Voice and Personality

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Preface

It is perhaps fitting that a word of explanation should be offered for this book. Attempting to describe and treat problems suggested by the vocal expression of personality, it may increase or awaken in some readers an interest in the human voice, a subject which is becoming of more practical importance every day.

I can scarcely remember when my own scientific interest in voices began. I suspect that a naïve æsthetic interest existed beforehand. I had lived among the vocal sounds of East Anglia, London, Germany and Lancashire (a variegated bouquet) before broadcasting, suddenly presenting the voice and nothing besides, offered an ever-lengthening string of fascinating problems to the psychologist. Upon these foundations were added the experiences of a short visit to America and some to the Continent. Now comes the talking film, with youthful effrontery carrying out its preliminary trials in public and thus interesting the psychologist twice over—because of its experiments, and because it has persuaded audiences to pay for them.

To the many friends who have so readily and charmingly helped me to dig a few furrows I express my warm thanks. Mr. A. P. M. Fleming, of the Metropolitan-Vickers Works, first introduced me, theoretically and practically, to broadcasting. Mr. E. G. D. Liveing, North Regional Director of the British Broadcasting Corporation, has placed me in his debt both by valuable co-operation in the experiment described in Chapter XIII, and by reading the typescript and making some gladly-accepted suggestions. The late Mr. Walter G. Fuller, of the *Radio Times*, showed me great kindness. The B.B.C. generously provided help to deal with the vast number of results. Miss Hilda M. Rowney, Mr. J. B. Clarke and Miss Whyatt carried out this part of the work with great care, Mr. H. E. O. James contributed the statistical section on pp. 173–5.

Miss Madeline Kerr, of the Manchester psychological laboratory, co-operated with me in the experiment described in Chapter X. Miss B. Besso, Miss R. M. Goldthorpe and Miss P. P. Thornton very kindly read the proofs, and Miss Mary Oppenheimer and Mr. L. B. Yates prepared the typescript. The Editor of *The Observer* gave permission to use the material of an article. I thank them all sincerely, as well as the nine "voices" of pages 156–7 for their co-operation in this new venture.

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Introduction

To have written a certain type of book is satisfying, apart from any possibility of its being read by many. One believes that at least the experts will, or may, understand. The present book, however, has been written in the hope that some non-experts will understand it and with a foreboding that some experts will not.

By some specialists it will be adversely criticised because their terms are not employed—or worse, are used in other senses. Yet it is difficult to avoid blunting the edge of a borrowed tool. The use of the word "dialect" may cause some people to shudder. Yet, though I write in no spirit of revenge, psychologists do their share of shuddering when other people employ psychological terms. Only by using words tentatively in this search for knowledge could one progress at all.

Lest I be charged with ignorance of the shoals which await me on the present voyage, let me record here that to treat this subject properly would require detailed knowledge of the anatomy and physiology of speech, of the psychology and sociology of language, of the social, cultural and economic values of dialect, intonation and vocabulary in every country of the globe, of the physiology and psychology of the emotions, of acting in the last century and in this, of current conventional standards in schools of speech-training, of lecturing, of the present and future status of social castes, of the technique of the radio-talker and actor, of the sound-film actor, and of those persons who assess the commercial value, and often, therefore, the chances of survival, of these new developments. I am not blind to the complexity of the problems. Yet if experts in these branches of special knowledge will very kindly point out places where this book is wrong, they will remove stumbling-blocks from the path of a successor.

Voice and Personality

CHAPTER I

Why Voices are Important

It takes all sorts to make a world. So it is not surprising that while some hearers care little for the quality of the voices around them, others are delicately sensitive to these signs of personality. Between these extremes are many who never notice the qualities of an average voice, but fall in love with one, or more, and detest a few others.

The promise in this book's title will seem insignificant to those who care little about the articulate noises which they emit, and are uninterested in those made by their neighbours. Yet such people may be very sensitive to some expressions of personality; e.g. to the appearance of others as well as of themselves. Ten minutes in a New York subway train will demonstrate this truth to anyone with eyes and ears.

Many observers of human behaviour are convinced that the voice is a potent factor in expressing personality, perhaps especially in England. Speech being a delicate, subtle and powerful form of behaviour, the way in which a thing is said is often as important as the message. This is well known to clergymen, schoolmasters, sergeant-majors and animal-trainers. If all differences of dialect were suddenly abolished, the effects upon English society would be numerous and very significant.

Some of these tritenesses might have been inflicted on the reader at any time during the last fifty years. But at present there are obvious special reasons for an interest in voices. The rapid and secure establishment of broadcasting, the probability that the sound-film will outgrow its childish ailments, the immense improvement which electrical recording and reproduction will effect in the gramophone, the probable decrease in local differences of speech under the influence of these new inventions, the increased habits of travel, the

tendency towards a standard speech in some other countries; e.g. the " stage German " of Germany; the progressive habituation through wireless, of dwellers in remote English counties to " standard " English, and the declining interest of the present generation in purely local products, whether they be speech or anything else; all these facts, thrilling, mournful or exasperating as they are to different types of thinker, make it unnecessary to emphasise the important relation between voice and personality.

Yet how little is known about it! Much less than we know about the dependence of personal attractiveness upon the visual aspects of personality; a subject which, for the sake of comparison, we will consider for a moment.

Personal Beauty

It is common knowledge that at different times and in different places various standards of bodily beauty can be found. But if we consider taste here and now, it seems reasonable to assume that fair, curly hair, blue eyes, a pink and white skin (or the brunette type with the appropriate modifications), white, regular teeth and a medium-sized frame, covered neither too generously nor too sparsely, appeal to most persons.[1]

The stage and the cinema have made it possible to ascertain the popular types, though there is some foundation for the view that the public may be made to like many—not all—things that its masters desire.

Vocal Beauty

Are criteria of desirability as easy to establish for speaking voices? Judging by those which please, or at least seem not to offend, some people, it would appear harder to name attractive vocal characteristics. May it be that marks of sound health, youth and early maturity are fundamental factors in the likeable voice, as in the likeable face and body, while other aspects which attract or repel may depend for their effect upon experience, fashion or sophistication?

Literature helps us a little. Shakespeare writes of the voice:

> soft, gentle and low, an excellent thing in woman.

[1] cf. Knight Dunlap, *Personal Beauty and Racial Betterment*, London, 1928.

To many of us this description must seem beyond cavil. But we can scarcely presume to answer for millions of men who are attracted by female possessors of voices which demonstrably are not low, perhaps not even soft or gentle, if for a moment we may—unscientifically—mention these three factors together.

We might, if very naïve, seek help from the books which offer to tell us how to make our personality felt. But they seem to give little information about the means by which voices are consciously altered. Nevertheless the products of such training are often heard among us.

To ask only one question arising out of this, can we justifiably speak of an intelligent or a cultured voice? "Surely!" many will shout at us. Yet to what extent would a stay-at-home Englishman detect intelligence or culture in the voice of a Japanese?

Aristotle said, "I doubt everything." Let us, risking the enmity of our dearest friends, and, with special reluctance, of those who have charming voices, doubt our way through the next few chapters.

CHAPTER II

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF VOICES

Voice and Speech

A SPANISH lady who understood no English was once asked to listen to an English conversation, and to stop it when she heard a beautiful word. She chose "cellar-door." Quite fittingly. It could be spoken in sounds of haunting beauty; in tones of rich velvet.

The voice can be considered apart from speech. This can be demonstrated strikingly. Take a radio set, capable of receiving foreign stations, and turn the tuning dial slowly, listening on the headphones. At times you will hear a voice, with characteristics which you like or dislike, though it may be speaking an unfamiliar language, or, if the station is not tuned in distinctly, words which you cannot distinguish. Mr. Galsworthy has said that he thinks English would sound friendly, even if he did not understand it. Joseph Conrad chose English as his adopted language on hearing two sailors speak it in the darkness.

The Functions of Speech

Speech is, of course, many things at once; too many to be described in detail here. But, among others,[1] two important events happen when we speak. We try to communicate a meaning to another person, and thus to influence his behaviour, explicit or implicit, present or future. But also, we behave in a manner which is subtle, and typically, even exclusively, human. That language is a form of behaviour there is no need to emphasise. That language is very much more than this is obvious to many, but apparently not to all.

"We are taught," writes Professor Edward Sapir[2]—and one imagines a twinkle at the tip of the professorial pen, which

[1] cf. Grace de Laguna, *Speech*, Oxford, 1927.

[2] *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 23, 1926–7, pp. 892–905.

discreetly omits to record *who* teaches it—" that when a man speaks he says something which he wishes to communicate." Professor Sapir naturally goes on to remark that this is not necessarily true, that what a man actually communicates may be measurably different from what he started out to communicate. (This is not quite what was meant when it was said that speech was given us to conceal our thoughts.) It would be fair to say—at least one hopes so—that this is true of many public speakers. We often judge what a man is by what he does *not* say; reading between the lines, even if they are not written.

One is reminded here of that prince of English broadcasters, Mr. A. J. Alan. His scintillating silences, ushered in by that warning hesitation, followed by an auditory fading, tell one nearly as much as he means them to. And did not M. André Maurois write *The Silences of Colonel Bramble?*

Speech as an Expression of Personality

I have found few writings upon this subject. I am greatly indebted to the article by Professor Sapir, already mentioned, for help in writing the next pages. Here I will offer a commentary, with side-trackings—and perhaps false casts—of my own, suggested by it.

He distinguishes two ways of beginning the study of the relation between speech and personality. (I am paraphrasing and illustrating rather than quoting his remarks.)

(1) One may try to evaluate the individual in terms of the society which is " speaking through " him; to differentiate him from that society, and to estimate how far he is typical of, or deviates from it.

(2) One may study the different levels of speech, beginning at the lowest level, the voice, and proceeding to the formation of complete sentences.

Originality within any one social stratum is absolutely slight.

Any society has set ways of doing and saying things. An individual in it who appears original usually deviates only slightly from a set pattern. We are apt to notice any variation from the " nuclear pattern " of behaviour, for such signs have great importance in our eyes.

Consider, for example, the utility of accepted stereotyped phrases in the relationships between host and guests. How does a guest know when his host wishes actively to entertain him, or to leave him to his own resources? How can a guest tactfully suggest a change in his host's plans? Phrases like "I wonder if you would care to . . . ," "I suppose you wouldn't care to . . . ," "Would you think it very . . . ?" how typical they are of one stratum of society! How much—how little—do they vary in different languages for similar social layers? Only when we hear an unusual formula do we experience any sense of shock or originality, as, perhaps, did the staff officer in France when asked by an aviator, who had crashed in front of his window: "Would it interfere with your habits any if I left my gasoline kite on your lawn?"

We are so sensitive to individual variations from the general social pattern, that, as Professor Sapir points out, we may easily forget that there *is* a general social pattern by which deviations can be gauged. Only when we come to a country with speech-patterns very different from our own are we struck forcibly by the discrepancy. A Swedish friend told me that one of her guests, a highly cultured person who lived on a remote island, began a conversation, effectively but surprisingly, with: "You there, with the red hair!"

The Difficulty of Making an Absolute Psychological (as Distinct from a Socially Acceptable or Commercially Valuable) Scale

It appears, therefore, that:

> We cannot draw up an absolute psychological scale for voice, intonation, rhythm, speech or pronunciation of vowels or consonants, without ascertaining the social background of speech habits. It is the individual variation, not the objective behaviour as such, that matters (Sapir).

Since psychology does not set up standards, the above conclusion is indubitable. But the psychologist is deeply interested in the standards which other people set up, however lofty or debased, permanent or ephemeral. The interesting conflict of such standards is seen strikingly in the matter of dialect, to which we shall devote Chapter VI, or in discussing the artistic and commercial (or artistic-commercial) value of

certain ways of speaking, a subject which is important in connection with the talking film.

In this connection, Mr. C. B. Cochran wrote recently in the *Daily Express:* " We English should see that our accent and the melody and rhythms of our speech are not corrupted by imitations of popular vaudeville artists, arbitrary dons, or affected social leaders. . . . Our mother tongue is a magnificent heritage of sound as well as sense. I think its native beauty will prevail in spite of the onslaughts of Oxford and Broadway, Kensington and the Middle West."

The Analysis of Speech at its Different Levels

In theory, at least, we may try to study the voice apart from the speech of which it is the vehicle. If it is possible to consider the individual's inborn endowment out of its relation to society, we may attempt to do so here. Yet the voice is not a simple event, or set of them.[1] Here, as elsewhere, the influences of heredity and environment are difficult to separate.

Are There Types of Voice?

Judging from the readiness with which most people judge voices, one might assume that there would be well-known classifications into types. If so, they are hard to find. Voices are roughly labelled for certain practical purposes, as low or high, soft or strident. A physicist or physiologist might use such terms to refer to pitch, timbre, beats, tremolo or vibrato, i.e. to physical events ultimately measurable. Yet others employ these very precise terms in a derivative and vague way, to indicate (supposed) mental events. Compare, for example, the cool detachment with which Professor C. E. Seashore, of Iowa University, would discuss, and presumably hear, the vocal vibrato, with the apoplectic way in which writers to the newspapers refer to it, and, in doing so, regard as synonyms " tremolo," " wobble," or worse.

It is difficult to describe voices in any terminology yet officially blessed by science, and this is not the fault of the voices. Voices have effects not only directly upon hearing, but also, in a queer way, upon memories from the other senses, or even perhaps upon the other senses themselves. To some

[1] cf. F. W. Mott, *The Brain and the Voice in Speech and Song.*

minds, certain experiences of hearing suggest colours, shapes, smells, tastes or touches. If the reader will allow a brief lapse into autobiography, one reason which impelled me to study psychology was that Dr. C. S. Myers's lectures threw light upon my very slight, occasional and simple form of "coloured hearing." The strings in the Prelude to Act III of *Lohengrin* have sometimes produced a vivid and beautiful mental image of a light green silk curtain, the folds of which, moved by an unseen wind,[1] shimmered in the rhythm of the music.

Such experiences are called *synæsthesia*. It will be discussed further on pages 53 and 123.[2] Auditory experiences which suggest colour or shape, smell or touch, are regarded as natural by those to whom they are vouchsafed, and condemned or disbelieved in by most other people.

The Colour, Form and "Feel" of Voices

It may be that the softness of one voice is felt rather than heard, that stridency, attributed to another, results from a muscular tendency to shrink away and "hold oneself together." When some persons hear a rich or velvety, fine-grained, or *passé* voice, they may think of the colour, taste and "feel" of a good Burgundy, of the dark, satisfying wood of a certain panel, of the pathetic look and touch of plush with the nap worn off, witness of better days. So the seats in the Viennese café of Noel Coward's play *Bitter Sweet* remind me of some voices.

"Intelligent" Voices

Again, we attribute to some voices characteristics which we know or believe their possessors to show in their general behaviour. So we talk of an intelligent, a masterly, a kind or a refined voice. Possibly these signs of personality are shown in the voice, but we must treat this complex problem in Chapter XIII.

[1] I found I had unthinkingly written this phrase. Synæsthetic readers will understand.

[2] cf. A. Argelander, *Das Farbenhören und der synästhetische Faktor der Wahrnehmung*, Jena, 1927. G. Anschütz, *Das Farbe-Ton-Problem in psychischen Gesamtbereich*, Halle, 1929. J. F. Downey, *Creative Imagination*, London, 1929, pp. 7, 93f. T. H. Pear, *Remembering and Forgetting*, London, 1922, Chap. X.

The Voice as a Form of Gesture

It is clear that sometimes the characteristics of the voice are used consciously—more often unconsciously, perhaps—as a form of gesture. If someone refuses or delays to perform a duty, he may be ordered to do so in a tone which is as effective as a whip. The conscious use of the voice for purposes of blandishment needs no more than mention. We must not forget, too, that we usually see a person when he speaks, fusing in our perception the look of his face, more particularly, perhaps, of his mouth and eyes, with the sound of his voice.

The Modification of Voices by Society

The modification of the voice under social influences is an important and inevitable happening. Since it has been shown that birds may modify their voices considerably [1] in this way, such a change may be regarded as initiated by an instinctive tendency. Yet one reason why English parents stint themselves to send their children to some public schools is the belief that in England (as contrasted, perhaps, with some other countries) the modern secondary school's accent has a low social and financial value.[2]

A tendency which seems to vary greatly in different localities is consciously to modify the voice or speech as a result of the criticism of others, or of hearing speech which is alleged to be superior to one's own. Natives of some parts of a country seem to be more sturdily tenacious than others, of their ways of speech. How far, under modern standardising influences, this conservatism in speech will go the same way as the older conservatism in local dress will be discussed in Chapter VI.

Social Backgrounds of Voice and Gesture

As Professor Sapir writes:

> There is always something about the voice that must be ascribed to the social background precisely as in the case of gesture. Gestures are not simple and individual, they are largely peculiar to this or that society. If we do not

[1] Conradi. *American Journal of Psychology*, 1905, *XVI*, 157.

[2] cf. the way in which Harz mountain canaries are taught to sing. Also C. Norwood, *The English Tradition of Education*, p. 31.

remember this we may make a serious error of judgment. A man has a strained or raucous voice, let us say, and we might infer that he is basically coarse-grained. This might be wrong if he lives in an out-of-doors society which swears and handles its voice roughly. He may have had a very soft voice to begin with, symptomatic of a delicate psychic organisation which gradually hardens under the influence of social suggestion. The personality which we are trying to disentangle lies hidden under its overt manifestation.

This influence of the social background must be separated from the purely individual characteristics of the voice due to " the natural formation of the larynx, peculiarities of breathing, and to a thousand and one factors that the anatomist and the physiologist may be able to define for us. Whether a personality is expressed as adequately in the voice as in gesture or carriage we do not know. Perhaps more adequately. But the nervous processes that control voice-production must share in the nervous organisation that conditions the personality."

In theory, perhaps, we might " uncover the primary voice-structure by hacking away the various superimposed structures, social and individual." We might try to get back to the nuclear voice; to what it would have been without its specific social development. In practice, one occasionally sees a " new " voice-structure acquired or removed. Recently I noticed a child who, away from family influence for only a week, had strengthened certain dialect-vowels to a surprising degree. And in Oliver Onions's *Mushroom Town*, an accident to a child on a seaside beach instantaneously restores to many sympathetic motherly bodies the accents of their native places.

Analysis of the Voice as a Physical Instrument

The analysis of the voice itself, from the standpoint of physics and physiology rather than that of psychology, has been attempted with some success. It seems wise, however, to discuss this subject separately.

The Dynamics of the Voice

The next level of speech distinguished by Sapir is that of voice dynamics. This is the study of the voice proper, intertwined with many variations of behaviour, which supply its dynamic quality. Clearly a prominent aspect of this subject is intonation.

Intonation

For students of linguistics and of psychology, modern work upon intonation must be fascinating. Like most people of my age, I suppose, I was told in my schooldays that, while English ignorance of other languages was a scandal, the educated inhabitants of Germany and Switzerland spoke English perfectly. I may have been hard to please, or unfortunate in this respect, but of the cultured Germans amongst whom I lived for a fairly long time, I met only one whose English could have been called perfect. Its perfection was unhappily that of a wax doll in a tailor's window.

Of late years, more attention has been paid by some teachers of language to the fact that the relative intensity and length of the sounds in a sentence, the " placing " of the rise and fall of the voice, the cadence and the rhythm of the phrase constitute a pattern [1] which must be acquired by anyone who wishes to speak a language like a native.

Ask a French teacher of English to speak French as an Englishman does, and this will be amusingly evident.

In the early days of broadcasting, a successful radio-lecturer told me that, to avoid an English habit of exploding upon, or " booming " important words, he used to pretend that he was speaking French on the telephone. The Welshman's intonation when speaking English seems hard to eradicate, if I may judge from my few Welsh friends who have achieved even moderate success at the task.

To those acquainted with modern writings upon phonetics, the above lines may seem axiomatic. Yet if one may trust one's ears, the importance of intonation in learning foreign languages does not seem to be generally grasped. Use of the gramophone and the wireless in teaching foreign languages will

[1] *Gestalt*, as some German psychologists call it. cf. W. Köhler, *Gestalt Psychology*, London, 1930.

greatly accelerate this recognition. Possibly, if the anxiety of talking-film actors to learn intonation leads to increased and improved efforts on the part of teachers, this may become a matter of intensive study.

Sensitivity to Voices

Intimately related to our problems is the fact that different persons, although their social, educational and æsthetic " background " may be comparable, possess various degrees of sensitivity to voices. There may even be national differences in this respect. How far such differences may be due to inherited delicacy of discriminative apparatus in the ear and brain and how far to musical, or other, education, is an unsolved question. Sensitivity to one's own voice must be a still more complex affair. What would have happened if Narcissus had possessed Echo's voice? The gift to hear ourselves as others hear us seems to be possessed by few people at present.

Why are we insensitive? Adaptation, which dulls our sense, which allows us to get used to yellow spectacles in the Alps, to the smells of France, to the hideous racket of Manchester—why should New York always be the scapegoat?—may de-sensitise us to vocal differences. Yet that many are psychically deaf to such matters is indisputable. I have seen learned people thrilled when they realised that spoken English and written English have different structures. The " radio talk " which reads well in the *Listener* was usually not a real talk. There are persons who can imagine how their talk ought to sound, and write those words down. But—we are supposing the talk to be a serious one—while " loose " [1] sentences would *sound* quite natural and right, they would *read* as too conversational, even too flippant. To ask a talker to write down what he is going to say a week hence, in the way in which he is going to say it, is not demanding the impossible. It is like asking a runner to walk on his hands. He may be able to do it through some accident of early education. But until hand-walking becomes an important part of the programme at the Olympic Games we cannot expect it to be extensively developed.

[1] The word is used in its technical sense, as opposed to " periodic." cf. Sir John Adams, *The Students' Guide*, London, 1925, p. 226.

Levels of Intonation

Let us now discuss the possibility of treating intonation scientifically. Professor Sapir suggests that the complex patterns of behaviour which are an individual's intonation are the result of three systems intertwining at different levels. These levels suggest the following problems:

(1) Individual variation.
(2) The social element in intonation.
(3) Social levels of intonation which are not a necessary part of the speaker's language.

He illustrates (1) thus:

> If I say, " Is he coming ? " I raise the pitch of the voice on the last word. There is no sufficient reason in nature why I should have an upward inflection in this type of sentence. We assume that this habit is natural; even self-evident. But a comparative study of the dynamic habits of many diverse languages convinces one that this assumption is unwarranted. It is a significant pattern in English to do so, though such elevation is not expressive, in the properly individual sense of the word.

On the second level, the variation of intonation determined by society is the general musical handling of the voice. This is an aspect of speech separable from the intonation-pattern which is determined by the structure of the sentence, due to its forming part of a particular language. We appreciate this as English, if we compare the musical rise and fall in the voice of an educated Aberdonian or Welshman speaking the English language.

Interesting barriers in the way of intonation are set by a given society to its members, making them adopt a certain melody-pattern. For example, our cadences must not rise too high.

> Compare, says Professor Sapir, the speech of an English country gentleman with that of a Kentucky farmer. Neither dares to depart too widely from his own social standard of intonation. Their intonation, however, is never exactly alike. Yet if we are constantly dealing with persons who have the same social habits, we may become sensitised to and interested in their slight differences of

intonation, for we know enough of their common social background to evaluate these slight differences.

Some English universities impart a sufficiently standardised background to their pupils' speech to allow of identification. It is hardly necessary to remind the reader of the phonetician's feats of recognition in Mr. George Bernard Shaw's *Pygmalion*.

Judging a Person's Intonation in Relation to his Social Background

This leads us to a consideration of great importance for our problems.

> We have no right to infer anything about personality, on the basis of intonation, without considering the intonational habits current in the person's community, or those which he has transferred from a "foreign" language (which, of course, may be his own or that of his parents) (Sapir).

This statement has vast psychological implications. One person whom I know likes the friendly, musical voice of educated Southern Irishmen; seldom escapes being momentarily puzzled and embarrassed by the apparently aggrieved whine of some Mancunians; is often made to feel inferior by the sturdy independence in the tones of the Lakeland farmer; is affectionately amused by the Walworth accents of the Buggins family "on the wireless"; is squashed, annoyed or delighted, according to the mood of the moment, by the calm, confident inaccuracies which form a large part of some legal men's dinner-table conversation, by the overgrown schoolboy voice of many army officers, and the fruity drawl of the stage clergyman, who is occasionally encountered off the stage.

Asked if this is a fair method of judging character, he would say that it is not. Yet how many candidates for posts in England have been considered favourably or unfavourably because of the presence or absence in their voices of just these characteristics? A selection committee sometimes says honestly, "We don't want a man with a . . . accent." More often, in its worldly wisdom, it mentions no reasons.

Yet dislike of a London accent because you believe the Southerner has no "guts"; objection to some Northern

English dialects because their exponent's repetition of your statement, with a harsh, rising intonation, suggests that he thinks you a fool, or the retort of a Southerner, to the charge that her dialect is "refaned," that she didn't use a Belfast "r" because it sounded like a corncrake (acoustically speaking, I fear she is right); these judgments are reasoned, or at least, in the psycho-analyst's sense, "rationalised." Yet many similar important judgments may be based upon unconscious assimilation of the voices to earlier, dimly remembered or forgotten experiences, which affected us powerfully.

I knew a dog which barked at all persons carrying a basket, after a butcher-boy attacked him with one. A person I know has a similar weakness, of which he is now conscious. When addressed by a grown-up man, in the intonation which characterises an excellent type of school prefect, he feels rebellious, inferior and embarrassed in quick succession, or simultaneously. His "ambivalent" attitude makes it difficult to carry on a business conversation, or to co-operate easily on committees, with the owners of such voices. As it happens, they are apt to be found in committee rooms. He is tempted to argue and object, for the sheer fun of it, to be childishly pleased if he scores off them and equally childishly abashed if they disagree. More paralysing, unless watched, is the tendency to accept their judgments, if given in the prefect's approving-encouraging tone. A partial analysis of this attitude has made him less puerile in the presence of adult possessors of prefect-voices.

Let us return to our discussion. We do not know what a man's speech may mean, as an expression of his personality, until we know which aspects of that personality are functions of his social background. Professor Sapir writes:

> If a Japanese talks with a monotonous voice, we may not assume that he illustrates the same type of personality that one of us would if we talked with the same sentence-melody. If an Italian runs through the whole gamut of tones, we are apt to say that he is temperamental or has an interesting personality. But we do not know, until we know what Italian society allows its members in the way of melodic play. Major intonation, objectively considered, may be of minor importance from the standpoint of individual expressiveness.

Personality and Rhythm of Speech

Possibly much of what has been said about intonation, applies to the subject of rhythm in speech. I may have entangled these subjects. Yet certain distinctions are important for the student of psychology.

The language which one learned as a child contains primary rhythms of speech, inherent in it and not due to one's individual peculiarities. The Englishman accents some syllables strongly and minimises others because his language is so constructed that he must do so, not necessarily because he wishes to be emphatic. Other modern languages have quite different rhythms. "If a Frenchman," writes Professor Sapir significantly, "accented his words in our English fashion, we might be justified in inferring certain things as to his nervous system."

Separate words, if they are long, contain rhythms. A Welsh visitor once mystified an English hostess by pleading as the cause of his departure, a "tippety." Acoustic analysis gave her the word, "tea-party." I have heard a man pronounce "standard" almost as a monosyllable. While playfully admiring the English for accomplishing this feat of compression upon even more bulky and resilient material, the word "extraordinary," some Americans lovingly lavish acoustic emphasis upon all its three "r's."

To some English readers Mr. Sinclair Lewis's phonetic writing of an English sentence as it sounded to Mr. Dodsworth [1] is unintelligible in places. "Laboratory" apparently supplants "shibboleth" as a diagnostic test of race.

Superposed upon the fundamental rhythms of the language are rhythmic forms which express the habits, customs and conventions of particular social groups. Some sections of society forbid emphatic stresses. Not only may their overt choice of words express constant under-statement, "decent" representing great praise, and "rather bored" the sharp twinges of physical pain, but the intensity of the voice may be diminished, its rise and fall may be very slight, or it may taper off into an exquisite unfinish which is delightful.

Other rhythms may characterise public speaking, as distinct from intimate conversation. Yet some of these

[1] *Dodsworth*, 1928.

rhythms " date " terribly. Old-time oratory may interest us, but in the same way as antimacassars, lustres and wax grapes. Even different kinds of modern public speaking have different fashions in rhythm. The House of Commons objects to be lectured, by however excellent a professor. A Member of Parliament once told me that it pays most attention to short, snappy rhythms, suggesting that the speaker is just finishing, even if he has no intention of doing so.

A friend, on reading this, writes of the " decline of public oratory in the Houses of Parliament, described the other day by an M.P. as nowadays resembling a huge board meeting." I am in the minority when I wriggle impatiently under the cadences, rhythms and intonations of a deservedly popular lecturer. To me he seems almost to accept personal responsibility for the natural phenomena which he describes so fascinatingly. In other people, possibly, these sound-patterns cause pleasant wonder, even awe.

The psychologist is interested in much more than the analysis of the physical happenings in the world of sound. Dr. Milton Metfessel, of Iowa, has recorded " phonophotographically " the turns, twists, quavers and slips-off-the-key of the " Jubilee voice " of the negro when singing spirituals.[1] Yet if an oldish Southerner and Northerner from the United States, an equally old, musically-minded, insular Englishman, with his enthusiastic " modern " son were to listen to Paul Robeson singing *Water-Boy*, the psychological backgrounds against which this auditory percept would be heard would be indescribably different.

Christopher Morley, in *The Romany Stain*, describes how as an American he first heard English voices " singing " their words, in the tea-car of the train leaving Paris for England. Many English visitors to America remark the apparently level intonation, which is especially noticeable on the first day.

Another dynamic factor, which appears to be less influenced by racial or local customs, is the *relative continuity* of speech. Many people speak " brokenly, in uneasy splashes of word groups." Some emit lumps of imperfectly articulated sounds, which the hearer must dissect and piece together. Presumably, many English persons who are quite articulate in their own language, may produce this impression upon others when they

[1] *Phonophotography in Folk-Music*, Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1928.

speak rapidly a language like German, in which there is little " running-on " of the sounds.

Again, there are " social speeds and continuities " and " individual speeds and continuities." Only if we know the standard rates of either in a community can we fairly judge a person's utterances to be slow or rapid.

Pronunciation

Professor Sapir points out that we often speak vaguely of the *voice*, when what we really mean is pronunciation with individual shading. The actual *quality* of a man's voice may have little to do with the way in which he pronounces certain vowels or consonants. For example, in England the " a " in " pass " or " command " may be dictated solely by the latitude in which he has been brought up. This may even produce an inner conflict of speech, when, for example, an East Anglian who has lived for years in the North of England tends to use different " a's " in Barnard C*a*stle and C*a*stle Rising, or " m*a*lted milk " (a recent phrase) and " This is the cat that ate the m*a*lt " (much earlier).

Seldom does a foreigner who learns our language really take over the sounds peculiar to us. Our " th " takes some pronouncing, and the German who essays our " r " seldom succeeds.

In spite, however, of these " buts," there are certain *individual* variations of sounds which are very important for a judgment of personality.

Symbolic Articulation

In the speech of some persons, there are sounds which really symbolise personality-traits. Professor Sapir points out that a man may lisp because he is unconsciously symbolising certain traits which lead his acquaintances to speak of him as a " sissy." One might hazard the suggestion that " unconsciously " would be too kind an adverb for some English lispers, who knew perfectly well what they were doing when they learnt it by imitation. Not uncommon, too, in English educated circles is a slight maltreatment of " r," making it sound—but only just—like " w." The " pseudo-*th* " and the " pseudo-*w* " are often heard in certain educational establishments. Since

their frequency in this selected sample is much greater than that to be expected by chance, the possibility of imitation, not necessarily unconscious, is to be suspected. I have heard of a school of elocution where the pupils are taught to say "*s*" by putting the tongue near the upper teeth, thus causing a slight lisp. There may be other habits of symbolic articulation for which there is no current (printable) terminology.

Only when we have some idea of the social form of pronunciation, and the permissible departures from it, can we justly judge that any departure is unusual, or speculate profitably concerning the factors which have produced this idiosyncrasy. If a section of society has thought it worth while to acquire a lisp, its psychological interest is less than if the lisp were a symptom of an individual peculiarity of bodily or mental function.

Let us sum up in Professor Sapir's words:

> One cannot draw up an absolute psychological scale for voice, intonation, rhythm, speed or pronunciation of vowels or consonants without ascertaining the social background of the speech habits. It is the individual variation, not the objective behaviour as such, that matters.

Personality and Vocabulary

In this country, at least, people often tend to judge "character-traits" (as they would call them, though they ought to be called traits of personality) by the extensity and flexibility of the speaker's vocabulary. This way to a judgment has pitfalls. Persons, especially young ones, afraid of appearing "high-brow," often use fewer distinctive words than they possess. At one time, "topping" and "foul" were the positive and negative poles of quality, intervening shades being represented by "decent-mouldy." But fashions change so quickly that these are out of date. Even if I gave the present ones, they might have been superseded before this book was printed.

Most people avoid certain words known to them, and unless, as writers or speakers, afraid of *clichés*, use favourite words frequently. Happy in some ways is the man who has not acquired an appetite for the exquisite dry flavour of Mr.

H. W. Fowler's *Modern English Usage.* The simple soul, like a joyful woman at a spring sale, can pick up his words anywhere, and bear them home to deck out his speech. He doesn't know that their period is wrong, that their functions are not, and never were, what he believes them to be, that he is jostling exquisite porcelain against misshapen earthenware. Then some day he learns of the literary bower-bird, of "Wardour Street" English, of *clichés,* of outworn—and worse, pedantic—humour, and shrivels up. He finds that "meticulous," which he innocently supposed to be the mark of a really literary journalist, is an affectation; that "averse from," the use of which for the past month had marked him off from ordinary mortals, has no justification. After this salutary reform, he feels as if, having asked a barber to trim his hair, he finds his head shaved.

The standards of vocabulary set by the speaker's social class must be distinguished from his own more significant choice of words. There are English people who have difficulty in finding a succinct word to signify a person who has promised to marry someone. The route by which they circumnavigate this obstacle often casts light upon their social class. To different persons various degrees of difficulty are attached to the mention of an impending human birth. Even the best newspapers seem tempted to use special terms of distinctive social classes. In newspaper-land, too, persons in danger when sleeping, escape in "night attire"; seldom in the outfitter's "slumber-wear," hardly ever in the American's "scanties," and almost never in pyjamas. This last fact would be puzzling did we not realise that "pyjamas" are guy-ropes pre-empted for the gossip-column.

The choice of such words by any person in a position to speak freely tells us much. One is momentarily startled if a speaker, by using an unexpected word or phrase, suddenly presents himself as a member of a quite different section of society. I remember a medical man, in a lecture, suddenly using a folk-name instead of an anatomical term. I was shocked, in more ways than one.

In these days, when our country is visited by many people from distant lands which share our language, we must guard against attempting to read personality from the diction current in a section of society. This would lead an English-

man astray if judging an American, for while not all Americans use slang extensively, many do.

Related to slang is the picturesque phrase, of which O. Henry gave delightful, and now obsolete, examples. When, however, one hears a new picturesque phrase from an American, one is often uncertain if its user has invented or borrowed it.

To try to keep up with the slang of America is hopeless unless one goes there often and reads widely. In the pages of *transition* (the title is printed in this way), an American magazine published in Paris, appeared recently a list of slang-phrases alleged to be current in America; " the only accurate and comprehensive list of such phrases I have seen for a long time," says the New York correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*. He continues:

> The point about American slang is that it becomes archaic so quickly. This is something realised by few British writers who essay to use this idiom, and that is why their work almost never seems real to Americans. Even the slang in Sinclair Lewis's early books is now outmoded, while the words in Bret Harte and Mark Twain mean nothing whatever to the young Americans of to-day.

There follows a list of " Slanguage, 1929." It, however, was criticised a few weeks later by William McFee, as containing too many words characteristic of the crook. Interestingly enough, some of these were examples of the obsolete rhyming slang popular in London fifty years ago.

Such complicating circumstances make it difficult to appraise the individual significance of words. Yet " sometimes we chose words because we like them, sometimes we slight them because they bore or annoy or terrify. We are not going to be caught by them " (Sapir). A psychologist writhes when his friends jocosely refer to the " psychological moment." I am told that literary people feel faint at the word " mentality." Some people are happy to leave the phrase " prior to " to pompous chairmen and policemen giving evidence, even when it would be grammatically correct.

Speech and Style

The fifth speech-level is that of style. We have our individual styles, both in casual conversation and in considered

professional and trade methods of address. People who love their fellow-men usually have a telephone-style. " Style is seldom or never arbitrary or casual. However poorly developed, there is always an individual method of arranging words into groups and working these up into larger units." We appreciate some of these styles most easily when the speaker's face is invisible, e.g. when we hear him on the telephone or over the " wireless," when he cannot eke out auditory bald patches by smiles, gestures, grimaces, shrugs and funny actions. About some attempts of old-time comedians to broadcast their patter unchanged, *sans* teeth, *sans* red nose, *sans* umbrella, *sans* everything, we will be silent.

Since speech is a form of action, it is natural that some persons' speech-style should reflect their *general* behaviour. Two related persons whom I know, separated in age by threescore years and ten, have one common tendency. They are apt to present a *fait accompli*, and await the consequences. This trait is unmistakably expressed in their speech: a confident statement, or flat contradiction, a pause, during which the interlocutor is looked firmly between the eyes, with a faint gestural hint that objections, if any, will be listened to; then occasionally, later, an equally rapid withdrawal of the whole proposition.

Then there is the person whose speech-behaviour adumbrates what would develop if at this point the speaker received encouragement. There is also a type who speaks slowly, heavily, and pauses a little before answering any question. He is usually accredited with sound judgment and worldly wisdom. The latter is certainly shown in his choice of a speech-style. Yet one of the fastest speakers, both in public and private, whom I know, is worldly-wise in the extreme.

All these remarks may be *vieux jeu* to many readers, yet—judging from occasional failures to portray a type on the stage—not to all actors. (How, by the way, do actors get their knowledge of " types " existing in the non-theatrical world?) We must remember, however (evidence will appear in Chapter XIII), that it may wrongly be assumed from the study of English professional speakers that something inherent in the nature of the particular *profession* produces a type of voice. Before jumping to the conclusion that lawyers speak with a special type of voice, attributable to their habit of making rapid

decisions (there is no suggestion here that this is not true), we ought to ask whether, say, in France, America and Japan lawyers speak in these tones, and with this intonation, rhythm and style.

Let us summarise. When we try to judge anything about a personality from his voice, we may have these characteristics, at least, as a basis, its dynamics, intonation, rhythm, continuity, speed, pronunciation, vocabulary and style. For the purposes of theory we might regard these as different and distinguishable levels. Perhaps occasionally they are. Yet human personality is an integration. Therefore, we may expect, the fusion of characteristics at these different levels will often be the result of compromise. Two or more levels may reinforce, oppose, or be relatively independent of each other. The last consideration is important when we try to interpret the speech or voice of someone from a locality unfamiliar to us.

Compensatory Reactions in the Voice

Professor Sapir has discussed a lisping "sissy" who shows in other aspects of his speech, including his voice, some effort to compensate. He may affect a masculine intonation, or choose special words, intending to show by them that he is really a man. Here we have a conflict, fought out on the stage corresponding to that of speech-behaviour. On one level of patterning he expresses what he will not or cannot express on another. He inhibits on one level what he will not or cannot inhibit on another.

The Splitting of the Voice into Levels

We sometimes get the impression that a person's voice is communicating two messages simultaneously: is splitting into an upper and a lower level. An example of this occurs when a person, disappointed in public at receiving some news, yet compensates for this on other levels of speech in such a way as to deceive all but the very elect. Some types of social training bestow the power of thus concealing one's feelings.[1]

[1] cf. P. G. Wodehouse, in *Summer Lightning*. "The hall-porter, for Eton and Cambridge train their sons well, found nothing in the way Mr. Fish spoke to cause a thrill. Totally unaware that he had been conversing with Othello's younger brother, he sat down with a good appetite to steak and chips."

Professor Sapir writes:

If we make a level-to-level analysis of the speech of an individual, and if we carefully see each of these levels in its social perspective, we obtain a valuable lever for psychiatric work. Intuitively we attach enormous importance to the voice and to the speech-behaviour that is carried by the voice.

Individual speech analysis is difficult to make, partly because of the peculiarly individual character of speech, partly because it is especially difficult to eliminate the social determinants of speech. In view of these difficulties there is not so much significant speech-analysis made by students of behaviour as we might wish. But the difficulties do not relieve us of the responsibility for making such researches.

CHAPTER III

VOCAL STEREOTYPES AND PROTOTYPES

Stereotypes and the Voice

THROUGHOUT this discussion of the ways in which the voice and speech can express personality, it is very difficult to separate the influences of heredity from those of environment. The old discussions of heredity and environment were unnaturally heated, because unnaturally simple. Yet we can assume that from the moment when, after birth, a child's ears begin to function naturally, he will be subjected to influences from the environment. Purely instinctive movements of the speech-organs may then be modified by imitation, at first unconscious; later, partly unconscious and partly deliberate.

The most inveterate believer in heredity must admit the importance of post-natal social stimulation in the modification of speech. Indeed, many English exponents of eugenics are walking examples of it.

Stereotypes and their Influence upon your Judgment

In *Public Opinion*,[1] in a chapter "The Pictures in Our Minds," Mr. Walter Lippmann shows how, under the influence of deliberate or accidental propaganda, we develop standardised ideas of what certain people "ought" to be like.[2] Few are free from such influences. A German hostess, who had never been to England, but for years had been friendly with the English people in a German university town, once said that she had never met a typical Englishman. When it was pointed out that she had known many Englishmen well, she admitted it, but maintained that only one, whom she had not known well, was typical. She described the traits which she considered characteristically English, and then told us his name. He was Scottish, born and bred.

[1] London, 1922.

[2] See also *Rough Islanders*, by H. W. Nevinson, London, 1930, pp. 14 f.

Our (usually wrong) ideas of national types have been described too often to need elaboration here. One might emphasise, however, that ignorant belief in these types, and sheep-like acceptance of changed beliefs, directed by the crook of propaganda, has often fanned national hatred. In many minds the Russian type changed on the very day that Bolshevism succeeded Czarism.

Simpler than these facts are those connected with the stereotyping of appearance.[1] Comic artists would be deflated if compelled to use, for their pictures of a university professor, a composite photograph of the present holders of university chairs in England. Many of us still like to think of an entomologist as dressed like an aged country parson, beard wildly waving, chasing a butterfly. Yet I have met entomologists who would pass as bank managers, even as motor-car salesmen.

That there should be stereotypes in dress (becoming less obvious in this country though still important) is easily comprehensible. On examination, however, the causes for this standardisation prove to be complex.

Many persons believe, rightly or not, in the existence of " typical " faces, e.g. of a naval officer, a lawyer or a groom.[2]

Possibly in England, with class distinctions which have remained fairly rigid for long years, " typical " faces really exist. They may be less easily recognised in such a country as America. An experiment in the U.S.A. throws some light upon this question.[3]

Nine portraits of notable persons were placed, without identifications, upon a sheet of paper, and numbered 1 to 9. The judges of these, 258 undergraduates of Dartmouth College and 31 members of another college, were informed that the sheet contained pictures of a European premier, a bootlegger,

[1] " Before the war many members of the working classes thought of the average male member of the rich non-working classes in terms of the ' dude,' ' Algy,' or ' Burlington Bertie ' type portrayed in musical comedy." (E. G. D. L.) (These initials in footnotes will indicate contributions by Mr. Liveing.

[2] " There are, of course, the obvious characteristic appearances, e.g. the Church of England parson, either with beard and moustache or clean-shaven, but rarely ever with moustache alone, in contrast with the Methodist clergyman, often wearing moustache ; then, too, the naval officer, either clean-shaven or (very rarely now) bearded." (E. G. D. L.)

[3] S. A. Rice, " Stereotypes, a Source of Error in Judging Human Character," *Journal of Personnel Research*, 1926, pp. 267–76.

a Bolshevik, a U.S. Senator, a labour leader, an editor-poltician, two manufacturers and a financier.

The actual number of correct identifications was almost twice the number to be expected on a basis of mere chance. Yet the Soviet envoy, who wore a wing collar and a Vandyke beard and moustache, was identified 59 times as a U.S. Senator, 9 as a Bolshevik and never as a labour leader. The bootlegger, pictured in outdoor costume, was most easily and frequently identified. In nearly every instance, the characters who received a high number of correct identifications were those whose appearance fitted them definitely into some pronounced stereotype among those called forth by the characters named.

" It seems evident," says the author, " that a method of arriving at judgments concerning the character of men and women, sufficiently realistic to serve as a basis for an employment policy, for instance, cannot depend to any extent upon photographs."

One must not forget the immense power of the newspapers and the films in creating visual stereotypes. The appearance of an undoubtedly good-looking Labour Prime Minister, equally undoubtedly well-dressed, has disappointed some who imagined that the Labour policy would be sartorially represented (it would have been a generation ago) in quite a different way.

Professor C. W. Valentine[1] has also examined this problem of facial stereotypes. In a subsidiary investigation, he used photographs. He emphasises the extraordinarily divergent judgments concerning the same photograph, whether good or bad. " For example, it may or may not be true that one well-known dramatic critic is, as described by certain judges, ' a gentle, peaceful sort of chap, clever but not witty, or marked especially by modesty, " rather effeminate." ' But it cannot, at the same time, be true, as asserted by others judging the same photograph, that he is ' cruel and sarcastic,' ' self-willed and obstinate.' Many such contradictory judgments occurred in reference to other photographs."

This seems to show that when the face photographed cannot readily be classed as a stereotype, judgments concerning it are far from congruent. In photographs, too, the photographer may have identifiably expressed his own personality in his

[1] *British Journal of Psychology*, XIX, Jan., 1929.

way of taking the picture. It is interesting to speculate whether, with no knowledge of the speaker's profession or occupation, and without vision, judgments concerning the voice would be equally at sea.

Professor Valentine calls attention to the desirability of investigating the soundness of "intuitive" impressions. He writes: "In the work of selecting teachers for important posts, I have been struck by the influence that the immediate impression made by the candidate on the members of the committee has upon their decision, as compared with the influence of the testimonial."[1]

Dr. E. H. Magson [2] found the correlation between judgments of the intelligence of children merely interviewed, with estimates by persons who knew the children well, to be only 0.22, where perfect correlation would be represented by 1.

Voice Stereotypes

In England a person's voice often conforms to a stereotype. Occasionally this achievement is good value for hundreds of pounds paid. Many educational establishments encourage their pupils to speak in a certain way. This is not an interesting or pleasing accident, but a highly prized result. Many readers will not be surprised that in a journal which appeared in the week I wrote these lines, a correspondent, opposing a suggestion that English radio-announcers might eventually be abolished, defended her attitude by remarking that she met few gentlemen nowadays.

Since none are free from prejudice, the writer may perhaps be allowed to state his present attitude towards this characteristic of English social life. The problems arising from it are not simple, for at least two aspects of the educationally-acquired voice are distinguishable.

In the first place it may be learnt in contact with a special social class, and universally recognised as a mark of that class. It is comparable with the distinctive dress of an old school or regiment, and so may be regarded as sacrosanct. Few people really believe that the headwear of Harrow or Westminster is ideal for an active young man. Yet, to many, these are but outward and visible signs, which "everybody" understands.

[1] *ibid.*, p. 214.

[2] "How we Judge Intelligence," *British Journal of Psychology, Monograph Supplement* No. IX, 1926.

Similarly, the pattern of sound uttered by the pupil from a particular educational establishment might be regarded, even by its inculcators, as having no more inherent significance or functional usefulness than the above-mentioned hats.

On the other hand, many persons maintain that numerous voices among the English " ruling classes " are *intrinsically* beautiful, with their restraint and musical modulation; expressing, and not merely existing alongside, culture and refinement.

That such voices will be analysed by phoneticians and psychologists is conceivable. Yet a particular vocal sound, accepted and cultivated by one section of society, may annoy another. After a famous series of broadcast " Points of View," some listeners objected to phrases which sounded, they said, like " the futchah of culchah." Others squirmed at hearing of " a mess of fects." Many, who like the accents of certain university men, can take no joy in their emasculation of the " s " or the " r," or the sinuous hip-writhing and the pseudo-modest gestures which often supplement them. It is sometimes urged that a clergyman's booming voice is necessary to penetrate the labyrinths of a cathedral, yet this seems no reason why he should detonate when merely asking for his hat in a small cloakroom.

In opposition to the airing of such prejudices has arisen the fashion of asserting that typical voices do not exist, or maintaining that the " so-and-so " voice is a figment of the imagination, thus concealing the fact that voices may contain a common factor, though none of them sound identical. Nobody who has noted the progress of persons learning to acquire certain voices will doubt that prototypes exist.

Another confusion of the issue [1] arises from the denial that there is a " so-and-so " manner, and therefore, implicitly and illegitimately, that there is a " so-and-so " voice. While these two traits often co-exist, they are not inseparable. In England there appear to be an army officer's voice [2] and an " army manner," yet persons possessing similar voices may diverge considerably in manner.

[1] Non-English readers are asked to bear patiently with this discussion of a local but important matter.

[2] " It is probably a ' pose ' voice, cultivated unconsciously to impress the idea of efficiency of mind, determination of character, etc. Since the war, it has permeated the war generation of upper and upper-middle-classes. Many

The "Halo" Effect in Judging Personality

By now, many psychological studies have yielded some detailed knowledge about methods of "rating" personality.[1] If people are asked to estimate several different traits in an individual, they are often subject to the powerful influence of one strongly marked trait, which casts a "halo" over others.[2] A football captain at school may be given high marks for leadership and determination. He might, however, while showing these virtues conspicuously on the field, display them infrequently elsewhere. In a recent novel, a man is incisively described as playing cricket nowhere except on the cricket field: a phrase which is clear to an Englishman, and perhaps to many others.

With little imagination one can see that the "halo" may influence any estimation of personality through the voice.

We might conclude tentatively that in England at present voice-stereotypes exist, accepted by many as typifying certain social classes, professions, etc. Sometimes, but not invariably, this acceptance is unconscious.

The stage breeds, and probably inbreeds, stereotypes. It may be that the public has long accepted certain stage-voices as representing a profession, when in reality they don't. The clergyman and the retired Anglo-Indian in the *Private Secretary* have much to answer for. Did the actor, for instance, in Ian Hay's and P. G. Wodehouse's *Ba, Ba, Black Sheep*, consciously model his voice upon that of the beloved and Reverend Robert Spalding, or of one of his numerous offspring? He would only be human if he did. Yet our grandfathers and grandmothers, when young, laughed at that voice.

Some voices are remembered because they deviate from one's idea of the type to which they "ought" to belong. A factor in the deserved popularity of the Prince of Wales as a radio-speaker may be that some of his vowels represent middle-class London, and not always "upper-middle." Surely a happy accident in these days! The Bishop of London's voice

living instances, using a crisp, concise and close-clipped pronunciation will occur to the reader." (E. G. D. L.)

[1] cf. F. H. Allport, *Social Psychology*, Boston, 1924; W. V. Bingham and M. Freyd, *Procedures in Employment Psychology*, and articles in the *Personnel Journal*.

[2] cf. E. L. Thorndike, "Constant Error in Psychological Ratings," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 4 (1920), 24–9.

is known to millions, yet, if he will not mind my saying so, it is not my idea of a bishop's voice. He may be fortified, if he ever hears of this, by remembering the naturalist's reply to the old lady who said that a certain animal at the Zoo was not her idea of an antelope.

The Problem of Stereotyped Voices in Other Countries

It would be interesting to know how far this influence of stereotypes extends in countries, e.g. the United States, where social classes are distinguished less by their speech than in England. In France, Germany and Austria inquiry into this problem might produce interesting results. From the purely psychological point of view it would be instructive to discover the socially desirable voices in a country whose late ruling classes are now regarded with disfavour. With what voice, if he could consciously acquire it, would an aspiring politician speak in Moscow? Do such considerations play so great a part as before in our present Parliament? What if the Glasgow Labour members had always presented their point of view in the speech and tones ordinarily used by the English Conservative member or regular army officer?

Recently, a newspaper article, stating, or pleading, that "accent" does not matter nowadays, quoted as an example of a Labour member who had become great, in spite of his English, Mr. Philip Snowden. Anyone who has heard him speak, either direct or on the wireless (notoriously pitiless in this respect), will know that mastery of excellent spoken English is not incompatible with the holding of democratic views.[1]

Naïve thinkers occasionally overlook the important distinction between laughing with a person who has an unusual manner of speech, and laughing at him. This confusion is made by those who infer that because a particular dialect (or its caricature) is popular on the music-halls of a distant part of the same country it is desired for itself alone, and not as a cock-shy. "There, but for the grace of God, go I" is the keynote of some at least of the laughter at a local dialect in its own district.

[1] (A friend comments, however, "There is a sense of artificiality about his careful accentuation, all the same.")

It is conceivable that though in England voice-stereotypes exert an influence, it may decrease. Yet fashion might move in the opposite direction, by democratising one or two stereotypes, as in the case of dress for " semi-official " occasions. One of the most democratic of men's garments for ten years past has been the dinner-jacket, with its social implications. The increased popularity and cheapness of dancing since the war did much to bring this about. Yet at one time the dinner-jacket was not widely used except by the upper and upper-middle-classes, and among them, as now, it has always been subject to statutes of limitation.

