the material world, the views expressed via clothing are perhaps the most dialectical, and can be witnessed through the figure of the 'dandy'. Ellen Moers has defined the dandy as 'a man dedicated solely to his own perfection through a ritual of taste',¹⁷⁵⁸ and we can perceive how this figure might embody traits of his personality, whilst causing conflict. The dual aspects of Shaw's thinking on dress can be summarized as follows: the anti-dandy critic who attacks vanity and perceives clothing as empty, hollow and lifeless, as something that hides who we really are; versus the dandy-aesthete who embraces the sensuous, aesthetic experience of cloth, the craftsmanship and exclusivity, and celebrates the power of dress to construct a persona, or maintain surface appearances. Elements of this dialectic can be observed through Shaw's relationship to Carlyle's 'dandy' Teufelsdröckh in *Sartor Resartus*¹⁷⁵⁹ ('the tailor re-tailored') who 'can tailor or author a new suit of social clothing',¹⁷⁶⁰ and at the same time is 'a witness and living Martyr to the eternal Worth of Clothes.'¹⁷⁶¹

Shaw's position is similar to Carlyle's in that he rejects the dandy, but relies on his continuing presence. James Eli Adams observes that 'Carlyle repudiates dandyism as a social phenomenon'¹⁷⁶² nevertheless the figure of the dandy remains an obsession. According to Adams, Carlyle stresses 'the visibility of the dandy' thereby indicating 'the central preoccupations and rhetorical strategies of his own self-fashioning';¹⁷⁶³ and comparisons can be made with Shaw in this regard. I would suggest that Shaw also shares characteristics with the macaroni of the late eighteenth-century, who distinguishes himself through 'extreme visibility'.¹⁷⁶⁴ The macaroni has been distinguished from the dandy on the basis that the

¹⁷⁵⁷ The materiality, dynamism and theoretical meanings of the 'surface' have been discussed in recent literature: see Glenn Adamson and Victoria Kelley, eds., *Surface Tensions: Surface, Finish and the Meaning of Objects* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), and Stephen Knott, *Amateur Craft: History and Theory* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015).

¹⁷⁵⁸ Ellen Moers, *The Dandy: Brummell to Beerbohm* (New York: Viking, 1960), 13.

¹⁷⁵⁹ A copy of the book *Sartor Resartus: the Life and Opinions of Herr Teufelsdröckh* (1836) is in the Shaws' library. The book belonged to Charlotte, but was clearly read by Shaw. (NTIN 3062456).

¹⁷⁶⁰ Bossche, *Carlyle and the Search for Authority*, 42.

¹⁷⁶¹ Carlyle, 'The Dandiacal Body', in *Sartor Resartus*, 295.

¹⁷⁶² James Eli Adams, 'The Hero as Spectacle: Carlyle and the Persistence of Dandyism', in *Victorian Literature and the Victorian Visual Imagination*, ed. by Carol T. Christ and John O. Jordan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 215.

¹⁷⁶³ James Eli Adams, 'The Hero as Spectacle: Carlyle and the Persistence of Dandyism', 222.

¹⁷⁶⁴ Elizabeth Amann, *Dandyism in the Age of Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 194.

dandy embodied ‘understatement’¹⁷⁶⁵ yet as I explain shortly, I also define Shaw’s notion of dandyism in relation to Wilde and Whistler, those ‘dandy-aesthetes’ of the late Victorian period for whom visibility remained a guiding principle. In any event, other scholars have located an emphasis on the public gaze, vision and optical accessories within dandyism: ‘The dandy’s glance often concentrated on details, exaggerating trifles, inspecting accessories. It is no accident that monocles, lorgnettes, and quizzing glasses were often featured as among the most salient attributes of dandyism.’¹⁷⁶⁶ I have argued in chapter two that Shaw was photographed by Craig Annan in the pose of the connoisseur, however, we might equally read the portraits via the discourse of the dandy. Figure 294 shows a further image from this session, entitled ‘Shaw as art critic’ where he is pictured with his quizzing glass or folding lorgnette.¹⁷⁶⁷

Like ‘G.B.S.’, Teufelsdröckh was a literary mouthpiece through which the author could express uncomfortable truths. The clothing metaphor symbolized the overturning of outmoded institutions and conventions in the revolutionary process of creating a new society, analogous to Shaw’s crafting of the New Drama¹⁷⁶⁸, which co-existed with his role as a socialist. As Michael Carter has argued, the text was ‘a plea for the outer ‘vestural tissue’ to become the true embodiment of spiritual and social renewal.’¹⁷⁶⁹ Significantly Julius Herman (Herbert Skimpole), the author of *Bernard Shaw: the Man and His Work* (1918) saw in Shaw ‘an embodiment of Diogenes Teufelsdröckh, the Philosopher of Clothes.’¹⁷⁷⁰ According to Teufelsdröckh, clothes exhibit a fundamental tension: ‘Clothes gave us individuality, distinctions, social polity; Clothes have made Men of us; they are threatening to make Clothes-screens of us.’¹⁷⁷¹ Clothing can reveal, but also conceal who we really are. Shaw’s

¹⁷⁶⁵ Elizabeth Amann, for example, distinguishes between the dandy and the macaroni in the context of the late eighteenth-century. She argues that the underlying logic between the two differs: ‘The macaroni cultivates artificiality, spectacularity, and extreme visibility. The dandy, in contrast, privileges understatement.’ Amann, *Dandyism in the Age of Revolution*, 163.

¹⁷⁶⁶ Olga Vainshtein, ‘Dandyism, Visual Games, and the Strategies of Representation’, in *The Men’s Fashion Reader*, ed. by Peter McNeil and Vicki Karaminas (London: Bloomsbury, 2009), 85. Vainshtein reproduces images of quizzing glasses and folding lorgnettes (see figures 5.10, and 5.11). Also reproduced in this volume are images of macaronis and dandies with quizzing glasses (figures 3.1, and 5.18) that have relevance for this discussion of Shaw.

¹⁷⁶⁷ See Henderson, ‘Shaw as art critic’, in *George Bernard Shaw: Man of the Century*, 1956, between pages 160-61. This image was originally reproduced in *The Theatre Magazine*, May 1914. Another version of Craig Annan’s photograph can be found in one of Shaw’s albums of photographs. (BL Add. MS 50582A, f.41).

¹⁷⁶⁸ Sally Peters has linked *Sartor Resartus* to the name of Shaw’s character Sartorius in *Widower’s Houses* (1892): a play concerned with a ‘new suit of beliefs’. Sally Peters, *Bernard Shaw: The Ascent of the Superman*, 137.

¹⁷⁶⁹ Michael Carter, ‘Thomas Carlyle and *Sartor Resartus*’, in *The Men’s Fashion Reader*, ed. by Peter McNeil and Vicki Karaminas (London: Bloomsbury, 2009), 79.

¹⁷⁷⁰ Herbert Skimpole, *Bernard Shaw: the Man and His Work*, 92.

¹⁷⁷¹ Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*, 43.

article ‘The Tailor and the Stage’ voices a similar critique: ‘I have gradually come to regard the leading man in a play as a set of applied tailor’s measurements... This does not mean that the clothes are characteristic of the men: it means that the clothes have usurped the men’s place.’¹⁷⁷² Shaw spoke of one actor’s determination ‘to escape from his cloth prison’ (‘tailor’s tubes’), evoking what he termed ‘the tyranny of the Maddox Street tailor.’¹⁷⁷³ Free of his restrictive clothes, the actor was able to reveal his humanity and ‘could shew the audience what a real man was like.’¹⁷⁷⁴

If we recall, when Shaw posed nude for Coburn his letter evoked the ‘forked radish of Carlyle’, a direct reference to *Sartor Resartus*. Shaw bemoaned the fact that in portraits it was clothes, not real bodies that were displayed: ‘When Mr Alvin Langdon Coburn wanted to exhibit a full-length photographic portrait of me, I secured a faithful representation up to the neck¹⁷⁷⁵ by the trite expedient of sitting to him one morning as I got out of my bath. The portrait was duly hung before a stupefied public as a first step towards the realization of Carlyle’s antidote to political idolatry: a naked parliament.’¹⁷⁷⁶ Shaw declared: ‘Carlyle staggers humanity by inviting the House of Commons to sit unclothed, so that we, and they themselves, shall know them for what they really are.’¹⁷⁷⁷ He highlights the role of nudity as a liberating force for the body: a healthful device for shaking off outmoded conventions. This notion is humorously reflected in an eighteenth-century text in Shaw’s library: *Nakedness Consider’d: or, Reasons for not Wearing of Clothes. By a Gentleman of Great Parts* (1729).¹⁷⁷⁸ (Figure 295).

In practice however, Shaw happily advertised his physical fitness and youthful body in magazine articles through clothes, not merely his semi-nude body. In *Physical Culture*, for instance, we see images of Shaw sun-bathing, but the focus of the piece is directed towards an energetic *clothed* Shaw chopping wood at Shaw’s Corner in his Norfolk suit, or taking a

¹⁷⁷² Shaw, ‘The Tailor and the Stage’, 520.

¹⁷⁷³ Shaw, ‘The Tailor and the Stage’, 520.

¹⁷⁷⁴ Shaw, ‘The Tailor and the Stage’, 520.

¹⁷⁷⁵ Shaw is making the point here that a famous face can be a ‘fashionable mask.’ (Shaw, ‘Rodin’, PPR, 227).

¹⁷⁷⁶ Shaw, ‘Rodin’, PPR, 227. Carlyle had evoked the idea of a ‘naked House of Lords.’ Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*, 66.

¹⁷⁷⁷ Shaw, ‘The Quintessence of Ibsenism’, in *Major Critical Essays* (London: Constable, 1932 [1891]), 112.

¹⁷⁷⁸ *Nakedness Consider’d: or, Reasons for not Wearing of Clothes. By a Gentleman of Great Parts*, London, A. Moore, 1729. NTIN 3063851.

brisk walk in London, hatted and suited. (Figure 296).¹⁷⁷⁹ The article informs the reader: ‘The most brilliant mind in the world is housed in a body as vigorous and alive at the age of seventy-three as that of the average healthy man of half that age.’¹⁷⁸⁰ Vanity had always been one of the main driving forces behind Shaw’s adoption of certain types of clothing, and even the practical Norfolk suit he had worn since the 1890s, was appropriated partly from the perspective of self-conceit as he made clear in his article ‘The Tailor and the Stage’: ‘The bicycle “caught on”; and the man of forty discovered that it was possible to pass for thirty in knickerbockers.’¹⁷⁸¹ Shaw was meticulous about all aspects of his personal appearance, as various reminiscences and magazine articles record. Regarding his beard, *Nash’s Magazine* reported: ‘he goes to Miss Hammond’s beauty parlour in Bond Street and has it waved and curled every week.’¹⁷⁸²

Shaw’s preoccupation with his personal mode of dress was reflected in his interest in the role of clothing in shaping the identity of literary and historical figures, and this fascination paradoxically led to a desire for its removal as the following passage from his review of Ibsen’s *When we Dead Awaken* humorously suggests:

We have hardly any portraits, either painted or carved, of our famous men and women or even of our nearest and dearest friends. Charles Dickens is known to us as a guy with a human head and face on top. Shakespear is a laundry advertisement of a huge starched collar with his head sticking out of it. Dr Johnson is a face looking through a wig perched on a snuffy suit of old clothes... Bereaved parents, orphans, and widows weep fondly over photographs of uniforms, frock coats, gowns, and hats, for the sake of the

¹⁷⁷⁹ Judge Henry Neil, ‘Bernard Shaw’s Undying Youth’, *Physical Culture* (November 1929), 39. ‘The philosopher-playwright’s fighting fitness at 73’ provides the caption for the images. For the photographs of Shaw chopping wood at Shaw’s Corner see NT Shaw Photographs 1715218.52-53; and an image of Shaw sawing wood with Harry Higgs, 1715218.48). According to Laurence, Shaw visited the physical culturist Bernarr Macfadden (the founder of the magazine *Physical Culture*) whilst in Miami in February 1936 (CL4, 425). See also *The Sketch* (19 October 1927), 120, where Shaw is shown in numerous press photographs sun-bathing, but also playing tennis in his suit, whilst on holiday at Lago Maggiore. (MM).

¹⁷⁸⁰ Neil, ‘Bernard Shaw’s Undying Youth’, 39.

¹⁷⁸¹ Shaw, ‘The Tailor and the Stage’, 524.

¹⁷⁸² Caroline Cheyne, ‘G.B. Shaw, Esquire, of London’, *Nash’s Magazine* (May 1931), 52. Shaw attended Bertha Hammond’s salon in Old Bond Street. (See Shaw’s letter to Charlotte, 23 July 1931, CL4, 250). His hair was cut by Frederick William Harvey at Curzon Street, Mayfair. See Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager*, 204-05.

little scrap of humanity that is allowed to peep through these trappings.¹⁷⁸³

Shaw was critical of the way these figures are memorialized through items of clothing: subjects reconstituted through dress. Stallybrass and Jones have similarly argued that during the Renaissance period, Hilliard's portraits, for example, 'are as much the portraits of clothes and jewels as of people – mnemonics to commemorate a particularly extravagant suit...the pictures themselves give a minutely detailed portrayal of the material constitution of the subject: a subject composed through textiles and jewels, fashioned by clothes.'¹⁷⁸⁴

Yet despite Shaw's critique of the power of clothes to overshadow the wearer, he was often keen to document the dress worn by others, observing for instance whilst visiting the USSR in 1931: 'we inspected a huge electric factory, where the boss wore a beautiful silk shirt and a jacket of Conduit St – Savile Row cut.'¹⁷⁸⁵ Not surprisingly, Shaw paid close attention to dress when it came to the staging of his plays,¹⁷⁸⁶ working with designers such as Ricketts and Paul Shelving.¹⁷⁸⁷ Shaw even drew sketches for the costumes to be used in the 1894 production of *Arms and the Man*.¹⁷⁸⁸ This interest in historical dress extended to the dress of his contemporaries, especially artists. On this point, it is essential to study a letter Shaw wrote to John Taylor, the editor of the journal *The Tailor and Cutter* in 1947, where he discusses the dress of artists/playwrights who feature prominently at Shaw's Corner, including Morris, Rodin, Troubetzkoy, Augustus John and Ibsen:

The greatest artists are not careless of their dress. Rodin, who worked at his modelling like an old plasterer, went out of doors looking like his

¹⁷⁸³ Shaw, 'The Quintessence of Ibsenism', in *Major Critical Essays* (London: Constable, 1932 [1891]), 112. A similar passage was quoted by Coburn in the context of a discussion of nudity, where Shaw had said (to his biographer Frank Harris): 'though we have hundreds of photographs of Dickens and Wagner, we see nothing of them except their suits of clothes with their heads sticking out; and what is the use of that?' Shaw quoted in Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, *Alvin Langdon Coburn Photographer*, 40. This passage also appears in Gibbs, *Interviews and Recollections*, 203. Yet a further example appeared in Shaw's essay on Rodin: 'Nobody knows what Dickens was like, or what Queen Victoria was like, though their wardrobes are on record.' Shaw, 'Rodin', PPR, 227.

¹⁷⁸⁴ Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, 35.

¹⁷⁸⁵ Shaw to Charlotte, 23 July 1931, CL4, 249.

¹⁷⁸⁶ See Dukore, *Bernard Shaw Director*, 155-62; and Dukore, *Shaw's Theater*, 118-23.

¹⁷⁸⁷ Shaw wrote to Edward Gordon Craig: 'Ricketts and Paul Shelving have found in my plays a canvas for their triumphs. I loved their art; and they loved mine: we instinctively helped one another out.' (7 September 1929, CL4, 160). Paul Shelving was the designer for the Birmingham Repertory Company, and designed the sets and costumes for *Back to Methuselah* (1923), *The Apple Cart* (1929), *Geneva* (1938), and *In Good King Charles's Golden Days* (1939). See Conolly, *Bernard Shaw and Barry Jackson*, 47. For an image of Shelving's costume designs for *In Good King Charles's Golden Days* see Weintraub, 'In the Picture Galleries', in *The Genius of Shaw*, facing page 57. Shelving's original designs for the costumes of *The Apple Cart* (1929) are in the Mander and Mitchenson Theatre Collection.

¹⁷⁸⁸ See Dukore, *Bernard Shaw Director*, facing page 165; and Dukore, *Shaw's Theater*, 124-25.

contemporary King Oscar of Sweden. Paul Troubetskoy, his great rival as a sculptor, looked every inch a Russian prince. William Morris, described by Andrew Lang as “like a ship’s purser[,]” wore a blue lounge suit and a blue shirt and collar dyed by himself, and would not tolerate a mirror in his house. But he was not careless or slovenly. Very much the opposite. Augustus John, regardless of convention, but not careless, and presentably like his namesake the Apostle... Ibsen (whom I never saw) was very particular, and might have passed for an ambassador. I wore collars years before anyone except Morris dared; but I could not bear a tie of the wrong color; and I now look fairly in fashion, though I do not allow my jackets to be lined and padded.¹⁷⁸⁹

In the ‘self-interviewing’ section of *Sixteen Self Sketches*, Shaw similarly explained that he wore ‘collars of various colors’, however the dye was ‘always chosen to carry out a theory that the best color effect is that of two shades of the same color.’¹⁷⁹⁰ As such passages suggest, Shaw remained passionate, even obsessive about his own dress; and these traits indicate the other side to the Carlylean ‘Philosopher of Clothes’, the dandy who understands the social and material properties of clothes. Carlyle provides an account of that ‘Dandiacal’ figure, a figure I argue Shaw lives up to: ‘A Dandy is a Clothes-wearing Man, a Man whose trade, office, and existence consists in the wearing of Clothes. Every faculty of his soul, spirit, purse, and person is heroically consecrated to this one object, the wearing of Clothes wisely and well: so that as others dress to live, he lives to dress.’¹⁷⁹¹

We see humorous evidence of this obsessiveness in Shaw’s ‘tragedy’ *Passion, Poison, and Petrification*, where one character’s envy of another’s clothes results in poisoning with plaster. Evoking *Sartor Resartus*, Adolphus Bastable becomes not only a ‘living statue’, but ‘the first clothes-martyr’ (III, 210). As Adolphus informs Fitztollemache: ‘if you laugh at my clothes, one of us must die.’ (III, 209). Although Shaw the critic is suspicious of the power of clothes, Shaw the wearer embraces that power; and Warwick and Cavallaro have explained how this agency operates: ‘the ostensibly inanimate and hence powerless item of clothing is transformed into an agent by its ability to furnish the body with signifying powers that the

¹⁷⁸⁹ Shaw to John Taylor, 6 July 1947, CL4, 796-97. See also Shaw’s article: A ‘short treatise on the well-known artistic folk who were interested in appearing at their best always’, *The Tailor and Cutter: A Trade Journal and Index of Fashion*, 82 (5 September 1947), 624. (Laurence, *Bernard Shaw: A Bibliography*, 797). The journal’s readership was primarily the bespoke tailoring trade, and had been founded in 1866.

