

**Bernard Shaw, Theatre, and Pedagogy:  
A Backward Glance into the Future**

Michael M. O'Hara

The third annual Kirkham Lecture presented to  
The Friends of the Alexander M. Bracken Library

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## INTRODUCTION

On April 2, 2003, the Friends of the Alexander M. Bracken Library gathered at the Ball State Alumni Center for their annual meeting. Dr. Michael M. O'Hara, Assistant Professor of Theatre and Dance at Ball State, delivered the third annual Kirkham Lecture. He presented a talk and multi-media presentation on "Bernard Shaw, Theatre, and Pedagogy: A Backward Glance into the Future."

Dr. O'Hara joined the Ball State faculty in 1997. Previously, he held positions at the University of Maryland - College Park and Mary Washington College. He earned his Ph.D. in Theatre History, Theory, and Criticism from the University of Maryland. Among his many honors and awards, Dr. O'Hara received the Outstanding Junior Faculty Award in 2002, the Lawhead Teaching Award in University Core Curriculum, University College, in 2001, and the University Excellence in Teaching Award in 1999. He was a Virginia B. Ball Center for Creative Inquiry Fellow in 2002. In addition to serving as faculty advisor of student directors and working with a wide variety of students on a volunteer basis, Dr. O'Hara has directed plays at the Muncie Civic Theatre and the University Theatre. He recently received an iComm/Center for Media Design grant for "From Project to Classroom: Developing Creative Teaching Tools and Technologies for Acting and Theatre."

I am pleased to provide the friends who were unable to attend the annual meeting the opportunity to enjoy Dr. O'Hara's remarks through this publication. Due to the "advanced technological" nature of the second half of the presentation, we are not able to reproduce it in print form. However, it is available with the complete text of the talk on the Friends' Web site at [www.bsu.edu/library/thelibraries/friends/fambl.html](http://www.bsu.edu/library/thelibraries/friends/fambl.html). I encourage you to visit the site to see Dr. O'Hara's presentation in its entirety.

John B. Straw  
Executive Secretary

**Bernard Shaw, Theatre, and Pedagogy:  
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**By Dr. Michael M. O'Hara**

First, thank you for inviting me to speak and allowing me to share with you some of the passions that occupy my time and energies. Second, I'd like to thank the Provost for her support of me and my department, for much of what I am about to share with you would have been impossible for me to develop without such assistance and support. Third, I plan to tease you a bit, as I will be brief and then leave. I am co-producing COMPANY at Muncie Civic Theatre and it opens Friday night. I hope that I will see you all there because proceeds from all single ticket sales will go to our department's Foundation account to support student scholarships.

Since 1988, much of my scholarly attention has been focused on George Bernard Shaw and the Federal Theatre Project of the 1930s. Since I arrived here at BSU in 1997, I have developed a significant interest in technology and pedagogy. What I hope to show you tonight is that not only are the two areas related, but also that GBS might have approved of my efforts, even though he had few good things to say about universities in general and academics in particular. That is another talk, however.

While GBS is fairly well known to most adults, the Federal Theatre Project is not. During the Great Depression of the 1930s, President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed Hallie Flanagan, a little known professor of drama at Vassar College, to direct the Federal Theatre Project (FTP), which became one of the largest theatrical enterprises the world has ever not remembered.<sup>1</sup> The FTP was, and remains, the only national theatre effort ever supported by the U.S. government. If you saw the movie "Cradle Will Rock" a few years back, then you'll remember that the FTP made some members of Congress uncomfortable.

For example, Harry Hopkins, the head of the Works Progress Administration (WPA), championed the uncomfortable idea of work-relief, rather than the dole, and more uncomfortable still, "that workers in the arts—painters, musicians, writers, actors, and other artists—were as deserving of support as workers with other skills."<sup>2</sup> The Federal Arts Projects, or Federal No. 1, as the Arts Projects were known were funded by less than one percent of the five billion dollars allocated over the life of the WPA.<sup>3</sup>

The FTP produced several plays by Bernard Shaw, one of the most prolific and controversial playwrights of the modern era. Shaw has been variously called brilliant, kind, flippant, impudent, abrasive, and insightful; he has also been hailed as a genius, and condemned as a lunatic. He's my hero.<sup>4</sup>

So is Hallie Flanagan! And for the past sixty years, scholars have studied the cultural, social, economic, political, and artistic forces that surrounded her FTP and the forces that created, sustained, and subse-

quently destroyed it. My task, however, has been to reconstruct and analyze the special relationship between Bernard Shaw and the FTP.

