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Shakespeare and 'Native Americans': Forging Identities through the 1916 Shakespeare Tercentenary

Abstract

This article examines the celebrations organised for the 1916 Shakespeare Tercentenary in three American locations: Wellesley, MA; Atlanta, GA; and Grand Forks, ND. By focusing on these hitherto neglected events, the article extends the investigations, initiated by Thomas Cartelli and Coppélia Kahn, into the ways in which the Tercentenary activities in the U.S.A. participated in the contemporaneous debates concerning American national identity. These investigations have until recently concentrated almost exclusively on the Tercentenary festivities organised in the metropolitan centre of New York City. An examination of the provincial celebrations in regions as diverse as New England, the South, and the Midwest, indicates that the Shakespeare Tercentenary provided a platform for a negotiation of a complex network of interrelated, and sometimes conflicting, national and local identities.

In the context of American celebrations of the three-hundredth anniversary of Shakespeare's death, the connection between Shakespeare and Native Americans is not as far-fetched as it may first seem. In one play staged for the occasion the Bard actually met Native Americans as we define them now: characters who in the past would have been called 'Indians'.¹

Moreover, the term 'native Americans' at the beginning of the twentieth century carried different connotations to the ones it carries now. It was used to refer to those Americans who were descended from the early Northern European (mainly British or 'Anglo-Saxon') colonisers, as opposed to the newer immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe and other allegedly inferior ethnic groups.² Amidst the mounting anxiety about the increased 'new immigration' to the United States, the debates surrounding the ways in which American identity should be defined – what made one a 'native' American – were highly pertinent in the year of the Shakespeare Tercentenary.³

As recent critical accounts by Thomas Cartelli and Coppélia Kahn demonstrate, American celebrations of the Tercentenary responded to those debates by joining the efforts of Progressivist reformers to integrate the 'new immigrants' into American society through education and cultural enrichment.⁴ Cartelli and Kahn suggest that this integration programme, while ostensibly egalitarian, in fact promoted a cultural hierarchy biased in favour of the allegedly superior 'Anglo-Saxon' norms of the established American elites.

They describe the process in terms of an interpellation of ‘the cultural – and racial – Other [...] into Anglo-American culture’⁵ and ‘an internal or domestic colonizing venture that seeks to enlist the consent and participation of the masses in their enforced acculturation.’⁶ However, as useful as these interpretations are, they stem from an almost exclusive focus on the centrepiece of the American Tercentenary celebrations: Percy MacKaye’s mammoth ‘community masque’, *Caliban by the Yellow Sands*,⁷ which arguably was to some extent set in motion by members of metropolitan social elites. As I have argued elsewhere, a more complex picture emerges if one looks beyond *Caliban* to consider the countless large and small-scale tributes produced for the Tercentenary across the United States: pageants, masques, plays, exhibitions, lectures, sermons, garden and tree plantings, even Shakespeare parties. These celebrations were, by and large, initiated, organised and financed by non-governmental groups and private individuals, many of whom did not belong to Anglo-American elites. My initial, broad overview of these events has indicated that the Shakespeare Tercentenary in America was more than just a centrally-managed, top-down affair promoting the cultural hegemony of dominant social groups. It provided an arena for negotiating a variety of identities on national and local levels. It also gave some underprivileged groups within American society access to an empowering cultural discourse.⁸

This article extends this investigation by examining three neglected Shakespeare Tercentenary contributions, produced in Georgia, Massachusetts, and North Dakota. In addition to a number of smaller tributes, all three states put on substantial dramatic performances, composed especially for the occasion. Similarly to MacKaye’s *Caliban*, these productions belonged to the tradition of pageantry, which enjoyed enormous popularity in America at the time.⁹ True to the pageantry form, they combined verbal, musical, and visual elements: speeches, dialogues, processions, songs, dances, and elaborate costuming. Moreover, their texts were published and survive to this day, providing a wealth of information about the Shakespeare celebrations outside of the metropolitan centre of New York.