¹⁷⁹⁰ Shaw, *Sixteen Self-Sketches*, 126.

¹⁷⁹¹ Carlyle, ‘The Dandiacal Body’, in *Sartor Resartus*, 295.

unclothed subject would lack.’¹⁷⁹²

The dandified traits within Shaw’s personality were reflected in the art journals of the early 1900s. An article entitled ‘The Cult of Costume’ published in *The Art Record: A Monthly Illustrated Review of the Arts and Crafts* (1901) made the following startling observation about Shaw’s dress: ‘Askew and Co., of 42 Conduit Street, who are the Jaeger tailors, have the greatest difficulty in preventing the popular dramatist, critic and vegetarian from donning mustard coloured fleece with purple trimmings, and other equally weird colour combinations.’¹⁷⁹³ This was not the stereotypical, early nineteenth-century English dandy (epitomized by Beau Brummell) so admired by Adolf Loos,¹⁷⁹⁴ and Baudelaire, who merged into the crowd. Shaw would have mocked such a figure with his dark suit and white linen.¹⁷⁹⁵ For his own part, Loos emphatically rejected Jaeger’s clothing system as foppery: ‘A fop is someone for whom the sole purpose of clothing is to make him stand out from his environment. The arguments used to justify this clownish behaviour vary from the ethical to the hygienic to the aesthetic. From good master Diefenbach to Professor Jäger.’¹⁷⁹⁶ Both Shaw and Loos believed in shocking the public into self-awareness through the use of satire: but their attitudes on dress were diametrically opposed.

Shaw’s dress in many respects evoked the flamboyance and ostentation of the Wildean dandy. Although Shaw compared himself to Wilde in a way that was supposed to highlight the flaws of Wilde’s eye-catching clothes, it actually served as a commentary on Shaw’s own dress which incorporated aspects of both the ‘king’ and ‘drum major’ in his witticism: ‘Wilde was so in love with style that he never realized the danger of biting off more than he could chew: in other words, of putting up more style than his matter would carry. Wise kings wear shabby clothes, and leave the gold lace to the drum major.’¹⁷⁹⁷ Shaw may have been keen to distance himself from Wilde on paper, given that the discourse on ‘life-style

¹⁷⁹² Warwick and Cavallaro, *Fashioning the Frame*, 60.

¹⁷⁹³ ‘W.T.D’, ‘The Cult of Costume’, *The Art Record: A Monthly Illustrated Review of the Arts and Crafts*, 2 (1901), 695.

¹⁷⁹⁴ See Jules Lubbock, ‘Adolf Loos and the English Dandy’, *The Architectural Review*, 174, 1038 (August 1983), 43.

¹⁷⁹⁵ Carlyle also satirizes ‘the ascetic pretensions of dandyism’. See James Eli Adams, ‘The Hero as Spectacle: Carlyle and the Persistence of Dandyism’, 222.

¹⁷⁹⁶ Loos, ‘Men’s Fashion’, (1898), reprinted in Adolf Loos, *Ornament and Crime, Selected Essays*, 41.

¹⁷⁹⁷ Shaw, ‘Oscar Wilde’, PPR, 292. See also Shaw ‘My Memories of Oscar Wilde’, in Frank Harris, *Oscar Wilde* (Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1959 [1918]), 338. Shaw’s ‘memories’ had originally taken the form of a letter written to Harris. It was then published by Harris in his biography of Wilde in 1918, and later published by Shaw in PPR

Aestheticism'¹⁷⁹⁸ and the consuming aesthete was redolent with associations of vanity and affectation. As Anderson has suggested, '[a] man only concerned with his clothes or his china could not be expected to take the lead in affairs of state.'¹⁷⁹⁹

Yet Shaw the dandy and connoisseur of colour emerges through the image provided by 'The Cult of Costume' (and the Coburn autochromes), which have the capacity to shock because we are accustomed to viewing Shaw in Jaeger through black and white photographs. A caricature by Alick Ritchie of Shaw in a striking coloured checked coat published in *Vanity Fair* in 1911 (figure 297),¹⁸⁰⁰ similarly accentuates this distinctive feature of his clothing. Making his body conspicuous was part of the plan, and such records help us contextualize his perspective on dress in terms of its physicality and materiality. But this emphasis on the visual did not necessarily mean an absence of social criticism: as Gagnier has shown, the figure of the Wildean dandy in the fin-de-siècle period embodied a specific critique of middle-class ideologies.¹⁸⁰¹

'The Cult of Costume' article provides further revealing information about Shaw's tailor, indicating that as a consumer he is a man of taste. It tells us that Askew and Company, of 42 Conduit Street, had been appointed 'Jaeger tailors' by the date of the article (1901), presumably making clothes for clients using Jaeger wool. At what point this arrangement between Askew and Jaeger commenced is unclear, however it was possibly in place by 1897, as Shaw's request for his Jaeger cape was addressed to '42 Conduit Street' as we have seen. Shaw clearly remained a devotee of the bespoke tailors Askew and Company for several decades according to the extant clothes at Shaw's Corner: many buttons and labels reveal the stamp of 'Askew and Co., 42 Conduit Street' (although it is not known for certain whether the firm continued associations with Jaeger throughout the entire period of Shaw's patronage of the firm). Figure 298 for instance shows the buttons on a pair of Shaw's Askew brown woollen trousers from a suit, whilst figure 299 reveals the label from the matching

¹⁷⁹⁸ Anderson, 'Fearful Consequences...of Living up to One's Teapot': Men, Women and 'Cultchah' in the Aesthetic Movement', 126.

¹⁷⁹⁹ Anderson, 'Fearful Consequences...of Living up to One's Teapot': Men, Women and 'Cultchah' in the Aesthetic Movement', 127.

¹⁸⁰⁰ Alick P.F. Ritchie, 'G.B.S.', lithograph, *Vanity Fair Supplement*, 16 August 1911. (MM). The pocket of Shaw's coat contains a play entitled: 'Caesar and Cleopatra by Shawkspeare'. (Reproduced in Holroyd, ed., *The Genius of Shaw*, facing page 17).

¹⁸⁰¹ Gagnier, *Idylls of the Marketplace*, 79.

waistcoat.¹⁸⁰² Another Askew and Company suit in fine grey wool, decorated with a narrow darker grey stripe remains in the collection (figure 300);¹⁸⁰³ and extant press images reveal Shaw wearing this suit when he arrived in San Francisco in March 1936. (Figure 301). The newspapers focussed on his dress, informing readers that he was ‘dressed in a striped grey suit, striped pink shirt, and tan tie.’¹⁸⁰⁴ Pointon has recently criticized this method of examining such sources together: ‘Even in the rare cases when the clothing shown in a portrait survives, to put the material possession alongside the portrait representation is to illuminate the disparity between a textile that was once worn but now seems ‘dead’...and a pictorial fiction of life and wholeness framed and hung on a wall.’¹⁸⁰⁵ Yet I would suggest instead that the reverse is true: the absent is made present by the juxtaposition and Shaw’s Askew suit at Shaw’s Corner comes alive. In a similar way, considering the sensual qualities of cloth animates the photograph.

An article from 1938 focused on Shaw’s bespoke tailoring, in response to a criticism from an Irish judge who had claimed that Shaw’s clothes were ‘appalling’: figure 302 shows the press cutting from the Shaw’s Corner collection which has the headline ‘Shaw on his Suits’, with a photograph where he is pictured in one his typical Norfolk suits.¹⁸⁰⁶ Shaw’s comments were reported, where he highlighted the role of Askew: ‘I get my clothes now from a first-rate West End tailor. There is nothing unusual about what I wear. It is the ordinary country gentleman’s coat and breeches – something suitable for the country. They are properly made breeches by the way – I have never worn plus-fours.’¹⁸⁰⁷ Evidence shows that Shaw maintained an eye for fine detail when it came to his dress, and despite his assertion here that there was nothing unusual about his clothes, he actually remaining incredibly particular, especially regarding the pattern and texture of the cloth. A surviving letter from Askew to Shaw demonstrates this: ‘We thank you for your enquiry of the 27th re. patterns for suit and have much pleasure in enclosing same herewith. The pattern attached to letter is the same cloth as the suit of 1937, and we can still get this cloth, the patterns marked ‘A&G 1868 & 1870’ are the same texture as pattern attached to letter, but of different shade. Would it be a

¹⁸⁰² Askew and Company Ltd, 42 Conduit Street W1. Waistcoat (NTIN 1275439.2); trousers (NTIN 1275439.3). The jacket from the suit bears a similar label (NTIN 1275439.1). Another Askew suit in the collection is adorned with the same buttons; see NTIN 1275443.3.

¹⁸⁰³ Jacket, trousers and waistcoat, Askew and Company. (NTIN 1275443.1-3). The waistcoat bears a hole for a watch chain.

¹⁸⁰⁴ Photograph caption dated 15 March 1936 (verso), Acme News Pictures, San Francisco Bureau.

¹⁸⁰⁵ Pointon, *Portrayal and the Search for Identity*, 126.

¹⁸⁰⁶ *The Star* (26 October 1938). Durrant’s Press Cuttings, Shaw’s Corner Collection.

¹⁸⁰⁷ Shaw, reported in *The Star* (26 October 1938).

knicker suit that is required?’¹⁸⁰⁸

Weisert has argued that there were ‘Shavian reservations’¹⁸⁰⁹ about Jaeger in later years; however Shaw continued to wear Jaeger clothing such as his cape until the late 1940s. The evidence provided by the clothes suggest that Askew and Company remained his main tailor throughout his life from the 1890s through to the 1940s; and from press photographs we know that Shaw still employed striking Askew suits to make a statement. One particular photo-shoot took place at Shaw’s Corner in 1948, when Shaw posed in the garden in his Askew camel-coloured wool suit for the cover of *Illustrated* magazine. (Figure 303).¹⁸¹⁰ The suit survives in the collection, and figures 304 and 305 show the double-breasted jacket and label.¹⁸¹¹ During the last decade of his life when he was no longer making such regular trips to London, he did start making purchases (1941-1949) from a local Hertfordshire firm, J.H. Coulson, of Welwyn, and significantly the bespoke tailoring service and attention to detail was retained. Coulson was described as a ‘real livery tailor’ by the postman at Ayot, Harry Rayner, who recalled that Coulson ‘used to cycle to Ayot by appointment for measuring and fitting.’¹⁸¹² A green tweed jacket can be found in the collection, with a Coulson label, which probably relates to the following receipt at LSE: ‘knicker suit to measure in hand-woven Lovat tweed.’¹⁸¹³ (Figure 306).¹⁸¹⁴

Sally Peters’s arguments, fashioning Shaw as an ascetic, are rendered problematic by Shaw’s continuing emphasis on the fine details of his clothing, his distinctive use of dress, and the desire to display his immaculately clothed body in the press. And in the context of asceticism her claim that ‘wearing his clothes like a suit of armor he camouflaged himself as the Jaegerized butterfly’¹⁸¹⁵ shows no awareness that the phrase ‘Jaegerized butterfly’ had historical and cultural meanings which denoted dandified display in the late nineteenth-century, and linked Shaw to figures associated with aestheticism such as Whistler and Wilde, who were aiming at the polar opposite of concealment. Whistler, it has been claimed, used his

¹⁸⁰⁸ Askew and Company to Shaw, 28 March 1940, BL Add MS.50522, f.272. Unfortunately the fabric swatches have not survived.

¹⁸⁰⁹ Weisert, ‘Clothes Make the Man’, 31.

¹⁸¹⁰ *Illustrated* (20 November 1948). The photograph on the cover was by Lisa Sheridan.

¹⁸¹¹ NTIN 1275441.1. Label: ‘Askew & Co Ltd, 42 Conduit St. W1’; handwritten: ‘G.B. Shaw Esq., 820; 5-07.’

¹⁸¹² Harry S. Rayner, quoted in Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager*, 127.

¹⁸¹³ LSE Shaw Business Papers 25/9, f.62. Receipt from J.H. Coulson, Welwyn, dated 9 June 1947. The sum paid was £16-10-0. Further purchases from Coulson were made by Shaw; see LSE 22/3, f.3; 25/7, f.28; 25/12, f.16, from 1941 to 1949.

¹⁸¹⁴ NTIN 1275437.1.

¹⁸¹⁵ Sally Peters, *Bernard Shaw: The Ascent of the Superman*, 105.

‘mode of dress as a magnet for publicity.’¹⁸¹⁶ Jaeger clothing ensured people would notice Shaw: the wearing of the clothes was about the sensual properties of cloth, but was also concerned with the business of creating a sensation and visibility. At the first performance of *Widowers’ Houses* in 1892, Shaw had ‘stepped out before the curtain in a suit of dazzling silver grey [Jaeger] stockinet.’¹⁸¹⁷ Peters views Shaw as the antithesis of Wilde’s dandy as we have already seen. Yet his lifelong commitment to posing for the media suggests otherwise. Shaw needed an audience; and as Jerome Christensen has observed, ‘if the dandy shines in the closet and no one is there to see him, he does not exist.’¹⁸¹⁸

The ‘butterfly’ was a specific reference to the moniker of Whistler. It is important to recognize that one of the very first portraits of Shaw was painted by Sir (John) Bernard Partridge¹⁸¹⁹ in 1894, who was acquainted with Whistler, and had painted the American’s portrait only a few years previously. Partridge simultaneously worked as an actor using the stage name of Bernard Gould, and like Shaw, he participated in a wide social circle in the worlds of art and the theatre during the 1890s. Weintraub notes that Partridge played the part of Sergius Saranoff in *Arms and the Man* in 1894, and at that time drew ‘a famous sketch of Shaw (“Ahenobarbus”) rehearsing the play.’¹⁸²⁰ Partridge in fact painted two versions of the portrait. The first was a drawing called ‘George Bernard Shaw: Ahenobarbus at Rehearsal’ in pen-and-ink, crayon and watercolour wash, made in 1894 specifically for reproduction in *The Sketch* magazine. This drawing by Partridge was owned by the Shaws, and was displayed in Charlotte’s bedroom at Adelphi Terrace: it is now in the archives of the HRC, Texas, (figure 307).¹⁸²¹ It was described in the Adelphi Terrace Inventory as a ‘portrait of G. Bernard Shaw Esq., rehearsing “Arms and the Man” at the Avenue Theatre in the character of S. Saranoff – drawing by Sir B. Gould.’¹⁸²² At Shaw’s Corner there is a lithographic proof relating to the print after the painting published in *The Sketch* which Shaw then inscribed prior to

¹⁸¹⁶ David Park Curry, *James McNeill Whistler: Uneasy Pieces* (Richmond: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 2004), 42.

¹⁸¹⁷ Frank Harris, *Bernard Shaw*, 115.

¹⁸¹⁸ Jerome Christensen, *Lord Byron’s Strength: Romantic Writing and Commercial Society* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1993), 160.

¹⁸¹⁹ Shaw first met Bernard Partridge on 13 October 1886 at the Salon Parisien, 160 New Bond Street. (BSD1, 204-05). Partridge would later become the chief cartoonist for *Punch* magazine.

¹⁸²⁰ Weintraub, BSD1, 205. ‘Ahenobarbus’ was a reference to Shaw’s red beard and the politician of ancient Rome.

¹⁸²¹ HRC, 67.66. (Art Collection). In his article on Beardsley, Calloway stated that the whereabouts of the work was unknown, but it was rediscovered in the archives of the HRC, Texas during my visit there in 2012. See Calloway and Owens, ‘A ‘lost’ Beardsley drawing rediscovered’, 52, figure 4.

¹⁸²² Adelphi Terrace Inventory, 1908, 49. This drawing was reproduced in Henderson, *Playboy and Prophet*, facing page 474. Henderson states that the drawing depicted Shaw on 21 April 1894.

framing.¹⁸²³ The second version of the portrait was a more finished watercolour painting, now at the NPG. (Figure 308).¹⁸²⁴ We can compare this to the portrait of Whistler by Partridge (figure 309) which has similar dimensions.¹⁸²⁵

In terms of Partridge's portrayal, comparisons can also be made between the depiction of Shaw as a performer and Whistler's dandyism. In his writings Shaw may have distanced himself from certain aspects of the Aesthetic movement.¹⁸²⁶ But in practice he admired many artists associated with Aestheticism, such as Beardsley, Wilde, and Whistler¹⁸²⁷ who were concerned with the performative aspects of self-fashioning. Shaw's concern with the projection of a public image via his clothes was very much part of the 'decadent' convictions of the 1890s, where posing formed part of the lifestyle of the 'consuming aesthete'.¹⁸²⁸ Alexander Sturgis has summed up Whistler's dandyism as follows, in a way that evokes aspects of Shaw's self-conceit and media poses:

Whistler was a consummate self-publicist and cultivated his personal style as a promotional tool. Always deeply dress-conscious – as a young man his mother had despaired of his tailors' bills – Whistler developed his dandified persona, with his monocle, famous tuft of white hair and acid epigrammatic wit, as public spectacle. It was a pose through which he could proclaim his aestheticism, just as he did with his personal emblem of the beautiful yet unproductive butterfly. Through his manner he drew attention to himself while paradoxically expressing his disdain for the very public he courted.¹⁸²⁹

¹⁸²³ *The Sketch* (April 25 1894), 673, titled: 'Mr. George Bernard Shaw at the rehearsal of his play at the Avenue Theatre.' Shaw signed the print 'G. Bernard Shaw'; and at lower right: 'Rehearsing "Arms and the Man" at the Avenue Theatre in 1894. Drawn by Sergius Saranoff, alias Bernard Gould, alias Partridge.' (NTIN 1274696). Another early drawing of Shaw by Partridge was published in *The Sketch* (2 May 1894), entitled 'Mr. Shaw at the Playgoer's Club'. BL Add MS. 50740, f.18.

¹⁸²⁴ NPG 4229. (Reproduced in Weintraub, 'In the Picture Galleries', in *The Genius of Shaw*, between pages 56-57).

¹⁸²⁵ The portrait of Shaw relates to the Partridge painting of Whistler in terms of size: 26.7 x 18.4 cms. (The Whistler portrait is 26.4 x 13.7 cms; watercolour on paper, circa 1889; NPG 3541). Whistler's butterfly symbol is inscribed on the central part of the lower edge.

¹⁸²⁶ In an early essay he had spoken of 'the diseased languor of modern aestheticism'; this was probably a reference to literary figures and poets such as Swinburne. Shaw, 'Exhausted Arts' (1880), in Norma Jenckes, 'A Spring-Cleaning for the Arts', in *Unpublished Shaw: The Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, vol. 16, ed. by Dan H. Laurence and Margot Peters (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), 97.

¹⁸²⁷ Shaw had defended Whistler's 'qualities of artistic execution'. Shaw, *The Sanity of Art*, 19.

¹⁸²⁸ Emma Sutton, *Aubrey Beardsley*, 125.

¹⁸²⁹ Alexander Sturgis, in Alexander Sturgis et al, eds., *Rebels and Martyrs: The Image of the Artist in the Nineteenth Century* (London, The National Gallery, 2006), 130.

