INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI

A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

THE WIDENING SCOPE
OF THE SHAVIAN HEROINE

by Judith Granger

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in English in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, the City University of New York

1997

This manuscript has been read and accepted by the Graduate faculty in English in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Sept. 5, 1997
Date

David J Gordon
Chair of Examining Committee

Sept. 5, 1997
Date

Executive Officer

Elizabeth Tenenbaum

W. Stead Hiee
Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

PREFACE

"The Widening Scope of the Shavian Heroine" explores woman's historical experience and expanding role in society at the turn of the twentieth century, and the reflection of that social history and expansion in Shaw's major plays. Nineteenth-century constrictions confining Victorian women to a domestic social role were replaced by the Edwardian "New Woman's" expanded opportunities, presented by Shaw in the evolving roles of the heroines of his plays. Their progressive evolution exemplified the early twentieth-century expansion of Western woman's self-conception and social role.

The scope of the Edwardian New Woman and of the Shavian dramatic heroine widened from the restricted traditional concept of woman solely as domestic nurturer to the modern egalitarian concept of multiple and self-determined roles for women in a wider world. As the scope of modern woman's and the Shavian heroine's historical concerns enlarged, the challenges faced

historically by women, and by Shaw's characters, also grew, as did their opportunities for a fuller, more autonomous life.

The enlarged opportunities and concerns of Shaw's heroines within the time frame of 1893-1923 reflected Shaw's awareness of the unprecedented evolution in the social status of women and the expansion of women's social role and responsibilities, demonstrated by the multiple and progressively expanding roles of his major heroines in Candida, Man and Superman, Mrs. Warren's Profession, Pygmalion, Major Barbara, and Saint Joan.

Shaw's domestic heroines, Candida and Ann Whitefield, represented women's traditional domestic roles of nurturing wife and mother, the most circumsribed social role among the Shavian heroines. The opening of educational, economic, and political opportunities to women in the twentieth century was demonstrated by the Shavian entrepreneuses and national saviors. The scope of the Shavian heroine widened, with the educated entrepreneurial heroines, Vivie Warren and Liza Doolittle, to the public worlds of business and commerce. His crusading savior heroines, Major Barbara and Saint Joan, embodied the expansion of women's social and political concerns.

Shaw's non-domestic dramatic heroines are active agents of social change and exemplars of the enlarged female role expectations and widening realm of female experience characteristic of the Edwardian era. Woman's evolving and expanding social roles were reflected and anticipated in the dramatic roles Shaw crafted for women, which then became role models for women of a type never before seen on stage. The quintessential Shavian heroine reflects the dynamic energy and intelligence of the New Woman. She is the dramatized equivalent of the emancipated Edwardian woman, purposefully exercising her newfound rights to independent action and self-determination.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

1. The Victorian "Womanly Woman"

Shaw's egalitarian drama was profoundly influenced by the liberating social currents which, gaining increasing force as the end of the nineteenth century approached, especially affected the changing status of women. The historical changes in the social status of women that came to fruition in the first third of the twentieth century reflect and anticipate the progressively enlarging scope of the major female characters in Shaw's major plays written during that period.

Shaw's domestic heroines (Candida; Ann Whitefield and Doña Ana in Man and Superman) exhibit many of the same vital qualities as his entrepreneurial (the Warrens, Liza Doolittle) and savior (Major Barbara, Saint Joan) heroines, yet basically concentrate their energies on their own private worlds, albeit worlds invested with public significance. Their realms conform to the most fundamental societal and role expectations of the Victorian woman. They are obliged to work vicariously through men to effect social change, as was requisite for most Victorian women whose interests transcended the merely personal or familial. Such women contributed to human betterment mainly through the

circumscribed fulfillment of a severely limited maternal/marital role, the only respectable and economically feasible role available to most Victorian women. Shaw's later heroines exemplify Edwardian woman freeing herself from Victorian patriarchalism and domestic seclusion, and claiming new rights and responsibilities in a new century and a wider world.

Victorian conservatives considered women's role to be separate, restricted, and unequal to men's; Victorian moderates viewed it as separate, less limited, and equal; and radical feminists felt it should be equal, unrestricted, and not separate. In the moderate Victorian view, women were not considered inferior to men, and ought not to have been legally treated as children. Because Victorian women were considered, even by some advanced women, to be too ennobling for public life or business, and more innately suited to the domestic sphere, a major Victorian objection to women's emancipation, education, and professionalization was that such a course might dissipate feminine moral influence.

The Victorian idealization of women, as Barbara Bellow Watson perceptively observed, "was tightly interwoven with the treatment of women as intellectually inferior and legally subordinate" (52).

Mary Wollstonecraft's 1792 "A Vindication of the Rights of Women" had presented a powerful counter-argument, asserting woman's right as an independent individual to cultivate her intellect and gain equal access to educational opportunities, but such access was denied women until the Education Act of 1870 mandated compulsory education for all social classes.

Written in 1861 and published in 1869, John Stuart Mill's treatise, The Subjection of Women, clearly articulated the swelling nineteenth-century protest against legal restraints upon women and injustices perpetrated by rigid enforcement of marriage and property laws based on the societal assumption of woman as legal nonentity. In his final chapter, Mill addressed the basic question asked even by advocates of the expansion of women's societal rights, as to what positive advantage to society would be gained by women's increased participation in societal governance and the reform of archaic marriage laws. Mill clearly saw how the Victorian marital structure of parent-husband/child-wife reflected Victorian society's patriarchal governmental structure and declared the necessity of "having the most universal and pervading of all human relations regulated by justice instead of injustice" (80). He charged that "the moral regeneration of mankind will only really

commence, when the most fundamental of the social relations is placed under the rule of equal justice" (95). According women the right historically enjoyed by men to freely develop and exercise their abilities and intelligence would not only increase by twofold "the mass of mental faculties available for the higher service of humanity" (82), but would have a morally ennobling effect upon society, as would the expansion of woman's educational opportunities and participation in the larger society.

Echoing American Revolutionary principles propounded a century earlier by Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence, Mill eloquently asserted that "after the primary necessities of food and raiment, freedom is the first and strongest want of human nature" (95), and that "the ennobling influence of free government--the nerve and spring which it gives to all the faculties, the larger and higher objects which it presents to the intellect and feelings, the more unselfish public spirit and calmer and broader views of duty, that it engenders, and the generally loftier platform on which it elevates the individual as a moral, spiritual, and social being--is every particle as true of women as of men" (97).

Mill articulated the need for the emancipation of women; the novels of Charles Dickens depicted the often grotesque consequences of the social straitjacket that

imprisoned Victorian women. Shaw's trenchant critique of the British social and educational system was partially inspired by Dickens's novelistic indictment of societal, governmental, and institutional corruption. Shaw knew Dickens's novels well and, as Dan H. Laurence demonstrates in Shaw and Dickens, was greatly influenced by them: "Shaw perceived Dickens as a kindred genius who had filled his childhood imagination and directed the first quickenings of his social conscience" (vii). In their portrayals of female characters as being mainly either child-wives and domestic angels, or shrews and domestic viragos, Dickens's novels vividly illustrated the results of the inequities of the Victorian social structure at all levels of society.

In Oliver Twist (1837), published the year of Victoria's accession to the throne, Dickens' focus on the underworld of Victorian society includes the poignant saga of Nancy, the prostitute who befriends the orphaned Oliver. Nancy's tragic fate as a working-class woman whose only economic recourse is prostitution presents a far from unique worst-case scenario for women of her social class, which Shaw later reversed in Mrs. Warren's Profession by having Mrs. Warren triumph over rather than be destroyed by her social circumstances.

David Copperfield (1849-50) presents the most positive view of the life options available to mid-century

middle- and lower-class Englishwomen in the vivid portrayals of the many domestic angels and child-wives that grace the hero's life.

Betsey Trotwood, one of Dickens' most lovable female characters, is the maiden aunt and surrogate mother who, replacing Copperfield's deceased child-wife mother, brings him up in a household run by her and his nurse Peggotty, both strong women. He initially chooses to marry a child-wife, Dora, who is replaced by a capable adult-wife, Agnes. The subplot of the seduction of the childish Little Em'ly by Copperfield's glamorous friend underlines the paucity of life options available to a woman in Little Em'ly's social situation: Ham, her working-class intended, although simple and good-hearted, is no match for the social attractions of Little Em'ly's seducer.

Within the limitations of their domestic roles, the middle-class female characters in the novel fare better than Little Em'ly, whose attempt to aspire to a life above her lowly station is punished by ruin and death. After raising the hero, Peggotty marries the willing Barkis, and Aunt Betsey continues to cheerfully care for the muddled Mr. Dick. Dora remains a contented child-wife throughout her marriage to Copperfield, her one regret being her inability to be an even better wife to him. Agnes eludes

the advances of the villainous Uriah Heep, and finally marries the hero, whose awakening to his need for a more competent adult-wife predates the first faint Victorian legal acknowledgment of such a possibility (the Married Women's Property Acts) by more than a generation.

Far less satisfactory is the fate allotted most female characters in Dickens's later novels. Esther Summerson, the narrator and competent domestic angel of Bleak House (1852-3), is one of the last of Dickens' capable and contented domestic saints. Esther is the unacknowledged illegitimate daughter of Lady Dedlock. The tragic ending of Lady Dedlock's doomed love affair with Esther's father provides a sombre background for the happier ending of Esther's romance: the upper-class Lady Dedlock's marriage for wealth and position rather than love has fatal results, while the betrothed Esther is fortunately allowed by her fiancé to marry the man she really loves. Esther's fate is at least determined by a benevolent paternalism, but in either case, the women's destinies are entirely controlled by the necessity for marriage and are totally circumscribed by the circumstances surrounding that marriage.

Great Expectations (1860) displays the darkest hued portraits in the Dickens gallery of "unamiable women," as Shaw characterized them in a 1947 foreword to the

novel, and the most damning indictment of female confinement to a domestic role. In that foreword, Shaw presents Estella, the central female character, as the bane, rather than the balm, of the hero's existence, and Mrs. Gargery, the hero's surrogate mother, as a shrew. In the second edition of The Quintessence of Ibsenism, Shaw describes Miss Havisham, Estella's surrogate mother, as a mentally unbalanced "Womanly Woman," his term for women whose lives were entirely defined by their marital and/or maternal role, as the life of a proper Victorian wife was supposed to be.

All of these "unamiable" women have the capacity to be strong-willed, able, and intelligent, but socially constructive avenues are barred to them due to the rigid structure of their society. Like Ibsen's later Hedda Gabler, each can exercise her energies and strength only within the narrow limits of an extremely confined domestic role, and each is denied most of the satisfactions of that role. Mrs. Gargery is married to a naive and unambitious man, who weds an equally simple and unsophisticated woman after his wife's death. The original Gargery marriage is a striking early example of a reversal of Victorian marriage roles, which occurs with more frequency in the later drama of Ibsen and Shaw. In Great Expectations, Mrs. Gargery takes the more active parental role in her marriage, while the

childlike Gargery plays the more passive part, as Shaw noted in The Quintessence of Ibsenism. Mrs. Gargery, never meant for the role to which her society consigned her, takes out her resulting frustrations on her husband and Pip, the hero; she is suited for neither her enforced domesticity nor her surrogate motherhood, but has few other social options available to her.

Miss Havisham is her upper-class counterpart who has, by being deserted by her fiancé on the eve of her wedding, been denied the fulfillment of even the limited domestic role socially allowed her until she is granted the guardianship of Estella. Estella's real mother has been forced into criminality out of economic necessity, so Estella is placed with Miss Havisham as a better social alternative to the degraded life that awaited her in her original social sphere.

Estella becomes the instrument of Miss Havisham's revenge upon society, and is raised to frustrate men as Miss Havisham was herself frustrated. Both Estella and Pip become victims of women who were themselves victimized by a Catch-22 situation: limited by their society to the life option of marriage, one was jilted and the other mismated. The social structures that have placed Miss Havisham and Mrs. Gargery as surrogate mothers within domestic roles for which they are entirely

unsuited, and allowed them no other social options, were still in place at the time of the novel's composition, so Estella can only be raised, in a distorted fashion, for that same limited role.

Dickens's novels thus depict Victorian women in their domestic social role first relatively positively, by glorifying the domestic angel and her benign effect upon his heros' lives, and then relatively negatively, by presenting women as domestic viragos and sirens who have a negative impact upon his heros. Shaw accurately observed that most of Dickens's female characters were presented "unamiably," but Shaw, unlike Dickens, understood the societal constrictions and frustrations that caused the kind of distortions in female personality so unsympathetically depicted by Dickens.

Shaw was also deeply affected by the more empathetic portrayal of the effects of Victorian constrictions on women embedded in the situations and embodied by the heroines of Ibsen's major plays. The "New Drama" of Ibsen and Shaw focused especially on the social status of women. Shaw's drama celebrated woman's emergence into the freedoms of her Edwardian independence, while Ibsen accurately and sympathetically portrayed women's enclosure within the late nineteenth-century societal framework that mandated her domestic dependency.

Although Ibsen, like Shaw, recognized the extent of the hitherto underrated female contribution to the domestic domain and the practical maintenance of a household, and created competent heroines like Mrs. Alving, in Ghosts, who contributes to the public weal in her husband's place and name, there was little possibility for a recognized female role in nineteenth-century public life, as Ibsen's drama, notably Rosmersholm and Hedda Gabler, demonstrates. The brief liberation from conformity to the rigidity of fixed societal roles and rules that is experienced by major characters in most of Ibsen's drama is transient, exemplifying the rigidity of Victorian social structures. Shaw's domestic heroines also exemplify the position of Victorian woman: however influential within their private sphere, their exercise of social power was mainly vicarious.

The Ibsen heroine, a forerunner of the Shavian heroine who similarly mirrored the status of the women of her age, was represented in Ibsen's major plays by Nora in A Doll's House (1879), Mrs. Alving in Ghosts (1881), Rebekka in Rosmersholm (1886), Hedda in Hedda Gabler (1890), and Hilda in The Master Builder (1892).

Nora, in A Doll's House, is her husband's child-wife and the most notable dramatic representation of the legal and social status of women in Victorian society. Ibsen's Nora leaves husband and home to create an

independent self without spousal or societal support: towards the end of A Doll's House, Torvald tells Nora that, above all else, she is a wife and mother, to which she replies that she believes that, above all else, she is a human being, and that she has a duty to herself that is as sacred as her duty to her family.

Mrs. Alving, in Ghosts, exemplifies the fate of a Victorian woman who realizes too late the consequences to herself and her son of remaining in a conventional marriage. Mrs. Alving is a strong and capable woman who has been forced to assume the household reins and administrate the socially beneficial activities for which her prodigal husband has been given credit. In Ghosts, as in A Doll's House, Ibsen demonstrates the built-in social and legal barriers to female self-actualization and marital happiness in the rigid nineteenth-century structure of marriage. The ghosts with which Mrs. Alving struggles represent the forces with which Ibsen and Shaw were contending in their drama: what Ibsen has Mrs. Alving call "the ghosts of old dead ideas and old dead beliefs" (Ghosts Act II).

Ibsen, as Michael Meyer points out, "knew well the predicament of the woman of intellect whose passions can find no outlet" (586), exemplified by Rebekka West of Rosmersholm, an "ambitious 'New Woman' who has to realize herself through Rosmer by encouraging him to become the

leader of the reform movement in the church" (Gassner 2), just as Shaw's Candida vicariously supports and encourages her husband Morell in his efforts towards the reformation of society.

Rebekka's influence on Rosmer follows a pattern in Ibsen's drama that is also very evident in Hedda Gabler and The Master Builder: a woman who is barred from having any power in her society, and therefore unable to have any direct effect upon it, uses her strong will to influence a man to act out her heroic fantasies: she can thus exercise a vicarious influence upon her society. Mrs. Alving, Rebekka West, and Hedda Gabler are prime examples of strong-willed and vital women who have been blocked from having any active role in or direct impact upon their society. Given the lack of any other socially sanctioned role for women in Victorian society than that of wife and mother, these characters can find no other focus for their lives or outlet for their energies than through their influence upon men.

Hedda Gabler is Ibsen's most powerful indictment of superior female intelligence and energy gone to waste in the stifling confines of a restrictive marriage. In her late Victorian society, marriage was the only social role available to a woman of Hedda's rank in society. A dissolute poet, an intelligent but amoral judge, and a

pedant are the marital choices presented to her; Hedda, as a general's daughter with a domineering personality, could obviously never have fit into the necessarily submissive role of Victorian wife to any of them. She is imprisoned in the static role of an upper-caste lady with no other outlet for ambition or energy than the manipulation of others. In Hedda's Victorian society, any social role possibility for women who aspired to a life beyond the common domestic lot was non-existent, as Hedda discovers. While men in Hedda's society could explore many avenues to achievement, most roads save those leading to the kitchen or the nursery were blocked to women.

Shaw claimed to have often encountered many Hedda Gablers in society. In The Quintessence of Ibsenism, he termed Hedda "a typical nineteenth century figure" (108). Ibsen's biographer Halvdan Koht had characterized her similarly as representating the stultifying situation of Victorian upper-class women, repressed by social restraints and denied any useful social role.

Hedda chooses to marry the man she could most easily dominate as a disastrous substitute for the then nonexistent social opportunity for her to exercise her strength directly rather than vicariously. She is trapped between two social spheres, belonging neither to the man's nor the woman's world of nineteenth-

century Victorianism: she represents what Shaw later termed an "Unwomanly Woman," carried to the extreme.

Thea in Hedda Gabler is an exemplar of what Shaw would later call a "Womanly Woman," as is Nora in the early part of A Doll's House. Hedda and Thea represent the two sides of the coin of repressed Victorian womanhood, compelled to seek fulfillment only vicariously, through men. Hedda is the "Unwomanly Woman," barred from any societal achievement, whose only outlet for her drive towards power is the manipulation of others, and whose vicarious quest for the heroic in life is doomed to founder. Thea is the "Womanly Woman," in her marriage, and in her relationships to the poet and the pedant, which most resemble those of an inspirational maternal Muse, much like Candida's relationship to Marchbanks: Thea totally dedicates and submerges herself in service to men.

In The Quintessence of Ibsenism (1891), Shaw used the term "Womanly Woman" to describe the Victorian woman, characterizing her as a self-abnegating slave to her household, husband, and children. His term "Unwomanly Woman" described Ibsen's heroines as prototypes for the emerging Edwardian "New Woman," who was thereafter progressively embodied in the evolving Shavian heroine.

Shaw's comment on The Master Builder's Hilda Wangel, as portrayed by Elizabeth Robins in 1893, underlines the character's vitality and especially stresses her "vivid imagination, high brain power, and personal fascination" (Late Plays 203). Hilda represents the more liberated younger generation of Ibsen's heroines that followed the older constricted Victorian generation of Ibsen heroines, represented in the play by Ibsen's ultimate "Womanly Woman," the Master Builder's wife. Hilda, like Rebekka, foreshadows Shaw's emancipated Edwardian heroines in her resolution and her independence, but her vital energies and societal ambitions are still, like Rebekka's, channeled vicariously through a man, the Master Builder. Like Mrs. Alving and Rebekka, and like the Victorian domestic Shavian heroine, Hilda's vision of society can only be realized and built through the inspiration of a man. As all Victorian woman were, she is blocked from legitimate access to or direct effect upon the power structures of her society: she can inspire the architect of society, but never be an architect herself.