Local celebrations: Georgia, Massachusetts, and North Dakota

Atlanta, Georgia, put on the largest event of the three: a great outdoors pageant and masque,¹⁰ staged at the Grant Field stadium on 27th May 1916.¹¹ The pageant consisted of nine episodes, each presenting either Shakespeare's contemporaries – Queen Elizabeth with her court and the key poets of the period – or various groups of Shakespearean characters: tragic, pastoral, comical, as well as royalty, knights, fairies, and villains. The historical characters served to introduce the Renaissance as the period of supreme artistic achievement, with Shakespeare as its epitome. Meanwhile, the scenes featuring Shakespearean characters exemplified typical behaviours of different kinds of his dramatic personae, for example aggressive banter between swaggerers such as Falstaff, Sir Toby Belch, and Sir Toby Aguecheek, and romantic pronouncements from lovers such as Miranda and Ferdinand. The pageant episodes were followed by the allegorical masque of 'Time Unmasked', in which Shakespeare's genius, through the agency of his characters, conquered devouring Time. The whole entertainment culminated in Shakespeare's apotheosis: 'the nine Muses crown him with bays and [...] make low obeisance to him, while all the characters of the pageant [...] lift up their hands and shout: Hail! Shakespeare!' (77).

The event produced in Wellesley, a small town twelve miles west of Boston, Massachusetts, was similar in design, though more modest in scale. It took the form of a masque, entitled *Will o' the World*, which was performed at Dana Estate on 13th May 1916.¹² It was composed of a Prologue, six episodes, and an Epilogue. Like Atlanta's production, it included Shakespeare's contemporaries, characters from his plays, as well as allegorical and mythological figures. While employing the episodic structure similar to the Atlanta event, *Will o' the World* introduced a slightly tighter overall plot. Each episode revolved around a perceived stage in Shakespeare's life: 'Shakespeare the Child' (17), 'Shakespeare the Lad' (18), 'Shakespeare the Playwright' (18), 'Shakespeare the Father' (18), and 'Shakespeare the Dreamer' (19). Each presented an imaginary situation influencing Shakespeare's poetic career. Those included encounters with historical figures (Shakespeare's children, Queen Elizabeth, Ben Jonson, Walter Raleigh, and Francis Bacon), as well as episodes such as

Shakespeare witnessing the Kenilworth entertainment of 1575, and grieving for the death of his son. Out of these events arose flashes of poetic inspiration, including visions of Shakespearean characters, among them Puck, Portia, Desdemona, Othello, Shylock, Jessica, and Ariel. In the final episode – ‘Shakespeare Today’ (19) – Shakespeare was transported to 1916, encountered the audience of the entertainment, and was driven off in an automobile to see the modern world, with its skyscrapers, moving pictures, and the disturbing glimpses of the war raging in Europe (38-41).

Grand Forks, North Dakota, also offered a masque, entitled *Shakespeare, the Playmaker*.¹³ It was created by the Sock and Buskin Society, the University of North Dakota’s drama club, while being open to those outside the academic community. It was performed twice – on 12th and 13th June 1916 – at the outdoors Bankside Theatre on campus. Apart from the prologue, interlude, and epilogue, the masque consisted of two main parts. These two, similarly to *Will o’ the World*, staged imaginary episodes from Shakespeare’s life. The first, set in 1588, presented Queen Elizabeth’s visit to Greenwich Castle, where she was ‘welcomed by the country folk with rustic entertainment’ (9). The key part of this entertainment consisted of a play devised by the yet unknown Shakespeare, based on the *Pyramus and Thisbe* episode from *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*. The second part, taking place about twenty years later, showed Shakespeare and Ben Jonson at a May fair at Gravesend, encountering some travellers returning from the New World, who bring with them not only amazing stories and a Native American painting, but also two American Indians. This episode led to a medley of scenes from *The Tempest*, apparently arising from Shakespeare’s creative engagement with the New World material. The overall structure of the masque charted the progress of Shakespeare’s artistic career from his ‘earliest efforts [...] as an unknown craftsman,’ to ‘the mature achievement of the playmaker’ (7).¹⁴

As these brief outlines demonstrate, the three entertainments shared many common features: the format and trappings of pageantry, outdoors setting, large cast, and the introduction of both Shakespeare’s contemporaries and his dramatis personae as characters. All three were amateur enterprises, involving local communities as producers, participants, and audiences. Moreover, as the following discussion will demonstrate, all three

engaged in constructing and debating various interrelated – and sometimes conflicting – identities: national, local, ethnic, social, and cultural.