The Creation of Voice Stereotypes

With the widespread interest in voices, " on the wireless," the gramophone, the talking film and the stage, types may be created. That there has been deliberate cultivation of " sex appeal " in the films is well known. Of late there has been discussion concerning the attractiveness of the " husky " [1] voice of certain actresses and heroines of novels. A man's attitude towards such a voice in a woman, who is decidedly attractive in other respects, may be interestingly " ambivalent," as the psycho-analysts would say—and about this they could probably say much. Darwin, Havelock Ellis, Erickson, Landis and others have noted the functions of the voice in expressing sexual emotion.

Have Voices a Sex ?

One frequently hears that a man has an effeminate, and a woman a manly voice. Here we must distinguish between a judgment made merely upon pitch (for anatomical reasons a woman's voice is usually higher than a man's) from one made upon psychological characteristics, such as the centrally lisped " *s* " or the feeble " *r*," of the kind which their utterers " could help if they tried."

There seems to be a normal amount of sex difference in voices, since one can detect anomalies. At present I have two voices in mind. To memory they seem almost identical, though I have never been able actually to compare them simultaneously. One is that of a woman who impressed a

[1] In the English sense, not the one which Webster terms " *Colloq., U.S.*"

selection committee by her educated, pleasant, dominant and yet amused voice. The other is of a famous man broadcaster. In both these voices the imposing qualities seem to be a sensitive appreciation of humour, with the suggestion of unusual ability to say humorous things if their possessors chose to let them. These common factors in these voices seem to overrule all the others, even those of sex. I was quite surprised when I recognised the striking resemblance between these two voices.

As is recorded in Chapter XIII, the voice of my elder daughter, when 11 years old, was taken by many wireless listeners to be a boy's. Two and a half years later, after I had not heard her voice for some weeks, I mistook it for a boy's. It is contralto, but not, I think, exceptionally low, extending now (at 15 years) down to C.

It seems, therefore, that while different types of voice are produced, sometimes deliberately, under educational influences, in England at present there is a social, and therefore, to be frank, a financial advantage in certain stereotypes. Whether these will remain relatively unchanged in quality, increase or decrease in number, be penetrated by foreign importations, or themselves influence speech in other countries, are interesting questions.

I have recently heard *The Last of Mrs. Cheyney* as a talking film. The men's English voices and the women's equally definite American ones produced on me the effect of two "programmes" being emitted by the same wireless apparatus. When the woman crook said that she was born not in Australia, but in Blooms-BÉRRÍE, my mind changed gear too late to receive the intended shock which 'Bloomsbury,' pronounced in the London way, would have produced.

Of the talking film, Mr. C. B. Cochran writes:

> My own prophecy is that the "talkie" will have the effect of teaching America to listen to speech, and to select from the countless widely different accents of the United States a norm of correct and tuneful pronunciation and enunciation.

He does not suggest that the talkies will adopt stereotypes, but that they may synthesize types of their own; an exciting prospect for the psychologist.

Prototypes of Voices

Our judgment of the appearance of a person or a place may be biased, even determined, by its resemblance to some earlier sight which accompanied a vivid experience. For example, I suspect that I endow a certain person, whom I scarcely know, with the attributes of a friend who resembles him in one salient feature. On analysis, I found other points of resemblance, which may have helped to determine my judgment.

At first sight a certain English inland health-resort reminded me pleasantly of one in Germany. It seems to have little in common with the German spa except pines, pretty, unexciting hills, and an air of languorous dulness. There may well be other likenesses, for casual analysis seldom discovers all the common factors, and many problems for psychology are still offered by the experiences of *déjà vu* and *déjà ouï*.

Psycho-analysts remind us that we may fall in love, inexplicably to ourselves, with persons resembling those who cared for us as little children. So possibly, in judging a voice, we may—usually unconsciously—be reminded of another earlier voice, significant to us in the past, and our judgment may thus be powerfully influenced.

CHAPTER IV

The Different Meanings of "Personality": A Digression on the Use of Words

If one wishes to convey one's thoughts, or to be more accurate, something like them, to another, words are generally used. Some people, indeed, offer us words which arouse the suspicion that they were employed rather prematurely in the process of thinking. But this fact offers a tantalising and fascinating difficulty to the psychologist. The cartoonist dispenses with words, but few of us are Fougasses or Lows. The scientist stands as long as he can behind his rapidly vanishing rampart of words, and then surrenders to a conquering horde of "x's" and "y's," often with barbaric decorations of numerals on their heads and feet, and attended by typographical screams. Some mathematically-minded psychologists beckon in the invaders without a fight. The workings of the mind are then designated in single stark letters. Their messages are un-Jamesian and un-Proustian, but concise. Like other concise statements, they often elude examination, for they offer no projecting shred of garment at which the critic can tug as they pass.

Imitating the modern chemist, the psychologist might invent a special polysyllabic terminology. This would inevitably render his conversation, like the chemist's, unfitted for ordinary ears.

The way chemistry has chosen may seem, to some, psychology's best path too. Yet recollection of the way in which those psychologists who have not yet lost interest in human beings, get new material, will call a halt. The chemist can send to a trusted firm for salts packed in bottles. The psychologist, unless mental omphaloscopy contents him, must go and fetch his material. Conversation with fellow-beings of very different kinds is as necessary to him as travel to a geographer. That occasionally, psychologists and geographers

do not fulfil this requirement does not disprove its reasonableness.

Using Popular Terms

Let us then assume, here and now, that it is often necessary for psychologists to use popular language, to spend 33⅓ per cent. of their lecture-time in explaining what they do *not* mean, and 75 per cent. of all discussions in deferentially listening to persons who maintain that what they mean by this, that and the other is what the word really means. This is part of the psychologist's burden. It is preferable to using prematurely hardened pseudo-scientific terms, and to the current fashion of calling everything however complex, which happens —or even doesn't happen—to a person, a "stimulus," and everything which he does immediately afterwards, a "response."

Having recorded a lack of admiration for several ways of expressing psychological facts, I shall not be surprised if in this book, using the words of popular speech, I find myself isolated from some of my colleagues. I will, however, say what I propose to mean by these words.

What do Voices Express?

That voices are taken to express something, both by their owner, and by those to or at whom they are directed, seems obvious. If you use scolding words in friendly tones to your dog, he may misunderstand you. If you rebuke a child affectionately, the respective amounts of chiding and of affection which the child attributes to your remarks will depend upon your momentary relationships.

Clearly, some voices are particularly expressive, or where would the radio-actor be? He cannot compensate for a poor voice by appearance and gestures as the stage-actor can. And while some voices alter little in different conditions, others are sensitively variable. Like the flickers of expression over a lively face, these voices transmit their hope, despair, sudden melting, indecision, mental conflict. People to whom a change in another's facial or vocal expression means nothing are called boors (occasionally booresses).

Voices as Expressions of Personality

Now if voices express anything but the mood of the moment, they express personality, in the sense which this word will be given here. Personality will mean the effect upon others of a living being's appearance, behaviour, etc.; so far as they are interpreted as distinctive signs of that being. A person may be aware or unaware of these effects upon others; an important fact, but irrelevant here.

Since we are accustomed to regard appearance as indicative of personality, I may illustrate some points in an introductory way, by frequent references to outward and visible signs. I will then proceed by asking whether and to what degree analogies can be discovered in the realm of sound. To those who would automatically prohibit the use of analogy, I would reply that very little progress is ever made without its use. Provided we discover the points at which analogy breaks down, its use is perfectly legitimate.

Different nations, different social strata, different individuals, and even the same classes of people at different ages, are sensitive to different features of a person's appearance, sounds, even odours or touches. Certain people, both primitive and cultured, are distinguished by their smell. Some Chinese, writes Maurice Baring, dislike the smell of a well-soaped Englishman. The opinions of people who never use scent, about people who do, are violent and undiscriminative. Blind people make tactual distinctions about personalities. Naturally any one individual may consider appearance in general, or a particular aspect of it, as more or less important. Similarly, in one locality a harsh, strident or loud voice may pass unnoticed; in another it may be a serious social drawback.

Awareness of One's Personality

Awareness of one's personality in the sense used above may be vivid, or may scarcely exist. Many public men and women are quite aware of some aspects of their personalities. Anyone who tries to be especially kind to an animal, child or foreigner, to be discreet or calm at an irritating interview, is usually more aware, and, when he romps with the children, less aware of his personality.

There are people who regard all forms of such awareness

as narcissism. They, however, often seem afflicted by diogenism; a trait which is tolerable only when compensated by the other qualities of their prototype.

I may illustrate further this meaning of personality by saying that no actor is likely to quarrel with it. Indeed, he had better not, for the word comes from his profession. In ancient times, *persona*, or mask, indicated the character which the actor was presenting. A mouth-piece, attached to the mask, amplified his speech. Even nowadays some personalities sway the public through a combination of mask and loud-speaker.

We rightly use the word *impersonation* for the art of Ruth Draper, or Mabel Constanduros. Millions from China to Peru may admire or despise the screen-personality of a famous star, few may know, or wish to know, his character. Moreover, plenty of intelligent people distinguish the " character " which the publicity-agent creates in the newspapers from the real one. This is true not only of film-stars.

The distinction between personality and character has been described at a length which to some may seem unnecessary. Yet the difference, obvious to actors, and easily made clear to most people, is sometimes especially doubted by teachers in universities and schools. A reason is not hard to find. Actors are expected to employ different masks; their character is almost a private matter. Yet in a bank, a school, a university, character may be more important than personality. Even here, however, a person with a stable character but an unattractive, inflexible personality might fail to secure a post. I suspect that while in some quarters a good character is allowed to compensate for many defects of personality, in others the good character by itself is regretfully regarded as insufficient.

If, then, personality can be expressed by colouring, physique, clothes, odours, behaviour, gestures, manners, voice and speech, and if we can trust analogy, one conclusion seems likely. In these days, deliberate, extensive alteration of the visible aspects of personality is not only allowed, but expected. Some object to this. A modern writer has complained, ineffectually, of the fashionable chemicalised woman. Yet attention to personal appearance varies so much in individuals and nations that it is an important study for comparative

psychology,[1] and obviously for economics. For many people, nowadays, the care of the teeth is as much a matter of cosmetics as of hygiene. Advertisements of tooth-paste waver amusingly between these aims. In Europe and America, women's dress has changed considerably, necessitating greater attention to personal appearance.

Conscious interference with "natural" voice and speech would produce a similar effect. It would be more gradual, since at present speech is not rapidly altered. Yet Miss Marjorie Gullan's success in teaching Glasgow girls to speak English should make us wary of dogmatism on this point.

Character

What meaning should be assigned to character? If we follow Professor William McDougall,[2] this term would be applied to the comparatively stable structure of the mind, wrought by habits, sentiments, and by their integration into a relative unity. When this unity is known to us, it justifies our belief that a character is stable.

The distinction between a change of personality and a change of character may be illustrated by an example.

A man returns home after a week's absence. To his dog's [3] tail-wagging and barking he replies with pats and a few habitual words. Violently welcomed by his youngest child, his caresses may not differ much from those which the dog received, yet his words, tones and gestures will be more diverse. With an older child he may crack family jokes. He may greet his wife and his business partner in appropriately distinctive ways.[4]

To all these living beings the man is a different personality. Even if none of them have thought much about such matters, the elder ones might admit this. Any suggestion, however, that this polychromatic personality must necessarily imply a variable and unstable character, might be met by an in-

[1] cf. Knight Dunlap, *op. cit.*

[2] *Introduction to Social Psychology*, London, 1928; and *Character and the Conduct of Life*, London, 1927.

[3] cf. O. Spengler, *The Decline of the West:* "He who would penetrate into the essence of language should begin by putting aside all the philologist's apparatus and observe how a hunter speaks to his dog. . . ." (English translation by C. F. Atkinson, London, 1928, Vol. II, p. 131.)

[4] His conduct might be called 'epicritic'; a word implying delicate discrimination between situations and gradation of responses to them; cf. W. H. R. Rivers, *Instinct and the Unconscious*, Cambridge, 1922.

dignant denial. Moreover, while the younger children may have a clear idea of their father's personality, for them any conception of his character would be difficult or impossible.

In a normal person, character is marked by stability, and resistance to temporary strains and stresses. Personality, on the other hand, may or may not momentarily resist such strains. It may appear to suffer fools gladly, to meet reverses with humour, to accommodate itself to temporary social changes like a surf-rider to the waves. Yet, under the most pliable and charming personality, there may be a character which ensures that while fools when encountered shall be suffered gladly, their company shall never be sought, and while a set-back may be joked at, it shall not occur again. The difference between surf-riding and steering a liner is not unlike that between the adjustments made by a sensitive personality and by a stable character. In modern democratic life many difficult administrative problems arise from the necessity for compromise between these two methods of social adjustment. In the days of sharper social gradation such compromise was not demanded.

At this point in our argument we collide with violent individual or national prejudices. A psychologist from a British Dominion once suggested to me that some instances of success and failure, and others of initial success followed by ultimate mediocre performance, of some Scotsmen when abroad are due to their unwillingness or inability to alter their personality in the face of varying social demands. Credited with a dependable character when they succeed, they are blamed for traits of personality, for being obstinate, stubborn, complacent, " provincial," unknowable, impenetrable, " thick," if they fail.

Students of Dr. C. G. Jung's writings may ask why, having been influenced by his view of personality, I have not expounded his famous types of extrovert and introvert.[1]

By many, the kaleidoscopic personality of page 39 would be simply called " extrovert." Dr. Jung reminds us, however, that a cultured introvert usually elaborates into a social technique a set of charming gestures and words. They, however, are undifferentiated, standardised, handed out to

[1] *Psychological Types*, London, 1923, cf. W. McDougall's criticism, *Journa of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXIV, 1929, pp. 294 ff.

all comers. So after only one meeting, we cannot assume that X, who was charming to us, is necessarily an extrovert. To make any fair judgment we ought to observe his demeanour towards very different persons. A description of a beloved late Prime Minister as " that island surrounded by urbanity " needs no comment.

Confusion of Integrated Character with Moral Character

Psychology, a positive science, sets up no standards. The reader must resist the temptation to assume that the morals of a person possessing a highly-integrated character, must necessarily resemble his own. A criminal character may be highly integrated. A night-watchman requires an integrated character, but no great ability to vary his personality. To succeed as hall-porter in a cosmopolitan hotel may demand not only an integrated character, but an ability to alter personality, merely to conceive which might cause vertigo in the night-watchman. Some non-academic people say that a university don has survival-value only in universities. Their belief is partly based upon the ancient licence given to the cloistered university don to make his personality congruent with his character. Frequently, as a natural result, neither of these entities resembled anything encountered extra-murally.

Helping Hint for Intellectuals

The academic person may have a peculiar difficulty in distinguishing personality from character. He or she frequently regards the intellectual, or cognitive, aspect of life as naturally and obviously the most important one. This view, often encouraged by colleagues, is not universally held. Yet, clearly the intellectual, when he has " arrived," needs to make few adjustments of personality. Indeed, to be exempted from these painful performances may have been a life-long ambition, for which he has sacrificed much.

Possible Further Analysis of Personality

That there are different senses in which the term personality is technically used by psychologists, one knows from the

existence of large bibliographies devoted to the subject (or to " character "). But now I have stated the meaning which this word will be given in the present book, I should like to draw the reader's attention to a recent attempt by Professor W. McDougall to make the concept more scientific.[1]

He suggests that at least five great classes of factors of personality must be distinguished, and that they are in great measure independent variables in the make-up of personality. These five classes are :

(1) Factors of *intellect* (e.g. intelligence, knowledge, retentiveness of memory, type of mental imagery, etc.).
(2) Factors of *disposition* (the array of inborn conative or affective [2] tendencies, which vary widely in their relative strengths from one individual to another).
(3) Factors of *temper* (general peculiarities of the mode of working of all the conative tendencies or " drives " ; such peculiarities as persistency, urgency or intensity, high affectibility by success and failure, and the opposites of these).
(4) Factors of *temperament* (the influences, direct or indirect, of bodily metabolism—more especially of the secretions of the ductless glands—upon the processes of the nervous system).
(5) Factors of *character* (acquired organisations of the affective tendencies in sentiments and complexes, which in turn are organised in great systems or, in well-developed character, in one hierarchical system).

He continues :

> These five classes of factors of personality are, it seems to me, largely independent of each other ; thus any type of intellect may go with any type of temper, temperament, disposition, or character. . . . Hence, in order to characterise a personality, we must state its type of intellect, of disposition, of temper, of temperament, and of character.

[1] *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXIV, 1929, pp. 293–309.
[2] Technical expressions for the " raw material " underlying will and feeling respectively.

The Voice as Social Behaviour and as Personal Symptom

In these early stages of the psychological study of the voice, we should first examine those traits in vocal behaviour which affect others. The more intimate diagnostic value of spoken words offers far more difficult problems.

It may be a lack of distinction between these two subjects ; voice as social behaviour, and voice as personal symptom, which makes some doubt if the voice can be studied. An unseen radio-talker may sound as if he is full of *bonhomie*, fond of a good dinner and talk, emitting many surreptitious chuckles at life, amusedly shocked at modern customs, accepting to-day's world of motor-infested " beauty-spots," of golf and bridge —and yet tiptoeing over all these, in the hope of something more exciting ; apt to hear things on telephones and to see things in a photograph which ought not, so to speak, to be there.

But how do we know that this radio-talker is like that ? Does he write his own " copy " ? " Surely ! " you say, " Surely not ! " says your actor-friend, with infinite pity in his voice. Suppose, then, this talker doesn't. Does he sit detachedly, so to speak, behind his own larynx, bowing it lusciously like a 'cellist wringing the last ounce out of *Le Cygne* ? (For the sake of completeness one must write in this hateful way.)

Let us first consider the effect which a person's voice produces on others, for this is one of the chief characteristics of personality. Concerning any one voice there may always be a " minority report " deserving respect. For example, I have reason to believe that to-day some " late-middle-aged " and old people like a lecturer's voice to sound as if it were " talking down " to them. It produces an effect of authority, which to many people is pleasant. To a few, these very tones may sound arrogantly supercilious. Since a person may be simultaneously well-informed, authoritative, arrogant and supercilious, the different persons may have been impressed by different characteristics in the same voice.[1] A civilian and a regular soldier might hear different things in a sergeant-major's voice.

[1] " Talking down " over the microphone is a dangerous practice, and, I should say, annoying to the majority of listeners. Our correspondence would go to show that. (E. G. D. L.).

We may further complicate the matter. You are, let us suppose, one of the few people who know a certain man intimately. He has told you that the occasional rudeness which others hear in his voice proceeds from shyness. Yet it is not true that the man isn't really rude, but shy. He is rude, and he is shy. The rudeness, so to speak, heterodynes the shyness. So, while an unselective receiver, or strange listener, perceives a jumbled mixture of both, the ear which is sensitised to rudeness hears it only, while you hear only shyness.[1]

This question of the " real " voice is tantalisingly suggested by the marvellous performances of Ruth Draper. As the superlatively efficient private secretary of Mr. Clifford, in one morning she smoothes out—or prevents from rucking up—his business, domestic and extra-domestic relations, cheers up the clerk with a sick wife, and finally arranges lunch with her man friend. Which is the " real " voice of the secretary? The last? Not necessarily, for we never saw the man. It might be the voice in which she surprisedly accepted the invitation of Mr. Clifford's friend, Mrs. Mallory; it was certainly not the one with which she side-tracked Mrs. Clifford. Were any of these by chance Miss Draper's own voice? Remembering the Dalmatian peasant, the German and American tourists and the English lady-bountiful in the same afternoon's programme, we may well ask. Or may we?

The voice has therefore effective, executive, practical, artistic values. It is with such values that this book deals.

When a voice produces in us a fleeting impression of rudeness or friendliness we are as much entitled to judge it upon those data as we are to judge a landscape or a face. Yet to characterise a voice light-heartedly as intelligent, dominant, discouraged, lazy or trustworthy (each of these adjectives applies to one of Professor McDougall's categories) would land one in difficulties.

The Spread of Skills

Nowadays, many of the simpler skills are analysable; at least, some of their most important constituents can be discovered. Some modern teachers can communicate them through exhibitions which appeal to the pupil's muscles, eye,

[1] cf. F. A. Hampton, " Shyness," *Journal of Neurology and Psychopathology*, 1927, VIII, 124–131.

or ear, through skilful and scientific use of the spoken or written word, the photograph, the diagram, the ordinary or slow-motion cinema, etc.

As a result, many skills are becoming rapidly democratised.[1] To-day the average child can swim, and play many outdoor games much better than the child of a generation ago. Whether the average child of this generation—other things being equal —can *use* (as distinct from reading) foreign languages better seems doubtful. Despite the fact that better methods of teaching the speaking of foreign languages are available, they are not as widely used as one might wish. But the reasons for this are not entirely relevant here.

In most outdoor sports our children are spectacularly better than ourselves; in handwork, in the manipulations which the Scout and Guide movements have taught so well, in handling scientific apparatus, driving cars, in all these skilled performances excellence seems natural in many young people. Moreover, many parents now assume that any good school will spontaneously teach, and teach well, many of these skills. Yet in many schools effective speaking, the control of the most delicate behaviour-apparatus that Nature has evolved, is still left to chance.

Even among the skilled, the idea is widespread that ability to do something absolves one from responsibility to explain effectively how it is done, though some of these persons hold posts the titles of which specifically imply this obligation. The B.B.C. cannot find many scientists articulate enough to tell unusually keen people of ordinary intelligence about the simplest facts of research work. The occupant of a highly paid public office, which required him to give advice and directions and to obtain information, orally, for almost the whole of his waking hours, once said in my hearing that the chief asset a psychotherapist required seemed to be a glib tongue. It is impossible to reproduce his tone of contempt and his anticipation of applause at the implication that he did not possess one. Someone promptly asked if he would commend a surgeon for having a fumbling and tremulous hand.

It may be objected that by glib was meant something derogatory, as contrasted with deft. Possibly, yet deft to one man is glib to another. Is it possible that subconscious envy

[1] T. H. Pear, *Skill in Work and Play;* and *Fitness for Work*, Chap. VI.

(the psycho-analyst has eased our path) may affect the attitude of more than one tongue-tied person ?

A commercial correspondent who described different industries for the daily Press, says that he found many " leaders of industry " who had the greatest difficulty in explaining the processes of manufacture in their own works.

It is not unreasonable to suspect any skill which may be used for anti-social purposes. Driving a car is obviously one of these, but motorists do not inevitably use their ability in smash-and-grab raids or rum-running. Yet there is a common tendency to suspect the skilful speaker. To this there are interesting exceptions ; some of them in those circles from which our public speakers have been drawn. At the Harrow summer prize-giving one prize was for " the clearest articulation through the microphone as reproduced by the loud-speaker." The donor, realising that in future a public man will have to use the microphone, is encouraging a new skill within an old one.

Another feat, at least as difficult as speaking well and of choosing the right words, is presenting the matter so that it is comprehensible by the particular persons to whom it is addressed.[1] This is not the art of teaching ; indeed, avoiding any suggestion of teaching, when explaining, is itself an art.

Shame, Modesty and the Use of the Voice

In the nineteenth century there was much modesty, or shame, about the human body. There were also stiff corsets, high boots, heavy clothes and considerable, though concealed, personal uncleanliness.

Times have changed. Short skirts require better and cleaner stockings and shoes. Clean-shaven men have more than one motive in visiting the dentist. Drivers of cars must be less sleepy and less drunk than their grandfathers, whose horses took them home on Saturday nights.

The voice, however, and speech generally, are still neglected. The voice is, therefore, often ugly, inarticulate, inexpressive. In proportion as it is exposed to more discriminative public attention, regarded as not beyond hope, and as a vehicle for skill, it will be developed.

[1] Interesting hints in connexion with this are given by Professor H. A. Overstreet, in his *Influencing Human Behaviour*, London, 1926, Chapter IV.

"What are we coming to?" some may ask. The answer is that in this instance we have come, but only just.

"Yes, but isn't all this self-consciousness," the objector may continue, "bad enough now? And is it healthy?" Partly a matter of taste, partly of definition. One man spends on an average forty-five minutes daily in shaving and washing; another, five. The second is less conscious of himself; often of you, too. Any interference with Nature may produce an upset of balance which itself may or may not be serious or alterable. Usually the only sound basis for prophecy is knowledge of how the change has worked in somewhat similar conditions.

The use of speech is a high-grade skill, sometimes conscious, sometimes unconscious. Every day it becomes more useful and important. The increasing use of telephones and microphones will accentuate this. Already controversies about writing versus speech seem ancient, and rather silly. Speech, after a period of comparative eclipse by the visual sign, is catching up again.

For years our rulers have known how to speak publicly, in certain fixed patterns,[1] as they have known how to ride, swim, play tennis and bridge. Many of them learn these skills, together with those concerned in using foreign languages effectively, so early that they have almost assumed that these techniques are natural gifts. In a rather distorted sense of both these words, they are.

There are a few hindrances to learning to speak effectively, apart from the difficulty of finding a good teacher. They are personal inertia, lack of self-criticism, of which there are many causes, and local partialities.

The intensity and permanence of these last named, however, vary greatly in different countries, in different counties, or sections of the same county, and—may it be quite pointedly recorded here—in persons of different age in the same section of the population. Where these local enthusiasms do not delude their untravelled possessor into believing that his accent is acceptable in any English-speaking community, where the local dialect is flexible, and has made room for new

[1] The generation which was rolled out flat by strident and bombastic oratory, and even, perhaps, the one which accepted the ten-year-old epigrams of University Unions is passing.

words arising from the increasing demands of modern life, or where the dialect happens to be socially accepted, all is well. Otherwise, unless the dialect-exponent wishes to stay where he is, both geographically and socially, all is not.

These lines are written primarily for English readers. I suspect that the relative power of local partialities may be different in some other countries.

Among the obstacles, however, we must in fairness include many educational systems and many teachers. Some young friends of mine have just been examined for several days in the manipulation of numbers, apparatus, and written English. Yet presumably, after school days, they will speak, to influence their fellow-creatures, oftener than they will do all these other things. That at school they are not taught to speak English (but French and Latin) is interesting. For it, there are variegated reasons. "One leaves this to home influence." Why?

One cannot expect teachers to be enthusiastic about a subject which does not exist in their curriculum. To teach it, if they were suddenly called upon to do so, would reveal very serious weaknesses in themselves. That secondary difficulties will arise out of any attempt to teach speech as a skill is clear. But all new ideas produce difficulties, and usually people ready to surmount them.

CHAPTER V

LISTENING: ART AND SCIENCE

FEW people have discovered the joy and interest which result from listening to the world in ways rather like those which at present characterise one's looking at it. (I would here pray musicians to be patient and to read on for a few more lines.)

Both types of the experience which I will describe might be called analytical listening. Yet the analysis is of two kinds. In the first, one listens with the intention of breaking up the vaguely-perceived auditory background, thereby causing patterns of sound to stand out against it. These patterns can then be treated similarly. For example, one might separate out the sound of a particular instrument in an orchestra, and then decide that it is a tenor saxophone.

In the second type of listening, however, one breaks up the patterns perceived into auditory *sensations* of different pitch. By using these kinds of analysis one may separate out or segregate from one's total reaction to the experience, those aspects which seem to inhere in it, from those which are connected with it only by chance associations. One can then examine those judgments, if any, which would seem to be inevitable whoever heard the voice, and ask how many of them would be left if the opinion had been given by another kind of judge.

This technical description of analysis may be difficult to follow. I will illustrate it by an example, contrasting the degree of analysis commonly made in ordinary sight and hearing respectively.

You are idly sitting, let us say, on an hotel terrace in a Continental holiday resort. Watching the new arrivals, you speculate casually concerning their nature and quality. Let us now suppose that you become temporarily deaf, cannot lip-read, and try to guess who the people are by looking at them. The couple, alighting from that long, cream-coloured

car, with the unmistakable bonnet of a famous English firm; he is dressed in grey flannels, and might be English, but his shoes . . . Are those bands of colour on them quite . . . ? The shoulders of that coat; excellently cut, but Savile Row . . . ? Scarcely; Buda-Pest, perhaps. The lady, too, is puzzling. Her dress is a beautiful colour, but, as you say, " everyone " is wearing that shade, so it doesn't tell you much. Her hair is wavy, but so is most feminine hair nowadays. Her lips are red and she has beautifully shaped eyebrows. But of course . . . Her hands are dainty, but perhaps a shade over-manicured, unless she is foreign. You wonder what kind of people they are. If you could only hear them speak for one minute. . . .

Precisely; before you recover your power of hearing, may I point out that your perception of these charming people's appearance was accompanied by analysis at different levels? The words, " cream," " red," indicate that you analysed some of the visual patterns into mere sensations, which might be produced by other objects; for example, those geraniums below you, or the cream ice you are eating. But while you expect good cream to be cream-coloured, you do not regard the red of the lady's lips as necessarily indicating mere health, though redness on her arms might point to genuine sunburn. In other words, a sensation may or may not be interpreted as indicating characteristics inherent in its object.

Your analysis was also along other lines. The car, you say, is long, about twelve feet. We all know what you mean. The bonnet, you add, is that of a —— Do we all know what that means? Though many, recognising that car's bonnet, will understand what it implies concerning the occupants' wealth, do not forget that a missionary who had been living amongst primitive people for thirty years would not draw any very useful or dependable conclusions from the sight of it, though many an eight-year-old schoolboy could. Such a schoolboy, however, could not mentally label and interpret the shape of those coat-shoulders. A very old gentleman, who had lived alone in the depths of the country for forty years, could appreciate the cut of the coat, but might be unable to draw any reliable conclusions about the lipstick. Even some people who move about the world a great deal would share his difficulty.

We have not quite finished. That artificiality in the lady's appearance which you condone, or may even find attractive after years spent amongst people firm in the faith "that to be a diamond you must be rough," may please you because of a purely accidental earlier meeting with someone similarly artificial and yet likeable. To this transference of affective reaction you may owe your prejudice.

Yet if you could have heard these people speak—how unhesitatingly, rightly or wrongly, you might have "placed" them. And if you happen to be an average Englishman or Englishwoman, you would hear no appeal against your verdict, "Dresses well, but . . ." "Clothes can be bought, but that accent can't be picked up in a week."

Can we justifiably describe similarities between the analytic processes of judgment concerning experiences of sight and hearing? I think we can. For years we may have analysed things seen without attempting similarly to treat things heard. The judgment of sounds may be by recognition ("that's the Prime Minister") or by assimilation—sometimes Procrustean and sometimes natural—to earlier experiences ("like that amused voice I heard at the Browns'") or by differentiation and labelling ("obviously he was educated at——").

Analysis may be physical ("containing unusually high overtones), musical ("deliberately sliding off the note and back again"; quarter-tones") or phonetic ("a suspicion of a lateral lisp"); even psycho-analytic ("This new voice, I hate it. It's like one which, when I was at school, used to make me feel so undeservedly and cringingly small").

Possibly, too, one occasionally makes a half-analytic, half-synthetic judgment of a voice heard, when, for example, one notices a sudden thickening, snarling regression in an angry person's tone, accompanied, however, by invulnerably correct diction.

All these important considerations may enter into a Londoner's judgment that German soldiers in an English talking film should not speak American.[1] The reader may find it interesting to disentangle the variegated bases of such a judgment in himself.

[1] "E. V. L.," in *Punch* of June 18, 1930, p. 692, interestingly expresses this view.

Possible Criteria of Judgment of Voices

Artists are reputed to apprehend the colours of a landscape, in partial freedom from the meanings which the objects are known to convey, by tilting their heads through a right angle, or even by looking at the scene backwards through their legs. I have never been privileged to see them performing this latter feat, but I am told that an American scientist attaining fame, or a Ph.D., in this way, early in life, successfully erected upon this foundation a more orthodox *Weltanschauung*.

The idea behind this device is easy to grasp. To the non-artist a house is absolutely brown or white—everybody knows that. Yet seen in certain lights, it may be, and often is, all sorts of jolly colours. Broadcasting has also "de-objectified" the auditory world, but less acrobatically, so to speak. For nowadays one judges a voice quite naturally, without any visual accompaniments. One has grown used to the voice and nothing besides. Listening delightedly to Mr. Harold Nicolson or to Mr. A. J. Alan, neither of whom I have seen—only one of them being known through a photograph—I feel that I am not contorted mentally or physically, for they are patterns of sound. Yet these patterns are organisms; they live, they vividly express personality. This can easily be heard if you compare them with the nervous speaker broadcasting for the first time his *clichés* about the "vast unseen audience" and this "terrifying little box."

Upon what criteria can judgments of voices—as voices—depend? Some of them seem analogous to those used in the case of vision. Yet since the laws of light and sound are different, it is conceivable that the analogies are far from perfect.

Let us return to the interesting people whom we observed from our terrace. They have now moved nearer. Can we apply similar criteria in judging their voices?

First, it is obviously possible in theory, and sometimes in practice, to analyse a voice into sensations. They will differ in pitch, quality and loudness. But, while the eye allows us to perceive that the cream car is to the right of the geraniums, the ear's ability to judge direction and to sort out objects in space is much cruder. While a face affords a number of discrete visual sensations spread out, a voice offers a number of auditory sensations fused together. Yet the manner of the

fusion of auditory sensations is curious, for in certain conditions our ear can analyse simple fusions, while physical resonators can analyse complicated ones. Broadcasting has put a rough and ready analysis at our disposal, for just as a coloured glass will transmit certain rays and obstruct others, the wireless transmitter at present is churlish towards certain pitches. So it may be convenient to know that a voice which broadcasts well or badly owes this to the presence of overtones of a certain pitch.

Most people, however, in making any judgment upon a voice, are restricted to the knowledge that it is high, low or medium. They may say that it is pure, but they are unlikely to mean by this, as a physicist would, that it has one wave-length, and therefore sounds like a tuning-fork. More probably they would mean that it was clear.

Judgment upon the basis of sensation alone, except by an expert in physics, is unlikely to go very far. It is obviously of much less importance at present than in the case of sight, where it may even play an important part in the judgments of a child of five.

On p. 8 we have mentioned synæsthesia, a curious way of appreciating sensation. To consider it properly would lead to an interesting but complicated psychological discussion of the relation between the different senses: sight, hearing, etc. We speak of a voice as bright or rough. Some thinkers maintain that "bright" obviously applies to sight, "rough" to touch, and these words apply only metaphorically to sounds. They would suggest that such a use of these words might make the amateur think that the boundaries between the sensations from the different sense-organs, of sight, hearing, etc., are blurred, not sharp. Yet it seems possible that they are blurred. Professor Wolfgang Köhler writes: [1]

> "In its efforts to assort experiences into separate classes, psychology has introduced certain rigid distinctions and barriers among the several classes which, first of all, we shall try to remove.
>
> One of these barriers, built by Helmholtz, is that between the qualities of the different senses, as though they were incomparable. I contend that they are comparable

[1] *Gestalt Psychology*, London, 1930, p. 186.

in more than one case. " Brightness," for instance, is an attribute of some auditory as well as of visual experiences. We may go a little farther and say that in the " coolness " of an object which we touch, there is a certain affinity to brightness, whereas in " warmth " there is something similar to dark nuances. In the preceding chapter I have mentioned the fact that the German word " rauh " is used for certain auditory experiences as well as for a definite character of touched surfaces. Again, the German poet Morgenstern states that

Die Möwen sehen alle aus, als ob sie Emma hiessen
(Seagulls all look as if their name were Emma.)

To the German at least, because of his pronunciation of the name, its sound seems to contain something similar to the aspect of the birds. . . .

I take it for granted, then, that there are some similarities between the experiences we have through different sense organs. In passing, we may remark that in primitive languages one finds much evidence for assuming that the names of things and events often originate according to this similarity between their properties in vision or touch, and certain sounds or acoustical wholes.[1] In modern languages, it is true, most of these names have lost much of this character.

In Chapter X we shall see that a far from inconsiderable number of people, varying from 7 per cent. to 25 per cent., report that they experience synæsthesia.[2] For them, the borders between sight and hearing are by no means sharp. They talk not only of the brightness of a voice, but also of its colour, or its touch-qualities.

Here, to forestall justifiable interruption by the non-expert but intelligent reader, it should be mentioned that when a person says that for him a sound has a colour, he may mean it just makes him *think* of that colour, or he may *image*, sometimes very vividly, even occasionally with hallucinatory intensity, some colour or coloured object. This object may

[1] cf. von Hornbostel, *Festschrift Meinhof*, 1927.

[2] This was described by Sir Francis Galton in 1883. Mr. *Punch* discovered this " obscure nervous disorder," about which he delightedly and delightfully discourses, on July 16, 1930 (p. 58).

be directly associated with the sound, e.g. a golden trumpet for the opening passages in the Handel trumpet voluntary; indirectly associated, e.g. dark red velvet and stained glass for Bach's *Aria on the G string* (remembrance of a recent ballet) or connected in ways uncomprehended even by the hearer himself. For instance, a person may say that a contralto voice is like rich purple velvet, meaning that when he hears the voice, he thinks of this, or, however, that on such occasions he has a vivid image of purple velvet, perhaps even annoying and obtrusive.

Can size be attributed to voices? Compare in memory Sylvia Nelis singing the Hymn to the Sun, with Chaliapine singing the Volga Boat Song. You will probably say " yes," and reply similarly if asked whether a voice can have shape, as for instance, roundness or sharpness. Little reflection is required to see that these questions are fundamental. Yet, whether these shape and size characteristics of voices are inherent, or merely attributive, they affect our judgments, as, for example, when a little man speaks with a ' big ' voice.

On p. 50 we suggest that a car's bonnet, in itself unobtrusive, might display to an experienced engineer excellent and costly workmanship, but also, by merely being an " X " bonnet, might inspire a similar opinion in a sparrow-brained youth. Moreover, even the most quietly expensive cars may be advertised in subtly efficient ways. Some cultivated voices are similarly impressive, both to the expert who knows how they grew, and to the ordinary man who recognises quality. Such types of voice, too, are sometimes effectively, if modestly, advertised.

The parallel goes further. There are fashions even in the " best " types of voices, varying a little from a fundamental basis of desirability. One hears this in the cultivated voice of an old man or woman, though often it seems that what they say, rather than how they say it, is out-moded. While there may be a basic cultivated voice, as there is a basic well-cut coat, national and local differences of fashion will assert themselves. What is condemned—or contemned—as affectation by educated people in one part of a country may be unhesitatingly accepted in another. I have read that Mr. W. E. Gladstone's speech was once criticised as having something provincial still left in it.

So it may be with the lipstick's auditory homologue. Some people profess to like the voice as Nature made it, though few would claim æsthetic value for the cry of a newborn child. Others may hold that since most developments since our first public effort owe much to imitation, and therefore all voices are artificial, we may as well make our noises as pleasant as possible.

Lastly, to mention it again for the sake of tidiness, there is the purely personal prejudice due to some " accidental " early experience, resulting in the transference—often unconscious—of one's affective reaction from the original voice to the present one.

No reader will, I trust, think that this vast matter is fully outlined here. But I have tried to point out how sophisticated in analysis of the seen world, even a child of ten may be, and how, perhaps, our judgments about voices, though not one-tenth as discriminative or " epicritic," may show analogous features.

Do not take these last few pages to imply that enjoyment of voices is necessarily analytic. For many reasons this seems unlikely. Yet a little thought about the characteristics of voices may yield much interest and instruction. It is, perhaps, like that which comes when you notice that shadows on snow are often coloured, and when, further, you learn a few reasons for this.

It goes without saying that much enjoyment may come from just listening to voices speaking, giving yourself up to the experience, as you do to music, and not analysing at all.

This is not a roundabout way of saying that when you listen you should attend to the sounds, and not compete actually or mentally with the talker, though there are people to whom this advice is not superfluous. My meaning is this. When some people watch an athlete, they derive great joy from feeling themselves performing the action. In many, a landscape induces a sympathetic mood.

One can listen to voices in both these ways. Refusing to be distracted by irrelevancies like the speaker's appearance (not always easy) one may come closer mentally to the sounds, may sympathise and " empathise " [1] with the speaker. Thus

[1] " Empathy " is the English translation of the German *Einfühlung*; " feeling oneself into " an experience, as when the picture of a squat, low building makes some people feel crushed.

one gains much more from what he is saying than if one were to listen merely with the desire for information.

Such listening may cause you to become more critical of spoken speech, and even to recognise distinctions between its different art-forms.[1] You may then wish to distinguish between the styles desirable in a talk, an after-dinner speech, a lecture, a lesson, an oration and a formal report. Unfortunately at present few hearers do.

Will such criticism, you may ask, spoil your enjoyment of voices? I think that, just as greater knowledge of music or pictures usually increases enjoyment, the result will be similar. Yet it will alter your standards. This may have drawbacks. A child brought up in the country acquires standards for judging freshness in eggs, which will handicap him if later he lives in town lodgings. Yet to remember the taste of a new-laid egg is nothing to apologise for. The dweller in Paris or Vienna may be a little difficult to convince about the beauty of Widnes; a modern child, to whom Bach, Handel and Mozart are daily stimulations, may not believe that the sounds of bagpipes, or of dirges in wet Welsh valleys, are the most inspiring things in music. Stuffed salmon and foxes in glass cases may have had a beauty in the eye of the purchaser, but his children turn them out to make room for good reproductions of de Hooch or Mantegna. Why not?

But where will all this lead us? We may eventually demand that people whom we are asked to hear shall not only say something worth listening to, but say it in a way which justifies our listening instead of reading.

Public personages who fear this may sleep safe in their beds for some time to come: for while many object to hearing Beethoven execrably rendered on a lodging-house piano, few seem to mind listening to well-written English appallingly spoken. Until the schools raise up a critical generation, there is little danger from the present one.

[1] cf. T. H. Pear, *The Art of Study*, London, 1930, pp. 29-40.

CHAPTER VI

Local Partialities and the Judgment of Voices

This is a thorny subject. It seems impossible to discuss in England the theme of this chapter without being offensive and defensive. I have heard and read few discussions upon it which did not end—indeed, they usually began—in bad blood. To keep down the reader's initial temperature this chapter has been given its rather dull title, otherwise it might have been called " This Dialect Business." The subject, like most high-explosives, would be of first-rate psychological interest if only for that reason.

Local Speech Differences and Dialect

An easy line of destructive criticism is an accusation of technical ignorance. To write naïvely about dialect, is recklessly to expose one's flank to all the linguistic experts. " Dialect " is reserved by different writers for a limited set of phenomena, and not always the same set. It seems wise, therefore, to seek the support of Webster, since perhaps some copies of this book may be read in America. In his Dictionary he defines dialect as

> A form of speech marked by local peculiarities, especially a local form of a language different from the standard or literary form.

In *Modern English Usage* Mr. H. W. Fowler, when consulted about dialect, tells the reader to " see Jargon." Gulping down a momentary disappointment, but obeying, he reads :

> *Jargon* is perhaps the most variously applied of a large number of words that are in different senses interchangeable, and under it the distinctions between them may be pointed out. The words are : *argot, cant, dialect, gibberish, idiom, jargon, lingo, parlance, patois, shop, slang, vernacular.* The etymologies, which are indeed several of them unknown,

> do not throw much light, but may be given for what they are worth: *dialect, idiom,* and *parlance* are Greek (*dialegomai, I* talk); . . .

and

> *dialect* is essentially local; a dialect is the variety of a language that prevails in a district, with local peculiarities of vocabulary, pronunciation, and phrase.

Further,

> *vernacular* describes the words that have been familiar to us as long as we can remember, the homely part of the language, in contrast with the terms that we have consciously acquired. The *vernacular* was formerly common, and is still occasionally used, for English as opposed to any foreign language; and by an unessential limitation, it is often applied specially to rustic speech, and confused with *dialect.*

So that I may not fall foul of a linguistic expert who might read this part of the book without the foregoing chapters, I have cited the above authorities and would call his attention to the introduction to this volume.

Analytical treatment of the matter should distinguish between those characteristics of voice and speech described in Chapter II. Particularly important among these seem to be the local tendency to use and approve, and to disapprove other variants of, a certain timbre, intonation and rise and fall of the voice in phrases. Furthermore, though the use of certain words, stereotyped phrases, and the choice or avoidance of slang and playful words may not be reckoned technically as dialect, they affect the average man's judgment that a person has a particular dialect.

I know that a voice, judged by one social group to be "free from accent," may merely have the most favoured accent of that group. The "accent" of cultured London dwellers is probably an example of this. Yet many cultured Northern English pronounce "ask" and "command" in such a way that the least critical Southerner would deem them to be "speaking with an accent."

The Psychologist's "Here and Now" Interest in Dialect

The next part of this book will scarcely interest anyone who regards life *sub specie æternitatis*, for it deals only with psychological problems raised here and now by the use of dialect. In England they are very real. A generation or more ago, many considered the relative position of social classes to be justly represented by the lines:

> "The rich man in his castle,
> The poor man at his gate,
> God made them, high or lowly,
> And order'd their estate."

Now, one reason why the rich man remained in his castle and the poor man at his gate was that if the latter had visited the castle his distinctive dress would have evoked appropriate behaviour from the castle-dwellers. (Good King Wenceslas, you may remember, called on the poor man; a simpler matter.) In England to-day, if a rich man in his castle should invite to dinner a poor man at his gate, it is conceivable that the host could lessen the contrast between his own dress and that of the guest. Yet, if the rich man's family has been rich for long, a great barrier against the poor man will be their distinctive way of speaking. Even the enterprising brothers in the vicinity of the Strand do not hire out dialects for ducal dinners. To acquire such a dialect the poor man would need a sensitive ear, a good teacher, a keen desire to speak like the rich man and, at present, a long time in which to learn.

Prejudices in Favour of and Against Dialect

Peculiarities of speech are regarded by some as ultimate, to be respected, and left unaltered, like the shape of the Pillar Rock, or of one's face. Comment upon the more or less articulate sounds made by a fellow creature may seem the essence of bad taste, and its natural punishment the well-deserved *tu quoque*. But times change. Even one's face is no longer regarded as utterly beyond improvement, repair or sustentation. And speech, fashions in which are notoriously acquired, can obviously be altered. Yet many persons offer resistance

to the alteration of speech not only in themselves, but also in others.

Yesterday's paper reports that an adjudicator in an elocution competition complained that the children under thirteen had disappointed him by adopting a " refaned " tone. " Everybody using that accent knows perfectly well that it is not sincere and that it sounds ' very gold wrist-watch,' " he said. " I would very much rather hear speech of the ' Ee, ba gum, tha knows ' kind, instead of the horrible ' refaned ' accent, because at any rate the speaker would be sincere."

He would, but in England his sincerity would bar him from all public posts outside the Northern industrial area, and most important ones inside it. It might conceivably prevent him from being appointed adjudicator of elocution competitions.

Let us try to trace the reasons for this opposition[1] to change on the part of others, and speculate whether it will always be as successful as at present.

At this point my mind becomes subject to the process called by radio-play producers " cross-fading." Memories weave dissolving arabesques, in which quick discernment might distinguish Messrs. St. John Ervine, Lloyd James, Albert Chevalier, John and Leonard Henry, B.B.C. announcers, snatches of *Hamlet* and *Hindle Wakes*, Ruth Draper, assured English voices in Continental hotels confidently stating inaccuracies about local matters, a deliciously soft West-country English voice unexpectedly encountered in New York State, twenty Canadian railway passengers talking at once with rasping " r's " raised in relief to a height which might have gladdened Mr. Ervine, but acted like emery-paper on me—where in this jumble shall I begin ?

It matters little, for whatever is done will annoy one person and please another. Let me then suggest that when dialect is discussed the aspects which are usually prominent are linguistic, cultural, historical, geographical ; and therefore, inevitably, political, financial, artistic, dramatic and sentimental. (Psychologists do not use the word " sentiment " merely to designate emotional tendencies which they personally dis-

[1] There is a corresponding resistance in the matter of clothing; cf. J. C. Flügel, " On the Mental Attitude to Present-day Clothes," *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 1929, IX, 97–149, and *The Psychology of Clothes*, London, 1930.

approve.) Usually there is neglect of the psychological aspect, i.e. of consideration of a dialect's effect upon the behaviour and mental outlook of its possessor, and of his acquaintances, who may regard it as desirable and worthy of imitation, or as quaint, comic, unpleasant or repellent. It may be mentioned, as tokens of their good faith, that some people pay large sums to hear a particular dialect; others to flee from it.

Dialect as Behaviour and as Experience

It is useful to remember that for the psychologist speech presents two almost distinct aspects. Speech is behaviour. This in its turn produces behaviour by others, and so on in a circle. Speech also provides an apparatus, but not the only one, with which to think. For example, with the terms sensation, percept, image, idea, intelligence, sentiment, a psychologist can make distinctions about thinking which appear less often in the utterances of a ploughman, or of some literary critics of psychology. While the possession of a large vocabulary and the ability to use it properly do not make a man intelligent, it is interesting, and far from puzzling, that many persons who pass as intelligent have a large vocabulary, even if occasionally, as in some learned professions, it is guarded from the common person. Keeping this fact in mind may save the reader some annoyance in the rest of this chapter.

The Personal Value of Dialect

The view which I propose is that from its possessor's standpoint a conspicuous dialect of any kind is justifiable only by its fruits. People, therefore, who wish to learn speech free from their local dialect, believing that it will be an advantage for them, should at least not be hindered.

Some readers may ask, " Who hinders them ? " My answer is : Not a few persons who, having spent, or having had spent on them, a small fortune in eliminating their dialect, or in cultivating one which is socially and financially advantageous, encourage less fortunate persons to stick to their own. Another class of obstructors includes educators—administrators and teachers—who urge that there is no need to help persons to

alter their speech, even if they wish to ; that we should leave nature alone.[1]

To this it may be replied that since fewer animals are now made to perform merely for man's amusement, there is less reason for influential persons' encouragement of others to make socially disadvantageous noises for the actual or potential amusement of their " betters."

This view will now be developed. To avoid waste of time, let me say that the encouragement or preservation of plays and novels in dialect bears only slightly upon this serious social question of the differences in speech among the English. Personally, I like mildly to think that, if I wish to, I can hear a dialect play, or read a dialect novel. In fact, I seldom do either. No doubt the sensibly-dressed citizens of Zürich like to know that if they wish to enjoy the sight of the beautiful, interesting (and ugly, interesting) costumes which their forefathers wore, they can do so, in their wonderful National Museum. If they want to wear copies of these costumes at a fancy-dress ball, nobody will prevent them, least of all the theatrical costumiers. Meanwhile, the Zürichers go about their business, their tennis, rowing, climbing, swimming and flying, dressed in suitable modern costume. This may disappoint a gaping visitor, who might wish to see them sweltering in " amusing " mediæval costumes. But then he would not see them row, dive, ski, motor or play tennis. Moreover, they have a right to their own point of view.

So there is room for the dialect-play or novel ; as a unit in an excellent museum collection. Yet many modern persons are equally or more interested in a novel or play dealing with the minds of people of a country entirely different from their own. These two types of interest, you may say, are not necessarily mutually exclusive. In theory, no, yet in practice they usually are, for time and energy are limited. The student of kailyard Scots seldom displays equal interest in French, German, Italian, Spanish and Russian, or in the minds of the persons who speak these languages. I suggest that sustenance and encouragement of a local dialect separate the speakers of such dialects from their own countrymen more than do differences in dress, manners, political outlook or religion.

[1] Presumably, the noisy machinery which is blamed for part of the deterioration of speech in English industrial areas, occurred there naturally,

Nowadays, cultured people who travel abroad, or desiring to do so, read widely about the inhabitants of other countries, regard " foreignness " in a foreigner as natural. Some may even hold that to call a foreigner " quaint " writes one down. Yet these same persons may admire (without imitating) the " quaint," laugh at the " comic," or recoil from the " raucous " speech of their own countrymen, who believe and assert, though usually without effect, that they are speaking the same language as their critics.

De gustibus . . .

Opinions notoriously differ concerning the beauty, expressiveness and social desirability of different dialects. Yet few local dialects are accepted at their possessor's own valuation outside their own district. In a part of an English county which I know well, it is locally believed and assumed that the speech is sturdily independent. Plenty of examples support this assertion. More common is another variety, which sounds as if its user is—and he often is—airing a grievance. To an outsider, this ventilating sounds not like independence, but " grousing." Certainly a high-pitched whine is one of its chief ingredients. In one town in this county you may hear the virile " burr " side by side with the down-trodden whine. This latter, though it may express the most manly sentiments, might, if the speaker were invisible, appear to have come from Mrs. Gummidge. The fact that its possessor would respond to such an impeachment in a very un-Gummidge-like way does not alter the first auditory impression produced upon an Englishman from another county.

But is One Dialect any Better than Another?

This question is deliberately worded fatuously, to remind the reader that it is no sillier than the common variant, " Isn't one dialect as good as another ? " For this is a polite way of saying, " Mine is as good as (i.e. better than) yours."

Here we encounter unpalatable but significant psychological facts. English dialects, even the dialects of educated people, are not at present socially interchangeable. Moreover, in some parts of England, protection or safeguarding against immigrant alien dialects is stiffer than in others. Let me illustrate this.

I know fairly well two of the largest English cities, " X " and " Y." I cannot conceive that a selection committee in " Y " would refuse an educated applicant from " X " on the ground that since he will speak in public, his dialect would seem bizarre, or would impress people unfavourably. At present I can believe only too easily that an " X " committee would reject a " Y " man for this reason, or would regard his dialect as something to be lived down, expiated, compensated by unusual virtues.