The "Womanly Woman," whom Shaw discussed at length in a separate section of The Quintessence of Ibsenism, was the idealized embodiment of the "Angel in the House" domestic role of Victorian woman. Shaw's examination of woman's position in Victorian society emphasized the

extremely narrow confines of the one legitimate social role available to Victorian woman, and the injustice of straitjacketing a variegated spectrum of womankind within one definition of a woman's role in society. In The Quintessence of Ibsenism, Shaw contended that "if we have come to think that the nursery and the kitchen are the natural sphere of a woman, we have done so exactly as English children come to think that a cage is the natural sphere of a parrot: because they have never seen one anywhere else" (60) Shaw opined "it is not surprising that our society, being directly dominated by men, comes to regard Woman, not as an end in herself like Man, but solely as a means of ministering to his appetite. The ideal [Victorian] wife is one who does everything that the ideal [Victorian] husband likes, and nothing else" (Quintessence 58). Victorian society basically consisted of two tightly compartmentalized spheres: public (the Victorian husband's/man's world) and private (the Victorian wife's/ woman's world). In The Quintessence of Ibsenism, Shaw describes the plight of the Victorian wife when she discovers the social limitations placed upon her as compared to the social freedoms her husband enjoys.

Shaw's understanding of the fundamental inequity of the Victorian social and marital structure is

indicated when he describes a Victorian wife's basic relationship to her husband: she was "dependent on him for her position, her livelihood, her place in society, her home, her name, her very bread" (59). Since domesticity was Victorian woman's sole viable social option, Shaw noted how the social importance denied her as a wife was regained when she became a mother, a role society considered as vital to its survival and continuance as the commercial and governmental roles that men performed. But, as Shaw points out, the success of this particular solution to the problem of women's social role depended "altogether upon the accident of the woman having some natural vocation for domestic management and the care of children. . . Hence arises the idealist illusion that a vocation for domestic management and the care of children is natural to women. . . The domestic career is no more natural to all women than the military career is natural to all men" (60). Although most women, as Shaw points out, do tend to be fond of children, especially their own, so do most men, "who nevertheless do not consider that their proper sphere is the nursery" (60).

In describing the "Womanly Woman," Shaw anticipates one of its most extreme modern examples: the veiled lady, the mysterious central figure who eludes definition throughout Luigi Pirandello's Così è, se vi pare!

(It Is So, If You Think So). She illustrates the ultimate psychic consequences for women of totally submerging themselves in a societally assigned domestic role. As Pirandello's veiled lady discloses at the end of the play, she is whomever she is believed to be. She explains to the audience and to her village and family that she is a daughter and a wife, and that is all she is: for herself, to herself, she does not exist, except in those roles. She is so much a "Womanly Woman" that she only has existence in relationship to others in the play, as daughter or wife; as a separate, individual, independent entity, she has no existence at all. The simply stated self-alienation of being allowed to only fulfill certain allotted social roles and having no viable existence in society apart from them is shockingly presented at the climax of Così è se vi pare! Shaw would have immediately understood, but his female characters embody the vitality and self-affirmation displayed by Edwardian woman in her quest to finally attain power over her own life and destiny, and achieve the fulfillment of her own unique and individual goals. The nineteenth-century constrictions that confined the female characters created by Dickens and Ibsen within Victorian woman's narrow domestic role were finally being replaced by the "New Woman's" expanded opportunities,

dramatically presented by Shaw in the evolving social roles of his heroines.

Shaw revealed his basic egalitarianism very early in his literary career. In The Quintessence of Ibsenism, he contrasted the circumscribed nature of Victorian woman's social role, so tellingly portrayed in the works of Ibsen and Dickens, with the freedoms enjoyed by Victorian men. His cogent summary of the limited societal role available to Victorian woman and her confinement to the domestic sphere places the responsibility for this social injustice not upon any inherent insufficiency or inadequacy within women, the usual justification for any social prejudice, but upon the fundamentally inegalitarian structuring of Victorian society.

2. The Suffragettes and Social Change

The creation and production of Shaw's egalitarian drama paralleled the political activism of the British feminist movement from the early 1890's until World War I. Woman's political activism during the late Victorian and early Edwardian eras and the expansion of woman's participation in the business and governance of society reflected her transition from Victorian woman's limited domestic role to Edwardian woman's larger social role. Besides women's right to vote, the social changes advocated by late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century feminists included the reform of education and marriage laws, especially in consideration of women's property rights, and the opening of professional and political opportunities for women.

Victorian women were legally considered virtually the property of their husbands. Any earned or inherited property they may have possessed before and after marriage legally belonged to their husbands since, prior to the late nineteenth century, women were legally regarded and treated as dependent children rather than independent adults. Subsequent legal acknowledgment of women's changing status centered on their economic rights and, most significantly, property ownership, which,

next to the legitimization of women's access to gainful employment, most affected the majority of British women.

The Married Women's Property Acts, enacted between 1870 and 1893, improved women's economic circumstances and accorded them legal adult status. In 1870, the first Married Women's Property Act allowed wives to keep two hundred pounds of their own earnings. The second Married Women's Property Act, of 1882, permitted women to keep and administer their own property, thus somewhat ameliorating woman's loss of economic independence upon marriage. One of the most important provisions of the third Married Women's Property Act, of 1884, established women legally as separate and independent persons: a woman was no longer legally considered her husband's "chattel" (Gardner xvi-xvii).

In addition to the acquisition of property rights, the economic enfranchisement of women involved a woman's right to acquire an education and the skills to fit her for gainful employment, as well as the right to freely exercise those skills in the British labor market.

By the turn of the century, many positive changes in women's social status had occurred. From being barred from entering any legitimate profession, as Shaw's Victorian entrepreneurial heroine, Mrs. Warren, discovered, Edwardian women could obtain the necessary training and

education to enter legitimate professions, as the transformation of Liza Doolittle in Pygmalion betokens and as Vivie Warren's actuarial ambitions demonstrate. Women's colleges had been established in the 1870's: Girton College in 1873, the London School of Medicine for Women in 1874; Newnham College in 1875; Somerville College and Lady Margaret Hall in 1879. Women were admitted to London University in 1878, and to Cambridge University in 1881. The Census of 1901 reflected Edwardian woman's entrance into the skilled labor market: in Great Britain there were then 124,000 women teachers, 68,000 female nurses, and 60,000 women employed in commerce (Lorichs 187).

The suffragette and trade union movements were inextricably intertwined, due to feminist concern about the industrial exploitation of female labor: the focus of that concern shifted from a Victorian stress on the reform of unhealthy and unsanitary industrial labor conditions to an Edwardian emphasis on the economic exploitation of women. A 1907 study of "sweating" in Birmingham found that, wherever men were replaced by women, the women always received much lower salaries. Women's salaries were not proportional to the skill or intelligence the work required, but remained at a predetermined set level of approximately ten to twenty shillings a week--and most women received the lower wage

(Crow 96): low women's wages were used as weapons of control by employers against both male and female laborers.

"Sweating" was a fact of working life for lower- and middle-class female workers throughout the Victorian and Edwardian eras, extending from mines and factories to shops and homes. The paternalistic system whereby female workers were housed and fed by their employers replicated the Victorian wife's total economic dependence.

As marriage, by contrast, still appeared to be the most attractive life option for the majority of Edwardian women, their choice of a trade was generally determined, not by its professional opportunities, but by its status and respectability: what "finishing" schools were for upper-class ladies, employment in the more "genteel" trades and in upper class households as domestic servants could be for middle- and lower-class women. As the wages of lower-class working girls were immediately needed for the support of their families, better economic opportunities existed for middle- and upper-class women, since their families could afford the vocational education and occupational training that were now available to women.

The activism of the British suffragettes involved political maneuvering to effect legal and Parliamentary reforms, and unrelenting efforts to influence and change public attitudes towards women and women's rights by

persuasion and argument in the form of continuous petitioning and public oratory. The British suffragette movement became increasingly militant due to the adamant refusal by the government, whether Conservative or Liberal, to allow woman suffrage bills passed in the House of Commons to reach a final vote. Extreme measures subsequently adopted by sufragists were then used as a further excuse to deny women suffrage until the outbreak of World War I.

The suffrage movement focused the activities of many diverse organizations of dedicated and committed women on the goal of gaining public attention and support for women's economic rights, the legal emancipation of women, and women's suffrage.

In 1887, the Women's Trade Union League was founded; the Independent Labour Party was formed in 1893, the year Shaw wrote Mrs. Warren's Profession: Mrs. Warren's lack of legitimate career opportunities stands out in sharp contrast to her daughter's access to professional training and commercial opportunities.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies was founded in 1897, led by Millicent Garrett Fawcett, who had written the 1891 Preface to Mary Wollstonecraft's re-edited 1792 A Vindication of the Rights of Women.

In 1903, the year Man and Superman was completed, the most famous of the British feminist organizations, the Women's Social Political Union, was established by the Pankhursts, the acknowledged leaders of the British suffragists. Their first militant action occurred in 1905, the year Major Barbara was written, at the Free Trade Hall in Manchester. The Woman's Freedom League was founded in 1906, and in 1908, the same year as Wells wrote Ann Veronica, the Women Writers' Suffrage League was established and the Fabian Women's Group was formed, containing a quarter of the Fabian Society's members. Suffragette militancy and activism increased until its peak in 1912, when Pygmalion was written.

Popular and Parliamentary support for woman suffrage was unquestionable by World War I, but passage of women's rights bills was consistently blocked by the then Prime Minister Asquith; due to his opposition, no real change in national law occurred until after World War I. During the war, the British suffragists shifted their attention from women's rights to patriotic war work. The enlarged franchise granted them was partly recognition and reward for their effective recruitment and organizational work that so largely contributed to the success of the British forces. In 1917, the Woman Suffrage Act granted the vote to property-owning women over the age of thirty.

In 1918, the Representation of the People Act gave the franchise to women over thirty with university degrees and gave married women the right to vote in local governmental elections; the Parliament (Qualification of Women) Act that year gave the Parliamentary vote to women over thirty who were on the local government electoral register (Lorichs 189). In 1928, the age limit for the Parliamentary vote was lifted, and women could thereafter vote on exactly the same terms as men could.

The British woman's rights movement was a reaction to Victorian legal and social restrictions that had limited women to an extremely narrow domestic sphere. Victorian industrialization was partially responsible for the separation of society into male/public and female/ private spheres and the consequent rigid differentiation of gender roles. The resulting marital alienation and wifely discontent, especially in the middle class, gave considerable impetus to the feminist movement. Paradoxically, as Thompson suggests, the suffragette movement concentrated on the gaining of suffrage and women's political rights, rather than on an even more fundamental reform of woman's domestic situation (246).

Shaw's preface to his 1908 Getting Married testified to his recommendation of such a transformation of the domestic sphere, with an eloquence that underlined his

egalitarianism and stressed the necessity for woman's achievement of economic independence. Thus, contrary to recent criticism of Shaw as insufficiently feminist, Shaw actually advocated more radical social changes than some of the most militant suffragettes envisioned, and remained unwaveringly committed to the concept of egalitarianism; as Barbara Bellow Watson observed, "his claims for the political, economic, and professional rights of women go beyond feminism, into a realm so new it does not yet exist" (28).

Of even greater value than the granting of suffrage, Shaw believed, would be women's active participation in the governance of society. In an article entitled "The Unmentionable Case for Women's Suffrage," published in The Englishwoman in March, 1909, Shaw emphasized the injustice of excluding women from public life (112-21). His writings continually stressed the necessary social benefits of women's participation in all levels of government, based on his own experiences of serving with women in local government. The right to vote in local elections had been gained by Victorian women a score of years before national suffrage was legally enacted; the right to serve in the governance of their local communities was won by Edwardian women a decade before: in 1894, the Local Government Act permitted women to vote

in local government elections; in 1907, the Qualification of Women Act opened participation in County and Borough Councils to women (Gardner xviii). Women could also serve on school boards and as guardians of the poor. Mayoress Mrs. George in Getting Married (1908) exemplifies Shaw's belief in the political competence of women; the play was written the year the first British woman mayoress, Elizabeth Garrett, was elected, in Aldeburgh, Suffolk.

As early as 1889, Shaw called for women's suffrage to be granted on exactly the same terms as men's suffrage. Shaw wrote two Edwardian suffrage plays: Press Cuttings, written in 1908 as a fund raiser for the Woman's Suffrage Society, evocatively recreated the atmosphere of the suffrage movement; Fanny's First Play, written in 1911, Shaw's longest running London success, included a description of the harsh prison experiences endured by militant suffragettes.

Shaw considered that serving in public office was even more important for women than obtaining the vote. He had worked with women in local government between 1898 and 1904, and most of his political effort on behalf of women was directed towards widening the opportunities for them to participate in government. In a 1906 "Intimate Interview" in the London Tribune, which may or may not have been written by Shaw himself, Shaw declared that the only decent government was government by both men and women, clearly

indicative of his faith in the competence of women in matters of governance and public policy. He contended that, since so much of political government involved "national housekeeping" and that, since women would be able to spot problems and areas of vital social concern that were overlooked or ignored by men, especially in regard to sanitation and public health, women's inclusion and involvement in political decision-making was of paramount importance. Shaw even went so far as to say that, if one had to choose between an all-male parliament or an all-female parliament, the better choice would be a female parliament.

In the same interview, he contended that society was responsible for the creation and magnification of the purported differences between men and women by social arrangements that emphasized supposed gender differences in clothing, customs, and political rights, whereas in reality the differences were artificial and manmade. Shaw strongly asserted that there was much less difference between men and women in a state of nature, and that artificial social distinctions had gotten so exaggerated that it had become difficult for men and women to realize and accept that they belonged to the same human species.

In an article in the New York American in April, 1907, entitled "Why All Women are Peculiarly Fitted to Be

Good Voters," Shaw examined the "case" against women's suffrage, revealing his fundamental egalitarianism in asserting that the arguments that applied to the case for universal male suffrage applied equally to women's suffrage. He went on to emphasize the invaluable public contributions of women on royal commissions and in English political life. Shaw contended that no social problem would ever find a satisfactory solution without the political participation of women, which could only occur when women were enfranchised; social ills could never be cured without the united efforts of both sexes. In his 1913 revision of The Quintessence of Ibsenism, Shaw declared "that to have one conception of humanity for the woman and another for the man, or one law for the woman and another for the man. . . [was] unnatural and in the long run. . . unworkable" (154-155). In a 1920 article entitled "Women Since 1860," Shaw stated that women should assert the social value of their femininity.

Shaw maintained his support for women's equal participation in the governance of society throughout his lifetime. In 1947, in "Sixty Years of Fabianism," he wrote, "Democracy for women, a vital political necessity, (women are much more practical and less Party ridden, being trained managerially by housekeeping and child-bearing) must be secured by a Constitutional Amendment

making the electoral unit a man and a woman (call it the Coupled Vote); for all authoritative public bodies should consist of men and women in equal numbers if authority is to be democratic" (224).

Shaw thus saw woman's successful management of her private domestic duties as a training ground fitting her for, not disqualifying her from, public national duties. His genuine egalitarianism is again demonstrated by his advocacy of the Coupled Vote and proposal that men and women be equally represented at all levels of government, an egalitarian social goal which, half a century later, is still to be achieved in most Western democracies.

After Englishwomen finally obtained the vote and the right to participate in national government, women became jurors, lawyers, magistrates, and even Members of Parliament. Sixteen acts passed in the House of Commons in the early 1920's, after women gained entrance, provided for the improvement of maternity services and of maintenance terms for separated wives and illegitimate children, divorce on the same grounds as those applying to men, equal guardianship rights with respect to children, and widows' pensions (Perkins 244).

Most critics acknowledge Shaw's feminism and active contributions to the suffragette cause. The critical consensus has, for nearly a century, accepted and

documented Shaw's sympathy for women's empowerment. His support of the suffragette movement in England is voluminously attested to in his writings, by his activism, and in the numerous biographical examinations of his life, most recently in biographies by Sally Peters and Michael Holroyd.

As early as 1884, upon joining the Fabians, Shaw ensured that one of their basic tenets would be equal rights for women. Peters understands the revolutionary nature of Shaw's challenge to the conventional view of woman's place and value in society (137), and cites his consistent and forceful eloquence on behalf of women's rights, both inside and outside of marriage (218): "In a society where relations between men and women were hierarchical and vertical, Shaw advocated the horizontal, the equal, and the similar" (219).

Holroyd asserts Shaw's consistent support of woman's suffrage, especially citing Shaw's call for the basic platform of the Fabian Society "to stand for political equality as the universal relation between citizens" (255). As Holroyd voluminously demonstrates, Shaw considered women to be valuable members of society who had not been allowed to participate in societal governance, and advocated women's inclusion, equally with men, at all levels of government.

Rodelle Weintraub discusses in detail Shaw's active support of the British feminist movement, citing his monetary contributions, involvement in demonstrations, and signing of petitions like the Men's League for Women's Suffrage resolution, "A Declaration of Representative Men in Favor of Women's Suffrage" ("Votes for Women" 36).

Sonja Lorichs discusses selected Shavian heroines as archetypal "Unwomanly Women" and explores the social, political, and economic conditions that led to the suffrage movement, illustrating how Shaw's Edwardian female "characters were the vehicles of his ideas about women's position in society. . . his purpose to create a conspicuously New Woman not only on the stage but, if possible, in real life" (Lorichs 180). Lorichs states Shaw's fundamental philosophical position most cogently in discussing "his conception of the ideal society that could be realized only in accordance with socialistic doctrines, and his belief in the Life Force which includes love and sex. His socialist view demanded equality between all individuals. . . thus. . . also between husband and wife" (Lorichs 101).

Barbara Bellow Watson documents Shaw's unwavering support for women's equality, which she characterizes as remarkable even for advanced thinkers of his time (186). She stresses Shaw's consistently egalitarian

vision of modern woman's role in society and "his ability to see the value for men of the emancipated woman, and above all her value for the large concerns of society in which differences of sex make no difference at all" (Watson 27).

Watson emphasizes Shaw's realization of the necessity for utilizing women's abilities and energies in the public as well as the private sphere (210). She describes Shaw's grasp of practical political realities in his consistent advocacy of the inclusion of "the woman's share of brains and governing ability" (213) in government over and above the achievement of suffrage,

A recent view of Shaw as insufficiently feminist, advanced by J. Ellen Gainor, concentrates mainly on subordinate female characters in Shaw's major plays and lesser heroines of his novels and minor plays. In an attempt to portray Shaw as overly paternalistic, Gainor emphasizes selected father-daughter relationships, yet most of Shaw's major heroines are, in fact, unusual in their freedom from domestic paternalism. One of the linking characteristics of the major Shaw plays is a rebellion against parental authority and the assertion or reclamation of independence. Each of the major Shavian heroines eventually breaks free from whatever patriarchal constraints have been set upon her. Her

act of emancipation occurs at the climax of each play, when the character reaffirms selfhood and articulates or rearticulates an independent vision.

Shaw's consistent advocacy of the enlargement of woman's social and political sphere is demonstrated in his writings, and in his heroines' impassioned declaration and determined implementation of their right to create new roles and rules for themselves in society.

3. The Edwardian "New Woman"

In his response to the contemporary public debate over the key social issue of woman's role in marriage, Shaw stressed the urgent societal need for a transition from the Victorian wife's total economic dependence to the Edwardian concept of a more egalitarian union of equal partners, and the necessity for woman's economic independence. Edwardian egalitarianism and concern with woman's changing role in society were demonstrated by the marriages and work of Shaw and other avant-garde Fabians.