I attempted to answer such questions as: Which plays by Shaw did the FTP produce and why? How did they produce the plays? How were these productions received by their various audiences (public, political, critical, and internal)? And, what were the results of the productions? The data—found in both the Library of Congress and the National Archives and Records Administration—included production posters, playbills, play scripts, prompt books, photographs, design plates and sketches, light plots, costume and set designs, technical plans, casting memos and reports, personal files of many administrators within the Project, and production reports filed with the national office.<sup>5</sup>

Shaw and the Federal Theatre were a good fit for several reasons. Flanagan intended that the FTP would be more than a relief program; she hoped that it would become a broadly based, non-commercial, uniquely American expression of culture,<sup>6</sup> that was “national in scope, regional in emphasis, and democratic in allowing each local unit freedom.”<sup>7</sup> The FTP not only provided relief work but also performed before one-third of the nation before Congress ended its funding in 1939. At its peak, the it employed “over 12,000 persons” who were “working in 158 theatres in twenty-eight states, and playing to a combined weekly audience of a half-million.”<sup>8</sup> It was America's largest single producer of theatre.<sup>9</sup>

One of the first, and most persistent, problems Flanagan faced was to find “such plays as the government can stand proudly behind,”<sup>10</sup> plays that were “worthy of [the] audience . . . [and had] some vital connection with their own lives and their own immediate problems.”<sup>11</sup> Such plays were either hard to find or demanded royalties too high for government rules; therefore, Flanagan found herself in a never-ending search for plays.<sup>12</sup> The vast majority of all productions ever done (over 60%) were free performances of circus, vaudeville, and children’s productions.<sup>13</sup> Even among the plays the FTP did produce, ones that were socially or artistically significant were relatively rare.<sup>14</sup>

In late 1935, the FTP made its first attempt to secure a play by Shaw for production, but the Theatre Guild, Shaw's American agents, objected to WPA guidelines for royalty payments—seven copies, typed, and paid only after being called for and signed for, in person.<sup>15</sup> The Guild complained that

you make it so hard to secure payment, we prefer not to have you do the plays. We therefore cancel the permission we gave you to produce R.U.R. and we will not lease any of our plays to the W.P.A. in the future.<sup>16</sup>

Thus apparently ended a major source of quality plays for the FTP to produce.

The 1930s, oddly enough like today, was a time not only of economic turmoil but also of international belligerence. Benito Mussolini invaded Ethiopia; Adolf Hitler moved troops into the Rhineland, and Francisco Franco, assisted by these fascist allies, embroiled Spain in a civil war; and the Japanese bombed an American

gunboat. Congress, prompted by the growing threat of war, passed a series of neutrality acts in 1935, 1936, and 1937 and even proposed a constitutional amendment requiring a national referendum before war could be declared. Nothing, however, pacified the country's fears.<sup>17</sup>

Conservatives feared Roosevelt was creating a socialist state with little regard for traditional American values, liberals feared Roosevelt intended to institute a corporate state in command of a capitalist/fascist economy, and nearly everyone feared a new war in Europe.<sup>18</sup> Passions blazed on both sides, and Flanagan hoped that the FTP would find and produce important plays that could contribute to the national dialogue.

Flanagan and her advisors agreed, "the matter of new plays is a very serious problem," but they could not agree on a solution.<sup>19</sup> Flanagan shared her despair with Irwin Rubinstein, the FTP's legal counsel, and they came up with a novel idea. Perhaps authors might be willing to meet the FTP's price restrictions if substantial royalties could be promised through multiple performances of a single play. But which authors would be best, she wondered. Rubinstein suggested Shaw and O'Neill, and Flanagan responded, "Let's do it."<sup>20</sup>

Hiram Motherwell, head of the Play Policy Board, therefore contacted the Theatre Guild a second time. The Guild responded that they "didn't think Mr. Shaw would want to give a blanket release for all of his plays."<sup>21</sup> They were against such a release because they wanted to produce several new titles themselves.<sup>22</sup> But the Guild, perhaps mindful of previous experiences with the government's paperwork, simply forwarded all the correspondence to Shaw.<sup>23</sup>