In the countries composing Great Britain there are notable exceptions to these statements. One country seems to have persuaded the others that its local dialects are all acceptable, even that they are all good English. I would wager that some English selection committees accept from this country dialects far more marked than those from their own—and this is written in admiration.[1]

The Pleasure in Hearing Dialect

To hear again the speech familiar in childhood may be very pleasant. At a certain ugly railway junction the porters' voices are music in my ears. For that matter, the platform's odours are music in my nose. Like many lovers of dialect, I might naturally lean towards the belief that the porters'

[1] " The popularity of certain dialects, e.g. Scottish, would appear to be fairly definite. ' Auld lang syne ' has become an institution in England; not just on account of the music. Englishmen still read Burns, and digest a good deal of Scottish dialect in John Buchan's novels. Other examples are Harry Lauder, the Scottish folk song vogue, etc. The Devon and Somerset dialects and the Southern Irish brogue seem popular far and wide. Would you think there is any validity in the theory that all these dialects have a certain softness and sweetness, thus exciting tenderness of emotion and warmth of feeling, as opposed to the hardness, cock-sureness, etc., of others, exciting unconscious feelings of fear and of annoyance? "—E. G. D. L.

This question cannot be answered without bringing in personal preferences. But the distinction between liking a dialect for itself alone, and liking it as material to laugh at, is relevant here. Again, the attitudes of people who have been brought up among soft-speaking voices, to the Lancashire, Yorkshire, and some Scottish voices, are complex. For example, there are men who may dislike (*a*) all voices which by hardness seem overtly to express competency, or (*b*) only women's voices which do so in this way, or (*c*) women's voices which express competency even without vocal ' hardness ' (cf. some Englishmen's impressions of ' managing,' though pleasant, Scottish women's voices). A talk with actresses who are trained to play in ' Bunty Pulls the Strings ' (to mention this play may infuriate many Scotswomen) or ' What Every Woman Knows ' (this may mollify some) might be illuminating."—T. H. P.

English is the only genuinely pure variety. Yet I should find it difficult to maintain that the odour of that station, the shuffling-place of the fish of four counties, is that of pure air, or is even the virile type of smell which all stations ought to strive to exhale. I suspect that the defence of dialect by some of my exile friends is partly caused by the wish to find the speech of their childhood untouched if ever they should visit their birthplace. This sentiment may be laudable. Yet if at my old station the heady brew of sound and smell should tempt me momentarily to call the station-master " bor," and the lady at the buffet " mawther," they would be surprised. They are already settling this dialect question in their own way, while some people still wish to advise them (but they won't listen) to retain their old sturdy speech.

For and Against Standardisation

It must not be forgotten that " standardisation " might affect, either together or separately, (*a*) the words used, (*b*) the constructions in which they are employed, (*c*) the voice proper.

Some people can contemplate few prospects more unpleasant than a standardised house with standardised furniture; except, perhaps, no house with no furniture. But if they, having moulded their home nearer to the heart's desire, find that no electric bulb will fit their exquisitely individual lamp-holders, they may admit a real, if limited, advantage of standardisation.

It is not difficult to apply this parable. Speech, like a lamp, should do its job. And nowadays there are many new jobs for it to do. There are many new things to talk about, many situations in which doing depends entirely upon talking. The persons who maintains, often truly, that it is easier to do a thing than to tell someone else how to do it, will never become an administrator. For since the development of writing, reading, telegraphing and telephoning, it is often the telling, not the doing, that is important and difficult.

An individual style in the manner of telling is excellent, if that style is good. This we realise clearly in all applied arts. It is certain, however, that speech, as a subtler form of behaviour, could never become completely standardised. Local and temporal combinations of workers and players into units will always make dialects. But they will differ from the

dialect of the rustic, who nowadays is often distinguished by the things that he *cannot* say, by the number of words which his vocabulary does not contain. A scientific researcher speaks a Latinised dialect in his laboratory, but may use flexible and polychromatic English outside it. We do not find the rustic, whose idiom may enable him to describe with special effectiveness (personally I doubt if it often does), agricultural conditions, discussing with equal success the social and political questions even of his own village. Some politicians, of course, know this quite well. Even rustics occasionally talk effectively about machinery. Is " There's a rare mess o' muck at the bo'om o' tha' li'l' ole jar," really preferable to " That accumulator has sulphated," which even a country garage mechanic might say nowadays ?

To speak so that others can realise your exact meaning, if and when your meaning is exact, is more important than ever to-day. Some public speakers are, perhaps, a little slow in realising that this is also true of their duties. To call a spade a spade is silly in a factory of modern mechanical cultivators ; there may be many kinds of spade. " We shall not sheathe the sword " sounds prettier than " We shall continue to use the flame-projector, poison gas and the bombing of towns." The world is demanding from every one a more extensive vocabulary. It is, therefore, significant that a strongly marked individual dialect is seldom found together with a wide and flexible vocabulary. The rustics who lose those delightful and quaint " an' all " 's which end their sentences, may change them for more flexible and discriminative expressions. They may even request them from others. At present, the influence of the Women's Institutes makes it probable that the change will come about earlier in the women.

These lines will depress or infuriate some readers, but, perhaps, only those who wish the world to be one vast Widdicombe Fair, with themselves as the gaping spectators.

Differences in language still split the world. Why wish to perpetuate them in our own country ? Nowadays many civilised people wish (at any rate, consciously) to understand each other. Some do not.[1] But it seems reasonable to suppose that they will become fewer.

[1] ". . . We have to reckon with the possibility that at one time, in a world of wordless communication, verbal language constituted an aristocratic

Some years ago, two Germans flying the Atlantic from East to West, were temporarily lost off the North Sea. By chance I heard the same S.O.S. broadcast that evening from two German stations and from Daventry.

A London friend recently heard by wireless a running commentary on a game being played in California. Puzzled at its clearness, he waited for the final announcement. It was in Italian ; Turin relaying Schenectady, who had received the Californian broadcast across the American continent, by wire.

In this Manchester study on a summer night, I heard Amy Johnson speak from Brisbane at six o'clock on a winter morning.

This is the world of to-day. Let us turn to another aspect of it. Mr. Orton, who studies the Tyneside dialects, a hotch-potch of Irish, Scotch and English, tells us that in different towns of this district " bird " may sound like " board," and " board " like " bird." Is this kind of thing worth preserving ? [1] As a subject for study, of course, it is interesting. Compared with effective speech, it is like an ataxic gait, a matter for the pathologist, perhaps even for the orthopædist.

A friend told me that once on a holiday, when she had become so tired of the —— talk (a " soft " dialect), it gladdened her heart to hear a train-load of excursionists from ——, a town famous for the harshness of its accents. We might wonder if the inhabitants had not also become tired of the accents of their visitors. But if English people are so inimical towards dialects from other places in their own country, what hope is there yet of getting them to be friendly towards the languages of their Continental neighbours ? And if the dwellers on the Continent not only suffer less than ourselves

privilege, a jealously preserved class-secret. We have a thousand examples—the diplomats with their French, the scholars with their Latin, the priests with their Sanskrit—to suggest that there may have been such a tendency. It is part of the thoroughbreds' pride to be able to speak to one another in a way that outsiders cannot understand—a language for everybody is a vernacular. To be " on conversational terms " with someone is a privilege or a pretension. So, too, the use of literary language in talking with educated people, and contempt for dialect, mark the true bourgeois pride. It is only we who live in a civilisation wherein it is just as normal for children to learn to write as to learn to walk—in all earlier cultures it was a rare accomplishment, to which few could aspire. And I am convinced that it was just so once with verbal language." Spengler, *op. cit.*, II, 146–7. cf. also pp. 154 and 155.

[1] " It is too late a stage of language-development in an old country. The mingling of habits, etc., in a new country, such as the U.S.A., is to be expected, and necessary.—E. D. G. L.

from mental insulation towards the dialects of others, but actively study our language, is not talk about "keeping out the foreigner" doubly stupid?

When a Cabinet Minister drops his "h's," some people snigger, presumably affected by Hobbes's "sudden glory." When a Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer speaks in public, people say, "But *what* good English!" A workman stammers and stutters, or is unintentionally offensive, in speaking to a fellow-countryman from the same county, who merely went to a school fifty miles away, where he learned a suave dialect useful for pulverising the recalcitrant and uneducated.

Dialect is picturesque? Yes. Rich material for artistic treatment? So are cobwebs, old clothes, and dead birds. But such things, if kept too long, may develop less pleasant characteristics, requiring ventilation, if not fumigation.

Is this violent? Not, I think, more violent than the occasion warrants. People who really believe that in this country understanding each other is desirable in peace as well as in war (there are people who don't) must consider these matters. Someone remarked recently that nowadays "class is almost as unmentionable as war." The way in which speech holds us apart in England is interesting, and often amusing. It affords splendid material for the comic papers, the novel, radio, the talking film. Regarded in the light of modern needs, it is often stupid, cruel and tragic. Like anyone else, I delight in dialect when I visit a place where, for one of many possible good and bad reasons, I may think the local speech beautiful. Yet I cannot see why I should wish the people to go on speaking like that indefinitely, in case I should ever decide to go there again.

The Case for Local Differences

The other side? The argument from æsthetics I have mentioned. It is also urged that the development of culture (as we know it at present, one should add) has been due to groups which are independent, but yet are in effective social contact. It is, therefore, maintained that any breaking-down of desirable groups would produce a standardised culture, less rich in variety.

This is a serious objection, difficult to examine without prejudice. Justification of many English educational institu-

tions rests upon this assumption. Many brilliant achievements of two ancient English universities owe much to centuries of fostering of the group spirit. This is by no means identical with the university spirit, but may be, and usually is, attached to a college, or even to some small group inside it. Yet it is only fair to remark that the degree of organisation within a group may vary greatly. Not all collocations are groups. Moreover, the smallness of the group makes it expensive.[1]

It may be granted that small groups, when in effective contact with the outside world, have contributed much to our national culture. Yet a distinctive mode of speech is not indispensable to such groups. Indeed, nowadays it may cripple a group's effectiveness in dealing with its own tasks. This can be frequently observed when a complicated problem is discussed exclusively by " arts " or " science " men. In fact, a recent definition of an " arts " man as one who knows no facts, and a " science " man as one who has no culture, though caustic, is not always unfair of the middle-aged and younger generation.[2] Moreover, the mental shrinkage of space, of which the effective use of the telephone is an example, has made culture much wider.[3] Some of us are glad to supplement our knowledge of the resemblances and differences between Liverpool and Manchester citizens, by acquaintance with the differences between Englishmen, Frenchmen and Spaniards. The author who recently wrote of these is more cultured than we.

Again, science, art and music are nowadays becoming internationally known. The music of a popular concert coming from my radio set at this moment happens to be by Delius, a Dutchman, who has lived in Yorkshire and France. His music is coming from the Halle Orchestra, founded, guaranteed and encouraged by foreign-born merchants and their children in co-operation with Manchester families, directed

[1] cf. Nevinson, *op. cit.* pp. 76–78.

[2] cf. also Graham Wallas on "Professionalism," *Our Social Heritage.*

[3] " Does not this suggest the need to accept a tendency in modern civilisation, with its internationalisation in thought and action, its rationalisation of industry, correlation of sciences and of branches of scholarship, and its air-linkages ? Is it conceivable that in 1,000 years' time the world will have one standard language used for practical and intellectual purposes and some subsidiary sets of languages ;—vestiges of former national tongues, dialects, etc.—used for emotional purposes, e.g., love-making, joking, passing the time of day, etc ? "—E. G. D. L.

in turn by the Germans, Halle, Richter, Balling, and now by the Irishman, Sir Hamilton Harty.

It is, however, unhesitatingly accepted as typical of musical Lancashire, and so far as I know, few Lancastrians object. Some lovers of "On Ilkla' Moor" have room in their hearts for Delius.

Need we go farther? Does not the shrinking world allow us still to find variety, but in larger and larger circles?

CHAPTER VII

A Chapter of Personal Prejudices: Some Impressions of Voices

While writing as a psychologist, and therefore aiming at neutrality, it is easy to forget that one purpose of writing at all is to provide data for others' criticism. The reader (who, if bored or alarmed at this prospect, may slip down a by-road and join us again on p. 89) will, therefore, now be offered some impressions of my own about voices.

I will resolutely, though with respect, put aside the feeling that it is indecent to speak about a person's voice, intonation or dialect. Yet this opinion is so widespread that it merits a few lines of comment. If minding our own business be counted as life's chief aim, description, let alone discussion, of any quality of any other living or dead thing, is indecent. Being myself one who hesitates before pointing out a smut on the nose even of an intimate friend (psychologists will recognise the sentiment, or complex, underlying this shyness), it has cost me an effort to write about other people's voices.

Rightly, too! you may remark. Yet times change. Presumably neither John Gilbert nor Greta Garbo would protest vehemently if we talked about the faces which are their fortunes; members of the Russian Ballet graciously allowed their dancing to be described in newspapers, and since broadcasting has become established, it is legitimate to regard voices as dominaters more or less skilful, of air and ether, and not as mere freight-trains of information, or instruments of what Professor B. Malinowski calls "phatic" communication.

While planning the "wireless" test described in Chapter XIII, I was in that arena of variegated vocalisation, Switzerland. Here I sometimes found myself listening to voices merely as voices, declining any knowledge about the sources from which they proceeded until I had made a judgment. Since then, I have often listened with a similar "attitude" to a radio

voice, trying to judge, sometimes analytically, sometimes by total impression, the qualities of the voice apart from its message. These auditory impressions have then been compared with what could be learnt of their producers by personal contact, through friends' comments or through reading their works. I nearly wrote " through accounts of them in newspapers," but Professor Stephen Leacock's report of himself as depicted by successive interviewers on the same day [1] will explain, if necessary, why I did not.

Let me, therefore, plunge into criticism, apologising in advance, but with the reminder that broadcasting makes a voice public property, as public as a writer's style.

My first comment concerns the voice of the author of a famous literary miniature. I read it in a bad light, in a 'bus which leapt through the traffic, spasmodically, like a tiger; in air charged with gases which the beast had belched back into its body; and among jaded people going home from business. The story lifted me out of these surroundings, and this century, into . . . But that would be telling.

With the most pleasurable anticipations, I prepared to hear a wireless reading by the maker of this verbal beauty. I am sorry, but I can record only that the voice sounded desiccated and de-personalised. It was hard to believe that the mind to which that voice belongs had chased that gem of letters; easier to suppose that another personality in him had expressed itself through the written word.[2]

I readily admit the individual and local prejudices with which this description teems. Yet to whatever acoustic and physiological events the " dryness " of a voice can be attributed, it acts unfavourably upon me. This may be a simple effect because—to my loss—I have never been emotionally influenced[3] by such a voice. " Dry " voices seem to me less frequent in England than in some other English-speaking countries.

(By the way, " English," here and elsewhere in this book,

[1] *My Discovery of England.*

[2] " Though there are numerous exceptions, I think it safe to say that the average novelist or story-writer is not a good 'microphone' reader of his own stories. Too much experience of creative effort in 'written' narrative is probably a hindrance to verbal narrative."—E. G. D. L.

[3] Readers of the last chapter in Mr. Harold Nicolson's *Some People* will understand my reluctance to write " conditioned." Those who do not might read Mr. Nicolson.

means English. It does not include Scotch, Irish and Welsh. In the speech of these three countries, voice-problems are often different from our own. Occasionally what is written here may be true of these other nations, but usually only by accident.)

I believe that to many other English ears besides mine, "level" American voices often sound unemotional. Many Welsh voices sound invariably emotional, even when their reaction has not been pressed to what, I believe, is called "hwling"-point.

Here is another widespread local prejudice. Many English who applaud many Welsh singing voices, laugh heartily (stupidly, asininely) at the tone-pattern of the Welsh sentence when applied to the English language. I admit, with shame, this tendency, resisted but unconquered, as the following incident shows.

One Sunday, in England, I was "reaching out" for Continental wireless stations. As I gradually tuned in what I took to be a music-hall comedian—not, of course, from England—I smiled. My smile faded and vanished as sharper tuning revealed a voice, preaching in Welsh.

Another prejudice. In *Carnival*, mentioned on p. 98, the voices of gently-bred Englishmen sounded friendly and pleasant to me. But what would be the effect even upon listeners in certain parts of the North of England, to say nothing of hearers in more distant English-speaking countries? My own impression is strongly influenced by knowledge that such voices at present characterise one section of the upper middle-class in Southern England, and that, whether this ought or ought not to be, it is so.[1]

[1] A friend writes: "When we talk about Northerners and Southerners, we really refer to the 'lower-middle' and working classes. There are surely no *greatly* marked differences of intonation and accent in the 'upper' and 'upper-middle' classes, wherever located. They are a 'standardised' vocal class (through education, travel, etc.) in a sense in which the remainder are not."

I should go out of my depth in discussing this. I think (*a*) that intonation may characterise a social class, whether its members come from North or South, (*b*) that refined taste (*not* refaned) may lead anyone to subdue vocal harshness. Yet to my ear the differences between the vowels of North and South stand out, whatever their "frames." Diamonds and pearls in identical settings would still be recognised as different.

Nevinson (*op. cit.* pp. 54–152) describes the differences between English classes with unusual incisiveness.

Many of these voices have a smoothness and softness which I happen to like, though to what extent this liking is merely due to early experiences I cannot say. Yet not a few Northern English, Scotch, Ulstermen, and perhaps many dwellers in the Dominions and America, would judge these soft accents to be soft in more senses than one. I should not necessarily agree.

The hard voice of many Lancashire and Yorkshire people is, in these counties, often assumed to symbolise or proceed from their hardy character. Yet from what counties came Nelson, Grenville, Hawkins, Raleigh and Drake? Adamantine obstinacy is compatible with a soft voice. The problem is complicated, for while obstinacy is sometimes overtly expressed by a person's total behaviour, of which the voice is only one aspect, it may lurk behind a mask of apparent simple-mindedness, slow-wittedness or stupidity.

Our difficulties become less if we bear in mind that whatever the physical sounds produced by a voice, the effect upon the hearer depends largely upon his own past experience. A voice causing complete submissiveness in the speaker's own social circle may merely amuse a person who knows nothing of its cultural background. An Englishman, for example, who had learned German in Austria might perhaps not know that he "ought" to feel submissive if addressed in the accents of the pre-war ruling class of Prussia. All the same—and this is a matter to be investigated—there may inhere in all "ruling" voices some timbre, intonation, or sound-picture which would command anyone taken off his guard, as a dog can be commanded without understanding the words.[1]

Changing the Voice

It is undoubtedly true, perhaps especially in England, that much voice-changing occurs after childhood. One need only instance the so-called[2] public-school manner—varieties, of course, exist—of which the voice is an important, though not the sole ingredient. For certain public appointments, a

[1] From the same friend: "Have you noticed the assertive, commanding intonation in the voices of young Mayfair, more especially among the women? A form of exhibitionism, possibly, but an interesting trait, nevertheless. Waiters and others usually take rapid notice of such entrants into London restaurants."

[2] The friend again: "I think we can almost say there is an Etonian voice—the soft, cultured drawl."

touch of this manner is a *sine qua non*. For many in the South, West and East of England, it is a definite advantage; for some, in other places, it is a drawback.

Voice and "bodily manner" are usually intermingled,[1] yet the microphone dissociates them. This is strikingly audible when a person with an aggressive voice, but disarming smile and gestures, is deprived of these two extenuating factors.

Certain characteristics in the English 'ruling classes' voice are, I think, beyond dispute. One is confidence, often carried by a ring in the voice. It is heard well in some army officers and lawyers, and in many schoolmasters. This, perhaps, helps to make schoolmasters as a class such unsatisfactory people to argue with. (I might warn intending critics that this is the view of many schoolmasters-in-training.) When a schoolmaster is also an officer, the effect is often multiplicative, not additive.

Some "leading" English voices suggest a modesty, very pleasing to the ear and often real. It is expressed by respectful sounds, usually accompanied, or at least introduced, by ritual phrases. There is a technique of saying gently, "I don't know anything about it myself, and I wasn't much good at school, but—if you don't mind my saying so—it seems to me most awful rot." After this first scramble upwards towards the realms of thought, the unusually rarefied atmosphere often goes to the speaker's head, for either he decides to stay at this altitude, or swaying giddily, crashes. Yet in England few people point out to him the way up, or down, possibly because to do so would be to appear a highbrow.

A technique, useful at most English committee-tables, is a "plain-man" form of address in which the sound-waves are modulated at their birth by a pipe between the teeth. This renders the message less easy to interpret, yet it is generally assumed in this country that all people who speak with pipes in their mouths are manly and dependable, and that if one could only hear their opinions, one would naturally agree with them.

[1] The *Observer* of August 3, 1930, reports the arguments of a Potsdam judge, Dr. Hellwig, in favour of the talking film as applied to suspected criminals. "A man may alter his facial expression, and even his features beyond recognition, but his walk, the way he speaks, moves his arms or holds his head, have often struck those who have only come into fleeting contact with him sufficiently to make a recognition in a sound-picture possible."

Changes, often quite conscious, take place in vowel sounds, as by Northerners who adopt the Southern " a," or *vice versa.* Chapters could be written about this.

The influence of some educational establishments causes the voice of some girls and women to take on a " hurt " tone, not always unpleasing. It sounds crushed and yet rather attractive, like the bruised leaf of a sweet-briar. Tentative imitation of such a voice by oneself—without prejudice and *mutatis mutandis*—suggests that it may be due to a certain over-control, and this may give some clue to its *raison d'être.* It suggests power kept under, like a mighty car, proceeding slowly at its owner's behest, or a personality, which encouraged, would blossom as the rose, but which is fastidious concerning the encourager, and the place and time of blossoming. Whether this voice at present is declining in popularity, being supplanted by the " hearty " and the " unsentimental " voice—these are the merest labels—I cannot say.

Psychologically interesting are the degrees to which such alterations of the voice are conscious or unconscious. Since some girls acquire a new voice while at school, conscious acquirement seems possible. Perhaps, if she wished, an unusually frank schoolmistress—their number seems to be increasing—could easily answer these questions.

Ars est celare artem ; for that good reason alone, many would deprecate lifting the bonnets from these smoothly-running engines. Yet decency in 1930 and 1870 are differently conceived, in our own country, and standards of decency have always differed, even in different civilised countries at the same time.

It is interesting that people who have always been blessed with good looks or money, and those who have had pleasant voices since, say, three months old (for until then few babies are like nightingales), are prone to regard any attempt to acquire these things as unnecessary, undignified, unnatural, and when only partially successful, humorous. After every war there is an outcrop of jokes, usually the same ones, about the new rich. A woman who begins to " make up " her face appears to many to be a joke until she does it well. Why does society often smile at the person who is learning to speak well when grown-up, but never at one who learned this in the

home or at school? Partly because, in the past, "elocution" has often been badly taught. The voice of the elocution-teacher may have been copied from some other elocutionist, who in his turn . . . and so on. In this respect, but in few others, it resembles the song of the caged canary. Again, in this country people may smile at such efforts because they like coverings. Our "hook-ups," whether electrical, vocal or sartorial, are encased in seemly, and costly, mahogany, steel, or silk. In some countries, this fashion is less dominant. Signs of its decline appear in our own.[1]

The Preacher's Voice

To write a book in England entitled *Voice and Personality*, and to omit the preacher's voice, would be an easy way of appearing original, and, be it added, of retaining some of one's friends. It is noteworthy that of those people who write in the newspapers on the decline of the churches, some record their dislike of what they term the "preacher's voice." Yet we should remember that many who do not like the preacher's voice also dislike being preached to. The value of their attitude, therefore, may be partly, though not entirely, discounted.

It might be mentioned here that one may like or dislike the voice of an actor, 'bus-conductor, or lawyer without necessarily approving or disapproving its owner's total behaviour, beliefs, customs, conventions, personality, temperament and character. Few there are whose hearts leap high when they behold a buff envelope intimating, horizontally, that it is On His Majesty's Service, and, obliquely, that it is Private. Yet even if you met an inspector of taxes who had a pleasant voice, your views concerning the right amount of your contribution might remain unaltered. Why, then, should the preacher's voice cast a halo over his profession and personality? And does that halo perform its functions nowadays as efficiently and effulgently as it did two generations ago?

Let us try to set down some qualities which may fairly be required in a preacher's voice. It should be articulate, powerful, but with an efficient and graded volume-control;

[1] cf. T. H. Pear, "Some Subtler Skills," *British Journal of Psychology*, XX, 1929, pp. 146 ff.

it should convey the meaning of its message, and it should seem to proceed from a human being.

But should it? Here we encounter interesting differences of opinion. Some would urge the use of different voices for praying, for reading a sacred text—even for different types of such texts—for calling the congregation's attention, when necessary, to the existence of the League of Nations, or of slums at their doorstep, and for announcing parochial festivities. There are clergymen who, using one voice for all these functions, enable the stage-impersonator to earn a good living. One of these, by the way he says "the po-or," points to a whole chapter of English social history.

Unfair, you say? Recently a minister of religion wrote in a newspaper:

> Only last week a clerical paper took umbrage at a music-hall turn, in which the parson's manner and voice were treated with some levity. One cannot say caricatured, because many a clergyman has got to the stage beyond which caricature itself cannot go.

This is no place to discuss the acutely opposed views held concerning the degree of difference which may fitly distinguish the appearance of an officiating clergyman from that of an ordinary citizen, or, indeed, of a church from that of a lecture theatre. Often, however, it is not recognised that by hearers who are sensitive to voices, and to the varied æsthetic appeal of different subjects to the ear, stylistic variations in speech may be desired.

We admit the reasonableness of these differences in visual preferences. I once heard Professor Albert Einstein lecture. He had just been invested with an honorary degree. Swathed in millinery, he spoke, writing on a blackboard, incongrous upon an ornamental dais and under a huge organ. I would rather have heard him as himself, in a lecture room, though I know others may disagree.

A similar difference of opinion may have arisen concerning the desirable amount of variability in the clergyman's voice. Addressing the Deity in conversational tones may offend some human ears. Yet the voice to use, if not one's own, must obviously become a matter of taste. (It must be difficult to find theological grounds for ritual mutilation of "r" and

" s.") For such occasions a stylised voice may be in place. I respect this view, pointing out, however, that it implies the undesirability of this stylised voice for ordinary conversation, since church dignitaries do not, for instance, go shopping in cowl and cope and rochet and pall.

We can assume that what is meant when the " parson's voice " is spoken of inimically, is a voice very different from those of persons of the same district and social class, even of his own family. Can we describe it further ?

The writer quoted on p. 79 says :

> The ingredients of a " parson's voice " are well known. They consist in speaking on a note as remote from the conversational as possible, stressing various vowels without reference to their tonic accent, and generally dropping the voice at the end of each sentence.
>
> This method of delivery is, I think, not unsuitable for the recitation of formal prayers, especially if the language is stilted, according to modern ideas, or archaic. The belief is widespread that it is irreverent to address the Deity in the language and with the inflections of ordinary conversation. . . . But it is in the pulpit that the " parson's voice " becomes thoroughly objectionable. There is no excuse here. The matter is not archaic, it is the parson's own. There is nothing more formal than the notes the parson has himself prepared on the Saturday morning before.

He suggests a remedy, that on a Saturday night the clergyman should declaim his sermon to his rudest friends and allow them to heckle as much as they like wherever there was something in his delivery to which they objected.

It should be noted, in fairness, that there are parsons and parsons, denominations and denominations, universities and universities.

One way of speaking, characterising not merely some clergymen, but many members of an old university, is to increase the intensity of the voice, to explosive point, upon important words. On its hearers it seems to evoke one of two impressions, either that the speaker is important or merely pompous. Nowadays the same voice might conceivably

produce the first of these effects upon a grandfather, and the second upon his son and grandson.

The so-called " parson's voice," even when shorn of its ceremonial affectations—often it is not so shorn—is nowadays a drawback increasingly serious to its owner, to his hearers, and to his potential hearers. It interposes a constant social barrier between himself and most of his congregation. If nowadays any clergyman wishes to be mentally cut off from his parishioners, this voice can be guaranteed as an insulator proved efficient through several generations.

A correspondent with considerable experience of clergymen's voices sends the following comments.

" Standardisation which is suitable for ritual is, for the same reason, completely unsuitable for preaching. Standardised intonations applied to sermons, which, to be convincing (at any rate, to modern and fairly intelligent congregations) shoud express the preacher's real feelings and ideas, result in the impression of artificiality and lack of sincerity. Take as an example the lowering of the voice to express " awe," and whining to make an appeal.

The more recent cult, among certain preachers, of " muscular Christianity," in an endeavour to get away from the older methods, is also ineffective, owing to what is probably a semi-conscious distrust on the part of modern congregations for tones of aggressive self-confidence. There may even be a more conscious distrust among the intellectual classes, who would realise that, if a person is certain of his message, there is no need to be manly or aggressively self-confident about it.

The standardised preacher's voice, of whatever category or to whatever standard it may belong, is usually shown up badly over the microphone. This is not to say that there are not many admirable broadcast preachers, who have been sifted out in the course of seven or eight years, and who have mastered the technique of the microphone, and know how to " put over " their personality.

A more fundamental antipathy to the standardised preacher's voice may, perhaps, be due to intonations of awe and reverence, a God of Fear not being in fashion nowadays."

Will a Cultivated Voice be of More or Less Social Value in the Future ?

To answer this question would require prophetic vision into several interesting possibilities. In proportion as broadcasting and the " mannered " talking film produce greater uniformity of utterance, cultivated speech may be more desired, first as a means of attracting or pleasing, and later, as a means of not repelling or displeasing, other persons, not necessarily of the opposite sex. A present-day parallel is that democratisation of care for the teeth, hair, hands, complexion, figure and limbs which characterises to-day's civilisation, especially in large towns. The pressure causing this is partly psychological, partly economic, as any girl, careless of her appearance, may find if she tries to become a saleswoman or typist.

Most of these changes are literally twentieth-century; many of them post-war. It is difficult to judge whether America, which sets the rest of the world an example in personal hygiene and daintiness, will develop a similarly rapid and practical interest in beautiful voices. It needs little prevision to surmise that if she did decide to improve them, she would develop quicker methods than we possess at present in the Old World. For while lawns require centuries to reach that perfection which gladdens the eye in a college court, voices may be beautified much more quickly, even to-day.

An American once told me that when at college she had studied advertising. " In those days," she said, " you had to appeal to four fundamental instincts: acquisitive, herd, parental and sex instinct. " But that," she continued, " was five years ago, and I hear that by now they've gotten them all refined down to one."

It may be so. Good teeth and a clear skin are healthy, but they have other advantages. This leads us directly to our next point. Will not a pleasing voice become an asset in attracting the opposite sex, among people who at present take little notice of voices at all ?

It is not difficult to find parallels. In a broadcast talk on post-war British civilisation, Dr. C. Delisle Burns mentioned that nowadays, in some parts of Great Britain, young women who marry coal miners make preliminary stipulations about personal cleanliness which until recently were unheard of. In

some engineering towns the young workers now change their suits after work, because otherwise the girls will not go to "the pictures" with them. Moreover, "the pictures," by showing well-dressed young men, effectively exert continuous pressure in the same direction.

Now, the girl of a few years hence will be used to hearing cultured English spoken on the wireless.[1] She will hear it on the sound-films, when they have had a little more time for a badly needed wash and brush-up. She may encourage her young man to make pleasant sounds, as she stimulates him to wear more acceptable clothes, even if they are not yet the average wear of his "set."

(I anticipate protests from some dwellers in the pleasant, gentle Southern counties, who would like cotton-operatives to continue wearing clogs and shawls, and speaking as in *Hindle Wakes*, in case the leisured ones should ever pass through Lancashire, on their way to Scotland, or, having seen all available "thrillers," they should *faute de mieux* go to a dialect-play; also from the Canutes and Mrs. Partingtons who would like clothes and dialects to continue keeping folk in their proper stations.)

This change in speech-standards would make it quite natural for a young man to speak in a way completely comprehensible to most other persons in the country, just as, for some years, it has seemed natural for him, if he can afford them, to wear white flannels for cricket.

This example illustrates another possibility; he may not lose his original mode of speech, but develop alongside of it, naturally and easily, a standard English as natural and easy as standard cricket flannels.

The results of this change are not difficult to guess. Awareness of them, indeed, may prompt some of the present arguments for *laisser-faire*. The few persons in any section of the community whose speech was cultivated in childhood will lose predominance based merely upon this privilege,

[1] In his recent book, *Science and the New Civilisation*, Dr. R. A. Millikan, one of America's foremost physicists, has paid British broadcasting a remarkable tribute. He writes:

> "The value of giving the whole British public the opportunity to hear the English language used in intonation and otherwise, as cultured people are wont to use it, is altogether inestimable."

just as social grades are nowadays less easily distinguished by characteristic dress.[1]

This levelling of dress and speech inevitably causes important psychological changes. At present anyone who cares to use a certain tone and cultivated accent, can make an "uncultivated" opponent look crude, offensive or silly. I have seen a committee of earnest men made ill at ease by the languid, scrupulously polite, well-bred accents of one recalcitrant member. Not long ago, this pulverising outfit would have included rings, lace, ruffles, scent, snuff-box, powdered hair and a sword But even nowadays one hears voices which need no such aids.[2]

It is foolhardy to prophesy changes in mere fashion. So many imponderables—for example, a shower of rain at Ascot—may have a disproportionate effect. Yet I believe that democratisation in the deliberate "skilled" use of voices will come, and that it is desirable. If there are readers who agree, one may ask them, are they helping?

Why, in so many of our schools, is there so much more enphasis upon written than upon spoken English? (I suspect that this question is put much too gently.) How much time is given, in many secondary schools, to the writing—and speaking—of Latin by boys and girls who cannot speak English coherently in public for two minutes? It is depressing to reflect that the best of these grow up into the average speaker at public meetings. This gentleman, often very expensively educated, has spoken—intermittently—in public for over twenty years. He is given a week's notice that he has to propose a vote of thanks.

This is how he does it.

> I'm sure—er—(suggesting that there may be, as, indeed, there often is, some doubt)—we're all very—er—(stops here, for a grinding gear-change)—*grate*ful—(bounds forward in top) to the—er—speaker . . . for his interesting and—er—suggestive—er . . . talk.

[1] It has been interesting to observe, in the last five years, the social spread of the *beret*, as worn by Englishwomen, or, in men's wear, of "plus-fours," and before them, of grey "slacks" and blazers. The democratisation of plus-fours does not seem to have hastened their extinction, however.

[2] cf. Spengler, *op. cit.* II, 134, on clothing as "the means of an expression-speech."

Cannot the generation which has added flying to the accomplishments of the human race do better than this? What is the reason? Nervousness? A foolish, misleading word. Self-consciousness? A little better, but is complete anæsthesia the highest aim of civilisation? One reason why many ordinary people fear speaking in public would also make them afraid of flying an aeroplane, or of diving from thirty feet. They don't know how. Why? They have never been taught. Many teachers are not skilled public speakers, except in addressing their classes; a specialised technique, since such talking is seldom directed horizontally.

This limitation is noticeable in public discussions among teachers. The form, manner and tone of the questions often resemble those at a political meeting. They are frequently put as if their propounders believed in attack as the best defence. While this is sometimes justifiably provoked by the previous speaker, the tone is occasionally due to the unusual experience, for many a teacher, of the discussion between equals which is a commonplace at scientific societies.

Little is, in fact, yet known about the best methods of teaching people how to say in public what they really mean.[1]

Perhaps unconscious motives make an Englishman feel that he ought not to speak fluently, goad him to say "I mean," when he has arrived at a stage of temporary inability to mean anything, and to use "er, er" to fill up pauses, instead of devoting them to thinking what he wants to say. Is it unconscious self-mortification? (Psycho-analysts will easily fill in the blanks.)

You remember, perhaps, how an inspector of schools, searching at lunch for something to say to a member of the non-linguistic teaching staff, remarked on the excellent French accent of Jones minor. "Yes," was the answer, "he *is* an affected little beast."

Is the tradition of the "strong, silent Englishman" still dominating us? There are many striking contradictions; only yesterday, for example, two representatives of the silent service expressed themselves in the Lords with vigour, and at considerable length, upon the London Naval Treaty. Yet this question might be asked, Why, after exactly half a

[1] Some useful hints are given in Overstreet's *Influencing Human Behaviour*, London.

century of universal education, are we amazed when one out of ten thousand adults can say what he or she really means, before an audience or in a committee, without breakdowns, blurred articulation, incoherence, insensitiveness to others, or unconscious offensiveness? Presumably for the same reason that we should be surprised if we saw a year-old baby swimming across the Thames. We should find it difficult to believe that he owed this ability to teaching.

Yet any committee-member can tell you of the hours wasted because of people's inability to express themselves vocally. Many a man who has admirable control over a horse, an aeroplane, a cricket-ball, a yacht, is content to stand behind his own vocal apparatus, fumbling or impotent.

Speech is one way by which we understand each other. Understanding, however, is not only cognitive but affective; not only knowing what the other one knows when he speaks, but appreciating how he feels. For this reason I think that its cultivation is socially desirable.

Future Functions of the Voice

At present prophesies are fashionable, and often infuriating, yet perhaps I may be allowed to venture a few. Evidence for them has been outlined in this book.

The democratisation of culture, the easy availability of news concerning other people and other peoples, increased travel, the conscious and skilful alteration of many external features of personality, the exploitation of personality on the screen and the radio, the election to important committees of all sorts and conditions of men, the use of the telephone for speaking across the world; such changes will produce a more widespread realisation that many persons who, in the last century, used their voices as subtle, but dominant forms of behaviour, owed not a little of their success to this fact. That they have not desired to discover the reasons for their success, and thus to share it, is not due entirely to deliberate secretiveness, but also to a general belief both in the unanalysability of the subtler skills [1] and in the naturalness of our differences in social grade. In our country, presumably, it will be a long time before these differences disappear, but already they arrange themselves along other lines. "Classes" are less

[1] cf. "Some Subtler Skills."

definitely and clearly marked in modern England. "Birth" and wealth show more gradations. Moreover, most of the democratising agencies mentioned above will cause purely local sympathies to be less intense, and enthusiasm for less local "subjects" to be greater. Recently the æsthetic uses of the voice have become more and more a matter of public interest, which shows no signs of abating.

Since one of the few indubitably universal social influences is the cinema,[1] which will soon be almost without exception a talking cinema, the influence of the voice will become incalculably greater. The voices heard, both in the cinema and from the loud-speaker, will be associated by many listeners with the possession of authority or special knowledge.[2] For this and other reasons they will be influential. That some listeners will come to speak two varieties of English, one approximating to "Standard English" and the other to their local speech, seems likely. In some poorer parts of one English city at least the children use the phrase "talking wireless." Yet whether this bilingualism will continue seems doubtful.

A unifying accent, as a leading article in the *Manchester Guardian* of July 28th, 1930, points out, would destroy a vast structure of snobbery.

> A Wimbledon which spoke exactly like Poplar might not be so convinced of its own inevitable superiority to Poplar; while if insurance clerks and tram conductors were, as far as speech is concerned, indistinguishable, they might meet one another on more companionable terms. We may, then, lament the disappearance of geographically produced accents and be delighted to see the last of those that arise out of social distinctions: out of the poor attempt of one section of the community to assert its difference from another by mouthing its words in an especial manner—creating, as it were, a top-hat of them. Besides, standardising speech is only part of that process, at work everywhere, of eliminating external values. Once we give up wonder-

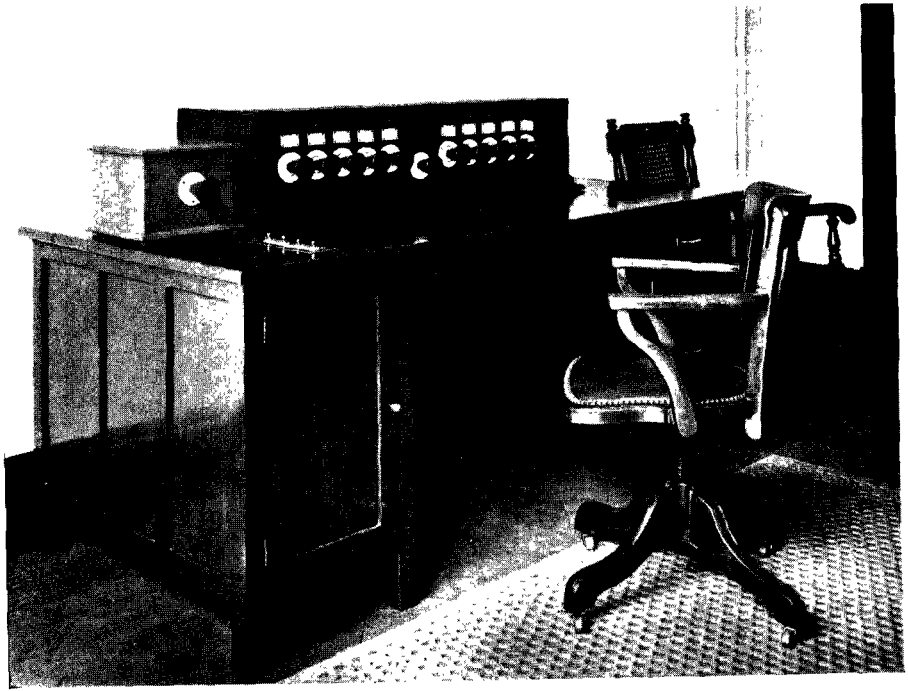
[1] cf. a leading article in the *Manchester Guardian* of July 12, 1930, on the decline of public practical interest in the Royal Agricultural Show, and in certain other national events.

[2] Note, too, the special "news-reel" theatre in London, where current events may be presented for an hour instead of the present ten minutes, intensifying the authority of the voices which describe these events.

ing " Does he speak King's English ? " we may begin to wonder " What is he thinking about ? "—a much more interesting question.

That many telephone users have by now developed a " telephone personality " is placed beyond doubt by comparing them with those of our acquaintances who have not. Opening and closing phrases, sentences allowing one to differ from, or reason with, one's telephone *vis-a-vis* are as important as the different ways of beginning and ending a letter which have to be learnt if one is to negotiate with a complicated social world.

Yet how many people are thus equipped to utilise the long-distance expensive telephone call with a short-time limit ? Many sturdy individualists will not even heed the simple suggestions given by the telephone authorities concerning the phrases which save time and avoid confusion.



It may not be realised by all readers that in England the presentation of Radio-Drama has attained a degree of complexity greater than in most other countries. Many separate studios may be employed simultaneously or successively so that different speeches, noises, music, echoes, etc., may be " faded " or " flashed " in or out, or superimposed upon each other by the controller.

This photograph is of the Control Desk at the Northern Region Offices of the B.B.C., Manchester.
(By kind permission of the B.B.C.)

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CHAPTER VIII

Radio Drama from the Listener's End

The Average Listener's Point of View

This phrase is familiar; yet what does it mean? To assume that there is an average listener may be helpful, and seems the essence of common sense. Yet the matter is not as easy as it looks. Persons who talk about the average listener are apt to divide society into two apparently irreconcilable camps—high-brows and low-brows. Now, if this division can be justified, and if there are more low-brows than high-brows, the average listener will fall clean into the former class. If the two classes are approximately equal, the average listener may fall into the gap between them. Neither of these reflections is very suggestive or helpful. The catch is in the use of the word "average." Let us see this in another way.

Last night I found myself humming Weber's *Invitation to the Valse*. The wireless issues this invitation about once a day, from one station or another in England or on the Continent. I like this music. I feel, however, that some day I may like it less. And usually I am too busy to be an average listener. If, then, the average listener likes it now, will he cleave to it all his life, as the Englishman does to bacon and eggs?

Again, one may assert with little fear of contradiction that the average listener is either male or female, and rarely hermaphrodite. Yet is it, I wonder, safe to assume that the average listener is either high-brow or low-brow; never mezzo-brow?

Thoroughly unsatisfactory reflections, you say. I agree. They are based upon a fatuous and illusory distinction; "high-brow" and "low-brow." This Americanism, which, perhaps Americans will abandon now that we have adopted it—an annoying but comprehensible habit of theirs—has mildewed English speech, writing and thought. It infests not only the

back-stage " talkie," but that Olympian eyrie, the philosopher's study. For its extinction, something like a National Rat Week seems desirable.

Different Opinions of Radio Drama

Presumably, many persons' opinion of radio-drama would be that it is rather dull, especially if—or because—effort is required to listen to or comprehend it. Yet there may be more cogent reasons for this judgment. Any experience which for its fulfilment requires one to forego some customary, expected amenity, is likely to seem dull at first. When on the Continent I miss my early-morning tea, and getting-up seems dull. Unlike some people, I don't stay in England permanently because of this. Now, radio-drama is definitely one-sided. Listening to it, one has, or is, only ears. *Only?* Let us remember that we hear not with our ears but with our minds. The simple sounds are interpreted by perception and imagination, and " imagination " alone would require a book.[1]

To say that radio-drama is one-sided means more than that. For drama, presented in a theatre, is not two-sided but polyhedral. Listening to radio-drama, one is deprived of all the theatre's sights, sounds, smells, tastes, and that vast conglomerate of experiences included under " touch."

Let us make an inventory of the sights which one foregoes. The actors, the stage and scenery, of course. We will assume that they are a serious loss. Yet one also misses the intervening sights; the backs of other persons, a faded twopence-coloured proscenium, the irrelevant and discrepant stage-boxes, enemies of illusion, in which equally irrelevant and discrepant people try to look simultaneously at the actors and the audience, and sometimes compete with the performers. Also the illuminated exit-notices, not always an unwelcome reminder. Moreover the actor's appearance cannot always be reconciled with one's conception of the character impersonated.

The actors may retort—they did effectively in *Cochran's Revue, 1930,*—that the audience as seen from the stage aren't very encouraging, either. Let us, therefore, call a truce, and consider the sounds in a play.

[1] cf. J. E. Downey, *Creative Imagination*, London, 1929; A. Spaier, *La Pensée Concrète.*

At the theatre, the sounds which one has come in the hope of hearing are unavoidably set in a fringe of accompanying noises, much more obvious in some theatres than in others. You know them: pantings, wheezings and fannings from people who find (often justly) the atmosphere fetid, the rustling of cellophane chocolate-coverings by morons more pleasing to the eye than to the ear, and occasionally, unexpected interruptions, devised and timed by Satan himself. In the middle of a performance of the *Ring* (not in London) a programme lady peremptorily demanded from me someone else's repulsive, half-empty coffee-cups. And there are persons who do not wish to clap an actor before his evening's work is done.

Smells—need one elaborate? "Touches"—the seats which, Mr. Bernard Shaw says, in some theatres are like the benches of a casual ward—how long?

This absence of vision and its usual accompaniments is, therefore, not always a drawback. Persons who like these accompaniments will admit the possible existence of people who don't, or of moods in which one doesn't.[1]

Listening to radio-drama need not be a gregarious pastime. At most revues, or a pantomime, the essence of the enjoyment is sociability. But at picture galleries, and at first-class opera, many of us would prefer not to be in a large group. There is no need to make up a party to listen to radio-drama. Alone, or in the firelight with a quiet companion is best.

But nowadays the progress of apparatus has caused a new difficulty. Time was when people wore head-phones, even with rubber pads to exclude extraneous noises. These equipments proclaimed that one was listening. They served the negative purpose of Mr. Herbert Spencer's famous ear-flaps, as well as the positive one of conducting the desired sounds.

To-day the loud-speaker, however good, may compete with ticking clocks, meal-time conversation, rattling of newspapers, or the tiptoeing of people noisily trying to be quiet. Remedies are obvious, but it is only fair to mention the difficulties.

The Psychologist's Interest

Differences in listeners' likes and dislikes are of the greatest interest to the psychologist. In what ways may individuals'

[1] cf. Harvey Grace, "Music in 2030," *Radio Times*, July 4, 1930.

attitudes to radio-drama vary? Let us rule out those due to partial deafness, only remarking that in some types of partial deafness the wireless can be heard more easily than sounds made in the ordinary way.

First come differences in perception; in the awareness of auditory patterns which results from the sounds emitted by the receiver. "Why," you may ask, "awareness which *results from* rather than awareness *of* the sounds?" To answer this for yourself, imagine, after hearing the leisurely subtleties of A. J. Alan, that you listen to a Paris cabaret song, your own French being home-grown.

These differences in awareness may be cognitive (knowing) or affective (feeling). The latter, in particular, may depend upon early experiences. If you have always thought of Shakespeare as suitable for study at school, you may not anticipate much enjoyment from a radio-performance of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, yet you might expect (it depends upon your personality) to enjoy Conrad's *Typhoon*, Stevenson's *The Wreckers*, or P. G. Wodehouse's irresponsibilities.

Education may prepare one to like or dislike the so-called "Oxford," or the Cockney accent. There are certain tone-patterns which would thrill a young curate and a Yorkshire business man, but in different ways and for different reasons. Local customs, conventions and values bias one's judgment,[1] e.g. a listener in the North may like the Cockney accent because it is associated with London holidays, journeys to the Continent, well-mannered 'bus-conductors; others may dislike it through association with unpleasant landladies, or because it seems unrefined, unmanly, or slovenly.

One may listen in an analytically critical way, attempting to appreciate the essential ingredients in the vocal effect. My own listening to Mabel Constanduros sometimes approximates

[1] "Most Northerners strongly dislike Cockney—this is fairly evident whenever the 'North *v.* South' problem is discussed in the newspapers. This may be due to a distrust of its 'slickness.' On the other hand, Southerners appear to enjoy the Lancashire and Yorkshire accents, which give them unconsciously or semi-consciously an impression of slow thinking, homeliness, etc. All this may result from the attitude of the Londoner to the provincial, and *vice versa*. Note the extraordinary popularity of the Lancashire comedians in the London halls, and the similar popularity of Provençal and Southern French comedians in Paris. The popularity of the Yorkshire comedian, 'Stainless Stephen,' with Southern listeners probably far outweighs the popularity of Mabel Constanduros (Cockney) with Northern listeners."—E. G. D. L.

to this, with admiration of her mastery of different types of voice.

The external surroundings of the listener, the room, the furnishing, lighting, presence or absence of other people, etc., already mentioned, obviously affect his judgment in ways which need not be detailed here.

An interesting class of individual differences is formed by prejudices characterising the hearer's nation or social stratum. In this country the tendency to laugh at novelties as such is so common that it is often classed as a national trait. There are gradations of this; some of the more pleasant ones underlying many *Punch* jokes. The different attitudes of persons towards the present-day "thriller," read, seen on the stage, or on the film, or listened to, are worth psychological consideration. They go deeper than anyone but a psycho-analyst or, say, Mr. A. P. Herbert,[1] might suppose.

Differences in Appreciation of Radio-drama may be Due to Differences in Mental Imagery

Let us now consider differences in the hearer's mental "apparatus," e.g. his imagery.

In discussions of radio-drama I have not read or heard mentioned the important psychological fact, that the mental imagery of different listeners varies flagrantly. To some, visualising a play is easy, thrilling, amusing; to others, tantalising, difficult, boring. This does not imply that a difficult mental operation is necessarily boring. To frame a proposal of marriage is difficult, but seldom boring, to a nervous man.

It ought perhaps to be mentioned that "imagery" is applied by psychologists not only to "pictures in the mind's eye," but to remembered sounds and scents.

> Music, when soft voices die
> Vibrates in the memory,
> Odours, when sweet violets sicken,
> Live within the sense they quicken:

to remembered touches, muscular sensations; indeed, to any sensory experience which can be remembered.

[1] cf. Mr. Mafferty's views, *Punch*, July 31, 1929, pp. 133–4.

Obviously one cause of variations in different persons' attitudes to radio-drama may be their different power of compensating for, or of exploiting, the abeyance of sight.

When, however, we say that the differences in Smith's and Brown's imagery cause these likes and dislikes, we are not making a simple statement, for liking or disliking may depend upon the functions which the imagery performs. If I may cite personal experience, the functions of my visual imagery while listening to Holt Marvell's radio-adaptation of Compton Mackenzie's *Carnival* were pleasant, for I know appropriate scenes in London and Cornwall, and composite pictures of some friends and acquaintances served very well. The radio-adaptation of *Rupert of Hentzau*, on the other hand, made some demands which my imagery easily fulfilled, and others which were impossible. Though I have not visited Ruritania, I have lived in South Germany. Upon the memories of this I drew lavishly whenever I was not thwarted by the almost universal omission of the *umlaut* in the frequently occurring and important word, " Königstrasse." I have not yet listened to a play in which words are used chiefly for their own sake. It would be interesting to see if the visual images of the actors would fade as the speeches continued. I mention this, since otherwise the critic may point out that some people listen in order to hear, and not to make mental pictures!

Let us deal with the possibilities of the visualiser's peculiarity, since it is common. We will suppose that a person who visualises easily is likely to enjoy radio-drama. He may be one in whom visualisation is an almost constant occurrence or, on the contrary, one who seldom visualises, but enjoys it all the more intensely when he does. Radio-drama might be the ideal evoker of visual imagery in such a person.

It cannot be lightly assumed that degree of enjoyment is proportional to the intensity of pleasant visual imagery. We do not assume that the intensity of auditory imagery in a person silently reading an orchestral score is necessarily proportional to his enjoyment of the imaged music, for A might image intensely merely the melody while B's less intense imagery might be polyphonic.

CHAPTER IX

Some Psychological Problems of Radio Drama

During the last few years I have listened attentively, and with one ear psychologically attuned, to Holt Marvell's radio-adaptation of Compton Mackenzie's *Carnival*, Tyrone Guthrie's *Squirrel's Cage*, the radio adaptations of Anthony Hope's *Prisoner of Zenda* and *Rupert of Hentzau*, Bruno Frank's *Twelve Thousand*, the vicissitudes of the Buggins family and Lance Sieveking's *The Key to the Situation*.

I have read the novels of *Carnival* and the *Prisoner of Zenda*, yet in these radio dramas I derived great pleasure from being reminded of events in these books which I had completely forgotten. The stories of the other dramas were completely new to me.