In the Preface to Getting Married (1908), Shaw carefully codified and explained his conclusions regarding key economic and political issues relating to marriage and divorce, which had considerable contemporary relevance to the evolving status of women in Edwardian society.

Getting Married is a dramatized debate centering on a young engaged couple's revolt against the institution of marriage as it was then constituted. In his preface, Shaw reveals his underlying authorial intentions, stating that "there is no question of abolishing marriage; but there is a very pressing question of improving its conditions" (Getting Married 16).

The basic marital principle advocated by Shaw is that marriage should be considered a social contract between two mutually consenting parties, able to be dissolved by either party. He charges that the actual effect of the existing English marriage laws was to make the wife the legal property of the husband, and that an "attack on marriage is [considered to be] an attack on property" (Getting Married 19). He condemns the enclosed and limited domestic sphere of the Victorian wife as stifling to herself and suffocating to her family, and an invitation to paternal domestic tyranny.

Popular opinion, according to Shaw, provides few guidelines as to the direction marriage law reform should take. Although fully understanding the political obstacles to societal reform, Shaw posits the necessity of governmental involvement in resolving certain fundamental problems in the institution of marriage, which directly affects the survival and improvement of society. Shaw was insistent that "the bond between man and wife be made subject to a reasonable consideration of the welfare of the parties concerned and of the community" (Getting Married 99-101).

In condemning the Victorian wife's complete economic dependence on her husband and the fact that most women in Victorian society had no economic alternative to

marriage, Shaw repeatedly advocated woman's economic independence, which he foresaw. In the strongest terms, Shaw underlined his opposition to the economic dependence of women upon men that had become the legally enforced political norm of Victorian society: "the economic dependence of women makes marriage a money bargain in which the man is the purchaser and the woman the purchased" (Getting Married 69).

In Misalliance (1909), one of Shaw's most vital SuperWomen, the daredevil aviatrix Lina Szczepanowski, refuses to allow herself to be imprisoned within the bonds of Victorian matrimony. She asserts Edwardian woman's right to an independent livelihood in describing her own emancipated life: "I am an honest woman: I earn my living. I am a free woman: I live in my own house. I am a woman of the world: I have thousands of friends . . . I am strong: I am skillful: I am brave: I am independent: I am unbought: I am all that a woman ought to be . . . (Misalliance 215).

Edwardian English marriage laws were still based on inegalitarian Victorian social principles, which mandated the strict separation of women and men into two separate spheres, with little overlap: "the woman has a 'sphere' of her own, that of housekeeping, in which the man must not meddle, whilst he has all the rest of human activity for his

sphere, the only point at which the two spheres touch being that of replenishing the population" (Getting Married 76).

Shaw's replacement for Victorian marriage is a relationship of economically independent and self-sufficient equal adults. He firmly advocated a more egalitarian social arrangement, such as he and advanced Edwardians were attempting to implement, a union he defined as "real marriage" (Getting Married 75). Mutual supportiveness, congenial temperaments, and shared goals and interests were key elements in the emancipated egalitarian Edwardian marriage envisioned by Shaw.

Although not the Victorian norm, the twentieth-century social restructuring of marriage that Shaw and other progressive Edwardians anticipated was not totally without precedent in the nineteenth century. The mid-nineteenth century unions of John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor, George Eliot and George Henry Lewes, and Elizabeth Barrett and Robert Browning were early illustrations of the socially and personally beneficial possibilities inherent in the Edwardian concept of egalitarian marriage.

Within a framework of mutually affectionate emotional support, the Shaws enjoyed an enduring companionate marriage. By Charlotte Shaw's request, the marriage excluded sexuality. Shaw's acquiescence can

be seen as an extreme affirmation of his belief that sexuality, as well as all other aspects of marriage, ought to be mutually agreed upon and desired. They rejected the automatic assumption of spousal conjugal rights within marriage, whereby a wife's willingness or unwillingness was essentially irrelevant to marital sexuality. Shaw's view of the individual's right to self-determination included the right to choose what roles one would play within marriage as well as within society.

Until his marriage, Shaw had, reflecting his upbringing in a triangulated household (two fathers/one mother), emotionally involved himself with advanced Fabian couples as the wife's sympathetic friend, somewhat like Marchbanks in the Candida-Morell household. After marriage, Shaw channeled his emotional involvements with women into his work. Unlike Charles Dickens and H.G. Wells, who maintained asexual public marriages while cohabiting privately with other women, Shaw took great care not to distress or embarrass his wife during their long marriage, and his gallant flirtations with women never compromised their reputations.

The Shaws shared an enduring commitment to the fulfillment of his dramatic creativity. In their marriage, which lasted 45 years, from 1898 to 1943, Shaw's wife surrounded him with the domestic comfort,

financial security, stable home environment, and nurturing care he had lacked in his upbringing, providing him with the solid domestic structure he required for his creative work; her relationship to him was maternally supportive and affectionate, much like Candida's to Morell.

The Shaws carefully structured their marriage so as to preserve the independence of both participants. They drew up a prenuptial contract that specified the distribution of their incomes. Shaw's refusal to file the then legally mandated joint income tax return led him into a correspondence with the Commissioner of Income Tax on the subject of disclosure of marital income, which affirmed his belief in the maintenance of his wife's economic independence. The government finally accepted the Shaws' separate filings, but continued to bill Shaw, and not his wife, for any shortages on her return. Thus Shaw's claims for woman's economic independence and responsibility were never accepted by the British government, even though Charlotte's income from her holdings as an Irish millionairess far exceeded Shaw's income as a Socialist playwright at that time.

The Shaws shared a Utopian social vision, reforming urge, and commitment to societal salvation that equalled the marital bond of their fellow Fabians, Beatrice and Sidney Webb. Beatrice Potter Webb was very much like Shaw's

Major Barbara in her reforming zeal and youthful transition from a focus on charity work among the poor to a concern with improving labor conditions for middle-class workers. Departing from the liberal individualistic principles of Herbert Spencer, upon which she had been raised, Beatrice Webb shared Shaw's and Sidney Webb's Fabian Socialist critique of capitalism, which Shaw dramatized in Widowers' Houses, Mrs. Warren's Profession, and Major Barbara. Her experiences among working-class women had convinced her "that women's problems were more deeply rooted in the social system than in differences between the sexes" (MacKenzies 133). Before her marriage to Webb, the attractions of the magnetic reformist Liberal politician Joseph Chamberlain almost catapulted her into a conventional late Victorian marriage, until she realized she would have to subordinate her reforming career and her intellectual independence to Chamberlain's political ambitions.

Sidney Webb's courtship emphasized the socially beneficial and emotionally fulfilling aspects of a union between two earnest social reformers; their marriage, based on mutual Socialist aims, became a close partnership that combined enduring affection and intellectual companionship (MacKenzies 410).

The Webbs' total dedication to Fabian Socialism included a focus, like Shaw's, upon changes in the British political and educational systems. Besides the reform of labor conditions, a main tenet of Major Barbara, vocational training was especially emphasized. Shaw's enduring vision of society saved by SuperMen and SuperWomen was matched by the Webbs' visualization of an England governed by a salaried professional caste of scientists and social scientists who would combine an enlightened conception of duty with the competence to effectively implement reforms and disinterestedly devote their skills to community service. (MacKenzies 250, 291). Their vision of a professional "social savior" élite was akin to H.G. Wells' futurist vision of technocrats as rulers of industrial society.

The Fabian Socialist critique of industrial capitalist society was dramatized by Shaw and novelized by Wells, whose leading roles in the Fabian Society gave them extensive knowledge of many socially active and culturally creative "New Women": the Fabians attracted many progressive young female social workers, teachers, and librarians, who were also actively involved in other feminist and social reform movements of the era.

H.G. Wells' Ann Veronica (1908-9) is notable for its fictionalized account of the evolution of an Edwardian woman from Victorian daughter to scientific researcher to free-thinking suffragette to Edwardian wife. Wells's heroine experienced many of the obstacles facing young Edwardian women in their journey towards emancipation from paternal Victorian restrictions. Wells clearly presented the institutionalized societal barriers that hindered women's progress towards economic independence of the Victorian domestic wifely role: "Women have practically no economic freedom . . . because they have no political freedom . . . the one decent profession for a woman--except the stage--is teaching . . . everywhere else--the law, medicine, the Stock Exchange--prejudice bars us" (Ann Veronica 37).

Through his heroine, Wells expressed the egalitarian impetus behind the suffragette movement and the Fabian advocacy of "the idea of the equal citizenship of men and women" (Ann Veronica 153). Wells's heroine visualizes the "altered world in which . . . the Fabians and reforming people believed . . . [where] women . . . were no longer economically and socially dependent on men" (Ann Veronica 236).

The impact of the socially educative experiences that transform the life of Wells's middle-class heroine Ann Veronica is matched by the effect of her culturally

educative experiences on a lower-class Liza Doolittle in Shaw's Pygmalion, created for and played by Mrs. Patrick Campbell, Shaw's Stella. Like Ellen Terry, Mrs. Pat, as one of the most celebrated actresses on the late Victorian and Edwardian stage, provided the creative inspiration for many of Shaw's dramatic heroines. Shaw's personal and professional involvement with the two famous leading ladies enabled him to dramatically concretize his vibrant portraits of emancipated Edwardian womanhood, most notably in the figures of Candida and Liza Doolittle.

The figure of Ann Veronica, although a capsulization of the experiences of many young advanced Edwardian women, had autobiographical origins in the life of Wells's second wife, Amy Catherine Robbins (Jane). Their marriage emphasized the freedoms of Fabian couplings; novelist Rebecca West was the most notable of Wells's mistresses. Mrs. Wells's wifely tolerance was not unusual among the Fabians: E. Nesbit, the popular author of Edwardian juvenile fantasy, also tolerated a succession of Hubert Bland's mistresses and his children by them. The Fabians' domestic ménages reflected their free-thinking Edwardian liberalism and departure from Victorian marriage norms: the Fabian marital emphasis was on societal reformation rather than private domesticity.

Shaw's concern for women's ultimate well-being, his sympathetic understanding of their position in society, and his genuine respect for them, was not only demonstrated by the positive dramatic portrayals of his female characters.

Shaw did not at all advocate "free love," and considered that women needed the social protection and respectability of legitimate marriage. Since being married still seemed, at that time, the most secure occupation open to women, Shaw in no way considered that women should enter into irregular living arrangements outside of marriage, as that would place them at an even greateer societal disadvantage. He was well aware that the social penalties for women living with men outside the social bonds of matrimony were still extremely severe. Shaw never advocated the abolition of marriage, but rather urged that it be politically and economically restructured so as to achieve a more perfect union of two equals.

PART I DOMESTIC HEROINES

Chapter 1 The Domestic Goddess in Candida: Candida as Quintessential Mother

Candida and Man and Superman clearly reflect the Victorian social division between a feminine domestic world and a masculine external world, and the fairly rigid male/female Victorian social role definitions that corresponded to that division. Victorian women could mainly effect societal change vicariously through their maternal domestic role, due to the political arrangement of their tightly structured society. This political reality was sanctified by a social ethic that characterized the home as "a temple and a school of virtue" (Houghton 350) with woman its unworldly and inspiring high priestess and moral guide for spouse and progeny. The rigors of the Industrial Revolution created a profound need for the comforts of idealized domesticity under the aegis of a benign maternal presence. The Victorian concept of the "angel in the house" deified Maternal Woman, and Candida is indeed a matriarchal deity in her household. In her 1996 biography of Shaw, Sally Peters characterizes Candida as an extraordinary combination

of the three ordinary Victorian wifely roles: "domestic maid, enchantress, and angel" (164). In a letter written by Shaw in 1895, the year he wrote Candida, he declared that "The really hard position for the moment is that of the domestic woman, whose enormously valuable services, both to society and to her own household are accepted as a matter of course . . . it is very hard to convince him [the husband] that his wife is a productive worker" (Lorichs 102).

An assumption of female inferiority and incapacity had permeated Western thought about women and pervaded the paternalistic Victorian sensibility. Women had been limited to the domestic/maternal role due to a centuries-old societal tradition based on the assumption of an innate intellectual inferiority that rendered them incapable of societal participation and leadership. Their repressive socialization to limited expectations and achievement, and the consistent denial of educational and vocational opportunities to them were ignored as factors in their confinement to the domestic role.

Domestic authority was the only legitimate social power Victorian women were granted and permitted to wield. Men were responsible for the public exercise of power within the national realm, and only men were

permitted to directly exercise political power by voting and participating in societal governance. Victorian women were virtually and effectively excluded from all professions except for occupations that were deemed appropriate as "women's work," where they were overworked and underpaid. Hence domestic authority was Victorian woman's sole form of authority, as she had little opportunity, support, or encouragement to gain or exercise any other kind. The exercise of even that authority was limited by her dependent legal status.

In The Quintessence of Ibsenism Shaw defined a "Womanly Woman" as one who totally and without regard for self devoted herself to the service of others. A woman who reserved her energies for herself and for her own needs and aspirations, apart from home, husband, and children, was condemned by Victorian society as an "Unwomanly Woman." Shaw's characterization of Candida seems to successfully combine both "womanly" and "unwomanly" attributes, since she fulfills the traditional Victorian female domestic role superbly, yet also fulfills herself maternally while doing so.

Candida can influence and change society only vicariously, by indirectly and privately exercising her power within a severely limited domestic realm.

She can fulfill herself maternally through the inspiration of two very different men, both of whom worship her: her husband, the reformer-preacher Morell, to whom she is "the sum of all loving care" (Candida 159), and her protégé, the waif-poet Marchbanks, to whom she is the womanly ideal of perfect love and creative inspiration. "The Victorian effort to idealize love and marriage, including the mother" (Houghton 393) is amply illustrated in Candida by the male attitudes towards the title character. She thus embodies the Victorian ideal of womanhood, wifehood, and motherhood.

Candida is Shaw's quintessential mother figure. Upon her first entrance, the keynote of her character is sounded: she comes in upon her husband and her father "looking at them with an amused maternal indulgence which is her characteristic expression" (Candida 107). Her relationships to the free-spirited Marchbanks and to her domesticated husband Morell are basically those of a caring mother to two brilliant and beloved boys. The difficult choice she is, in the end, forced to make between the poetic romance of Marchbanks' courtship and the prosaic realities of marriage to Morell is essentially a mother's: she chooses the one who needs her most. Candida also knows, as does Liza Doolittle in Pygmalion and Ann in Man and Superman,

which of the men in her life can provide a more satisfying relationship.

As Eric Bentley, Barbara Bellow Watson, J.L. Wisenthal, and others have pointed out, echoing Shaw's own assertion in 1944, the domestic situation in Candida is a comic reversal of the situation in Ibsen's A Doll's House, where Nora is entrapped within the rigidly limited role of Victorian child-wife and mother. Whereas Ibsen's Nora is a doll-wife who is unable to win the respect of her husband or achieve any sort of equality with him, and therefore decides she must leave him, Shaw's Candida experiences intense fulfillment and appreciation as a capable and valued wife and mother, and therefore decides to stay in her marriage. Her husband accords her love, respect, and, ultimately, recognition of her irreplaceable contribution to the happiness and effectiveness of their home and household.

Parent-child roles in the marriage of Candida and Morell seem to be reversed from those of Nora and Torvald in A Doll's House, and so represent a radical departure from nineteenth-century marriage roles. Like Nora and Torvald, Candida and Morell eventually confront the psychological realities of their relationship, but whereas Torvald refuses to recognize

Nora as an adult woman, and therefore loses her, Morell comes to understand and accept Candida's true relation to him, and can therefore keep her.

Candida's relationship to Morell comedically reverses Nora's relationship to Torvald. Whereas Torvald never acknowledges Nora's contribution to their family, Morell always fully appreciates how important Candida is to their household. As Victorian pater familias, Torvald never recognizes his need for Nora to be a true wife to him instead of a doll-wife, nor does he ever perceive her as a competent woman and potentially equal partner. Since he, as an archetypal Victorian husband, cannot help her become one, he loses her: he can give her only parental love, but never respect for her as an equal.

In one of the first drafts of A Doll's House, where Nora's character was delineated as much stronger and less childlike than she appears in the final version, Ibsen wrote, "A woman cannot be herself in the society of the present day, which is an exclusively masculine society with laws framed by men and a judicial system that judges feminine conduct from a masculine point of view" (Meyer 466). The plot of A Doll's House is his dramatic exposition of this observation. John Northam underlines its truth as he presents Nora's situation

at the end of the play: "It is the men who run society who have condemned her to a stultifying life. That is the real crime, the real corruption, as she clearly sees, not her forgery or her little lies . . . She now recognizes that she had begun to bring up her own children as if they too were dolls. It is the Doll's House attitude that is the corruption that must not be transmitted. She must go into a hostile world and educate herself" (Northam 107). Or, as Shaw put it in 1889, in a newspaper article signed "N.G." (for "No Gentleman"), "The young wife suddenly begins to wise up to the fact that the arrangement narrows her life to a mere functioning as his plaything and nursery-maid, a view which strikes him as extremely unladylike, but which he is unable to deny when she makes him face it fairly. So she, there and then, walks out of the house which is nothing but his nursery and harem, and vanishes" (Wisenthal, Shaw and Ibsen 75). Rolf Fjelde notes how Krogstad and Mrs. Linde's relationship blossoms as Nora and Torvald's withers, and Northam points out how Nora leaves the play much as Mrs. Linde entered it, and vice versa: Mrs. Linde goes from the lonely freedom of widowhood to a potentially happy union of equals who respect each other. Nora leaves her marriage to test her strength in the world outside the doll's house, with a faint hope that somehow "the

greatest miracle of all" could occur: her life with Torvald could become a "true marriage" of two human beings, not two dolls. Shaw's analysis of the play's impact, contained in the 1889 article, was that "it set women thinking hard in Norway, and it will set them thinking equally hard here, where the break-up of the doll's house conception of women's sphere has gone further than in Norway" (Wisenthal, Shaw and Ibsen 78).

If Nora's leaving home and closing the door behind her signalled late nineteenth-century woman's leaving a narrow and protected private world for a more expansive and perilous public one, Candida's ringing assertion of the emotional, psychological, and practical realities that create happy homes like hers constitutes one of the first non-sentimental public recognitions of the vital nurturant and enabling role of women in the lives of men, especially of successful men.

Candida is esential to Morell's happiness and fulfillment, and he to hers, but she is much more than a self-sacrificing Victorian "angel in the house." She is a practical and eminently capable woman, who deeply fulfills herself through her maternal role. Loving and caring for people is her work in the world, and she does it superbly.

As Arnold Silver points out, Candida, like Nora, "clearly follows her own moral code rather than laws or custom . . . She obeys not the dictates of an externally imposed idea of duty, but the promptings of her heart...She exemplifies the recommendation Shaw had given a few years earlier, that women should 'repudiate duty altogether' in order to gain their freedom...Motherly wife as she undoubtedly is, Candida is shown to be an independent-minded woman as well" (Silver, Darker Side 101). She is the fulcrum of her family and the first in a series of extraordinarily vital superwomen envisioned and presented by Shaw in his plays. Candida is also the closest to a fully realized Earth Mother/Goddess figure in Shaw's plays: Morell's and Marchbanks's worship of her is signified by the copy of Titian's "Virgin of the Assumption" which Marchbanks has contributed to the household.