National identity

While the *Literary Digest* called the Shakespeare Tercentenary ‘a celebration which is not primarily patriotic’,¹⁵ its specifically American character was, in fact, emphasised in various ways. Some commentators pointed out that, because of the war in Europe, America was the only place where Shakespeare could be honoured properly.¹⁶ Others, like Pauline Periwinkle, went even further, claiming that ‘there is a quality attaching to the American recognition of the Shakespearean tercentenary that even British celebrants can not [sic] possess. It is comparable to the extension of the Gospel message to the gentiles’.¹⁷ This, according to Periwinkle, was due to America adopting the English language and being on the forefront of offering its benefits, epitomised by Shakespeare, to its diverse constitutive ethnic groups: ‘not Anglo-Saxons and Celts alone are legatees of this store of intellectual and spiritual wealth, but mankind of every race and blood emerge from America’s melting pot joint heirs of this matchless treasure.’¹⁸ Periwinkle concludes: ‘The nationalizing significance of this tercentenary movement should appeal to every American who is a genuine patriot’.¹⁹ The combination of Shakespeare and Americanisation is further illustrated in a letter which Miss Gertrude Walker wrote to Percy MacKaye in 1916: ‘I have been writing a Shakespearean pageant to be given in connection with a homecoming celebration by the city of Racine [...]. The conception requires a dance to symbolize the American flag.’²⁰ Clearly, the Bard and American national symbols could be made to go hand in hand.

One common way to link Shakespeare and America during the Tercentenary celebrations was to use *The Tempest*, considered ‘Shakespeare’s one American Play’,²¹ as a master narrative. *The Tempest* provided a ‘magical’ space where anything was possible, as the Wellesley entertainment suggested:

’Tis Prospero’s isle here, where may come to pass
Whatever will; not recking time or space

Stratford or Wellesley [...].²²

Moreover, the play offered a framework for staging an encounter between Shakespeare's England and the New World. This is clearly seen in the North Dakota entertainment, whose director, Frederick Koch, singled out *The Tempest* as 'the play with which our masque is chiefly concerned'.²³ Not only does Shakespeare's meeting with the Transatlantic travellers in the second part of the masque result in his envisioning of scenes from *The Tempest*, but the ideas of the New World expansion permeate the whole piece. In the first part, on the eve of the Spanish Armada, Sir Francis Drake prophesies: 'England yet will win for herself a place upon the seas and in the New World' (26). In the Interlude, the Chorus announces that 'England's spirit', which conquered the Armada, also 'found its way / To waiting lands beyond the sea!' (37). This could be considered an unquestioning praise of Englishness and, by extension, of Anglo-American hegemony. However, as Koch explains in his introduction, the masque envisions 'a new heaven and a new earth for Elizabethan England' (9). This apocalyptic language implies a radical transformation, rather than an unbroken continuation. America is a new world, in which national, cultural, and social identities will have to be forged anew.

Local identities

While the Drama League of America instigated and promoted the national Shakespeare Tercentenary celebrations, it explained from the beginning that its role was purely 'initiatory and co-ordinating'.²⁴ The preparation of particular events was left to the numerous grass-roots organisations and individuals across the country. The League's aim was to 'organize local celebrations all through every city, in the local groups that already exist, and then bring them to a focus in some large municipal festival in which the whole city can have a part.'²⁵ Consequently, Tercentenary activities across the U.S.A. became local affairs, responding to the needs of specific communities and generating neighbourhood involvement and civic pride.²⁶