These enjoyable experiences have suggested many psychological questions. Some of them would have occurred to any psychologist who might have listened. Yet, since I have the luck or misfortune to be a constant visualiser,[1] and thus am distinguished from those who regard such a tendency as vestigial, or a chronic infantile ailment, I may record experiences which will possibly interest non-psychologists as much as some professional students of mind, and more than some others. Readers who deprecate introspection as a bad habit or because it produces uncomfortable crumbs in their philosophical beds, are advised to hurry past this chapter, which is full of it, and to begin again on p. 105.

If one were to ask a producer of radio-drama what he supposes to happen in the mind of most listeners, his answer would probably contain some reference, explicit or implicit,

[1] C. E. Montague writes :

" I do not rhyme," says the polite Sir Walter Scott, " to that dull elf, who cannot image to himself " ; and comments, " I cannot guess why Scott should have imputed dullness to elves. I had always thought of elves as quick-witted. Still, you can see what he means in the main." (*A Writer's Notes On His Trade*, London, 1930, p. 75.)

to " pictures in the mind." There is no doubt that the average person, when he listens for a long period to radio-drama, does picture something in his mind. We must remember, however, that there are people who do not make mental pictures, either having outgrown this power, or perhaps, never having possessed it. The congenitally blind cannot visualise.[1] There may be, of course, in some listeners a more complex æsthetic appreciation of the words as sheerly beautiful auditory patterns.

I have not read of anyone who has recorded in detail what happens in his mind when he listens to radio-drama. For this reason I hope readers will tolerate the following egocentric account. If it stimulates others to examine their own experience, I shall be content.

The precipitating cause of the notes below was an excellent opportunity, one night last winter, of listening, with headphones padded with rubber, in an armchair in silence and almost in darkness, the room being lighted only by a glowing fire. I was able to give myself up completely to the sounds broadcast in the radio-drama, *Rupert of Hentzau*. Listeners may care to know that it was the night of December 28, 1929.

I made no notes immediately after listening, but allowed the memories to have their way with me. The next morning, in bed, I thought over the experiences of the previous night before getting up. Most, if not all of the visual images aroused at the time of the drama recurred quite readily, nearly twelve hours later. This suggested that it might be interesting to investigate the records of imagery made *immediately* after listening, an idea realised in Chapter X.

It would be important to distinguish between imagery illustrating radio-drama, (*a*) at the time of hearing, (*b*) immediately afterwards, (*c*) a reasonably short time, say twelve hours, afterwards, and (*d*) a really long time, e.g. a year afterwards. The problems raised are comparable with those suggested by the records of a dream made at different time-intervals after experiencing it.

Present-Day Discussions of Radio Drama

I have followed these discussions, chiefly in the *Radio Times*, with care, and have collected and annotated many

[1] cf. Helen Keller, *The World I Live In*, p. 6.

of them. I may, therefore, claim to know a little about the points of view, so far as they are expressed in print, of some authors, adapters and producers, on the transmitting side, and of some enthusiastic listeners, scoffers, sceptics, constructive and destructive critics. I do not think that anybody has yet summarised these and classified them from the psychologist's point of view, but such a task appears profitable.

Listeners' Different Attitudes

The following are questions which a psychologist might ask concerning the differences of attitude towards radio-drama expressed by listeners :

(1) To what extent does appreciation of radio-drama, which can appeal to the ear only, depend upon sensitive auditory perception ?

This power involves several different mental performances. It depends, for example, upon auditory acuity and recognition, which in their turn may be based upon (*a*) analytic discrimination of component sounds and subsequent labelling of them, (*b*) association in memory with other, similar, known sounds, (*c*) association with unknown sounds, (*d*) judgments based upon factors less easy to label ; e.g. the arousal of complexes (e.g. of inferiority or sex), or synæsthesia.

It is clear that " visualisation " may stand for many different kinds of experience and interpretation. For example, Miss Mabel Constanduros's voice as Mrs. Buggins might suggest either (*a*) a certain Londoner who speaks like that, or (*b*) a general idea of unflagging optimism in trying circumstances. For me, at least, I suspect that (*b*) depends on (*a*).

Yet it is not enough to say merely that appreciation of radio-drama depends upon visualisation, for this might refer to visualisation of a general type of person or place, e.g. a railway-station, but no particular one, or to visualisation of a particular instance, e.g. the Cornish Riviera express setting out from Paddington, or visualisation of a concrete definite image, which, however, symbolises a general meaning, as when municipal administration may be pictured as a particular Town Hall.

These kinds of visualisation may have little relationship with each other. Yet at any moment one of them may make

or mar appreciation of radio-drama. I may perhaps illustrate this.

In *The Browns of Owdham* I was intensely amused at my visual images of the actors. They were aroused by what I accepted as the Oldham dialect of the Browns. Yet I have seldom been to Oldham, and have no right to assume that I can identify such a dialect. Nevertheless, three co-listeners, brought up in Lancashire, laughed heartily, saying that the dialect was excellent. Such sensitivity, therefore, as I exhibited towards the Brown's noises was presumably of the kind which the adapter and the actor hoped would exist in the listener.

Here is a contrast. In one play, a man's voice was meant to suggest to listeners that he was not as stupid as he sounded to his enemies in the play. To me, he conveyed the impression of a decently educated imbecile. This was not what the producer intended.

Condensed Visual Images

Some visual images involved in radio-drama may be conglomerations or " condensations " (this does not imply that they are necessarily condensations in Freud's sense) of images from different contexts. This may be illustrated from *Carnival.* Jenny, the little dancer, is at a party in a young man's Chelsea rooms. The Thames, of which they speak, is visible through the windows.

When I listened I " was " in the room, on the Embankment. From the Chelsea side, I could see the river, with its barges, and the Surrey shore opposite. Yet I saw them as they appear, not from Chelsea, but from the National Liberal Club dining-room. Moreover, from the same position I could also see the Tate Gallery, a remarkable feat, as the Londoner will realise. To say that because these components could not possibly enter a human visual perception they are irrelevant and discrepant, would be to forget that *Carnival* is not a true story, and to show oneself ignorant of the elements of poster-making.

Whether a person who does not visualise easily and habitually would merely reproduce a single percept, is related to the difficult question whether one ever really reproduces a percept without omissions or additions.[1]

[1] cf. T. H. Pear, *Remembering and Forgetting,* London, 1922, p. 33, etc.

Images from "Rupert of Hentzau"

Let us now consider the visual images which came to my mind. I do not imply that they were the same images which I had when listening, nor am I ignorant of the psychological and metaphysical ambushes which await anyone who discusses what can be meant by the "same" image. I merely say that they seemed to be the same [1] in a way understood, perhaps, by other visualisers.

The visual images are now easy to recall. They seem unlike the images which arise spontaneously in the waking state, in a way which I will try to describe. If these images from radio-drama, remembered next day, are composed of "old" images (I will leave to the metaphysically-inclined the contemplation of the meaning of "old"), the tangle which they form seems harder to unravel than that which is made by ordinary images of imagination.

This would naturally prompt a suggestion, which might be fruitful, that radio-drama-images are more like dream-images. Yet we must not be hasty. Dream-images are often, perhaps usually, symbols of complexes which have been aroused inside the listener's mind, and therefore, from his standpoint, are important. In radio-drama, on the other hand, the experiences evoking the images are sprung upon the listener. His personal complexes may or may not be ready to leap out, receive them, and immediately illustrate them by vivid images. Some listeners would yawn at a play in which a man is accused of cheating at bridge, while those who were stirred by it might be very calm towards many other social situations.

This difference of attitude seems important. It is not quite the same as the difference which causes one to approve or resent illustrations in a novel. For the visual images illustrating radio-drama are made by oneself, yet in an unusual way. They are aroused by sounds outside one's control, often unexpected, and sometimes, of course, contrasting violently with their context.

Some Characteristics of Radio-Drama Imagery

Whatever may be the cause, many of my "Hentzau" images of people, places and objects do not seem to be em-

[1] A similar problem, of course, has always been presented when a dream is recalled several times.

bedded or embodied [illegible] my past.[1] In comparison, both my images of ordinary waking life and my dream images seem to be more definitely a part of myself, for which I feel responsible. Some of the radio-drama images, however, are diagrammatic, two-dimensional and half-unreal, like a piece of stage scenery observed at close quarters.

Some images are hard to "place." For example, in "Hentzau" exciting events are expected to take place at No. 19, Königstrasse. As the men approached it I saw "19" on the door, unusually large and artistically printed. Since the door is of a lodging-house, there seems no reason why the number should have differed from any other one in the street, or have been artistic and large. The general design of the number is like that on the door of a friend who is an art critic. Unsatisfied with the conventional door numbers, he has designed his own. I believe his number is not 19. I associate him definitely with the Continent, where he goes when he can, and where his wife was born. Yet this particular visual image of "19" defies my effort to locate it in space or time, or to analyse it into "placeable" images. This may be because it is really a new structure, or because I have not yet delved deeply enough into my memories. It differs from an image produced by my ordinary visualising in that usually I can easily recognise a particular image, and give it a setting in space and time.[2]

Some of these radio-drama visual images are "unsatisfactory." They seem to skew the play's meaning because they depend upon the significance of the voices, *as interpreted by me.* I italicise these last words in fairness to the actors and actresses in the studio. The comments are merely personal impressions, and are not attempted dramatic criticism. I quote from my records, of the twelve-hours-old images:

"The queen didn't amount to much, with her nice refined Englishwoman's voice, which might have been heard in any sufficiently expensive London tea-shop. I didn't "see" her at all. Mother Holf, who presumably was the landlady of a lodging-house, sounded like a rather hoarse rector's wife from the Home Counties. If she had come down in the world and

[1] cf. *Remembering and Forgetting*, pp. 165 f.

[2] Since writing this, I have (November 16, 1930) seen the actual door-number. It is "9"; a fact I did not 'know.' Moreover, the "9" is the "artistic" one in my image of "19."

taken to letting lodgings her voice was not unsuitable. Yet it suggested Girls' Friendly Societies rather than Ruritania. Rosa, her daughter, seemed to be good. She sounded like a little vamp (I have not read the novel, and perhaps she was meant to be) in love with the " king," which she quite conceivably was.

" The queen mattered much more in the *Prisoner of Zenda* than in *Hentzau*. I wonder if it was the same voice. But she seemed to have little to do in *Hentzau*. I agree with Compton Mackenzie's criticism in *Vox* that he still wishes to hear the sound of horses trotting. Also I was not impressed by the noises made by the train. In *Zenda* I was definitely thrilled by the swimming noises, which were adversely criticised in some newspaper."

The following are comments upon my own records of these images.

There are other curious facts about visual images like these which have been " forced upon " me. Often they bring with them an extraordinarily definite sense of direction. They *must* be just there, and nowhere else. For example, the station at which Rassendyll alights, and from which he proceeds up the dark avenue where he is attacked, " must " be in a particular direction from me. The station buildings " must " be on the left of the platform as he gets down. They are small: except for this fact I suspected the station to be Würzburg, the first foreign station at which I ever alighted to stay. The image also brings up an association with Wengen. Here the arrival-platform (from England) is on the left side. But, nevertheless, the image is unlike a Ruritanian station, Würzburg, Wengen, or in fact any ordinary station. It seemed to owe something to a holiday resort at which I once stayed, which possessed a narrow-gauge railway. I suspect that this may be because the miniature sounds of the train suggested a small railway. This might also bring up Wengen. I will return to consider this in a moment.

Rassendyll was attacked on a moonlit terrace. This terrace seems to " come from " the Residenz at Würzburg. Yet it is turned through two right angles. This may be because in the play I am " seeing " the terrace from inside, not outside the Residenz, assuming the Residenz to form the matrix, so to speak, of my composite image.

The avenue seems to be a loosely conglomerated image (since it bounded upon my mental stage at a moment's notice, a slight unbuttonedness is pardonable). It splits up into the famous Hobbema "Avenue" with the straight poplars on each side; the walk leading to the entrance gates of Schönbrunn (at that time I had not seen Schönbrunn, but a picture postcard of this walk had been stuck up on my desk—as a kind of flight from reality—for some weeks), and another avenue, unidentified. Yet at the time of hearing the radio-drama, the avenue seemed to be quite definitely itself, not a borrowing from the older memories.

I cannot refrain from indicating the extraordinary psychological implications of the fact that a dark avenue in a foreign country can be hastily and vividly staged by one's mind without any warning. Mechanistic psychologists please note.

As already mentioned, the observations concerning these images were made on December 29th, 1929, twelve hours after hearing *Rupert of Hentzau*. On April 16th, 1930, on reading through my notes, I found that I could visualise the avenue (or thought I could) as it "was" on December 29th. I could also criticise its adequacy as an illustration of the play's action. Why is this composite avenue kept in cold storage, so to speak, like this? Think of the complexities which this image of an image makes for psychologists!

The hunting-lodge, which is eventually burnt, seems to exemplify inadequate imaging. At times, except for an occasional shift of position, it seemed to be an unmodified image of a lodge outside the suburban house of a friend. I have no reason to believe that this lodge has seen any excitement. It is not a hunting lodge, but a square, one-storied house. Yet even this image is not a copy of the original,[1] for at times it is transparent. I can see the actors inside.

A Psycho-Analytic Interpretation

The next paragraph may be omitted by those who believe that no light can be cast upon such questions by free association. While preparing to present the material of the present chapter to the British Psychological Society (on Octo-

[1] This is true in another sense. I have just examined this lodge carefully (November 16, 1930). Its exterior decoration is rich. The image was of a plain house.

ber 25th, 1930), I was considering the fact that though the image of the Ruritanian railway station seemed, as a picture, so inadequate, its emotional significance of impending trouble and danger, was intense. Suddenly it struck me that the holiday which had been spent at the place with a narrow-gauge railway had been clouded by a constant sense of impending trouble. The only other miniature railways which I know are mountain funiculars, associated with some of the great joys of my life. From other sources I have plenty of evidence that I attempted to repress the memory of that holiday. Possibly, therefore, *Rupert of Hentzau* compels me suddenly to visualise a railway station at which something serious may, and something unexpected will certainly happen. The " unsatisfactory " train noises had, I think, been associated with a small train. To me it, therefore, seems reasonable that the memory of a small train, of the holiday in the place with small trains, and of the intruding anxiety, condensed to produce a composite meaning which was represented by the image of the railway station.

This chapter has been an attempt to demonstrate the novelty and complexity of the problems suggested by radio-drama. While some of them appeal chiefly to the psychologist, others seem to be of general interest.

Radio-Drama Compared with Music

It is profitable, in some ways, to compare the present results with those of P. E. Vernon, in his experiments on the appreciation of music.[1]

At the British Psychological Society's discussion of this chapter, two psychologists said that they cannot experience the illusion of radio-drama because they know that " effects " are being produced at the other end. One added: " I can see the man knocking the coco-nut shells together." Now Vernon points out that C. S. Myers [2] had already shewn that an analytic attitude is incompatible with visualisation. In

[1] " The Phenomena of Attention and Visualisation in the Psychology of Musical Appreciation," *British Journal of Psychology*, XXI, 1930, 50–63. See also his articles on " Synæsthesia in Music," *Psyche*, X, 1930, and " Non-musical Factors in the Appreciation of Music," *Musical Times*, February–April, 1929, 123–4, 227–8, 320–1.

[2] " Individual Differences in Listening to Music," *British Journal of Psychology*, XIII, 1922.

Vernon's experiments, both in the laboratory and in experimental concerts held in Cambridge, this was also found. In a piano duet by Casella, of an extremely cacophonous and rhythmic nature, and in a modern improvisation, many of the audience gave up any attempts at analysing what they heard, with the result that visualisation was far more prominent. H. Delacroix (quoted by Vernon) gives in *Psychologie de l'Art*, (Essai sur l'Activite Artistique, 1927) vivid introspections of a typical visualiser, who concludes: " Je n'aimais pas la musique pour elle même, mais . . . autant qu'elle m'avait laissé rêver." Later, however, on receiving more musical training, intellectual listening supplanted her visualisation.

These considerations seem relevant to the use of " abstract," semi-musical sound-effects in radio-drama.

CHAPTER X

Imagining the Unseen: Some Experiments Connected with Radio Drama

When and where it is possible the psychologist verifies his beliefs, originally founded on observation, by the supplementary evidence of experiment. That is, he deliberately creates those conditions which he wishes to study. It is, therefore, natural that he should wish to experiment upon radio-drama, and thus to discover the kinds of judgment which are attributable to individual mental differences.

Presumably nobody yet possesses such data, yet they may illuminate some of the producer's problems. Moreover, though some problems of the talking film may be at the opposite pole to those of radio-drama, others may be common to these two art-forms.

To discover what actually goes on in the minds of different listeners, Miss Madeline Kerr and I have carried out experiments in the Manchester University psychological laboratory and elsewhere. Their purposes were not merely those which will be set out in this book. The investigations formed part of a larger inquiry into differences of mental imagery. Its results will be reported elsewhere in more technical language. Some of them, however, seem relevant to the present discussion of problems connected with the artistic exploitation of the human voice by mechanical means.

I will not weary the reader or myself by discussing at length how far "mechanism" destroys the artistic value of the human voice. I would rather remark that the human voice itself results from the use, or abuse, of a mechanism, and that occasionally, as in broadcasting from a cathedral, the clarity of the voice may be greater for listeners hundreds of miles away, than for many persons in the building. Furthermore, while at the moment of writing there are quite a number of

things wrong with the talking film, the physical reproduction of the voice is rapidly improving.

The Method of Experiment

The first intention was to invite many people with different types of mind to listen simultaneously in the same place to a radio-drama, transmitted as perfectly as possible. This plan has obvious advantages, but making the people, the place, the time and the drama congruent is not easy. It remains as a high, if forlorn, hope.

An excellent second-best is, however, made possible by the gramophone. Numbers of people may listen to vivid conversation, suggesting action, well produced from a good record. (Very learned persons, who have always meant to listen to a good gramophone, since the days when the Edison Bell phonograph was exhibited at scientific soiréés, but have been too busy to do so, may find it difficult to maintain sympathy with the rest of this chapter).

This *pis aller* is not without its own advantages. One can repeat the experiment with different groups of people at different places and times. Thus the effect of any particular factor, or group of them, can be determined. It is not pretended that the effect is exactly that of radio-drama. Yet in the experiment described on page 108, the apparatus included an H.M.V. record, a large Columbia gramophone, a B.T.H. electrical pick-up, actuating through Mazda valves, a Marconi dynamic loud-speaker, fitted with a baffle-board four feet square. The reproduction was, therefore, loud and good. The material of both the records to be described has actually been broadcast by the B.B.C.

Experiment I

In this experiment (since it was performed several times in different places—it was really a series of approximately similar experiments) a " Broadcast " record (No. X. 6A) of Mabel Constanduros and Michael Hogan, enacting some adventures of the now well-known Buggins family, was used. This will now be called Record A. The reasons for the choice seem psychologically sound; the proved success of these voices on the wireless and the popularity of this particular record with a family of four children of different ages and mentality.

The tendency of hasty critics to seize upon only one feature of their material is common. It therefore seems necessary to state here that at the time of this experiment very few records suitable for our purpose existed, and we were very glad to find the present ones. It would, of course, be interesting to construct one with features specially suitable for such purposes as ours. Record A reproduces in sound the misfortunes of the Buggins family (Mother, Father, Alfie, Emma, and Grandma) in making the Christmas pudding. Many things happen during the short playing time of the record. It is, therefore, possible that the action has been unduly speeded up. However, only one listener commented upon this. As material for the present experiment (no dramatic criticism is intended) the record has the following advantages. The voices are of people of very different ages; it is difficult or impossible to mistake one character for another, and it is no strain to hold them apart mentally. Plenty of things happen, most of them likely to excite interest. People are usually amused by this record. The dialect (Walworth, I believe) is well-marked, challenging, amusing to some, and annoying to, but never ignorable by, others. In short, most people find both the dialect and the play amusing, and even those who do not, react to it in some marked manner.

Disadvantages, for an experiment, are that the action may be too fast for some hearers. In an ordinary way, so many domestic catastrophes would not have happened during five minutes. I know, of course, that the Bugginses are no ordinary family, and that memory as well as the gramophone telescopes time.

Here and there, some listeners found the voices difficult to interpret. We cannot be sure that the faults were not due to imperfect reproduction. Another possible explanation is defective hearing, or a bad acoustic position in the room. We had asked those listeners, however, who knew themselves to be less receptive than the average, to take up good positions.

Another possibility is that through some personal dislike, the hearer unconsciously did not wish to interpret the sounds, because they were crude, vulgar, not standard English, or even, incredible as it may seem to those who have not heard vehement critics from other parts of the British Isles, "South-Country."

I have suggested elsewhere [1] an analysis of that characteristic which, when we meet it in others, we term stupidity. This is no place to discuss the meanings which this word once bore or ought to bear now. But there seems little doubt that many persons hear well what they want to hear. Of the slightly deaf boys who cannot hear details of home-work, but seldom miss details of holidays, we have often read. There are still a few people with otherwise normal hearing who can never hear on the telephone. . . .

It seems possible that both the above record and the one described below, dealing with situations unfamiliar to most of the listeners, encouraged some factors of emotional or "affective" stupidity. Of these factors, one was certainly partiality for local ways of speaking.

Record B was H.M.V. No. C. 1738. The first side only was used. The first part of this "thriller," "The Safe," by Angela Baddeley and an unnamed man, lives up to its description.

A typist receives her lover, a married man, in the office on Saturday afternoon, when the staff has gone home. After a quarrel he shuts her in the safe and leaves the building.

The plot's unpleasantness riveted the listener's attention and aroused emotions more successfully than a pleasant play or comedy would have done. Of the 112 people who listened to it, nobody, it appears, was not interested.

This play's opening lines gradually built up the scene from the listener's imagination. The way in which this was done was interestingly described by many listeners. Some, for example, imagined minute details of the office, or even of the road which the man took on leaving it.

The nature of the voices, unusual to an audience drawn chiefly from Lancashire or Yorkshire, was excellent for this experiment. It gave an "atmosphere," which though it had different effects upon different listeners, was seldom ineffectual. The pace of the action seemed correct.

From our point of view, there were few bad points in this first half of the record. Some hearers jibbed at the convention by means of which the listener could hear the voice of the woman while she was in the safe. Only a few, however, thought the whole thing mechanical.

[1] *Fitness for Work*, London, 1928, pp. 81, 104. *The Art of Study*, London, 1930, pp. 94, 101.

Conditions of the Experiment

A few remarks about the external conditions of the experiment seem necessary. Record A was used in several places at different times; Record B only on one occasion. Sometimes Record A was used in the laboratory dark-room, which, with black walls and ceilings, is completely dark. Once it was used in a school class-room at 8 o'clock on a winter's evening. Here the darkness was almost complete. Once it was played at 8 p.m. in an unlighted class-room which, however, had windows looking on a balcony over a dimly-lighted central hall.

In the laboratory dark-room, the electrical "pick-up" arrangement was employed. To the two schools a portable and a large drawing-room gramophone were taken. The experimenter's impression was that though he could hear every word from the portable, some phrases would be difficult for a few listeners. Yet it should be added that this group contained several older people, and some with strong local partialities. The exact result of any one defect in reproduction is, therefore, difficult to gauge. The large gramophone in the second school reproduced well and loudly.

In the laboratory dark-room the reproduction was excellent and approximated in intensity to an actual voice next to one.

Note on Some Psychological Aspects of Sound Reproduction

Recently I have listened frequently to wireless transmissions with (1) head-phones, (2) a horn loud-speaker, (3) a horn and cone-speaker, playing simultaneously in different parts of the same room, (4) a dynamic loudspeaker with baffle-board, placed under a table about ten feet away, and by now accepted as part of the furniture. I think—and this impression is not only mine—that not only the clearness of a transmitted voice, but also the intensity and the apparent source of the sound are important psychological factors in reception.

When a voice sounds as loud as in reality, the illusion is very considerably strengthened, or perfect. For example, from a crystal set, or a portable which, though reproducing well, is not loud, my own impression is that the speaker is either far away, though I can see him very distinctly, as through

the wrong end of an opera-glass, or that he is quite near, but a midget. It is usually impossible for me to believe that a large orchestra is in the neck of a horn loud-speaker, but with two separate loud-speakers, at neither of which I am looking, and especially if the room is dim, the illusion of being " there " (e.g. in a certain concert) is considerable. Occasionally I have had the startling illusion that speech proceeded from someone actually in the room but unseen, the cause being a relatively powerful (4 valve) set with aerial, and half hidden dynamic loud-speaker. I sometimes fear that this illusion will cost the household a set of coffee cups.

Another point seems interesting. To economise space, the baffle-board has been continued backwards, like a box, for nine inches. The circular hole for the loud-speaker, about nine inches across, is covered with silk. In the dusk I have sometimes had a sudden illusion that the radio-players were moving about inside the box behind the curtain, as if I were looking at the proscenium of a theatre from a distance, or at a Punch-and-Judy show at close range. One night, when the nightingale's song was broadcast and adjusted to its natural loudness, the birds seemed to be moving about on trees, visualised as they would be seen on a summer night, inside the " box " or " theatre."

This digression is not as irrelevant as it may seem, since some people do not realise the immense importance of these external circumstances.

The Listeners in the Experiments

For Record A five groups of listeners were secured.

I.—6 members of the teaching staff and graduate research students in the psychology department of Manchester University (2 men, 4 women).

II.—19 third year members, chiefly undergraduates, of a class listening to two weekly lectures in general psychology. They were mostly students of arts subjects (8 men, 11 women).

III.—23 undergraduates. These had had no teaching in psychology. An unselected group, consisting of athletes (men and women) and students of architecture.

IV.—A class of men and women meeting each week during the winter under the auspices of the Workers' Educational Association. The average age was distinctly higher than that of the members of Classes I–III. This class was in its third year of meeting.

V.—A class similar in other respects to IV, but in its first year. IV and V together, 28 members.

For Record B only one large class (VI) was employed, on only one occasion.

VI.—112 graduate students (45 men, 67 women) taking the Diploma in Education course of Manchester University. They were all about the same age. The subjects in which they had graduated were varied, including both arts and science. The majority had had some lessons in speech training.

It may, therefore, be claimed that these people, though not average—for the average Englishman goes neither to a university nor to a W.E.A. class—had more varied interests than those who have sometimes been employed in psychological experiments. It will be seen, for example, that a question about the talking films elicited the information that most of this class not only went to the cinema, but had very definite views about films, with a marked absence of any attitude of intellectual superiority.

Instructions to the Listeners

The listeners were told that we wished to find out some facts about radio-drama, and that in a few moments a gramophone record would be played. They were asked to be as receptive as possible, not to listen for mechanical defects of reproduction, but to try to behave as if hearing actual unseen events. It was pointed out to Class VI that listening to actual events is often made difficult by noises, e.g. hearing an exciting conversation in the next compartment of a train is not necessarily rendered unreal by accompanying noise from the wheels and engine. They were told that a warning signal would be given a few seconds before the gramophone started, and that for thirty seconds after the cessation of the sounds of the

record, they would be left in silence and dim light. During this time they were asked to dwell upon their experiences while hearing the record. It was impressed upon them that we were not asking them to remember a great quantity of details, but to recall whatever came naturally, and that in no sense was any competitive spirit desired. The audiences behaved excellently, hardly moving, and making no disturbing noises. Most of Record B's listeners closed their eyes, though this had not been directed. In this case the room was not completely dark, but dimly lighted, with most of the blinds pulled down. When the lights came on, at the end of this meditative half-minute, they were to turn over a questionnaire on their desks, and fill it up.

This was as follows :

Questionnaire for Record A

Name. *Age.*

Sex. *Occupation.*

Have you ever had music lessons ?

If so, for how long ?

Do you play or sing ?

What instrument ?

I.—The family consists of Mother, Father, Grandma, Emma, Alfie.

Can you call up an auditory image of :

(*a*) Mother saying, " Stop sniffing at it like a vacuum-cleaner."

(*b*) Father saying, " What's it got to be grated for, anyway ? "

(*c*) Grandma saying, " That ain't treacle you've got, that's my cod liver oil."

(*d*) Emma saying, " I was only washing them."

(*e*) Alfie saying, " You told me to break it."

II.—Give each voice a number indicating the degree of clearness of your auditory image as on the following key.

1. Perfectly clear and vivid as the actual experience.
2. Very clear, and comparable in vividness to the actual experience.

3. Moderately clear and vivid.
4. Not clear or vivid, but recognisable.
5. Vague and dim.
6. So vague and dim as to be scarcely discernible.
7. No image present at all. You only know in some other way that you are thinking of the object.

III.—If you fail to get auditory imagery with one or all of these voices, does your knowledge come in other ways, i.e. visual imagery, tactual imagery, words indicating judgment of quality, etc.? Or do you just "know" that such and such a voice was of such a quality?

IV.—The voices you have heard are generally agreed to be excellent copies of a Cockney (Walworth) accent. If you have auditory images of the voices, is the accent as well marked as when you heard them, or has it drifted towards a normal voice, or towards some other accent? In the case of any one of the voices, can you hear the words now without any Cockney accent whatever?

V.—Do you get any imagery which, while seeming to you to be quite important and relevant, might seem to others to be absurd and irrelevant; e.g. do you see any of the voices as colours, or "feel" any of them as having a particular texture?

VI.—Do you find yourself reacting emotionally towards any of the voices, e.g. towards Mother's optimism or Grandma's stupidity? Or do they all appear to you to be artificial and mechanised?

VII.—Do you like or dislike the Cockney accent in general? Any special reasons?

VIII.—Can you visualise;
1. Mother?
2. Father?
3. Grandma?
4. Emma?
5. Alfie?

IX.—Write down a list of the things that happened in the play.

X.—Don't, on any account, turn back and correct your former performance, but write against each one of the lines below whether you *visualised* the event when you heard the record. Write " yes " or " no " in Column 1.

	1	2
1. Emma eating the raisins.		
2. Father grating his knuckles.		
3. Father wiping his hands on the pudding-cloth.		
4. Grandma getting Father's shirt.		
5. Father getting the ginger.		
6. Father bringing the bird-food.		
7. Father going to grate the suet.		
8. Emma eating the currants.		
9. Alfie breaking the egg.		
10. Father sniffing the pudding.		
11. Alfie putting his fingers in the sugar.		
12. Father using Mother's best gloves.		
13. Father hammering the suet.		
14. The light going out.		
15. Father finding a shilling.		
16. Alfie bringing the treacle.		
17. The light coming on.		
18. Mother putting cod liver oil in the pudding.		
19. Mother discovering the cod liver oil.		

XI.—Can you visualise these events now? Write " yes " or " no " in Column 2.

XII.—Do you see the faces of the various actors, if you visualise them?

XIII.—If you visualise the actors, do you see the whole of their bodies, or their faces only?

1. Are these faces apparently new?
2. Or are they based on an actual person?
3. Or are they a composite of several people?

XIV.—Was there any " irrelevant " or " discrepant " imagery, i.e. imagery which seemed to you to have nothing to do with the memory of the record?

XV.—Do you enjoy radio-drama? Give your reasons why you do or do not.

XVI.—How would you suggest improving radio-drama without adding any visual element, i.e. television?

Questionnaire for Record B

Name.

Sex.

Age.

Degree taken (before entering on Diploma course).

I.—Have you had any speech-training?

II.—Have you had any musical training?

(1) Instrumental (specify the instrument).
(2) Singing.

III.—Can you call up an auditory image of

(*a*) The woman saying, "Let me out!"
(*b*) The woman saying, "To-morrow's Sunday; I never thought of that."
(*c*) Alfred saying, "Don't, May."
(*d*) Alfred saying, "Don't know; he didn't see me."

IV.—Give each voice a number, indicating degree of clearness, from the following key:

1. Perfectly clear and vivid as the actual experience.
2. Very clear and comparable in vividness to the actual experience.
3. Moderately clear and vivid.
4. Not clear or vivid, but recognisable.
5. Vague and dim.
6. So vague and dim as to be scarcely discernible.
7. No image present at all. You only know in some other way that you are thinking of the object.

V.—The voice you have heard is generally agreed to be a good Cockney accent. If you have auditory images of the voice, is the accent as well-marked as when you heard it, or has it drifted towards a normal voice or towards some "other accent"? Can you hear the voice now without any Cockney accent at all?

VI.—Do you get any imagery which, seeming to you to be quite important and relevant, might seem to others to be absurd and irrelevant; e.g. do you see any of the voices as colours, or "feel" any of them as having a particular texture?

VII.—Do you find yourself reacting emotionally towards either of the voices, or do they appear to you to be artificial and mechanised?

VIII.—Do you like or dislike the Cockney accent in general? Any special reasons?

IX.—Can you visualise
(*a*) The woman?
(*b*) Alfred?

X.—Are you critical of your own voice?
(*a*) Its tone?
(*b*) Its accent?
(*c*) Its power to influence others?

XI.—Do you acquire accents, inflections or phrases easily?

XII.—Are you critical of imitations of dialects, by your friends or by actors?

XIII.—Can you visualise these events now?
(*a*) Alfred coming in.
(*b*) Alfred looking at her queerly.
(*c*) Alfred helping her to put ledgers in the safe.
(*d*) The woman getting in the safe.
(*e*) The woman putting books in the safe.
(*f*) Alfred reaching the books.
(*g*) The safe shutting.
(*h*) The woman knocking.
(*i*) The woman shrieking for Alfred.

XIV.—Do you see the faces of the various actors?

XV.—If you visualise the actors, do you see the whole of their bodies, or their faces only?

XVI.—Are those faces apparently new?

XVII.—Or are they based on actual persons?

XVIII.—Or are they a composite of several people?

XIX.—Was there any " irrelevant " or " discrepant " imagery ; i.e. imagery which seems to you to have nothing to do with the memory of the record ?

XX.—Do you enjoy radio-drama ? Any special reasons why you do or do not ?

XXI.—How would you suggest improving radio-drama, without adding any visual element, e.g. television ?

XXII.—Are you critical of the " talkies " ? Are there any which you have enjoyed or disliked very much ? If so, why ?

Some Results of these Experiments

The chief results which seem of general interest will now be summarised. The answers to some questions are given in full in Chapter XI.

Emotional Reactions to the Records

RECORD A.—With Record A, 60.7 per cent. recorded some emotional reaction or, at least, that the record was realistic ; 38.4 per cent. thought it artificial and mechanised. The emotions roused were dislike, amusement, sorrow, distaste, annoyance, interest, admiration, affection, sympathy.

RECORD B.—Record B aroused much more emotion. Of 112 listeners, 99 recorded some emotional reaction towards the play. Only 13 thought it artificial. Of these 13 ; 5 liked radio-drama in general, four disliked it ; four were indifferent.

Some listeners reacted very vividly. One wrote of a sense of fear, of a confined space, quickened breathing, another that the result of listening was a headache, another " I reacted emotionally to both voices, though all the time I was very conscious they were mechanical." This last point is of interest since, while some people never get used to the artificiality of the telephone, others, e.g. friends and lovers, certainly react emotionally to particular telephone voices, even though, from the physicist's point of view, all telephone-voices must be caricatures.

There were seven instances of self-identification with the actors.

I feel as if I am experiencing the actual scene, i.e. as if I were in the room, which is clearly pictured in my mind.

The voices seemed to be quite natural under the circumstances. All the time I listened, I was imagining myself as May, and experiencing similar emotions.

One listener felt strained and embarrassed because it seemed indecent to be overhearing such a conversation. The real unpleasantness of this "thriller" amply justified the choice of it for this particular experiment.

Most of our Listeners Visualised

It is perhaps important to point out here—*a fortiori*, if any professional psychologists read this book—that the number of people who, in remembering Record B, did *not* visualise, was only nine out of 110. All these were university graduates. Presumably, therefore, few had minds of lowly organisation. If the claims of university teachers are to be allowed, all of them had received some practice in thinking. These experiments, therefore, support the belief that even if in some persons visual imagery may not be used extensively in abstract thinking, it is by no means atrophied in the university graduate, and is available when the mind is presented with exciting material.[1]

Visual Imagery and Enjoyment of Radio-Drama

One speculation which led to this experiment was that, other things being equal, radio-drama might appeal to persons who visualise easily and satisfyingly, and might bore or irritate those who are not so endowed. In considering this, let us neglect, for the moment, the possibility that the words may delight one by their lovely sound as well as by the pictures which they call up.

> Look where the dawn, in russet mantle clad,
> Creeps o'er the crest of yon high eastern hill. . . .

With Record B, of 32 who gave very vivid descriptions of visual imagery of the actors, 18 record that they enjoy radio-drama, seven that they do not. Of the total number of

[1] cf. T. H. Pear, "The Relevance of Visual Imagery to the Process of Thinking," *British Journal of Psychology*, 1927, XXVIII, pp. 1–14.

listeners to this record, 55.3 per cent. like, and 23.2 per cent. dislike, radio-drama. The number of visualisers liking it was 61.2 per cent., those not liking it, 17.7 per cent.

Conclusions from these statistics should be guarded. A good visualiser who does not like radio-dramas may have heard only a few, and those not the best. Again, while it may seem probable that a visualiser's gifts will make him prone to like radio-drama, certain qualifications to any such statement are wise.

He may visualise the events as he assumes them to be in reality, and enjoy the voices because the visual images increase their immanence. I recently heard the Hampton Negro Quartet in an excellent hall. I sat near enough to see their facial expressions. Afterwards, I was privileged to meet and talk to them. Eleven days later, I heard them excellently by wireless. This time much pleasure came from visualising the appropriate face, as any one of the four parts was emphasised, and when I overheard their preliminary " tuning up," imagining how they would look.

Yet (cf. p. 96) though the bearings of Ruritania are a little vague, they are not Lat. 51.45 N.; Long. 1.15 W., to which a few voices in *Rupert of Hentzau* inexorably dragged me every time I had visually settled down somewhere in Bavaria. This mental scampering across Europe became very wearing.

In the broadcast of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, I loved the ' rude mechanicals." Yet, this time, appreciation owed little to visual imagery, partly because their excellent (Lancashire) accents did not call up Athens or Warwickshire, and partly because, if these accents had produced visual images, they would have been of places which, however admirable, are not my idea of a Midsummer Night's Dream.

These illustrative visual images are very vulnerable at birth. In a radio-play recently, a " professor of biology " stumbled over the key-word in the title of the book which had made him world-famous. This seems to be the auditory equivalent of dropping a rifle on ceremonial parade.

A colleague suggests that while the talking film will be a joy to those who have not vivid visual or auditory imagery, or whose inhibitions will not let them think " autistically," " in radio-drama you ought to let your imagery loose, using

the voices as a starting point. Radio-drama ought to be suggestive, like brush-work; the talking film detailed, like an etching."

I agree that many forms of radio-drama might well be brush-work, yet if one were to hear broadcast the many voices of Miss Ruth Draper as the private secretary in *Three Women and Mr. Clifford*, some of them, I think, would be etched.

It is further suggested that radio-drama should develop a new and special type of art, leaving the presentation of realistic, exciting drama to the talking film. Dramas in which the author's demands upon the producer are excessive (e.g. *Antony and Cleopatra*), or fantasies which lead only to absurdity on the stage, or the talking film, give a special opportunity to radio-drama; for example, where the supernatural element is introduced.

Auditory Imagery and Radio-Drama

It seemed possible that persons who are rich in visual and poor in auditory imagery (the writer is one) might find radio-drama especially pleasing, since the voices, with their intensity, clearness, "colouring," variety and unexpectedness, might supply just what this type of mind has lacked so long. It seemed also theoretically possible that persons whose auditory imagery was rich, ready, flexible and "satisfying" might not wish to hear radio-drama, unless it was very good or path-breaking, any more than a vivid visualiser wishes to see illustrations in a novel, or to go to the cinema, unless it offers something out of the ordinary. But since appetite grows by what it feeds on, these matters are not simple.

Our experiments so far give no support to the belief that a person whose auditory imagery is especially good likes or dislikes radio-drama more than the average person. The relevant figures for Record A and B, respectively, point in opposite ways.

Irrelevant and Discrepant Imagery

In discussions of the rôle of imagery in thinking, reference is sometimes made to the irrelevance and discrepancy [1] of the

[1] cf. F. Aveling, F. C. Bartlett and T. H. Pear, "The Relevance of Visual Imagery to the Process of Thinking," *British Journal of Psychology*, 1927, XXVIII, p. 1 f.

visual images which appear. It is, of course, possible to hold that nothing which comes into the mind in connection with a particular thought is ever irrelevant. Ignoring this elementary psychological idea may lead several nineteenth and even twentieth century writers to an early seat on the high and dry shelf above the current stream of thought.

Since our experiments offered a chance of finding the extent to which the visualisers' images fulfilled their mandate, and how far they were, so to speak, *ultra vires*, the question was asked :

> Was there any " irrelevant " or " discrepant " imagery ; i.e. imagery which seems to you to have nothing to do with the memory of the record ?

Readers who know something of psycho-analysis will not, I hope, need to be told that the drafters of this question, and possibly some of the answerers, were acquainted with Freud's views on relevance. It was hoped that " seems to you " might convey the right shade of meaning. It is conceivable, as every dream-analyst knows, that just this imagery which seems irrelevant or discrepant may give the " bite " or " punch " to the experience of the record.

The following were visual images of persons or things not mentioned in the play:

> A back room, leading into a shop, much better lighted.
>
> A room in a station hotel.
>
> Imagined myself buried alive.
>
> Vivid image of a red carpet.
>
> Thinking and seeing a loose connection, causing the grating noise (this, of course, was relevant to the transmission itself).
>
> When woman mentioned suffocation, image of supply of oxygen, as a volume.
>
> For a moment a picture of Faust ; then of a creation in one of Robert Hichens' tales in *Byways* came into my mind. A vague charwoman, or a man of the same description, on the ground floor.
>
> A sense of oppressive heat was present at the beginning of the play, and not due to the idea of suffocation in the safe. (The first time I heard Cockney spoken was on an oppressive day.)

I had images of the above schoolmistress, because of the similarity of her voice and the woman's voice.

I could see Alfred's wife, his suburban villa, the scene at his home. Again, Alfred did not appear to stay in the office, after the safe closed. I saw him walking home along a sunlit tramroad, which was not crowded.

When she said, " Except on Saturday," I saw the river with many punts and skiffs on it, as I have seen it on hot Sundays and Saturday afternoons.

The safe appeared to me to be like a telephone-box.[1]

While trying to visualise the man's face, an actual face appeared for the moment. It was quite irrelevant. There was no reason why I should have thought of this individual, except that he has a strong Scotch accent, and I was thinking of accents. I give the scene a local habitation well known to me.

It is, of course, exceedingly arbitrary to decide that the image of Alfred's house is irrelevant. To the actual happenings in the office it is. To the reasons for those happenings it is not. Incidentally this casts some light upon the difficulty of determining what is psychologically irrelevant, as even the most gentle critics of psycho-analysis know, to their cost. However, there seems little doubt that the writer of broadcast plays may count upon many of his listeners, if properly treated, filling in, with visual imagery, much of the context required to explain actions " off." The meaning of " off " in radio-drama might keep a metaphysician harmlessly busy for weeks. But not us.

One semi-philosophical problem, however, which lies at so slight an angle to our own that it is almost parallel, grows out of the question of the extent to which such listening creates " new " images, and how far they are merely reproductions of one's past experience. Neither of the records used is very favourable for such experiences, since they depict situations easily compounded by most listeners, from their past images. This was treated in more detail on p. 98 f, where the ingredients of the images illustrating a romantic play were discussed.

[1] Angela Baddeley has broadcast one of A. P. Herbert's sketches, in which she is in a telephone box. This seems a possible explanation.

Synæsthesia

With Record A, 23 per cent., or 18 out of 76 listeners, reported some form of synæsthesia, and in Record B, 24 per cent., or 27 out of 112. These are more than is usually recorded by psychologists. The percentage of people who declare that they have synæsthesia is generally recorded as (about) seven. The present experiences, however, may be particularly favourable to synæsthesia.

All the listeners are mixed as regards their occupation, and Groups (I to V) as regards age. They may therefore be taken as a not unrepresentative group of the " listening " population.

From Record A there were three instances of synæsthesia of colour, and 15 of quality or texture.[1]

Some of the most interesting examples are :

> All seem to possess a very rough texture.
>
> Reminded me of the brown packing stuff used for sugar-bags.
>
> Mother's voice was like the feel of the wires on some instrument like a mandoline.
>
> I should describe the voice of Mother as blue ; Father seems to be surrounded by a yellow haze.
>
> I got the picture of the grating of nutmeg, also the feeling of rough worsted.
>
> The sound makes the back of my throat feel rough.

Father's voice is also described as a piece of hessian and grey, a silver-grey, a machine vibrating, as rough-toothed like a saw, a drum ; Mother's as round, like a steel rod, silver-grey ; Emma's as a circle, sharp and silver-grey ; Grandma's as toothed and silver-grey.

With Record B, 10 had colour-synæsthesia, 17 tactual synæsthesia. The woman's voice was described as light brown, red, brown, yellow, orange, yellow, white, yellow. The man's was characterised as black, a dark colour, purple, grey, a sort of grey. It is interesting to note that in each case the colours given for the voices kept to one end of the spectrum. This does not happen in cases of synæsthesia which have been reported concerning notes on the musical scale. There were also interesting qualities of texture in this group.

[1] cf. W. Köhler, *Gestalt Psychology*.

Woman's voice like a taut rope at times.
Idea of some solid black mass in the man's voice.
The man's voice was like coarse linen.
The man's voice was thick and glutinous.
The woman's voice suggests a yellow, hard material; the man's a rough brown serge.
I "see" the voice of the woman as rough and rugged; it makes me think of a frog. I see a kind of a steamy hotness about the image. It is fairly like a piece of rough, unhewn granite, which is grey. The man's voice I "see" as a piece of smooth stone, the same colour almost, but a bit paler and colder looking.
The woman's voice vibrates rapidly, bright in colour, almost metallic in colour. The man's voice vibrates more slowly, dark in colour, deep and thick.
When the woman is pleading it is soft like silk.

In six cases the man's voice was described as woolly or thick and muffled; almost as though he were speaking through a handkerchief, and yet quite recognisable.

The man's voice was also described as rough (?), a rough file, rough like sandpaper; the woman's as saw edged.

The following seem to be modified synæsthesias, with interesting features:

The voices seem to have colour only in so far as they determine the colour of the speakers. May was light brown, rather pale; Alfred, rather coarse.
Colours were not definitely those of hair, but obviously refer more to hair than complexion.

Attitudes Towards a Particular Accent

In both Records A and B the listeners were asked the questions:

Do you like or dislike the Cockney accent in general? Any special reasons?

With Record A, 31.2 per cent. liked the Cockney accent, 64.6 per cent. disliked it, and 12.5 per cent. were indifferent. Thirteen liked it and eight disliked it because of memory associations. One liked and four disliked it for reasons of voice quality. Five liked and 10 disliked it for no special

reasons. Three disliked and one liked the Cockney accent, because unfamiliar. Eight were indifferent.

Interesting associative answers are :

> I dislike the Cockney accent because I only know one London person, our agent, and I have never heard him unless he is complaining about business.
>
> Dislike it. Never thought of it before, but a boy came to our country school when I was a child, and I disliked him ; he was a Cockney.

In this connection, I might perhaps mention that my own judgment that throughout all difficulties Mrs. Buggins is invariably patient, optimistic, and brave, may arise directly from her voice, yet I suspect that part of its force has been transferred from a very similar voice, belonging to someone whom I once knew in London.

Many likes and dislikes of the Cockney accent from the listeners to Record B were associatively caused.

Forty-nine disliked the accent. Sixteen liked and 15 disliked it for associative reasons ; 18 disliked it for being unpleasant in sound, or because they disliked any accent. Fifteen liked it because of clarity, or cheerfulness, or phonetic interest.

One, who disliked the accent, said it went on afterwards ringing in a jarring manner in his head.

Listeners' Attitudes Towards "Dialect"[1]

In both Records A and B the speakers have the accents of London. Our question did not refer only to the accents used in the record, yet the listeners showed strong likes and dislikes toward the Cockney accent. It is, of course, to be remembered that the listeners to Record B were all training as teachers. A few of those listening to Record A were actual teachers. The question was :

> Do you like or dislike the Cockney accent in general ? Any special reasons ?

The answers appear in Chapter XI. Here is a summary of them.

The Cockney accent was disliked because it is :

[1] The word is used here in its popular sense, cf. Chapter VI.

Somewhat insincere (possibly heard at theatres); associated with people disliked; slightly nasal; going too far round to get there; drawling; pitched too high in the female; resembling a squeak when pitched too high; too conceited; a deviation from normal intonation; appearing to affect superiority; " oi " instead of " i "; vulgar; jars on ears; associated with living in London (disliked); as if I were mouthing the words; popularly associated with costermongers, etc.; shrill, connected in my mind with pathos; sounds too much distorted; associated (*Punch* and *Humourist* blamed for this) with a shallow self-complacent type; one reason for disrepute of Englishmen in Canada; connected with rather bad comedy; with wireless stout women (the meaning seems clear); not Standard English; the very opposite of the broad, full vowels of German (liked); connected with couplet attributing falsity, fairness and smilingness to the South; whining; almost futuristic, indicating direction in which standard speech is moving; not full and rich; not musical; like nothing on earth; sometimes difficult to understand.

The Cockney accent was liked because it was:

Ugly but friendly; familiar; pleasant for a short time, when not used too strongly; pleasantly inflected; associated with people living in London; clear; makes play seem all the more vivid; characterised by the full O sound; a refreshing change, better than Yorkshire or Lancashire, for example; amusing; novel and seldom heard; consonant with listener's Southern birth and feeling; associated with resourceful type of person; can always be recognised; lends itself to phonetic transcription, and every vowel contains about five different shades of emotion; associated with early childhood; connected with a music-hall comedian; fascinatingly smooth, suggesting better education; unusual and humorous, even when making an ordinary statement; associated with Mabel Constanduros's and Michael Hogan's sketches; more coloured in its vowels than most dialects; a more enjoyable caricature of good English than the Lancashire dialect, with its monotonous long vowels and painstaking pronunciation of each syllable (*con*trol, *con*gratulation,

etc.) ; associated with books containing Cockney humour ; humorous and naïve (in children) ; a change ; clearly distinguished from another local accent which I definitely dislike ; heard in plays ; bright, cheery, business-like ; rather interesting to a student of philology and phonetics ; friendly even towards a stranger.

En revanche—as some readers may already be thinking, even furiously—it might be fair to repeat the experiment at other points of England's compass. It seems that when the Northerner dislikes the Southern accent he may do so with some ambivalent feeling, e.g. he may unconsciously envy its smoothness and fluency as contrasted with the slower speech and apparently painstaking pronunciation often heard in the North. Perhaps as a neutral East Anglian I may say how often the slowness of the Northerner's speech suggests to me that he is struggling with it as a vehicle of expression. The easy cocksureness of the Cockney speech—an uneasy cocksureness is sometimes noticeable in the Northerner's—may produce in those who are not used to it a real inferiority complex, leading to its typical reactions. How far is it an accident that in two of the most popular exponents of the Northern dialect, the late George Formby and " Stainless Stephen," there is a note of anxious (occasionally *ängstlich*) shyness which I have never heard in Michael Hogan ? But to proceed in this vein will arouse all our complexes. . . .

The Listeners' Reactions to the Talking Films

Perhaps to report views concerning the talking films, held by the listeners to Record B, is to over-estimate the opinions of a limited section of society. Yet the answers in Chapter XI are strikingly free from intellectual superiority, an attitude which some might expect from university graduates training as teachers. Most of the answerers had not only heard talking films, but held definite views about them.

The point of chief interest is a very strong dislike of that type of American accent which was encountered in these films at the time of the experiment (May, 1930). The majority dislike American talkies, but think there is a future in this country for English ones. Many complain of the artificiality and mechanical sound of the voices.

Some prefer silent films, which allow them to form auditory images of voices to fit the actors. This preference, which is the converse of that desired by the person who likes radio-drama because he can visually image the actors in his own way, is of considerable interest to the psychologist. I have, however, no means of judging how common it is.

Most of the other criticisms dealt with the bad physical reproduction and the unsuitability of the voices for their parts in the play.

Some liked and others disliked " effects," such as the sound of motor-engines. There was considerable approval of the English voices in *The Last of Mrs. Cheyney*. Some praised the wittiness of this play, also its rapid action and moderation of sentiment. The slowing-down of action, so common in the talking film, was mentioned as a bad feature.

A few judgments will be quoted in full.

> Most of them are hateful in quality of voice, probability and incident, but once you can establish a properly low-brow state of mind you can sink the critical faculty and enjoy them.
>
> I cannot get accustomed to see the mouth moving and the voice coming from somewhere else. It distracts my attention and spoils the picture.
>
> The degree of reality emphasised in highly emotional scenes repulses me very much, and makes me feel awkward and self-conscious, even when sitting in the darkness alone.
>
> When (the voices) are chosen as carefully as faces or figures, there will be no comparison (with the silent film).
>
> We need a standard language.

Two people out of 112 had never been to a talking film. One listener objected that the American voices place the stress on the wrong word. (Having myself been charmingly reproved for this failing by a New York reporter, I feel that honours are now even.)

Listeners' Suggestions for Improvement of Radio-Drama

The listeners were also asked :

> How would you suggest improving radio-drama without adding any visual element, e.g. television ?

The answers were so very different that they can scarcely be summarised briefly. This difference in answers concerning radio-drama, greater than among those concerning the "talkies," suggests again that individual variations in mental make-up are more potent here.

CHAPTER XI

THE EXPERIMENT UPON RADIO-DRAMA: DETAILED ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

Can you visualise (a) the woman, (b) Alfred?
(The numbers are the listener's code-numbers.)

Answers to Question

1.—Very little. The woman an ordinary city typist. The man a rather dull-looking, thick-set labourer.