The Victorian's faltering faith in religion, so poignantly expressed in Matthew Arnold's "Dover Beach," and the subsequent intellectual and emotional need for a substitute divinity led, as Houghton explains, to "an impulse to exalt the feminine nature and find a 'divinity' in love which sprang from the needs of the baffled intellect" (393). Marchbanks and Morell show an almost religious fervor in their reverential attitudes

towards Candida, which, as numerous didactic writings of the period advise, is also the proper and expected Victorian attitude of sons towards their mothers.

Morell's dependence upon Candida is one she accepts and understands--he doesn't, until the very end of the play. In his final bid for Candida, Morell's offer for her is a cogent summation of an ideal Victorian husband's contribution to a traditional Victorian marriage: "my strength for your defense, my honesty of purpose for your surety, my ability and industry for your livelihood, and my authority and position for your dignity" (Candida 156-157). Despite her later teasing him with those somewhat pompous but utterly sincere phrases, Candida knows the truth of his claim and the strength of the bond between them, which sustains them both. She, like Nora, wishes him to appreciate her contribution to their marriage. By declaring his gratitude and what he owes to her, Morell finally acknowledges, as Ibsen's Torvald could not, what she means to him and his life, as his wife: "You are my wife, my mother, my sisters: you are the sum of all loving care to me" (Candida 159).

Marchbanks, who has never before had a nurturing woman vitally interested in him, idealizes Candida as Earth Mother and Muse, and pays tribute to her

throughout the play with his devotion, poetry, and chaste love.

Morell and Marchbanks therefore need Candida in significantly different ways. Morell needs her for his life and as his wife: she is essential to his happiness and well-being. To Marchbanks, Candida offers the intense yet eventually distanced inspiration actresses like Ellen Terry and Mrs. Patrick Campbell provided for Shaw himself. Marchbanks's need for Candida is neither as personal nor as enduring as Morell's, and she knows it.

Both Candida and Morell personify love in action: she is loving to him and, by intrinsic nature, to those around her, and therefore Morell can love her and be loving to a very wide circle, including his immediate one. Marchbanks has never known much love before, and therefore tends to idealize it and make it an instrument for his poetry--he does not quite dare to approach Candida as a woman, as Morell can. He <u>does</u> understand Candida's maternal needs, and articulates them to Morell: "It is she who wants somebody to protect, to help, to work for--somebody to give her children to protect, to help, to work for" (<u>Candida</u> 148).

Marchbanks attacks Morell's domestic happiness in Act I, not understanding the basis of it nor Candida's

profound love for Morell, although all three continually consider Marchbanks to have the most understanding of all of them. Candida, however, instinctively knows that Marchbanks can do without domestic happiness and mothering, and Morell cannot. Marchbanks has always lived without much love, as Candida notes (Candida 157-158) and therefore he can survive its lack, much as he feels the need of it.

Candida knows that Morell's need of her is far greater than Marchbanks's will ever be. One of the primary needs of a nurturant maternal personality is to be vitally needed. Marchbanks does not ultimately need Candida as a continuing loving maternal presence: she has become his Muse, and will continue to inspire him whether or not she is physically present. Morell, on the other hand, will always need Candida--he has always had nurturant maternal women around him to emotionally support him. The happiness Candida provides for Morell and helps him create depends on her continuing and active presence in his life.

Candida loves Morell more than Marchbanks because he needs her more and because she means more to him than she ever could to Marchbanks, who finally comes to understand Candida's love for her husband, and how fulfilled she is in her wifely/maternal nurturing role. In the end, Marchbanks leaves as a man, no longer

a boy--but alone; Morell remains a boy--but he has Candida, and they have each other. In the complex dynamic of the triangular relationship of the three major characters in Candida, the essential nature of Candida's relationship to the two most important men in her life is defined and crystallized as basically and intrinsically maternal.

Like many critics of Candida, Shaw, although he declared in an 1896 letter to Ellen Terry that Candida was "the Virgin Mother and nobody else" (26) and that "one does not get tired of adoring the Virgin Mother" (26), responded to the tremendously maternal essence of her character, composed of equal parts of nurturance and of dominance, with ambivalence that is reflected in the ending of Candida: Marchbanks, although wanting Candida's nurturance and inspiration, is resistant to the prospect of being infantilized and sacrificing his artistic independence for domestic comfort, since he requires the absolute freedom of the creative artist and needs Candida purely as Muse. As archetypal Victorian husband, Morell delights in the domestic Eden Candida has created for him. Morell needs his earthly heaven and Candida as a domestic angel to perform the myriad supportive and wifely roles and duties necessary to sustain their household.

Her creator's ambivalence towards Candida's loving and decisive management of the men in her life is reflected in the critical response towards her character, from Bentley's 1947 exploration of the role reversal in the play from patriarchal dominance to matriarchal guidance, explained in terms of a central mother(Candida)-child(Morell) relationship, to Silver's 1982 view of Candida as the ultimate mother figure for Shaw, describing her as "a woman whose poise and competence are softened but not weakened by her ready tenderness" (Darker Side 99).

Candida's assumption of parental control throughout the play, as well as being perceived by many critics as unacceptably infantilizing to the male characters, is also challenging to the Victorian concept of ultimate patriarchal authority which, as Ibsen's A Doll's House demonstrates, infantilized women at the same time as it idealized them, and required that male authority rule both public and private realms.

The critical ambivalence may be partly due to inability to truly accept the concept of egalitarianism in marriage and in society, and women's right, so eloquently asserted by Candida, to participate in the decisions that vitally affect her life. Had Shaw

followed the traditional melodramatic scenario of having two male rivals compete for the affections of a woman, whether or not she desires the competition, no critical eyebrow would probably ever have been raised. That Shaw posits a scenario wherein two men love one woman, and like each other, and she loves and likes both of them, wishes them both well, and wants to be emotionally supportive of both of them, demonstrates Shaw's recognition of the existence of genuine affection and concern within human love relationships. His desire, also demonstrated in the Barbara-Cusins relationship in Major Barbara, to present male-male and male-female relationships as dualities rather than duels indicates his Fabian inclination towards the encouragement of cooperative rather than competitive relationships within society.

A genuinely egalitarian view, like Shaw's, would require the recognition that it is socially counter-productive to infantilize women and inhibit them from participating in the decisions that vitally affect their lives, as the Victorians did, thereby depriving society of the benefits of the intelligence and talents of half of its members. The Shavian concept of a genuine partnership of interdependent and adult equals necessitates acceptance of a woman having a significant

influence upon the men in her life and the important issues of her life, as Candida does.

Candida's articulation of the value of her domestic services underlines Shaw's appreciation of the permitted social contributions of women in a restrictive society. His awareness of the undervaluing of women's domestic contribution anticipates, by over half a century, our modern consciousness of the inequity of socially applauding and financially rewarding the public contributions of men to society while taking for granted and for gratis the private domestic contributions of women.

Symbolic of the Edwardian acceptance of the emergence of woman into public life and positions of authority in local government--even more important to women, Shaw believed, than gaining suffrage--was Shaw's later heroine, Mrs. George, of Getting Married (1908), a play which examines the issues of marriage and divorce; its dialogue constitutes virtually a Shavian debate centering on the changing role of men and women in marriage, a question of considerable concern to Edwardians. Its heroine, the mayoress Mrs. George, unlike Candida, assumes both a public governmental role and a private domestic one. Of all the Shavian heroines, Mrs. George appears to be the most balanced

representation of the Edwardian New Woman's social role, combining as she does a fulfilling private role, like Shaw's domestic heroines, and a vital public role, like his national savior heroines.

Shaw presents Candida as an effective domestic manager and invaluable support for her husband's career, as Maggie is for John Shand in James M. Barrie's What Every Woman Knows (1908), which is set "back in the days when it was considered 'unwomanly' for women to have minds" (Barrie 78-79). The Shavian tenets of work and good works, congenial to Barrie as well, are embodied in the characters of their domestic heroines, who manage their domestic situations with wifely practicality and are maternally fulfilled in filling their husbands' needs.

Despite their ostensible control of their domestic situations, both Candida and Maggie fulfill traditional Victorian expectations of marital role divisions, devoting themselves to the emotional support of husbands who financially support the households their wives manage so well.

Candida's Morell, like Maggie's Shand, is an enthusiastic, able, and effective social reformer. As active as they are in worthy liberal causes and as advanced as Shaw's Morell and Barrie's Shand may be in

their social views--Shand, a liberal M.P., has introduced a woman's rights bill, which he characterizes as "the reasonable demands of every intelligent Englishwoman" (Barrie 82)--they are at bottom quite as conventional as Ibsen's Torvald in their original views of the role of their wives in their marriages, marriages that, unlike the Ibsenian marriages, work for and fulfill the basic needs of both participants. Ibsen's Torvald sternly hews to the patriarchal Victorian male-female role definitions of marriage, whereas the husbands in both the Shaw and Barrie plays eventually understand and acknowledge their wives' eloquent presentation of their marital contributions. The forward-looking Edwardian liberalism of these Victorian husbands allows them to finally accept in their own domestic situations the egalitarianism they have already publicly espoused for women.

In these marriages, in true Victorian fashion, the husband is the public caretaker and the wife the private caregiver. They are both presented as caring and effective in their seemingly separate but actually interrelated spheres, and possess a mutual affectionate respect often absent in Ibsen's dramatic depiction of rigidly defined and stifling nineteenth-century marriages. Shaw's Candida and the later Barrie play mirror the

turn of the twentieth-century societal change from the fixed role definitions and rigidity of Victorian marriage to the egalitarianism of Edwardian marriage, historically symbolized by the transition from the patriarchal marriage and monarchy of Victoria and Albert to the egalitarian marriage and monarchy of Edward and Alexandra.

PART I DOMESTIC HEROINES

Chapter 2 The Life Force in Man and Superman: Ann/Ana as Potential Mother/SuperMother

In Candida and Man and Superman, Shaw concentrated on presenting the Shavian heroine in terms of the most traditional of female social roles: superior mother (Candida) or mother-to-be (Ann) in a domestic Victorian world that ultimately has a significant impact upon the larger social world--but the domestic heroines Candida and Ann can only vicariously, through husbands or motherhood, fulfill larger social responsibilities.

The vitalist, survival-oriented Ann is mother-to-be of the offspring of the philosophical revolutionary Tanner Her alter ego, Doña Ana, is mother-to-be of the entire human race and an explicit agent of evolution. Doña Ana, whose major function in the play is SuperMother-to-Be, and Ann, as Mother-to-Be, are representatives of the Life Force in Man and Superman. They demonstrate the human importance of the maternal procreant role as expressed in Shavian drama: what Sally Peters Vogt calls "the essence of Creative Evolution itself" (54).

Man and Superman contains two levels of dramatic reality. Ann Whitefield is a specific and realistically presented character in a drawing-room comedy; Doña Ana is a representative of generic Woman presented in a symbolic debate between viewpoints. Each recognizes, accepts, and pursues her biological destiny of mating for the sake of the procreation, continuance, and improvement of the human race.

In the figures of Ann Whitefield and Doña Ana, Shaw conclusively demonstrates the imperative life drive that subjectively determines individual human destinies (Ann) and objectively determines the fate of the race (Ana). Ann Whitefield, like Doña Ana, is directly identified with Shaw's doctrines of Creative Evolution and the Life Force: she takes upon herself the responsibility to ensure the best available paternity for her offspring. Shaw clearly assumes that Ann's drive towards matherhood is biologically determined and that she and Tanner will be fulfilling a higher purpose in their marriage by serving the dictates of the Life Force. Like the later Henry Higgins, Tanner's aims are much more rationally and less instinctively evolutionary, and more social than biological: he wishes to devote himself and his life to good works, the service of mankind, and reform of society, and to labor in the intellectual vineyards without distraction and with devoted, competent domestic support.

The impersonal and implacable requirements of the Life Force, as conceptualized by Schopenhauer and dramatized by Shaw, form the vehicle for the basic replenishment and continuance of the human race, a human responsibility symbolized by Doña Ana, and opposed to Don Juan's claims to freedom from domestic responsibility as the prerequisite for more advanced cultural achievements, also necessary to human growth. Eric Bentley demonstrates the strength of both claims and how, in Man and Superman, Shaw's prophetic characters engage in an evolving philosophical debate centering on the verbal confrontation between Doña Ana and Don Juan in the "Don Juan in Hell" section, which reflects the Ann-Tanner struggle of the framework play. Don Juan's purpose is subsequently revealed to be as bent as Doña Ana's on human betterment, and as compelling a necessity for that betterment.

Don Juan's (the Ur or SuperFather's) instinct for human perfection is set against Doña Ana's (the Ur or SuperMother's) instinct for human propagation. Both actually have the same mission: the progressive creation of ever better human beings. Don Juan ultimately concedes that "the philosopher is in the grip of the Life Force" (III 169); Ana, as an active and explicit agent of Creative Evolution, is reaffirmed in her stated purpose of promoting human progress in the most direct and fundamental manner, and determinedly embarks on her mission.

The relationship between Ann Whitefield and Jack Tanner constitutes a witty yet ultimately serious sparring match of equals. Man and Superman, as David J. Gordon observes, is the first of Shaw's plays to present two equally powerful participants in a vital egalitarian union.

Ann is the embodiment of the irresistible Life Force of potential motherhood; Tanner, because of the power of the Life Force, has been dislodged from his opening position as a confirmed bachelor with immovable objections to entering the conjugal state, and has himself become a servant of the Life Force by the conclusion of the play.

Most critics agree that Ann and Tanner represent alternative ways of serving the Life Force, expressed in typically Shavian dialectical terms, and are both fundamentally motivated by a Shavian concern for the improvement of the human race. J.L. Wisenthal discusses how Ann and Tanner each contribute to human social betterment by serving the Life Force in equally important ways: Tanner represents the intellectual contribution of the philosopher, and Ann represents the instinctive contribution of the mother (37-38). Tanner's creative intellectual vitality is equally matched, as Gordon notes, by Ann's instinctual biological vitality (113).

Wisenthal notes Ann's similarity to Doña Ana in that her world is the temporal human world, and her attitude

toward marriage is pragmatic rather than romantic. Shaw, like Ibsen, reverses the Victorian stereotype of man as logical worldly doer and woman as romantic unworldly dreamer: the women in Man and Superman are much more down-to-earth and anchored in worldly realities than most of the men, except for man-of-the-people 'enry Straker. Wisenthal rather disapprovingly discusses the practical motives behind Ann and Violet's desire for marriage. Omitting any realization that marriage was the most respectable and viable Victorian life option for women, he dismisses Ann's desire to marry for the sake of having children and Violet's desire to marry for security as unsentimental and unromantic.

Candida and Ann Whitefield, as Elsie Adams discusses, represent Shaw's "mother-woman" who is "both romantic enchantress and realistic boss" (119). Ann's "vital genius" and captivating fascination, as well as her very unVictorian assertion of the male prerogative of initiating and pursuing courtship, parallels Candida's powerful charm and eventual assertion of domestic control in her marriage.

Ann's pursuit of Tanner, although comedically presented, is seriously intended by Shaw as evidence of female recognition of the importance of her procreant role, which is underscored by Doña Ana's famous exit line in Act III: "A father! A father for the Superman!"--symbolic of the actual and continuing situation of Woman as Mother of the

Race and guardian of Creative Evolution. The Victorian societal attempt to assure the passivity of women seems contradicted by Ann's active pursuit of Tanner. Although for centuries the only viable social roles allowed women were spousal and maternal, Ann, as woman aggressively pursuing her intended mate, is an apparent anomaly. Since she directs all her energies towards the traditional end of motherhood, and is thus striving to fulfill her biological destiny, she is really only untraditional in method, not in goal, from the rest of seemingly more conventional womankind. She is therefore like Edwardian woman in her seeming lack of conventional womanly inhibitions yet is ultimately like Victorian woman in that she limits herself firmly to the domestic sphere.

The Victorian concept of assigning separate roles to men and women, clearly apparent in the Tanner/Don Juan and Ann/Doña Ana characters in Man and Superman (he the mind/will, she the body/soul) socially paralyzed and limited women and straitjacketed men within equally rigid social role definitions. Shaw's reversal of the traditional romantic Victorian expectation of active man/passive woman, although brilliantly effective in comedic terms, has much deeper sociological implications. Ann's exertion of her Schopenhauerian will and her purposeful and ultimately successful efforts to fulfill her own

needs and self-determined ends makes her seem more of a Shavian "Unwomanly Woman" than a "Womanly Woman."

In "Ann and Superman," Sally Peters Vogt discusses how the power Ann and her friend Violet seem to wield over the men in the play always stays within the confines of the Victorian domestic role (49). As Vogt points out, Ann's stated "willingness to sacrifice her life for her maternal duty delineates ultimately an emotional similarity to the most docile Victorian wife" (54), which places her back within the category of domestic "Womanly Woman" and seems to imply that she is employing "unwomanly" means to secure "womanly" ends.

Like Nora in A Doll's House, Ann actually exemplifies the position of woman in Victorian society as her strong will must be concealed behind winsome girlishness and agreeability. She is valiantly attempting to maintain control over her own life in a repressive patriarchal society that dictates that she always remain under paternalistic guardianship and control. The opening scene of Act I is a discussion of her guardianship, according to her father's will. The strong influence of her desire to win Tanner as guardian upon the making of that will and her subsequent attempts to ensure their marriage are presented as shocking and unconventional, as are her friend Violet's necessarily secretive arrangements to

secure a prosperous marriage for herself. The revelation of their plans to dispose of themselves as they deem in their best interests and according to their own desires, rather than to bend to the dictates and strictures of paternalistic guardians, parallel the scenes in Candida and in What Every Woman Knows where Candida and Maggie demand a share in their marital fates, and also parallel late Victorian woman's successful legal attempts to gain societal rights involving the key social issue of marriage.

Watson contends that Ann is no hypocrite, as some critics have labelled her; Nethercot comes closer to the case in considering her "hypocrisy" as forced upon her by convention since severe social consequences awaited gentlewomen who flouted the basic Victorian social conventions, as the discussion of Violet's supposed plight (illegitimate pregnancy) indicates. The consequences for Victorian women of stepping outside the bounds of conventional mores were indeed grave, as the fates of such fictive heroines as Madame Bovary (1856) and Anna Karenina (1872-1877) demonstrate. Victorian men were more exempt from the consequences of their unconventional social behavior, hence Tanner's freedom to flaunt his unconventionality with impunity. Shaw admired assertive women who were able to circumvent the strictures of an oppressive and prejudiced society, as Gordon points out.

To gain any say in the important issues of her life, Ann, as representative of Victorian woman, has to get around her father's/fathers' will, in both senses of the word "will." Ann assumes the role of the "Womanly Woman," and confines herself to the female Victorian domestic wifely/ maternal role, but she does so actively rather than passively, and is an "Unwomanly Woman" in method if not in goal.

Ann can thus be considered a bridge character between the old Victorian woman's role and the "New" Edwardian Woman. Her expressed envy of Tanner's boyhood freedom and vicarious urging of him to boldness in the wider world betokens late Victorian woman's yearnings for wider horizons, but Ann, like Candida, ultimately remains firmly entrenched within the confines of the female domestic role as it offers her all the life satisfactions she requires. Her friend, Violet, is, socially and legally, in the same dependent position as Ann. Like Ann, Violet's apparent "unwomanliness" in her active and successful attempts to secure the best husband and the best marital circumstances for herself, rather than through paternally determined selection, and for her children, masks a similar and basically conventional choice of Victorian domestic female role. Violet's situation is much more melodramatic and Victorian: because of the economic necessity of her

concealment of her marital status until she can obtain the approval and therefore financial support of her father-in-law, she is about to become outcast from society until the legitimate nature of her pregnancy is discovered.