Shaw responded enthusiastically informing Motherwell that if the FTP could meet his conditions of a maximum ticket price of fifty cents and continued power to "suspend a play for a few months . . . I am quite prepared to let Broadway go hang."<sup>24</sup> The only obstacles Shaw foresaw to a total blanket release was "the possibility of my plays being filmed; but I presume you are up against that with plays all the time."<sup>25</sup> We will return to Shaw's mention of movies in a moment, but let's continue with the FTP.

Flanagan bravely invited Shaw to America to see his plays performed by "your kind of theatre."<sup>26</sup> She warned him, however, that the FTP was not the best and brightest actors "touched with the divine fire of Congress and appointed to produce great plays in a magnificent theatre."<sup>27</sup> She also asked Shaw about his feelings towards Negro, Yiddish, and Spanish actors, assuring him that "only groups where we have a high degree of skill in action and direction" would be allowed to stage his plays.<sup>28</sup>

Shaw must have understood her fears because he told Flanagan "to start with, put clean out of your head all the silly legends that the American newspapers keep repeating about me, and regard me, if you possibly can, as a fellow creature."<sup>29</sup> He further told Flanagan that

it is quite useless to hope that you will find groups with a high degree of skill in acting and direction everywhere. You may not be able to find them anywhere. The plays will be murdered more or less barbarically all the time. That happens on Broadway too; and you must take what you can get . . . just as if you were a fashionable manager. So far from avoiding negro casts you will be lucky if you can

get them; for negroes act with a delicacy and sweetness that make white actors look like a gang of roughnecks in comparison.<sup>30</sup>

Shaw warned, however, “if Government ways are not my ways, the Government must mend its ways.”<sup>31</sup> In the great battle between art and bureaucracy, Shaw won.<sup>32</sup>

Shaw's generosity was hailed as “one of the most important steps yet taken in our effort to create a peoples’ theatre for America.”<sup>33</sup> One wonders if the former Fabian radical took any perverse pleasure in being named a vital factor in the efforts of a foreign country to establish their own national theatre.<sup>34</sup> In fact, news of Shaw’s faith in the project could not have come at a better time. The FTP had been shaken by “a combination of censorship and financial [cuts].”<sup>35</sup> Shaw’s announcement was a welcome distraction from recent setbacks.<sup>36</sup> Everyone in the project wanted to do a Shaw play.<sup>37</sup>

The FTP thus had stumbled into a relationship with the world’s most famous living playwright and had acquired the rights to nearly fifty dramatic works some of which were among the most significant and powerful plays in modern theatre. Moreover, Shaw’s shrewd idea apparently prompted other playwrights, most notably Eugene O’Neill, to agree to similar releases of their plays.<sup>38</sup> The problem of finding good scripts was solved. They even had an anecdote about the relative status of Shaw or O’Neill as the world’s most famous playwright. In one press release, the story of Shaw’s 1933 trip around the world is told wherein an indignant Shaw, having been denied access to a restricted area of the ship, exclaimed to the offending sailor “Do you know that you are talking to the world’s greatest playwright?” “Oh,” replied the man, “I beg pardon, you may remain here, Mr. O’Neill.”<sup>39</sup> The publicity benefited both men.

Flanagan’s success with Shaw and O’Neill prompted the New York Daily News to name her “the biggest boss of show business the world has ever known.”<sup>40</sup> Recognizing the importance of both authors, Flanagan directed every project in the FTP “to do at least one O’Neill play and one Shaw play in [the] next season.”<sup>41</sup> Once having secured these extraordinary agreements, Flanagan exhorted her staff to “give as much time as possible to these productions” because “the excellence of these productions will have an important bearing on plays available for . . . next year.”<sup>42</sup> To make a long story shorter, the FTP produced nine titles by Shaw in cities across the US. I’ll get to one of those in particular, in a moment. Let me first finish with the story of the FTP.