2.—Yes, but not with clear details, until I try to fix them, e.g. way of doing hair, colour of clothes. Then I get general appearance, rather than definite details.

3.—(*a*) Not clearly. (*b*) No.

4.—Yes. Also 7, 9, 10, 11, 19, 20, 25, 26, 30, 33, 36, 41, 43, 50, 53, 58, 59, 61, 65, 66, 70, 71, 73, 74, 80, 88, 101, 105, 108.

5.—No. Also 48, 63, 64, 78, 86, 90, 92.

6.—General appearance and gestures, not the woman's face.

8.—(*a*) Yes. (*b*) No. Also 13, 16, 18, 39, 77, 89, 94, 103, 106.

12.—(*a*) Yes, in her actions while imprisoned. (*b*) Not clearly.

14.—The woman would be about 30, well (smartly) dressed and rather pretty. Alfred produced no marked impressions, but seemed to be a nondescript type, small and rather determined.

15.—(*a*) Not permanently; her appearance varies. (*b*) Yes. His clothes and general appearance are "scruffy," cap, muffler, etc., dark, but I can't see his face.

17.—(*a*) Dark brown hair, full face, healthy complexion, plump, wearing a blouse and skirt. (*b*) Typical Cockney, light suit, "trilby" hat, stood by a roll-top desk, a shadowy picture.

21.—The woman about 35, rather strong-willed, emotional. Man, old and scheming.

22.—Yes. Dark, straight, bobbed hair, rather worried expression. Man, short, thick-set, square face.

23.—Vague, think of both as being fat.

27.—(*a*) Yes. (*b*) Yes, but faintly. Also 24, 28, 29, 31, 42, 44, 45, 52, 55, 62, 75, 76, 79, 97, 98, 100, 102, 111.

32.—(*a*) Not so easily as Alfred, but imagine her as an ordinary person, but hard-featured and determined. (*b*) Alfred I imagine as a middle-aged, fat person, apparently genial, but really artificial and cunning.

34.—I cannot fix definite features of either character. I have an impression of a general outline. I form a more definite picture of the man than of the woman.

35.—(*a*) Dark, rather tall; white blouse, perhaps long hair, friendly but rather anxious smile. (*b*) Big and broad-shouldered, with a heavy jaw and rather a brutal face. Something strange in expression, and curious eyes.

37.—(*a*) Rather large and untidy, though good-looking; hair in a bun, which tends to come down. (*b*) About 5 ft. 10 in. tall, grey check suit, gold watch-chain, well-polished brown shoes, red face, grey hat.

38.—(*a*) No. (*b*) Alfred seemed to be a slow, heavy sort of fellow. The impression was due to his speech, which was slow, though I know Southerners tend to speak more slowly than Northerners.

40.—I can visualise the woman very clearly—above all, her dishevelled hair done over the ears; fairly well made, wearing bluey-green overall; pale. Alfred not so clear, wearing darkish grey tweed, red, unpleasant face, holding bowler hat in his hand.

47.—Not very well. Had vague picture of a man and woman, but merely with which to associate the voices.

48.—(*a*) No. Only woman's attire or "a woman." (*b*) No. Thought of a fairly tall man; a "tawny" man. I can imagine an office door with frosted glass windows.

51.—(*a*) Slight and attractive; of course, typical American "talkie" heroine. (*b*) Heavy, perpetual cigarette, rather well-dressed, stolid features, furtive look.

54.—Yes. The woman appeared, in my mind, to be about 30 years old, blonde complexion, rather tired eyes; dressed in bright colours, average height. Alfred, tall, well-built, dark, rather carelessly dressed, and a wild, anxious look in his eyes.

56.—(*a*) Untidy hair, sallow complexion (tint brownish), blouse and skirt. (*b*) Brown tweeds, slouch cap. Muffler round his neck, while lack of or none-too-clean collar, clean-shaven.

57.—The woman rather ordinary-featured, and long hair, dressed in a small knot at the back, something like Mabel Constanduros. The man surly, plain, fat face, and wearing a trilby hat and overcoat.

60.—(*a*) Not particularly pretty, quick, nervous movements, a little vulgar. (*b*) Stolid, medium height, nondescript in colouring and appearance.

67.—(*a*) Dark, vivid in colouring, dressed in shirt-blouse, neat, dark skirt, small. (*b*) Only in a general way, fair, pale and thin, dressed in dark, seedy-looking clothes. Hatless.

68.—(*a*) Rather tall, plump, blouse and skirt, hair, I think, unbobbed. (*b*) Not above medium height, thick-set.

69.—(*a*) Very clearly, as mentioned above, by connection with a person having an identical voice, brings to my mind a picture of her face. (*b*) No.

72.—The woman is blousy, with long fair hair, buxom in type. The man is thin, dark hair turning grey, and has a rather rough grey suit, better suburban type.

81.—(*a*) Fair, plump, with fair hair, frizzed at the sides; a silk

blouse trimmed with lace, a short skirt, cheap silk stockings and high-heeled shoes. (*b*) Not satisfactorily.

82.—(*a*) Yes. (*b*) I visualise him as the man I do not like; mentioned before. Alfred's voice is not specially like his, but Alfred's voice reminds me of his face.

83.—(*a*) No. (*b*) Heavy type of man. Unpleasant features generally, with thick lips. The sort of man who ought to wear a red handkerchief round his neck and a slouch cap, even if he doesn't.

84.—Alfred appeared to me as a man standing in a doorway—his arms folded. He looked dejected, and had a cautious manner with the woman. The only image I had of the woman was of a person wedged in a box.

85.—(*a*) Very much like Miss " X." (*b*) Short man, slight stoop, walrus moustache, medium height, dark grey suit, hair greying.

87.—(*a*) Am inclined to visualise the woman on the lines of my mental image of the telephone-operator in " Sorry You've been Troubled," seen at the theatre last Wednesday. (*b*) Hardly at all.

91.—(*a*) Average height, thin, smartly dressed in a cheap way; nervous manner. Rather timid, but she has acquired a self-assured manner. (*b*) Large, rather unintelligent face. Thick neck, but quite respectable. Rather sober type of unskilled workman.

93.—(*a*) Dark haired, red frock. Can see her carrying ledgers and reaching up somewhere. (*b*) Thick-set, heavy-looking face, mostly standing still.

95.—I entered into her state of mind and feeling, without thinking of what she would look like. I can visualise the man more clearly. Type rather middle height, with a face rather fat, podgy hands particularly, that would be podgy also and damp and clammy.

96.—(*a*) Born under Mercury,[1] small, compact, agile frame. (*b*) Born under Saturn, heavily built, slow movements, bony and angular.

99.—At first, reading the question, I could not visualise the woman, now I can see the producer of some plays I have been in. This lady is, I think, a good emotional actress.

104.—(*a*) Typical typist, red jumper and pleated skirt, powdered nose, silk stockings, patent leather shoes, slim, waved bobbed hair. (*b*) Bowler hat and stick, loose-mouthed and a lounger, vicious when roused. Probably red, flushed cheeks.

107.—Yes, but not in detail.

109.—Yes, but probably my images are quite unlike the actual people.

110.—Yes. Woman much stronger than the man.

112.—Woman slight, inclined to use artificial aids to beauty, rather furtive. Man dark and heavily built, with almost Sphinx-like face.

[1] This contributor is a firm believer in astrology.

Answers to Question

Are you critical of your own voice?
(*a*) *Its tone?*
(*b*) *Its accent?*
(*c*) *Its power to influence others?*

1.—(*a*) Yes. (*b*) Yes. Also 3, 5, 9, 10, 12, 21, 27, 36, 44, 50, 61, 62, 65, 74, 78, 90, 102, 111.

2.—(*a*) I notice it gets too low when I am tired, and I try to avoid a certain harshness I notice occasionally. (*b*) Critical of local accents and try to avoid them in my own speech. (*c*) Only in so far as I should like the general impression to be pleasant. I have no idea of its effect upon others.

4.—(*a*) Yes. (*b*) No. (*c*) No. Also 66.

6.—(*a*) Yes. (*b*) Yes. (*c*) Yes. Also 7, 8, 23, 28, 42, 56, 58, 60, 64, 67, 71, 77, 80, 83, 92, 94, 97, 105, 106.

11.—(*a*) I very rarely notice the tone of my own voice. (*b*) Yes. (*c*) Yes.

13.—(*a*) Yes. (*b*) Sometimes. (*c*) Sometimes.

14.—Accent I have never been critical of, though I have been told I have a marked Cheshire accent. The tone I attempt to modulate to suit the room I am speaking in, the person I am speaking to, and the matter I am speaking about. Generally the power of influencing others by my voice I do not use, since I recognise I do not possess it.

15.—Yes, all three, on account of (*a*) present instructor's general admonishment, (*b*) a girl.

16.—(*a*) and (*b*) sometimes.

17.—(*a*) Too loud at times. (*b*) Standard English when in public. (*c*) Depends on the others.

18.—Yes, because I am a Londoner, only since I came here.

19.—(*a*) Yes. (*b*) Sometimes. (*c*) Never consciously tried it out.

20.—(*a*) Yes. (*b*) Fairly. (*c*) Yes.

21.—Yes. This is probably because French is my special study.

24.—(*a*) No. (*b*) Yes. (*c*) No. Also 37.

25.—(*a*) Yes. (*b*) No. (*c*) Yes. Also 31, 46, 53.

26.—Usually make voice betray as little as possible of inner condition, except with children and inferiors, when I attempt to employ modulation, accent, etc.

29.—(*a*) Yes. (*b*) Yes. (*c*) Sometimes.

30.—Not very critical.

32.—(*a*) Yes, particularly among my own circle of friends. (*b*) Yes. (*c*) No.

33.—(*a*) No. (*b*) Yes. (*c*) Yes. Also 40, 55, 95.

34.—I criticise my own voice if I have any reason to be self-conscious about it; otherwise I am not very critical.

35.—Very easily, particularly inflection of phrases. Rather given to deliberate imitation of accents of others.

38.—(*a*) No. (*b*) I strive to maintain my Southern accent. (*c*) No.

39.—(*a*) Yes, tends to be monotonous. (*b*) No. (*c*) No.

40.—(*a*) No. (*b*) No. (*c*) Yes.

43.—(*a*) Yes. (*b*) Not particularly. (*c*) Yes, especially in teaching.

45.—(*a*) No. (*b*) Yes, as a Scotsman, particularly noticeable here.

47.—Not speaking voice.

48.—Yes. I dislike the tone of my own voice, my accent varies uncontrollably, according to my company, and it certainly doesn't influence anybody.

49.—(*a*) Yes. (*b*) Yes. (*c*) Yes, if I make suitable preparation to secure its giving a certain tone, I have noticed, countless times, people will give me attention.

51.—(*a*) Not sufficiently. I do not criticise its tone; I cannot. (*b*) But I do criticise its accent a little unconsciously, on the whole, I think, for I find myself speaking with a Southern accent (more or less). Such an accent attracts me, whereas I come from Staffordshire. (*c*) Of its power to influence others I only think when I am trying to make someone like me consciously, i.e. someone superior in age, brains, etc.

52.—No. Also 87, 91, 110.

54. Yes. I often try to eliminate the Northern vowels from my speech, and yet the Northern speech sounds more pleasing to me than Southern speech.

57.—At times; depends on the place and situation. At times the inefficiency calls attention to itself. The accent sometimes varies, depending on the person being addressed.

59.—(*a*) and (*b*) Not very. In (*c*) I cannot distinguish between interest due to voice and interest due to what I am saying. It is just interest.

63.—(*a*) No. (*b*) Only in production of certain sounds.

68.—Yes, more especially in the last six months, I have endeavoured to cultivate a pleasing and correct accent.

69.—(*a*) This tends to become monotonous after I have been teaching for some time. (*b*) I am aware that I do not pronounce the long " a's " of the South; my accent is Northern, but certainly not a Lancashire one, although I was born in Salford.

70.—No; accent is good, I think, normally. There are certain occasions when it is not. These occur for a year or so after I have gone to live in a new place. I find that I have picked up, unconsciously, a little of the local accent. This is soon corrected.

73.—(*a*) Yes. (*b*) Yes. (*c*) Yes, I am nervous of my own voice; has a nasal and metallic sound.

75.—I am very critical of my own voice as regards (*b*) and (*c*), but not as regards (*a*).

76.—(*a*) Yes; there is no resonance. (*b*) Yes. (*c*) Sometimes it has this power; this may not be due to the voice at all. I was somewhat disappointed with a gramophone record of it.

79.—Yes, because I'm Scotch. I was not critical of it till I came here.

81.—(*a*) I dislike it when it is too high. (*b*) Yes; I have been trying to correct it, as it is slovenly. (*c*) I regret that my voice is not charming, which would influence a lot of people, but I am not critical of it, as I have never considered it to be of influence.

82.—(*a*) Yes; I am conscious that the timbre is louder than I wish it to be. (*b*) and (*c*) I have never criticised these aspects of my voice.

83.—I am careful of tone and accent, but not exactly critical.

85.—Yes, have made big strides in speech-training; with art of criticism of self to a slightly less degree.

86.—I am not at all critical of my voice in ordinary circumstances. In extraordinary circumstances, i.e. debates, interviews, I pay attention to all three of the above.

89.—(*a*) Yes, low. (*c*) Not very great.

93.—Not till lately, inclined to be monotonous. (*b*) Yes.

96.—(*a*) Mellow and varied. (*b*) Uniform. (*c*) Draws and impresses, but cannot command.

98.—Yes; often too high.

99.—I was for a time a member of an amateur dramatic society, and during that period I was very critical of my voice. Often I would practise my part aloud to people not in the play, with the right tone and effect.

100.—(*a*) Yes. (*b*) Not so very much. (*c*) A school class, yes. I haven't bothered so much about its influence upon others.

101.—(*a*) Yes. (*b*) Yes. (*c*) Yes, I can make it have influence easily.

103.—(*a*) Not when spoken, but occasionally afterwards. (*b*) No. (*c*) Rather successful in this direction.

104.—Yes; I have changed my accent from fairly pronounced Lancashire to an approximation to standard English.

107.—(*a*) Yes. (*b*) Yes. (*c*) I can vary accent, but not tone, so I have no power to influence others.

108.—(*a*) Yes. (*b*) Yes. (*c*) As a potential schoolmaster, yes.

112.—Yes; more as regards (*a*) and (*b*) than (*c*).

Do you "see" the faces of the various actors?

Yes. 7, 8, 10, 13, 20, 21, 25, 26, 30, 33, 36, 41, 43, 53, 55, 66, 68, 70, 74, 77, 80, 85, 88, 96, 101, 104, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112.

No. 1, 3, 5, 6, 12, 18, 23, 38, 44, 45, 47, 58, 60, 63, 64, 69, 75, 86, 90, 98, 105, 106.

2.—Yes, but not as distinctly as before.

4.—Can visualise the face of the woman. Also 16, 17, 19, 27, 39, 89, 99, 103.

9.—Can see the actors, even how they are dressed, and height, etc. Faces very clear.

11.—I get an impression which seems to indicate character rather than detail.

14.—I see the faces of the actors—I think, by remembering the quality of their voices.

15.—Alfred's nose has just become visible beyond the peak of his cap. Faces are not visible.

22.—Yes; Alfred stubborn, calm expression.

24.—I see Alfred's queer look, and the woman's face, all the time.

28.—The man's face very dimly.

29.—Yes ; but I visualise the woman much better than the man. Also 57, 61, 100.

31.—No ; only girl in the safe.

32.—Not always, but when they are vivid.

34.—I do not see the features, but am conscious of change of expression.

35.—Not very clearly; general outline rather than particular features. Woman's face in more detail than man's, especially under emotional reaction.

37.—Yes ; the man's face is very clear, but the woman's vague, and changes. Also 95.

42.—Not always.

46.—Yes ; but not as clearly as this general appearance.

48.—The man's face won't stay fixed ; the quality of his glance does, though the woman's face I can't see at all.

49.—Yes ; a woman with her mouth open, shrieking.

50.—Yes ; the woman ; fairish, about 30, facial expression. Man dark, sullen, broad.

51.—Yes. The man, somehow, is mixed up, and has been all along, with Professor Burt's first example of two men in his pamphlet, " The Study of the Mind." [1] The man is, of course, more intelligent, and dresses quite well.

52.—Face of the woman, from which one might say she was 30 to 35. Very ordinary type.

54.—Yes, very clearly, especially in the moments of stress, when the body might fade and the face become vividly pictured.

56.—Not very clearly. I see the expression in the eyes ; the woman's nose and the man's chin.

59.—Vaguely as types.

62.—See the woman's ; not the man's very clearly. I was looking at the woman all the time.

65.—I have a vague vision of the faces, but not very distinct.

67.—The faces are seen in moments of special emotional value, e.g. Alfred's face as he looks at the girl queerly. The girl's face as she says, " I did it ; I want you." The woman screaming is clear also. Otherwise the faces are not distinct.

71.—Yes ; because for some reason I have connected them with actual people.

72.—Yes ; the woman has a plump face, yellow hair. The man's face is long, lean and rather haggard.

73.—No ; I never can recall faces. I have more ideas of the man's face ; it is getting more vivid.

76.—The woman's face is not particularly beautiful ; it seems a fairly strong face ; she is doing all the talking. She has long hair. I don't see the man's face.

79.—I can visualise her face as she turns and shrieks for help.

[1] B.B.C. *Talks Pamphlet*, No. 56. These talks were being broadcast at the time of this experiment.

81.—I can see the woman's face and blue eyes (bright), high cheeks and full lips; rather broad nose. The man I can't see.

82.—I do in this instance; not always, of other actors I have heard over the wireless.

84.—Not necessarily. I see the actors in various positions.

87.—Not as clearly as their bodies and motions.

91.—Yes; woman thin and frightened eyes. Man showing no emotion, but a fixed purpose of paying her back for sending the letter.

92.—No. I have a vague idea of the people, but a much more definite idea of the whole setting.

93.—The woman rather bright-looking; dark eyes and hair. Alfred ugly, puffy features, queer eyes, inclined to be pale.

94.—Not clear; vague expression of face seen.

97.—A clear picture of woman, and a definite but less detailed image of Alfred.

If you visualise the actors, do you see the whole of their bodies or their faces only?

Whole of their bodies. 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 18, 25, 26, 29, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 41, 45, 46, 51, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 67, 71, 72, 74, 76, 77, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 86, 87, 88, 91, 92, 94, 96, 97 98, 100, 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 111, 112.

Faces. 8, 12, 19, 20, 24, 65, 69, 89.

1.—I appear to visualise the actors practically negligibly The man only interests me by the way the woman remarks about his features.

2.—Face only, with a general impression of their clothes, but no distinct image.

3.—In visualising the actors, I see a confused blur for each figure. No details stand out clearly, and the images I see are not in the least as I know the figures ought to be if the play were being produced on the stage, i.e. both actors are ordinary middle-aged people, and the woman is wearing an ugly, rather dirty white dress, of an old-fashioned, wide-skirted type.

5.—I visualise the room as if I were inside it, but have no vision of the actors. There is just something very vague. This happens in dreams, too.

7.—I see only the face of the boy, but the whole of the girl's body.

13.—Face, shoulders. Also 21, 70, 110.

14.—I visualise their faces only except on unusual occasions. Thus I visualise the woman's whole body crushed in the safe, when she showed Alfred that she could get inside.

15.—The whole of Alfred without a face. The woman is a body in the office and a face in the safe.

16.—I can see the whole of the woman's body. I cannot visualise the early part very clearly, but I have a strong visual image of the woman inside the safe.

17.—Their bodies to their knees, with their backs to me.

22.—I see the faces in some detail and general outline of bodies.

I imagined the girl wearing a yellow woollen jumper with a belt and tweed skirt.

27.—I see the whole of the woman's body, but not the man's.

28.—I see dimly the whole of their bodies. The woman seems to be bending and applying her mouth to the keyhole of a door. I did not gather that she was shut up in a safe. The man is dark, short and broad-chested. The woman rather tall and slender.

30.—During active periods, the whole of their bodies; during tense periods, faces only.

31.—Whole of bodies. Visualise girl's distorted face in safe; man's only vaguely. Man dark, huge; woman thin and fair.

37.—In the last sketch the whole bodies of the two characters were visualised in the first part, but in the latter I only saw the woman's face.

40.—I see the whole body vaguely, but the head and feet of the woman clearly.

42.—One or the other is more outstanding.

43.—When they first came on (*sic*) I visualised their bodies as well as their faces, but I forgot the bodies and concentrated on their faces, as the conversation continued. When the woman was in the safe, I could see her knocking on the door with her hands, as well as the expression of her face.

44.—Woman fairly small, thin and dark. Man fairly tall and fair, with dark, penetrating eyes.

47.—Have vague image of a body; for voice only.

48.—The whole of their bodies, shape only; no colour, except the woman has light curly hair. I see the woman in various postures, but can only see the man standing at the door.

49.—Head and shoulders of a woman. Head and chest of a man appearing round an office door, with frosted glass panels.

50.—Whole and clothes. Man navy suit, jacket open; woman blouse (white), dark skirt.

52.—I see the whole of the girl—there's not much of her—but only the man's face, heavy shoulders. He is too big to see entirely. It's as if one has a camera in one's mind, and only small things can come into focus. But no; by an adjustment I can see him coming into the room, but it is much harder. In the main, I see the expression of his face, but her figure. She seems to express all her emotion in her figure as well as her face. He does not, but goes quickly.

53.—I have impression of bodily movements while other person is speaking, and indefinite movements while speaking themselves under emotion, in matching their facial expressions great. (This is correctly copied from the notes, but the meaning does not seem clear.—AUTHOR.)

54.—The faces are clearly seen in the movements of acute emotion, but in the beginning the whole body was seen and details of clothing, i.e. the flap of Alfred's left-hand pocket was inside the pocket and the other quite normal. I cannot account for this irrelevant detail.

57.—Depends on the situation. When they are handing books into the safe, I can see the whole of their bodies, but when May is shrieking in the safe, I can only see her face.

63.—See actors vaguely in centre of the room.

66.—Head and shoulders. Whole bodies during action of putting books in safe.

68.—Whole bodies. I cannot read a book comfortably unless I have a complete picture of each character. Sometimes the author annoys me by spoiling my original picture by a tardily-mentioned trait.

73—I see the bodies, but no faces; merely a blur for features. The man appears to be short and stout, wearing a dark suit and overcoat and a bowler hat, which he did not take off on entering. The woman a dark skirt and blouse. She, also, is rather stout; nothing like the usual picture of an office girl. She has dark hair; it is not cut.

82.—Their faces and general impression of their figures, but no details as to clothes.

85.—The whole of their bodies when performing actions. Can still see bodies, but rather indefinite while speaking. In moments of stress, faces stand out clearly.

90.—The woman's face, when she was looking at Alfred, asking why he was looking so queer. No one else at any other time.

94.—Don't get a clear impression of their whole bodies, except that one is a man and the other a woman. Faces stand out more clearly.

95.—The whole body of the man. The only visual image of the woman is rather confused; it is the woman on her knees inside the safe, banging on the door. No features or actual form are distinct.

99.—Woman's body, but not the man's.

101.—Whole bodies and colour of their dress. Man dark navy suit; woman black hair, florid, and wearing red.

103.—From the head to the knees.

109.—Can visualise the actors quite easily as actually acting the play.

Are these faces apparently new? Or are they based on actual persons? Or are they a composite of several people?

No. 10, 11, 20, 21, 24, 36, 39, 50, 52, 67, 70, 77, 80, 84, 89, 95, 108, 110.

2.—Yes.

3.—Not sufficiently clear to see. Also 12.

4.—No. No. Possibly.

6.—The man's is based on an actual person; probably because there is a resemblance between their voices.

7.—Based on persons I have previously imagined when reading a similar story.

8.—The woman's is a type, but not recognisable, of one person. The man is based on actual persons, probably through tone of voice.

9.—Yes. No. Not recognisably so.

13.—Yes. No. May be so; can't say.

14.—They are usually a composite of several people, with a definite leaning towards one particular person.

16.—Yes ; based on Gracie Fields.

17.—Woman's ; partly new, partly my own, as though I were acting the part myself. Alfred's partly what I imagine —— —— of the Manchester Studio, to be, partly —— —— of the (Manchester) Repertory Theatre.

18.—Actors and actresses on films and stage.

19.—Apparently new ; possibly based on composites.

22.—The girl's, new. The man is based on an actual person I have seen. Also 58.

25.—Based on actual persons to some extent. Also 71, 88.

26.—New only in the sense any face might be described as new. Based on no definite individuals, though, perhaps, definite types.

27.—I can't call to mind any special person.

28.—Based on composites. Also 29, 30, 33, 75, 104, 105, 111, 112.

31.—Based on imagined people.

32.—Based on actual person, in case of Alfred. May be a queer mixture of people I know, or feel I know, from books.

34.—No. I could build up a face now which would be appropriate. The impression of the man is based on associations with the name.

35.—Apparently new ; may be partly based on actual persons or previous image. Woman has something about her of actress who took part of Bessie in " The Plough and the Stars " ; one of the Irish players. Also brings vague memory of picture which I can't place.

37.—I think the woman's face was that of an acquaintance whose voice is similar at times. Can't say definitely.

40.—The woman seems to be a mixture of an actress in a play similar to this, and a purely imaginary person.

41.—Woman's based on actual person ; man on several.

42.—Sometimes. Often faces I have seen, but do not know.

43.—The woman's new, so far as I can remember. The man's and porter's based on actual persons.

44.—Woman new. Man (based) on someone not liked.

45.—I have seen them somewhere before. Probably film or stage actors.

46.—Probably they are unconsciously composites, but I do not recognise any part of them.

48.—The only faces I see change too fast to be fixed. They look new to me.

49.—Probably ; but have not thought about who are the possessors of the faces.

51.—Man is the man in " The Study of the Mind," only better (vague word, only I can't think of the one I mean). The girl is a composite of all the film heroines of a less attractive type ; this, owing to my moral bias. I feel her life is not approved of by me, so I cannot feel that she looks other than a little soiled (wrong word again, but I can't think of the right).

53.—Apparently new, though I see just the eyes or the mouth, or particularly expressive part, at this moment. If not new, they will be a composite.

54.—New as a whole, but certain features are of people I have

known, but of people whom I have seen in various plays, though no one face is exactly produced.

55.—Probably based on a type. The woman's face is probably based on that of an actress I have seen.

56.—I imagine they are a composite.

57.—The man's face is new. The woman's face is influenced by a picture in the " Radio Times " ; Mabel Constanduros, I think.

59.—On my idea of people in books who have been in similar situations.

60.—Definite individuals.

61.—Based on actual persons in accordance with what heard.

62.—Woman's face based on an actual person seen in the train.

65.—Probably a composite. No clear vision. Blurred outline.

66.—I can't say. On reflection, May's face seemed to be like Marie Ault's.

68.—New, but with touches from past experience.

69.—The woman's face is new.

72.—Quite unlike anyone I have seen.

73.—Man's face is not new. Based on a student who is in the room, but whom I don't know by name.

74.—Yes ; but I couldn't say who the actual people were.

76.—New, but I have seen the type.

79.—Yes ; based on people I have seen in such positions before. I have seen a " talkie " in which a child was shut in a safe.

81.—The woman's face is based on an actress I saw in " Many Waters " in London. She was the wife of a new-rich man, she was Cockney, became very excited in one scene ; but she was older than I imagine this person to have been.

82.—Woman a composite of several people.

85.—The man I might have seen before, but he does not correspond exactly to the living person with whom I now compare him.

87.—Possibly composite, or they may be purely imaginary. The woman's body is still like that of the actress, but her face is vague.

90.—Similarity to my cousin's face, coupled with her sister's colouring.

91.—I think the man is based on an actual person, but I can't remember where I have seen him.

93.—The woman's face is new ; a type of the business woman. Alfred's face more or less like that of a film character I saw last week.

94.—Face based somewhat on a friend who is a Cockney.

96.—Not consciously composite, but most probably.

97.—Alfred's face is new. The woman's based on a woman I saw on the stage.

99.—The woman's is the afore-mentioned lady producer.

100.—Woman's is new. Man is based on someone I have seen, but can't remember who. May be a composite of several ; only know he is vaguely familiar.

101.—Types I have met in life, but no special person.

103.—Woman's face rather like that of a person in the train to-day.

107.—The woman's face has just changed to someone I have seen ; the man is a type.

109.—A typical London typist and an older man.

Was there any "irrelevant" or "discrepant" imagery ; i.e. imagery which seems to you to have nothing to do with the memory of the record ?

2.—Yes ; a chair and a wall in the office (which I did not visualise) used by no one in the play and not suggested, so far as I can remember, by their words.

3.—Yes ; I could see a large safe in a little back room, and a door leading into a shop, much better lighted than the back room.

5.—I am sure there was, but can't remember (I had violent tooth-ache).

7.—I imagined other cases when people have been shut in a chest and their skeletons found years after. I had a vivid picture of the opening of the safe and finding the girl dead.

10.—Saw some sort of a finish for drama, while I was waiting for more to come, e.g. burglars entering and forcing safe, to find her inside.[1]

14.—The image of the man at home quarrelling with his wife over the woman, and promising to quieten her.

16.—I could visualise the office furniture better than the people, especially at the beginning of the record.

17.—Yes ; a room in a station hotel.

29.—Yes ; imagery of Alfred's wife at home.

31.—Yes ; imagined myself buried alive, just as record shut off.

32.—Had a vivid image of a red carpet and an ordinary office desk.

34.—Apart from the actual words spoken, I had a distinct visual image of Alfred outside of the safe, placing both hands on the knob handle, not turning it, listening intently at the safe, creeping out before the end.

40.—The woman's hair ; a feeling she was dressed in navy blue and black.

44.—No ; except setting of ordinary office.

45.—Yes. At times I could not hear properly, and I found myself thinking and seeing a loose connection, causing the grating noise.

47.—When woman mentioned suffocating, image of a supply of oxygen as a volume.

48.—I thought of a malignant laugh when the woman said, " You're laughing ! " and for a moment a picture of Faust, and then of a creation in one of Robert Hichens's tales in " Byways," came into my mind.

50.—I could see her hair become untidy, and the man's hands were in his pockets.

53.—I saw vividly all the doings of Alfred during the entire record, and especially at the end, where only the woman is speaking in the safe, but nothing really irrelevant.

[1] This is how the play continues on the other side of the record, which was not used in the experiment.

54.—Yes ; there was irrelevant detail of dress, though I cannot visualise the style of hair dress.

57.—The safe is a large barrel-shaped one. The woman wore a blouse and skirt.

60.—No ; except that of a vague charwoman, or a man of the same description, on the ground floor.

62.—I cannot see the whole small office. It is at the top of a block of office buildings ; through the window opposite the safe can be seen a similar block on the other side of the street. There is not much furniture ; a carpet with the corner curling up, near the safe, a calendar with large figures and scene of a mill. The walls are brownish. There is cigarette smoke on the wall.

66.—May had untidy white blouse and frowsy hair. Alf. had vivid red necktie, was tall and had thin face with sunken cheeks. Corner of flat-topped desk with telephone.

67.—A sense of oppressive heat was present at the beginning of the play, and not due to the idea of suffocation in the safe. The first time I heard Cockney spoken was on an oppressive day.

68.—There was a rapid layout of the office. The girl's hair was yellow, the safe was green.

69.—I had images of the above mistress (schoolmistress mentioned earlier in notes) because of the similarity of her voice and the woman's voice.

72.—Yes ; I could see Alfred's wife, his suburban villa, the scene at his home. Again, Alfred did not appear to stay in the office after the safe closed. I saw him walking home along a sunlit tramroad which was not crowded.

73.—I have a vivid picture of the room and safe, which is green, with brass fittings.

74.—I visualised the part of London in which the scene probably took place ; also the man's wife, the sort of house both would live in. I feel the " Saturday night " atmosphere.

76.—When the woman is in the safe, I can only see a safe.

80.—I got an image of the room, and probably the position of the safe.

81.—When she said, " Except on Saturday," I saw the river with many punts and skiffs on it, as I have seen it on hot Sundays and Saturday afternoons.

82.—The safe appeared to me to be like a telephone-box.

87.—While trying to visualise the man's face, an actual face appeared for a moment. It was quite irrelevant, and there was no reason why I should have thought of this individual, except that he has a strong Scotch accent ; I was thinking of accents.

83.—Yes ; the commissionaire.

89.—Yes ; I thought of the colour and make of the safe.

90.—Vague imagery of office in outline.

91.—The setting seemed very clear—desk, filing-cabinet, waste-paper basket, etc.

94.—Picture of the wife reading letter, and scene between her and Alfred afterwards.

96.—Yes ; I give the scene a local habitation, well known to me.

102.—I wondered how the voice was heard, from a sound-proof safe, if this can be called irrelevant.

104.—Yes ; picture of room. Sash-windows half open, looking out over a lot of grey-slated roofs. A bent-wood chair was in the room. There was no office furniture. The safe was let into the wall.

The following are all the visualised details (from all the listeners) of

(*a*) *The woman.*

Ordinary city typist.

About 30, smartly dressed and rather pretty, dark brown hair, full face, healthy complexion, plump ; wearing a blouse and skirt.

35, rather strong-willed, emotional. Dark, straight, bobbed hair, worried expression, hard-featured and determined.

Dark, rather tall, white blouse, perhaps long hair, friendly but rather anxious smile. Rather large and untidy, though good-looking ; hair in a bun which tends to come down.

Dishevelled hair.

About 30, dark hair done over the ears, fairly well made, wearing a bluey-green overall ; pale.

Slight, attractive, typical American talkie heroine. 30 years old, blonde complexion, rather tired eyes ; dressed in bright colours, average height. Untidy hair, sallow complexion (brownish), blouse and skirt brownish.

Ordinary features ; long hair dressed in a knot at the back, like Mabel Constanduros. Not particularly pretty. Quick, nervous movements ; a little vulgar.

Dark, vivid colouring ; dressed in a white blouse and neat skirt.

Tall and plump, blouse and skirt, hair unbobbed.

Blowzy, long hair, buxom.

Fair, plump, fair hair, frizzed at the sides, a silk blouse trimmed with lace, short skirt, cheap silk stockings and high-heeled shoes.

Person wedged in a box.

Average height, smartly dressed in cheap way, nervous manner, but she has acquired a self-assured manner.

Dark haired, red face, carrying ledgers and reaching up.

Small, compact, agile frame.

Typist, red jumper, pleated skirt, powdered nose, silk stockings, patent leather shoes, slim, waved hair, bobbed.

Slight, inclined to artificial aids to beauty. Rather furtive.

(*b*) *The man.*

Dull, thick-set labourer.

Nondescript, small, determined.

Cap, muffler, dark.

Typical Cockney, light suit, trilby hat, stood by a roll-top desk.

Old and scheming.

Short, thick-set, square face.

Middle-aged, fat person, apparently genial, but really artificial and cunning.

Big, broad-shouldered, heavy jaw, brutal face and something strange in expression, and curious eyes. About 5 ft. 10 in. tall, grey check suit and gold watch-chain, well-polished brown shoes, red face, grey hat.

Slow, heavy sort of fellow.

Fat.

Darkish grey tweed, and red, unpleasant face ; holding bowler hat in his hand. Fairly tall ; office door with frosted windows.

Heavy, perpetual cigarette, rather well-dressed, stolid features, furtive look.

Tall, well-built, dark ; rather carelessly dressed and a wild, anxious look in his eyes.

Brown tweeds, slouch cap, muffler round his neck, while lack of or none-too-clean collar ; clean-shaven. Surly, plain, fat face, and wearing a trilby hat and an overcoat.

Still medium height, nondescript in colouring and appearance.

Fair, pale and thin, dark seedy-looking clothes, hatless.

Medium height, thick-set.

Thin, dark hair turning grey, rough grey suit, better suburban type.

Heavy type of man, unpleasant features, thick lips.

Standing in a doorway—his arms folded.

Short, slight stoop, walrus moustache, dark grey suit, hair greying.

Rather unintelligent face, thick neck, but quite respectable.

Rather sober type of unskilled workman.

Thick-set, heavy-looking face; mostly standing still. Middle height, fat, podgy face, hands podgy, damp and clammy.

Heavily built, slow movements, long and angular.

Bowler hat and stick, loose-mouthed, a lounger, vicious when roused. Probably flushed cheeks.

Man dark, heavily-built, with almost a Sphinx-like face.

CHAPTER XII

Radio and the Talking Films: An English View

Perhaps I may offer a reason for venturing into an arena usually reserved for the box-office manager, the producer, or the artist. I have been intensely interested in human voices and their functions, since one night about seven years ago I was hurried away from my laboratory in a car to a great engineering works in Manchester. Guided across dark yards, full of obstructions, past a cheery chaos of shirt-sleeved gentlemen, valves, wires and switchboards, I came to rest before an ordinary telephone. I was assured that anything I might say would be heard by anyone "listening-in," a strange phrase in those days. With some doubt as to their existence, I gave an early "radio-talk." Since those distant days, discussion of voices in radio and the talking film has become commonplace. Yet just for this reason some of its most important issues are at present taken for granted.

Writers who wish to persuade us that the talking films in their present state are good or even tolerable, are unlikely to raise these questions. Let us, then, do it ourselves.

The Functions of Speech

First, what is speech for? What does it do, and how well does it do it? How many functions of speech are fulfilled, and how well, by radio and the talking film?

Speech is an exceedingly subtle form of human behaviour. It grew in answer to the incessant urging of instinctive forces. Of these, hunger and love were probably the most important, with fear a close third. Through speech, man can communicate his emotions to others, can order his fellows to do things, and proclaim news which needs no immediate action. An educated person's speech at any moment may show one of these three characteristics almost in isolation. Usually they are blended, though the actor, the lecturer, and the army

officer often use their voices to produce one of these effects separately.

Inadequate command of speech is often eked out by gestures. This can be satisfactorily observed in any cosmopolitan town. Indeed, it is said that the members of some primitive tribes at night seek the firelight to understand each other, and primitive men may gesticulate to make their thinking clear to themselves.

Radio as an Experimental Setting

All scientific workers welcome, as a short cut to the solution of a problem, any conditions which reduce the number of factors acting at once, thus allowing the effect of others to appear more clearly. To the psychologist, broadcasting offers this fascinating possibility. The only effect the radio-speaker can produce upon his audience results from the movements of his speech-apparatus.

For this reason it is important to search for the criteria of success in broadcasting. Are they yet definitely analysed out even by those who select speakers? Will they be the same in different countries? This question is not as foolish as it may appear.

The Variety in British Voices

A powerful stimulant of interest in British broadcasting is the great diversity of the voices. Let anyone who has listened to English programmes compare, for instance, the voices of Mr. Bernard Shaw, Mr. Philip Snowden, Sir Oliver Lodge, the Prince of Wales, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, Mr. Stanley Baldwin, Mr. Percy Scholes, Mr. Vernon Bartlett, Mr. James Agate, Mr. Harold Nicolson, and the delicious languidities of that superb story-teller, Mr. A. J. Alan. This diversity is due not only to the listener's mental background and personal prejudices, though their effect must be great, but to gross objective acoustic differences arising from the vocal mechanisms.

These objective and subjective factors make or mar æsthetic pleasure in a radio transmission. Two recent radio discussions, otherwise excellent, were seriously hindered by a chance resemblance in the two voices. (In one case the debaters had

been to the same university.) This great variety of voices in the British Isles, arising from complicated social, educational, cultural, historical and geographical causes, delights many and infuriates others. But its importance is undeniable.

It adds to the picturesqueness of English life, to its excitement and interest, to its humour, to its snobbishness, social inertia and misery. The gillie in Barrie's *Mary Rose*, 'Enery Straker in Shaw's *Man and Superman*, the Welshman in Galsworthy's *Strife*, the Gloucestershire lovers in Masefield's *Nan*, the Dubliners in Sean O'Casey's *Juno and the Paycock*, how much would these not have lost if the accents had not been faithful to the localities? Radio characters are even being created out of sound alone. Do we realise that the Buggins family was discovered in the ether, as Professor Samuel Alexander might say, by Mabel Constanduros?

For anyone casting a play, British voices offer a vast auditory palette from which he can select, even blend, the most delicate shades. The bargee, the London taxi-driver, the butler, clergyman, lawyer, the subaltern, the university don (university and even college sometimes specified) the schoolboy (from different schools) the vocal variety of Belfast, Dublin, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, the Welsh miner, the farmer from different counties—need one elaborate? Though often this diversity is a sociological handicap, even a tragedy—a vocal Jude the Obscure is not uncommon—artistically it is a gold mine. To the producer it is like the possession of a vast wardrobe of costumes of all dates, customs and climes. While I believe that in a newer country the diversity will be less, if only because of the longer history behind the English accents, I am aware of several facts which make it fatuous to attempt any dogmatic statements. That an English ear cannot detect in American voices differences obvious to Americans is important and true; that in America the infiltration of numerous European languages has diversified the *speech* is plain: but—and this is my point—are *voices* in America as different from each other, acoustically and psychologically, as in England? I think not. For this reason it seems probable that in a new country the manner of broadcasting speech, apart from its matter, will be less important, and, therefore, artistically less interesting.

Broadcasting a radio version of Compton Mackenzie's

Carnival, for instance, would probably have been much less successful if it had been done by American actors. For many of the subtle, and most of the unsubtle, shadings in English voices express the distinctions of social classes; Jenny, the little girl dancer, who from the slums goes into the chorus of a London theatre, is befriended by young men whose voices to an English ear proclaim their social type in the very first sentences. She marries a Cornish farmer, whose urgent, excitable tones are as different from the other men's voices as are the seagulls' cries, which hauntingly end the play, from his. To produce this radio-play with voices which resemble each other would be like depicting on the film a ball in pre-war Vienna, with the players wearing dinner-jackets and tennis frocks.

For this reason, it seems, England has greater artistic variety of "radiogenic" material, though, interestingly enough, the advance of broadcasting, tending to reduce local differences in speech, may itself weaken this advantage.

The Talking Films

The above observations, with certain reservations, apply to the talking films. Deficiencies in the vocal qualities of the sound films are partially compensated, though scarcely expiated, by its visual aspects. Yet at present the bald patches of sound strike an English ear like a slap in the face. I have just heard an American talking film in which three men seemed content to share one voice. What may be the practical bearings of the fact that English voices are more different from each other than American? It is interesting to speculate.

Theoretically there are several possibilities. I will not try to put them in order of merit. One is that the English public, if it has few alternatives, and those bad, may eventually accept the American speech of the present 'talkies' as a convention inseparable from this medium. Again, under the influence of a few dominant personalities, Hollywood may produce a greater diversity of voices; these may eventually become a standardised American, which may even be an admixture of elements from English and American: or films with definitely English voices may be produced in England or in America. "Doubling" of voice and face is practicable, but cumbrous.

It is possible that actors will acquire different accents more quickly than at present through the greater use of phonetics, and the attention paid to intonation, rise and fall of the voice, accent and rhythm.

Yet if the talking film is to develop delicacies of tone, as its silent sister has increased the visual subtleties of form, lighting, angle and perspective, it still has to go a long way, and will need varied helpers.

Film producers may come to respect the human voice as seriously as they now revere the human face.

It would be possible, when writing plays for the talking films, to avoid situations in which dramatic moments depend upon sound, to minimise social, geographical and educational differences in voice. Those who like such films will go to them. Mr. H. C. Franklin, in his *Sound Motion Pictures*, says that language in America will become standardised, and quotes Professor John Muyskens, of the University of Michigan, who predicts that the Southern drawl, the nasal twang of the Easterner, the broad " a " of Boston, will be merged into a common pronunciation. " Who can doubt," he writes, " that uniformity of speech will be a stepping-stone to national solidarity ? "

Few, I imagine, who know the facts. Our English vocal variety holds people apart, much more than it is convenient to admit in these days. Possibly the English local differences will be ironed out in the next fifty years, as the social grades shown by differences in dress have become fewer. Yet probably for another twenty years or more England will retain her differences of speech. Are the talking films going to use them ? Do other English-speaking nations want to hear them ? Will the interest in voices in the British Isles become rapidly less ? I wonder. I return to my desk fresh from hearing an English audience encore again and again Hugh Mackay's Songs of the Hebrides. Yet not half his words, even in alleged English, were comprehensible to them. So in England, marked differences in speech seem to be socially undesirable and artistically desirable. It is all very puzzling.

CHAPTER XIII

THE "RADIO-PERSONALITY"

THE following is a report of an experimental investigation into the extent to which a voice, heard on the wireless, can reveal its owner's personality. This large-scale experiment was made possible by the kind permission of the British Broadcasting Corporation, which simultaneously broadcast the voices to all British stations, and by the enthusiastic co-operation of 5,000 listeners.

It is a common belief that certain characteristics, like friendliness, are inherent in voices; and that possessors of voices termed friendly are friendly people.

But this goes beyond any evidence which we have at present. It may be that certain combinations of sounds, differing in pitch, in loudness, in pace, in stress and accent, in rising, falling, or level intonation at the beginning, middle, or end of a phrase, will be interpreted by every one (dogs included) as an expression of friendliness. But even about this assumption we are justified in being highly sceptical. And this for several reasons. The chief is that when we hear a person speak, we are accustomed to see him, and to interpret his facial expression, his gestures, and his actions, as directed towards ourselves. Inevitably the sound of him and the look of him are experienced as a fused whole. And, unless we are musical critics, we do not attempt to analyse it. Judging a person's voice, without the complications of his personal appearance and his actions, is a rare event.

Single instances prove nothing. But I regret that for several years, misled by a voice which sounded like a carriage rolling up a loose gravel drive, I avoided making closer acquaintance with one of the friendliest men in my vicinity.

And early one evening, idly turning the dials of my wireless set, I heard, even before its speech became clear, a warm, friendly, likeable voice. Another turn, and the words were

recognisable as German, yet strangely unforeign. A few sentences, a suspicion, a reference to *World Radio*, and the identification was complete; someone was reading the *Jungle Book* in Cologne.

Let us note the factors complicating this judgment. Though when the tuning made it clear, I understood the German, the judgment of friendliness occurred before this. I cannot describe the intonation which characterised the voice. I suspect that it belonged to the kind of voice to which I was accustomed when I once lived in Germany. Yet I was always given to understand by the inhabitants that there were people in other parts of the country who spoke with much less friendly voices. Such prejudices of latitude—perhaps mutual—are certainly not unknown in England.

And here comes the problem. Did I judge this unseen and two-hundred-league-distant voice upon some common basis of friendliness which may be assumed to inhere in the instinctive control of all human vocal mechanisms? Or had I just accepted a provincial prejudice? And would the same man, giving instructions to his plumber, sound as friendly as when rendering Kipling to an audience comprising many children? Again, if one did not see their generous smile and gestures, would one find friendliness in the level intonation of many Americans, or in some New England accents which sound nasal to us, but incredibly enough, as Sir Richard Paget assures us, are not so?

The reader may now have an inkling of the host of sleeping dogs which the simple question at the beginning of this chapter will not let lie. He may be reminded that only out of compassion have the examples been restricted to Germany and America. One might have considered the voice reading the late news bulletin in Tokio, when the quest of that common factor, friendliness, would become even more complicated.

Friendliness, of course, is only one important attribute of voices. "Leadership" is another, and committees selecting candidates for certain positions are often greatly influenced by what they consider to be this vocal quality.

The relation between voice and personality, while of general interest, is of special importance to psychologists, and to those concerned with transmission in broadcasting. For certain personalities "get over" the microphone almost

uncannily, Mr. Vernon Bartlett, Sir Walford Davies and Sir Oliver Lodge being striking examples. Since all that reaches the listener's ear is a train of air-waves, in what manner do these persons modify the air at their end to produce these pleasing and amazing results ?

How many persons, when they hear a voice " on the wireless," visualise or guess at the speaker's appearance and personality ? And to what extent is the voice commonly to be assumed to be an expression of personality or of character ?

About this connection of voice and personality very little is scientifically known. Many people have hoped to assess personality by palmistry, phrenology, and other dubious means. But the study of the voice has one obvious advantage over these. The voice is a sensitive and delicate form of expressive behaviour which has the advantage—from the present standpoint—of being noisy. The noises are interpreted as indicative of the speaker's experience. The voice is notoriously affected under strong emotion, but often indicates very subtle changes of mood.

We know that the manner of speech of many persons has been affected by their mode of life, their profession and their success or failure in overcoming difficulties. It is believed that certain professions are characterised by a special type of voice.

The stage, however, has occasionally forced upon us a stereotyped voice, as we saw in Chapter III. Yet not all stage stereotypes are true to life, as most professional people know to their amusement or sorrow.

Perhaps in certain parts of this country a profession will stamp itself more deeply upon its representatives' voices than in other parts, or in other and younger countries. Certainly many of us form a definite impression of speakers who are broadcasting. Some time ago, listening to a broadcast talk, I seemed to smell the speaker's cigar and see his fur overcoat. I inferred that on Savoy Hill there waited for him a neat, unassuming, but very efficient comfortable car, which he would handle expertly. Be that as it may, his voice, matter and manner were packed full of thoroughly healthy, unmistakably English prejudices. Was such a guess idle ? I do not know.

It might be noted here that the voice does not always correspond with the appearance of the speaker. This was

true of Emerson. In Mr. Van Wyck Brooks's book, *Emerson and Others*, we see Emerson as a lecturer

> motionless on the platform, save for an occasional thrust of the right hand, clenched, with the fingers upward; straight and thin as a birch tree in winter, with his hatchet face, half Indian, half the face of a sagacious, peering eagle. His voice, one listener observed, seemed to have no connection with the physical man. It had shoulders in it which he had not, lungs far larger than his, a walk the public never saw. . . .

Though in the present experiment personalities rather than voices were chosen, in our estimation no speaker's appearance was at variance with his or her voice.

The question now arises: could this connection of voice and personality be experimentally examined?

II. The Origin and Conduct of the Tests

(*a*) *The Original Suggestion.*

I am greatly indebted to Mr. E. A. Blair, of Douglas, Isle of Man, for the interesting and original suggestion that the wireless might be used in an investigation of "character reading" from the voice. He proposed that different persons should be encouraged to talk about interesting matters in their daily life, and that listeners should make judgments about their characters. This idea was passed on to me by the Director of the Manchester Station (then 2ZY) of the B.B.C., Mr. E. G. D. Liveing, with the suggestion that it might form the basis for a psychological test.

(*b*) *The Modified Project.*

It is much more difficult (though to expound this satisfactorily would require a psychological dissertation) to read a man's character than to make judgments about his personality. The first proposal, that each person should be encouraged to talk about things that interest him, is not susceptible of scientific treatment, the chief requirement of which is that different factors shall be altered one at a time, while all other conditions are, as far as possible, kept constant.

It was, therefore, decided to select a passage, which all persons were required to *read*. This sacrificed picturesqueness,

but gained constancy. The speakers were asked not to rehearse the reading, but just to know what it was about. Listening " directly " (i.e. in the studio itself), my impression was that Speakers 1 to 8 inclusive (No. 9 I heard, like other listeners, " over the wireless ") were not very familiar with the passage. At any rate, some of them did not read it easily.

(*c*) *The Passage Read.*

The passage was selected after careful consideration and with the help of the late Mr. Walter G. Fuller, then Editor of the *Radio Times*. He gave to the whole investigation his keen attention and valuable co-operation. It was characteristic of his human interests that the author he suggested should be Charles Dickens.

A mid-point of literary taste was thus aimed at ; a passage to which the " low-brow " would not, and the " high-brow " dare not, object. Eventually a shortened version of Mr. Winkle's adventures on the ice, from the *Pickwick Papers*, was chosen, because of its liveliness and universal appeal. Subsequent experience showed that it had unanticipated advantages and defects. A bad defect for this experiment, unforeseen by me, was that the passage, which I chose, containing some remarks by Mr. Weller, suggested to the readers that they should attempt Cockney dialect, which was not helpful to the listeners.

(*d*) *Station Arrangements and the Choice of Speakers.*

Besides passing on the suggestion to me, Mr. Liveing very kindly placed at my disposal the resources of the Manchester Station, discussed many points of detail, and gave valuable help in selecting and inviting the different speakers. To pick nine speakers from the population of the British Isles was indeed an embarrassing choice, and it is not improbable that others would have chosen differently.

The speakers who were personally known to Mr. Liveing or to me were numbers 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9. They were very fully acquainted with our wishes by interview, letter and telephone. The passage to be read was sent to them about a day before the first experimental broadcast.

The co-operation of very different types of speaker was invited. The criterion for choosing them was achievement of

definite and recorded success in their own calling. Seven out of the nine were chosen for this reason. Thus, there was objective evidence that they possessed well-marked personalities, whether this would eventually be expressed by their voices or not. If voice is an invariable indication of personality, then, within the limits of validity of this admittedly imperfect experimental investigation, the fact ought to be shown clearly.

Obviously, a most desirable complement to this class of speaker would be the same number of heterogenous persons who had in common only definite and recorded failure in their own calling. But the reader may imagine the difficulties of obtaining such persons as voluntary co-operators, so two readers were invited who had not yet had time or opportunity to achieve success or failure of a professional kind.

The following are details of the nine who so gallantly drew the comments of their huge, invisible audience, and to whom we offer our sincere thanks.

Speaker No. 1.—Detective-Sergeant F. R. (now Detective-Inspector) Williams, of the Manchester City Police Force. Aged 38. Lived in Oxfordshire and South Northamptonshire until 19 years of age, and has lived in Manchester since then.

Speaker No. 2.—Miss Madeleine Rée (now Mrs. R. L. Newell), private secretary. Aged 22. Was born and has lived in Manchester. Educated at Wycombe Abbey School, Buckinghamshire. Her mother is American, and she herself has visited the U.S.A.