Shaw clearly intends the "joyous and socially cohesive marriage" (Gordon 113) of Ann and Tanner to parallel that of Candida and Morell; thus, despite her unconventional pursuit of Tanner and the seeming reversal of male-female roles and initiative in Man and Superman, Ann, like Candida, will apparently become the matriarch of a socially progressive household built around the ultimate goal of a fundamental reformation of society, yet will remain firmly ensconced within the definitions and limitations of the Victorian domestic female role.

PART II ENTREPRENEURIAL HEROINES

Chapter 3 Accounting for Change in *Mrs. Warren's Profession*: Vivie and Mrs. Warren as Capitalists

At the turn of the twentieth century, Edwardian woman began to expand her horizon to the larger world of work and business. A dramatic widening of the social role choices and opportunities available to women was reflected in the characterizations of Shaw's heroines, who were no longer just confined to the spousally supportive role of domestically oriented women like Candida and the Woman (Ann) and SuperWoman (Ana) of *Man and Superman*, whose primary function was to create and maintain a comfortable private world. From the more limited sphere of the domestic heroine, the Shavian heroine, like the evolving modern woman she represented, began to enter the wider sphere of commerce. Vivie Warren and Liza Doolittle are the Shavian incarnations of a historically unprecedented social role for women: the modern entrepreneuse.

In *Mrs. Warren's Profession*, the professional choices that Mrs. Warren was forced to make due to economic necessity and that Vivie Warren could and did freely make parallel the limited economic opportunities that faced

nineteenth-century woman as contrasted with the wider economic opportunities that began to be available to women around the turn of the twentieth century.

In the early nineteenth century, marriage was woman's primary viable life option, as witness the heroines of Jane Austen's novels. Starting with the circumstance of the heroines of Sense and Sensibility (1811) through the plight of the heroine of Persuasion (1818), Austen minutely depicted women's economic dependency and their necessary focus on marriage as the only legitimate social role available to them; Emma (1815) is Austen's only self-sufficient heroine, due to her wealth. Otherwise, as representative of early nineteenth-century woman, the Austen heroine, no matter how capable or how enterprising, necessarily focussed all her attention and energies on one life goal and occupation: marriage.

In The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism, Shaw characterized woman's work of child-bearing and rearing as "the most important and vital work of women . . . vitally necessary to the existence of society" (196-197) and discussed how, since this necessary work remained consistently unrecognized and unrecompensed, it had become "a convention that women earned nothing and men earned everything" (197).

The mid-century vocational opportunities available to women did not appreciably improve their economic situation. Lower-class women could only legitimately turn to underpaid, arduous work as industrial or domestic menials. As Mrs. Warren asserts in Act II of Mrs. Warren's Profession, nineteenth-century female factory workers were exploited and forced to work in unhealthy conditions, in what became known as the "sweated" trades, which included the making of clothes and furniture (Perkin 171). Domestic service, the usual occupation of working-class women, who comprised 75% of the female adult population, had grown from over a million female workers in 1851 to nearly a million and a half in 1891 (Perkin 172). Mrs. Warren was emblematic of lower-class Victorian woman; given the virtually non-existent legitimate business opportunities for women in the Victorian era, economic necessity propelled many working-class Victorian women into prostitution.

The subject of prostitution was quite a troubling social question in Victorian England, hence the furore surrounding the original production of Mrs. Warren's Profession. Although an outrage to middle-class Victorian sensibilities, prostitution appeared to many working-class women like Mrs. Warren to be no more hazardous or unhealthy than the other occupations open to them, and considerably

more lucrative. In the beginning and middle of the nineteenth century, many working-class women actually worked as part-time prostitutes before they married, with no especial social stigma felt within their own class.

In 1864, state licensing of prostitution in England was introduced, and the first Contagious Disease Act was passed, to be followed by others in 1866 and 1869. The resulting police harassment, harsh medical treatment, and public humiliation of prostitutes drew the attention of such nineteenth-century feminists as Harriet Martineau and Florence Nightingale, causing the abolition of state licensing of prostitutes by 1886. In the preface to Mrs. Warren's Profession, Shaw explicitly declared that his authorial intention in writing the play was not to exploit the subject, as he charged so many fictional and dramatic treatments did, but to expose the economic exploitation of women, which he declared to be the primary cause of prostitution. Feminist Annie Besant also asserted, "pay women the same wages that men receive, for the same work, and women would cease to sell their bodies when they could fairly sell their labour" (Perkin 234). Shaw makes the same point in Mrs. Warren's impassioned condemnation of working woman's economic realities as they existed in her youth; like her determined successor, Liza Doolittle, she succeeds in lifting herself out of the poverty-stricken circumstances originally ordained for her by society.

A section in The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism discussed "Women in the Labor Market" with clear-sighted understanding of the social processes that had led to women's economic enslavement. The ways in which capitalism especially penalized unmarried women were set forth with precision: the economic logic of the system, as well as its injustice, was inescapable. Since employers would not hire women if men were available for the same amount of money, women could only obtain employment at lower wages than men. Married women could better afford to work for a lower wage than could unmarried women, as their husbands' salaries were expected to be available to support them.

Mid-century middle-class women were limited to a few "genteel" occupations like that of governess. The hardships of that profession and the economic privations facing unmarried women with no family property, no matter how intelligent or resourceful, are chronicled in the novels of the Brontes. Charlotte Brontë's Jane Eyre (1847) describes the struggles faced by an independent Victorian female educator who survives the rigors and privations of a charity school for girls, gains a livelihood as a private governess within an upper-class Victorian household; and finally achieves

a measure of economic and personal independence by means of inheritance, the establishment of her own school, and her eventual marriage, which more resembles an egalitarian Edwardian union than a patriarchal Victorian one. Villette (1853) autobiographically critiques conventional female education as it charts its heroine's experiences teaching in a continental religious school for girls. Anne Brontë's Agnes Grey (1847) autobiographically demonstrates the anomalous position and indignities experienced by a governess in a private household.

Frances Hodgson Burnett's A Little Princess (1905) contrasts the privileged life style of an upper-class young lady with her domestic exploitation after her wealth/father is lost, exemplifying in one character female economic dependence and the social and economic gulf that existed between classes, which was also indicated in the novels of Mrs. Gaskell.

In the twentieth century, working-class women were able to gain apprenticeships and vocational training in many trades. Middle- and upper-class women were able to win entrance into the universities and the professions by the end of the nineteenth century. By 1901, there were over two hundred women doctors and nearly one hundred and fifty women dentists

in Great Britain; by 1911, one out of every three teachers and clerical workers was a woman, and clerical work thereafter became the occupation of most women.

Throughout most of the nineteenth century, all of a woman's property legally became her husband's property when she married, which eventually led to a system of marriage settlements that kept her property in the hands of male guardians who could issue her an income at their discretion. A woman's property was still not legally hers to use and dispose of as she wished until the Married Woman's Property Acts were enacted into law. Mrs. Warren's Profession was written after the 1893 Amendment to the Married Woman's Property Act of 1882, which finally confirmed married women's legal right to possess and contract almost all types of property, and was the last in series of acts (1870, 1874) designed to extend the economic rights of women, so a late nineteenth-century woman like Vivie Warren could claim educational opportunities and many legal rights denied her mother, including the right to enter into contractual agreements and to own property.

The word "business" echoes throughout Mrs. Warren's Profession; Vivie and Mrs. Warren are the fictional precursors of a uniquely twentieth-century phenomenon: the entrepreneuse. Like any successful businesspeople,

they enjoy the activity and benefits of making money, and the freedom and self-determination that come with having money. Both Mrs. Warren and Vivie Warren possess strong drives towards independence: both wish to be free of the economic dependency that had hitherto been woman's traditional lot.

In her central Act II confrontation with Vivie, Mrs. Warren clearly reveals the basic injustice of Victorian societal limitations on female economic opportunity, as well as the foundation of Vivie's opportunity to gain an education and establish financial independence. In his preface, Shaw declared his intention, in writing the play, of drawing attention to the fact that prostitution was caused "by underpaying, undervaluing, and overworking women so shamefully that the poorest of them are forced to resort to prostitution to keep body and soul together" (181).

Although denounced in its day for raising the taboo topic of prostitution, a subject that had been either glamorized or condemned by popular culture, Mrs. Warren's Profession offers an even more fundamental exposé and condemnation, by Mrs. Warren, of the inegalitarian structuring of capitalist society. Shaw considered that capitalism made men slaves and woman the slave of slaves, and created a situation wherein, despite social efforts to preserve female virtue and respectability, the severe

economic pressures upon poor women had just the opposite effect. To Shaw, the real immorality involved in prostitution was that women could earn more by selling themselves to men for pleasure than by working for employers for profit: as Mrs. Warren correctly asserts, the wages of illicit sin were quite a good deal higher than the wages paid women for legitimate "sweated" labor. In The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism, Shaw noted that, until the government finally began to grant pensions to widows, mothers of illegitimate children who could induce the father(s) to support them fared better than many widows with legitimate children. Shaw demonstrated his feminist sympathies in his considered assertion that, as exploitative as the economic system was of male labor, women suffered even more under the capitalist system.

Mrs. Warren's Profession has been quite aptly characterized by literary critics such as Eric Bentley, Louis Crompton, Charles Berst, Alfred Turco, and Bernard Dukore as a morality play that is Shaw's critique of conventional morality and capitalism; Dukore and Maurice Valency also consider the play in terms of Vivie's emancipation, which parallels woman's emancipation from the limitations of her Victorian domestic role. As Shaw so clearly declares in the preface and demonstrates in the

argument of the play, prostitution is a direct result of the economically inegalitarian structuring of society: if women had better economic alternatives available to them, no woman would freely choose prostitution as a way of life.

Much of the critical discussion has centered on Mrs. Warren's choice between following the dictates of conventional morality, which would have doomed her to a short, unhealthy, and "sweated" life, or following the "immoral" path she chose, which enabled her to live a long, healthy, and prosperous life. Mrs. Warren's virtuous sisters withered and died early, worn out from lives of unrelenting drudgery; Mrs. Warren and another sister survived and thrived in lives of affluent immorality.

Bentley views the play as a continuation of Shaw's critique of capitalism, begun in Widowers' Houses: Dukore explicitly traces that critique through the action of Mrs. Warren's Profession. As Dukore points out, Shaw is exposing the inegalitarian social structure that forced impoverished women in Victorian society to choose between exploitative evils--to sell themselves into prostitution or into domestic, industrial, or mercantile drudgery--and that reaped considerable profits from organized prostitution.

Dukore considers the main point of the play to be Vivie's emancipation, which parallels late Victorian and Edwardian woman's drive towards economic self-sufficiency. By revealing how, against considerable odds, she had forged an independent life for herself, Mrs. Warren strengthens Vivie's already formed and firm resolve to do the same for herself. As Maurice Valency puts it, "For Vivie, the need to be herself is paramount, but in order to satisfy this need it is necessary for her to discover what that self is" (99): Vivie's incomplete and one-dimensional nature parallels the actually emerging but not yet defined "New Woman."

Vivie's focus on business to the exclusion of personal affairs is essentially caused by her need to establish her economic independence, which Shaw saw as the foundation of the adult autonomy and self-respect that had historically been denied women in their relegation to a purely domestic and supportive social role. The luxury male entrepreneurs customarily enjoyed, of delegating domestic concerns and responsibilities to housekeepers and wives, was one unavailable to most women. The burden of women's traditional domestic responsibilities necessarily conflicted with the demands of professional responsibilities. By eliminating domestic responsibilities, Vivie attains the freedom to devote herself and her energies and intelligence

to a business rather than a family. Her sacrifice of a private life is one male entrepreneurs were not obliged to make, as they were not responsible for the domestic duties that consumed women's energies. Societal pressures to limit women to a purely domestic role continued to be legally and institutionally buttressed even after the 1919 Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act, which permitted women to work in previously barred areas of the economy: women were still generally forced to resign their employment upon marriage.

Dolores Kester articulates the socioeconomic issues raised by Mrs. Warren's Profession that most pertinently apply to woman's situation. She pinpoints the central dilemma facing unpropertied women, whose few options for economic security included marriage or the single-minded focus upon a career, like Vivie's. As Kester notes, one of the major concerns of Mrs. Warren's Profession is the question of women's employment as an alternative to marriage, a key economic issue affecting women that had been raised by the Brontës in their novels, especially in Charlotte Brontë's Shirley (1849), by Harriet Taylor in "The Enfranchisement of Women" (1851), and by Mrs. Gaskell in most of her novels, where the economic dilemma facing lower- and middle-clas women is sympatheticaly and knowledgeably portrayed, especially the situations of women driven into prostitution. The issue of women's employment

outside of marriage was virtually ignored by Parliament until the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act of 1919, which finally removed the legal barriers that had blocked women from holding governmental posts.

To a certain extent, Vivie may represent capitalist society in casting her mother off after having reaped the profits of her mother's illicit trade, out of a parallel need to live a self-willed life. Louis Crompton posits that, in rejecting her mother, "Vivie's conscience has grown beyond the merely self-interested individualistic stage of development and demands self-respect, not just for herself alone, but for all women" (9), but her denial of her mother's claims on her seem to arise more out of her need for adult autonomy, which anticipates the situation of the Edwardian New Woman. J. Ellen Gainor places both Warrens totally within the capitalistic structure, and regards Vivie as more patriarchal than feminist in assuming a pseudo-masculine capitalist social role. However, like the later Major Barbara, Vivie <u>does</u> repudiate the amoral and exploitative profiteering that has created her family fortune, and intends to base her personal security upon her own independent efforts, that do not involve profiting from the exploitation of others. Gainor does acknowledge Shaw's basic egalitarianism in stating that "Vivie is

more the voice of Shaw's work ethic, which applies to men and women alike, than a spokesperson for women alone" (35).

A foreshadowing of the charge Liza levels at Higgins in Pygmalion occurs in the Act II titanic struggle between the equally strong-willed Vivie and Mrs. Warren: Mrs. Warren accuses Vivie of lacking human feeling. Vivie's filial affections are briefly aroused by Mrs. Warren's eloquent explanation of the financial exigencies that drove her into prostitution, the most lucrative avenue of commerce open to women in her day, as Mrs. Warren points out, but her daughterly affections are quenched when she discovers that Mrs. Warren, whose entrepreneurial energy and drive she has undoubtedly inherited, is still actively engaged in her disreputable business. Because of the nature of her profession, Mrs. Warren has allowed Vivie no real contact with her and has given Vivie no sort of home life. Vivie therefore outwardly seems like a cross between an adding machine and a masculine caricature, typed by Arthur Nethercot as a "manly woman," who acknowledges and claims to need few human affections. Vivie has been carefully raised to be respectably middle class, whereas Mrs. Warren could not initially afford to be.

Vivie's break from her mother is not only a declaration of independence, but an ethical choice. By

her unsentimental choices, she indicates her drive to become a New Woman, free from the limited opportunities and moral hypocrisies of her mother's Victorian past, which are symbolized in various ways by the other characters in the play. Each in turn would limit her life role and possibilities to what each conventionally assumes her role should be, defining her as a Womanly Woman, purely in relationship to themselves, without thought of her own aspirations and goals. Vivie, however, is an extreme example of Shaw's Unwomanly Woman, and wishes to live a totally independent and self-sufficient life without domestic entanglements, which would seem to lead her to a singularly barren emotional existence. The dilemma that faced women in their drive towards independence does seem to be resolved somewhat more satisfactorily by Liza Doolittle in Pygmalion, who wants to lead a more balanced life and experience the satisfactions of both work and love. Vivie's focus on work to the exclusion of love seems to be leading her to a relatively sterile existence, but an examination of the "love" that is offered her by the other characters makes her final choice seem much more intelligible. Her mother, after leaving her to the upbringing and care of others, now wishes to infantilize an adult Vivie and control her life; the charming Frank wants to be her

little-boy playmate; her mother's degenerate business partner desires to buy her as a trophy wife; and the artist Praed wants her to be his uncommitted travelling companion. With those kinds of "romantic" choices available to her, Vivie's decision in Act IV to become "a woman of business, permanently single and permanently unromantic" (274) seems eminently logical and self-preservative.

Mrs. Warren is actually a late Victorian crossover character between Shaw's domestic and entrepreneurial heroines; her ultimate aim, like the Victorian domestic heroines, is to create and maintain a secure private world. The central irony of Mrs. Warren's Profession is that, as Mrs. Warren has left Vivie's upbringing to others to secure a better life for them both, her attempts to create such a world--what Dukore aptly characterizes as another doll's house--for a grown-up Vivie are thwarted by Vivie's adult needs for independence and self-sufficiency, which parallel those of the New Woman.

Each woman becomes ultimately committed to a separate, financially secure survival. Vivie, bent on an actuarial career, has carefully worked out a game plan for financial success. As Gainor acknowledges, Vivie is very much her mother's daughter in her driving work ethic and total focus on personal profit: she is the

ultimate fledgling capitalist, a female entrepreneurial pioneer intent on legitimately securing for herself the economic independence previously denied women.

PART II ENTREPRENEURIAL HEROINES

Chapter 4 Education for Change in Pygmalion: Liza Doolittle as Entrepreneuse

During the Edwardian era, women entered the universities and the professions in steadily increasing numbers. Liza Doolittle in Pygmalion and Vivie Warren in Mrs. Warren's Profession underline the importance of expanded educational opportunities for women's ultimate economic independence and the early twentieth century widening of female life choices. As fledgling entrepreneuses, they understand the necessity of education for woman's economic self-sufficiency, and therefore, as did Nora in A Doll's House, they become dramatic exemplars of a historical turning point for women. Nora, however, like Victorian woman, was neither trained nor prepared for her emancipation; Liza Doolittle and Vivie Warren have Edwardian woman's opportunity to secure an education and to set themselves up in business.

By the time Mrs. Warren's Profession was written, the educational climate for women had been transformed. Until the 1880's, no governmentally supported free public schools existed in England. Until World War I, upper-class girls girls received little formal education, but benefitted from the cultural opportunities afforded them by their family life and contact with the great minds and leaders of their day.

Lower-class girls could only learn domestic service at industrial schools founded by charity and manufacturing interests, which also taught trades to boys. For middle-class girls, only religious education was available until the middle of the nineteenth century. The sole mid-century profession really open to middle-class women was to be an overworked and underpaid governess, as novels of the period, especially those of the Brontës, illustrate. The first women's colleges, Queens and Bedford, were then established in London, to raise the level of teaching (Perkin 27-50).

During the thirty years following the report of the Royal Commission on Endowed Schools (1864-1868) regarding the inadequate, meagre, and basically domestic educational opportunities available to women in Great Britain, female secondary school education was established and women's colleges were founded at Oxford and Cambridge, starting in 1871. Beginning in 1878, women were able to obtain higher university degrees from the established men's colleges and universities as well as attend classes and lectures. By the time Pygmalion was written and produced, secondary and higher educational systems for women were well established in Great Britain (Crow 184-185).

Edwardian woman's efforts to prepare herself for the larger world of commerce and business are suggested by the educative experiences of Vivie and Liza. Like

emancipated Edwardian woman, Liza and the Warrens know the importance of education to female security and survival.