The Adelphi Terrace Inventory description of the Partridge portrait of Shaw actually provides an interesting clue to the original context for the work: it was listed as a depiction of Shaw not merely in rehearsal with his actors, but performing ‘in the character of S. Saranoff.’¹⁸³⁰ Given this revelation, it is interesting to see that Berst has observed Shaw’s dramatic use of the portrait of Sergius Saranoff in *Arms and the Man*, noting how Sergius’s portrait ‘almost breathes’: it becomes ‘an object of both worship and ridicule, it wavers between icon and caricature.’¹⁸³¹ This fictional portrait anticipates the way actual portraits of Shaw were thought about and conceived by artists such as Beerbohm, and can therefore be read as an example of the Wildean notion of life imitating art.

The Partridge portrait of Shaw as Saranoff links Shaw to another famous dandy, Lord Byron (whose satirical rendering of the Don Juan theme influenced Shaw). By his own admission, Saranoff was the epitome of ‘Byronism’ (I, 419) and exhibited traits of the Byronic dandy: described as ‘an extremely handsome officer’ (I, 390), he combines a ‘half ironic air’ with ‘scrupulous gallantry.’ (I, 419). We have already observed that Shaw admired other Byronic figures such as the writer and adventurer Cunninghame Graham, whose love of flamboyant dress was legendary as Waller notes: ‘he remained the poseur in whatever costume. He so loved dressing up for photographers and artists that Beatrice Webb called him “a barber’s block.”’¹⁸³² St. John Ervine recalled Shaw walking along Bond Street with his mother ‘when Cunninghame Graham, a great dandy, passed by and saluted them with a magnificent sweep of his silk hat.’¹⁸³³

Shaw had long been fascinated by the relation of dress to performativity owing to his work as a dramatist. On one of his visits to the actress Florence Farr he noted afterwards: ‘I stayed all the evening. We were playing, singing, trying on *Rosmersholm* dresses, going over the part etc.’¹⁸³⁴ And we see him making a tongue-in-cheek appearance in costume as the Beadle in the press photographs staged to promote the Haymarket Theatre production of *Getting*

¹⁸³⁰ Adelphi Terrace Inventory 1908, 49.

¹⁸³¹ Berst, ‘The Action of Shaw’s Settings and Props’, 45.

¹⁸³² Waller, *Writers, Readers, and Reputations*, 571.

¹⁸³³ Ervine, *Bernard Shaw*, 318.

¹⁸³⁴ 11 February 1891, BSD2, 696.

Married in 1908 (figure 310).¹⁸³⁵ Shaw's specifications for the Beadle's costume included 'a short caped Inverness with gold braid...[and] an immaculate frock coat and trousers with gold braid and stripe down the leg.'¹⁸³⁶ Fittingly he used dress as a means of satirizing the critical responses to the play (whilst poking fun at his own reliance upon clothes to create his persona):

The characters will seem to the wretched critics to be simply a row of Shaws, all arguing with one another on totally uninteresting subjects. Shaw in a bishop's apron will argue with Shaw in a general's uniform. Shaw in an alderman's gown will argue with Shaw dressed as a beadle. Shaw dressed as a bridegroom will be wedded to Shaw in petticoats. (III, 665).¹⁸³⁷

In the context of Shaw's predilection for the performative in relation to dress, it is appropriate to close with a consideration of his friendship with the wealthy Hong-Kong philanthropist and industrialist Robert Ho Tung. The Shaws had been to Hong Kong in 1933, and a visit to see Ho Tung at his luxurious mansion Idlewild made a significant impression on Shaw particularly. Figure 311 shows the two men together at that time, with Shaw sitting on the steps of the house.¹⁸³⁸ Several artefacts in the collection commemorate their relationship, and perhaps the most poignant is a dark blue silk Chinese robe presented to Shaw by Ho Tung in July 1949, on the occasion of his visit to Shaw's Corner.¹⁸³⁹ (Figure 312).¹⁸⁴⁰ Shaw dressed in the robe to show off to the press photographers, who came to Ayot to record the special visit

¹⁸³⁵ 'Mr. Bernard Shaw as the Beadle: the dramatist understudies for a rehearsal photograph of his new play, "Getting Married"'. *The Illustrated London News*, 30 May 1908. (Reproduced from *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*, 115. Photograph: Ellis and Walery). This image was also reproduced in Weintraub, *The Unexpected Shaw*, 52. In their *Theatrical Companion to Shaw* Mander and Mitchenson claimed that Shaw 'stood in to make the scene complete' (122) in the absence of the actor Albert Sims, although as Weintraub states this is disputed by Henderson who argued that Shaw actually played the part of the Beadle in the play. (Weintraub, *The Unexpected Shaw*, 51).

¹⁸³⁶ Shaw to J.E. Vedrenne, 26 April 1908, quoted in Dukore, *Bernard Shaw Director*, 161; and Dukore, *Shaw's Theater*, 123.

¹⁸³⁷ Shaw, 'Mr. Bernard Shaw on his New Play', drafted for the *Daily Telegraph*, 7 May 1908; also quoted in HOL2, 204. Given Shaw's mention here of 'Shaw dressed as a beadle' it seems possible that his appearance as the Beadle in the press photographs taken to promote the play was a deliberate ploy.

¹⁸³⁸ Shaw and Ho Tung pictured together in 1933 at Idlewild, Hong Kong; press photograph, reproduced in HOL3, between pages 214-15.

¹⁸³⁹ Kay Li has stated that this garment was similar to the clothes worn by Ho Tung himself; see Kay Li, 'Philanthropy, Inheritances, and Legacies: Visualization, Sir Robert Ho Tung, and Idlewild in *Buoyant Billions*', in *SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, vol. 36, no.1, ed. by Audrey McNamara and Nelson O'C. Ritschel (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016), 183.

¹⁸⁴⁰ The Chinese silk robe (NTIN 1275417).

on 4 July 1949.¹⁸⁴¹ Figure 313 shows a delighted Shaw wearing the robe and holding a Chinese goose feather fan, also a gift from Ho Tung, who is seated on the veranda at Shaw's Corner in a Chinese robe and hat.¹⁸⁴² The photograph is inscribed verso (in Ho Tung's hand): 'In your Chinese dress you look very much like a distinguished Chinese gentleman.' Shaw evidently sent further images to Ho Tung afterwards, as a letter from him in the collection reads: 'very kind of you to have sent me a few photos in that robe. You certainly look attractive in it and it is not surprising that it has won favourable attention from your many admirers.'¹⁸⁴³ When Ho Tung died in 1957, *The Shavian* reported on his friendship with Shaw, noting both the shrine inside his residence (which provided the model for the temple in Shaw's play of 1947 *Buoyant Billions*) and the gift of the robe: 'Shaw came across the domestic Chinese temple where Sir Robert daily refreshed his spirit. The Shaws' visit was repaid several years later by Sir Robert at Ayot St Lawrence, and it was on this occasion that he presented Shaw with the beautiful Chinese robe that suited GBS so well.'¹⁸⁴⁴

It is significant that this passage highlights both the 'Chinese robe' and 'Chinese temple' which Shaw had visited at Idlewild. His relationship to both dress and the interior became increasingly important to him, reflected in his essay of 1946, 'Aesthetic Science' where he mentions the role of clothes, artefacts and buildings: 'all the improvements in our vital statistics that has been credited to doctors' prescriptions... has been really produced by pleasant colours, pleasant smells, handsome buildings, gracious curtains, furniture and utensils, fine clothes, noble pictures, music and beauty everywhere.'¹⁸⁴⁵ Although Shaw did not acknowledge it, this idea was adapted from Walter Pater's notion of beauty 'as rooted in the individual's sensory perception of the material world.'¹⁸⁴⁶ Appropriately it is within this piece that Shaw writes a eulogy to Ho Tung's temple:

He took me upstairs into what in England would have been a drawing-room. It was a radiant miniature temple with an altar of Chinese vermilion

¹⁸⁴¹ NT Shaw Photographs 1715256.64; 1715256.67. A similar photograph (framed), taken on the same day by a press photographer (Mavana Vandyck), is in the collection: see NTIN 1274667. This image was reproduced in the *New York Times*. A further press photograph of Shaw and Ho Tung taken at Shaw's Corner by L.F.H. Beard is in The Weiner Collection, Colgate University, New York.

¹⁸⁴² NT Shaw Photographs 1715256.67. The feather fan and the silk hat worn by Ho Tung also formed part of the gift to Shaw, and remain in the collection. (Chinese silk hat, NTIN 1275416; Chinese goose feather fan NTIN 1275071). Ho Tung also sent Shaw 'lovely jade ornaments' however these are no longer in the collection. See Shaw's letter to Ho Tung, 13 November 1947, CL4, 805. Laurence states that Shaw was referring to 'a pair of jade cufflinks', but there is no evidence to support this.

¹⁸⁴³ Letter from Robert Ho Tung to Shaw, 6 July 1950; NTIN 1274671.

¹⁸⁴⁴ 'Death of Sir Robert Ho Tung', *The Shavian*, 8 (February 1957), 7.

¹⁸⁴⁵ Shaw, 'Aesthetic Science', in *Design* 46, 143.

¹⁸⁴⁶ Kinchin, 'Performance and the Reflected Self: Modern Stagings of Domestic Space', 66.

and gold, and cushioned divan seats round the walls for the worshippers. Everything was in such perfect Chinese taste that to sit there and look was a quiet delight...It was part of the art of life for Chinaman and Irishman alike, and was purely aesthetic. But it was also hygienic: there was an unexplored region of biologic science at the back of it.¹⁸⁴⁷

Shaw wrote to Ho Tung in 1947, explaining how the experience of his temple and its ‘quiet delight’ had affected him: ‘I have just finished a play in which I have introduced a private temple like the one in which I spent with you an hour which I have never forgotten and never shall forget.’¹⁸⁴⁸ The beauty of this ‘temple’,¹⁸⁴⁹ like the effect of wearing the Chinese robe, affects the bodily senses and is pleasurable, creating for Shaw an alliance between health and aesthetics, between science and art. Furnishings and clothes affect our aesthetic awareness he argued, producing a bodily comprehension, a sensuous experience. In this way, beauty was assigned a utilitarian role. ‘Aesthetic Science’, written towards the end of his life, is thus a text that returns us to the positive ideas about the body and embodiment that had first been formulated by Shaw fifty years before in *The Sanity of Art* in 1895. Kay Li has noted Shaw’s praise of Ho Tung’s temple in ‘Aesthetic Science’,¹⁸⁵⁰ yet she failed to connect this essay to *The Sanity of Art* as part of Shaw’s enduring aesthetic discourse, and does not make the important connection to the materiality of Shaw’s actual life and the artefacts that remain at Shaw’s Corner. In many respects, Shaw’s dressing in the Chinese robe with Ho Tung at Shaw’s Corner was his way of reciprocating the hospitality he had enjoyed in Hong Kong all those years before; and with each wearing of the robe, he would be transported back again to that beautiful temple.

With his extensive knowledge about art, Shaw would also have been conscious of the power of the Chinese robe, as it was used in Western culture, to denote ‘vain and self-regarding

¹⁸⁴⁷ Shaw, ‘Aesthetic Science’, in *Design 46*, 143-44. Part of this passage was quoted by Laurence in CL4, 764.

¹⁸⁴⁸ Shaw to Robert Ho Tung, 13 November 1947, CL4, 805. The temple in *Buoyant Billions* is described as follows: ‘A drawingroom [sic] in Belgrave Square, London, converted into a Chinese temple on a domestic scale, with white walls just enough rose tinted to take the glare off, and a tabernacle in vermilion and gold, on a dais of two broad shallow steps. Divan seats, softly upholstered against the walls, and very comfortable easy chairs of wickerwork, luxuriously cushioned, are also available. There is a sort of bishop’s chair at one corner of the tabernacle. The effect is lovely and soothing, as only Chinese art could make it. (VII, 334).

¹⁸⁴⁹ Tellingly, Shaw had described Kelmscott House as a ‘temple of beauty’. Shaw, ‘Morris as I Knew Him’, 26.

¹⁸⁵⁰ Kay Li, ‘Hong Kong in *Buoyant Billions*: The Exotic in Bernard Shaw’, in *SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, vol. 15, ed. by Fred D. Crawford (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 58-59.

consumers of sensuous luxuries pertaining to the body.’¹⁸⁵¹ But this could actually, and ironically, be a description of his consumption of Jaeger clothing, which as we have seen was expensive. Far from living an ‘ascetic’ lifestyle, based on self-denial and abstemiousness, Shaw had spent large amounts of money on his aesthetic ‘health’ and self-image. Owing to the cost of Jaeger, we must view these clothes as luxuries, however much scholars have tried to fashion Shaw’s appropriation of the Jaeger brand through asceticism. Shaw’s clothing on one level was therefore concerned with vanity, projecting a certain image for public consumption.

In the literature, the dominant viewpoint is that Shaw’s humanity cannot be revealed by this constructed public image. Even Gibbs, whose work often highlights the playwright’s humanity and generosity, promoted his biography by asserting that it would probe ‘behind the masks’ to ‘bring us closer than ever before to the human being’.¹⁸⁵² Working against this, Gibbs claimed, was Shaw’s self-fashioning: ‘Bernard Shaw fashioned public images of himself that belied the nature and depth of his emotional experiences and the complexity of his intellectual outlook.’¹⁸⁵³

Yet Shaw’s ‘mask’ or ‘surface’, of which dress, dandified display, and self-fashioning formed a crucial part as I have attempted to show here, actually had the capacity to reveal both the humanity and the complex dialectical or philosophical meanings. Arguably Shaw would never have invested so much time and energy in his so-called ‘public’ celebrity persona if this was not the case. The dialectic of surface/depth, clothes/skin and self/non-self formed an essential aspect of his identity in the media. Far from being ‘dispensable’, the surface is meaningful, and display has depth. Self-promotion through dress and publicity need not have negative connotations. Advertising and a commercial viewpoint, as we have seen, was acceptable to Shaw if there was quality in the product for sale.

The caricaturists often drew attention to the sensual qualities of Shaw’s clothing. His dress represented ‘health’ defined through the aesthetic, embodied experience of clothes: an improvement in bodily and spiritual health might be attained through the sensuous qualities of the material, such as the colours and textures. Shaw recognized the fact that ‘human

¹⁸⁵¹ Sarah Cheang, ‘Chinese robes in Western interiors: transitionality and transformation’, in *Fashion, Interior Design and the Contours of Modern Identity*, ed. by John Potvin and Alla Myzelev (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 133.

¹⁸⁵² Gibbs, *Bernard Shaw: A Life*, 2005, quoted from the dust-jacket.

¹⁸⁵³ Gibbs, *Bernard Shaw: A Life*, 2005, quoted from the dust-jacket.

sensuous agents require embodiment in order to express their agency.¹⁸⁵⁴ He wrote to Virginia Woolf in 1940: 'I am more convinced than ever that an aesthetic education is the best now available, and that the neglect of the aesthetic factor in science has deprived it of its claim to be scientific.'¹⁸⁵⁵ Shaw's clothes, whether by Jaeger, or a more conventional Askew suit, or in the form of a Chinese robe - all were included in the canon of Shavian artefacts that 'made Art the most scientific of all the sciences.'¹⁸⁵⁶

In certain polemical writings Shaw expressed the view that the 'humanity' existed beneath the clothes, but the attention he paid to dress suggests that he simultaneously found meaning and humanizing elements within the layers, and on the ephemeral surface. At times therefore a discontinuity existed between the dandiacal figure or 'Jaegerized butterfly' (the wearer of clothes) and the 'Philosopher of Clothes' (the author), which equates to a discontinuity between the written word and the projected image or lived reality, and points to unresolved tensions and contradictions. Shaw's critique of 'G.B.S.' is well-known and often evoked in the literature: but his paradoxical celebration of this figure as a materialized, essential part of his identity has not formed part of the discussion.

¹⁸⁵⁴ Bryan S. Turner, *The Body and Society* (London: Sage, 2001 [1984]), 219.

¹⁸⁵⁵ Shaw to Virginia Woolf, 10 May 1940, CL4, 557.

¹⁸⁵⁶ Shaw, 'Aesthetic Science', in *Design* 46, 143.



Figure 245 'Shaw: The man who smashed idols', 2 November 1950, press cutting. Shaw's Corner Collection, © National Trust.



Figure 246 'Dress reformer, hat-stand, Ayot St. Lawrence', detail from 'Shaw: The man who smashed idols', 2 November 1950, press cutting. Shaw's Corner Collection, © National Trust.

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Figure 247 Shaw the ‘socialist’ in Jaeger (1885) and Shaw the robed ‘prophet’ (1928). (See Archibald Henderson, *Playboy and Prophet*, facing page 181). For the image of Shaw as the robed ‘prophet’ see Getty Images: <http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/103213027>



Figure 248 Shaw photographed by Emery Walker against Morris & Co. *Bird & Vine* woven woollen fabric, July 1891. (Glass plate negative, Shaw’s Corner Collection). Printed in a book of portrait photographs of Shaw compiled by W.H. Wise (NTIN 3063760). © National Trust.



Figure 249 Shaw wearing a Jaeger wool suit, photographed by Emery Walker, c.1886. (University of Guelph Library, Shaw Collection of Dan H. Laurence, XZ1 MS A70100, reproduced in Sally Peters, *Bernard Shaw: The Ascent of the Superman*, between pages 144-45). Image in public domain. Reproduced courtesy of the University of Guelph Library.



Figure 250 Shaw wearing a Jaeger wool suit, photographed by Emery Walker, c.1886. Reproduced from *Art and Industry*, 23, 134 (August 1937), 44. Shaw's Corner Archive.

THE PLAY PICTORIAL ADVERTISEMENTS

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Figure 251 Jaeger advertisement, Bernard Shaw Number of *The Play Pictorial*, October 1907. Shaw's Corner Archive.

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Figure 252 Shaw in a Norfolk suit at Malvern, 1929. Press photograph, see Getty Images:
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Figure 253 Detail showing Shaw's Jaeger socks, 1929. Press photograph, see Getty Images:
<http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/538349077>



Figure 254 Photograph of Shaw in a Norfolk suit, 1915. Printed in a book of portrait photographs of Shaw compiled by W.H. Wise (NTIN 3063760). © National Trust.

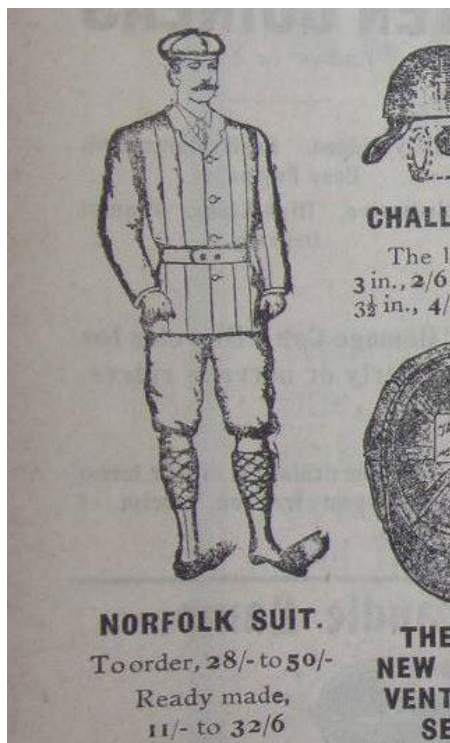


Figure 255 'Norfolk suit' retailed by John Piggott of London (City Cyclists' and General Outfitters) advertised in *The Cyclists' Touring Club Gazette*. 1900. Shaw's Corner Archive.