Speaker No. 3.—The Reverend Victor Dams, Precentor and Minor Canon of Manchester Cathedral. Aged 35. Born and brought up in Staffordshire. Educated at Cambridge University. Has held clerical and scholastic appointments in Devonshire and London, and was on active service during the war. Has resided in Manchester for the last seven years. (See also p. 193.)

Speaker No. 4.—Miss A. L. Robinson (now Mrs. Mallalieu), buyer and controller of the dressmaking and ladies' tailoring section of Messrs. Kendal, Milne & Co. (Harrods, Ltd.), Manchester. Aged 39. Born and brought up at Ipswich, Suffolk. Has lived for ten years in London, and for the last nine years in Manchester.

Speakers on the first day (*from left to right*): 1. Detective-Sergeant WILLIAMS; 2. Miss MADELEINE RÉE; 3. The Rev. VICTOR DAMS.

The mystery voices of the second day: 4. Miss A. L. ROBINSON; 5. Captain HUMPHREY; 6. Miss MARJORIE PEAR.

The third and last day: 7. Judge MCCLEARY; 8. Mr. H. COBDEN TURNER; 9. Mr. GEORGE GROSSMITH.

Acknowledgments are hereby made to the following photographers:
Speaker 3, Birtles, Warrington. Speakers 4 and 7, Lafayette, Manchester. Speaker 9, Central News.

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Speaker No. 5.—Captain F. E. Humphrey, training officer at the Bury Depot of the Lancashire Fusiliers. Aged 31. Born in Cork, his home is now in Donegal. Educated at Bedford and Sandhurst. Served overseas during the war, and has spent the last two years in Bury.

Speaker No. 6.—Miss Marjorie Pear, daughter of Professor T. H. Pear. Aged 11. Born and brought up in Manchester. Attending the Manchester High School for Girls.

Speaker No. 7.—His Honour Judge R. McCleary, of the County Court, on Circuit No. 12. Aged 57. Birthplace, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Manchester. Early life in Buxton and South of England. Educated at Cambridge University. Called to the Bar in 1895.

Speaker No. 8.—Mr. H. Cobden Turner, electrical engineer. Aged 38. General manager of engineering firm manufacturing electrical apparatus. Birthplace, Manchester, near which city he has resided for 35 years. In London three years. Educated at Manchester Grammar School.

Speaker No. 9.—Mr. George Grossmith, actor and theatrical manager. Aged 52. Born in London. Educated at University College, London, and in Paris.

(*e*) *The Instructions to the Listeners.*

An explanation was published in the *Radio Times* of January 14, 1927, accompanied by a short question-form, which the listeners were asked to study before the experiments began. It was pointed out that there would be no " character-reading," in the popular sense of that word. For example, listeners would not be asked to judge if the person was amiable or honest, such characteristics often being shown by the same person in different degrees to different people. Most of the qualities about which judgments were requested were *acquired*. Listeners were invited to supplement their answer-forms by comments or letters. These have proved of the greatest interest, but were so numerous that it was unfortunately impossible at the time to answer or even to comment upon them in detail. These comments are now published as Chapter XIV.

The following question-form was published in this issue, for the use of listeners.

Report on the Voice and Personality Tests.

Listeners who are co-operating in these tests are asked to fill up this form and forward it to the Station Director, Manchester Station, B.B.C., Orme Buildings, The Parsonage, Manchester.

My decisions about the speakers in these tests are as follow:

Speaker.	Sex.	Age.	Profession or Occupation.	Is Speaker accustomed to lead others?	Locality of Birth.	Locality affecting speech.
Jan. 17 — 1						
2						
3						
Jan. 20 — 4						
5						
6						
Jan. 21 — 7						
8						
9						

N.B.—General remarks, if any, should be forwarded on a separate sheet.

If listeners are unable to listen to all three tests, their opinion on any one or two will be welcome.

1. Set used, *i.e.*, Crystal.....

Valve { Headphones .....
Loudspeaker .....

Details Concerning Listener.

(We do not ask you to fill up the two following questions, but the general information about yourself obtained from them would be of value to the investigation.)

2. Profession or occupation, if any.....

3. Address.....

.....

(*f*) *The Tests.*

The tests were carried out by me on three evenings in the same week, each experimental period lasting fifteen minutes. The transmission was simultaneously broadcast from Manchester to all B.B.C. stations.

Before each transmission I repeated briefly the instructions to listeners, reading from a paper, so that the words would be identical. The questions asked in the form under " Locality " were elaborated ; the listeners being asked to fill up, under " Locality of birth," the speaker's town or county, though they were told that to give the country was better than leaving the space blank. It was explained that the heading, " Locality affecting speech," should read, " Locality or localities, *other* than birthplace, which have affected speech." As an example, it was mentioned that an Australian living in Lancashire might develop a mixed accent.

The three speakers were present in the studio while the experimenter spoke, in order to learn the appropriate distance from the microphone and the loudness which was desirable. No speaker heard another speak in the studio, so that there could be no conscious or unconscious assimilation between two voices of the same evening. After each reading, pianoforte music followed for one minute, the experimenter having announced beforehand that there would be these one-minute interludes. During them, those making a judgment were asked to switch off their sets while the music " held the ether," thus avoiding the unwelcome necessity of shutting down all the British stations several times on each of three evenings.

The switch-over to the London station occurred during the musical interlude following Speaker 8. Any suspicion that Speaker 9 was not in Manchester was not reported by correspondents. The passage read is given below.

> All this time Mr. Winkle, with his face and hands blue with the cold, had been forcing a gimlet into the soles of his feet, and putting his skates on, with the points behind, and getting the straps into a very entangled state, with the assistance of Mr. Snodgrass, who knew rather less about skates than a Hindu. At length, however, the unfortunate skates were firmly screwed and buckled on, and Mr. Winkle was raised to his feet.

"Now then, sir," said Sam, in an encouraging tone. "Off with you—and show 'em how to do it."

"Stop, Sam, stop," said Mr. Winkle, trembling violently and clutching hold of Sam's arm with the grasp of a drowning man. "How slippery it is, Sam."

"Not an uncommon thing upon ice, sir," replied Mr. Weller. "Hold up, sir."

This last observation bore reference to a demonstration Mr. Winkle made, of a frantic desire to throw his feet in the air, and dash the back of his head on the ice.

"These are very awkward skates, ain't they, Sam?" inquired Mr. Winkle, staggering.

"I'm afeerd there's a orkard gen'l'm'n in 'em, sir," replied Sam.

Mr. Winkle, stooping forward, with his body half doubled up, was being assisted over the ice by Mr. Weller in a very singular and un-swanlike manner, when Mr. Pickwick shouted from the opposite bank.

"Sam!"

"Sir?"

"Here, I want you."

"Let go, sir," said Sam. "Don't you hear the governor a'callin'?"

With a violent effort, Mr. Weller disengaged himself, and, in so doing, administered a considerable impetus to the unhappy Mr. Winkle. Mr. Winkle struck wildly against Mr. Bob Sawyer, and with a loud crash they both fell heavily down. Mr. Bob Sawyer rose to his feet, but Mr. Winkle was far too wise to do anything of the kind on skates.

(*h*) *A Precaution.*

Listeners were requested to send in their answers by a certain day. Towards this date the general news bulletin of an evening broadcast announced that no letters arriving at the Manchester Station after a certain post would be considered. The appearance in the newspapers of the details of speakers (given on pp. 156–7) was timed so that no communication which could possibly have been made with knowledge of these facts was examined.

It is perhaps permissible to quote here the *Manchester*

Guardian's comment on Speaker 9, whose identity at that time was unknown to the critic :

> Then came the moment when No. 9 began, in a gloriously hearty, rubicund, Pickwickian shout, and throughout his reading one could pay no attention to tests, one could only laugh till the tears ran at the immortal tale of Mr. Winkle on the ice, told with the genius of the born interpreter and executant. There were Mr. Winkle and Bob Sawyer and Mr. Weller and Mr. Pickwick in the flesh before us, their jolly souls alive once more for a radiant moment.

(*j*) *The Co-operation of Listeners.*

It might have been feared that since scientific accuracy demanded the reading of the same paragraph three times on each of three different nights, many listeners might have begun enthusiastically, but failed to continue through lack of interest. One cannot decide for or against this speculation from scattered correspondence. But the figures are significant :

	First night.	Second night.	Third night.
Crystal sets	867	877	977
Valves and headphones ...	916	1004	1170
Loudspeakers	1927	1933	2138

From this it is clear that increased, and not decreased, interest accompanied the extension of the experiment to succeeding nights.

The Psychological Interest of such a Test.

For most psychological experiments it is not easy to enlist numerous participators or " subjects." Even when this difficulty is surmounted, the subjects are often of the same age and cultural status, e.g. school children or university undergraduates and graduates with similar and not always " average " views on life. In fact, it is almost unthinkable that one should be able to collect into the same place, at the same time, a large well-mixed sample of the population of the British Isles, with its notorious differences in geographical, racial, social and cultural conditions. The only way in which " universal answers " have been obtained has been through the questionnaire. But no one could speak directly to nearly

five thousand "mixed" participators, and—most important of all—emphasise the procedure just before the experiment began, and control it from time to time.

I should like here to thank the B.B.C. for lending their band of the ether, and at our behest silencing the British Isles. To be given the active and interested help of people in Brussels and The Hague, on one side, the Cornish coast and the high seas on another, the Shetlands on a third, and of thousands within these bounds, is a dream fulfilled. Seldom, perhaps never, has a psychologist been treated so handsomely.

III. The Results: What did the Voices Reveal?

Over 4,000 reports were sent in. Listeners took the greatest trouble, and, as mentioned before, many sent supplementary letters.

Results Divided According to Type of Receiver

It was necessary first to sort the coupons according to the type of receiver used. To venture an opinion concerning the relative merits of crystal sets, valve sets with headphones, and loudspeakers would require a temerity born of more technical ignorance than I possess. Yet it is clear that no voice could reach the listener without some degree of distortion by the receiving apparatus, however good. For obvious reasons the categories chosen were (1) crystal sets, (2) valve sets with loudspeakers, and (3) valve sets with headphones.

The answers from the owners of crystal sets were examined first, since in these instances there is less chance of distortion depending upon the momentary efforts of the manipulators. From physical considerations, therefore, the likelihood of constancy in the answers from any one correspondent seem to be greater for the crystal-users.

Consideration of further possible differences between the answers received from these three different kinds of sets will be postponed until the results are compared on pp. 172–176.

(*a*) *Correction of Possible Misconceptions.*

It should be emphasised that no speaker was chosen for his or her voice alone. And emphatically (a few newspaper comments showed that this wrong idea of our purpose was

possible) *no person was chosen because in our estimation he or she typified a particular dialect or local accent.* To justify such a choice, if made, would have required an expert knowledge of phonetics and topography. Furthermore, no voice which followed the stereotyped convention of certain schools of acting was consciously chosen. It should be unnecessary to state that Speaker 9, Mr. Grossmith, is no exception to the statement. The voice of Speaker 3, the Reverend Victor Dams, is unlike that which, justifiably or not, has been standardised by certain actors as typical of his calling.

When hearing the voice of Speaker 5, in casual conversation at the station before the experiment, it seemed to me to approximate to the stage stereotype of an army officer's voice, and I feared that to " put him across " might involve us in some considerable departure from our intention. In his reading of the passage, however, he did not seem familiar with the matter, and in any case many listeners failed, in an interesting degree, to identify his profession.

It has been urged that if Speaker 5 (and all the others) had talked about their daily work instead of reading a set passage, the impression would have been different. On the other side, however, it must be remembered that such a procedure would give an obvious clue, and destroy the comparability with other results. Moreover, as will be seen later, certain other personalities, even in these circumstances, " got across " with remarkable success.

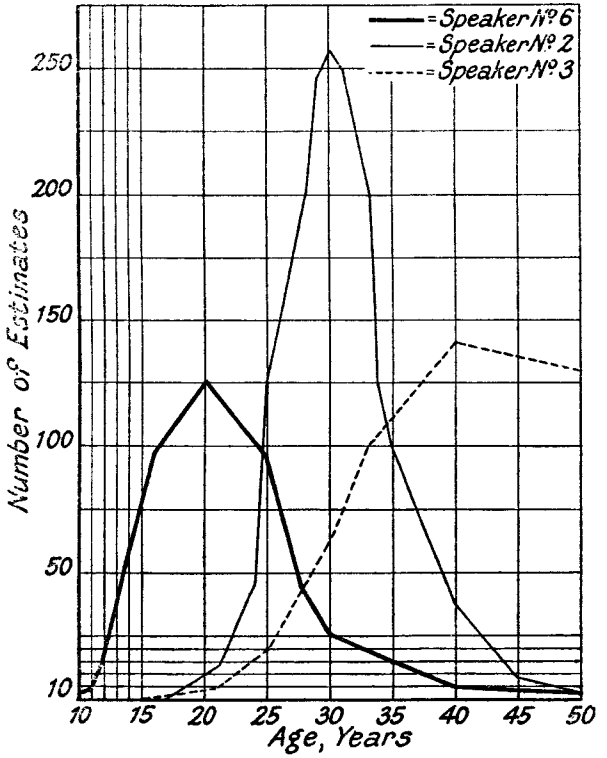
We will now consider some headings under which the answers were classified.

(*b*) *Answers Regarding Sex.*

Many listeners thought that any answer concerning the sex of the speaker would be unnecessary. That this was not so is shown strikingly by the results. For all speakers except No. 6 the error was negligible, but in this case 8.1 per cent. of listeners judged her to be a boy. This mistake was made by 4.7 per cent. of loudspeaker users, and 6.4 per cent. of valve-and-headphone users.

Speaker 6 is, of course, much younger than most broadcasters. Indeed, though I listen frequently to wireless transmissions, I cannot remember (at that time) ever hearing a child, but only child impersonators—a significant fact in the

present connection. This must be the experience of many who listen in the late evenings, and was actually one reason why a child was included. An interesting gross error was also made, as we shall see in a moment, concerning the *age* of this speaker.



The above graph shows the distribution of listeners' opinions as to the ages of speakers 6, 2 and 3. The highest consensus of opinion was in regard to speaker number 2, whose age more than two hundred and fifty listeners judged to be 30.

(*c*) *Answers Regarding Age.*

It was necessary to decide upon some representative measures for the enormous mass of figures which reached us in answer to this question. The average age could not be taken. This, because an average can be trusted only when the factors

tending towards over-estimation and under-estimation, respectively, are equally effective. These factors proved to be unequally powerful in the case of any one voice. This can be shown by representing the results graphically: a simple procedure.

Along the base of a large sheet of paper divided into small squares the possible estimated ages of any speaker (say, 20 to 60) were plotted. A judgment of any particular age was recorded by making a dot in the square above its approximate division on the base line. In this way, lines of dots were erected vertically above the appropriate ages, indicating graphically the distribution of answers concerning the age of each speaker. Joining the dots produces a characteristic curve.

From such a " frequency curve " many significant facts can be obtained. The first point to be noted is the common tendency to estimate age at multiples of ten and (a distinctly lesser tendency) of five. The second point is the considerable over-estimation of certain ages and under-estimation of others.

Now the representative value selected from these curves is called the " median." It is the middlemost value of a series. If one takes, let us say, seven estimates of age, and arranges them in order of magnitude, the median value is the age assigned to the fourth answer.

The actual ages of the nine speakers are as follows. The medians of their various ages as judged by listeners are given in brackets.[1]

Speaker No. 1—38 (45).	Speaker No. 5—31 (30).
2—22 (29).	6—11 (19).
3—35 (40).	7—57 (48).
4—39 (39).	8—35 (30).
Speaker No. 9—52 (44).	

It is, therefore, interesting that the greatest error occurred in judging the ages of Speakers 2 and 6, who are both feminine and young. Their ages, especially that of Speaker 6, were greatly over-estimated. In fact, the age of Speaker 6 (which

[1] I regret that owing to an error, these figures appeared wrongly in the *Radio Times* of April 29th, 1927. The error (half a year in each case one way or the other) does not, however, affect the broad conclusions which were given in that article. I am indebted to a correspondent for kindly calling my attention to this.

is eleven years) was over-estimated by every listener except one, and that one judged her to be a boy. Her graph, therefore, is "skewed" completely to the right of its proper position, viz. 11 on the base-line.

Speaker 2's graph shows a striking feature. More than 250 listeners judge her to be exactly thirty. The wide distribution of answers about the "mode," or highest point, of the curve, which characterises the results from Speaker 6, is absent here.

The age of Speaker 4 was correctly estimated by the majority, and in other ways, to be described later, her personality definitely "got across." This is important, in view of the possible temptation to cite this experiment in support of the common belief that women are inferior to men as broadcasters.

Speakers 7 and 9 were judged to be distinctly younger than they are. In this connection two facts may be mentioned. They were the oldest of the nine, so that, if there be a tendency to over-estimate the age of younger and under-estimate that of older speakers, this judgment would exemplify it. Since both are usually active, mentally and physically, this might be a reason for the under-estimation. But in the absence of any evidence concerning the judgment of age from voice, independently of broadcast transmission, we can form no definite conclusions.

(*d*) *Answers Regarding Occupation.*

After examining numerous coupons, it was found that listeners inclined to divide their answers according to four main categories. These were Manual Occupation, Trade, Profession and Commerce. Sometimes these were the actual descriptions given. Oftener it was apparent that such a division had guided the judgment.

In analysing the answers to this question it was necessary to adopt a definite procedure with those numerous answers which, though not absolutely correct, would be described as nearly so, even by a very strict judge. After discussion and consideration, a definite decision was made concerning occupations which could be counted as correct. A second calculation was then made of those answers implying an occupation which, beyond doubt, was nearly allied to the right one. On

pp. 167–9 the classifications are given. The reader can, therefore, decide how far he would agree with our tolerance of the " nearly right " answers. I think it may be claimed that the sorters erred on the side of severity, and that other judges might have admitted more answers into the " nearly right " category.

Thus, for example, Mr. George Grossmith, an actor-manager, was considered to be correctly described by such terms as actor, comedian, play-producer, entertainer, elocutionist, " drama," histrionic, or " stage." " Nearly right " descriptions of him were announcer, amateur actor, or teacher of elocution. Fifty-eight per cent. of listeners judged his profession correctly, and a further 6 per cent. were " nearly right."

The next greatest number of correct answers concerned Speaker 3. Thirty-eight per cent. judged him to be a minister of religion, a schoolmaster, teacher, a tutor, a choirmaster, or an ex-army officer (he has been a schoolmaster and has held an army commission), while a further 11 per cent, replied that he was a professor, a lecturer, a university don, public speaker, announcer, elocutionist, lay reader, actor or theologian.[1]

Fifty per cent. of the answers concerning Speaker 1 described him as following some out-of-door occupation, such as farmer, tram or bus driver, rancher or gardener. Speaker 8, who is, in fact, an electrical engineer, was usually judged as having some manual trade of a technical or semi-technical character.

The consistency of errors in the replies concerning occupation was as interesting as the consistency of correct judgments.

The one case that was believed beforehand by me to be most typical of its calling (that of Speaker 5, the army officer) was guessed correctly in only 2 per cent. of cases. The very widely distributed answers included almost every trade and profession.

Complete List of Occupations Judged Correct and Nearly Correct

Speaker.	*Occupations correct.*	*Occupations nearly correct.*
1.	Policeman.	Foreman.
	Police-sergeant.	Master builder.
	Police traffic-controller.	Commissionaire.
	Disciplinary Force.	Ex-non-commissioned officer.

[1] He has sent me fuller details concerning his life (see p. 193).

2. Secretary.	Office worker.
Typist.	Clerical work.
	Business.
	No occupation.
	Independent.
	Household duties (when not also described as wife).
	Lady.
3. Schoolmaster.	Professor.
Headmaster.	University lecturer.
Teacher.	University don.
Minister of religion (this includes specified denominations and status).	Musician.
	Lay reader.
	Reader.
Tutor.	Public speaker.
Choirmaster.	Announcer.
Ex-officer.	Elocutionist.
Army officer.	Actor.
	Theologian.
4. Costumier.	Public woman.
Dressmaker.	Social worker.
Buyer.	Business.
Saleswoman.	Office work, clerk, typist or secretary.
Shop girl.	Needlewoman.
Staff controller.	Tradeswoman.
Shop assistant.	Manageress.
Milliner.	Welfare worker.
Modiste.	Interested in social work.
5. Army officer.	Athlete.
Army.	Horseman.
Colonel, captain, etc.	Hunting man.
	Public schoolboy.
	Sport.
	Airman.
	Rugby footballer.
	" An outdoor man."
	Games instructor.
6. Schoolgirl.	No occupation.
Schoolboy.	Home life.
Scholar.	Pupil teacher.
Student.	Primary schoolgirl.
In training.	
7. Judge.	Lawyer's clerk.
Lawyer.	Politician.
Solicitor.	Public speaker.
Barrister.	Actor.
Magistrate.	Any profession, and J.P.
Law.	Town councillor.
	Town clerk.
	Actuary.

8. Electrician.	Mechanic.
Engineer.	Draughtsman.
" Shop " manager.	Technical student.
	Factory manager.
	Staff manager.
	Steel worker.
9. Actor-manager.	Announcer.
Actor.	Professional singer.
Comedian.	Amateur actor.
Play producer.	Elocution teacher
Entertainer.	Lecturer on voice production.
Elocutionist.	
Histrionic.	
Drama.	
Author and actor.	
Actor and singer.	
Navy.	

(*e*) *Answers Regarding the Locality of Birth.*

Many listeners divided England, like Gaul, into three parts. The privileged districts were London, the Midlands, and the Northern Counties. (Outcast myself, I record this fact as impersonally as I can.)

Since, for the purpose of marking, a more detailed classification was indispensable, the regions defined in an atlas were taken as standards. They were :

Northern Counties.
North Midlands.
South Midlands.
South-Eastern Counties.
Home Counties.
West Counties.
Southern Counties.

Answers were classed as " correct," " nearly correct," and " wrong " ; correct when they gave the actual county (of birth or subsequent residence, as the case might be), nearly correct if they came within the " atlas " districts mentioned above. To attempt the partition of Scotland, Ireland or Wales was deemed unwise.

It should be remembered that the test was not primarily of the listener's ability to identify *accent*. At no time were well-marked accents presented in order to find if they could

be recognised. But it was imperative to consider accent, because we had no scientific justification for assuming that local accent or dialect either expresses or cloaks personality. In England certain ways of speaking are associated with a ruling class. Yet to believe in a perfect correlation between such speech and governing ability would be to forget the negative instances. I have heard men, failures in everything they had tried, speak in assured tones which they owed to schooling rather than to nature. Nor can one be confident that a person of strong character will not speak in a way which to inhabitants of other counties would sound weak and whining.

The Influence of the Stage

The results show that one factor is likely to affect the judgment of all but the aloof, trained phonetician. Those counties whose (putative) dialects are stage favourites, e.g. Yorkshire, Lancashire, Devon, and Somerset, are specified oftener than districts like Suffolk, Kent and Staffordshire. The Reverend Dams was born in the last-named county, yet Staffordshire was not mentioned more than four times in a thousand.

The three speakers whose birthplaces were guessed most correctly were Marjorie Pear (Manchester, 37 per cent.), Mr. Turner (Manchester, 33 per cent.), and Mr. Grossmith (London, 23 per cent.). The belief that the voices were coming from Manchester (true for all speakers except Mr. Grossmith, who at a wave of the engineer's wand, merrily shouted across from London) may have affected the replies.

(*f*) *Answers Regarding Localities Subsequently Affecting Speech.*

Twenty-one per cent. judged that Mr. Grossmith lived in London, 19 per cent. that Detective-Sergeant Williams had lived in Lancashire, 19 per cent. that the Rev. Dams had lived in London and Lancashire, and had been to Cambridge University. Miss Rée, who has visited the United States, and whose mother is American, was judged by a number of listeners to show traces of American residence. Several added that this was because of her pronunciation of the "a" in such words as "Sam."

(*g*) *Descriptions not Amenable to Numerical Treatment.*

Unusually interesting correct descriptions, which elude statistical treatment, were often given. When written accounts supplemented the answer-forms, Detective-Sergeant Williams was almost invariably described as being a robust man of heavy build, stout and burly; his character always as steady and reliable. Over 50 per cent. judged Miss Robinson to be engaged in a definitely feminine *milieu*, as a nurse or hospital sister, governess, church worker or social worker. Of these a great proportion indicate that she gave an impression of controlling or organising in her own sphere. Supplementary letters almost always describe her as sympathetic, comfortable, homely and domesticated. Three or four listeners describe her as " unshingled."

Twenty-four identified Mr. Grossmith, two took him to be Mr. Nigel Playfair, one Mr. Miles Malleson, and one Mr. George Graves. Those who described his physical appearance concur that he is of biggish build, well-dressed and good-looking. So far as his disposition is agreed upon, he is said to be comfort-loving.

A tribute to the fidelity of the transmissions must be paid here. The voices of the Reverend V. Dams and Judge McCleary were both recognised by friends who did not know that these speakers were broadcasting.

(*h*) *Answers Regarding Leadership.*

Many listeners found it difficult to interpret the term " leadership." Different standards were taken. Some wrote " yes," if the speaker conveyed the impression that he was accustomed to control a few people (as, for example, a Sunday school teacher). Others were more exacting.

The statistics show that Mr. Grossmith conveyed the strongest impression of leadership, 80 per cent. giving him this attribute. Similar judgments were made concerning Judge McCleary (65 per cent.) and the Reverend V. Dams (60 per cent.). These numbers suggest that the speaker whose voice is professionally important, and who may, consciously or unconsciously, have modified it, has a decisive, authoritative, vocal quality which " gets across."

Correspondents said that Mr. Grossmith leads others by his magnetic personality and good-fellowship. " He has the

voice of a ' jolly good fellow,' good to himself, and good to those down on their luck, a born leader." " Although accustomed to lead, he does so with an air of good-fellowship." " A very attractive and pleasing magnetic personality." One listener describes Mr. Dams as " more familiar with the abstract than with the concrete." Other letters convey the impression that he leads rather by sympathy than by domination. The majority of comments regarding Judge McCleary are that he controls rather than persuades.

Twenty-seven described Detective-Sergeant Williams as a leader. Of the three women, only Miss Robinson had *recorded* success as a leader, although it is very possible that the other two have this quality latent, and with opportunity will make their influence felt. Miss Rée was judged as unused to lead in only 30 per cent. of the answers; the majority assuming from her controlled and confident voice that she was already accustomed to authority. Sixty-five per cent. judged that Marjorie Pear was as yet not a leader in any degree, though a number considered that she had this potential quality.

Miss Robinson was judged to be a leader in 21 per cent. of the replies. When comments are volunteered, they are generally to the effect that her voice indicates persuasion rather than command. Some examples are: " A mistress who has a servant or servants in her home, and would exercise a gracious influence over them "; " Capable of guiding and uplifting others "; " A woman with a strong influence, chiefly felt by those under her care "; " If a leader, it is by quiet sympathy "; " Used to leading people more by persuasion than by command."

(*i*) *Difference in Answers due to Different Types of Receiver.*

With a few specified exceptions, the results quoted hitherto have been from crystal sets, because, other things being equal, there is less chance of distortion due to the efforts of their manipulators. This is not to say that crystal receivers always reproduce more faithfully than any other. In fact, the inability of the small membranes of the headphones to reproduce low tones contrasts poorly with that of the better type of loud-speaker. (The reader will remember that the experiment was performed early in 1927.) But clearly, both from the theoretical and from the practical standpoint, the chances of

distortion are greater with the loud-speaker than with other types of apparatus.

I wish to acknowledge with gratitude the valuable help of my colleague, Mr. H. E. O. James, Lecturer in Psychology in the University of Manchester. Mr. James examined the quantitative records in detail, and kindly provided me with summaries forming the basis of pp. 173 to 176.

To readers acquainted with mathematics it will be obvious that, although differences from these types of receiver are sure to be obtained, it is impossible to determine at a glance whether such differences are significant, or due to " errors of sampling," i.e. errors which arise through taking only a limited number, or " sample " of persons. The fact that answers to some of the questions might be reckoned as correct, nearly correct, and partly correct (cf. pp. 166 f.) obviously makes their rigid mathematical treatment impossible. But to two classes of question —those relating to the *sex* and *age* of the speakers—we know the exact answer. Mathematical treatment of them is, therefore, practicable. We can give here a general idea of the method.

Let us consider first the *sex of the speaker*. Let us suppose that the voice heard, either directly or " over the wireless," gave no clue concerning sex. Then if the answers were pure guess-work, for each speaker's voice the number of correct answers would be equal to half the total number of answers. Our tables show that in no case does this occur. The number of correct answers given in this experiment is always greater than the mathematical expectation of correct answers, and greater by an amount well exceeding three times the " standard deviation," [1] thus satisfying a measure of reliability agreed upon by mathematicians.

Further, for all speakers except No. 6, the number of errors is less than three times the standard deviation. So in all instances save that of Speaker 6, the errors are too few to be significant. In her case, some condition must have operated to produce this significant number of errors. Possible suggestions are :

(*a*) That at the age of eleven, the difference between the

[1] The standard deviation is the square root of the sum of the squares of individual deviations from the average, or mean.

voices of boys and girls, when their faces are not seen, is difficult to judge.

(*b*) That the sex-difference of voice, if any, was decreased in wireless transmission.

(*c*) That the voices of children are heard so seldom on the wireless that persons would have had little or no practice in judging sex in this way.

(*d*) That the voice of Speaker 6 was not typical of a girl.

Of course, these explanations are not mutually exclusive. All might be true to some degree. Beyond the fact that Speaker 6's voice is contralto, I can say little.[1]

Listeners, therefore, tend to judge the sex of the broadcaster very accurately; probably just as accurately as if the speaker were well within earshot, but unseen. No significant differences in this respect are observable between those answerers who use crystal-sets, valves with headphones, and loudspeakers.

Let us now turn to the answers concerning estimated

Age

For all speakers except No. 4, as heard by crystal-set users, differences between the speaker's actual age and the average of the guesses are too great to be ascribed to errors of sampling. Even in her case, there are only 11.5 chances in a hundred that the difference is due to sampling errors.

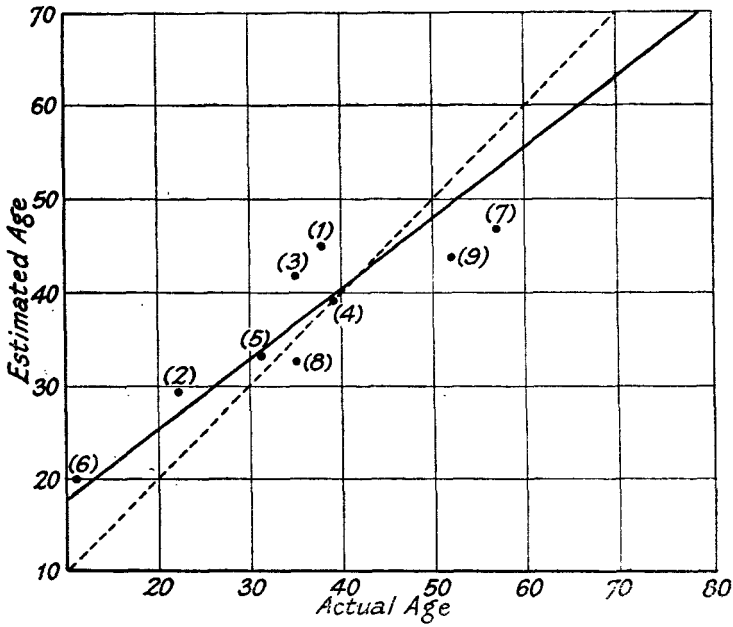
It appears, therefore, that, with perhaps one exception, the differences between the actual ages and the average guesses for each speaker, are due to significant causes. Moreover, there seems to be a definite relation between the actual ages and the average guesses. This is shown in Fig. 2 by the plotted positions of the average guesses and by the "line of best fit."[2]

It will be seen that ages below a certain range tend to be over-estimated, and those above that range, under-estimated. Within the middle range individual differences are largely decisive.

The "lines of best fit" for the other two modes of reception loudspeakers, and valves with headphones) are almost identical with those for crystal-sets. Thus a generalisation may be made about all the results.

[1] See, however, a note made two and a half years later (p. 33).

[2] $G = 0.754\,A + 10.3$; where G = guessed age, A = actual age.



Illustrating Relation Between Estimated and Actual Ages of Speakers. (Crystal Sets.) Numbers in Brackets Designate Speakers (cf. page 156).
E = Estimated Age (Mean). A = Actual Age.
Continuous Line, E = 0.754A + 10.3.
Dotted Line would illustrate Perfect Estimation, where E = A.

In the estimation of *age* three sets of causes operate:

(1) Conditions tending towards accuracy of estimation.

(2) Conditions tending to pull the estimation towards a certain level, apparently somewhere round 40 years. This effect is minimal around this point. It may explain the only guess that can claim to be accurate. (Speaker 4, age 39.) Elsewhere this effect is in the direction of inaccuracy.

(3) Conditions peculiar to individuals, that tend of themselves towards inaccuracy, but which, if opposite in effect to (2), may increase the accuracy of estimation. The effect of these individual peculiarities is shown best in the middle range where (2) is negligible.

This tendency to over-estimate the age of young voices and under-estimate that of old voices, if proved to exist generally, might have an important effect upon the employment of broadcasters. For whereas on the stage, and even more strikingly " on the screen," age is a serious handicap, to be overcome if possible by artificial means, it would appear that the passage of years being kinder to the voice—and this seems likely—the professional life of an actor before the microphone would be much longer, and easier.

It would, indeed, be interesting to know how many " age-grades " of voice a good actor or actress nowadays thinks it necessary to insert between, say, the age of 30 and that of utter senility. It would be even more interesting to examine the facts upon which such a belief is based.

Detailed tables were prepared in order to examine whether any differences exist between the three kinds of wireless reception, as indicated by the answers concerning age. Most striking is the closeness of the average for the three kinds. In 20 out of 27 cases, the differences can be ascribed to sampling-errors. One is justified in believing that in the remaining cases some real cause of difference operated. But it is also permissible, and, perhaps, more justifiable, to believe that real differences in accuracy of age-estimation are produced by the different modes of reception, but that in many cases their effect, being small, has been considerably reduced by sampling-errors.

IV.—Conclusion : Problems Raised by the Experiments

This report, dealing exclusively with the facts found by experiment, has attempted to focus the more important findings. A new venture into an unknown field naturally suggests many problems. Most of them are interesting not only to psychology, but to the art and science of broadcasting and the talking film. Some of them are immediately practical and could be attacked forthwith ; others are at present speculative and theoretical. Among the latter might be mentioned the following :

How is the judgment, concerning any particular attribute of the voice, formed in the " wireless " listener's mind ? Does he analyse the voice ? If so, into what simpler categories ? Do these depend upon scientific, musical or artistic training ?

Does the listener compare the voice to the memory of some voice which impressed him in the past, and now has become for him " typical " ? Is this type consciously recognised and named, or is it the unconscious cue for a certain kind of emotional experience and behaviour ? And if so, is his inability to " place " any particular voice due to the accident that no such voice has played an important role in his mental development ?

How far has the stage, in England and elsewhere, set up stereotypes of voices during the last century ? How far have audiences passively accepted such stereotypes as characterising various professions ? Have there been action and reaction ; have the stereotypes accepted by teachers of elocution, in their turn affected the speech which characterised certain professions ?

Would some of the attributes noted in the voices of our speakers have similarly impressed a listener who did not understand our language ? Were they noticeable in the rise and fall of the speech or in the values given to the meaning of the phrases ?

In the newer countries, such as America, are there the sharply-cut differences between the voices of different professions which are believed to exist here ? And will the tendency of broadcasting to standardise speech in our own country soften down the shading between the various professions, as recent standardisation of feminine dress has blurred many outward social distinctions ? If so, will not this inevitably have important social effects, foreshadowed, of course, by Mr. Bernard Shaw in *Pygmalion* ?

If a voice fails to " get across," would it be possible to discover the reason by acoustic and psychological analysis and to devise remedies for the curable defects ?

Since great success in the test proves to have been achieved by those speakers who had learnt professionally to modify their " natural " voice, will the broadcasting of speech be the subject of a very special technique, just as acting for the screen has become quite different from acting for the stage ? Until television is perfected, and even after that, this problem will be of the greatest practical importance.

CHAPTER XIV

Detailed Answers to the Experiment on "Radio-Personality"

Supplementary Impressions Volunteered by Listeners

The enthusiastic co-operation of many listeners took the form of sending, in addition to the answers desired on the question-blank (p. 158), detailed supplementary impressions. To publish a mere selection of these would serve no useful purpose, since it could be objected that a desire to show their accuracy might have prompted the choice. The nine speakers, therefore, received complete copies of all these impressions. Very generously indeed they all gave me ready permission to publish everything. On my own responsibility, however, I have omitted three (and only three out of 634) opinions, one being libellous, the second, though not libellous, having been sent to me with a request not to pass on the opinion, and the third unusually displeasing.

These impressions will be found, together with some indication of the profession and locality of their senders, on pp. 178 to 242. I welcome this opportunity of making known to the listeners the impressions of others concerning the voices.

Speaker No. 1

Detective-Sergeant F. R. Williams.

1.—Had done a good deal of reading, but not aloud. Lacked control between perception of matter and the delivery. I say "warehouse" in the form (i.e. in *Radio Times*); this needs qualifying. Showed no trace of slang in pronunciation, which signifies occupation is one of a light nature. Spoke in monotone, with just occasional modulation variation. Started and finished in same pitch. No inflexion or pauses. Slight punctuation.—Shop Assistant (Male), Nottingham.

2.—Gave me the impression that he was a big, stoutish man, with medium-coloured, rather unruly hair; by "unruly"

I don't mean a curly, tousled mop, but hair that won't go the right way and is unaccustomed to brilliantine. He has large, rather awkward hands, and wore a black coat and striped trousers.—Student of Music (Male), Southgate, London, N. 14.

3.—Educated at secondary school. Rather obtuse, but very tenacious of anything learnt. Obstinate and not easily persuaded. Not a "leader of men," but accustomed to exercise some authority, e.g. over employees. Intensely dislikes any attempt at coercion or bullying persuasion. Rather close in money matters, and not anxious to take risks.—Barrister-at-Law (Male), Battersea Park, London, S.W. 11.

4.—Short, sturdy, greyish hair.—Author (Male), Congleton.

5.—Male, 60 years of age. Foreman, accustomed to lead others. North country. Yorks.—Miss ——, Hythe, Kent.

6.—This reader, gentleman, I surmise, is a successful business man of middle age, say 58 ; he is accustomed to give directions and orders, which are wise and willingly obeyed ; probably born in America, but has lived much in England, and speaks English well. He is, most likely, a tall and proportionately stout man, sedate, not a hurried walker, brown hair and healthy complexion.—Former Schoolmistress, London, N.W. 3.

7.—A living likeness of Longfellow's Village Blacksmith.—Lady (at Home), Ashton-under-Lyne.

8.—Not used to public speaking, a manual worker, foreman of his department, with a thorough knowledge of his trade, medium height, stocky build.—Tradesman's Wife, Dorset.

9.—A fat man, little schooling, age, say, 55 ; possibly a policeman—perhaps rather too uneducated, though the monotonous, stilted speech sounds like a rural policeman. A fat man, short neck, red face, rather like Mr. ——, a butcher in the neighbourhood. And so I put butcher. Alternatives which suggested themselves were cattle dealer, brewer's drayman, possibly a retired sergeant-major, though I passed this by, as his tones were not sharp enough—hence I put unaccustomed to lead. My sister was once in Bristol, and said that people there had the speaker's accent. Bristol was therefore put down as birthplace. This voice gave most food for speculation, of the three.—School Clerk, Yorks.

10.—A person whose education was that of the primary schools. Might almost be any man of those antecedents, of

pleasant and courteous address, a butler, railway guard, shop assistant, hotel keeper, etc. The basis of his speech suggests Irish birth, but his accent has been modified by long residence in South or East England, probably among Cockneys. He reminds me of the Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas.—Civil Service Official, Prestbury, Gloucestershire.

11.—A middle-aged man, 50 to 60, heavy build, skilled industrial worker, carrying weight in Trades Union, Friendly and Co-operative circles, perhaps a local preacher. Certainly a speaker; a man of the type of Mr. Will Crooks.—Social Worker, Leamington.

12.—Gave himself away by unconsciously using his evidently habitual, scolding, hectoring voice, with nasty twang (I don't mean accent), I mean viciousness. There was nothing in the passage at all calling for that feeling. He, I am sure, is given to ranting and stirring up strife, a most bullying, unpleasant person.—No occupation given, London, S.W. 10.

13.—Very difficult to decide occupation, not a modern one; probably was in boyhood a gardener, coachman, butler, ostler, footman, handyman. Unusual voice and man, diffident disposition.—Literary (Lady), Sussex.

14.—Appeared to be a Colonist, used to outdoor and free life. If used to lead others, it would be in a friendly, free way, as a farmer directing his men. He seemed to have dwelt in the North of England and Colonies, or other countries than England. (Male, 50 to 55 years.)—Schoolmistress, Bullwell, Notts.

15.—An experienced man and a thorough worker; I should imagine him to be self-educated, but displaying the same thoroughness as in his work. It seems interesting to note that my mother and I had almost identical mental images of him, i.e. a stout man, of medium height, ruddy complexion, squarish face, clean-shaven, iron-grey hair, and partly bald.—Lady (B.A. History), Belper, Derbyshire.

16.—Sturdily built working man, dark clothes, rather thick dark hair, falling oddly straight over temples, face sallow, rather broad, features somewhat rough. Probably a minor leader amongst his fellows—Social Worker and Householder (Lady), Hants.

17.—The speaker gave a curiously clear impression. The voice was clear, and slight nervousness was apparent in the

dropped "h's" and "broad" enunciation. The impression was that of a middle-aged man of the working class, interested in reading, with a sense of humour. His voice was pleasant, and practice would improve it. North country influences; his residence in the South has modified it.—Trained Nurse, Eastbourne.

18.—A man who has little time or taste for reading, and who is employed in manual labour of some kind. He is probably well-built, strong, healthy, not refined.—Schoolmistress, Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancs.

19.—My impression of this speaker was very vivid. A strong personality, well-balanced mind, clear judgment, quick decision; fearless, reliable, capable of leadership, yet willing to submit to higher authority. A man with a firm sense of duty, and love of fair play. I pictured him in appearance of a strong build, above middle height, brown hair, and weather-beaten skin. I think he has travelled much and associated with many types of people, always retaining an independent outlook.—Landscape Painter (Lady), London, N.W. 11.

20.—I should say he was about 5 ft. 10 in. in height, well built, and a man that had worked himself up in business, and lived most of his life in or around Manchester.—Discharged C.S.M., Little Hulton, Lancs.

21.—Gave the impression of being a capable hard worker, mechanic (e.g. engine driver), who has thoroughly mastered his occupation.—Schoolmaster, Derbyshire.

22.—A good disciplinarian, practical observer and reader of character, of middle height, broad, sturdy, hair dark, grizzled and wavy, short side-whiskers (but I am not very sure), clean-shaven, rather short upper lip, firm mouth, teeth good, white, even and rather narrow, eyes blue or blue-grey, with dark lashes. Has the self-confidence of ability.—Invalided Housewife, Orrell, Wigan.

23.—Got a clearer impression of the speaker than of what he read. Very red face, darkish hair, brown suit. Saw him clearly at the microphone only.—(Hope-to-be) Novelist (Lady), Lanarkshire, Scotland.

24.—Man; 55. Farmer. Has a beard, a bass voice. Honest, open face. Lives out of doors. Born in Canada, but lives in South-West of England.—Lady, Rochester, Kent.

25.—Successful farmer or employer, in the country in

contradistinction to town, because of the heavy enunciation. It further gave me the impression that the speaker felt the situation as one that had to be got over and done with, as if saying, " This is not in my line, but as I have been picked for the job, I will go through with it." He further struck me as being a big, hefty and burly man who could eat well, drink well and sleep well, a full-blooded, healthy specimen.—Dealer, Gravesend.

26.—Well dressed, but not smart, side-whiskers, flourishing appearance, not over large.—Housewife, Coventry.

27.—I imagine this speaker to be of medium, sturdy build, i.e. rather stout. Rather dark, and of good colour. One of the " good chaps " we all love, if somewhat careless of personal appearance. I imagine him with a two days' growth of dark beard, and I hope he will forgive me if I am wrong here. He is exceptionally clever at his own job, and a good husband, who loves his family.—Insurance Agent, Disley, Stockport.

28.—Hearty eater, sportsman, reliable, but not brilliant. Ruddy complexion. Thick, rather blunt features.—Officer of Customs and Excise, Parsons Green, London, S.W. 6.

29.—Strong, sturdy man of elementary education; might be a signalman or a foreman workman.—Solicitor, Berkhamsted, Herts.

30.—Male, age about 45, short and broad build, easy manner, occupation demanding little responsibility, unmarried.—Salesman, Gent.'s Outfitting, Hitchin, Herts.

31.—Self-taught, self-respecting, practical. The dropped aspirate and " on " for " un " probably only show class-prejudice in his case.—Proprietress of Business, Bournemouth.

32.—Voice slightly breathy and light, lacking freedom of tongue, probably hampered by artificial teeth. Stout, bulky man.—Decorative Artist and Designer, Broughton, Manchester.

33.—I pictured a somewhat burly and rather large man, not accustomed to lead large numbers of men, but quite *au fait* in commanding smaller groups or gangs.—Housewife, London, N.W. 3.

34.—My impressions of this man were as follows. I pictured a medium-sized man with a largish face rather of the type which Kretschmer describes as pyknic [1]; I had the idea that his skin would be rough, but on thinking over this

[1] In *Physique and Character.*

I am not certain that this impression may not have been related to the " roughness " (hoarseness) of his voice, due to the cold that he appeared to have. (He coughed as he began.) As regards colour, I think I tended to " give " him colour, to make him rather of the florid type ; but this impression of floridness never developed to any great extent. His bodily development in my mental picture was burly, fairly deep-chested, and with strong hands which he was accustomed to use. All my inclinations were to place the speaker as a worker with his hands, but not as a " manual " worker in the ordinary sense, that is, not a manual labourer. There was the impression of a developing " mental picture " of a jacket of rough material, the colour seemed a dark brownish green, but the image never materialised to such a definite state of colour as could be named more definitely. The image, I have just realised, never had any eyes, and only a vague suspicion of a mouth and a nose. Age, final age given as 35 ; first impression 28, given in haste. Except that I believe him to be English, I could not place him at all. The mental image seemed to look as if the right cheek was presented to the watcher, but the position of the image was not constant.—Physician, Glasgow.

35.—Age, 60 to 65. Sex, male. Physique, deteriorating. Mentality, practical. Emotion, yes. Humour, passable. Sociable, yes. Morality, adaptable. Education, elementary. Travel, yes. Married, yes. Children, girls. Leader, no. Occupation, guardian or traveller.—Textile Trade, Frizinghall, Yorks.

36.—Probably a foreman, gives an impression of intelligence and modest self-confidence.—Clerk (Man), Hampstead, London, N.W. 3.

37.—Self-made man of about average intelligence. Very good at his job.—Doctor (Lady), Bromsgrove, Worcestershire.

38.—Evidently of primary school education and lower class ; possibly agricultural labourer.—Russian Translator (Lady), near Edenbridge, Kent.

39.—Did not read with his natural pronunciation, but was careful to read as he thought the words *should* be pronounced.—Lecturer in Phonetics, Lancaster Gate, London, W.

40.—Medium build, inclined to stoutness, humorous, very decided in opinions, walks with a firm step, level-headed business man.—Saleswoman, Heaton Moor, Stockport.

41.—Fluency, suggests intelligence, self-confidence, good eyesight, and that reader is accustomed to read aloud. He may have broadcast before. Energetic, humorous, sounds healthy and robust. Probably rather big and burly, with straight brownish hair, blue eyes, clean-shaven, with a pink face.—Housewife, Edinburgh.

42.—Not much education, but great ability; is either (?) a foreman builder; has a very decided accent, which shows locality of birth, but it is unknown to me. In appearance, tall, well-built, rather stout, "John Bull" type of man.—Housewife, Moseley, Birmingham.

43.—In spite of not having had many advantages, has done well for himself. Has not had much education. Is kind-hearted and generous. Amiable and sociable. Good-tempered, on the whole; would lend a helping hand to anyone in need. Cheerful and contented, but has times of depression.—Lady, Cambridge.

44.—I judged he might be Devonshire by his pronunciation of "u" in Hindu.—Headmistress of —— —— School, Moseley, Birmingham.

45.—The genial sort of chap one is always pleased to meet in crowds, anywhere and everywhere; he might have been a policeman.—Xylonite Worker, Manningtree, Surrey.

46.—Mechanic, possibly engineer.—No occupation (Lady), Queen's Park, Bournemouth.

47.—Working man who has slight defect in speech. Slow but persevering.—Teacher, Hampshire.

48.—When I say policeman, he may not have been a policeman in the ordinary sense; he may have policed the seas. His type of voice suggests this to me, bluff, hearty, happy, jovial, a good friend, vigorous in body and mind, fond of the good things of this life, rather a stout man; Ireland, America, London, Suffolk, a great traveller.—Lady, Barnes, S.W. 13.

49.—Appeared to me as being a man who spends a considerable time in the open air and is vigorous and cheerful.—Lady, Wavertree, Liverpool.

50.—The impression was of a short, robust man.—Engineer, N.W. 5.

51.—The nasality appears to be individual and not dialectal (not American). This is not an expert speaker, but he may be an author.—Physicist, Cambridge.

52.—Appearance, tall, spare, easy manner; deals with manual workers.—Schoolteacher (Lady), Aberdeen.

53.—Height 5 ft. 8 in., broad-shouldered, full neck. Grey, sandy-moustached. Deep chested.—Civil Servant, Whitchurch, Glamorgan.

54.—A man of medium height (about 5 ft. 4 in. to 5 ft. 5 in.), well built, rather portly, iron-grey hair with tendency to baldness on temples and thinness on crown; grey eyes; comfortably but not smartly dressed. A kindly and thoughtful man, of determination and perseverence, who plods steadily on; a plodder. A considerable talker, but—unfortunately—one whose voice is not rightly produced.—Teacher, Woodley, Stockport.

55.—Conjures up a rather thick-set, burly man. Interested in books, but not well educated. His "h's" place him from Lancashire (Yorkshire ?).—Pianist (Lady), Earl's Court, London, S.W. 5.

56.—I imagine him to be an artisan, such as a carpenter, who has migrated from his birthplace, which I should imagine to be Hampshire or West Sussex, to a large town, where his rural dialect has been somewhat sharpened up.—Accountant, Maida Vale, London, W. 9.

57.—Should think him thick-set, rather burly, strong—man accustomed to manage men and business, self-taught.—Retired Bank Manager, Rockferry, Cheshire.

58.—I have a distinct mental picture of the first speaker. A very human being, homely, trustworthy, conscientious; I fancy him thick-set in build, probably with brown hair on the face. His personality came through for me much more strongly and vividly than in the case of the two speakers. He would have a good influence with boys or as a social worker. I liked him. The other two speakers made no appeal, nor did they come so close.—Aged 17 (Girl), Egbaston, Birmingham.

59.—Male, 36 to 40. I should imagine this gentleman to be of a jolly disposition and rather heavily built.—Lady, Shanklin, Isle of Wight.

60.—Speaker No. 1 I could imagine as being quite good-natured and willing, but rather hesitant at first about doing it.—Clerk (Lady), Stroud Green, London.

61.—Man, medium height, very full build. Slightly heavy in manner.—Schoolmistress, near Ipswich, Suffolk.

62.—Accustomed to the open spaces. Born in Canada—possibly a settler. Between 40 to 50 years of age.—Profession, Music (Lady), Taunton, Somerset.

63.—I should imagine to be rather short, and inclined to be stout, florid complexion, retired from business and successful.—No occupation (Lady), London, S.W. 1.

64.—Board school education, self-educated to some extent. Very dogmatic, a bluff, hearty manner. Sound commonsense and very practical. Not of high intellectual power. Typical middle-class Englishman. Not a public speaker; has not achieved public success, but most decidedly successful in his own sphere. Interested in sport.—Civil Engineer, Wolverhampton, Staffs.

65.—A man of about 40 years of age. The voice seems well matured. He is what I should call rather brainy or witty in the entertaining sense; would do fairly well in most vocations, but not brilliant. I should say that he preferred solo efforts rather than leadership. A Yorkshireman by birth, with a Lancashire accent, probably gained in the vicinity of Oldham. Has a strong nervous system, a jovial disposition, rather indifferent health.—Works Manager, near Ormskirk, Lancashire.

66.—A very charming, clear and very accurate reader. I should say a well-bearded and healthy farmer type of man, with plenty of humour about him, dark and handsome, thoroughly acquainted with Dickens, and quite likely was young Mr. Dickens himself, as he read the word Hindu quite feelingly, and to my knowledge this son of Charles Dickens has been out to India.—Retired Engineer, near Birmingham.

Speaker No. 2

MISS MADELINE RÉE (NOW MRS. R. L. NEWELL)

1.—Has read a good deal, but not aloud. Lacked modulation; too hurried and conversational. No inflexion. Lacked control between perception and delivery. No pauses or punctuations; all was read in one key. Therefore infer the lady is in a busy place for employment.—Shop Assistant (Man), Radford, Nottingham.

2.—Educated at a Girls' High School or corresponding school. Very matter-of-fact, with little imagination. Is

untidy, but makes a parade of being busy and businesslike. Has not many friends, and is rather lonely. Deep down has a rather desperate streak of shyness which she endeavours to conceal from the world.—Barrister-at-Law, Battersea Park, S.W. 11.