Liza's rise from working-class flower girl to upper-class lady reflects the vocational dilemmas confronting Edwardian women at every level of British society. Liza transforms herself, and therefore the world she inhabits, with Professor Higgins' help, from an ignorant, struggling, but somewhat independent lower-class woman who is employing all her wits to survive, into an educated, ornamental and dependent upper middle-class woman with little outlet for her intelligence and energies.

Upon discovering that her rise in social class means that she has lost what little economic independence and freedom of action she formerly possessed, Liza finally decides, after assessing her marital choices, to try to reclaim independence by becoming an entrepreneuse at a higher and more genteel level. Her social training under Professor Higgins' and Colonel Pickering's guidance has equipped her to be "a lady in a flower shop," her original goal, or a teacher like Higgins, able to help others transform themselves, and therefore their worlds, with "the divine gift of articulate speech" (Pygmalion 20). Her experiences thus parallel occupational challenges facing both classes of late Victorian and Edwardian women:

while labor unions were attempting to drive lower-class women out of the workplace and back into the domestic sphere, middle- and upper-class women were attempting to secure socially useful and gainful employment (Crow 184-185).

Pygmalion can be seen as Shaw's continued critique of the Womanly Woman and the limitations of the domestic role, besides being an exemplar of Shaw's fledgling entrepreneurial woman. A central problem in Pygmalion, underlying the romance of the Cinderella myth, is that middle- and upper-class women (Princess Cinderella, Lady Liza) in traditional societies, like the Victorian, were dependent upon husbands (Prince Charming) to support them financially; the only validated role in society that they were legitimately allowed to claim was as domestic support to their husbands--the same role that Shaw's domestic heroines fulfill, and the role that a Victorian wife, in the most traditional sense of the term, was expected to assume towards her husband. A key turning point, emblematic of a transition to Shaw's more egalitarian Edwardian consciousness, occurs in Act IV of Pygmalion, when Higgins declares, after Liza has asserted her independence, that he has created his Lady to be no man's servant or wife--not even his.

Underlying the popular desire for Liza to marry Higgins is acceptance of traditional Victorian marriage roles: Liza

would become a "Womanly Woman"/Domestic Goddess, managing the private side of their life while Higgins took charge of the public side.

In Pygmalion, Liza is transformed from being a barely self-supporting flower girl, with seeming independence but actually little future, to an unsupported great lady, without the economic backup great ladies commanded by marriage or inheritance: realistically, if she doesn't marry Higgins, she can decide between being an unpaid and dependent household manager to Higgins and Pickering or, the path she chooses, as Shaw indicates in his last act and Epilogue, striking out on her own as an entrepreneuse. Unlike Ibsen's Nora, Liza is better equipped and prepared, both by natural aptitude and by the social training she has received from Higgins and Pickering, to succeed.

Interpretations of Pygmalion have focussed on the Liza-Higgins relationship, which mirrors Edwardian woman's struggle to achieve independence in the face of Victorian patriarchal attitudes that assumed female dependency. Eric Bentley sees the transformation of Liza in developmental terms, and considers that one of the main points of the play is Liza's achievement of adult independence: in the struggle between Liza and Higgins, she "wins her freedom" (85). Pygmalion, as Bentley demonstrates, systematically charts Liza's growth from dependent child to independent adult,

freed from Higgins' peremptory parental authority. The plot of the play traces Liza's course of development from childhood (Acts I-III) through adolescence (Act IV) to adulthood (Act V). Like Edwardian woman relating to Victorian man, and like Nora in A Doll's House, Liza seeks to win her freedom from Higgins' view of her as a childish inferior; although desiring to remain connected to him, she wishes to be seen by him as an equal.

Led by Bentley, critical commentary has centered on Pygmalion as a Cinderella story, emphasizing the relationship between Liza and Higgins, and Higgins' role in transforming her, overlooking, as Higgins does, her own commitment and contribution to her education, which somewhat parallels, in comic microcosm, late Victorian and Edwardian woman's progressive entrance into the upper reaches of the English educational system.

Arthur Nethercot challenges the popular romantic misconceptions about Pygmalion's ending, which countered Shaw's original intention from the first production of the play in 1913, when Herbert Beerbohm Tree, playing Higgins, continually halted Mrs. Patrick Campbell's/Liza's exit by tossing her a rose--which she then caught--to the 1938 Gabriel Pascal film and the 1956 musicalized cinematic version, My Fair Lady, both of which changed the ending to effect a reconciliation between Higgins and Liza. Nethercot

sees Liza as an active agent in her own life, aware of her own destiny and goals, and does not dismiss the explanatory epilogue, which charts her course as an Edwardian entrepreneuse, as a Shavian whim. He explains Liza's aims and the emotional dynamics between her and Higgins, and contends that she instinctively knows that Higgins will never make a good husband for her. Barbara Bellow Watson contends that Liza is not misled by Higgins' intellectual and social eminence into considering him a potentially good husband for her (101). Louis Crompton underlines the basic incompatibility that exists between Liza and Higgins not as one of class and education, but of life goals: the essence of human relations is mutual caring for Liza, but mutual improvement is what Higgins considers most essential (151).

Martin Meisel prefers the ambiguity of Shaw's intended ending to the "alternative resolution" since he considers the point of the ending to be, not Liza's marriage, but her achievement of independence (177). Higgins, as Timothy Vesonder points out, is really only interested in maintaining his own independence and concentrating on his work, while Liza desires love, work, and independence (40). Vesonder considers that, by staying with Higgins, Liza would only be trading masters--poverty for Higgins (44). and asserts Shaw's

egalitarian intention was that "Liza be turned into a strong and independent woman--a woman equal to the hero" (44). The turning point in their relationship occurs in Act IV when Liza, emblematic of Edwardian woman challenging Victorian patriarchal authority, "stands up to Higgins and thus takes an active role in deciding her own destiny" (45).

Sonja Lorichs assesses the situation most realistically: she presents and analyzes Liza's life choices in terms of the incompatible, inegalitarian relationship between Liza and Higgins, making Shaw's original ending comprehensible to all except the most ardent devotés of the Cinderella myth. In the final words of his epilogue, Shaw himself declared that "Galatea never does quite like Pygmalion: his relationship to her is too godlike to be altogether agreeable" (Pygmalion 125). Lorichs considers Pygmalion to be "the most outspoken of Shaw's plays as concerns woman's right to be an independent human being," and believes Shaw's enlightened ending demonstrates woman's right to decide upon the course of her own life (141). Lorichs describes Liza as "combining some of the best qualities of an Unwomanly Woman with a Womanly Woman's emotional temperament and sensibility . . . In Eliza Shaw created a modern, energetic, and enterprising woman, eager to learn

and be educated for a career of her own. She intends to be an independent woman, not only a mere appendix to a man, but his companion and loving wife" (147).

Rodelle Weintraub also sees Liza as choosing independence over the traditional female option of trying to ensure financial and social security by prudently bartering herself in marriage (Fabian Feminist 8).

Maurice Valency acknowledges Liza's economic dilemma but, true to the Cinderella myth, agrees with the popular romantic notions about the ending. Valency admits Higgins' consistently avowed unmarriageability, yet contends that Liza and Higgins are ultimately, like Ann and Tanner in Man and Superman, destined to become servants of the Life Force in a more or less happy marriage (316). Valency too quickly dismisses the epilogue, which presents Liza as a budding entrepreneuse, and ignores Liza's drive, intelligence, and need for affection. He does acknowledge that she "learns . . . how to be a self-sufficient and self-reliant person, traits for which she has already shown extraordinary natural aptitude" (317).

J. Ellen Gainor considers Liza's decision at the end of Pygmalion her effort to regain an existence independent of the paternal control exerted by Higgins over her (239), but characterizes the scenario painted by the epilogue as a weakening of Liza's feminist resolve; the epilogue can

alternately be seen rather as an attempt to reconcile Liza's need to keep Higgins in her life with her equally strong need for adult autonomy.

The struggle of Edwardian woman with Victorian paternalistic attitudes is reflected in the Liza-Higgins relationship throughout the play. Most problematic in the Pygmalion relationship is Higgins's lack of respect for Liza, resembling Torvald's lack of respect for Nora in A Doll's House. In both plays, male recognition and appreciation of female contributions and achievements are totally absent, unlike the domestic situation in Candida, where Morell's adoration and appreciation for Candida are strikingly apparent. Only until they are driven to the extreme measure of declaring their independence of their households do Nora and Liza gain any respect from Torvald or Higgins, whose paternalistic mindsets are so deeply entrenched as to almost be paradigms of Victorian patriarchal attitudes.

Too little critical emphasis has been given to the role Liza herself plays in her own transformation or to the innately entrepreneurial qualities she demonstrates from the very beginning of Pygmalion, which flower under Higgins's and Pickering's direction and guidance. Liza incarnates many of the essential attributes of the successful entrepreneur: ambition, energy, practical

sense, motivation to persevere and achieve, ability to interrelate well with others, organizational skills, and an instinct for seizing appropriate opportunities.

Although Higgins takes all the credit for Liza's achievement, Arnold Silver contends that hers is much the greater contribution by acknowledging that Liza "herself contributed the main components of her success including her innate capabilities, a strong will to learn and work hard, and a desire to please teachers towards whom she felt both affection and respect" (190). Higgins does refine Liza's communication skills and inspires her to great achievement, and Pickering teaches her the niceties of proper social behavior, but ultimately Liza herself, representative of Edwardian woman in her drive towards creating and expanding heretofore unavailable educational opportunities, must furnish most of the effort that fuels her transformation,

Of all Shaw's major heroines, Liza best epitomizes twentieth-century woman's quest to experience both personal and professional fulfillment. As New Women claiming their right to decide the course of their lives independently of Victorian patriarchal restrictions and social role expectations, and not to be bound and limited by the traditional constrictions of the Victorian domestic female role, Shaw's enterprising entrepreneurial heroines,

Vivie Warren and Liza Doolittle, evince their resolute determination to educate and prepare themselves to succeed and prosper in the sphere of commercial enterprise that opened to women at the turn of the twentieth century.

PART III SAVIOR HEROINES

Chapter 5 The Crusade for Change in Major Barbara: Major Barbara as Social Reformer

Like the New Women of the twentieth century who inspired them, the protagonists of Major Barbara and and Saint Joan propel themselves energetically into their social, national, and political spheres. These savior heroines signify a radical expansion in woman's perceived responsibilities, paralleling the activism of the suffrage and temperance movements, from private to public concerns. In Major Barbara, the heroine's maternal concerns and managerial capabilities encompass a wider realm than the narrow domestic spheres of Candida, Ann Whitefield, and her own aristocratic mother.

Major Barbara, who is characterized by Shaw in her father Andrew Undershaft's voice as "a savior of souls" (Major Barbara 97), extends her conception of her maternal role to include the entire impoverished under class and seemingly secure middle class of England. Shaw's Fabian Socialist awareness was at its height in Major Barbara, which, along with his first play, Widowers' Houses, and Mrs. Warren's Profession, constitutes Shaw's most

trenchant critique of the social ills engendered by the abuses of capitalist society, and his most hopeful societal solution.

Major Barbara's final hope is that, with the mutual efforts of the humanitarian reformer (Barbara) and the social philosopher (Cusins), Western industrial society can be positively transformed. They are human agents of the Life Force, determined to make the social military-industrial complex serve more humane ends. Their relationship signals a significant change from the domestic heroines' marriages, mirroring Edwardian woman's increasing sense of participation in public as well as private life. The egalitarian nature of Barbara and Cusins' relationship and their mutual respect for each other are firmly established throughout the play. In Major Barbara, the male-female social roles are apparently reversed, but eventually equalized. In Candida and Man and Superman, Morell and Tanner are the active, publicly acknowledged agents of social change, with Candida and Ann cast solely in the social role of domestic support. In Major Barbara, Barbara is the active agent and Cusins the steadfast support until Act III, when Cusins falls heir to the munitions works. At play's end, the responsibility for social change becomes shared equally by Barbara and Cusins, working together from inside rather than outside the social system.

Wisenthal observes that "Barbara and Cusins plan to marry at the end of Major Barbara, but their marriage is insignificant next to the public roles they have proposed for themselves, as savior of souls and transformer of society, respectively" (20). The Barbara-Cusins relationship is therefore illustrative of Edwardian woman taking a public and non-vicarious role in reforming society, and reversing Victorian woman's, as exemplified by Shaw's domestic heroines, private and vicarious role.

As representative of politically involved and socially concerned Edwardian woman, Major Barbara's social role extends beyond the bounds of home and nursery. As Shavian savior heroine, she applies to social betterment the energy, commitment, and skills directed by the Victorian domestic heroines to the domestic sphere: by Candida to domestic management and by the heroine of Man and Superman to domestic establishment. The maternal solicitude of the Victorian "angel in the house," most tellingly demonstrated in Candida, has widened in Major Barbara to include the lower and middle levels of Western industrial society. Social improvement within the traditional maternal role embodied by Shaw's Victorian domestic heroines can occur only, as Shaw posits in Man and Superman, by superior genes being passed on to superior offspring or, as shown by the traditional marital role structure of both Candida

and Man and Superman, by supporting superior spouses in their efforts to bring about social betterment and reform. Major Barbara expands the boundaries of her maternal role beyond the nuclear family by becoming an active and publicly acknowledged agent of social change.

As representative of the Edwardian social reformers, Major Barbara is, like the idealistic Dr. Trench in Widowers' Houses and like Vivie Warren, initially unaware of the connection between the poverty and exploitation of the lower class and the wealth and power of the upper class. The social reform movements of the middle to late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which propelled Victorian and Edwardian women into public life, agitated for societal amelioration through constructive social action against the ills of industrial society. In Major Barbara, Bodger and Undershaft represent the Victorian and Edwardian robber barons who controlled the wealth and therefore the political power of nineteenth-century society; their manufacture of such lucrative yet socially destructive products as alcohol and arms were especial targets of reformers.

The crusading vision dramatized by Major Barbara that inspired Shaw, the Fabians, and other significant social reform movements was that an earthly heaven could be created out of the hell of Victorian poverty.

Major Barbara is initially a reformer in the genteel Victorian tradition of the charitable Lady Bountiful, bent on ameliorating the social ills that plague her "family," the poor of London. Like Dr. Trench and like Vivie Warren, Barbara discovers the economic realities of capitalism, and how the denizens of the privileged upper and middle class have directly benefitted from the inegalitarian social structure that helped create those ills: her eyes are opened to "Shavian realism." A key indication of Shavian hope for social reform is that, instead of surrendering to the world of commerce, as do Dr. Trench and Vivie, Barbara learns to incorporate the necessity of dealing with political reality into her plan of social action, turning her energies and reforming zeal to the quasi-Eden of her father's munitions works, a controlled and ostensibly tranquil place built on and by explosives to fuel the world's power sources, much like our modern atomic installations.

In Acts I and II, Major Barbara can at first fully devote her reforming energy to a traditional Victorian avenue of social betterment, the Christian charity of the Salvation Army, founded in the mid-nineteenth century by William Booth, and in its heyday during the Edwardian era.

By the end of Act II, Major Barbara has discovered that the Salvation Army's benevolence must be supported by

profits from the corrupt enterprises that perpetuate the wretchedness of the powerless lower class, whose lot she and the Salvation Army have been attempting to ameliorate, and that her family fortune and personal security are built upon those profits. Again, as in Widowers' Houses and Mrs. Warren's Profession, Shaw dramatizes the political reality of the capitalist economic structure. Barbara's reforming resolve is momentarily undermined by this revelation, until she rallies in Act III.

She then realizes her mission should be to educate to Shavian/Marxian reality the seemingly secure middle-class workers in her father's munitions works, which represent the world's power sources: her father the upper/ownership class, and the workers the middle/managerial class. These are the intelligences that most need awakening to Shavian/ Marxian economic reality and the souls that most need saving, since the power to improve and ameliorate social conditions only exists at the upper and middle economic and political levels of society. At the end of the play, Barbara faces this challenge in partnership with her philosopher-fiancé Cusins, who is selected by her father as official heir to the governance of the munitions works, thus signifying the continuity of the patriarchal British social structure, yet also reflecting Edwardian woman's expanded participation in politics and governance.

The Barbara-Cusins alliance and takeover of the manufacture of munitions signify Shaw's understanding that, in order for societal reformation to be accomplished, visionary reformers must come to terms with the world's power sources. Major Barbara demonstrates his recognition of the necessity for control of those power sources by those with the ethical, progressive, humanely oriented moral agenda of the Edwardian era social reformers, symbolized by Barbara and Cusins, rather than the amoral, antediluvian, mercenary agenda of the Victorian patriarchy, symbolized by Undershaft and Bodger.

The ending of Major Barbara is generally considered to signify the enlargement of Shaw's Socialist view of society to include the complexities and perplexities produced by industrial capitalism and, according to Julian B. Kaye, denotes Shavian acceptance of capitalism as the means to the end of improving an imperfect material world. Barbara Bellow Watson asserts that, through Major Barbara, Shaw demonstrates conclusively that "good will and good works are not enough . . . but must be guided by a realistic understanding of the world as it is" (168). The final combination of intellectual will (Cusins-Barbara) and worldly power (Undershaft) is what Margery Morgan, reflecting Shaw's Blakean inspiration, defines as a metaphysical marriage of heaven and hell:

Barbara's Apollonian and saintly self-possession joined with the Dionysian fervor and worldliness of the satanic Undershaft and the militant Salvation Army. Still, Morgan considers the ending of the the play to constitute more an appropriation and assimilation of power by the empirical world, represented by Lady Britomart, than a true reconciliation of morality and power. J.L. Wisenthal, however, also clearly recognizing the necessity for "a marriage of intellectual power, religious power, and physical power" (82), concludes that the socially concerned pair are victorious in securing the sources of earthly power in order to achieve their socially benevolent ends. Alfred Turco considers that the Barbara-Undershaft duel of wills represents a conflict, in the most extreme terms possible, between wisdom and power (199), and characterizes both of them finally as "moral realists who believe in individual moral responsibility" (198-199). John A. Bertolini concludes that the spiritual Major Barbara finally comes to terms with the earthly powers-that-be: in accepting the necessity to grapple with the reality of worldly power, Barbara rededicates herself to her mission.

The mutual decision of Barbara as social reformer and Cusins as social philosopher to take over ownership and management of a basic source of world power signifies their realization that socially minded idealism and spirituality

must be linked to worldly sources of power to effect change. Barbara's spiritual mission and Cusins' intellectual power are not enough to reform society: they must be fused with the raw power sources of the world, represented by Undershaft, to have any social impact. Shaw saw that positive social change would not occur just by ameliorating the lot of the powerless, the major goal of the Salvation Army, but that social reformers must work at the level where power exists to be effective agents of social change.

The shift in dramatic focus in the third act from the Barbara-Undershaft relationship to the Cusins-Undershaft relationship can be seen as recognition by Shaw of the established organization of power in English society. Barbara's involvement with the Salvation Army does not, as she comes to realize, fundamentally alter the power structure of society or the causes of the social ills that she and Cusins, as representatives of Shavian Fabianism, wish to completely eradicate from society. If Shaw had presented Barbara as finally and unilaterally taking over or being the dominant partner in the management of the munitions works, he would have contradicted his fundamental egalitarianism and brought about a totally unrealistic outcome, as power was traditionally passed from male heir to male heir, a social concept well

buttressed by the English system of primogeniture, which preserved family property for the primary male heir. Shaw's ending, that posits Cusins and Barbara running the armaments factory in partnership, is a rather radical egalitarian concept for its time--and for our own, since control of military power still remains a male prerogative--and is the logical next step from the successful domestic partnerships presented in Candida and suggested at the end of Man and Superman.