Figure 256 Shaw's jacket from a Norfolk suit. (George Bernard Shaw Personal Effects Collection, Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin). Reproduced with kind permission of the Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

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Figure 257 Shaw in a Norfolk suit, photographed on the veranda at Shaw's Corner. (Published in *The Mentor*, 15, 4, May 1927, 3). Shaw's Corner Archive.

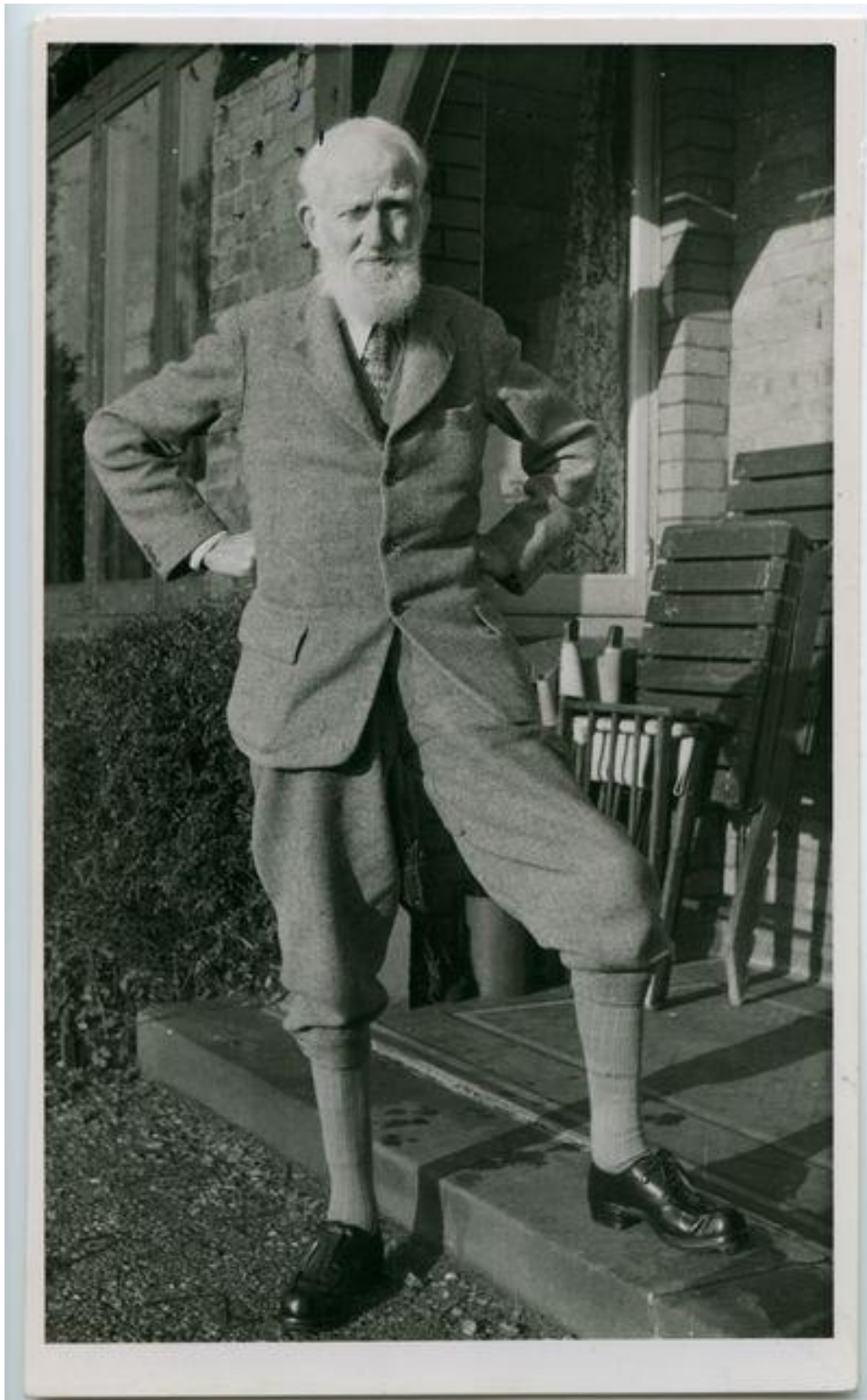


Figure 258 Shaw wearing Jaeger socks, Shaw's Corner, 1947. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715211.39). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.



Figure 259 Shaw's Jaeger socks. (George Bernard Shaw Personal Effects Collection, Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin). Reproduced with kind permission of the Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.



Figure 260 Detail showing the Jaeger label: Shaw's Jaeger socks. (George Bernard Shaw Personal Effects Collection, Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin). Reproduced with kind permission of the Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

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Figure 261 ‘GBS talks, Lady Astor knits.’ Photograph by Thérèse Bonney, published in *Vogue* (January 1944), 46. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715231.6).



Figure 262 Shaw's Burberry coat, showing one of the repairs. (NTIN 1275436). © National Trust.



Figure 263 Shaw's woollen jacket with bright green repairs to the cuffs. (George Bernard Shaw Personal Effects Collection, Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin). Reproduced with kind permission of the Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.



Figure 264 Detail showing the bright green repairs to the cuffs on Shaw's jacket. (George Bernard Shaw Personal Effects Collection, Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin). Reproduced with kind permission of the Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

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Figure 265 ‘Come, I’ve handled these goods before! Coat, Mr. Schopenhauer’s; waistcoat, Mr. Ibsen’s; Mr. Nietzsche’s trousers.’ Shaw replies: ‘Ah, but look at the patches!’ Max Beerbohm, cartoon, 1914. (Reproduced from Max Beerbohm, *A Survey*, 1921, plate 44). © The estate of Max Beerbohm.

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Figure 266 Shaw keeping warm in bed at Whitehall Court with what is probably a Jaeger wool blanket, 1946. Press photograph, see AP Images ID: 4610090112

<http://www.apimages.com/metadata/Index/Eawatchf-AP-I-ENT-United-Kingdom-APHSL21582-Gre-/ca4670a3f3fa4cb2972451128dc20631/119/0>



Figure 267 Shaw's woollen combinations, unknown manufacturer. (NTIN 1275512). © National Trust.



Figure 268 Shaw on the beach at Mevagissey posing in combinations, 1906. Photograph by Harley Granville-Barker (NT Shaw photographs 1715217.28). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.



Figure 269 Woollen cape in green and fawn check attributed to Jaeger. Bedroom, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1275326). © National Trust.

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Figure 270 Shaw's cape displayed in the hall on the hat-stand, Shaw's Corner. Press photograph, May 1951, see <http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/541799783> (Photo by ullstein bild/ullstein bild via Getty Images).

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Figure 271 Shaw in the garden at Shaw's Corner, wearing the cape attributed to Jaeger, 1946. International News Photos. (NT Shaw photographs 1715211.67. For a similar image see *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*, 44).

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Figure 272 Autochrome of Shaw by Alvin Langdon Coburn, autumn 1907. (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Alfred Stieglitz Collection. 55.635.8). © Scala Images, 2016.
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Figure 273 Autochrome of Shaw by Alvin Langdon Coburn, autumn 1907. The Royal Photographic Society Collection, V&A Photography Centre. For another version of this image see <http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/90763007>

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Figure 274 Autochrome of Shaw by Alvin Langdon Coburn, autumn 1907. The Royal Photographic Society Collection, V&A Photography Centre.

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Figure 275 Autochromes of Shaw and Lillah McCarthy by Alvin Langdon Coburn, 1907. The Royal Photographic Society Collection, V&A Photography Centre. (See Angus Trumble and Andrea Wolk Rager, eds., *Edwardian Opulence: British Art at the Dawn of the Twentieth Century*, Yale University Press, 2013, 213).



Figure 276 William Hogarth, detail from *A Rake's Progress: The Heir*, 1733. (© Sir John Soane's Museum, London, ref. no. P40). <http://www.soane.org/collections-research/key-stories/rakes-progress>. By Permission of Sir John Soane's Museum, London.

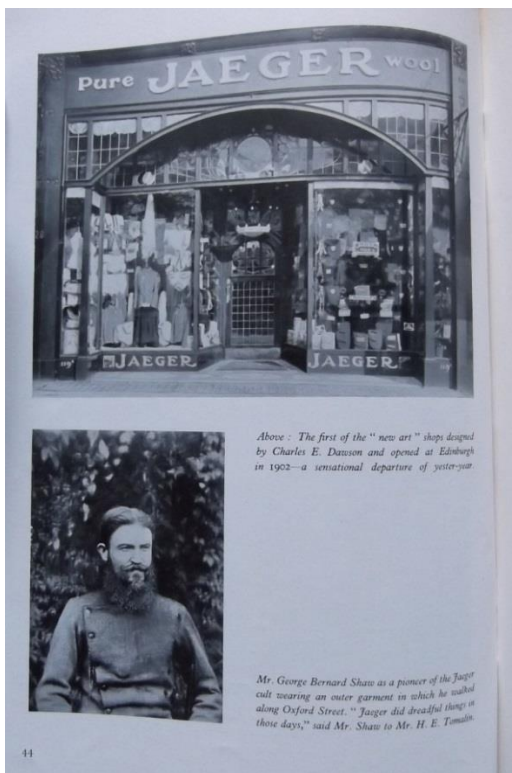


Figure 277 'Mr. George Bernard Shaw as a pioneer of the Jaeger cult', and Jaeger shop-front, 1902, in Malcolm MacKenzie, 'Jaeger: Health Gospel of 1884, Fashion Movement of 1937', *Art and Industry*, 23, 134 (August 1937), 44. Shaw's Corner Archive.

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Figure 278 ‘Mr. Bernard Shaw on Formamint!’, *The Graphic* (3 August 1912), 181.
(Photograph of Shaw by Lizzie Caswall Smith, 1906). Shaw’s Corner Archive.

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Figure 279 ‘Physician to the Doctors’, *The Sketch* (21 November 1906), 179. Photograph of
Shaw by Lizzie Caswall Smith, 1906. See <http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/463991415>

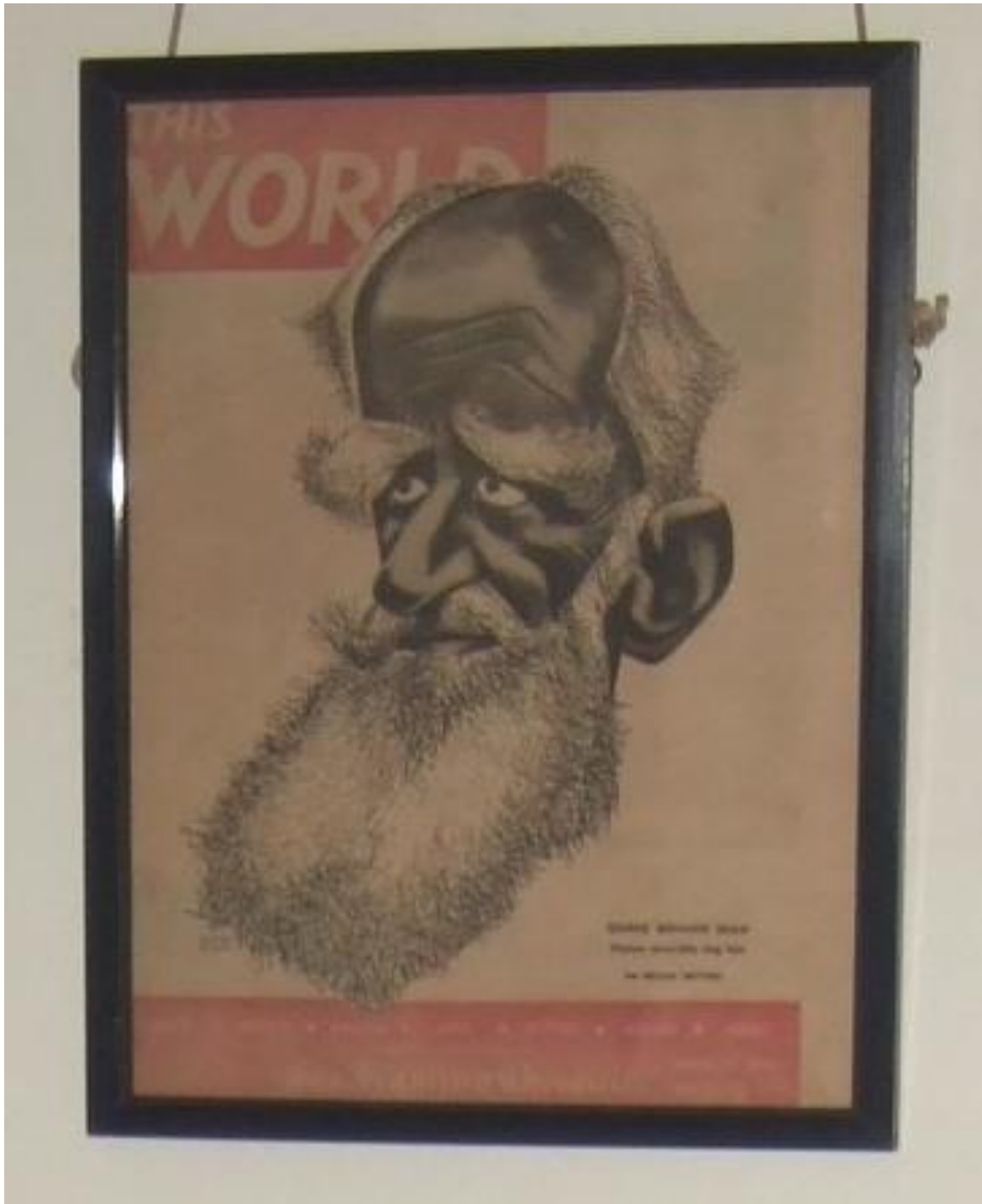


Figure 280 Shaw by Hubert Buel, *San Francisco Chronicle*, 12, 47 (March 27 1949). Study, Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1274693). © National Trust.

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Figure 281 Shaw leaning on a Morris & Co. *Windrush* upholstered chair, with Archibald Henderson seated in one covered in Morris & Co. *Rose*. Adelphi Terrace. Photograph by E.O. Hoppé, 1923. Published in *Harper's Magazine*, vol. 148 (May 1924), 707.

<http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/541068133> (Photo by Emil Otto Hoppe/ullstein bild via Getty Images).

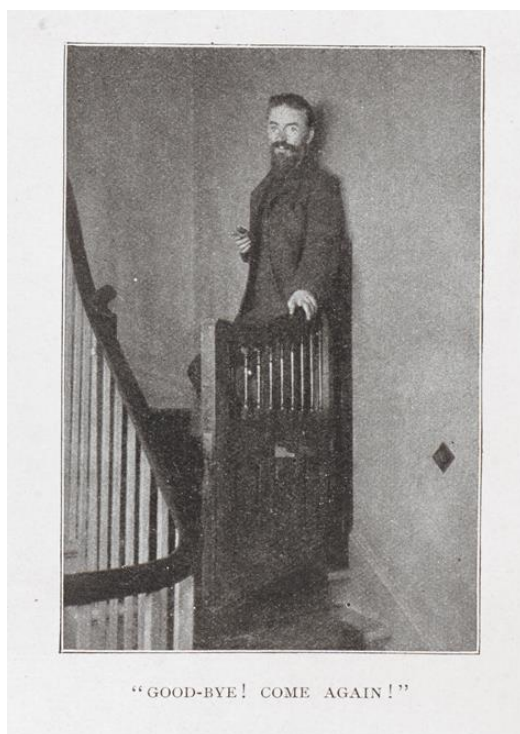


Figure 282 Shaw to his audience: “Goodbye! come again!”, *The Sketch* (March 12 1902), 303. (BL Add. MS 50582A, f.13v). Photograph by Foulsham & Banfield. © British Library Board.



Figure 283 Self-portraits in ‘Bernard Shaw and Shaw-ism’, *The Sketch* (2 May 1900), 70. Shaw’s Corner Archive.

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Figure 284 *The Sketch* magazine: editorial office showing the walls lined with photographs of celebrities and actors. *The Sketch* (6 April 1898), 459.

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Figure 285 ‘The Man of the Hour: Mr. George Bernard Shaw’, *The Tatler* (8 November 1905), 187. Shaw’s Corner Archive.

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Figure 286 Shaw with Phyllis Neilson-Terry. *The Tatler* (27 August 1930), 395. Shaw’s Corner Archive.



Figure 287 'Shaw basking in limelight after his valiant effort to escape it', *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, New York, 11 April 1933. (BL Add. MS 50741, f.40; press cutting). © British Library Board.

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Figure 288 'G.B.S.' cropping an image of 'Shaw'. *Daily Express*, October 1950.



Figure 289 Shaw photographed by Charlotte Roche, 1 July 1888. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715215.26). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.

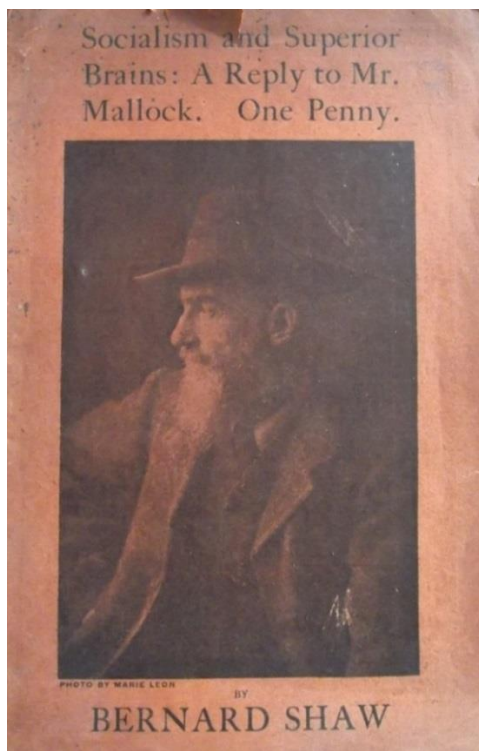


Figure 290 Shaw photographed by Marie Leon. Published on the cover of Fabian Society tract *Socialism and Superior Brains* (1909). Shaw's Corner Archive.

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Figure 291 'Mr. George Bernard Shaw', cartoon by David Wilson, c.1900. Mander and Mitchenson / University of Bristol / ArenaPal (ARP1415889).



Figure 292 'Pay Attention to My Clothes'. *Weekly Illustrated* (5 November 1938). Album of Press Cuttings, Shaw's Corner Collection. © National Trust.