By spring 1939, the FTP was constantly maligned on the floor of Congress, and Flanagan herself had been called to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC).<sup>43</sup> In fact, one of Shaw’s plays performed by the FTP, On the Rocks, was cited before HUAC as evidence of un-Americanism. For some in Congress, Shaw’s international stature could not overcome his controversial politics. But Shaw’s decision gave the FTP access to a large body of socially and artistically significant plays at a price they could afford, and provided them with plenty of positive press coverage.

Taken together, the FTP's productions of Shaw's Great Catherine, Man of Destiny, Captain Brassbound's Conversion, Caesar and Cleopatra, and The Devil's Disciple, might suggest that the relationship between Shaw and the FTP yielded little in the way of Flanagan's hope for socially aware, vital, national theatre. The best that could be said of these productions was an occasional box office success and the luster of having performed, sometimes adequately, one of the world's most distinguished living playwrights. But the several successful productions of Androcles and the Lion, the sold-out Pygmalion on Broadway, and the American premiere of On The Rocks contradicts those scholars who argue that in the period following 1937, the FTP's efforts were marked by "nervousness, cowardice, and finally collapse."<sup>44</sup>

The FTP did not produce Shaw's plays with uniform success, nor did the FTP produce them as often or in as many locations as they had originally planned. With a few notable exceptions, Shaw's plays were produced, directed, and acted by the FTP as traditional romantic comedies using traditional sets, costumes, and techniques. In several instances, even the traditional techniques were employed incompetently. Shaw's warning to Flanagan that she would be hard pressed to find good actors was, unfortunately, prophetic.

On the other hand, productions of Shaw's plays that were both significant and critically successful share several traits in common. First, their productions of Shaw's Arms and the Man, Androcles and the Lion, and On the Rocks created meaningful connections with various forces and contexts that constituted the 1930s. Second, the productions used theatrical tools (props, scenery, costumes, etc.) actively to confront both the script's message and their own political and social contexts. Third, the directors of these productions understood that they were doing Shavian drama, rather than a stock play, and devoted the necessary time and energy to communicate the demands of Shavian drama to their casts. Let me give you one example.

Remember that I said I would return to Shaw's mention of movies? Shaw was unique among early modern playwrights in that he not only understood the profound effects that movies were having on drama, he actually embraced them. He wrote all the screenplays himself, and the differences between the original stage scripts and the film scripts suggest that Shaw was as smart as he said he was. My point is that Shaw, unlike the history of my discipline, embraced and exploited new technologies as they arose. So, I'm going to show you not only one of the Shavian titles produced by the FTP, I'm going to show you how I use technology in my teaching.

I teach the large section (200+) of Introduction to Theatre, and I include my own research into how I highlight both the centrality of performance in the understanding of theatrical arts and how technology can enhance learning. What follows is the actual Powerpoint lesson that I use to help my students understand how costumes and sets can change the meaning of a script, in this case Bernard Shaw's *Androcles and the Lion* as produced by several different units of the Federal Theatre Project.

**[To see the Powerpoint presentation that concluded this talk, select O'Hara Powerpoint Presentation on previous page.]**

Thank you for your time and interest, and it has been my pleasure speaking with you.

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<sup>1</sup> John O'Connor and Lorraine Brown, eds., Free, Adult, Uncensored: The Living History of the Federal Theatre Project (Washington, DC: New Republic Books, 1978), 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ix.

<sup>4</sup> For a more thorough study of the life and art of George Bernard Shaw see Michael Holroyd, Bernard Shaw: The Search for Love, vol. I (New York: Random House, 1988); Michael Holroyd, Bernard Shaw: The Pursuit of Power, vol. II (New York: Random House, 1990); Michael Holroyd, Bernard Shaw: The Lure of Fantasy, vol. III (New York: Random House, 1991); Margery Morgan, The Shavian Playground: An Exploration of the Art of George Bernard Shaw (London: Methuen & Co., 1972); and Martin Meisel, Shaw and the 19th Century Theatre (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963).

<sup>5</sup> The materials stored at George Mason University were recalled by the Library of Congress in 1993 and became available in December 1994 in the Library of Congress' own special collections and archives division.

<sup>6</sup> Hallie Flanagan, Arena (New York: Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1940), 20.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

<sup>8</sup> Tony Buttitta and Barry Witham, Uncle Sam Presents: A Memoir of Federal Theatre, 1935-1939 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1982), 73.