Barbara and Cusins intend to "make war on war," as he puts it in Act III, and control the power that would otherwise destroy humankind. Those with socially responsible agendas must, according to Shaw, assume the responsibility for channeling the world's power sources towards benevolent ends. Barbara's hope of creating an earthly heaven and being the savior angel of the devil's workshop includes creation of a domestic haven for herself and Cusins, a home base for social reform like the Fabian marriages and like the Morells' idealized home in Candida and the Tanners' anticipated home in Man and Superman.

The conclusion of Major Barbara raises an apparent role conflict for Barbara in its abrupt transition from the focused exaltation of her reclamation of her national reforming role, to her final giddy excitement about her "house in the village" (III 153). On the surface, she

appears to be regressing to a Victorian domestic role in calling upon her mother, Lady Britomart, for help with her domestic establishment. On an abstract level, Barbara, in her primary role definition of herself as social reformer, needs to enlist the support of Lady Britomart, as symbolic representative of the British Empire, for her private as well as her public role. Barbara's apparent final regression to childlike delight in private domesticity can be reconciled with the poised adult fervor of the renewal of her public social reforming role by recognizing that her own definition of mature womanhood involves national/public motherhood. Barbara's ignorance of woman's traditional private domestic role should not be taken as a sign of immaturity: her concept of adult womanhood and maternal responsibility extends considerably beyond biological motherhood, and in fact eclipses the usual domestic definitions of womanhood and motherhood. Thus, unlike Victorian domestic woman, Barbara, in her self-chosen role of Edwardian national reformer, is much more comfortable and considerably more experienced in her accustomed public role than in her potential private one: she is, in effect, totally inexperienced in domestic management and needful of the help of Lady Britomart, a capable domestic manager, to set up private housekeeping, while her talent for public institutional housecleaning, repair, and maintenance is

indisputable and amply demonstrated throughout the play, and will be the venue in which she will undoubtedly continue to invest most of her energies.

Barbara's successful claim to a share in the control of the sources of national power, when viewed in its historical context, indicates considerable prescience and sympathy on Shaw's part with regard to the twentieth-century evolution of woman's political role in society. Her assertion of her social mission of national spiritual redemption is more in accord with woman's more traditional Victorian social role. Barbara's decision to join Cusins in industrial management confirms her acceptance of an expanded maternal role in relation to the prosperous middle class as well as the impoverished lower class, which extends her own definition of her national maternal role considerably.

In her additional acceptance of a traditional maternal role at the end of Major Barbara, her calling upon Lady Britomart indicates her recognition that the symbolic might and support of the British empire and the upper class, symbolized by Lady Brit, as well as the industrial power symbolized by her father's munitions works, must of necessity be included in any successful enterprise of social reform, and also indicates Shaw's understanding of the political necessity for Lady Britomart's/the British Empire's blessing upon the union of Undershaft's power,

Cusins' intellect, and Barbara's spirit, if they are to succeed in positively transforming English society. Barbara will unquestionably play a significant role alongside of Cusins in the employment of the industrial power of the munitions works: his final emphasis on his newly gained worldly power is paralleled by her declaration of the continued importance of spiritual power. Both affirm their Shavian commitment to harness power for constructive social ends.

The main tenet of Major Barbara is Shaw's understanding that might does not necessarily make right, but does make social change possible, and that political power is a necessary prerequisite to societal improvement. Barbara's and Cusins' realization of that basic fact of political life signals their awakening to Shavian reality and their introduction to the potential for using that newly gained power effectively.

Major Barbara resoundingly illustrates Shaw's recognition of Edwardian woman's emergence from her private domestic sanctuary into the public arena of national politics; the play, as Morgan proclaims, dramatically sets "aside the old interpretations of the woman's role . . . [distinctly implying] an ideal of sexual equality" (148): "the line of the saving woman has moved far in the direction of the public personage. The

nineteenth-century saving woman is only called upon to save some lucky man. The twentieth-century saving woman is called upon to save society, to save the world" (167).

Shaw's Fabian hope for the salvation of society was at its height in Major Barbara, embodied in his heroine's reforming zeal and paralleling the historical twentieth-century enlargement of women's social concerns from those of the small private world of the Victorian wife and mother, represented by his domestic heroines, to those of the larger public world of the Edwardian social and political reformer, represented by his savior heroines.

PART III SAVIOR HEROINES

Chapter 6 Saving the Nation in Saint Joan:
Saint Joan as Visionary National Leader

Shaw's ultimate savior heroine, Saint Joan, exemplifies his overriding concern with national salvation and represents his most expanded conception of woman's role in society and responsibility for national leadership. Saint Joan, like Major Barbara, transcends conventional expectations for women in order to fulfill her self-ordained role of redemption and national renewal; against seemingly impossible odds, she saves her imperilled nation. The societal concern of the Shavian savior heroine is a logical extension of the maternal role of the earlier domestic heroines: the Shavian domestic heroine's focus on the nuclear family has, with the savior heroines, broadened to the national and human family.

Shaw's hopes for national and world salvation are embodied in Saint Joan, whose canonization in 1920 reawakened global interest in her and rekindled Shaw's lifelong fascination with her; he carefully based his characterization of Saint Joan upon exhaustive research into the actual Saint Joan's life and achievements, and the trial scene conforms quite closely to the actual transcript of the trial.

In Saint Joan, Shaw's conception and perception of female leadership is light years advanced from the Cleopatra of his quarter-century earlier Caesar and Cleopatra, paralleling the evolution of the Western societal estimation of women's leadership capabilities, from Victorian denial to Edwardian acceptance. Saint Joan, like Shaw's earlier Cleopatra, was a powerful historical personage, but Joan is infinitely more self-sufficient and developed in character, leadership, and humanity. Whereas Cleopatra's power was partly based on her political guile and ruthlessness, Shaw's Saint Joan rationally and autonomously bases her power on her straightforward nature and spiritual strength; she, like Major Barbara, seems self-taught and self-created.

Charles Berst discusses Joan in terms of her likeness to Julius Caesar (265), underlining the evolution in Shaw's concept of female leadership from the immature Cleopatra of 1898 to the mature Saint Joan of 1923. The gains of English suffragettes and the advances of the New Woman during that time period doubtless affected that evolution, which parallels the concurrent legal evolution in women's status, from child to adult.

Saint Joan represents Shaw's dramatization of the maturation of female national leadership and the expansion of women's political and social roles, in

Shavian and in worldly terms, which were contemporaneous with his composition of the play. Legislative acknowledgment of women's political maturation occurred in Western society at the end of World War I, in 1918 in Great Britain and in 1920 in the United States. Saint Joan's canonization occurred concurrently, in 1920, signifying religious affirmation of world recognition of her political and symbolic significance, and of her as a national female leader. Joan's considered deployment of national forces leads to the resurgence of national energies and reinspiration of national pride.

The preface to Saint Joan acknowledges the influence of several notable female British public personages upon Shaw's composition of the play. In his preface, Shaw compares Saint Joan to the suffragette Sylvia Pankhurst, who withstood comparable trials because of her suffragist convictions and activities; the preface concludes that the contemporary persecution of Sylvia Pankhurst parallels the medieval misogyny and mistreatment directed at Saint Joan. In addition, Shaw compares Saint Joan to Florence Nightingale, "who also combined a very simple iconography of religious belief with a mind so exceptionally powerful that it kept her in continual trouble with the medical and military panjandrums of her time" (18). Shaw was

additionally inspired to the creation of his Saint Joan by the nobility and gallantry of nurse Edith Cavell.

Saint Joan reflects Shaw's sympathies with the suffragette movement, which had recently succeeded in obtaining the vote for British women due to their valiant work on the home front in World War I. The ongoing significant contribution of British women to Britannia's victorious war effort parallels Saint Joan's rallying to her nation's colors.

Shaw's reaction to the destructiveness of the breakdown of civilization in the war that was supposed to end all wars was poignantly dramatized in his Heartbreak House, as Stanley Weintraub discusses in Journey to Heartbreak. Shaw's rallying and the postwar peacetime release of constructive energies were reflected in Saint Joan, which constitutes a welcome renewal of Shavian optimism and hope; a recurrent motif in Shaw's major plays, especially the later ones (Pygmalion, Major Barbara, Saint Joan), is a crisis of faith and the subsequent recovery and rallying of powers experienced by the Shavian heroines.

Shaw's savior heroines symbolize his hopes for national salvation. In his later plays, Shaw increasingly and progressively assigned the role of leader and savior to his intelligent and enlightened heroines, first in the

private and then in the public realm. Where Major Barbara ends, Saint Joan begins, as Wisenthal suggests in The Marriage of Contraries (189): Joan knows immediately the need to acquire power to achieve her goal of national salvation, and she knows exactly where to go to gain access to that power. Major Barbara and Saint Joan reflect Shaw's early awareness of woman's entrance into the public sphere and the expanded opportunities for women to have a public impact upon society.

His Saint Joan is the embodiment of characteristics and capabilities that were considered even more audaciously "unwomanly" during her historical counterpart's era, the medieval, than they are now or when she was conceptualized by Shaw. Her unique and "unfeminine" national leadership role is one still beyond the reach of many women, whose accession to power roles on a national scale has traditionally been the result of inheritance, when there was no male heir. The political forces arrayed against Joan in her own country as well as on the part of its national foe accurately reflect the entrenched institutional opposition to female national or military leadership, discussed in terms of the play by Berst, Wisenthal, and Silver, that is still endemic to society and operative today, hence the continued relevance of the play, in political terms, to a modern audience.

Given this ongoing political reality, Joan's success in assuming leadership, however briefly, for the purpose of national salvation is even more astonishing and impressive. Her unique amalgam of characteristics that propel her to national leadership, and her unwavering acceptance and expert implementation of a significant military role, unusual for women now, and extraordinary then, to some extent explain her achievement of an impressive goal: the salvation of her nation, a victory which was both personal and historical, and which has earned her a measure of immortality accorded few persons in history, male or female.

Joan became a national savior partly because of her "unfeminine" military and strategical genius. In his preface to Saint Joan, Shaw specifically articulates the bias of historical sexism, especially military sexism, thus underlining his feminist sensibilities: "If a historian is an anti-feminist and does not believe a woman to be capable of genius in the traditional masculine departments, he will never make anything of Joan, whose genius was turned to practical account mainly in soldiering" (10).

Joan's stubborn adherence to the dictates of her own individualistic and unique vision placed her in opposition to the oppressive strictures of powerful institutions. She was a public and national female leader in a society and at

a time in which woman's role was extraordinarily limited and defined as basically private and domestic, a situation which did not appreciably change for women over the course of several centuries. As Shaw points out in his preface, Joan was an historic anomaly who could not for long be tolerated within the traditional power structures, due to her very self-confidence and success in what was and still is considered one of the most masculine of pursuits: war.

The successful public and overt exercise of national power was traditionally regarded as a masculine prerogative, a social taboo broken by relatively few women in history before the twentieth century: Old Testament heroines like Esther and Judith, whose goal, like Joan's, was to save their society during a time of national crisis, and the great queens of history, who inherited power roles from their fathers in historical situations where no male heir was available and they were in a position to successfully defend their power.

In his preface, Shaw presents his Amazon heroine as a daring and practical military genius, pure of heart and superior in intellect and vision. Shaw himself termed her "the most notable Warrior Saint in the Christian calendar" (Preface 7). In the true tradition of the professional soldier, Saint Joan defied, in turn, hardship, capture, imprisonment, trial, and death. She was accepted as a soldier by her

comrades, which later became not the least in the battery of charges of unwomanliness brought against her at her trial. Saint Joan, as Shaw points out in the preface, "refused to accept the specific woman's lot, and dressed and fought and lived as men did" (7). Her dress was only one of her unwomanly attributes, and symbolized the freedom and power she claimed and so effectively exercised. She became so potent a political and military threat to the established political structures of her time that the outcome of her trial was practically a foregone conclusion. Shaw's preface cogently summarizes the reality of Joan's political situation, especially for her time, in stating that "she contrived to assert herself with such force that she was famous throughout Europe before she was out of her teens . . . it is hardly surprising that she was judicially burnt . . . essentially for what we call 'unwomanly' and intolerable presumption" (7).

Additional fuel for the flames that were waiting to consume Saint Joan was her lack of womanly humility during her trial by judges whose purpose had from the outset been to destroy the threat to their power that she represented. With no intention of becoming a sacrificial victim, Joan only recanted her confession when she realized the falsity of the bargain that had been struck with her: there was, of course, no way she could have been allowed her freedom, for

she was too great a threat to the military and religious establishments of her day. Like Major Barbara, Saint Joan symbolizes the enduring confrontation between constricting ideologies and institutions and the individual's drive towards freedom of thought and action. In Shaw's preface, Saint Joan is presented as a representative of individualism: she epitomizes the enduring conflict between the individual will and institutional restraints, as Wisenthal and Berst have discussed.

Arnold Silver's examination of the play explores the Church-Joan conflict partly in terms of Shaw's recognition and presentation of the legitimacy of both individual and institutional imperatives. As even-handed as is Shaw's representation of the institutional forces arrayed against Joan, however, his allegiance remains unequivocally to the Saint.

Like Major Barbara, Saint Joan comes up against the political reality of an entrenched social order and suffers a crisis of faith in so doing: she ultimately rejects the strictures of the old order and regains her faith in her own vision. As Berst asserts, "Joan's Promethean spirit tends to defy pessimism and to overwhelm the tragic pattern with a counterassertion rising forcefully from individual will" (275). Saint Joan saves her nation by following a commitment to a personal vision, which earns her sainthood but condemns

her to the stake, as she will not bend to the dictates of the Church and thus sets a perilous precedent: the Church wants faithful souls, not free ones.

The significance of the "voices" of Joan's saintly spiritual advisors being specifically female voices of authority has been given scant critical notice. Only in the lives of female saints could a young, fervently religious girl in fifteenth-century France find strong role models of effective female leadership. Her eventual refusal to listen to the condemning male voices of her judges and return to the encouraging and heartening voices of the female saints who sustained her is psychologically valid and dramatically extremely effective, signalling a resurgence of her spirit, vitality, and belief in herself and her mission.

Early commentators like Stoppel and Huizinga stress the clarity of Saint Joan's vision, which sees present realities in their true form. Ibsen's heroines possess that same clarity of vision, without the Shavian heroines' hope or power of directly effecting the transformation of their worlds, thus personifying the constricted and powerless social situation of nineteenth-century woman that preceded the emancipation and empowerment of twentieth-century woman.

Later commentators like Morgan and Berst cite Saint Joan's single-mindedness. Berst discusses her "absolute commitment, integrity, and self-confidence" (267) that, coupled with her native capabilities, allows her to maintain an undivided and unwavering dedication to her cause, which is the source of much of her strength and effectiveness as a national leader.

Hans Stoppel traces the development of the Shavian heroine in terms of her life mission, from the domestic heroines' imperative maternal responsibility for "the continuance of life," with men the guardians of "spiritual progress," through Shaw's increasing depiction of "women of greast intellectual power . . . to whom he accords the same functions as to the men of genius" (170). Shaw's abiding belief was that constructive, creative forces would finally prevail in the world; his heroines increasingly embody these hopes.

A defining characteristic of the Shavian heroine is that she looks upon and treats her fellow human beings as a mother looks upon and treats children for whom she feels enormous concern and responsibility, much as Shaw himself did. Sonja Lorichs points to the motherliness of Saint Joan's attitude towards her comrades-in-arms and towards the Dauphin, and to her selfless maternal concern for the well-being and welfare of her people. Berst discusses Joan's

individualistic treatment of others and her egalitarianism. One of Shaw's few departures from historical fact was his having Saint Joan, who in real life generally referred to the Dauphin by his title, address the Dauphin familiarly in the play, thus underlining Shaw's own egalitarianism.

Shaw's Saint Joan has a vision that transforms her into the savior of France: her faith, courage, military prowess, and vitality mobilize and rescue the French people. She is a visionary who clearly visualizes, articulates, and implements a plan for national salvation that includes a clear-cut and compelling vision of her own "unwomanly" role in the enterprise.

In the figure of Saint Joan, Shaw dramatically portrays the effective and positive exercise of publicly acknowledged female national authority and the ongoing institutional challenge to the exercise of that power. Saint Joan demonstrates the most expanded definition of the caretaking maternal role in the Shavian lexicon: the maternal domestic genius of Shaw's early plays has become the ultimate national savior.

EPILOGUE

The definition of woman's work and sphere in life changed radically at the turn of the twentieth century, and George Bernard Shaw dramatically chronicled the change in a series of plays that depicted woman's evolving and expanding life options and concerns. After being bound for centuries to domesticity, she was finally free to work in the world as an entrepreneurial pioneer, and even to gain political and social power.

Before 1900, a woman's home was her entire world and her only domain, the only realm in which she exercised any, albeit limited, power. Propelled by the suffragette movement and her release from Victorian social shackles, Edwardian woman stepped boldly and forthrightly forward into new worlds of commercial and political enterprise. Role models were few for these early pioneers, and societal resistance to the changes they envisioned and embodied was great.

George Bernard Shaw, optimistically following in the footsteps of the more pessimistic Ibsen, not only created fictional counterparts of the women who strove for an equal share in the nurturance and governance of a larger realm than the domestic but, by dramatizing their determination

and resourcefulness, as well as their struggles and crises of faith, provided us with vital archetypes of positive and powerful women, the likes of whom had never before been seen on stage. For the most part, comedic dramatic heroines had been involved in romantic and farcical situations that revolved around marriage and domesticity; only tragic heroines, notably royal ones, stalked through larger spheres, their fates, like those of their comic counterparts, inextricably intertwined with the destinies of the men in their lives. Woman's prestige and power in the wider world was contingent on their marital or hierarchical connections.

Shaw's heroines broke through dramatic conventions just as their actual contemporaries broke through social conventions. Reflecting a woman's contingent position in Victorian society, his early domestic heroines, Candida and Ann Whitefield, are initially circumspect and have been characterized as somewhat manipulative compared to his more forthright later entrepreneurial and savior heroines, as they can only deal with larger social and economic issues vicariously. Candida is a more popular and benignly regarded character than Ann Whitefield because she is so nurturing (some feel overly so), whereas Ann's relationship to Tanner sometimes seems more deflating than supportive: one of her main functions in Man and Superman is to keep him anchored

to earthly realities, just as Candida's job is to deal with mundane reality for Morell, so he can concentrate on social reform. Those roles shift in Major Barbara, where Barbara is the unworldly reformer who provides the spiritual impetus for societal change, Cusins seems destined to function in the role of practical manager, and the senior Undershafts provide the social structure they must work within.

Shaw's entrepreneurial heroines, the Warrens and Liza Doolittle, not connected to men who can provide them with livelihoods, are therefore initially much more on their own, both socially and economically. Both plays chronicle female transformations (Mrs. Warren and Liza Doolittle) from social powerlessness to self-empowerment, reflecting the evolution of woman's position in society from the Victorian era to the Edwardian period.