3.—A very harmless young woman, with rather a negative personality. If she had any views, they were rather of omission than of commission, and should call her a merry person or something like that.—Lady, Hythe, Kent.

4.—A young woman, near 30, a singer or otherwise entertainer by profession, fair, quick walking, nimble, used to publicity, speech good; no idiom to give a clue.—Schoolmistress, London, N.W. 3.

5.—A clever, self-confident woman; should succeed in all her business undertakings.—Lady (at Home), Ashton-under-Lyne.

6.—Aged 35 and slender, plainly and neatly dressed—no modernisms. Lower middle-class or upper working-class—there being, to my mind, a few dropped aspirates. Possibly a nurse, P.O. superintendent, or a governess. A wild guess, possibly because of the recent law case; was a dress-designer.—School Clerk (Man), Yorks.

7.—A lady with the tone of a schoolmistress, teacher, singer or lecturer or talker to the wireless. Manner peculiar to ladies before the microphone. Probably born in South or East England, and accustomed to London.—Formerly Civil Service Worker (Man), Gloucestershire.

8.—A woman, young and slight, medium height, decision of character, very clear-headed and active, a speaker.—Social Worker, Leamington.

9.—Lecturing or oratory or platform work. Electioneering or Women's Institute. Very ordinary voice and lady. Independent disposition.—Literary Worker (Lady), Hurstpierpoint, Sussex.

10.—Cultured female voice. Used to using voice as elocutionist, actress, schoolteacher, etc. Used to the South, and used to swaying others to her own way. Attractive and influential.—Schoolmistress, Bulwell, Nottingham.

11.—Pale, brownish hair, tending to fair, growing upwards from forehead. Face oval, not small.—Social Worker and Householder, Hampshire.

12.—This lady's voice was not clear; the "s's" were buzzy. Her effort was mediocre. Gave one the idea of the well-intentioned but inefficient amateur.—Trained Nurse (now invalided), Eastbourne.

13.—Has received a good education and shows a vivid imagination by her expressive reading. Slight in build.—School Mistress, Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancs.

14.—I pictured her as slender, of medium height and upright carriage, with a firm step. An undergraduate. I think her speech was unusually hurried through nervousness.—Landscape Painter (Lady), N.W. 11.

15.—I should say was a woman of about 5 ft. 6 in. in height, of medium build. I should say she was a teacher of some kind or one used to public speaking; about 35 years of age.—Discharged C.S.M., Little Hulton, near Bolton.

16.—It was much more difficult to form any judgment about this speaker.—Schoolmaster, Derbyshire.

17.—Nervous from lack of self-confidence. Inclined to be sullen. Rather above middle height, straight lined figure and face. Straight nose, dark eyes, rather dark hair.—Invalided Housewife, Orrell, Wigan.

18.—Got a clear impression of the speaker, but a more forcible one of the story. Rather thin and pale, with straight fair hair. Wears fawn colour. "Saw" her at the microphone, and in a very tidy office.—(Hope-to-be) Novelist (Lady), Lanarkshire, Scotland.

19.—Had a refined, educated voice, and sounded like a lady who might be a teacher in a high-class school.—Lady, Wavertree, Liverpool.

20.—A young débutante; lady with a very clear, distinct and audible voice, about the type we get in the Birmingham studio, such as Auntie Phil. I should presume about 27 or 30 years of age, and a teacher at a High School, like Miss X, perhaps, of ——.—Retired Engineer, near Birmingham.

21.—A slim, medium-height woman.—Engineer, London, N.W. 5.

22.—Might be a schoolmistress or a capable saleswoman.—Physicist, Cambridge.

23.—Precise business manner, accustomed to speak at social organisations. Slight build and dark.—Schoolteacher (Lady), Aberdeen.

24.—Spinster, rather frail, frank blue eyes, quiet, insistent manner. Has experience as an author and of broadcasting. Have listened to her before.—Civil Servant, Whitchurch, Glam.

25.—Young, with certain confidence in her own charm; accustomed to public speaking. And like all educated people, difficult to " place."—Pianist (Lady), Earl's Court, London.

26.—I imagine this to be a well-educated young lady, and now engaged in important secretarial work, or possibly an actress.—Accountant, Maida Vale, London.

27.—Should think her a refined lady, rather delicate physically, tall, thin, and one who had studied hard. Possibly been to America or mixed with Americans.—Retired Bank Manager, Rockferry, Cheshire.

28.—Female, 30 to 35. London. This lady gave me the impression of being very diligent and persevering. Dark complexion and of medium build.—Lady, Shanklin, Isle of Wight.

29.—Young lady. Slim. Medium height. Free rhythmic walk.—Elementary Schoolmistress, near Ipswich, Suffolk.

30.—A lady—possibly a teacher. One accustomed to lecture and organise. 30 years of age.—Profession, Music (Lady), Taunton, Somerset.

31.—A fair lady; might possibly be one of the " Aunts " of the Children's Hour; vivacious, thoroughly good-tempered and good-natured. Excellent guest at a party of children and adults, as entertaining.—No occupation (Lady), London, S.W. 1.

32.—Artistic temperament. Well-educated and a marked tendency to self-improvement. Not a strong, forceful character. A character easily moulded by environment. A kindly disposition towards the world in general. Very sensitive. Essentially feminine in a charming manner, romantically inclined. A public success; used to singing, speaking, etc.—Civil Engineer, Wolverhampton, Staffs.

33.—A lady between 30 to 35 years of age, probably an elocutionist by profession, but capable of leadership and organising, but has done only a little in this direction. Born in the Midlands or Southern England. Dialect, accent, almost absent, just a tendency for London. Nervous, but a strong mind able to hold the nerves in check. Genial disposition. Health fair. This is apparently a determined lady

following a direct line of action.—Works Manager, near Ormskirk, Lancs.

34.—This reader was evidently an educated woman, although she occasionally showed a trace of the North in her speech. I put her profession down as teacher, since she appeared to have a dictatorial manner common to that class. She might have been an announcer or an " Aunty."—Research Chemist, Saltburn-by-Sea, Yorks.

35.—Dark bobbed hair. Well built. Medium height. Views concerning characteristics. Lady of education.—Manager, Stockport.

36.—A small girl, brown hair, hazel eyes.—Lady, Perthshire.

37.—The self-confidence of this speaker was very noticeable. Even when a mistake in the reading was made, her self-assurance did not desert her. I should say that this indicated an educated lady, probably with several academic successes to her credit, that has been accustoned to be listened to in society as an authority on some particular subject. In this way she was accustomed to lead others.—Law Student, Worcester.

38.—Accustomed to speak, not lead. Probably extremely competent in one line, but no all-round ability or knowledge of the world. Meek and fair.—Married Woman, Uckfield, Sussex.

39.—A capable shop assistant, shingled and smart. A frequenter of picture houses.—Widow (formerly Student and Teacher of Music), West Norwood, S.E. 27.

40.—Lady of about 30 to 35. Can easily see her—tall, scrupulously careful of her dress. Her collar and cuffs would always be immaculate. If a teacher, should say she would be popular with her girls, and will be able to enforce discipline. English, but speaks too well to denote what part.—Lady, Dublin.

41.—Voice might be that of any of the professions followed by ladies, but was hardly strong enough for the professional singer.—Engineer Captain (Retired), Weymouth, Dorset.

42.—Found her difficult to visualise. Slight build, fair or medium-brown hair; gentle but determined. Not particularly highly-strung.—Lady, London, S.W. 1.

43.—Denoted a thoroughly trained and experienced Council School teacher, from the rather over-careful enunciation

and tone of authority, and also from the intelligent rendering of the reading. An earnest voice, not highly cultured, but suggestive of a personality which would make itself felt as a leader of women's movements or on committees. The pronunciation of certain words suggested that the speaker had recently travelled in the United States, or is practising the rather fashionable "Yankee" inflection. The voice of a young woman.—Clerk, Southend-on-Sea.

44.—A lady with a refined voice, suggesting one who has had elocutionary training of some kind, though there was no impression of a professional elocutionist or actress. This voice seemed to be that of one who has travelled considerably outside the British Isles.—Schoolmaster, Weir, Stoke-on-Trent.

45.—Probably a very neatly dressed woman of about 35, but not ultra-fashionable. Rather an electric disposition, apparently engaged either in the scholastic profession or in secretarial duties.—Commercial Traveller, Sheffield.

46.—Lady, 34. Teacher or demonstrator, used to lead others; fair and rather good-looking; musical, and can play some musical instrument well. Soprano. Charming personality and artistic.—Lady, Rochester, Kent.

47.—This speaker conveyed the idea of confidence, and appeared to be the least susceptible to the environment of the studio. Undoubtedly capable of controlling and leading. Just the sort of lady that would insist that mustard plaster is the most enjoyable thing, and would assist at an operation without turning a hair. Inclined to be perky and very independent. The last person in the world to take the dole. Should say of medium height, but not attractive in looks.—Dealer, Gravesend.

48.—Fair, athletic build, neatly but smartly attired, short hair.—Housewife, Earlsden, Coventry.

49.—I imagine this lady to be rather tall, somewhat slender, of smart, up-to-date appearance. Fond of town life, sports and new ideas. A spinster with somewhat cynical ideas of the opposite sex.—Insurance Agent, near Stockport.

50.—Slim. Lives with her people. Moderately athletic, e.g. golf, tennis or walking, but not hockey. Intelligent. Pink-and-white class of complexion.—Customs Officer, Parsons Green, S.W. 6.

51.—Well-educated, fair-haired young lady, accustomed to

speaking; cool, calm and collected; might be a High School mistress.—Solicitor, Berkhamsted, Hants.

52.—Female, age about 28, moderate station of life.—Salesman, Gent.'s Outfitting.

53.—Correct and painstaking. Reader lacks a sense of humour and imagination. Heavily pronounced "havily," sounds like Lincoln or South Yorks in youth.—Proprietress of Business, Bournemouth.

54.—My mental images caused by this voice were much more scanty than for No. 1, which were comparatively copious. The face was oval, and rather small; the colour was fresh, but rather pale—not the pallor that goes with an olive complexion, but with a pink—but the colour of the complexion never developed to any extent. The vaguest impression of a nose developed; a fine nose, not absolutely straight. I cannot record a definite image of eyes; I think there was a fleeting image of a body standing, but it is very vague. I am already getting uncertain of how the face and body stood in relation to myself. I am inclined to turn them facing to my left; that is, so that the left side of image faced speaker with image's head turned to right; but I am already uncertain. This was much more nebulous than No. 1. Choice of Somerset as a locality of birth determined by a lady known to me.—Sen. Asst. Physician, Glasgow.

55.—Age, 35 to 40. Sex, female. Physique, fair. Mentality, strong. Emotion, cold. Humour, deficient. Sociable, refined friends. Morality, conventional. Education, studious. Travel, a little. Married, independent. Children, none. Leader, small sphere. Occupation, writer or experimenter.—Textile Trade (Man), Yorkshire.

56.—A schoolmistress, I think, accustomed to reading "dictation." Has perhaps taught elocution in class. Suggests a slim woman, middle height, nothing very vivid.—Clerk (Lady), Hampstead, N.W. 3.

57.—Rather mediocre intelligence, lack of attention to detail.—Lady Doctor, Tunstall, Worcestershire.

58.—A young unmarried woman. Education, High School and College. (Not Cambridge or Oxford.)—Translator of Russian (Lady), Edenbridge, Kent.

59.—The word Sam was always pronounced with a strong

American accent (long vowel much nasalised).—Lecturer in Phonetics, London, W. 2.

60.—On the tall side, self-assertive; has courage of own convictions; springy walker.—Saleswoman, Heaton Moor, Stockport.

61.—Not nervous, accurate, well-informed but not cultured, not much humour, medium size, fair, pale complexion.—Housewife, Edinburgh.

62.—Lady of good education, possibly teacher, lecturer, or perhaps a wireless " Auntie " (she reminds me very much of an " Auntie " at 5 IT). She is not a leader of others, except as a teacher she would lead her class. No trace of locality of birth; may be Londoner.—Housewife, Moseley, Birmingham.

63.—Is used to reading aloud. Very kind. Sympathetic. Has a strong temper, but rarely shows it. Is thoughtful, affectionate, and feels deeply; good brains, and has good ideas of things. Likes comfort, but gets little. Rather emotional.—Lady, Cambridge.

64.—I judged her to be Gloucestershire by the way she pronounced the " a " in Sam.—Head of —— —— School (Lady), Moseley, Birmingham.

65.—Very *chic*; may have been in the counting house of a large drapery.—Xylonite Worker, Manningtree, Essex.

66.—Student or secretary, self-possessed and determined.—Teacher, Hampshire.

Speaker No. 3

The Reverend Victor Dams

After examining the following impressions, it seemed probable that readers would be interested in further details of the career of Speaker 3. They are: Educated up to age of 19 at Uttoxeter Grammar School, Staffordshire; 19 to 21, at Cambridge University, Theological Honours School; 21 to 22, Master at Colet Court School, London; 22 to 23, Cambridge Theological College; 23 to 25, assistant curate in Barnstaple, Devonshire; 25 to 27, schoolmaster, London and Berkhamsted, Hertfordshire; 27 to 28, war work in France; 28 to 35, Minor Canon, Manchester Cathedral.

1.—Showed control with traits of nervousness; modulation and inflexion good. Voice revealed freshness and (illegible), which bespeaks of early youth.—Shop Assistant (Man), Nottingham.

2.—Is a tallish, distinguished-looking man, with grey hair, slightly curly. He is thin.—Student of Music (Lady), New Southgate, London, N. 14.

3.—Is of the so-called " professional class," probably Civil Service. Educated at a public school (probably Harrow) and a well-known university (probably Cambridge). Is clever from an academic point of view up to a point, but not brilliant. Rather lacks commonsense. Makes a parade of being unusual, and is rather proud of acquiring a reputation to that effect. Ambitious, but conceals it.—Barrister-at-Law, Battersea Park, London, S.W. 11.

4.—Dark, thin, clean-shaved, good chin.—Author, near Congleton.

5.—Tall, with fairish voice. With a good supply of the Christian attributes that become his calling. Meticulous about details.—Lady, Hythe, Kent.

6.—A gentleman, teacher of boys, not too strict, much liked by those who work with or under him. English speech good ; no local idiom apparent.—Old Schoolmistress, London, N.W. 3.

7.—This speaker seems to be of slight build, and possessed of an infinite desire to help the suffering, along with a good deal of patience, which no doubt assists him greatly to his end.—Lady (at Home), Ashton-under-Lyne.

8.—Here my preconceived ideas came into play—undoubtedly a clergyman, I thought. My parents said he was a young man, though I thought he might be much older than he sounded. There was a slight quavering on the " o's " which gave me the impression of age. Fighting against the idea that he was a clergyman, I thought he appeared to be well-educated, with some training in speaking; therefore probably in a profession. Hardly clean-cut enough for my idea of a doctor. The most likely alternative seemed Law. One imaginative idea was a stockbroker, with a taste for amateur dramatics.—School Clerk (Man), Yorks.

9.—A middle-aged high-brow or superior person—perhaps a schoolmaster or barrister-at-law—turned announcer, who fancies his highly-trained and somewhat affected precision of utterance and intonation. Probably born in England and educated at Oxford. No sign of humour.—Formerly in Civil Service (Man), Gloucestershire.

10.—A man of about 45, light build. A student who thinks, who cannot be hurried, avoids public speaking, hesitates

at first on a decision, but arrives.—Has done Social Work, Leamington.

11.—Accustomed to reading aloud, probably on Sundays or in spare time. Good opinion of himself.—Literary Worker (Lady), Hurstpierpoint, Sussex.

12.—Male. Getting on in life, but still vigorous and energetic. Struck me as a clergyman or minister used to influencing the minds of others. Lived in the North; voice, trained elocutionist.— ——, Bulwell.

13.—Rather slender, not very tall, hair dark brown, short, clean-shaven, rather small, neat features.—Social Worker and Householder (Lady), Hants.

14.—A well-educated man, with pleasant and cultured voice; unassuming, with refined taste. Intellectual.—Schoolmistress, Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancs.

15.—I feel convinced this speaker is a clergyman. I think it is the voice of a man who is discouraged, and not quite suited to the work he is doing, or he may be living in an uncongenial environment.—Landscape Painter (Lady), London, N.W. 11.

16.—I should say was a man about 5 ft. 6 in. in height, of medium build and a brain worker. I should say not used to a lot of public speaking; a doctor or something of the kind. Aged about 50 years.—Discharged C.S.M., Little Hulton, near Bolton.

17.—Apparently of a studious disposition, and more familiar with the abstract than the concrete—directly opposite, in this respect, to Speaker 1.—Schoolmaster, Derbyshire.

18.—Lent himself somewhat reluctantly (at the time) to the experiment, due to sensitive refinement, but recognised its humorous side. Of middle height or under, has fairly long moustache, hazel (?) eyes, bronzed (?) complexion (perhaps been in Consular Service abroad). Would influence his colleagues by quiet, brief, sane suggestions of commonsense, and that only when necessity arose of playing the game. Not inclined to be led by others; would exercise his own opinions and his own ideas of right dealing.—Invalided Housewife, Orrell, Wigan.

19.—Speaker and story impressed me equally. Slim and dark. Dark suit. Did not see him at the microphone at all, but in a quiet, rather dark room, with books and a

writing-desk.—(Hope-to-be) Novelist (Lady), Lanarkshire Scotland.

20.—A minister, gentle, rather diffident. I knew him some time or other.—Librarian, Cambridge.

21.—This man was certainly a good reader, and might just as easily have belonged to any of the professions.—Research Chemist, Saltburn-by-Sea, Yorks.

22.—Pale, clean-shaven, stout. Dressed in black.—Manager (Man), Stockport.

23.—A slight man, medium height, getting bald, very sympathetic.—Lady, Perthshire.

24.—Command of facts, not men. Middle-class, very precise, accustomed to much detail. Good education, possibly scientist, but, as lacking in imagination, more probably accountant or manager of small business. Nervous when not in his own element. Thin, short-sighted.—Married Woman, Sussex.

25.—A well-read schoolmaster; a very good teacher and disciplinarian; one who served in the war.—Widow (formerly Student and Teacher of Music), West Norwood, London, S.E. 27.

26.—One who would appeal to the emotions of those he was trying to lead.—Married Woman, Walton-on-Thames.

27.—Man of about 45. Can see him, kindly and generous. Speaks well and clearly; might be a doctor or a barrister. Should judge him as well able to lead in any emergency that might arise, but not pushing. Good enough for a B.B.C. announcer. English and no accent.—Lady, Dublin.

28.—Voice somewhat diffident. Probably a junior in a bank or accountant's office.—Engineer-Captain, R.N. (Retired), Weymouth, Dorset.

29.—This man, I thought, was thin, possibly tall, darker rather than brown. Conscientious and reliable, with a good deal of conscious self-control; rather nervous over this test. He was not, I thought, a clergyman. Too anxious to be *exact*. Not a schoolmaster—too nervous. He probably would never like responsibility; whether he had little or much, it would always be heavy on his shoulders.—Lady, London, S.W. 1.

30.—Proclaimed the ministerial voice, probably that of a clergyman of the Church of England, from the Oxford accent and general intonation. A man of late middle life, of magnetic

personality, with no hesitation of manner, accustomed to dominate audiences. His interpretation of the reading suggested a real love of the work from which the passage was taken and a true sense of humour. A very pleasant and all-English voice.—Clerk (Lady), Southend-on-Sea.

31.—Possibly a lightly built man of about 5 ft. 4 in., and almost certainly wears spectacles or eyeglasses. Fair.—Commercial Traveller, Sheffield.

32.—Man, 39. Born in Scotland, lived South afterwards, used to lead others, a great thinker, clean-shaven, a local preacher, outspoken (calls a spade a spade), and very humorous, can tell a good story.—Lady, Rochester, Kent.

33.—This poor fellow must have had a lot of reverses in life, if his voice is not assumed. I should say he has suffered considerably and is very sympathetic. In spite of the fact that I have put him down as one of the clergy, I would not say that he has the gift of speech, and could not by any imagination hold an audience. He would be more of the visiting sort. He has been anything but successful, and has great difficulty in making ends meet. I would imagine him as being tall and cadaverous, round-shouldered, with a long neck and protruding chin, but oh, so sad; very nervous and lacking confidence.—Dealer, Gravesend.

34.—Particularly neat and well-groomed, stiff collar, good figure—active.—Housewife, Earlsdon, Coventry.

35.—I imagine this speaker to be of immaculate appearance. Almost too particular in dress and, in fact, in all details in his life. He comes from a good family, one of the Conservative type in its best aspect, and has had a college education. He is very decisive in all his actions and words, and has complete control over a great number of people. He is rather tall and well built. Dark hair.—Insurance Agent, Cheshire.

36.—Reserved and strong-willed. Does not lead, through lack of interest to do so. Colourless complexion. Cautious. Precise. Highly strung, but this is concealed. Sedentary and sedate.—Officer of Customs and Excise, Parsons Green, London, S.W. 6.

37.—Well-educated, professional man. Well-modulated voice, and good enunciation. A small, well-groomed, clean-shaven man, with glasses.—Solicitor, Great Berkhamsted, Hants.

38.—Male; age 57. Good height and build, used to speaking, conscientious, having responsibility, probably wearing glasses, married.—Salesman, Gent.'s Outfitting, Hitchin, Herts.

39.—Cultured, sensitive, imaginative, but too much self-critical and introspective to succeed in public speaking. Excels on paper, perhaps, but not a leader. Voice rather weak.—Proprietress of Business, Bournemouth.

40.—My mental image of this voice is fairly definite. It is of a man, with a rather long thin face, clean-shaven, not so thin, perhaps, as to be described as "hatchety," but tending to that way. The man was tall and thin in body as well as in face. The colour was fresh, but not strongly so; he had rather a pleasant face. The eyes were rather vague, but inclined to be blue. He was wearing a bluish cloth jacket—rather a navy sort of shade—but the image never got much more precise; and I am afraid his lower limbs never got definitely clothed at all. I tended to see teeth when he was speaking. He stood so that his right cheek was present to me, that is, he faced to his left. Note ended about 9.5 p.m.—Senior Assistant Physician, Glasgow.

41.—Age, 50 to 55. Sex, male. Physique, sound. Mentality, excellent. Emotion, moderate. Humour, dry. Sociable, select circles. Morality, scrupulous. Education, university. Travel, a little. Married, yes. Children, possibly. Leader, yes. Occupation, legal or journalist.—Textile Trade, Yorks.

42.—A clergyman with a public school education. Rather nervous of the reading, but giving it with some authority. Familiar with Dickens.—Clerk (Lady), Hampstead, London, N.W. 3.

43.—Effeminate, philosophical, anxious to get on, but not very successful.—Lady Doctor, ——, Worcestershire.

44.—A clergyman, teacher or lecturer, evidently accustomed to addressing audiences and making himself heard.—Translator of Russian (Lady), near Edenbridge, Kent.

45.—Undersized, able to think in his own line, but not a general conversationalist; nervous walker.—Saleswoman, Heaton Moor, Stockport.

46.—Gave the impression of education and culture, and

was possibly a university man.—Old Lady, 74 (very interested), Broughty Ferry, Scotland.

47.—Nervous, does not control breathing well, intelligent, cultured, unaffected, speaks with weight and deliberation, grasps meaning of passages well. Reserved disposition, white hair, not bald.—Housewife, Edinburgh.

48.—He could make others respect him, which is an asset in a leader.—Shop Assistant (Lady), Ealing, London, W. 5.

49.—A gentleman of very good education. *Not* a Londoner, but has lived in London. In appearance tall, dark, rather distinguished-looking.—Housewife, Moseley, Birmingham.

50.—Very intelligent and cute. Feels more deeply than he appears to. Has helped to educate himself by his wits. Can pick up the idea of anything quickly. Very cheerful and alert. When depressed does not let anyone know it, if possible. Possesses a fund of vitality which does not seem to flag; good companion. Kind-hearted and generous.—Lady, Cambridge.

51.—I could not make any guess as to his birthplace.—Head of Private Preparatory School, Moseley, Birmingham.

52.—Retired army colonel. Much Indian service. Grey, well-kept moustache, heavy eyebrows, grey eyes. Short-tempered and malarial.—Civil Servant, Whitchurch, Glam.

53.—Thoughtful, accustomed to lecture; result is that he wishes to impress facts on his hearers. Grey hair, stout (medium) build, quiet manner.—School-teacher (Lady), Aberdeen.

54.—Is accustomed to public speaking. He may be a Free Church minister or an eminent preacher in the Church of England, but not an ordinary Church clergyman, for he hasn't the fashionable pulpit intonation.—Physicist, Cambridge.

55.—Tall, slim, with iron-grey hair.—Engineer, London, N.W. 5.

56.—Had the voice of a trained reader or speaker, and might be in the medical profession.—Lady, Wavertree, Liverpool.

57.—A very clever and accurate young gent, probably a lay reader in some cathedral like Liverpool "lady chapel."—Retired Engineer, Birmingham.

58.—Banker, or one who has money to control of others. Highly-strung, rather on the pessimistic side, owing to,

probably, health conditions; tall and slim.—Lady, Barnes, S.W. 13.

59.—One of those difficult kind of persons to weigh up. Thinks, acts and works carefully.—Xylonite Worker, Manningtree, Sussex.

60.—I should judge either to be a minister of religion, a university lecturer, or both; and if I had to guess his subject, I should say ethics or moral philosophy.—Wife of Assistant Master, Rutland.

61.—Merchant or solicitor. Decided and particular. Public school education, and speech does not betray locality of birth.—Teacher, Hampshire.

62.—A man of education, thinker and weigher of words and phrases. An author, lawyer.—Pianist (Lady), Earl's Court, S.W. 5.

63.—A schoolmaster or tutor born in London. Educated at a 'Varsity, probably Cambridge.—Accountant, Maida Vale, W. 9.

64.—Should think him to be average height, rather thin. Born out of Lancashire, but lived there many years, or been away to school in his youth.—Retired Bank Manager, Rockferry, Cheshire.

65.—A very interesting personality, well-poised, balance, cultured. Big.—Lady, Edgbaston, Birmingham.

66.—Male, 38 to 42. Yes. London. I imagined this gentleman to be rather highly-strung and very intelligent, of medium colour and slim build.—Lady, Shanklin, Isle of Wight.

67.—Fairly tall, well-proportioned. Inclined to caution, slightly nervous; strong natural bias to culture.—Elementary Schoolmistress, near Ipswich, Suffolk.

68.—One used to public speaking, an interesting voice, used to command, age 50. Profession, either a naval officer or schoolmaster. Birthplace, London.—Profession, Music (L.R.A.M.), Taunton, Somerset.

69.—A dark young man, an enthusiastic nature, fond of sport, but occupied indoors; sympathetic, generous by nature.—Lady (no occupation), London, S.W. 1.

70.—A public school and university man. Public success, broad-minded, rather reserved, with a cool, logical and well-stocked brain. Nothing impulsive in his character. Ascetic and intellectual type. Widely read. Undoubtedly a leader

of men—mentally rather than physically. A strong character in every way. High organising ability. A public speaker of considerable experience, well acquainted with the lecture room.—Civil Engineer, Wolverhampton, Staffs.

71.—A man of about 45 years of age. A very capable man; I should say an engineer, a leader of men, one who has charge of men at present. Birthplace difficult to judge; most likely a Lancashire man, who has lived in Lancashire most of his life. A man of strong nerves usually, but to-night nervous. He is deliberate in thought and speech and of a retiring disposition. Health not very strong.—Works Manager, Lancashire.

Speaker No. 4

MISS A. L. ROBINSON

1.—Has read considerably, punctuations and pauses good. Slight modulation and expression. Showed, or rather expressed, a control between perception and delivery; this is indicative of experience. The tone of the voice was one which was set. Thus I inferred the lady was a schoolteacher.—Shop Assistant (Man), Radford, Nottingham.

2.—Very good-hearted and sympathetic. Not such a fool as she looks. Has plenty of common sense. Has a sense of humour developed to an unusual extent for a woman.—Barrister-at-Law, Battersea Park, London, S.W. 11.

3.—Sex very uncertain, but believed to be male.—Author (of Sorts), Near Congleton.

4.—Aged 38. An actress or schoolteacher, reading so careful and studied, but appears to be one under authority, as schoolmistress or actress.—Formerly Schoolmistress, London, N.W. 3.

5.—A "homely" woman, this, with rather a timid disposition, but having a distinct appreciation of all things womanly and manly. A keen sense of honour seems to be added to a strong liking for "thoroughness" in all undertakings.—Lady (at Home), Ashton-under-Lyne.

6.—I was very puzzled here. Too well educated for an elementary school teacher, I thought, though apparently a leader. I generalise and evade the spirit of the question by putting superintendent. I nearly put "vicar's wife."—School Clerk, Yorks.

7.—Woman between 40 and 50 years. Rather reserved and gentle. Occupying some position of trust in which she might have to direct others, but not a leader from choice. Governess, perhaps a lady-housekeeper. Born in the country.—Daughter of Retired Lt.-Col., South Devon.

8.—Showed the opposite of a methodic or placid temperament in arriving breathless at the microphone. She read with a certain amount of nervousness, but was evidently accustomed to public speaking or reading aloud, and "elocuted" conscientiously.—Lady, Withington, Manchester.

9.—Is probably accustomed to exert mild authority, though not to take a prominent leading part in life.—Teacher (Lady), near Peterborough.

10.—The speaker sounded older than she is, I think; the voice seemed to belong to someone not very strong physically, of a religious and rather depressed temperament.—School Mistress, Pendleton, Manchester.

11.—This speaker, without local accent, has caught the peculiar high-tone accent of women speakers on the wireless, drawing in breath nervously after each pause, as many of both sexes do.—Formerly 44 Years in Civil Service, Prestbury, Gloucestershire.

12.—A woman over 50, of heavier build than No. 2. If a leader, it is by quiet sympathy.—Have done Social Work (Lady), Leamington.

13.—Quiet lady, not used to publicity. Diffident, unused to reading aloud, or declaiming, not accustoned to society.—Literary Worker (Lady), Hurstpierpoint, Sussex.

14.—A sensitive female, who appeared conscious of the thousands listening. Not used to public life. Domestic and sheltered life. Refined, voice showed her feelings, and sounded nervous.—Schoolmistress, near Nottingham.

15.—I should imagine her a woman with strong influence, but if my surmise as to occupation is correct, I should say that her influence will be chiefly felt by those under her care; she will not dissipate her energies in other directions unduly.—Lady Student, Belper, Derbyshire.

16.—Did not make clear impression. Rather fair, rather large head and face.—Social Worker (Lady), Hants.

17.—The speaker gave me the impression that she was a woman of 30 to 40, of the teacher class, from the Midlands.

I am not able to differentiate between counties.—Trained Nurse, Eastbourne.

18.—This speaker is not accustomed to public work, i.e. teaching or lecturing, as she does not speak easily. There was a tenseness about her reading which gave one the impression that she was very precise, and exacting and reserved to a degree.—Mistress, Ashton-under-Lyne.

19.—This one was very difficult. Beyond the fact of being an educated Englishwoman, I had no very definite ideas about her.—Landscape Painter (Lady), London, N.W. 11.

20.—I should say was a woman between 40 and 50 years of age, about 5 ft. 4 in. in height, and medium build, and a person who had done some public speaking such as a lady doctor would do, and used to leading people more by persuasion than by command.—C.S.M., Little Hulton, near Bolton.

21.—Gave the impression of being used to public speaking; probably an organiser, but not, I think, a teacher.—Schoolmaster, Derbyshire.

22.—Clearer impression of speaker than of story, neither forcible. Thin, gentle lady, with plenty of grey hair; dressed softly in grey. Rather anxious-minded. Literary or intellectual, but thinks the home should come first. Saw her at the microphone, and standing at her front door, smiling.—(Hope to be) Novelist (Lady), Lanarkshire, Scotland.

23.—I imagine very plump, and certainly not in business.—Lady Clerk, Stroud Green, London, N. 4.

24.—Bigger framed than Speaker 2. Would fuss more than 2.—Elementary School Mistress, Swilland, near Ipswich.

25.—A plump-built woman, about 5½ ft. in height and 10 to 11 stones in weight, turned 40 years old. In, or has been in, the teaching profession, and therefore accustomed to lead to a certain degree. Lancashire birth, probably Liverpool, but cultivated out of dialect, of which very little trace, through college (?) training. Jolly and a bit "slap-dash" in some things, yet popular and even-tempered.—Retired Schoolmaster, Exeter.

26.—This voice impressed one as belonging to a soft, round nature, very refined and quite Nature's lady; a woman who would conduct her home, or anything she took in hand, with the greatest precision, method, and care. Might be a lady councillor or a mayoress, very true and genuine, earnest

and capable, a personality which is capable of influencing for great good to those with whom she comes into contact.—Married Woman, Northdown, Margate, Kent.

27.—Staid and sober lady, motherly, single, who organises bazaars, political meetings, etc.—Boot Factor and Leather Merchant, Norwich.

28.—A lady stands before the microphone, possibly about 5 ft. 6 in. in height, a brunette, with very dark hair, and perhaps dark brown eyes. She is either a schoolteacher or perhaps an "Aunt" at one of the B.B.C. stations. She is quite accustomed to speaking and reading in public. A very magnetic personality.—Chief Officer, Glasgow.

29.—A staid, self-possessed young woman, who obviously has done nothing whatever with domestic life except to share the benefits. Dressed neatly, but expensively. Wrapped up in her profession.—Housewife, Earlsdon, Coventry.

30.—Stout.—Officer of Customs and Excise, London, S.W. 6.

31.—Stout, dark, fresh-complexioned, with glasses; heavy-breathing kind. Possibly an authoress. The kind of woman who would be on charitable committees.—Solicitor, Great Berkhamsted, Herts.

32.—Female, aged 50, experienced, used to having charge over people. Unmarried.—Salesman, Gent.'s Outfitting, Hitchin, Herts.

33.—Voice subdued, rather colourless, not resonant, word-perfect, aspirates indicated without over-emphasis, breathing perceptible, probably due to shyness, but no tremor in voice. Impression of quiet, capable woman, whose lines had fallen, if not in hard, in dreary places.—Civil Servant, Bridgford, Notts.

34.—A quiet woman, of dignified bearing. Capable. Conservative character. Probably unshingled and with long skirts.—Manchester University Student, Manchester.

35.—Probably artistic in temperament and dress. Voice clear and distinct; some "o" sounds a little inclined to "ow," which points to North-East London in youth; otherwise a little too refined to be natural.—Proprietress of Business, Bournemouth.

36.—Age, 45 to 50. Sex, female. Physique, weak. Mentality, nervous. Emotion, yes. Humour, short. Social-

able, passable. Morality, good. Education, good. Travel, a little. Married, possibly. Children, doubtful. Leader, small. Sphere, occupation, teacher.—Textile Trade, Yorks.

37.—Impression given that speaker was a well-educated lady, genial disposition, but not engaged in any profession or occupation, in the strict sense. Possibly takes a prominent part in Church work.—Clerk (Lady), Plumstead, London, S.E. 18.

38.—I have a decided mental picture of this speaker. Without wishing to be impolite, I should describe her as a "fluffy," "henny" woman, i.e. fairly stout, motherly person, with fair, fluffy hair, used to a quiet home life amongst her children.—Librarian, Crouch End, London, N. 8.

39.—I visualised her as a lady with fair, curly hair, not bobbed. Her voice sounded as though she used it a good deal. She enunciated her final consonants distinctly, and her vowels were pure. I liked her.—Lady, London, N.W. 6.

40.—Kind and sympathetic. Homely.—Lady Doctor, near Bromsgrove, Worces.

41.—Probably a teacher—might be a lady doctor. She read well and in a cultured voice, but not with enough variety or tone for an actress or lecturer.—Teacher (Lady), London, S.E. 26.

42.—A welfare worker, perhaps inspector of schools, board of guardians, etc. Keen on boys' clubs; has written pamphlets, etc., and acted a good deal. Accustomed to lead from birth owing to having been born to this position (parents had responsible positions); in appearance, fair, inclined to plumpness, high complexion, not fond of cards and society.—Artist (Lady), West Hampstead, N.W. 6.

43.—A woman of the educated class, but of no intellectual profession or occupation. Her thick utterance I should guess to be personal idiosyncrasy, and it makes her accent difficult to identify.—Translator of Russian (Lady), near Edenbridge, Kent.

44.—Steady, patient, used to commanding or explaining, not too robust, takes life as it comes.—Saleswoman, Heaton Moor, Stockport.

45.—Rather nervous and breathy. Capable, plump, brown eyes, not shingled, pleasant manner.—Housewife, Edinburgh.

46.—Lady, might take part in philanthropic work. Ruling well.—Shop Assistant (Lady), Ealing, London, W. 5.

47.—A well-educated lady, good housewife and home-maker. No trace of locality of birth, but certainly not London. Very nervous at beginning of reading. Sweet and dependable disposition.—Housewife, Moseley, Birmingham.

48.—Rather nervous. Would not make the most of her opportunities. Not sufficient self-reliance. Cares too much about the approval of others. Has not much energy. Rather given to moods. Inclined to brood. Takes things too much to heart. Is fond of reading. Affectionate.—Lady, Cambridge.

49.—Could not place her in any special county.—Head-master, Moseley, Birmingham.

50.—Matronly, homely, plump, and slightly asthmatic, wrinkles under her eyes.—Civil Servant, Whitchurch, Glamorgan.

51.—Not distinctive enough to be separately noted.—Schoolteacher (Lady), Aberdeen.

52.—The reason for giving the occupation of housekeeper was that the impression given was that of a woman whose sphere was the home. No particular impression of looks.—Engineer, London, N.W. 5.

53.—Seemed a very pleasing personality whose voice was most difficult to place. It had the rich sound of Shropshire and North Wales.—Lady, Wavertree, Liverpool.

54.—Lady, rather on the stout, comfortable side, affable, friendly, motherly, a good hostess and friend. One to whom one would go for comfort and find it ; a writer.—Lady, Barnes, London, S.W. 13.

55.—Associated with women's movements, and an ardent social worker, extremely difficult to detect birthplace, but within 40 miles of London.—Xylonite Worker, Manningtree, Essex.

56.—Might be writer or traveller.—Lady (no occupation), Bournemouth.

57.—Was nervous.—Wife of Assistant Master, —— Rutland.

58.—Independent, an artist or writer. Nervous and humorous ; speech does not betray locality of birth.—Teacher, Hampshire.

59.—A careful person; notice the over-aspirate of the "h's." Educated, but not highly so.—Pianist (Lady), Earl's Court, London, S.W. 5.

60.—A middle-aged, married woman who has successfully brought up a family. Born in London.—Accountant, Maida Vale, London, W. 9.

61.—Not physically very strong. An idealist.—Retired Bank Manager, Rockferry, Cheshire.

62.—The personality which impressed itself most upon me, and this once again from the point of view of (illegible). I liked her as I liked No. 1. So far I have had no impression of forceful personality.—Lady, Edgbaston.

63.—Female, 28 to 32. This lady struck me as being a person who would be quite fair and reasonable in most things; she would be kind and gentle, and above the average height.—Lady, Shanklin, Isle of Wight.

64.—Another educated woman, difficult to place.—Research Chemist, Saltburn-by-Sea.

65.—Rather heavy, full face. Hair inclined to turning grey. Rather stout. Matronly looking. Views concerning characteristics, kind. Sympathetic. Rather bronchial.—Manager, Stockport.

66.—No profession, very nervous, not accustomed to reading aloud, short and stout.—Lady, Perthshire.

67.—Very human. Fond of children. Humorous, rather shy, sympathetic. Writer of children's stories, or novelist. Ideal "Aunt." A very faint trace of Irish in speech, but has lived mostly in England among intellectual and artistic people.—Married Woman, Sussex.

68.—Sounds to me like a kind grandmother, and one who has suffered. She sounds as if she had lived in the South of England most of her life.—Widow (formerly Student and Teacher of Music), West Norwood, S.E. 27.

69.—Lady, 30 to 40. I see an unassuming, frail and rather nervous little lady. Too considerate for everybody's feelings to be a born leader. If married, I should say a good housekeeper, considerate of her maids, reasonable and just. Beyond being English, can detect no local speech or "twang." Speaks well.—Lady, Dublin.

70.—A sweet, elderly voice. "The Angel in the House." If she has an occupation outside home, it would probably be

that of child welfare, or homes for cripples or blind.—Engineer-Captain (Retired), R.N., Weymouth, Dorset.

71.—This voice puzzled me. I could not even decide the sex, but visualised a young man, breathless through nervousness. Colour, red.—Lady, London, S.W. 1.

72.—A well-built woman with a dominant personality.—Manageress, Salisbury, Wilts.

73.—A tall, dark-haired female, somewhat about 6 ft. in height, thin featured, well-defined eyebrows, thin lips, grey eyes. Age about 27 years. Unmarried. An office worker. Not accustomed to lead others. Born in Ireland and localities, affecting speech like North of England. An altogether cold, unwelcome voice.—Art Student, London, E. 16.

74.—The speaker seems to me to be without much sense of humour. Very truthful, methodical, trustworthy, and very sympathetic. No great intellectual capacity, and she might be able to lead, perhaps, simply from the force of her desire to be of service.—Lady, Petersfield, Hants.

Speaker No. 5

(CAPTAIN F. E. HUMPHREY)

1.—Started too fast. Attempted to control perception and delivery; this caused him to fumble or falter in speech. Was lacking the essentials of correct reading; this made his rate of speaking vary. Introduced slang. One would infer him to be of the "swanky" officer type. No leader, nor ever would be, if he lives to be as old as Methuselah.—Shop Assistant (Man), Radford, Nottingham.

2.—Gives me a strong impression that he is in the motor trade.—Student of Music (Lady), Southgate, London, N.14.

3.—Probably holds a commission in the Territorials or leads some social or athletic club. Inclined to be extravagant. Rather disposed to be a gambler. Likes appearing to be a bit of a dog.—Barrister-at-Law, Battersea Park, London, S.W. 11.

4.—Thought to be a professional man of some sort. But not of eminence; possibly doctor or Nonconformist minister.—Author (of Sorts), near Congleton.

5.—Age 28. Probably a man of independent means who would not like the trouble of controlling others unless they

were amenable to ordinary direction, without threats or force.—Lady, London, N.W. 3.

6.—A happy-go-lucky fellow, who doesn't seem to have much self-confidence, nor to possess much initiative. Nevertheless, a " likeable " type of man.—Lady (at Home), Ashton-under-Lyne.

7.—Probably a Member of Parliament, independent means, not a leader, tall and slight.—Tradesman's Wife, Dorset.

8.—An occasional drawl noticeable; my alternative to schoolmaster is clergyman.—School Clerk (Man), Yorks.

9.—Young man about 19 years. Schoolboy or bank clerk. Enterprising, but not accustomed to lead others. Town-bred, but not, I think, a Londoner.—Daughter of Lt.-Col. (Retired), South Devon.

10.—Evidently a character who goes straight for essentials, despising trivialities and details. The carelessness with which he read implied confidence in himself and showed a non-worrying temperament. His reading, though very careless, showed intelligence.—Lady, Withington, Manchester.

11.—He is good at games, and is used to putting a good deal of energy into his work and amusements. Not a deep thinker, and capable of acquiring book-learning.—Schoolmistress, Pendleton, Manchester.

12.—This young man's precise and deliberate utterance suggests a debating society speaker and budding political platform orator.—Formerly in Civil Service, Gloucestershire.

13.—A boy or quite young man, 16 to 20. Capable of leading later. If a leader now, probably at games.—Have done Social Work, Leamington.

14.—I should think this awkward gentleman had never read anything in his life, aloud. Thank goodness, he has not to read to me. Never taken advantage of his education, nor taken part in conversation in company. Immature character, unpleasant. Reminds me of Uriah Heap.—Literary Lady, Hurstpierpoint, Sussex.

15.—Male, excited; may be due to being conscious of the thousands listening. Age about 30. Not used to leading. A little flustered for some reason. Maybe he felt his position and the great occasion, like the lady above. He was for some reason uncontrolled.—Schoolmistress, Notts.

16.—Seems rather dark. An educated man, may be a

writer; not teacher or speaker. Perhaps a journalist.—Social Worker and Householder (Lady), Hants.

17.—Believed to be a clerk; he spoke well, as if used to lead others, say, as scoutmaster.—Lady, Eastbourne.

18.—How very fond of hearing himself talk! Quite a man about town, gay and jovial and fond of good company, yarns or jokes. He is certainly not accustomed to reading very much, and never aloud.—Schoolmistress, Ashton-under-Lyne.

19.—I am undecided about this man's occupation. He may be a Civil servant, or bank manager, or a solicitor. I get the impression that his work is rather stereotyped, not much excitement about it.—Landscape Painter (Lady), London, N.W. 11.

20.—A man of about 30 years of age and about 5 ft. 6 in. in height; not used to public speaking, or to lead people, a man of the artisan class or clerk; no trace of local accent, but would say he was a Lancashire man, the type you would meet in any of our Lancashire towns.—C.S.M., Little Hulton, near Bolton.

21.—Seems decidedly not a student, but probably a very successful mechanic—motorist or airman—e.g. ————. —Schoolmaster, Wirksworth, Derbyshire.

22.—No very clear or forcible impression of speaker or story. Thick-set; saw him vaguely at the microphone, and also watching a football match.—(Hope to be) Novelist (Lady), Lanarkshire, Scotland.

23.—Possibly a clerk, because, although not speaking good English (pardon me, if my remarks are too personal), there was a certain accent which reminded one of what might be termed a sort of imitation Oxford accent. This speaker was certainly not familiar with the passage, and probably prefers dancing and jazz to literature. Sounded very nervous, I thought. There are clerks of all kinds and descriptions; some speak the King's English, others do not.—Clerk (Lady), Stroud Green, London, N. 4.

24.—Not accustomed to public speaking, and possibly had not broadcast before.—Profession, Music (Lady), Taunton, Somerset.

25.—A thin, spare man, between the age of 36 to 38, rather delicate in health. Height, 5 ft. 7 in. to 5 ft. 8 in.; weight,

9½ stones. Very small front teeth, thin, prominent nose, and slightly a mouth-breather. In some position such as foreman, in some trade or other, responsible man in office as clerk, etc. Certain amount of artistic ability. Birth locality, Derby or Notts., but local speech modified by education (self-education). His "h's" lack necessary force, a Derbyshire fault more than any other. Studious, methodical and trustworthy. —Retired Schoolmaster, Exeter.

26.—This voice implies practically no personality at all, no strength of character; he sounded like a very careless-speaking Londoner. Certainly did not give one the idea of being able to lead others.—Married Lady, Northdown, Margate, Kent.

27.—Clean-shaven, fair to dark, smartly dressed, slightly inclined to be self-opiniated. Verging on the "knut" type.—Boot Factor and Leather Merchant, Norwich.

28.—A youth of about 22 years of age, perhaps 5 ft. 4 in. in height, but nothing distinctive in character. He is most probably a clerk in a city office, and is quite possibly a good silent reader, but cannot do so in public, as his failing is that he does not allow, or cannot, let his eyes travel faster than his lips.—Chief Officer, Glasgow.

29.—A typical London business man, medium build, very genteel and pleasant in manner. Dark, greyish hair.—Housewife, Earlsdon, Coventry.

30.—Rather stupid, but masterful and blustering. "English bonehead." "College." Not troubled with imagination.—Customs Officer, Parsons Green, London.

31.—A dark, slight, well-dressed and groomed man; hair going grey at temples. Unused to reading in public as he made several mistakes and had rather a thick intonation. Probably a doctor.—Solicitor, Great Berkhamsted, Herts.

32.—Male, age about 35, stature small and thin, manner nervous, locality of British Lake district.—Salesman, Gent.'s Outfitting, Hitchin, Herts.

33.—Brighter voice, much more colour, but speech not so well-grounded, stumbled two or three times, got nervy for a second or so after each trip, called "length" "lenth," misplaced the rise and fall of the dialogue; did not grasp the full sense of what he was reading, and had no thought to spare to deliver it humorously. A jolly voice, but

The little more, and oh how much it is,
The little less, and oh what worlds away!
—Civil Servant, Bridgford, Notts.

34.—This speaker influenced by suburban affectation.—University Student, Newton Heath, Manchester.

35.—"Strenth" for "strength" betrayed the Irishman, but an optimistic and go-ahead one. Not afraid of his own voice.—Proprietress of Business, Bournemouth.

36.—Rather shy and awkward in the class-room, but out of doors, in the free, open air of the playing fields, quite alert and able to lead his team. I judged this from the change of voice when Mr. Pickwick shouted from the bank.—Housewife, London, N.W. 3.

37.—Age, 60 to 65. Sex, male. Physique, wiry. Mentality, moderate. Emotion, yes. Humour, yes. Sociable, fairly. Education, elementary. Travel, possibly. Married, yes. Children, yes. Leader, no. Occupation, workman.—Textile Trade (Man), Yorks.

38.—Appeared to be a man of nervous temperament, but would say he was an enthusiastic follower of all sport.—Clerk, Plumstead, London, S.E. 18.

39.—I saw as a dark, thin-visaged youth, careless and slovenly over his person, as over his pronunciation.—Lady, London, N.W. 6.

40.—Too much self-confidence and self-reliance.—Lady Doctor, near Bromsgrove, Worces.

41.—A young man, rather small, nervous at reading aloud, probably a man who works with his hands intelligently, but not a man of university education.—Teacher (Lady), London, S.E. 26.

42.—Might be an accountant or manager of some branch of bank; only recently accustomed to lead, and always acts in conjunction with others, if possible. Good cricketer, might play instrument, flute; whistles a great deal unconsciously. Freemason, short-sighted, sensitive and tactful, blue eyes, rather protruding, going bald.—Artist (Lady), West Hampstead, N.W. 6.

43.—A young man of lower middle-class education, possibly scholar from primary school to secondary. An assistant of some kind.—Translator of Russian (Lady), near Edenbridge, Kent.

44.—Thin, of nervous temperament, easily swayed by others' opinions, wears glasses.—Saleswoman, Heaton Moor, Stockport.

45.—Shy and self-conscious, lacks concentration, not much pride or will-power, or would not let himself read so badly. Did not grasp meaning of passage. Probably tall and has outgrown his strength. Perhaps requires spectacles for reading. Breathing good, so probably athletic.—Housewife, Edinburgh.

46.—A fairly well-educated gentleman, nervous at reading. In appearance tall, thin, fair and pale.—Housewife, Moseley, Birmingham.

47.—Can do more than he thinks he can. Has not been sufficiently encouraged with praise. Nervous. Not a vast amount of education. Is inclined to be disgusted with the world and the people. Does not make allowances. Has not sufficient patience. Needs praise and encouragement and some sympathy.—Lady, Cambridge.

48.—Not very educated. Pronounced "length" as "lenth."—Head of Private School (Lady), ——, Birmingham.

49.—Slightly built, wears pince-nez, attached round his neck with black silk ribbon, Sunday school enthusiast, and possibly scoutmaster.—Civil Servant, Whitchurch, Glam.

50.—In my opinion, not distinctive enough to be separately noted. They are somewhat nondescript. (Applies to Nos. 4 and 6 also.)—Schoolteacher (Lady), Aberdeen.

51.—A young man, no impression of special appearance.—Engineer, London, N.W. 5.

52.—Might be a skilled workman at some trade; his voice suggested "handicraft."—Lady, Wavertree, Liverpool.

53.—At some time connected with politics, and has not shaken off the effect of his associates of the universities.—Xylonite Worker (Man), Manningtree, Essex.

54.—Was very nervous. Very good of him to take his part. Another time he would have more confidence in himself.—Lady, Broadstone, Dorset.

55.—Was not accustomed to read aloud or to himself.—Wife of Assistant Master, Rutland.

56.—Mechanic or hall porter. Not used to reading aloud.—Teacher, Hampshire.

57.—A young man, probably still at a public school or at a 'Varsity. Probably born in the Midlands and whose speech has not yet finally settled down.—Accountant, Maida Vale, London, W. 9.

58.—Largely self-taught. Practical and matter-of-fact. Off-hand.—Retired Bank Manager, Rockferry, Cheshire.

59.—Male, 45 to 50. Thin build, rather short and of a nervous disposition.—Lady, Isle of Wight.

60.—Appeared to be a man without any great personality, hence my description.—Research Chemist (Man), Saltburn-by-the-Sea.

61.—Small of stature, meticulously dressed. Very clean, particularly the hands. Views concerning characteristics; slightly nervous and fussy.—Manager, Stockport.

62.—This was a much younger person, and one who had not yet had experience in the practice of the profession for which he is studying. He is not accustomed to read in public, nor to lead others—except, perhaps, in games or "rags." His style savours strongly of "Cantab."—Law Student, Worcester.

63.—Used to dealing with men, not books. Outdoor life, and unused to reading. Not nervous, has sense of humour. Soldier during the war, but was probably sportsman or excelling in games. Best voice of any, but worst reader. Public school, Cambridge, and officers' mess. Home, English shores.—Married Woman, Sussex.

64.—Sounds like a colonel, rather a fire-eater, and not at all fond of books. Just the type of man who was the heroine's husband in the "Green Goddess."—Widow (formerly Student and Teacher of Music), West Norwood, London, S.E. 27.

65.—Can well imagine a tall, fair, not too strong young man of about 27 to 30. Might be working at anything clean. Can see him in the country house, but not in the engine room. Think not physically strong enough to be a leader of men. Nervous, and perhaps a trifle too anxious to speak correctly, and not used to public speaking. Can detect no local dialect, but assume English.—Lady, Dublin.