This comes across very clearly in the texts and the publicity surrounding the entertainments discussed here. In *Will o' the World*, the location of its performance – Wellesley, Massachusetts – slips into the fiction of the masque in an almost uncanny manner. The first episode of the piece presents Leicester entertaining Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth Castle in 1575.²⁷ However, when the Queen asks 'What is here, my lord?', Leicester's puzzling answer is: 'This is a learned town that we approach. / There is a woman's college here, my liege' (24). This is clearly no longer Kenilworth but Wellesley, as the subsequent dialogue demonstrates. The Queen exclaims in surprise: 'A woman's college! Never have I heard / Of such a thing!', to which Leicester replies: "'Tis Wellesley, in the shire / Of Norfolk' (24).²⁸ Without warning, the action of the masque is transported in space and time to the here and now of the masque's production. Curiously, Queen Elizabeth does not seem to notice this transformation, nor does Leicester explain it. The Queen responds to the introduction of 'Wellesley, in the shire of Norfolk', by saying: 'Good old names' (24), connecting them implicitly to English tradition. It is as if the 'good old England' of her time seamlessly merged into the present day of a small New England town. However, there is one more twist in the conversation. Leicester comments on the fact that the street is 'strangely hard' (24), which elicits an enthusiastic response from Elizabeth:

A street so paved in a small country town!
 Wonder of wonders! London would do well
 To pave her streets so, too! 'Tis passing strange!
 This thing so near, and I knew not of it! (24)

In one deft stroke, Wellesley surpasses Elizabethan London, a provincial town upstages the metropolitan centre and, by implication, America outdoes England. Furthermore, the last sentence posits a complicated relationship between the American periphery and the English centre. The little American town of Wellesley is 'so near', yet the English ruler had been ignorant of it. This statement implies a closeness and easy continuity between the English traditions and the New World. At the same time, however, it confers the power of supreme knowledge, together with the supreme achievement indicated in the previous lines, on the provincial American town, rather than on the English capital.

The local character of the Atlanta celebrations comes out most clearly in the publicity surrounding the event. The *Atlanta Constitution* went so far as to strike a competitive note, declaring: 'Other cities which have presented similar pageants this year have, in nearly every case, had to import their talent, [...] but the Drama league [sic] has worked out the Atlanta pageant entirely as a home affair'.²⁹ It is worth noting that by 'the Drama league' the article means the local branch, rather than the nation-wide organisation: a few sentences before, the author says that the pageant is being organised 'under the auspices of the Atlanta Drama league, and with the co-operation and indorsement [sic] of practically every civic organization'.³⁰ Moreover, the fact that the event was entirely a 'home affair' seemed so important to the local press that it was singled out as 'one of the most remarkable features of the celebration and one of which Atlanta should be justly proud.'³¹ The newspaper proceeded to state that 'there was not a single feature of the presentation which was not entirely an Atlanta product', and declared: 'nothing has ever been staged in Atlanta which was more typically Atlantan than the Shakespearean tercentenary of Saturday afternoon.'³² One may be forgiven for thinking that the characters of the pageant, such as Queen Elizabeth, Raleigh, Marlowe, Jonson, and Shakespeare himself, were unlikely candidates for being 'typically Atlantan'. However, by producing the entertainment locally, Atlanta was able to claim them as her own, as if making them her honorary citizens.

In fact, the definition of an 'Atlantan' adopted for the occasion seems to have been quite capacious. The article quoted above calls Armond Carroll, the author of the entertainment's text, 'an Atlantan',³³ but he was a relative newcomer to the city. According to the *Atlanta Constitution*, he 'was born in Asheville, N. C., [...] reared in Shelby, N. C., and Pittsburgh, Pa. He prepared for college at Mount Harmon school, Massachusetts, and spent a year at Yale. [...] He came to Georgia in 1911'.³⁴ It seems that it was not deemed necessary to have been born and bred in Atlanta to qualify as its native. It was enough to be resident in the city and make a valuable contribution to its life. In this respect, it is interesting that one of civic organisations endorsing the Atlanta pageant was the Council of Jewish Women.³⁵ Together with this ethnic minority, the event attracted a wide spectrum of the city's social classes: 'the pageant and the masque were participated in by people in all

circumstances and from every walk of life. The rich and the poor alike joined in the great celebration'.³⁶ These facts go against the reading of the Tercentenary as an affair orchestrated by Anglo-American social elites with the aim of enforcing the cultural hegemony of that cultural strand.