Figure 293 'G.B.S' article heading, composed of press images of Shaw in various outfits. *The Family Circle*, 19, 7 (15 August 1941), 10. (Reproduced courtesy of the Ann and Isidor Saslav George Bernard Shaw Collection, Texas).

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Figure 294 James Craig Annan, 'Shaw as art critic', 1910. Published in *The Theatre Magazine*, May 1914. (See Archibald Henderson, *George Bernard Shaw: Man of the Century*, 1956, between pages 160-61).

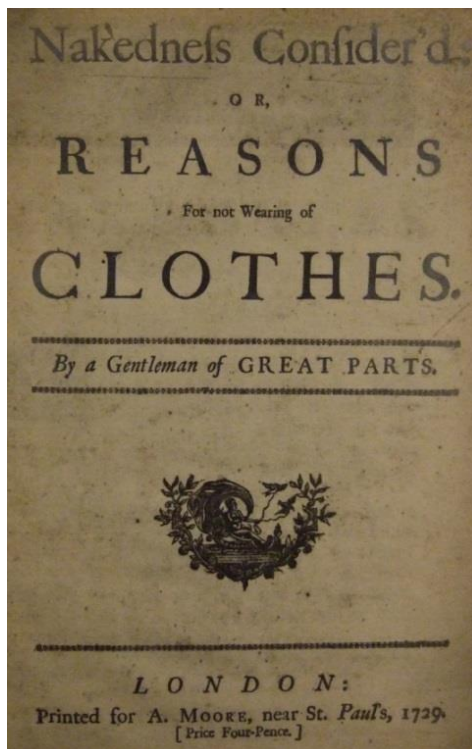


Figure 295 *Nakedness Consider'd: or, Reasons for not Wearing of Clothes. By a Gentleman of Great Parts* (1729). (NTIN 3063851). © National Trust.

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Figure 296 ‘The philosopher-playwright’s fighting fitness at 73’, in ‘Bernard Shaw’s Undying Youth’, *Physical Culture* (November 1929), 39. Shaw’s Corner Archive. One of the press photographs can be viewed at <http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/541088373>



Figure 297 Alick P.F. Ritchie, 'G.B.S.', lithograph, *Vanity Fair Supplement*, 16 August 1911. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:George_Bernard_Shaw,_Vanity_Fair,_1911-08-16a.jpg By "Ritchie" (Ritchie, Alick Penrose F.) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons.



Figure 298 Buttons on a pair of Shaw's Askew & Co. trousers. (NTIN 1275439.3). © National Trust.



Figure 299 Askew & Co. label from Shaw's waistcoat. (NTIN 1275439.2). © National Trust.



Figure 300 Shaw's Askew and Company grey suit. (NTIN 1275443.1-3). © National Trust.

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Figure 301 Shaw arriving in San Francisco wearing the grey Askew & Co. suit, 1936. Press photograph. For a similar example see <http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/541068691> (Photo by ullstein bild/ullstein bild via Getty Images).



Figure 302 'Shaw on his Suits', *The Star* (26 October 1938). Durrant's Press Cuttings, Shaw's Corner Collection. © National Trust.

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Figure 303 Shaw posing in the garden at Shaw's Corner in his Askew & Co. camel-coloured wool suit for the cover of *Illustrated Magazine*, 1948. Photograph by Lisa Sheridan (Studio Lisa). *Illustrated Magazine* (20 November 1948). Shaw's Corner Archive.



Figure 304 Shaw's Askew & Co. double-breasted jacket, forming part of the camel-coloured wool suit. (NTIN 1275441.1). © National Trust.



Figure 305 Askew & Co. label, camel-coloured double-breasted jacket. (NTIN 1275441.1).
© National Trust.



Figure 306 Shaw's green tweed jacket, 'J.H. Coulson, Welwyn' label. (NTIN 1275437.1). ©
National Trust.

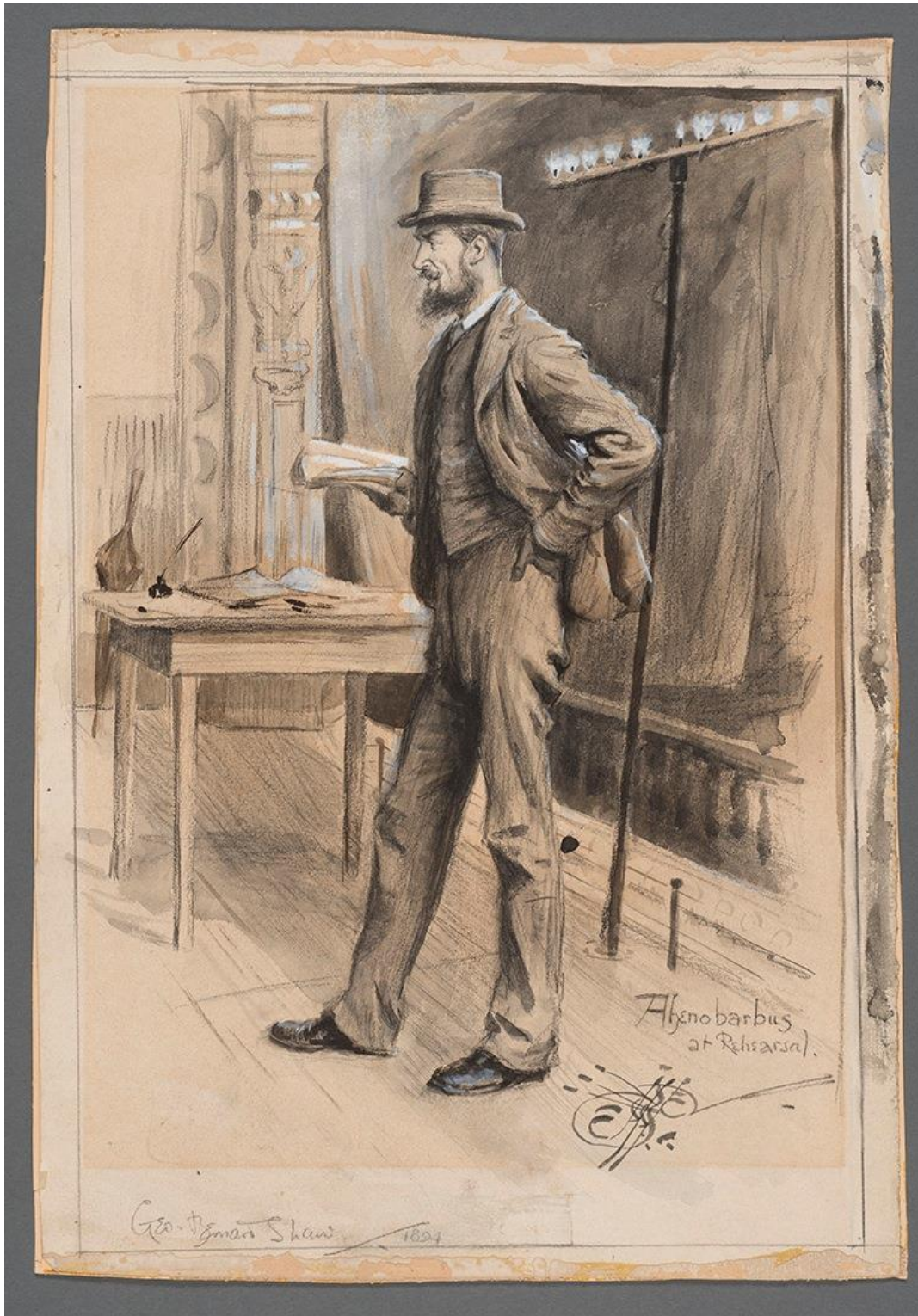


Figure 307 'Ahenobarbus at Rehearsal' (Shaw rehearsing *Arms and the Man* at the Avenue Theatre in the character of S. Saranoff), pen-and-ink, crayon and watercolour wash, 1894. (George Bernard Shaw Art Collection, 67.66, Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin). Reproduced with kind permission of the Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

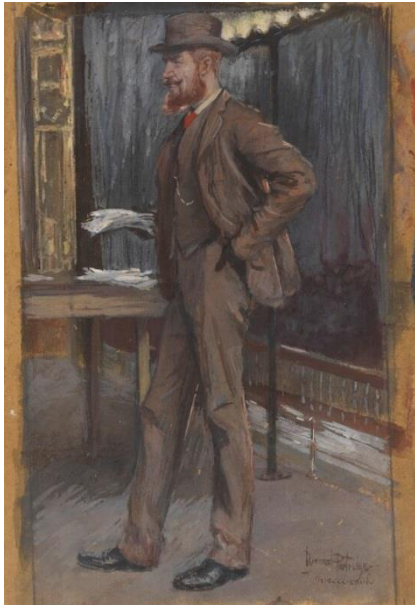


Figure 308 Bernard Partridge, *George Bernard Shaw*. (NPG 4229). Available under a CC-BY-NC-ND 3.0 (unported) licence. © National Portrait Gallery, London.

<https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw05737/George-Bernard-Shaw?>



Figure 309 Bernard Partridge, *James Abbott McNeill Whistler*. (NPG 3541). Available under a CC-BY-NC-ND 3.0 (unported) licence. © National Portrait Gallery, London.

<https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw06738/James-Abbott-McNeill-Whistler?>



Figure 310 'G.B.S. as the Beadle during a rehearsal of *Getting Married*', 1908. (Reproduced from *Bernard Shaw Through the Camera*, 115. Photograph: Ellis and Walery).

IMAGE HAS BEEN EXCLUDED FROM THE DIGITISED VERSION OF THE THESIS
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Figure 311 Shaw and Robert Ho Tung photographed at Idlewild, Hong Kong, 1933. (See Holroyd, *The Lure of Fantasy*, between pages 214-15).



Figure 312 Dark blue silk Chinese robe presented to Shaw by Robert Ho Tung in July 1949, on the occasion of his visit to Shaw's Corner. (NTIN 1275417). © National Trust.



Figure 313 Shaw wearing his Chinese robe, with Robert Ho Tung on the veranda at Shaw's Corner, 1949. (NT Shaw Photographs 1715256.67). Reproduced with kind permission of LSE, The National Trust, and The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate. © National Trust.

CONCLUSION

In his denigration of Shaw's Corner and its artefacts Gerard Fay had concluded in 1958: 'the final judgement on a great man is not how many people visit his birthplace or his home but how many are affected by his ideas or his achievement.'¹⁸⁵⁷ This thesis has challenged this viewpoint by making it clear that a relationship exists between the two: it is possible for visitors to Shaw's Corner to come away with a real sense of Shaw's 'ideas and achievement' if connections between his intellectual outlook and artefacts are made explicit. As we have seen, Fay's assessment implied on the one hand that the artefacts within the house could not tell us anything about Shaw's ideas and personality, whilst on the other the Fabian playwright had little aesthetic sense and had left us a 'dull' house.

This thesis has been a collaborative project with the National Trust, and has examined certain artefacts at Shaw's Corner and the nature of Shaw's relationship to them, as a way of addressing the lack of research into the collections and the associated lack of information available to a variety of audiences. The research findings show that profound aesthetic, philosophical, and personal meanings underscore many of Shaw's artefacts at Shaw's Corner. My original contribution to knowledge is made by revealing Shaw through the artefacts in new or under-explored roles as socialist-aesthete, art patron, connoisseur, photographer, celebrity, dandy, and self-commemorator.

This thesis makes a major contribution to knowledge in the field of Shaw studies, art and design history, and museum studies, challenging assumptions and revealing Shaw in new roles which enable us to move beyond the stereotypical, superficial notion of the Fabian ascetic and political economist who eschewed bodily, aesthetic pleasures. Important aspects of human experience are made manifest through the artefacts – pertaining to personal relationships, identity, and embodiment which problematize the views recently expressed by Yde and others in the literature. New knowledge about Shaw's ideas, connections to the art world, humanity, generosity, and personal vanity, has been uncovered. The concerns that motivated and informed his work as a dramatist, art critic, socialist, and cultural commentator are expressed through the artefacts. Shifting between the realms of aesthetics, morality, economics, religion, and science, these interests reveal a complex and at times contradictory character.

¹⁸⁵⁷ Gerard Fay, 'Slump in Shaw not absolute', 5.

This thesis has concluded that the ways in which the artefacts in the house connect to Shaw's ideas and express the more artistic dimension to his personality, has not been adequately understood. In the final years of his life when the shaping of Shaw's Corner as a commemorative site was negotiated, Shaw deliberately staged the artefacts to express these interests and aspects of his persona. Shaw also asked important questions about the role of art and possessions in capitalist society. His connections to the art world need to be made more explicit to enhance understanding and improve the visitor experience: it has therefore been my aim throughout the thesis to place Shaw's artefacts in their historical context. Often it is only through detailed contextualization in the wider cultural sphere that we can appreciate the full significance of the collections, and what they can tell us about Shaw. An examination of Shaw's engagement with visual and material culture significantly enhances our understanding of his life and work. I have shown this to be the case by highlighting certain artefacts at Shaw's Corner which had particular meanings for the playwright including sculpture, clothing, books, textiles, paintings and furniture.

This thesis has brought a new methodological approach to the study of Shaw by considering the artefacts at Shaw's Corner in conjunction with the Trust's archive of Shaw photographs, together with the associated visual culture of the photographic, journalistic media, and by then relating this material dimension to his writings. The artefacts reveal how Shaw's socialistic beliefs, aesthetics, connoisseurial pursuits, and self-fashioning often embodied contradictory or conflicting ideas, exposing the playwright's equivocalities. Hence we see Arts and Crafts or Aesthetic artefacts and furnishings juxtaposed with everyday commodities and mass produced ceramics at Shaw's Corner. The socialist-aesthete and conscientious consumer who embraced the compromise offered by Heal's and Maples, repaired typewriters and filled his study with filing cabinets and framed newspaper cuttings, jostles for position with a connoisseur who appreciated rare books from the private presses, displayed hand-painted ceramics by the Powells, treasured a rare Beardsley drawing, used a Queen Anne bureau and Tozer chairs, dressed in expensive Jaeger clothes and belonged to the Dürer Society. Here was the material evidence of Shaw the interrogator of value, perception and taste: the artefacts that reflected the desire for beauty and quality, but also challenged the borders between commerce, mass culture, connoisseurship and aesthetics.

There were elements of Shaw's personal vision as a reformer and an arbiter of taste that shared the connoisseurial emphasis of Ricketts and Shannon, or Sydney Cockerell and Roger Fry; yet equally he supported the department store and favoured a 'Woolworth Exhibition of

Pictures'. The social reformer in Shaw, and the critic who offered a parody of connoisseurship and authenticity, at times came into conflict with the connoisseurial aspects of his consuming personality. Shaw viewed consumption as both a positive and negative force. This resulted in unresolved tensions between collectivism and individualism. Shaw oscillated in his writings between viewing the consumption of artefacts as wasteful, or as part of a socially productive culture.

On the one hand there was the potential for goods such as cars, clothes, Persian carpets, sculpture, paintings, furniture and books to advance civilization and enhance the quality of life through sensual experience, extending the traditional realm of utility. Shaw desired a universalization of quality artefacts, making art and beauty widely available to improve life for everyone. Interpreted in this way via the discourse of 'Aesthetic Science', there was no firm demarcation between his 'socialist' and 'connoisseurial' artefacts. Everyone could have 'handsome fabrics to wear, and utensils of fine material and elegant workmanship to handle.'¹⁸⁵⁸ Shaw the aesthete/connoisseur continued to support artists and craftsmen like Cooper, Dolmetsch and Fry, besides various private presses and book-binders, all of whom were producing hand-made, or hand-painted artefacts.

On the other hand private press books, Powell ceramics, and silver, like the bespoke cars and Jaeger clothing, were expensive. Costly hand-made artefacts often brought difficult moral questions for the Fabian socialist famed for speaking out against social inequality. As I have shown, Shaw was well aware of the contradiction embodied by his cars, which reinforced the notion of inequality. Communists criticized him for being a socialist who engaged with capitalist forces. There was also the Protestant puritan rebelling against the art and design he associated with wealth and luxury. Interestingly Meisel has evoked one side of Shaw's dealing with art through the notion of 'a latent ambivalence with Calvinist overtones.'¹⁸⁵⁹ Yet I would suggest that the selling of his artefacts during the late 1940s was a response to his monetary concerns, rather than a form of Protestant guilt at having possessions, or indeed a Fabian desire to shape the collections in the image of an ascetic figure.

In some respects the stigma attached to art and collecting for Shaw was mitigated via art appreciation as patronage, and the making of bequests to institutions. Appreciating quality copies and reproductions likewise related to socialism and mass consumption, rather than

¹⁸⁵⁸ Shaw, *The Sanity of Art*, 69.

¹⁸⁵⁹ Meisel, 'Visual arts', 191-2.

‘originals’ which tended to evoke the possession of hand-made, expensive things. Ultimately he sought ways of bringing artefacts such as his books to a mass audience, dissolving the boundaries between art and the everyday through the endorsement of mechanized print technology. Heal’s and Maple’s furniture also represented a workable compromise both aesthetically and economically. Artistic endeavour need not be at odds with pragmatic commercialism, or socialism, and in this case his roles as socialist-aesthete and connoisseur-consumer overlapped.

The frisson between taste and waste informed Shaw’s value systems, defining his relationship to artefacts, and this in turn shaped the Shaw’s Corner collections in terms of which artefacts were kept and displayed, given away, or sold. He despised relics and useless artefacts, yet formed a museum with artworks and possessions which had no use-value in the traditional manner, but were rich in symbolic meaning. This brings to mind the idea of the artefact as ‘semiophore’ as theorized by Krzysztof Pomian, for whom museum objects ‘endowed with *meaning*, represented the invisible¹⁸⁶⁰ in contrast to the tangible, useful things. Yet arguably the artefacts at Shaw’s Corner tended to work against this position under Shaw’s connoisseurial curator’s eye. The gap Pomian conceived between ‘the universe of discourse and the world of visual perception’¹⁸⁶¹ was one that Shaw aimed to close. Usefulness and meaning were not mutually exclusive.¹⁸⁶²

Shaw understood the shared boundaries of the archive and waste. When a writer dies, there is always the risk of the ‘demotion of possessions to junk.’¹⁸⁶³ In order for Shavian artefacts to survive (unlike some of Charlotte’s artefacts which he referred to as ‘rubbish’ or ‘litter’ and discarded) they must, as Aleida Assmann has shown, ‘possess something of the relic, which resists the ravages of time by its robust materiality.’¹⁸⁶⁴ Shaw was fond of pointing out the longevity of artefacts such as sculpture. Busts and statuettes embodied the Shavian religion of the ‘Life Force’, which mediated fears of mortality. Like other writers of the period,

¹⁸⁶⁰ Krzysztof Pomian, ‘The Collection: between the Visible and the Invisible’, in *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), 30.

¹⁸⁶¹ Pomian, ‘The Collection: between the Visible and the Invisible’, 26.