His savior heroines, Major Barbara and Saint Joan, who are his most direct and forthright characters, exercise a measure of power in and over a larger, non-domestic world, as their titles suggest, and the transformations they effect are much more in those larger worlds than in themselves. They each start out with assurance and a well-defined national mission, which in Saint Joan's case is successful: she does save France. Major Barbara's ultimate success seems possible at the end of the play: anticipating Brecht, Shaw leaves the conclusion of the play open-ended, thus accurately

reflecting the reality that social change is an evolving process requiring but not wholly determined by individual initiative and dedication, and fulfilling his didactic purpose of transferring to his audience and readers the responsibility for the social changes that he had very efectively demonstrated as urgent and necessary. At the end of her play, Barbara is shown to be in a much better position to effect changes in society, with Cusins' help, by influencing the more stable and prosperous middle class rather than concentrating on just ameliorating the lot of the desperate poor: she and Cusins are seeking to cure, rather than merely alleviate, society's ills.

That the means both heroines employ to effect social change are directly connected with political and military power, and therefore the antithesis of what has been conventionally considered to be feminine, might seem intentionally ironic were it not for Shaw's mounting and profound frustration with gradualistic and pacific legislative social change. That frustration certainly parallels the more militant suffragettes' accumulated frustration with the pace of societal equalization that led to their widely publicized outbreaks of political agitation, most of which rebounded on the suffragettes themselves. That rebound, in the form of imprisonment and forced feeding, was most indignantly and consistently

condemned by Shaw, who could publicly advocate the most radical of social revolutions but was privately the epitome of a gentleman, in the truest sense of the word, in his relationships with women.

Shaw's increasing concern with the use of power and with men of power (the Nietzschean Superman), a concern which has led to considerable criticism of him as overly sympathetic to modern dictatorships, can be directly traced to this frustration with slower means of societal reform, which increased as he saw the world twice plunged into the anarchy of global war. Both Major Barbara and Saint Joan are reformers and leaders of societies in crisis, which, in Shaw's view, required the swift and immediate action characteristic of effective military and political leadership. World War I, to which Shaw's initial reaction was Heartbreak House, deepened his sense of the necessity for strong and decisive leadership, as embodied in the post-war Saint Joan.

Both Major Barbara and Saint Joan come up against the political machinations of societies where women hold little political and economic power. Barbara eventually comes to terms with the power structures of her society in somewhat of a compromise, the essence of political survival, but for Joan and her opponents there is no compromise possible, as neither can accept the other's power as absolute, and nothing less is demanded by each.

In the plays he wrote between 1893 and 1923, Shaw chronicled the evolution of society from a comparatively static world where woman's role was narrowly defined and severely limited, to the current social situation where gender roles are continually in flux and women can choose among multiple role options and social possibilities. While the Victorian heroine's best life option was pursuing and preserving the most advantageous and desirable marriage within a rigidly defined and established social structure, the Edwardian heroine's world offered many more social options and was much more her own to discover, shape, and explore.

The evolution of the Shavian heroine parallels and dramatizes the evolution of women's expanding role in society, which has continued throughout the twentieth century. Shaw's dynamic and self-possessed heroines still provide us with unique and and vitally needed role models for contemporary women, ever reminding us of women's infinite possibilities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PLAYS BY SHAW CITED/CONSULTED

Unless otherwise indicated, references to all Shaw plays and prefaces are to be found in the authorized Penguin editions which contain the definitive text as published in the Bodley Head Bernard Shaw Collected Plays, with their Prefaces, under the editorial supervision of Dan H. Laurence. Dates in parentheses indicate the dates of composition of the plays. Dates outside parentheses indicate dates of Penguin editions.

Androcles and the Lion (1911-1912)

Arms and the Man (1894) Plays Pleasant. London: Penguin, 1946.

Back to Methusaleh (1921)

Caesar and Cleopatra (1898)

Candida (1894-1897)

The Doctor's Dilemma (1906)

Fanny's First Play (1910-1911)

Getting Married (1908)

Heartbreak House (1916)

John Bull's Other Island (1904)

Major Barbara (1905)

Man and Superman (1901-1903)

The Millionairess (1936) Plays Extravagant. London: Penguin, 1981.

Misalliance (1909)

Mrs. Warren's Profession (1893) Plays Unpleasant. London: Penguin, 1946.

The Philanderer (1893) Plays Unpleasant. London: Penguin, 1946.

Press Cuttings (1908)

Pygmalion (1912)

Saint Joan (1923)

Too True to be Good (1931) Plays Extravagant. London: Penguin, 1981.

Widowers' Houses (1885-1892) Plays Unpleasant. London: Penguin, 1946.

You Never Can Tell (1897) Plays Pleasant. London: Penguin, 1946.

Note: Shaw's extensive Prefaces to his plays, including the Prefaces to those collectively entitled by him Plays Pleasant and Plays Unpleasant, are also included.

OTHER WORKS BY SHAW CITED/CONSULTED

Collected Letters, 1874-1897. Ed. Dan H. Laurence. London: Reinhardt, 1965.

Foreword to Grest Expectations. By Charles Dickens. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1947.

"GBS and A Suffragist." Interview by Maud Churton Braby. London Tribune 12 March 1906.

The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism, Capitalism, Sovietism, and Fascism. 1932. London: Constable, 1949.

My Dear Dorothea. 1878. New York: Vanguard, 1956.

Our Theatres in the Nineties. 1895-1898. London: Constable, 1932.

The Quintessence of Ibsenism. 1891. Major Critical Essays. London: Penguin, 1931. 23-176.

"The Root of the White Slave Traffic." Awakener 1. No. 1. 16 November 1912: 7-8.

The Sanity of Art. 1895. Major Critical Essays. London: Penguin, 1931: 311-360.

"Sixty Years of Fabianism." Fabian Essays. ed. Bernard Shaw. Jubilee Edition. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1948: 207-231.

"The Unmentionable Case for Women's Suffrage." Englishwoman 1. March 1909: 112-21.

"Why All Women are Pecliarly Fitted to be Good Voters." New York American. 21 April 1907.

"Woman Since 1860." Time and Tide 1. 8 October 1920:442-44.

OTHER WORKS CONSULTED/CITED

Abbott, Anthony S. Shaw and Christianity. New York: Seabury, 1965.

Adams, Elsie B. Bernard Shaw and the Aesthetes. Columbus: Ohio State UP, 1971.

---. "Feminism and Female Stereotypes in Shaw" in Fabian Feminist, ed. Rodelle Weintraub, 156-162.

Ardis, Ann L. New Women, New Novels: Feminism and Early Modernism. New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1990.

Auerbach, Nina. Ellen Terry: Player in Her Time. New York: Norton, 1987.

Barrie, J.M. What Every Woman Knows. New York: Scribner's, 1918.

Beerbohm, Max. A Selection from "Around Theatres". New York: Simon, 1960.

Bentley, Eric. Bernard Shaw: A Reconsideration. New York: Norton, 1947, 1976.

Berst, Charles. Bernard Shaw and the Art of Drama. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1973.

Bertin, Michael, ed. The Play and Its Critics: Essays for Eric Bentley. Lanham, MD: UP of America, 1986.

Bertolini, John A. The Playwrighting Self of Bernard Shaw. Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1991.

Bloom, Harold, ed. Modern Critical Views: George Bernard Shaw. New York: Chelsea House, 1987.

---. Modern Critical Interpretations of George Bernard Shaw's "Major Barbara". New York: Chelsea House, 1968.

---. George Bernard Shaw's "Man and Superman". New York: Chelsea House, 1987.

---. George Bernard Shaw's "Pygmalion". New York: Chelsea House, 1988.

---. Modern Critical Interpretations of George Bernard Shaw's "Saint Joan". New York: Chelsea House, 1987.

Brown, Ivor. Shaw in His Time. London: Thomas Nelson, 1965.

Burstyn, Joan N. Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood. London: Croom Helm, 1980.

Chesterton, G.K. George Bernard Shaw. 1910. New York: Devon Adair, 1950.

Clarke, Ian. Edwardian Drama. London: Faber, 1989.

Clurman, Harold. Ibsen. New York: Macmillan, 1977.

Coren, Michael. The Invisible Man: The Life and Liberties of H.G. Wells. New York: Athenuem, 1993.

Costello, Donald P. The Serpent's Eye: Shaw and the Cinema. Notre Dame: Notre Dame UP, 1965.

Craig, Edward Gordon. Ellen Terry and Her Secret Self: Together With A Plea for G.B.S. New York: Dutton, 1932.

Crompton, Louis. Shaw the Dramatist. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1969.

Crow, Duncan. The Edwardian Woman. New York: St. Martin's, 1978.

Cunningham, Gail. The New Woman and the Victorian Novel. London: Macmillan, 1978.

Davis, Tracy C. George Bernard Shaw and the Socialist Theatre. Westport: Greenwood, 1994.

Dent, Alan, ed. Bernard Shaw and Mrs. Patrick Campbell: Their Correspondence. London: Gollancz, 1952.

Dukore, Bernard F. Bernard Shaw, Playwright: Aspects of Shavian Drama. Columbia: U of Missouri P, 1973.

---. Money and Politics in Ibsen, Shaw, and Brecht. Columbia: U of Missouri P, 1980.

---. Saint Joan: A Screenplay by Bernard Shaw. Seattle: U of Washington P, 1968.

Dyhouse, Carol. Feminism and the Family in England 1880-1939. London: Blackwell, 1989.

Evans, T.F., ed. Shaw: The Critical Heritage. London: Routledge, 1976.

Frank, Joseph. "Major Barbara: Shaw's 'Divine Comedy.'" Publications of the MLA LXXI Mar. 1956: 61-74.

Fromm, Harold. Bernard Shaw and the Theatre in the Nineties. Lawrence: U of Kansas P, 1987.

Gainor, J. Ellen. Shaw's Daughters: Dramatic and Narrative Constructions of Gender. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1991.

Ganz, Arthur. George Bernard Shaw. New York: Grove, 1983.

Gardner, Vivien and Susan Rutherford. The New Woman and Her Sisters: Feminism and Theatre 1850-1914. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1992.

Gassner, John, ed. The Late Plays of Henrik Ibsen. New York: Harper, 1962.

Gibbs, A.M. The Art and Mind of Shaw. London: Macmillan, 1983.

Gordon, David J. Bernard Shaw and the Comic Sublime. New York: St. Martin's, 1990.

Gorham, Deborah. The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal. London: Croom Helm, 1982.

Grene, Nicholas. Bernard Shaw: A Critical View. New York: St. Martin's, 1990.

Harris, Frank. Bernard Shaw: An Unauthorized Biography Based on First Hand Information with a Postscript by Mr. Shaw. New York: Simon, 1931.

Henderson, Archibald. Bernard Shaw: Playboy and Prophet. New York: Appleton, 1932.

---. George Bernard Shaw: His Life and Works. Cincinnati: Stewart and Kidd, 1911.

---. George Bernard Shaw: Man of the Century. New York: Appleton, 1956.

Hill, Eldon C. George Bernard Shaw. Boston: Twayne, 1978.

Hill, Holly. Playing Joan. New York: Theatre Communications Group, 1987.

Holledge, Julie. Innocent Flowers: Women in the Edwardian Theatre. London: Virago, 1981.

Hollis, Patricia, ed. Women in Public: The Women's Movement 1850-1900. London: Allen and Unwin, 1979.

Holroyd, Michael. The Search for Love. Vol. 1 of Bernard Shaw. New York: Random House, 1988.

---. The Pursuit of Power. Vol. 2 of Bernard Shaw. New York: Random House, 1989.

---. The Lure of Fantasy. Vol. 3 of Bernard Shaw. New York: Random House, 1991.

---. The Genius of Shaw. New York: Holt, 1979.

Houghton, Walter. The Victorian Frame of Mind. New Haven: Yale, 1957.

Hubenka, Lloyd J., ed. Bernard Shaw's Practical Politics. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1976.

Hummert, Paul A. Bernard Shaw's Marxian Romance. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1973.

Hynes, Samuel. The Edwardian Turn of Mind. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1968.

Joad, C.E.M. Shaw and Society. London: Odhams, 1953.

Johnson, Josephine. Florence Farr: Bernard Shaw's "New Woman". Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield, 1975.

Kauffmann, Stanley. "The Late Beginner: Bernard Shaw Becoming a Dramatist" South Atlantic Quarterly 91.2 (Spring 1992) 289-301.

Kaufmann, R.J., ed. G.B. Shaw: A Collection of Critical Essays. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965.

Kaye, Julian B. Bernard Shaw and the Nineteenth Century Tradition. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1958.

Kester, Dolores. "The Legal Climate of Shaw's Problem Plays" in Fabian Feminist, ed. Rodelle Weintraub, 68-83.

Kohl, Halvdan. The Life of Ibsen. London: Allen and Unwin, 1931.

Langner, Lawrence. G.B.S. and the Lunatic. London: Hutchinson, 1964.

Laurence, Dan H., and Daniel J. Leary, eds. The Complete Prefaces.Vol. I 1889-1913. London: Allen Lane, 1993. Vol. II 1914-1929. London: Allen Lane, 1995.

Laurence, Dan H., and Martin Quinn. Shaw on Dickens. New York: Ungar, 1985.

Lorichs, Sonja. The Unwomanly Woman in Bernard Shaw's Drama and Her Social and Political Background. Uppsala: Uppsala UP, 1973.

MacKenzie, Norman and Jeanne. The Fabians. New York: Simon, 1977.

Marcus, Jane. Suffrage and the Pankhursts. London: Routledge, 1987.

Maurois, André. The Edwardian Era. New York: Appleton, 1933.

May, Keith M. Ibsen and Shaw. New York: Macmillan, 1985.

Mayne, Fred. The Wit and Satire of Bernard Shaw. New York: St. Martin's, 1967.

Meisel, Martin. Shaw and the Nineteenth Century Theatre. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1963.

Meyer, Michael. Ibsen. London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1971.

Mill, John Stuart. The Subjection of Women. London: Longmans, 1869.

Mitchell, Sally. The New Girl: Girls' Culture in England 1880-1915. New York: Columbia UP, 1995.

Morgan, Margery. The Shavian Playground: An Exploration of the Art of George Bernard Shaw. London: Methuen, 1972.

Nathan, Rhoda. "The Shavian Sphinx" in Fabian Feminist, ed. Rodelle Weintraub, 30-38.

Nethercot, Arthur H. Men and Supermen: The Shavian Portrait Gallery. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1954.

Nowell-Smith, Simon, ed. Edwardian England 1900-1914. London: Oxford UP, 1964.

Perkin, Joan. Victorian Women. New York: New York University P, 1993.

Peters, Margot. Bernard Shaw and the Actresses. New York: Doubleday, 1980.

---. Mrs. Pat: The Life of Mrs. Patrick Campbell. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1985.

Peters, Sally. Bernard Shaw: Ascent of the Superman. New Haven: Yale UP, 1996.

Pirandello, Luigi. It is So (If You Think So). Naked Masks: Five Plays by Luigi Pirandello. ed. Eric Bentley. New York: Dutton, 1952. 61-138.

Poovey, Mary. Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1988.

Rose, Jonathan. The Edwardian Temperament, 1895-1918. Athens: Ohio UP, 1986.

Rosenbaum, S.P. Edwardian Bloomsbury: The Early History of the Bloomsbury Group. New York: St. Martin's, 1994.

Rowell, George. The Victorian Theatre 1792-1914. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1978.

Sackville-West, Vita. The Edwardians. London: Hogarth, 1930.

Silver, Arnold. Bernard Shaw: The Darker Side. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1982.

---. Saint Joan: Playing With Fire. New York: Twayne, 1993.

Smith, J. Percy. The Unrepentant Pilgrim. Boston: Houghton, 1965.

Smith, Warren Sylvester. Bishop of Everywhere: Bernard Shaw and the Life Force. University Park: Penn State UP, 1982.

St. John, Christopher, ed. Ellen Terry and Bernard Shaw: A Correspondence. New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1931.

Stanton, Stephen B., ed. A Casebook on Candida. New York: Crowell, 1962.

Stenton, Doris M. The English Woman in History. London: Allen and Unwin, 1957.

Taylor, Harriet. "The Enfranchisement of Women." 1851. Essays on Sex Equality by John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor. Ed. Alice S. Rossi. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1970.

Terry, Ellen. The Story of My Life: Recollections and Reflections. London: Hutchinson, 1908.

Thomas, David. Henrik Ibsen. New York: Grove, 1983.

Thompson, Paul. The Edwardians: The Remaking of British Society. 2nd ed. London: Routledge, 1992.

Trewin, J.C. The Edwardian Theatre. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1976.

Turco, Alfred J., ed. Shaw: The Neglected Plays. University Park: Penn State UP, 1986.

---. Shaw's Moral Vision: The Self and Salvation. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1976.

Tyson, Brian. The Story of Shaw's "Saint Joan". Kingston/ Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1982.

Valency, Maurice. The Cart and the Trumpet: The Plays of George Bernard Shaw. New York: Schocken, 1983.

Vesonder, Timothy G. "Eliza's Choice: Transformation Myth and the Ending of Pygmalion" in Fabian Feminist, ed. Rodelle Weintraub, 39-45.

Vicinus, Martha. Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women 1850-1920. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1985.

---, ed. A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Women. London: Methuen, 1980.

Vogt, Sally Peters. "Ann and Superman: Type and Archetype" in Fabian Feminist, ed. Rodelle Weintraub, 46-65.

Walkowitz, Judith R. Prostitution and Victorian Society. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1980.

Watson, Barbara Bellow. A Shavian Guide to the Intelligent Woman.New York: Norton, 1964.

Weintraub, Rodelle, ed. Fabian Feminist: Bernard Shaw and Women. University Park: Penn State UP, 1977.

---. "Votes for Women: Bernard Shaw and the Women's Suffrage Movement." in Barfoot, C.C. and Rias van den Doel, eds. Ritual Remembering: History, Myth and Politics in Anglo-Irish Drama: The Literature of Politics, The Politics of Literature. Proceedings of the Leiden IASAIL Conference, Vol. 2. London: Costerus New Series 99.

Weintraub, Stanley. Journey to Heartbreak: The Crucible Years, 1914-1918. New York: Weybright and Talley, 1971.

---, ed. Saint Joan: Fifty Years After (1923/24-1973/74). Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1973.

---, ed. Shaw: An Autobiography, 1856-1898. New York: Weybright and Talley, 1969.

---. The Unexpected Shaw: Biographical Approaches to G.B.S. and His Work. New York: Ungar, 1982.

Wells, H.G. Ann Veronica: A Modern Love Story. New York: Harper, 1909.

West, Alick. George Bernard Shaw: "A Good Man Fallen Among Fabians". London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1950.

Whitman, Robert F. Shaw and the Play of Ideas. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1977.

Williamson, Audrey. Bernard Shaw: Man and Writer. New York/ London: Crowell, 1963.

Williams, Raymond. Drama from Ibsen to Brecht. London: Hogarth, 1987.

Wilson, Colin. Bernard Shaw: A Reassessment. London: Macmillan, 1981.

Wisenthal, J.L. The Marriage of Contraries: The Middle Plays of G.B.S. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1974.

---. Shaw and Ibsen: Bernard Shaw's "The Quintessence of Ibsenism" and Related Writings. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1979.

---. Shaw's Sense of History. Oxford: Clarendon, 1988.

Wollstonecraft, Mary. A Vindication of the Rights of Women. 1792. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995.

Woodfield, James. Irish Theatre in Transition 1881-1914. London: Croom Helm, 1984.

Young, G.M. Victorian England: Portrait of an Age. London: Oxford UP, 1960.

Zimbardo, Rose, ed. Twentieth Century Interpretations of "Major Barbara". Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1970.