66.—Gives one the impression of being bored stiff. Being monied, this thing does not appeal to taste in the least, and felt greatly relieved when test was finished.—Chemist's Assistant (Man), Lincs.

67.—Voice, young man of ambition cultivating his voice and his prospects. Perhaps draughtsman in architect's or engineer's office.—Engineer-Captain, R.N. (Retired), Weymouth, Dorset.

68.—Adolescent (same as 6).—Lady, London, S.W. 1.

69.—This speaker was Professor Pear.—Manageress (Wholesale), Salisbury, Wilts.

70.—A male speaker of short stature, about 5 ft. 5 in.; weight, 9 to 10 stone. Master of a trade, engineering or carpentry. Not accustomed to lead others. Born in London or South of England. The localities affecting speech are Scotland and North of England. Pale complexion, black hair, well groomed, blue-grey eyes, married. A serious type of voice.—Art Student, London, E. 16.

71.—This speaker seems to me to have a sense of humour, to be rather quixotic, very single-minded, and with great intellectual abilities. He might be a leader, if he gave it a thought, a power attaching people to himself.—Lady, Petersfield, Hants.

Speaker No. 6

MISS MARJORIE PEAR

1.—Showed control, with traits of nervousness; modulation and inflexion good. Voice revealed freshness and buoyancy, which bespeaks early youth.—Shop Assistant (Man), Radford, Notts.

2.—Very neat and accurate. A good employee who obeys orders well. Not ambitious. Personally quick at learning new things. Not married, but would make an excellent wife. A most attractive voice, the best of the whole series.—Barrister-at-Law, Battersea Park, S.W. 11.

3.—Schoolgirl, or perhaps more probably shop-girl.—Author (of Sorts), near Congleton.

4.—A girl scholar, but with full intention to excel, and unless baulked would be a leader or director of others, as a schoolteacher, or over a body of women in a room or factory or business; neat and careful in her dress; fair complexion.—Schoolmistress, London, N.W. 3.

5.—A typical English public schoolgirl. Full of the joy of life and very eager to learn. Should go far in any business,

but particularly in one which calls for " action " as well as initiative.—Lady (at Home), Ashton-under-Lyne.

6.—The speaker has never broadcast previous to this attempt ; is doing well at her work, spent her childhood in a rural district, maybe works in a mill work-room amongst other girls.—Tradesman's Wife, Bridport, Dorset.

7.—Young, but very self-possessed—an occupation filling the bill seems to be that of a post-office assistant, possibly a telephone operator.—School Clerk (Man), Yorks.

8.—Girl of 17 or 18 years. Board school education, and now earning her living in a suburban shop, or as typist. Born in country, but now living in town.—Daughter of Retired Lt.-Col., South Devon.

9.—Read extremely carefully and conscientiously, and had evidently rehearsed it. She showed intelligence, but the outstanding characteristic displayed was carefulness.—Lady, Withington, Manchester.

10.—Sounds to be of unformed character, and the influence of school is still fresh upon her.—Teacher (Lady), near Peterborough.

11.—She has been at a central or secondary school, a " scholarship girl " who has tried to substitute received standard English for the dialect she speaks at home.—School Mistress, Pendleton, Manchester.

12.—North country speech betrayed by Italian sound of letter " a," but toned down by education and environment. Manner of reading suggests shy self-consciousness and fear of her audience.—Formerly 44 Years in Civil Service, Glos.

13.—A young woman, or one whose vitality keeps her young, energetic—perhaps an elementary school teacher—keen on industrial questions, as is probably No. 2.—Have done Social Work, Leamington.

14.—Immature character, only read aloud in school, not left home, been much petted. Lived out of the world, simple character, easily taken in, pleasant, good-natured, leaves a pleasant impression, careful reader, good expression.—Literary Lady, Hurstpierpoint, Sussex.

15.—Appeared as a young girl—probably a student or amateur in her profession. Pleasant, and one who will succeed. Not accustomed to lead at present, but will have influence and lead later. Voice sounded well-trained, and locality could

hardly be detected. May be in training for a nurse, or one of the professions.—Schoolmistress, Notts.

16.—A girl who has succeeded at college in her work; she will not lack confidence. As in the case of Speaker 1, we (my mother and I) had identical images. A small, fair-haired girl, precisely and neatly dressed.—University Student (Lady), Belper, Derbyshire.

17. No impression. Not highly educated.—Social Worker and Householder, Hants.

18.—Sounded like a schoolboy, efficient, used to lead his friends. He did well, and gave tone, expression, and interest. Elocution lessons.—Trained Nurse (now Invalided), Eastbourne.

19.—This girl, one hardly dare say woman, has much imagination, and read with good expression at times, as if she were reading for an audience of young people. She may have a pleasing manner, and cheerful disposition.—Schoolmistress, Ashton-under-Lyne.

20.—I think this speaker is accustomed to an independent life and managing her own affairs. A very vigorous, straightforward, shrewd, and capable young woman, who likes the work she does, and does it well.—Landscape Painter (Lady), London, N.W. 11.

21.—A woman of about 25 years of age, height about 5 ft. 6 in., of moderate build, and not used to leading people. I should say she was in office work of some kind, say a shorthand-typist; could detect no trace of accent, but would say she was a Lancashire woman.—Discharged C.S.M., Little Hulton, near Bolton.

22.—My decision about the speaker was very doubtful. Instead of being a boy of 15, it was quite possibly a girl of 20 to 25.—Schoolmaster, Derbyshire.

23.—No clear or forcible impression of speaker or story. Hardly "saw" her at all. Pretty, red lips.—(Hope to be) Novelist (Lady), Lanarkshire, Scotland.

24.—Jolly girl, unaffected, and not self-conscious.—Schoolmistress, Suffolk.

25.—A woman 25 to 28 years of age. Slight build, about 5 ft. 4 in. tall. Probably in office as clerk or typist. Not accustomed to lead, but will be led, and takes prominent part in social matters of an entertaining character. Born in

Cheshire or near Derbyshire border. Education at some high school in these districts, and has mixed up with educated (Southern) people, which has modified dialect tendencies. These are hardly recognisable. Nervous disposition, and very willing character.—Retired Schoolmaster, Exeter.

26.—Quite modern, but not extreme, was the impression left by this voice. A girl with views, determined, and does not readily give in, strong, self-possessed nature, would hate scenes and quarrels, true, kind-hearted and refined in her tastes.—Married Lady, Margate, Kent.

27.—Slim and neat, just outgrowing the flapper type, with ideas of life hardly clearly formed as yet, but with an intellect a bit above the ordinary.—Boot Factor and Leather Merchant, Norwich.

28.—She is a girl of 18 or 19, most probably a little over 5 ft. in height, fair complexion, and light hair. She is not used to public speaking or reading, and I should imagine that she is either a typist, shop assistant, or a superior domestic. She is most probably very fond of cinemas, dancing, etc., but not too fond of reading, at least not aloud.—Chief Officer, Glasgow.

29.—A self-possessed, reliant modern schoolgirl, very well able to take care of herself, dressed very much like the general run of "nice schoolgirls" of her age—18. Deliberate in manner, but very convincing.—Housewife, Earlsdon, Coventry.

30.—Intelligent, lively imagination.—Customs and Excise Officer, Parsons Green, London, S.W. 6.

31.—A strong, cheerful young girl, fair, most pleasant and intelligent face. She and No. 8 were the only cases where I could detect a definite accent. Hers sounded American, which had been modified by being long in England.—Solicitor, Great Berkhamsted, Herts.

32.—Girl 16 or 17, easy manner, possibly still at school, locality of birth, Derbyshire.—Salesman, Gent.'s Outfitting, Hitchin, Herts.

33.—Rather more "go" in this woman's voice, which, however, had not so much colour as the man's. Much better grasp of the possibilities of the dialogue; got the natural rise and fall of it with some of the humour. Like No. 5, called "length" "lenth," also read "frahntic" for "frantic." Probably much younger than No. 4, and "self-educated," as

distinguished from the schooling of the other.—Civil Servant, Bridgford, Nottingham.

34.—Industrious and conscientious. Probably a Church worker. Friendly, quiet.—University Student (Man), Newton Heath, Manchester.

35.—Very practical and reliable, and full of common sense. No other than Yorkshire dialect is noticeable to me.—Proprietress of Business, Bournemouth.

36.—Age, 14 to 16. Sex, female. Physique, good. Mentality, good. Emotion, yes. Humour, yes. Sociable, yes. Morality, good. Travel, secondary. Married, no. Children, no. Leader, not yet. Occupation, student.—Textile Trade (Man), Yorks.

37.—This young lady seemed to have plenty of confidence, coupled with refinement, and would say she had only recently left college, and as a result had lost dialect of native birthplace.—Clerk, Plumstead, S.E. 18.

38.—I fear I have met her double as a pert miss, a typist, so became biassed and could not judge. What she does not know is hardly worth knowing, I should think.—Lady, London N.W. 6.

39.—Very intelligent and observant little fellow.—Lady Doctor, Worcestershire.

40.—Young, nervous, with a strong North country accent, but trained in reading aloud. Possibly a student in a training college for elementary school teachers.—Teacher (Lady), London, S.E. 26.

41.—Was head of class and a pupil teacher, won a scholarship, accustomed to lead at home and among friends and children, good at all domestic duties, and clever also at acting and musically inclined. Straight red hair; strong swimmer, good cook.—Artist (Lady), West Hampstead, N.W. 6.

42.—A girl or young woman, intelligent, but of primary school education, "working class."—Translator of Russian (Lady), near Edenbridge, Kent.

43.—Very self-confident, accustomed to elocution or amateur dramatics, lively, enjoys open air.—Saleswoman, Heaton Moor, Stockport.

44.—Very shy, gentle, undeveloped personality, very conscientious; accurate; may be keen on gardening or poultry. Not athletic, smallish, soft straight hair, grey eyes,

voice slightly muffled, as if looking down while reading.—Housewife, Edinburgh.

45.—A fairly well-educated girl, very jolly, good-tempered disposition, short, sturdy built, dark hair and healthy colour.—Housewife, Moseley, Birmingham.

46.—Has made the most of her opportunities in education. Is clever and able to adapt herself. Kind-hearted. Rather inclined to be jealous. Has good brains. Can think clearly. Very cheerful. Good companion.—Lady, Cambridge.

47.—Schoolgirl, daughter of working parents, who has won a scholarship and is now at a secondary school, and intends taking up the teaching profession. Stout, well-built.—Civil Servant, Whitchurch, Glam.

48.—In my opinion not distinctive enough to be separately noted. Somewhat nondescript. (This applies also to 4 and 5.)—Schoolteacher (Lady), Aberdeen.

49.—This was another difficult voice to judge, and sounded as if the lady was engaged in office work or was a shop assistant.—Lady, Wavertree, Liverpool.

50.—I think, somehow, she is used to taking different parts in life characters.—Lady, Barnes, S.W. 13.

51.—Telephone operator might have been in her line.—Xylonite Worker, Manningtree, Essex.

52.—Schoolgirl. Can read well.—Teacher, Hampshire.

53.—Sex, a matter of query. A boy before his voice has broken? Otherwise a girl.—Pianist (Lady), (A.R.C.M.), Earl's Court, S.W. 5.

54.—A scholar; struck me as saying some of her words (especially the broad " a ") as rather like an Australian, but to my mind there was a distinct North country accent also.—Married Woman, Enfield.

55.—A young lady, probably engaged as a typist or clerk. Born in the suburbs of a Lancashire town, and whose speech has been sharpened up in a town such as Manchester.—Accountant, Maida Vale, W. 9.

56.—Kind and good-natured. Patient. Not very robust, physically. Person of imagination.—Retired Bank Manager, Rockferry, Cheshire.

57.—Female, 21 to 25. Manchester. I imagined this

young lady as being fair-complexioned, rather plump build, and should say she had plenty of pluck. Not very tall.—Lady, Shanklin, Isle of Wight.

58.—Rather slim of build. Blue eyes. Views concerning characteristics, bright and intelligent.—Manager, Stockport.

59.—A country girl, fair and rosy. Primary education only.—Lady, Perthshire.

60.—The speaker sounded a typical London typist, quick in action, though rather slow in reading, with a remarkable ability for getting the meaning out of the passage read. She seemed of a reliable character, and that trait seemed to be such as would serve her in all sorts of circumstances.—Law Student, Worcester.

61.—Competent. Education limited or of low class. Efficient. Probably superintendent of work girls or head of hostel. Voice very ugly, and slight strain of German.—Married Woman, Sussex.

62.—Sounds like a lively, capable forewoman in a factory who has a great way with the girls under her, and is beloved by them. Is greatly appreciated by her employers, or, at any rate, deserves to be.—Widow (formerly Student and Teacher of Music), West Norwood, S.E. 27.

63.—A schoolgirl who was trying to do her best in reading to a large audience; character still undeveloped.—Married Woman, Walton-on-Thames.

64.—Young lady, 18 to 23, too young to have become a leader. Imagine her small and thin; might be doing secretarial work. English, with slight accent, maybe, not England.—Lady, Dublin.

65.—Voice somewhat aggressive and self-willed. Shop assistant or domestic servant.—Engineer-Captain, R.N. (Retired), Weymouth, Dorset.

66.—Adolescent.—Lady, London, S.W. 1.

67.—A slightly-built girl, with a kindly disposition and charming manners.—Manageress (Wholesale), Salisbury, Wilts.

68.—An impression of a very good-humoured young lady, smiling daintily. Age, 19 or thereabouts. An accomplished musician and singer. Accustomed to lead others. Born in Lancashire, the localities affecting her speech are London and Southern England. This ambitious girl possesses a neat figure, about 5 ft. 3 in. top to toe. Weight, about 8 st. 10 lb.

Fair haired, round face, pretty features, blue eyes, shapely lips. A very welcome voice, radiating warmth and sunshine.—Art Student, London, E. 16.

69.—A girl of very good intelligence, with humour and a very lively disposition. Very kind, and interested in the world around her; quick and not easily bored. She may become excellent in the line of work she takes up.—Lady (middle-aged), Petersfield, Hants.

Speaker No. 7

JUDGE R. MCCLEARY.

1. Had had some experience of reading aloud; started slow, but got hurrying his expression (perhaps this was stage-fright or micro-fright). Slowed pitch of voice, and was a man of cultured bearing. I said "business" on the radio test page; that needs qualifying. His occupation was one of light nature.—Shop Assistant (Man), Radford, Nottingham.

2.—Has a sense of humour, but is inclined by habit to be prosy and platitudinous. Secretly is a romantic, with occasional bursts of writing verse or desiring to do so.—Barrister-at-Law, Battersea Park, S.W. 11.

3.—It's curious, but though he seemed to have more "guts" than the preceding ones, I couldn't get him very well. I put doctor, but he might have been any sort of a professional man. I can see him indistinctly with my eyes shut, but it's difficult to describe—rather broad, without having got grey—capable—doesn't beat about the bush—Henry—something, can't get it.—Lady, Hythe, Kent.

4.—Elderly man talking, calm temperament.—Formerly Schoolmistress, London, W. 3.

5.—This man seems of fine physique, and the possessor of keen judgment and tact, combined with a very studious nature.—Lady (at Home), Ashton-under-Lyne.

6.—A quiet-spoken, quick worker and thinker, probably in the medical profession, well up in his profession, an influential man well known.—Tradesman's Wife, Bridport, Dorset.

7.—No special remarks—civil engineer is just a guess; I had thought of putting mill manager.—School Clerk (Man), Yorks.

8.—Man between 50 and 60 years. Public school education. Position of authority, and skilled in some profession.

Doctor or college professor. Literary leanings. Born North England and in town.—Daughter of Retired Lt.-Col., South Devon.

9.—Would give the impression of having had a successful career, and is probably used to taking the chair at meetings or reading the lessons at a Church service.—Lady Teacher, near Peterborough.

10.—The speaker is of a retiring disposition. He is cut out for reading and thinking rather than for practical work.—Mistress in School, Pendleton, Manchester.

11.—May be an overworked undertaker or an inconsolable widower. His tone and accent bespeak chronic sadness, which even Dickens's humour cannot move. His voice lacks refinement; or he might be a cemetery chaplain who daily reads the funeral service many times.—Formerly 44 Years in Civil Service, Glos.

12.—A man about 50, rather heavy limbed. Merchant or banker. Carries weight in the circles in which he moves; not fond of public speaking; born North Midlands.—Have done Social Work, Leamington.

13.—I felt to be someone to be trusted—control, quietness, yet strength, plenty of firmness, some humour, even, peeped out once; evidently a " big " person with a large dispassionate view and knowledge.—Man (?) London, S.W. 10.

14.—Too cut and dried to give anything away.—Literary Lady, Hurstpierpoint, Sussex.

15.—Male, between 40 and 50 years. Trained voice, used in profession as Elocutionist. Actor, teacher or clergy. Calm, collected, controlled and steady. Reliable. Can lead others with little trouble; so controlled, he calms others, and people feel protection in his company.—Schoolmistress, near Nottingham.

16.—A rather big man, accustomed to lead; thick hair, large mouth, dark tweed clothes.—Social Worker and Householder (Lady), Hants.

17.—A man (40 to 50) of the teacher class. His voice was very loud, and seemed Scotch, but unfortunately his loud voice was not clear. Tried to hear better, but failed.—Nurse, Eastbourne.

18.—A very pleasing voice, and surely a pleasing and charming personality; rather intellectual than otherwise.

This gentleman is probably a lecturer (university). One could feel a calm nature reflected in his even and cultured voice. He is probably an authority in one of the many branches of education.—Schoolmistress, Ashton-under-Lyne.

19.—I think very decidedly that this man is accustomed to lead others, and has had long experience of being at the head of affairs; used to handling large concerns and associating easily with all sorts of people.—Landscape Painter (Lady), London, N.W. 11.

20.—I should say was a man 35 to 40, height, 5 ft. 9 in.; on the slim side in build. I should say was an actor or a man used to dealing with all classes of people and changing his voice accordingly. A man that could tell a good story.—C.S.M., Little Hulton, near Bolton.

21.—A successful and practical business man, e.g. mill owner or man accustomed to deal with financial matters.—Schoolmaster, Derbyshire.

22.—Far more impressed by speaker than by what he read. Impression not very clear, but very forcible. Did not "see" him in any particular place. Very smooth, dark hair. Dark clothes. Fairly strongly built.—(Hope to be) Novelist (Lady), Lanarkshire, Scotland.

23.—Medium height and build. Measured, not to say deliberate, in movement.—Elementary Schoolmistress, near Ipswich, Suffolk.

24.—Speaker's voice suggested that he had a good sense of humour. A Yorkshireman, John Henry (?).—Music Profession (Lady), Taunton, Somerset.

25.—I picture a man of big build, 12 to 13 stones. Age, 40 to 44. A family man of commanding appearance that carries respect. May be a lecturer or preacher (minister). Accustomed to lead others. Locality of birth, Cambridge. No particular trace of accent. Has a cultivated tone, but not exactly exact in his pronounciation, as he cuts his vowel sounds short, suggesting considerable Northern experience, and in personal character has a tendency to readily fall in with the views and habits of others. Homely and "gentlemanly" appearance.—Retired Schoolmaster, Exeter.

26.—Not an extreme type. Rather a nervous disposition. Not a dominant type of man; rather more inclined to the consideration of others than himself. Has not achieved success

of a public type, but appears to be successful in his own business circle. Moderately well educated, with a tendency to self-improvement.—Civil Engineer, Wolverhampton, Staffs.

27.—This voice portrays a strong personality, a man who would get the best out of all with whom he comes in contact. Very methodical and correct; a man to whom justice would appeal. His clear, correct dictum was pleasing, one seemed to feel his personality as he read.—Married Woman, Northdown, Margate, Kent.

28.—I felt to be a Midlander, perhaps Warwickshire, having lived in London some time. I imagined him to be a business man rather than professional; temperament quick, somewhat impulsive, but can be deliberate, shrewd and discriminating; a reader of rather than leader of men; rather solemn and musical, though not necessarily a musician. Not very imaginative. Build rather tall, but not heavy; dark hair and eyes. Not used to speaking in public; nervous, or perhaps not used to controlling his breath. Not a lover of Dickens as an author.—Ophthalmic Optician (Lady), Ealing Common, London, W. 5.

29.—This is most remarkable. I immediately recognised this personality as the double of No. 1. All the remarks for No. 1 are applicable to No. 7, with two exceptions, namely, No. 7 has a tendency to leadership and is in good health.—Works Manager, Lancs.

30.—Dark; heavy to stoutish build, dark, neat black moustache. A man of great decision, and views not lightly changed, but open to reason.—Boot Factor and Leather Merchant, Norwich.

31.—Rather a pompous man, somewhat portly.—Commercial Traveller, Sheffield.

32.—Sounded younger at the finish than he did at the commencement.—Customs and Excise Officer, Parsons Green, London, S.W. 6.

33.—A tradesman, possibly a stationer. Tall, with fair hair; very deliberate.—Solicitor, Great Berkhamsted, Herts.

34.—Male, age 45, average build, owns small business. Married.—Salesman, Gent.'s Outfitting, Hitchin, Herts.

35.—Thoughtful, religious tendencies, close to the "cosmic" things in life. Scholarly. Decisions only given after careful

consideration. Mature experience.—University Student (Man), Newton Heath, Manchester.

36.—Accustomed to public speaking. Clear and definite tones, that carry far and command attention at once.—Proprietress of Business, Bournemouth.

37.—Would say this gentleman was a university man and capable of organising.—Clerk, Plumstead, S.E. 13.

38.—A well-dressed man, middle-age, physically strong, but rather fat. Hesitant in speech until he had command of his subject; then his strength of character asserted itself. By this hypothesis, I deduced (wide term, this) man who, successful in London, is now either the head of a Manchester business or a departmental chief in a successful business house.—Bellingham, London, S.E. 6.

39.—A kindly, cultured man. Voice sounded as though he had to go out in all weathers and do much talking.—Lady, London, N.W. 6.

40.—A man of university education, probably Oxford or Cambridge; a biggish man, deliberate in manner; might be a professor at the University, accustomed to public speaking.—Lady Teacher, London, S.E. 26.

41.—Man. Keen footballer and dances well; speech affected by Manchester school.—Artist (Lady), West Hampstead, N.W. 6.

42.—A middle-aged business man of good middle-class education (i.e. not one of the older public schools—nor Cambridge and Oxford).—Translator of Russian (Lady), near Edenbridge, Kent.

43.—Speaker first used Northern " a " in " Snodgrass," and then Southern " ah " in " grasp," " ghastly " and " fast."—Lecturer in Phonetics, London, W. 2.

44.—Shrewd business man, easy talker, homely. One to inspire confidence; well built.—Saleswoman, Heaton Moor, Stockport.

45.—I think is a broad, dark man, with brown eyes; rather deliberate in his movements and decisions.—Lady, Hale Barns, Altrincham, Cheshire.

46.—Matter-of-fact, not much humour, used to reading, tall. Wavy black hair.—Housewife, Edinburgh.

47.—Well-educated gentleman, tall, well built.—Housewife, Moseley, Birmingham.

48.—Is very clever. Has had good education. Is of gentle birth. Appreciates the best and highest in life. Has high ideals. Does not expect too much of human beings, realising perfection is ever an unreached goal in this life. Is kind and true. Used to speaking in public. Is thoughtful and careful. Very sympathetic. Artistic, and appreciates beauty. Is original and very resourceful.—Lady, Cambridge.

49.—Was the first to give any real pleasure to listen to—a good and cultured voice.—Schoolmistress, Moseley, Birmingham.

50.—Just an ordinary family practitioner, now so used to impressing his views on his patients that he has acquired a new method of speaking which has become natural. I find I have a composite mind-picture of family doctors which is conjured up by the tone of voice used by this speaker—just the ordinary black striped trousers and spats, with a clean-shaven face, and a body more or less inclined to rotundity. Pince-nez dangled in hand when he says, " You dear woman, you must . . ." etc.—Civil Servant, Whitchurch, Glam.

51.—Refined appearance, interested in the classical side of studies.—Schoolteacher (Lady), Aberdeen.

52.—Shows a sympathetic nature, and should be a doctor.—Physicist (Man), Cambridge.

53.—A middle-aged man of good bearing and looks, successful-looking, carrying himself with assurance.—Engineer, London, N.W. 5.

54.—Had a strong and roughened voice, and seemed like a foreman who was accustomed to speak in the open air.—Lady, Wavertree, Liverpool.

55.—This man might have been a Nonconformist preacher from a line drawn from London to Brighton, eastwards.—Xylonite Worker, Manningtree, Essex.

56.—Might have a tendency to asthma.—Wife of Assistant Master, Rutland.

57.—Manager of business. Careful, determined to overcome difficulties. Clear thinker.—Teacher, Hampshire.

58.—A large, deliberate, deep-voiced man.—Lady Pianist, Earl's Court, London, S.W. 5.

59.—Man aged about 35. Engaged on clerical work. Born and resides in such a town as Manchester.—Accountant, Maida Vale, London, W. 9.

60.—Calm, controlled, orderly. Had successful career.—Retired Bank Manager, Rockferry, Cheshire.

61.—Male, 50 to 56. Manager or organiser. A very forceful personality, a gentleman who would go through with anything he had taken in hand. I imagined him to be very dark and massive.—Lady, Shanklin, Isle of Wight.

62.—Instantly I saw a tall, middle-aged man behind the counter of a bank; he had a red nose and an incipient cold. I remember such a man I once encountered at a bank.—Librarian, Cambridge.

63.—Appeared to have a trace of the North in his speech. He was a good reader. He was probably from a public school.—Research Chemist (Man), Saltburn-by-Sea, Yorks.

64.—Mind-picture of Speaker 7. Stout gentleman.—Manager, Stockport.

65.—Medium height, rather broad, medium colouring, trained voice.—Lady, Perthshire.

66.—A gentleman, public school or university. A successful business man or banker, dealing with broad issues. Steady, deliberate, not very literary; man of the world and much travelled.—Married Woman, Sussex.

67.—This speaker sounds to me like a Conservative M.P., and a great admirer of Mr. Baldwin. I should think he was educated at the Manchester Grammar School, or some other school of that sort—not one of the public schools—and that he is a very able man and a deep thinker.—Widow (formerly Student and Teacher of Music), West Norwood, London, S.E. 27.

68.—Gentleman, between 30 and 40. Could not judge profession. A very good speaker, very pleasing voice. Should imagine him to be a man of strong character, firm but tolerant. English, but can detect no sign of any accent. In fact, sounded very like the Manchester announcer.—Lady, Dublin.

69.—Professional man of some sort, used to considering others.—Lady, London, S.W. 1.

70.—A business man, aged 46 years, and quite accustomed to lead others. Born in England—perhaps Devon—but difficult to mention any localities affecting speech other than the foregoing. Impression of full figure, and features, heavy moustache, medium-coloured hair. Height about 6 ft., and weight 13 to 14 stone. A very strong voice, very impressionable.—Art Student, London, E. 16.

7I.—I should imagine a very good man of affairs, business-like and clear-headed; perhaps a large manufacturer, used to dealing with men, not introspective, just and reliable.—Middle-aged Lady, Petersfield, Hants.

Speaker No. 8

MR. H. COBDEN TURNER

1.—A pale, short man.—Lady, London, S.W. 1.

2.—A male speaker, aged 32 years; not accustomed to lead others. Occupies position of attendant or some domestic post. Born in Scotland, and locality affecting speech seems to be London. Height about 5 ft. 7 in., weight 10 stone. Oval face, short moustache, pale face. Rather a weak voice, and speaking too quick; lacks emphasis.—Art Student, London, E. 16.

3.—A difficult test, perhaps. Excellent at some particular work, such as electricity, machinery; not a good disciplinarian, nor very cultured; very kindly and ready to give help and sympathy, looked up to by his associates with a truthfulness and high ideals.—Middle-aged Lady, Petersfield, Hants.

4.—Was rather difficult to follow; he read very quickly, and his muffled voice suggested an indoor worker, in a wool factory.—Lady, Wavertree, Liverpool.

5.—His rapid delivery of the immortal Dickens's words makes me wonder if he isn't used to singing patter songs.—Lady, Barnes, London, S.W. 13.

6.—Pushing commercial traveller; one or two words with a North Midlands twang.—Xylonite Worker, Manningtree, Essex.

7.—I consider a quick, business-like man; whatever he saw needed doing, he would do it at once; prompt and dependable.—Lady, Broadstone, Dorset.

8.—Shop assistant or mill hand. Nervous and hurried. Weak voice.—Teacher, Hampshire.

9.—A highly-strung, quick, impetuous person.—Lady Pianist, Earl's Court, London, S.W. 5.

10.—Man, aged about 35. Possibly a musician. Born in Yorkshire, but lived many years in a large town.—Accountant, Maida Vale, London, W. 8.

11.—Self-possessed. Fairly efficient. Early education not of the best.—Retired Bank Manager, Rockferry, Cheshire.

12.—Male, 36 to 40. Clerk. Lancashire or Manchester. *Fair complexion. Slim build, rather short. Nervous disposition.*—Lady, Shanklin, Isle of Wight.

13.—A true Northerner. Self-made, perhaps.—Research Chemist, Saltburn-by-Sea, Yorks.

14.—Dark, pale, clean-shaven, narrow face, thin cheeks. Views concerning characteristics, nervous temperament, impetuous, rather persevering, a bit chesty.—Manager, Stockport.

15.—Small, thin man, dark. In a great hurry. Town bred, not used to reading aloud. Might be shop assistant, very nasal accent.—Lady, Perthshire.

16.—The quick, though rather inaccurate reading, of this speaker seemed to indicate a commercial man. His dialect indicated that he hailed from Lancashire, probably from Liverpool, where he was engaged in the trade of an underwriter. Possibly he was an insurance broker or agent, but he certainly seemed to have something about him appertaining to insurance, and he also seemed to be a man having some authority in his job. He was quite unassuming, probably reticent, but, nevertheless, was a keen commercial man.—Law Student (Man), Worcester.

17.—Capable, but very busy and hurried. Of minor education, but though not a leader of men, of some authority, having probably a dozen men under him. Thin, rather nervous.—Married Woman, Sussex.

18.—This speaker sounds to me like a stationmaster in a country district of Lancashire; he sounds a very kindly man who would look after people who missed their trains and would always be ready to help passengers who were in a difficulty.—Widow (formerly Student and Teacher of Music), West Norwood, London, S.E. 27.

19.—Man of about 30 to 35; might be in a position of importance and responsibility. Rather too quick a speaker for broadcasting. English, with North of England (?) accent.—Lady, Dublin.

20.—A young man of middle-class. Possibly of Irish origin.—Translator of Russian (Lady), near Edenbridge, Kent.

21.—Would lead, if could concentrate more; fond of

dancing, but not outdoor sports; thin; jerky walker.—Heaton Moor, Stockport.

22.—Is a pale, colourless man, with pale blue eyes and a weak moustache; his opinion would not be very decided, nor would he be a very amiable man.—Lady, Hale Barnes, Altrincham.

23.—Quick-witted and good eyesight; board school education. Not imaginative, or would have realised he was reading much too fast; smallish, highly-strung.—Housewife, Edinburgh.

24.—Nervous disposition, not very good education, thin, pale.—Housewife, Moseley, Birmingham.

25.—Does not do himself justice. Is too quick in speaking. Not used to speaking in public. Highly-strung and nervous. Does not think enough of the powers he has been given. Easily depressed and gives up easily. Has perhaps overstudied or is working at something distasteful to him. Needs praise; it will do no harm here, but much good. Has not had much sympathy or appreciation.—Lady, Cambridge.

26.—Lancashire, I should think.—Schoolmaster, Private School, Moseley, Birmingham.

27.—Thin, alert; used to carrying through business transactions.—Schoolteacher (Lady), Aberdeen.

28.—Wears horn-rimmed glasses. Wears striped black trousers, black coat, and black bow tie. Eyes weak, and is extremely nervous except when engaged in attending to customers.—Civil Servant, Whitchurch, Glam.

29.—Some occupation requiring quick action.—Physicist, Cambridge.

30.—A young man. No special appearance.—Engineer, London, N.W. 5.

31.—A young man of rather small build; read very fast, and therefore probably not accustomed to reading aloud. I am not familiar with the North, but I should take him for a Yorkshireman accustomed to outdoor life. The "ai" in "wise" may be Yorkshire, or perhaps he has been infected by the Cockney.—Teacher (Lady), London, S.E. 26.

33.—A young man, clean-shaven, impetuous, twiddling a cap in his hands. This speaker spoke quickly, and with nervousness, throughout his test. I could picture him picking up his cap at the conclusion of his part, hurriedly mopping

his brow, and thankfully leaving the silence-room. I should expect to find him employed in a shop or warehouse. Born in the vicinity of Manchester.—Bellingham, London, S.E. 6.

34.—Unless I am very much mistaken, this is the Film Critic from the London Studio; although I very seldom patronise the pictures, his talks are always interesting.—Clerk, Plumstead, London, S.E. 18.

35.—Commercial clerk or business; too over-anxious and nervy to lead. Probably quick in the uptake in normal circumstances. Read too fast in some places.—Proprietress of Business, Bournemouth.

36.—Brisk and businesslike in all his life. Inclined to good-humoured vulgarity and the exchange of trivial wit.—University Student (Man), Newton Heath, Manchester.

37.—Male; age 19; height, tall. Clerk, little responsibility. Unmarried.—Salesman, Gent.'s Outfitting, Hitchin, Herts.

38.—A stout man with round face; Lancashire accent. Elementary education. Possibly a commercial clerk or accountant.—Solicitor, Great Berkhamsted, Herts.

39.—Sincere, without malice, friendly.—Customs Officer, Parsons Green, London, S.W. 6.

40.—Young man in a tremendous hurry. Rather slipshod. Slender build, probably dark complexion.—Commercial Traveller, Sheffield.

41.—Fair, clean-shaven, slim to medium build, 5 ft. 9 in. to 5 ft. 10 in. in height. Rather nervous, fussy. Would do any one a good turn if possible.—Boot Factor and Leather Merchant, Norwich.

42.—One of a nervous temperament. Possibly retired and shy in manner. This voice seemed to be a Southern English voice, but there also seemed to be a faint suggestion of contact with a foreign country—perhaps one who has travelled on business in France or Spain.—Schoolmaster, near Stoke-on-Trent.

43.—A man about 25 years of age, a clerk or indoor worker; one just beginning to lead. Lancashire man by birth, with faint Lancashire dialect; very nervous, disposition erratic, not very good health.—Works Manager, Lancashire.

44.—Appeared nervous and read very fast. Speech

suggested Lancashire.—Lady (Profession, Music), (L.R.A.M.), Taunton, Somerset.

45.—Man of medium size. Age 20 to 25. Of working-class type, who has risen by self-effort to a post of responsibility. Very natural in character, and shows anxiety to please. Has more ability to please others than to lead them. Quick and hurried in his action. Birthplace Yorkshire, but attempts to hide any dialect, and succeeds fairly well. I should say he is a bachelor and a man dubious of taking risks. Slight brown moustache.—Retired Schoolmaster, Exeter.

46.—North countryman. Yorkshire, I think. Inclined to nervousness, and not accustomed to speaking in public. Rather quick and impatient, possessing a sense of humour. His voice seemed to convey to me that he is not a professional man, in mechanical occupation, or, at any rate, uses his hands with his head. A lover of music, but not a performer in that art. Not a leader of men. I picture him of slight build, light eyes (blue or grey) and fair hair; not robust.

47.—Accustomed to obeying orders; occupies a subordinate position, of what nature it is hard to say.—Schoolmaster, Derbyshire.

48.—No very clear or forcible impression of speaker or story. Rather tall, thin and nervous, with fairish, lank hair, at the microphone.—Lady, Lanarkshire, Scotland.

49.—Had a certain sharp tone of a business man used to ordering others about and getting things done slick and sharp, and keeping folk "up to scratch."—Clerk (Lady), Stroud Green, London, N. 4.

50.—Finely-built man. Genial and self-possessed. Gesture infrequent but sweeping.—Elementary Schoolmistress, Suffolk.

51.—Started too hurriedly, no pauses or punctuations spoken in monotone, no control between perception and expression. Understood his matter. All this is indicative of no experience of reading aloud. Occupation of light nature.—Shop Assistant (Man), Radford, Nottingham.

52.—Mechanically-minded. Rather "slap-dash." Clever with his fingers. Dislikes dull, lengthy jobs, which he is inclined to scamp. Not absolutely reliable.—Barrister-at-Law, Battersea Park, London, S.W. 11.

53.—A commonplace type. Utterance bespeaks lack of

education, shyness and, as in most of these cases, no sense of the funniness of the subject.—Formerly in Civil Service, Gloucestershire.

54.—A man 35 to 40. Highly skilled workman. Slight. Keen. North of England.—Have done Social Work, Leamington.

55.—Hasty and badly educated; no consideration for other people; conceited.—Literary Lady, Hurstpierpoint, Sussex.

56.—Male, 45 to 50. Energetic. A tradesman or merchant or commercial traveller. Used to mingling with people, but not so much leading them; perhaps persuading them. Leicester, Nottingham or Manchester.—Schoolmistress, Nottingham.

57.—A man who may be self-made.—Social Worker and Householder (Lady), Hampshire.

58.—This speaker sounded like a clerk. Was nervous. Improved at end.—Trained Nurse, Eastbourne.

59.—Young, rather nervous or careless; rather too hasty to read intelligently. Probably employed in an office where he does not get the chance of meeting educated people.—Schoolmistress, Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancashire.

60.—Very difficult to judge.—Landscape Painter (Lady), London, N.W. 11.

61.—A man of 30 to 35 years of age, about 5 ft. 6 in. in height. Moderate build. I should say a teacher or clerk; something in that line. I should say lived his early life in the South of England.—Discharged C.S.M., Little Hulton, near Bolton.

62.—Might be an engineer, but is evidently unused to reading aloud, and probably reads only newspapers.—Teacher (Lady), Peterborough.

63.—He has been a "bright boy" at a secondary school, and is aiming at some position of responsibility.—Schoolmistress, Pendleton, Manchester.

64.—Young man, 27 years. Chemist's assistant, or in mechanical occupation. Good at games, but not literary. Londoner. Not accustomed to lead others.—Daughter of Retired Lt.-Col., South Devon.

65.—From his very fast delivery, I imagine him to be a solicitor's clerk, though I nearly put auctioneer's clerk.—Clerk (Man), Yorks.

66.—Reads too fast and not distinct enough for a public reader. Did well at school; just starting a career, probably an accountant or bank clerk.—Tradesman's Wife, Bridport, Dorset.

67.—A rather erratic fellow; does not seem cut out for business, on any large scale.—Lady (at Home), Ashton-under-Lyne.

68.—Young man, quick talking, dark, one who has to be very active in business.—Schoolmistress, London, N.W. 3.

Speaker No. 9

MR. GEORGE GROSSMITH

1.—Elderly man, jovial temperament; county probably Devonshire.—Formerly Schoolmistress, N.W. 3.

2.—A keen student of human nature, of comely appearance and quick wit. Strong sense of humour. May be rather quick-tempered. One who has travelled a good deal.—Lady (at Home), Ashton-under-Lyne.

3.—Might be a schoolmaster; belongs to an amateur dramatic society. Has broadcast before, also read Dickens's works in public many times. Enjoys reading and acting.—Tradesman's Wife, Bridport, Dorset.

4.—" Entertainer " seems right here; a slight dialect such as " reploid " for " replied," makes me put Norfolk as birth-place. I put London as locality affecting speech, as it seems most probable that an entertainer would spend some time in London.—School Clerk (Man), Yorks.

5.—Man of 30 to 40 years of age. Parson or actor. Public school education. Literary tastes. Coming from North of England. Accustomed to lead. Successful.—Daughter of Retired Lt.-Col., South Devon.

6.—If not Canon " X," someone very much like him.—Schoolmistress, Pendleton, Manchester.

7.—Is very accustomed to public speaking, either out of doors or in large rooms.—Teacher (Lady), Elton, Peterborough.

8.—A man of 45 years, 6 ft. high, well built. An actor, or one well used to public speaking. A man with a sense of humour.—C.S.M., Little Hulton, near Bolton.

9.—An actor, well satisfied with his success. Self-confident, good-natured. A strong sense of humour. In appearance

tall, broad-shouldered, good-looking.—Landscape Painter, London, N.W. 11.

10.—Comedian, with great fund of humour and the gift of creating this in others. His reading, though slightly exaggerated, was at least vivid. He enjoys life to the full; his face, no doubt, radiates happiness and cheer wherever he goes.—Schoolmistress, Ashton-under-Lyne.

11.—The voice seemed that of a 'Varsity man. He certainly tried his best, and put life into his rendering, but still did not appeal to me. I should not think of him as a leader.—Nurse, Eastbourne.

12.—Tall, strong, big man, broad shoulders, rather fair hair, rather large head, fresh colour, lively expression. Light suit; the latter makes me think he cannot be the popular cricket-playing parson, but he may be a country gentleman, sporting and helping in the parish.—Social Worker and Householder (Lady), Hampshire.

13.—Male, between 50 and 55 years. A very attractive and pleasing magnetic personality. Used to elocution, personating and acting. Tactful, and the voice came through best of all the nine. An actor of high order. Used to leading. London, Oxford, Cambridge, locality.—Schoolmistress, near Nottingham.

14.—Energetic, extremely anxious to please, excitable nerves, vain. Fond of laying down the law. Has got on in life.—Literary Lady, Hurstpierpoint, Sussex.

15.—A man 35 to 40. University lecturer and writer. Incisive, both as writer and lecturer. Distinctly a leader. Birthplace, South of England or Midlands. Has lived in Northumberland, or knows its people.—Has done Social Work, Leamington.

16.—The last of the nine is the first to read with spirit and expression and evident sense of humour, and the only one who would interest hearers for any length of time. I think he is an entertainer of the best type, accustomed to public speaking and reading to amuse his hearers; probably the chief of a pair or group such as we hear on the wireless, who can amuse without being seen; a well-educated and trained elocutionist.—Formerly 44 Years in Civil Service, Gloucestershire.

17.—Very plausible. Accustomed to public life and public speaking. Has never had to struggle for a living, and probably

has always had more than enough money. Rather selfish, though not mean in money matters.—Barrister-at-Law, Battersea Park, London, S.W. 11.

18.—Needs no description; it is sufficient to say that he is the very famous London actor, Mr. George Grossmith.—Student of Music (Lady), Southgate, N. 14.

19.—This speaker understood all the art of expression. Showed feeling. I said "parson" for the same reasons as I did for Speaker 3. Yet this man lacked that touch of "fire" which is characteristic of the man who is a born leader. His ability appeared more an acquisition than a natural gift.—Shop Assistant (Man), Nottingham.

20.—Finely-built man, genial and self-possessed; gesture infrequent but sweeping.—Schoolmistress, Suffolk.

21.—Equally impressed by speaker and story. White-grey hair, stout and genial. Saw him at the microphone, on the ice with Mr. Winkle, talking genially to workmen outside a Church, and to children in a pleasant, comfortable room.—(Hope to be) Novelist (Lady), Lanarkshire, Scotland.

22.—Although accustomed to lead, he does it with an air of good-fellowship. Possibly a social worker of some kind, either layman or cleric. He is possibly a Cumberland man, instead of Irish.—Schoolmaster, Derbyshire.

23.—I am inclined to think is about 50 years, short and stoutish, fair colouring. He is very deliberate and accustomed to speaking in public; is a leader of men, or could be. Very like Mr. Nigel Playfair's voice, if not he himself. Is very humorous and good company, liking an audience; a little pompous. A Londoner, by profession an actor, or, at any rate, used to speaking a part.—Ophthalmic Optician (Lady), Ealing Common, London, W. 5.

24.—A decidedly higher type to the others of Group (3) (January 21st). Public school man, but not university. Well educated, a decided success in his own profession. Popular, and held in high esteem by those who know him. A humorist, and very fond of the lighter side of life. While capable of being a leader, much prefers the back-waters.—Civil Engineer, Wolverhampton, Staffs.

25.—This voice leads one to think the reader would lead others in his own art; he certainly knows how to read Dickens. Quite a personality of his own; very original. Sounded

like Bransby Williams.—Married Lady, Northdown, Margate, Kent.

26.—As I have a peculiar tendency to reverse mental pictures (e.g. I may follow in every detail a scenic description of a story told; all physical features of landscape, etc., but on subsequently visiting the spot I find the hills, river, houses, etc., always in reality on the opposite side of the road I have pictured), so I am going to reverse this No. 9 picture from my original conception of him, which was physically much "stumpier." Man about 50 (may be 65), 12 to 13 stone. Height, 5 ft. 9 in. Business manager in mechanical firm or technical lecturer. Accustomed to lead, or rather bounce, others. Gloucester his native town; no trace of other dialect.—Schoolmaster (Retired), Exeter.

27.—Good at imitation, painstaking and decidedly a leader of men. Powerful and well-built.—Lady (no occupation), London, S.W. 1.

28.—An actor by profession. One accustomed to lead. Strong personality.—Profession, Music (Lady), Taunton, Somerset.

29.—A man, age 35 years, public speaker, probably an actor; certainly an organiser and a leader of men. Irish by birth; a much travelled man (birthplace and dialect confused owing to travel). A man of strong nerves and lively disposition; in very good health.—Works Manager, Lancs.

30.—Could not trace any signs of locality of birth, because of the superimposition of the "educational" influence. This I did not quite place; perhaps Sandhurst or a university.—Schoolmaster, Stoke-on-Trent.

31.—Short to medium build, a man of decision, with the character of a "sport." Straight in build, and character jovial.—Boot Factor and Leather Merchant, Norwich.

32.—The sex of this speaker is by no means certainly male. Has apparently had some experience (either amateur or professional) in theatricals. Tall, medium build.—Commercial Traveller, Sheffield.

33.—Conceited, self-opinionated, stupid. Made Sam speak like a country bumpkin instead of a Cockney—but very pleased with his effort. Jumped at the chance of reading.—Customs Officer, Parsons Green, London, S.W. 6.

34.—A dark, straight man, with fine features; good speaker.

Probably a musician who lectures.—Solicitor, Great Berkhamsted, Herts.

35.—Male, age 49, short and stout, jovial manner, used to speaking, fluent, rather excitable. Manager. Married.—Salesman, Gent.'s Outfitting, Hitchin, Herts.

36.—Used to oratory, excellent mimic, great sense of humour. Wonderfully resonant, big voice ; every word carries effectively. A born orator.—Proprietress of Business, Bournemouth.

37.—This gentleman, I should say, was a very masterful man, and enters whole-heartedly into all his undertakings.—Clerk (?), Plumstead, London, S.E. 18.

38.—As one enters a room in which the reverberant chimes of " Big Ben " are coming through a loudspeaker, so did this speaker's voice attack my ear. I pictured the speaker as a cheery, round-faced man, older in years than in spirit. I imagined him as a comedian, feeling the pulse of an appreciative audience and putting it in good humour with his playful banter. Then, with great optimism, booming out to the theatre manager, " Hear 'em ; that's the way to tickle 'em." The speaker is not a leader of men, but he compels people to obey him.—Bellingham, S.E. 6.

39.—Man. Jewish ancestry.—Artist (Lady), West Hampstead, London, N.W. 6.

40.—Not the meekest of men. Fancy I have heard his voice over the wireless before. Voice carried best of the 6 I heard.—Lady, London, N.W. 6.

41.—A man used to speaking in public, and who has studied elocution. He consciously altered his voice and dialect with the different characters in the anecdote.—Librarian (Man), Crouch End, London, N. 8.

42.—An actor or entertainer ; he showed dramatic sense and power to alter his voice and dialect. A well-educated man belonging to the South of England.—Teacher (Lady), London, S.E. 26.

43.—An actor or public speaker. Tall, and well-equipped for his profession.—Engineer, London, N.W. 5.

44.—Is the public speaker of the whole set, showing the highest ability of expression.—Physicist (Man), Cambridge.

45.—Was impressed by the voice, and imagined a bluff, red-faced, jolly man, with grey hair, profuse on the back of the head and eyes almost obscured by rolls of flesh when he

smiles. Has a heartening effect on the minor-rôle players as soon as he makes his stage appearance.—Civil Servant, Whitchurch, Glam.

46.—Cheerful eyes, full of quiet humour. Has command of himself and his audience. Speech not affected by association. This speaker gave the best reading.—Schoolteacher (Lady), Aberdeen.

47.—Was the gem of the collection. One just felt that "all's well with the accent," to distort a line of R. B. I do not know why I put 7 and 9 as London, because any well-educated man would unconsciously eliminate all dialect or distinctive county pronunciation.—Schoolmistress (Lady), Moseley, Birmingham.

48.—Would not commit himself; very sociable and cheerful companion. Inclined to make the best of things. Kind-hearted and generous. Rather quick-tempered. Very just. Rather extravagant. Enjoys pleasure to the full. Works hard, when necessary.—Lady, Cambridge.

49.—Rather "stagey" and fond of his own voice. Does not express his own personality, but those of the people he is reading about.—Housewife, Edinburgh.

50.—Is pleasant and agreeable, and anxious to stand favourably in the opinion of his fellow men. He is fairly good-looking, inclined to baldness; but takes a pride in his personal appearance.—Lady, Altrincham, Cheshire.

51.—Humorous, but rather short-tempered, domineering, fond of a good feed, well built.—Saleswoman, Heaton Moor, Stockport.

52.—I think this speaker was George Grossmith.—Lecturer in Phonetics, London, W. 2.

53.—A professional man. Either affected or overcoming shyness of affectation, or trained in one of the affected professions, as actor or clergyman.—Translator of Russian (Lady), near Edenbridge, Kent.

54.—Is this the promised celebrity? If so, who is he, I wonder? Broadcasts splendidly. Might be actor, 35 to 40. Although we had listened to the same extract eight times, we were forced to laugh and enjoy, and wished for more. One conjures up a man of confidence and ability, with a good sense of humour. English, but much too good an elocutionist to betray any accent or dialect in his speech.—Lady, Dublin.

55.—Quite used to public speaking and reading aloud; rather of a patronising personality.—Married Woman, Walton-on-Thames.

56.—I don't recognise this voice as one that I have ever heard, but it sounds to me like that of a Shakespearian actor. I can just imagine how inspiring would be his "Once more into the breach, dear friends, once more," and no doubt he would do other parts just as well. He sounds versatile and clever and very well trained. The names James, Wilson and Clayton have been in my head in connection with these last three speakers, but for no reason at all, as far as I can see.—Widow (formerly Student and Teacher of Music), West Norwood, Norwood, S.E. 27.

57.—Well educated. Has learnt elocution, and is always considering his effect on other people. Rather insincere, and has much leisure—therefore probably popular preacher in some cathedral town—though possibly an actor.—Married Woman, Sussex.

58.—This speaker was happiest of them all at his task, which seemed to suggest that it was his profession. A lecturer or an actor—it is rather hard to differentiate.—Law Student, Worcester.

59.—Big, dark man. Delightful voice and expression. If not an actor, might be a musician.—Lady, Perthshire.

60.—Tall, strongly built, red face, wearing glasses. Views concerning characteristics, forceful character, extravagant type.—Manager, Stockport.

61.—This speaker was easily the most effective of all. A man with great personality, and accustomed to lead. Although I have said "politician," he may be a parson, an actor, or lawyer, certainly a humorist.—Research Chemist, Saltburn-by-Sea, Yorks.

62.—A red-faced, bluff man of 60, a farmer.—Librarian, Cambridge.

63.—This gentleman seemed to come over well; he possessed a very pushing disposition, and is used to speaking in public, either before the footlights or "mike." He is of medium height and colour.—Lady, Shanklin, Isle of Wight.

64.—Active, energetic, rather off-hand.—Retired Bank Manager, Rockferry, Cheshire.

65.—Man, aged 45. Actor. Born in London.—Accountant, Maida Vale, London, W. 9.

66.—The most charming of all the speakers; in style, inflection of voice, dramatic power.—Pianist (Lady), Earl's Court, London, S.W. 5.

67.—Public speaker or clergyman. Powerful personality. Determined and decided.—Teacher (?), Hampshire.

68.—Produced the best effect in almost every way; his voice carried very well, and he dramatised the speeches. He might be an actor, but I think more probably he has learned to produce his voice for purposes of public speaking.—Wife of Assistant Master, Rutland.

69.—A man with a merry twinkle in his eye, full of fun and kind.—Lady, Broadstone, Dorset.

70.—A roamer from the cider country; might have been to Canada.—Xylonite Worker, Manningtree, Essex.

71.—A lover of Dickens's works, as well as an actor in real life of the good deeds of Dickens's characters.—Lady, Barnes, S.W. 13.

72.—Was perfect; his voice indicated an actor and comedian of high degree. It might be George Graves.—Lady, Wavertree, Liverpool.

73.—A different type altogether; self-reliant and keenly interested in life and mankind generally; a good scholar, bringing about what he sets out to accomplish, not daunted by obstacles; a very good deal of influence on those brought within his circle.—Lady, Petersfield, Hants.

74.—After the first few words I was suddenly so obsessed with the idea it was Professor Pear himself, I couldn't visualise what might have been a strange personality, not speaking like Professor Pear in the least.—Lady, London, S.W. 1.

75.—A striking personality. Should imagine him to be a very genial type—well-made physically and extremely witty.—Manageress (Wholesale), Salisbury, Wilts.

76.—A cheerful, big man, age about 45 years. A musician. Is accustomed to lead others. Born in Ireland, and England is the locality affecting his speech. Impression of a full, rotund figure; round, red, smiling face. A real jolly old sport. Clean-shaven. Height, 5 to 6 ft. Weight about 13 stone. A really happy male voice, full of good humour.—Art Student (?), London, E. 16.

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