¹⁸⁶² Pomian argues the opposite: ‘usefulness and meaning are mutually exclusive, as the more an object is charged with meaning the less useful it is.’ Pomian, ‘The Collection: between the Visible and the Invisible’, 30.

¹⁸⁶³ Booth, ‘Houses and Things’, 235.

¹⁸⁶⁴ Aleida Assmann, ‘Beyond the Archive’, in *Waste-Site Stories: The Recycling of Memory*, ed. by Brian Neville and Johanne Villeneuve (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 71.

including Freud, Shaw probed his identity as a ‘mortal, and material thing.’¹⁸⁶⁵ From this perspective, sculpture made a major contribution to the formation of the commemorative house, acting as both memorials to Shaw and as Vanitas artefacts, which imparted religious or moralistic messages alluding to the transience of life. Shaw questions, yet endorses the pursuit of earthly goods and artefacts that celebrated the self.

As Booth explains with reference to the Carlyles’ house, ‘the masses of portraiture and the imagery of death give it away: this is a memorial home, signifying the loss of the original.’¹⁸⁶⁶ Shaw would include the following statement in the ‘Maxims for Revolutionists’ in *Man and Superman*: ‘life levels all men: death reveals the eminent.’ (II, 793). Sculpture and portraiture which could readily act as memorials to the playwright were thus assured a place in his museum; yet those artefacts which had sentimental value seemed more vulnerable and at risk of disposal. Hence we witness his attempt to sell the *Eikon Basilike* (a personal gift), and the sale of many of the private press books, even those by Morris’s Kelmscott Press. Although of course by the 1940s Shaw the pragmatic economist, driven by what he perceived to be severe monetary concerns, was coming into direct conflict with the other aspects of the Shavian personality including the connoisseur who was more attached to material things.

Catherine Malcolmson has recently examined the founding of the Dickens House Museum, and has revealed how artefacts were selected to encourage emotional and sentimental responses in the museum’s visitors. The goal was to ‘deepen their association’ with Dickens and ‘establish a sense of intimacy through a common experience of the surroundings,’¹⁸⁶⁷ yet this notion would have been anathema to one side of Shaw’s personality. The socialist desired instead a shared understanding of his ideas, and sought to direct the meanings of the artefacts in order to enrich people’s lives for the common good. Shaw may not have sought a shared intimacy on a personal level if this meant a reliance on emotional engagement, however the very fact that he retained certain poignant artefacts for his museum such as Charlotte’s book on ‘Insects’ which he had re-bound by Douglas Cockerell and inscribed with a personal message, showed that he did have a strong emotional attachment to some objects. We must note too that in the formation of the Shavian museum, Charlotte’s artefacts

¹⁸⁶⁵ Fuss, *The Sense of an Interior*, 15. See also Fuss’s ‘Coda’ here, where she argues that all four writers discussed (Freud, Proust, Dickinson, and Keller) utilized the memorial space of the house ‘to confront their own fears of mortality.’ (Fuss, 213).

¹⁸⁶⁶ Booth, ‘Houses and Things’, 243.

¹⁸⁶⁷ Catherine Malcolmson, ‘Constructing Charles Dickens, 1900-1940’, University of Leicester, unpublished PhD Thesis, 2013, 191.

such as her Irish prints and paintings were retained and displayed. Artefacts such as these operate as evocative objects, expressive of his relationships with others. Likewise there was Shaw's regret (we might compare Wilde's response in *De Profundis*¹⁸⁶⁸) at the selling of his books, especially those by the Kelmscott Press.

Further discrepancies are in evidence in the shift from house to museum. Shaw wanted to create a self-memorial or 'shrine', but he was troubled by the capitalist forces that so often underpinned the ideologies of writers' houses, where the author's 'relics' were displayed and commodified as part of the heritage industry. He sought to create a permanent memorial through the displays of sculpture and other artefacts at Shaw's Corner, yet informed Lees-Milne that the Trust could hold the house 'alienably',¹⁸⁶⁹ which rendered the Shavian collection potentially disposable. Conflict and contradiction were therefore at the very heart of Shaw's Corner from its inception as a museum.

John Frow has argued that Veblen based his association of aristocratic society and wasteful consumption on a 'classically utilitarian distinction between... material production on the one hand and aesthetic consumption on the other'.¹⁸⁷⁰ Many scholars writing on Shaw from the perspective of literary studies or political economy would not hesitate to make a similar assessment of his position. After all, we are familiar with Shaw's analysis of waste and luxury in *Fabian Essays in Socialism*, and many other writings and plays, where profligate consumption is directly linked to the morality of the upper classes and the pursuit of material goods to reflect their status. In addition there was the firm assertion that for "for art's sake" alone' he would not contemplate 'writing a single sentence.' (II, 527). Yet in plays such as *The Doctor's Dilemma* where the subject of art is paramount, the messages are more equivocal, highlighting 'the issue of art as a good in its own right as against the claims of social utility and ethical responsibility.'¹⁸⁷¹ In the play we are left in some doubt nevertheless as to whether Dubedat's belief in 'Michael Angelo [sic], Velasquez, and Rembrandt; in the might of design, the mystery of color, the redemption of all things by Beauty everlasting'¹⁸⁷² is shared by Shaw. In a letter to Sydney Cockerell we find Shaw speaking of 'the view that

¹⁸⁶⁸ Richard W. Hayes has shown how Oscar Wilde lamented the loss of his library 'with its collection of presentation volumes' in *De Profundis*, when Wilde had been forced to sell his personal possessions after his conviction in 1895. Hayes, 'Objects and Interiors: Oscar Wilde', 63.

¹⁸⁶⁹ Lees-Milne, diary entry, 9 February 1944, in *Diaries, 1942-1954*, 137.

¹⁸⁷⁰ John Frow, 'Invidious distinction: waste, difference, and classy stuff', in *Culture and Waste: The Creation and Destruction of Value*, ed. by Gay Hawkins and Stephen Muecke (Lanham MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), 28.

¹⁸⁷¹ Meisel, 'Visual arts', 190.

¹⁸⁷² Shaw, *The Doctor's Dilemma* (III, 419).

there is no salvation in art wrestling with the conviction that there is no salvation in anything else.’¹⁸⁷³

When we see Shaw responding to actual artefacts and images however, those doubts are diminished. Hence the research conducted as part of this thesis has shown there were at times discontinuities between what Shaw wrote, and the visual and material culture he responded to and endorsed. The theories expressed in lectures, plays and prefaces often differed from the practice. There was a divergence discernible between his writings where he minimized the role of the body and materiality, and the ways in which he actually placed great emphasis on visual and sensual pleasure through artefacts. Despite the fact that themes of embodiment are the subject of criticism in certain plays, through art and artefacts we witness his continual investment in the sensual world, especially in the visual domain, often utilizing performative or journalistic methods of engaging with different aspects of culture, raising issues pertaining to taste, aesthetics, the body, and mass consumption.

In Gahan’s study of *Fanny’s First Play* he argues that by using ‘binary oppositions’ in the play, Shaw ‘explores the identity in difference, thus setting up whole webs of meaning woven through the play...For Shaw, meaning is generated by conflicting concepts and contexts.’¹⁸⁷⁴ Many of the binaries identified by Gahan we have actually encountered over the course of the thesis by studying Shaw’s artefacts such as ‘aesthetics/ethics’, ‘fiction/reality’, and ‘puritanism/Catholicism.’¹⁸⁷⁵ This assessment relies on an oppositional framework as a means of assessing the nature of his relationship to materiality. If Shaw is viewed as a more complex figure however, encompassing elements of the aesthete as well as the socialist, it is possible to see that his intended meanings are not simply polarized as ‘binary oppositions’ but like Wilde’s, become blurred and equivocal. Fortunato has shown how Wilde rejected ‘the notion of a straightforward distinction between substance and surface, between the significant interior and the changeable appearance’¹⁸⁷⁶: he was more concerned with the point at which the binary oppositions broke down.

If we consider the *fin de siècle* period, when Shaw first inhabited Shaw’s Corner, Terry Eagleton reminds us that this was the time of ‘an astonishing amalgam of spiritual and

¹⁸⁷³ Shaw to Sydney Cockerell, 26 June 1927, quoted in Viola Meynell, ed., *The Best of Friends*, 38.

¹⁸⁷⁴ Gahan, ‘Ruskin and Form in *Fanny’s First Play*’, 95.

¹⁸⁷⁵ Gahan, ‘Ruskin and Form in *Fanny’s First Play*’, 95.

¹⁸⁷⁶ Fortunato, *Modernist Aesthetics and Consumer Culture in the Writings of Oscar Wilde*, 29.

material ferment.’¹⁸⁷⁷ Eagleton argues that the ‘transformation of subjectivity’ that occurred should not be read in opposition to revolutionary politics, but rather as ‘an essential correlate of them... We are speaking of the period of Aubrey Beardsley *and* the Second International; of aestheticism and anarchism; of decadence and the Dock Strike.’¹⁸⁷⁸ It is imperative to view Shaw, like Wilde, as a more equivocal individual if we are to comprehend his importance in the history of Aestheticism and the Arts and Crafts movement. Contrary to the dominant viewpoint revealed by the literature review, I have maintained that Shaw had more in common with the aesthetic socialism of Morris and Wilde than the Fabians he is usually associated with, such as the Webbs.

Elsie B. Adams concluded that Shaw’s vision was predominantly ‘social’, separating him from the ‘personal’ vision of the aesthetes.¹⁸⁷⁹ Yet Shaw’s engagement with artefacts problematizes this argument. Shaw highlighted the commercial, social, and satirical features of the Aesthetic movement, but also those that depended on an individual aesthetic response. Livesey has pointed out the paradox involved for both Morris and Wilde in ‘retailing an ideal of select and discriminating taste and converting the aesthetic personality into mass fashion’¹⁸⁸⁰ and I would suggest this was similarly a contradiction Shaw had to contend with. As Hayes has argued for Wilde, ‘self-culture required an audience.’¹⁸⁸¹ In many respects, Shaw participated in his own objectification as an ‘art object’ in the celebrity culture of the day, controlling the selection of, and circulation of, his photographic image.

Shaw’s attitude towards consumption, connoisseurship, and his celebrity status, was paradoxical and often self-parodying. Shaw’s self-fashioning, particularly through clothes in the media and popular magazines as this thesis has demonstrated, often took the form of a philosophical inquiry, and reflects his position as one of the most notable cultural commentators of the twentieth century. Like Carlyle’s character Teufelsdröckh, he sees through the clothes, yet relies on the figure of the dandy and clothing as a vital mechanism for perceiving and negotiating his relationship with the world. Arnold Silver has argued that the ‘real’ Shaw was a very ‘complicated personage’¹⁸⁸² and that the ‘public’ Shaw lacked

¹⁸⁷⁷ Terry Eagleton, ‘The flight to the real’, in *Cultural Politics at the Fin de Siècle*, ed. by Sally Ledger and Scott McCracken (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 11.

¹⁸⁷⁸ Eagleton, ‘The flight to the real’, 12.

¹⁸⁷⁹ Adams, *Bernard Shaw and the Aesthetes*, 44.

¹⁸⁸⁰ Livesey, ‘Aestheticism’, in *Oscar Wilde in Context*, ed. by Kerry Powell and Peter Raby (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 268.

¹⁸⁸¹ Richard W. Hayes, ‘Objects and Interiors: Oscar Wilde’, 49.

¹⁸⁸² Silver, *Bernard Shaw: The Darker Side*, 9.

depth; however I maintain instead that it is only by studying his relationship with mass culture through this supposedly superficial ‘G.B.S.’ celebrity figure that we understand these complexities. Potvin has argued that the photographs taken of Ricketts and Shannon in their homes ‘limit the reading to mere shadows of the life and identity in/of the space’¹⁸⁸³ because they were staged ‘events’; but with Shaw this was precisely the point and thereby paradoxically revealing of his identity.

The conclusion drawn from the research findings is that Shaw wished the contradictory and equivocal aspects of his personality to be displayed through the artefacts at Shaw’s Corner. When he died in 1950, the expensive cars, silver, photographic equipment and pianola were still part of the collection. Shaw had publicized aspects of his lifestyle where these elements were showcased through the illustrated magazines. Yet when the house was opened to the public, the rooms seemed ‘curiously impersonal’ to the press and visitors of the 1950s. This however was largely the fault of Laden and the Trust, not Shaw. Many of the artefacts that made the house especially interesting, or personal, or perhaps unexpected and contradictory, had been removed by Laden, or sold by the Trust. Laden’s domineering personality and excessive efficiency erased some of the important traces of Shaw’s life and artistic interests, and resulted in a lack of awareness over the ensuing decades as to the extent of his engagement with such artefacts.

Hugo felt that Shaw’s revision of his ‘autobiography’ *Sixteen Self Sketches* resulted in a ‘muted portrait,’¹⁸⁸⁴ and it is tempting to see the interiors at Shaw’s Corner in the same way. With *Sixteen Self Sketches* Hugo felt that ‘most of the fury’ of the earlier Edwardian Shaw had been erased: ‘One notes throughout the 1949 revision how much the older Shaw whittles away at Edwardian Shaw’s turn of phrase, reducing a tempest of words to a breeze. Overall, there is no attempt to ‘destroy the evidence’, but the general effect is to reduce the sense of pressure under which G.B.S. wrote and to render the persona in a less vigorous and interesting light.’¹⁸⁸⁵ I would suggest that much of the contradictory and challenging elements of his consuming personality remained visible through the artefacts at the time of his death. The significant erasures only occurred afterwards, with the rather ‘muted portrait’ achieved at the house the result of the posthumous dispersals.

¹⁸⁸³ Potvin, ‘Collecting intimacy one object at a time: material culture, perception, and the spaces of aesthetic companionship’, 192.

¹⁸⁸⁴ Hugo, *Edwardian Shaw*, 24.

¹⁸⁸⁵ Hugo, *Edwardian Shaw*, 24.

Implementing the thesis findings and recommendations for future projects

Over the years, various writers have focussed on Shaw at Shaw's Corner as a Fabian, whilst the house was promoted as 'the home of literature'. This has shaped how he was perceived in the popular imagination, and will need to be challenged as a result of the research findings. An aim of the project has been to problematize the Trust's focus on Shaw's Corner as simply a 'writer's house'. Contextualizing the artefacts has revealed new knowledge about Shaw, showing him as a complex figure working across many areas of visual and material culture which transcend the domain of the 'writer's house' as it has traditionally been conceived. This thesis concludes that these artistic interests, which inform his interconnected roles as dramatist, socialist, photographer, art patron, connoisseur, critic and journalist, consumer and celebrity, are reflected in the house, but not in the way it is currently promoted by the Trust.

The Trust needs to consider how to communicate the new contextual information generated by the thesis, and find ways to make the symbolic meanings Shaw assigned to artefacts comprehensible, and the equivocalities and contradictions that were so central to his artistic persona more accessible to the visitors. Arguably Shaw deliberately sought to make Shaw's Corner a site for debate, in the same manner as his plays – a place where his paradoxes and contradictions would be made apparent, discussed and explored. The house is unique and special because Shaw was a dialectical figure: he exists apart from most other writers because of his determination to creatively, critically and politically engage with many different aspects of visual and/or material culture.

The artefactual and biographical focus of this thesis goes against the current emphasis within museum studies and literary tourism, which is on the house itself and 'spirit of place.' According to recent commentators such as Booth and Hendrix, the writer's house is a shared endeavour. Booth argues that 'the museum never has a single subject or author'¹⁸⁸⁶ and she makes the case for the 'literary house museum as collective biography' where we can picture 'ourselves in the place of the genius.'¹⁸⁸⁷ As Hendrix explains: 'the house changes from being a medium of expression to becoming one of remembrance, and simultaneously slides from the sphere of personal and individual into that of collective and cultural memory. The meanings projected onto the house, in fact, cannot any longer be controlled by the author's

¹⁸⁸⁶ Booth, 'Houses and Things', 233.

¹⁸⁸⁷ Booth, 'Houses and Things', 244.

personal perspective.’¹⁸⁸⁸

The Trust will need to reflect on how it wants to present the house in the future. This thesis has revealed that Shaw ascribed very particular meanings to artefacts, and the research findings must be balanced with the Trust’s aim, following Booth and Hendrix, for the house to reflect collective meanings. As a socialist, Shaw would of course have approved of the Trust’s universalizing aims and audience engagement. As Booth points out, ‘it is the reader or visitor who activates an exhibit, museum, biography, or other text.’¹⁸⁸⁹ There is a distinction however to be made between a house museum dedicated to an individual artist or writer, and a historic house museum – where the house itself takes centre stage. Booth does not always tease out the crucial nuanced differences here that are pertinent for a house that owes its very foundation as a Trust property to the fact that it is the home of a unique individual.

A further difficulty lies in the Trust’s emphasis on linear narrative and biography. Stories are required to tell the visitor about Shaw involving artefacts, based on biographical facts and information, such as details of provenance. However Albano argues that where personal possessions are turned into ‘modern relics’ in the museum context, certain artefacts operate in ways that are ‘factual’ but also ‘emblematic and representational’¹⁸⁹⁰ and hence provide two different types of narrative. There are important tensions to be negotiated between managing the symbolic meanings Shaw attached to artefacts, and the empirical data surrounding them. Albano provides the example of Freud’s couch: it is his ‘real’ couch, but it also ‘functions as an iconic embodiment of Freud’s psychoanalytic method and of his theory.’¹⁸⁹¹ We might compare here the bronze bust of Shaw by Rodin: there are certain facts that can be conveyed about the making of the sculpture or the Shaws’ visit to Meudon for instance; but more important perhaps are the intellectual debates and Shavian philosophies the bust embodies, associated with his religion of the Life Force, and self-commemoration (‘busts outlive plays’).

Albano forces us to consider whether artefacts and images ‘constitute the factual evidence that provides the exhibition narrative with authenticity, reality and information,’¹⁸⁹² and she has posed a question that has relevance for Shaw: ‘what happens when the biographical

¹⁸⁸⁸ Hendrix, ‘Writers’ Houses as Media of Expression and Remembrance: from Self-Fashioning to Cultural Memory’, in *Writers’ Houses*, 5.

¹⁸⁸⁹ Booth, ‘Houses and Things’, 240.

¹⁸⁹⁰ Albano, ‘Displaying lives’, 18.

¹⁸⁹¹ Albano, ‘Displaying lives’, 18.

¹⁸⁹² Albano, ‘Displaying lives’, 18.

subject challenges the very illusion of biography?’¹⁸⁹³ Albano here is speaking of an exhibition of artefacts relating to the philosopher Roland Barthes, where she concludes there were unresolved dichotomies which underpinned and disrupted the superficial representation as a coherent figure. This has relevance for how Shaw is represented. I would suggest that in the case of Shaw’s Corner, a focus on incoherence, inconsistency and non-linear narrative is often more appropriate.