<sup>9</sup> Flanagan, both publicly and privately, pushed for acceptance of the FTP as a prototype for an American National Theatre on numerous occasions. See Hallie Flanagan, Federal Theatre, 24 March 1939, typed copy of radio transcript in British Broadcast, B 3, RG 69; Hallie Flanagan, Talk at the Meeting of Regional Staff, 19 August 1937, typed copy of speech in Flanagan - Speeches #1, B 9, RG 69; Hallie Flanagan, Papa's Got a Job, typed ms. in Flanagan - Article for Virginia Quarterly, November 1938, B 10, RG 69; Hallie Flanagan, Farewell Address to the Members of the Federal Summer Theatre, 31 July 1937, typed ms in Fed. Theatre - Summer 1937 #4, B 9, RG 69; and Education Aspects of the Federal Theatre Project, September 1937, typed original in Educational Aspects of the FTP, B 163, RG 69.

<sup>10</sup> Flanagan, Arena, 45.

<sup>11</sup> Hallie Flanagan, "The People's Theatre Grows Stronger," Federal Theatre, I (May 1936), 6.

<sup>12</sup> Flanagan, Arena, 29ff; Joanne Bentley, Hallie Flanagan: A Life in the American Theatre (New York: Knopf, 1988), 255.

<sup>13</sup> See Hallie Flanagan, Summary of Federal Theatre Activities to September 1938, report to Harry Hopkins, typed copy in Administrative Records, FTP Collection); and Hallie Flanagan, "These Are The People," New Republic, 18 October 1939, 294.

<sup>14</sup> See Loren Kruger, The National Stage: Theatre and Cultural Legitimization in England, France, and America (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 137; Flanagan, Arena, 361, 377ff; and Mathews, Federal Theatre, 300ff. Mathews, one of the FTP's most supportive historians, cites only a handful of plays as critically and artistically significant.

<sup>15</sup> R. Tonge to Warren Munsell, 10 June 1936, typed copy in Great Catherine, B 492, RG 69.

<sup>16</sup> Warren Munsell to a R. Tonge, 11 June 1936, typed copy in Great Catherine, B 492, RG 69.

<sup>17</sup> For a more detailed analysis of world events and American reaction see Robert A. Divine, The Reluctant Belligerent: American Entry into World War II (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1965); Robert A. Divine, ed. Causes and Consequences of World War II (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969); Lawrence S. Wittner, Rebels Against the War: The American Peace Movement, 1941-1960 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969); Wayne S. Cole, Charles A. Lindbergh and the Battle Against American Intervention in World War II (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974); and Patrick J. Hearden, Roosevelt Confronts Hitler: American's Entry into World War II (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1987).

<sup>18</sup> Richard H. Pells, Radical Visions and American Dreams: Culture and Social Thought in the Depression Years (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), 84-5.

<sup>19</sup> Play Policy Board - Conference 3/23/1937, 23 March 1937, typed minutes in Play Policy Board, B 188, RG 69, 31.

<sup>20</sup> Bentley, Flanagan, 254.

<sup>21</sup> Warren Munsell to Hiram Motherwell, 1 April 1937, typed copy in Shaw, George Bernard, B 494, RG 69.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Warren Munsell to Hiram Motherwell, 6 April 1937, typed copy in Shaw, George B., B 494, RG 69. This information expands and clarifies my published account of Motherwell's actions concerning early correspondence with Shaw. See O'Hara, "On The Rocks and Federal Theatre Project," Shaw 12 (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 80.

<sup>24</sup> Bernard Shaw to Hiram Motherwell 16 April 1937, typed copy in Shaw, George B., B 503, RG 69.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Flanagan to Shaw, 7 May 1937.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Bernard Shaw to Hallie Flanagan, 22 May 1937, typed copy in Shaw, George, B., B 503, RG 69.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Charles Brinkerhoff, to Hallie Flanagan, 8 June 1937, typed original in Shaw, George, B., B 503, RG 69.

<sup>33</sup> Hiram Motherwell to Bernard Shaw, 25 May 1937, typed copy in Shaw, George, B., B 503, RG 69.