Emery has usefully compared the writer house museum to other forms of visual culture such as photographs and wax museums in terms of their artificiality,¹⁸⁹⁴ and I would suggest this has relevance for our reconceptualization of Shaw’s Corner. Given Shaw’s interest in both these forms of visual display, it is a fitting correlation to draw. Like the photographs of Shaw in his interiors taken for his 90th birthday, or the Tussaud’s wax model of Shaw, the scenes displayed in the house are frozen ‘to a specific moment in time’.¹⁸⁹⁵ But as Emery asks: ‘which moment is representative and should be forever fixed?’¹⁸⁹⁶ At the commencement of the project at the close of 2010, the displays at Shaw’s Corner were fixed to represent the elderly Shaw (the invalid of 1950 with the wheelchair prominently displayed), and curtains at the windows that reflected the taste of the housekeeper. Shaw’s last illness was the focus instead of his artistic and musical interests. The Trust had adopted a ‘display as found’ policy, but what was being preserved and displayed was not what Shaw had envisaged or curated.¹⁸⁹⁷ The research findings have revealed that Shaw’s aims with the property were orientated towards self-commemoration, and reflecting his artistic interests, friendships, connections, and ideas.

As a result of this project, and working together with the Trust staff, aspects of the room displays have already been challenged and altered to reflect Shaw’s taste and allegiances: figure 314 shows House Manager Sue Morgan assisting with the process of establishing the original placement of some of the extant curtains. Morris & Co. curtains in *Kennet* have been reinstated in Shaw’s study and bedroom, whilst *Large Stem* curtains are once again in the hall and drawing-room. As far as the latter is concerned, owing to the research findings we are also able to challenge the myth prevalent in the literature that the drawing-room was ‘Charlotte’s room’. Shaw later made significant changes to this room after Charlotte’s death

¹⁸⁹³ Albano, ‘Displaying lives’, 25.

¹⁸⁹⁴ Emery, *Photojournalism*, 221.

¹⁸⁹⁵ Emery, *Photojournalism*, 210.

¹⁸⁹⁶ Emery, *Photojournalism*, 210.

¹⁸⁹⁷

associated with his self-curation through sculpture. The room featured in numerous press photographs of Shaw as a result.

Based on the thesis findings, it is recommended that the Trust consider the absences and losses that have been exposed. The Trust should attempt to make certain acquisitions in the future, prioritising artefacts such as a Shakespeare Staffordshire statuette, and a pianola. There is also of course the issue of Shaw's cars, and whether an attempt should be made to purchase a similar model. The aim would be directed at achieving a more complex, nuanced picture of Shaw, communicating his contradictory ideas to a wide audience, and making his ideas and interests more accessible. The complexities and equivocalities were to some extent erased by the Trust's selling of the cars, the silver, and other artefacts. Different narratives would be enabled by such acquisitions to enrich the visitor experience.

Dissemination of the research findings has been an ongoing feature of the knowledge transfer from the outset. A range of talks and public lectures have been given as part of the research project, and together with the articles published, the aim has been to increase the information available for National Trust staff and volunteers, and the public, whilst also illuminating Shaw's relationship to art and material culture within the academic community and Shaw Societies. This thesis has revealed a gap in the knowledge regarding the level of Shaw's interest in visual and material culture, with a related lack of scholarly appreciation of his role within the Arts and Crafts and Aestheticism. There are significant opportunities for further research by art and design historians, with particular scope for study in areas relating to his dialogue with sculpture, dress, portraiture and photojournalism.

As far as Shaw's Corner is concerned, more can be done to create new themed displays of artefacts and images in the museum room, which is currently an underused resource. There is also scope for a series of online exhibitions. The room information cards need to be updated to reflect the research findings, and there are plans to place the new information into the object records on the Trust's Collections Management System (CMS). The Trust has already begun to use my research to enhance the displays in the museum room: figure 315 shows a display case exhibiting some of the Morris artefacts. These displays could be augmented through the juxtaposition of Morris & Co. textiles and the newly-discovered Omega Workshops tray for example, to create a platform for discussing Shaw's ideas relating to art, socialism, and patronage. In the future, it is also recommended that the Trust should establish connections to the American archives where significant artefacts and material relating to

Shaw's Corner are kept, especially the HRC, Texas, with the aim of possibly arranging temporary loans. Collaborative projects and exhibits might then enable artefacts such as the Ayot silver and Shaw's clothing (currently kept in storage at the HRC) to be displayed and enjoyed.

The thesis has shown the importance of relating the artefacts in the house to props used in the plays, and to Shaw's photographs, as a means of highlighting his interest in the reciprocity between home and stage, and between life and art. Shaw's complex philosophizing on mortality and the Life Force might be explained more easily through the existing displays of sculpture (the Rodin bust) and 'statues' (the lay figure) if they are linked to the plays such as *The Doctor's Dilemma*, or *Back to Methuselah* for example. Similarly Shaw's placement of the Dzerzhinskii image on the mantelpiece in the dining-room, problematized by the presence of both Ibsen and Gandhi, might be illuminated by discussions relating to his satire *The Simpleton of the Unexpected Isles*. There is further scope for collaboration with institutions such as British Pathé which hold film footage of Shaw with sculptors such as de Strobl and Troubetzkoy. (Figure 316). Shaw's own photographs of busts and other forms of sculpture taken in the garden at Shaw's Corner are equally very important, and similarly need to be brought into a dialogue with the artefacts.

The role of the Trust's Shaw collection of photographs needs to be reconsidered in the light of the research findings. This thesis has shown that the photographs are a vital part of the Shaw's Corner collection, and far more needs to be done to reunite them with the interiors and artefacts, both through cross-referencing via the online catalogues and materially via the images. In order for the public to gain a better understanding of Shaw's relationship to artefacts through the photographs, the use of interactive touch-screen technology should be considered. This might be installed at key information points, in a similar way to how the Trust has utilized this technology at Bateman's. (Figure 317).

In 1907 shortly after moving to Shaw's Corner, Shaw delivered a speech on 'Art and Public Morality': 'Life is no "brief candle" to me. It is a sort of splendid torch which I have got hold of for the moment; and I want to make it burn as brightly as possible before handing it on to future generations.'¹⁸⁹⁸ By contextualizing and rethinking the collections, we ensure Shaw's Corner will 'burn brightly' for generations to come, with the house acting as a meeting place

¹⁸⁹⁸ Shaw, 'Art and Public Morality' (a lecture given in early March 1907). Quoted in Gibbs, *A Bernard Shaw Chronology*, 175. See also Gibbs, *Bernard Shaw: A Life*, 2005, where it is used as one of the epigraphs. Part of Shaw's lecture was originally quoted in Pearson, *Bernard Shaw: His Life and Personality*, 170.

for the exchange of ideas. Shavian artefacts generate discussion and debate, and it is important to recognize that a focus on those artefacts as a way of accessing his intellectual viewpoints need not diminish the ways in which the house operates as a site for collective memory or experience. As an art critic, Shaw knew that the power of art lies in its ability to provoke, challenging people to consider life, and their own lives, in new and unexpected ways.



Figure 314 Sue Morgan with Morris & Co. *Yare* curtain, Shaw's Corner. © National Trust/Alice McEwan

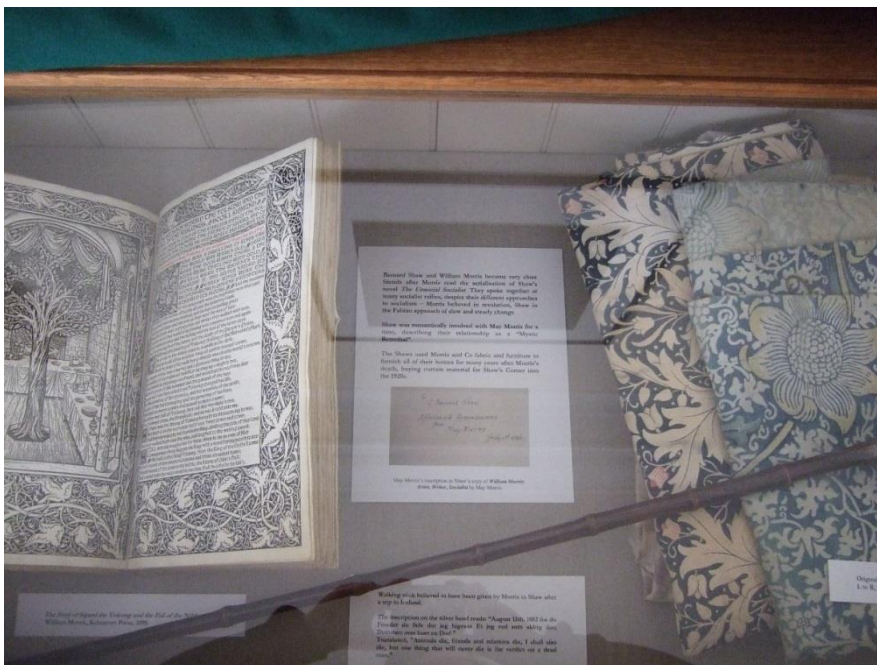


Figure 315 Display case revealing the Kelmscott Press *Sigurd*, and original Morris & Co. textiles, highlighting the aesthetic influence of Morris on Shaw. Museum Room, Shaw's Corner. © National Trust.



Figure 316 Still from British Pathé film footage of Shaw with Paul Troubetzkoy, 1927. (Film ID. 704.03). Image reproduced with kind permission of British Pathé.

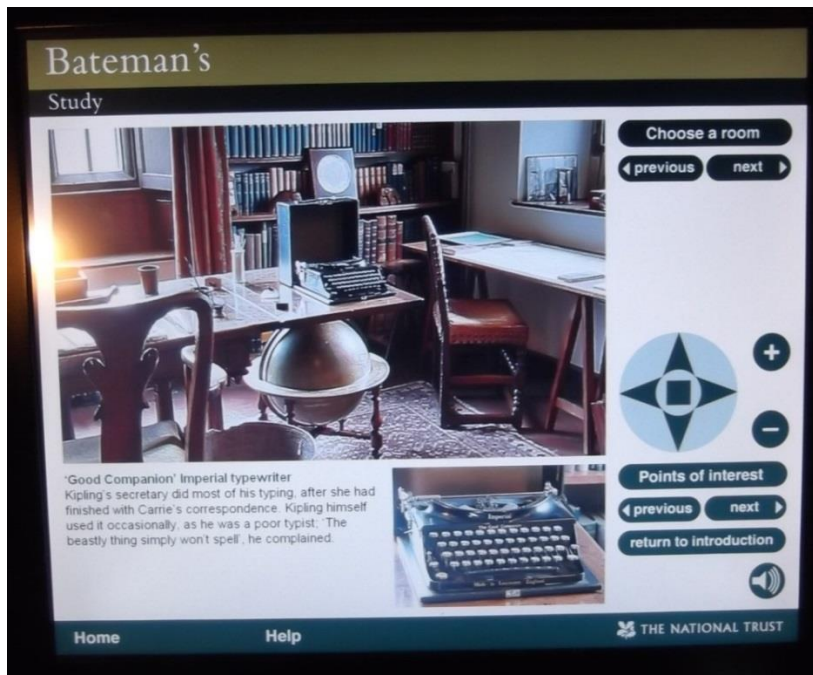


Figure 317 Interactive touch-screen technology, Bateman's. (The home of Rudyard Kipling, National Trust). © National Trust.

APPENDIX 1: Responses to Shaw's Corner in the literature (in chronological order)

1) T.E. Lawrence, 1927.

'The house is steeped in you. You, not G.B.S: for as I keep on saying he doesn't live in places or things.'

T.E. Lawrence to Charlotte Shaw, 8 September 1927, quoted in Rhoda Nathan, 'Kindred Spirits: Charlotte Shaw and T.E. Lawrence', *The Independent Shavian*, 45, 1-3 (2008), 34.

2) Charlotte Shaw, 1938.

'G.B.S. insists upon being half the week at this horrible, cold, ugly English place, which keeps me from seeing my friends in nice, warm London.'

Charlotte Shaw to Thomas Jones, 15 February 1938, quoted in Thomas Jones, *A Diary with Letters, 1931-1950* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), 388.

3) James Lees-Milne, 1944. (Secretary of the Historic Buildings Committee for the National Trust from 1936 to 1951).

'Shaw's Corner is a very ugly, dark red-brick villa...The quality of the contents of the [drawing-]room was on a par with that of the villa. Indifferent water-colours of the Roman Campagna, trout pools in cheap gilt frames... Two stiff armchairs before the fire and brass fender. A shoddy three-ply screen attached to the fireplace.'

James Lees-Milne, 9 February 1944, in Michael Bloch, ed, *James Lees-Milne Diaries, 1942-1954* (London: John Murray, 2007), 134; previously published in James Lees-Milne, *Prophesying Peace: Diaries, 1944-45* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1977).

4) Harold Nicolson, 1950. (Vice-Chairman of the National Trust Executive at the time of Shaw's death in 1950).

'We first go into the garden...A hut in which he worked. Everything as he left it. Postcards, envelopes, a calendar marking the day of his death, curiously enough a Bible and prayerbook and Crockford's Directory, a pair of mittens...Shaw has left us nothing at all. The house is dreadful and not really lettable. It will, moreover, be difficult to show to tourists as it is so small...All his hats and coats and nailbrushes etc. are here. His long woollen stockings and his thick underclothes. The pictures, apart from one of Samuel Butler and two of Stalin and one of Gandhi, are exclusively of himself. Even the door knocker is an image of himself. We decide that morally we must accept Shaw's house. I am not happy about it.'

Harold Nicolson, Diary entry for 11 December 1950, quoted in Nigel Nicolson, ed., *Harold Nicolson, Diaries and Letters, III: The Later Years, 1945-1962* (New York and London: Atheneum, 1966), 196-97. Also quoted in Stanley Weintraub, ed., *Shaw An Autobiography 1898-1950* (London: Max Reinhardt, 1970), 292-93; in A.M. Gibbs, ed., *Shaw: Interviews*

and Recollections (Iowa: University of Iowa Press, 1990), 535; and partly reproduced in Holroyd, 'Shaw at Shaw's Corner', 123-24.

5) *The Illustrated London News*, 1951.

'Despite the presence of many well-known portraits of G.B.S., many of his clothes and writing paraphernalia, the house seems curiously impersonal.'

'To be a memorial and shrine for Shavians: "Shaw's Corner", now open to the public', *The Illustrated London News* (17 March 1951), 407.

6) Trevor Allen, 1952. (Journalist).

'Visit Bernard Shaw's house at Ayot St. Lawrence and you have, for your 2s. National Trust admission fee, partial access to the hall and three principal rooms on the ground floor: partial because the main part of each is roped off. Beyond that slender rope are treasures of immense literary value and personal mementoes...

The most important room, G.B.S.'s library-study, has a musty, mildewy corner. From it Mr. Bowker [custodian] took a volume, *Jeanne d'Arc*. Inside it was a loose sheaf of Shaw's notes and page-references, obviously a basis for St. Joan. Think of the value of that – and damp had already attacked it...That bookcase contains what other treasures, proof or inscribed copies?...

There was a box in which the frugal G.B.S. stored used paper-clips and other oddments, just as he kept postage-stamp edgings; in the desk drawers, a stack of his celebrated printed postcards and other personal miscellany; his camera, binoculars, and the scales he used for weighing letters...On the floor, his neat tool chest. A Negretti and Zambra weather-chart device for forecasting by barometer readings. A large metal filing cabinet with each drawer neatly labelled "keys and contraptions," etc. A bureau containing his bank passbook and other documents...

Mr. Bowker thinks that showing the house informally, much as it was when G.B.S. lived there, specially pleases visitors. No doubt. But informality entails risk of loss...Sooner or later all valuable books and documents will either have to be removed to a safe place or preserved from damp, decay and possible pilferers under "museum" conditions, as at Keat's house, Hampstead...

An aged lady in Northumberland sent money for flowers to be placed before the John portrait on what would have been Shaw's ninety-sixth birthday...What is needed is a similar chivalry devoted to reclaiming literary treasures and mementoes from musty, mothy obscurity.'

Trevor Allen, 'The sad story of Shaw's Corner', *John O'London's Weekly*, 61, 1,466 (15 August 1952), 761-62. (Press cutting, BUR, XV, 60.54).

7) *The Dickensian*, 1952.

‘Gads Hill Place, within and without, would be found more aesthetically pleasing to modern eyes than “Shaw’s Corner”.’

The Dickensian, 49-52 (1952), 94.

8) Lord Grantley, (Richard Henry Brinsley Norton), 1954. (Managing Director of Pinewood Studios).

‘I can remember a number of meetings with him in his awful little house at Ayot St Lawrence...It was thoroughly suburban, in some ghastly Edwardian style with little bay windows, and had the most tasteless furnishings; the general impression being of a boarding house sprinkled with the souvenirs of a great man. There were doyleys under the cakes...It was only redeemed by the books and by Shaw himself.’

Lord Grantley quoted in Gibbs, *Interviews and Recollections*, 447.

9) St. John Ervine, 1956. (Irish dramatist, and one of Shaw’s biographers).

‘The furniture at Shaw’s Corner was Charlotte’s choice. G.B.S., who had the ascetic’s indifference to his environment, left all domestic arrangements to her... the result was an insignificant house in which there was comfort, but no distinction...She told me more than once how deeply G.B.S. disliked the house at Ayot St Lawrence, how bored he was with the road from the village to London, and how much he wished to go somewhere else. But they had both by then acquired the inertia of old people who are unwilling to change even habits they hate; and this, added to his indifference to his surroundings, caused them to remain at Ayot St Lawrence when their desire was to leave it.’

St. John Ervine, *Bernard Shaw: His Life, Work and Friends* (London: Constable, 1956), 362.

10) *The Shavian*, 1957.

‘The National Trust, more concerned apparently with keeping up the proud (and not so proud) relics of a decayed aristocracy than the preservation of a truly national – and international – heritage, has failed to do what even the smallest and meanest Continental country without doubt would have done: kept a great writer’s home and belongings (donated to the Trust) precisely as they were when he left them. It has at last succeeded, after many efforts, in letting Shaw’s Corner, and a large part of Shaw’s belongings and furniture has now been dispossessed and carted away.’

Editorial: ‘No Corner for Shaw’, *The Shavian*, 8 (February 1957), 4-5.

11) Mr. C. J. Casserley, 1957. (Shaw’s Corner tenant, 1956-57).

‘We have turned the kitchen into our dining-room while the old scullery has become our kitchen. Both were painted an appalling shade of brown half-way up the wall, with an

indescribable dried egg above that. This colour scheme, if you could call it that, extended over most of the passages and staircases, and even into some of the secondary rooms...the brown in particular was enough to send any self-respecting house-hunter running. It reminded one strongly of the nastier kind of institution and could, I feel, have been chosen only by a Fabian.'

C.J. Casserley, 'Living at Shaw's Corner', *The Listener* (10 October 1957), 561-62. (Mander & Mitchenson Theatre Collection, University of Bristol).

12) Gerard Fay, 1958. (Journalist).

'The National Trust hopefully kept it open, with "G.B.S's" housekeeper, Alice Laden, in charge. But visitors were rare and there was a loss on the house. Why did the visitors stay away? Partly because the village of Ayot St Lawrence is not easy to get to; secondly, because the word was quickly passed around that Shaw's Corner was a very dull place except for the garden... The house baffles those who imagined that "G.B.S." would have put some aesthetic feeling into his surroundings... Shaw's personality, which shines out of his writings, left no trace in his home. Small rooms, undistinguished furnishings, a few pictures and photographs, a few books. Only in the little revolving garden house where he used to work in the sun was there any echo of the man and his trade. The simple chair and table, the few writing implements, the pile of unused paper could at least declare that their owner had been a writer, though they could say nothing at all of his qualities.'

Gerard Fay, 'Slump in Shaw not absolute', *The Manchester Guardian* (28 May 1958), 5. (Mander & Mitchenson Theatre Collection, University of Bristol).

13) John Cole, 1961. (Shaw's oculist in Welwyn Garden City).

'I used to see him in his living-room. This was crammed with the impedimenta of Shaw the writer. Everywhere were cuttings, typescripts, books and everything conceivably connected with authorship. Although large, it was an exceedingly friendly and intimate room. One felt about it that here was the very core of G.B.S.'s material world.'

John Cole, quoted in Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager*, 223.

14) David Garnett, 1962. (Novelist and critic).

'It is a disagreeable late Victorian brick house hidden behind shrubberies – a house the outside of which nothing could make beautiful. But the Shaws had made it as ugly as it is possible to imagine inside as well. It revealed in both of them an absolute absence of any visual taste... In none of the rooms I entered did I notice a single piece of good furniture. Carpets and wallpapers were hideous, mantelpieces and tables crowded with a clutter of souvenirs and bric-à-brac.'

David Garnett, quoted in Gibbs, *Interviews and Recollections*, 446.

15) Charles Benjamin Purdom, 1963. (A founder-resident of Welwyn Garden City).

‘The secret of Bernard Shaw, which accounts for his work and gives it significance, may perhaps be found if we think of that Hertfordshire house of his – Shaw’s Corner, as he called it in some derision – a commonplace, tasteless, late Victorian building, furnished by Charlotte for domestic comfort, in which he lived so long. Everyone who saw it was astonished that it should be the home of genius. Shaw sometimes said that neither he nor Charlotte liked the house; but they went on living there... There Shaw lived without identifying himself with his surroundings. Detachment was in fact his secret. It was the secret not only of his life but of his plays. He did not live in that dull house, except for bodily necessities; likewise, he attached himself to no possessions.’

C.B. Purdom, *A Guide to the Plays of Bernard Shaw* (London: Methuen, 1963), 71.

16) Michael and Mollie Hardwick, 1970. (Authors).

‘The house itself, named by him Shaw’s Corner, stands out among the ancient and lovely dwellings of the village because it is neither ancient nor lovely.’

Michael Hardwick and Mollie Hardwick, *A Literary Journey: Visits to the Homes of Great Writers* (New York: A.S. Barnes, 1970), 91.

17) Frank Vigor Morley, 1980. (Essayist and publisher).

‘A mistake has been made, I feel, to force that little revolving summer-house at Shaw’s Corner into being part of the stage-set. It is arranged for the ghost to be seen in – the wicker chair in place at the flap table, even another of G.B.S.’s hats in place beside the pencils, erasers, and other writing tools. Yet might it not have been better to have allowed Shaw’s Corner to have some bit of a corner, that summer-house perhaps, where Shaw could be thought of alone, unwatched? Shaw asked himself, and us, an awkward question. Is he as dramatist to be ranked with Shakespeare and Moliere, or else? Surely we need not be bullied, nor indeed Shaw be bullied either, into accepting the terms of the antithesis that he flung out.

Such circumstantial evidence as hats and writing tools have little bearing on the questions Shaw might have asked when alone in the summer-house hideaway. The external accessories are irrelevant; one might even disparage them or dislike them and yet admire Shaw and his work all the more.’

Frank Vigor Morley, *Literary Britain: A Reader’s Guide to Its Writers and Landmarks* (London: Hutchinson, 1980), 414.

18) John Hadfield, 1980. (Author and publisher).

‘The most important house in the village is without question the ugliest; this is Shaw’s Corner, the home of George Bernard Shaw... acute critic as G.B.S. was, he must surely have been lacking in any aesthetic sense.’

John Hadfield et al., *The Shell Book of English Villages* (London: Michael Joseph, 1980), 98.

19) Michael Holroyd, 1989. (Shaw's biographer).

'The Rectory was a fairly comfortable, fairly dismal house. Charlotte filled it with furniture – stiff armchairs, bureaux, beds: lodging-house objects with hardly a good piece among them... They had grown tired of house-hunting and the Rectory had been one of the few houses about which they were agreed: neither of them liked it.'

Michael Holroyd, *Bernard Shaw. Vol. 2, 1898-1918, The Pursuit of Power* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1989), 189.

20) Eileen O'Casey, 1989. (Wife of the playwright Sean O'Casey).

'I said to myself, "This is no ordinary house – this is Shaw's home." Afternoon tea was served... cakes on a pretty cake stand, elegant china and a fine linen tablecloth and serviettes... The room was pleasantly furnished. I think I remember very pretty chair chintz chair covers. Sitting there one looked out on to the garden.'

Eileen O'Casey, *Cheerio, Titan: The Friendship between George Bernard Shaw and Eileen and Sean O'Casey* (New York: Macmillan, 1989), 2.

21) Candida Lycett Green, 1996. (Author).

'Out of the spell of the magical Ayots you will come to an undistinguished Victorian house in a dull and disappointing setting.'

Candida Lycett-Green, *England: Travels Through an Unwrecked Landscape* (London: Pavilion, 1996), 22.

APPENDIX 2: Improvements and changes made to Shaw's Corner (mainly initiated by Shaw) 1906-1950

Water purification

Shaw had a 'Permutit' water softener installed at Shaw's Corner in 1925; it was also concerned with purification, with the aim of removing dirt, bad taste and odour. (Receipt from the builder H.W. Ford to Charlotte regarding payment for installation, 28 September 1925, HRC, IV, 66.5). A Permutit receipt survives at LSE, Shaw/25/7 fol. 20. Shaw would later refer to this water treatment equipment in a letter to Mrs. Ames: 'Chalky water has no terrors for me: I have a softening plant that cost me £70. It paid its way long ago in soap saving.' (Shaw to Mrs. Lionel Ames, 7 July 1950, quoted in Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager*, 152).

Plumbing and drainage

The Shaws faced numerous problems with their plumbing and drainage at Shaw's Corner, including defective drains and soil pipes, and leaking cisterns and taps. The Garden City architect Barry Parker intervened at Shaw's request. For a detailed account of these problems see Alice McEwan, 'The "Plumber-Philosopher": Shaw's Discourse on Domestic Sanitation', in *SHAW, the Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies, Dilemmas and Delusions: Bernard Shaw and Health*, vol. 34, ed. by Christopher Wixson (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014), 75-107.

The installation of an electricity plant

Lowke Domestic Engineering (the company owned by Harold Bassett-Lowke, brother of Shaw's friend Wenman Joseph Bassett-Lowke) installed the electrical plant at Shaw's Corner in 1930, and by September that year Harold wrote to Shaw excitedly: 'we yesterday had the plant running.' (Harold Bassett-Lowke to Bernard Shaw, 12 September 1930, LSE Shaw/25/5, f.12). The estimate for the work was £701, which included lighting points, heating points, and an electric motor. By far the most expensive element was the electric plant itself: £470. This included the engine, dynamo, switch-board and engine house. (Harold Bassett-Lowke to Bernard Shaw, 3 April 1930, LSE Shaw/25/5, f.8). Until 1930, Shaw's Corner had been reliant on oil lamps. Various oil lamps and oil heaters remain at Shaw's Corner (NTIN 1275152; NTIN 1274975). See Maureen Dillon, *Artificial Sunshine: A Social History of Domestic Lighting* (London: The National Trust, 2002), 111. Dillon has captioned a photograph of Shaw: 'George Bernard Shaw playing the piano by oil lamp and candles at Shaw's Corner' but this is incorrect. Whilst Shaw did indeed use oil lamps and candles at Ayot, Dillon has illustrated her point by using a photograph of Shaw playing his Bechstein piano at Piccard's Cottage in 1901 (see figure 4). (Dillon, 112).

The introduction of specially designed ‘Vita’ Glass windows to increase the penetration of the sun’s rays

Builder’s records for September 1928 show that Shaw had all the windows in the main rooms changed to ‘Vita’ Glass at Shaw’s Corner on the south side of the house. The invoice detailed all the work: ‘taking out & re-glazing Mr. & Mrs. Bernard Shaw bedroom windows, drawing room & dining room windows with 26 oz Vita Glass.’ (25 September 1928, Durrant, HRC, IV, 66.7). The materials and labour cost £32-10-6. Several of these panes have been replaced over the years; and in 1983, the windows of all the ‘showrooms’ were treated with an ultra violet absorbing film. See the ‘History of Shaw’s Corner’ compiled by the former custodian G. Fraser Gallie in the 1980s, Shaw’s Corner Archive (GFG 22/9/83). A building survey carried out in 1985 however recorded that ‘some of the glass is Vitalite.’ (A variant of ‘Vita’ Glass). See the First Quinquennial Survey, February 1985. (National Trust Archive, EE08:64). Louise Rumball, whose mother had been the headmistress of the school at Ayot, recalled that ‘Shaw had Vitaglass put into the school’s windows at his expense, to increase the health of the children.’ (Rumball, in Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager*, 164). See also Louise Rumball, *George Bernard Shaw and Ayot St. Lawrence: Memories and Facts by a Villager 1905-1930* (Harpenden: 1987), 27; Patch, *Thirty Years with GBS*, 185; and HOL3, 330.

The selection of sanitary distemper for use in the house (instead of wallpaper)

Charlotte’s correspondence with the builder Fenwick Owen reveals that the Shaws’ instructions were for ‘walls to be distempered with washable distemper of best quality.’ (Invoice to Charlotte Shaw, 27 June 1908, HRC, IV, 67.5). Samples taken by the Trust as part of a paint analysis survey revealed numerous layers of paint in pale colours used in the principle rooms, showing that the Shaws moved away from the Victorian darker shades which had been applied soon after the house was built. The report stated that when the Shaws took over the house, ‘they transformed the rooms by painting them with pale, neutral colours.’ (See Catherine Hassall, *Shaw’s Corner Paint Examination Report*, 16 June 2009, 2). Charlotte’s papers reveal a distemper with the brand name of ‘Walpamur’ was applied in the drawing room (20 August 1923, HRC, IV, 66.7). The records of Hurst builders show that distemper was used in Shaw’s study: ‘distemper with two coats Walpamur stippled.’ (26 July 1930, HRC, IV, 66.8). ‘Walpamur’ (originally known as ‘Hollins Distemper’) was one of the first commercial water-based paints available. Invoices from Fenwick Owen show that Walpamur was also applied to the walls of the scullery, kitchen and back staircase (1 July 1922, HRC, IV, 67.5), although there is no record of the colours used. Given the reminiscences of the tenant Mr. Casserley in 1957 (see Appendix 1), these spaces evidently retained the darker shades associated with the Victorian period.

The conversion of one of the main bedrooms into a dark room for Shaw to develop his photographs

The joiner's invoices covering December 1906 (the month after the Shaws moved to the property) show that modifications to one of the bedrooms were made immediately to create a dark room. One invoice is for 'supplying & fixing 2 brass knobs & buttons & fitting baize to shutters in Photo Room'; and 'making solid frame to fit table in Photo Room.' W. Archer, Joiner, Invoice to Charlotte Shaw, 25 January 1907. (HRC, IV, 68.1).

When the electrical plant was installed at Shaw's Corner in 1930, a detailed list of the proposed light fittings for each room was given as part of the estimate, thus providing a clear picture of all the individual rooms and their uses. The spare room on the first floor next to Mrs. Shaw's bedroom was described in this document as the 'dark room' (now the store room). LSE Shaw Business Papers (Shaw/25/5, f.13.): the list of light fittings to be installed at Shaw's Corner included a 'dark room lamp.' As late as the 1940s, Alice Laden informed Allan Chappelow that Shaw 'had been developing some films and had slipped over in the dark.' See Allan Chappelow, *Shaw the Villager and Human Being: A Biographical Symposium* (New York: Macmillan, 1962), 7.

The installation of Shaw's writing hut

The hut was originally acquired as a summer house for Charlotte, but appropriated by Shaw for his work, with its mechanism that allowed rotation to capture the maximum amount of light and sunshine. The writing hut was erected in June 1925. The joiner W. Archer invoiced the Shaws for 'putting together shelter in meadow.' (Invoice dated September 1925, HRC, IV, 68.1). I discuss aspects of Shaw's use of the writing hut to promote health in Alice McEwan, 'George Bernard Shaw and his Writing Hut: Privacy and Publicity as Performance at Shaw's Corner', *Interiors: Design, Architecture, Culture*, 2, 3 (November 2011), 333-56.

APPENDIX 3: Auctions of artefacts from Whitehall Court, London, and Shaw's Corner, sold on the instructions of Bernard Shaw, 1947-1949

24 November 1947, Sotheby & Co, London, *Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books*. Artefact sold: The Holy Bible, 'from the library of the late Mrs. Bernard Shaw.'

21 June 1949, Phillips, Son & Neale, London, *A Catalogue of Decorative Furniture, Porcelain, Fine Eastern Rugs, Pictures, Silver and Plated ware, Jewellery and Bric-a-Brac, sold by direction of George Bernard Shaw, Esq., removed from Whitehall Court, SW*. Artefacts sold: furniture, the second Bechstein piano, and furnishings including Morris & Co curtains (46 lots, 69 items). (BL Auctioneers' Copies, Phillips Sales Catalogues 14221-14240).

28 June 1949, Phillips, Son & Neale, London, *A Catalogue of Decorative Furniture and Porcelain*. Artefacts sold included china, glass and *objets d'art* (7 lots, in excess of 88 items).

4 July 1949, Phillips, Son & Neale, London, *A Catalogue of Antique and Modern Furniture*. Artefacts sold included china, glass and *objets d'art* (3 lots, in excess of 50 items).

8 July 1949, Sotheby & Co, London, *Catalogue of Fine Sculpture and Works of Art including Musical Instruments*. Artefact sold: Shaw's clavichord by Arnold Dolmetsch.

12 July 1949, Phillips, Son & Neale, London, *A Catalogue of English and Continental Furniture*. Artefacts sold included 2 Chippendale chairs; and 24 photographs of Shaw. (BL Auctioneers' Copies, Phillips Sales Catalogues 14221-14240).

15 July 1949, Sotheby & Co, London, *Catalogue of European and Chinese ceramics and works of art, English furniture, and Oriental rugs and carpets*. Artefacts sold included ceramics, glass and Chinese porcelain (9 lots, in excess of 110 items); furniture (20 lots, 35 items); Oriental rugs and carpets (7 lots, 12 items). (BL Auctioneers' Copies, Sotheby & Co. 1949, Catalogue 1748).

25 July 1949, Sotheby & Co, London, *Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books and Prints removed from 4 Whitehall Court SW1, and Ayot St. Lawrence, Welwyn, and sold by order of G. Bernard Shaw*. Artefacts sold included books (217 lots, in excess of 835 items); prints and engravings (12 lots, in excess of 120 prints). (NAL).

27 July 1949, Sotheby & Co, London, *Catalogue of Modern Drawings and Paintings, including drawings by Rodin and paintings by Jack B. Yeats, The Property of G. Bernard Shaw Esq.* Artworks sold: 6 drawings including works by Rodin, William Rothenstein, Felix Topolski and Paul Troubetzkoy; 9 paintings including works by Jack B. Yeats, Leon De Smet, and Nellie Heath. (BL Auctioneers' Copies, Sotheby & Co. 1949, Catalogue 1749).

15 November 1949, Sotheby & Co, London, *Catalogue of Valuable and Printed Books*. Artefacts sold: books (additional lots originally scheduled for sale on 25 July 1949).

APPENDIX 4: Auctions of artefacts from Shaw's Corner, sold on the instructions of the National Trust, 1951-1954

15 March 1951, Phillips, Son & Neale, London, *Particulars of an Excellent Rolls Royce Wraith Saloon Car, also of a Lanchester Saloon Car*. The sale of 2 cars: from 'the estate of the late Mr. George Bernard Shaw.' A Rolls Royce 'Wraith' saloon (registered 1 July 1939; No. FAR 200). Sold for £3400. A Lanchester 4-door saloon car (1933). Sold for £340.

29 May 1952, Sotheby & Co, London, *Catalogue of Fine Old English and Continental Silver, including the Property of George Bernard Shaw Esq. (decd.)*. Artefacts sold: 215 pieces of silver; and a further 119 plated items. (Catalogue: BUR, XV, 59.14). The nett figure generated by the sale of the Ayot silver was £547-15-0. (Shaw's Corner Archive, Appendix D).

8 May 1953, Knight, Frank & Rutley, sale of Shaw's photographic equipment; nett sum generated: £102-11-10.

19 September 1953, Knight, Frank & Rutley, sale of photographic equipment.

14 January 1954, Mandley & Sparrow, 38 Chequer Street, St. Albans. Artefacts sold included Shaw's cameras and other photographic equipment, a chair by Heal and Son, Arts & Crafts chairs by William Birch, Georgian furniture, a pianola, a telescope, a 1662 map of London, a foot exerciser, a pair of dumb-bells, wine glasses, and a dog basket. In excess of 56 lots sold, lots 229-285; nett sum generated: £145-13-6.

APPENDIX 5: List of artefacts brought to Shaw's Corner from the London flats

Artefacts brought to Shaw's Corner from Whitehall Court on Shaw's orders 1945-1949

Rodin, bronze bust, *Bernard Shaw*

Rodin, bronze head, *Honoré de Balzac*

Sigismund de Strobl, marble, *Shaw's hand*

Augustus John, oil portrait, *Bernard Shaw*

G.A. Sartorio, pastel portrait, *Charlotte Shaw*

Léon De Smet, oil painting, *Still Life with Virgin and Child*

August Gaul, bronze statuette of two owls

unknown artist, statuette of a Japanese woodchopper

Artefacts listed on the Adelphi Terrace Inventory (1908), later transferred to Shaw's Corner (date unknown)

Egyptian plaster bust of male scribe (listed as 'Isis')

Albrecht Dürer, prints from *The Engraved Passion*

J. T. Nettleship, pastel, *A Diving Heron*

G.A. Sartorio, 13 pastels and watercolours of various landscapes

H.C. Farnum, oil painting, *Piccola Piazza*

William Morris, Kelmscott Press, *The Story of Sigurd the Volsung and the Fall of the Niblungs*

Doves Press, *Bible*; Goethe's *Faust*

Artworks brought to Shaw's Corner from Whitehall Court (after 1934, exact date unknown)

Frederick Hollyer, photograph, *William Morris*

Aubrey Beardsley, design for theatre poster, used for Shaw's play *Arms and the Man*

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