<sup>34</sup> The Fabians had ceased to be a major factor in English politics by the 1930s but had, in their day, championed Irish Home Rule, sought to end "the Imperialism of Capitalism and vainglorious Nationalism," and tried to meddle exclusively in internal affairs developing solutions and ideas "uniquely suited to British conditions." See Michael Holroyd, Bernard Shaw: The Pursuit of Power, vol. 2 (New York: Random House, 1990), 39ff; and Gareth Griffith, Socialism and Superior Brains: The Political Thought of Bernard Shaw (New York: Routledge, 1993), 45.

<sup>35</sup> Jay Williams, Stage Left (New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1974), 241.

<sup>36</sup> A thirty percent reduction in funding hit the FTP particularly hard in the spring of 1937, and directives from a nervous administration in Washington had forced the controversial The Cradle Will Rock to be canceled. The talented John Houseman and Orson Wells, as well as the entire cast, left the project and produced the play independently, much to the sorrow of Hallie Flanagan who had thought the work important. For her, the show's cancellation "marked a changing point of view in Washington [that was] disastrous to the project." See Flanagan, Arena, 203.

<sup>37</sup> The information on play selection for Shavian plays was assembled from the following letters and files: George Gerwing to J. Howard Miller, 17 July 1937, typed original in Regional File - J. Howard Miller, B 23, RG 69; Proposals for Examination #1, B 21, RG 69; Production Schedule [all regions, 17 files], B 221, RG 69; Proposals for Examination #2, B 23, RG 69; WPA - National Office Reports, 1937, B 29, RG 69; Articles - Hallie Flanagan #2, B 2, RG 69; Lavery, Emmet - Director, Play Dept. #4, B 36, RG 69; Lentz, Josef - Asst. Director, WPA Region 3, B 36, RG 69; Miller, J. Howard #2, B 37, RG 69; Rubenstein, Irwin #2, B 39, RG 69; Stahl, William - Region I, B 40, RG 69; Hallie Flanagan - NYC Corr. - June - Dec., 1937 #1, B 41, RG 69; E.E. McCleish - Daily File - May 1937 #1, B 47 RG 69; FL - Project Proposals #1, B 62, RG 69; IL - Peoria, B 74, RG 69; Michigan, B 75, RG 69; NY - Roslyn, Long Island, B 77, RG 69; Regional - IN, KY, MI, OH, WV, B 788, RG 69; Regions I & II - 1937, B 99, RG 69; Approved Plays, B 161, RG 69; Daily File, Sept. 1-16, 1937, B 184, RG 69; Play Bureau Reports April - September 1937, B 192, RG 69; Miscellaneous, B 493, RG 69; and Play, book, and magazine file, B 40-3, FTP Collection.

<sup>38</sup> O'Neill apparently released his plays to Federal Theatre within a week of news of Shaw's offer, although the FTP had been seeking access to his works since the project began. See Hiram Motherwell to John McGee 11 January 1937, typed copy in Motherwell, Hiram #2, B 493, RG 69. Although no direct link between the news of Shaw's release and O'Neill's subsequent agreement was noted by either the FTP or O'Neill, it seems likely that O'Neill was influenced by Shaw's offer, given the huge press reaction to Shaw. See Flanagan, Arena, 192ff. Elmer Rice and Maxwell Anderson released their plays to the FTP in late 1937. See Emmet Lavery to Irwin Rubenstein, 6 December 1937, typed copy in Lavery, Emmet Director National Service Bureau, File #1, B 36, RG 69; and Theatre Notes - World Telegram, 17 December 1937, reprint typed copy in Digests of Press Stories - December 1937, B 115, RG 69.

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<sup>39</sup> See Press Release, 18 November 1938, typed copy in NYC Press Releases - November 1938, B 111, RG 69.

<sup>40</sup> Quoted in Bentley, Flanagan, 255.

<sup>41</sup> Scott McLean to J. Howard Miller, 12 July 1937, typed original in Regional File - J. Howard Miller, B 23, RG 69.

<sup>42</sup> Hallie Flanagan to George Gerwing, 9 October 1937, typed copy in Gerwing, George, B 34, RG 69.

<sup>43</sup> For a more thorough examination of Flanagan's experiences before the HUAC see Walter Goodman, The Committee; the Extraordinary Career of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1968).

<sup>44</sup> Jay Williams, Stage Left (New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1974), 241.