However, there was one social group that did not seem to have been included in Atlanta's grand Shakespeare celebrations: African Americans. The coverage in the *Atlanta Constitution* does not record their participation in the masque and pageant.³⁷ Moreover, an event reported in the newspaper suggests that the occasion was white-orientated:

An interesting incident connected with the pageant was the introduction of Henry B. Walthall, whose reputation as the "Booth of the 'Movies'" was borne out in his superb acting in the "Birth of a Nation." He was introduced as "a man who has rendered the south a distinguished service in portraying her sufferings in the days of the reconstruction," and he was greeted with a great ovation.³⁸

It is unlikely that a man who had played a leader of the Ku Klux Klan in a notoriously racist film would have been applauded by an audience including significant numbers of African Americans. The references to that movie and to the South's 'sufferings in the days of the reconstruction' indicate viewers sympathetic to the Klan rather than to Black Americans. This is borne out by Othello's role in the pageant. He has a non-speaking part, and is introduced, together with Desdemona, with the words: 'The dark Moor, and she so white / Who was strangled, Day by Night' (26). It appears that the inclusive character of the event did not extend to African American Atlantans.

Similarly to the Atlanta celebrations, North Dakota event's local character was emphasised more in the supplementary material surrounding it than within the masque itself. The prefatory statements by Frederick Koch, the Professor of Drama at the University of North Dakota, under whose direction the entertainment was produced, insist on its unique and innovative character: 'The idea is original in conception [... and in] manner of composition'.³⁹ This originality lies chiefly in the masque's communal authorship, which takes a step further the ideas of 'community drama' propagated by Percy MacKaye.⁴⁰ While MacKaye's *Caliban by the Yellow Sands* aimed to be 'a drama of and by the people, not

merely *for the people*,⁴¹ its text was written by MacKaye himself. *Shakespeare, the Playmaker*, on the other hand, was 'designed and written by a group of twenty students at the University of North Dakota' (7), which, in Koch's words, 'reassured us that [...] not only can the people participate as actors in a community play, but [...] can actually *create* a drama democratic – a new art-form of the people, embodying their own interpretation of life' (7, emphasis in the original). In this respect, the provincial entertainment surpasses the one produced in the metropolitan centre by the most vocal proponent of community drama.

In an article published simultaneously with the first publication of the masque, Koch expands on his views regarding the nature of the local community. He discusses the home-grown talent which produced the success of the Shakespeare celebration (and of the entire dramatic movement at the University of North Dakota) in terms of breeding naturally from the local land. He proudly calls one of the authors of the pageant's epilogue 'a North Dakota boy, a son of the prairie.'⁴² He applies similar language to another contributor, Ethel H. Halcrow: 'She is a true child of our soil, endowed with its limitless life, and with the inherent sense of beauty of her prairie home, visioning, perhaps, something of the promise of our Western plain to translate its pioneer forces into a new art of the people, adequate, democratic' (301). And he extends this organic metaphor to all the University's amateur thespians, calling them 'practically the first generation of Americans from the soil, from our prairie pioneers', whose efforts 'promis[e] much toward a genuinely native art yet to come' (298). Interestingly, this association of 'genuinely native art' with the prairie soil does not, for Koch, exclude newer immigrants. Elsewhere, he comments on *Shakespeare, the Playmaker* and another pageant produced two years earlier: 'These communal dramas were designed and written entirely [...] by a group of students [...] at the University, representing the various races – English, Scandinavian, Russian, Polish, Bohemian, Irish, Scotch, German, Italian – that have gone into the making of our big state.'⁴³ It seems that to be a native of North Dakota, it is by no means necessary to hail from the 'Anglo-Saxon' stock. It is perfectly possible to spring out of the prairie soil as a first-generation, yet 'native', American.

Koch's inclusive model of North Dakotan – and American – identity becomes more complicated when one takes into consideration the Native Americans (by today's definition of

the term) who appeared in the masque. As mentioned before, in the second part of the entertainment, Shakespeare meets two American Indians, brought to England by the travellers coming back from the New World. The Indians were played by two Chippewas from the nearby reservation, Marchebonus (Flying Eagle) and Temoweneni (Little Boy).⁴⁴ If anybody had a rightful, autochthonic connection to the Dakotan prairie, it was surely them, its original inhabitants. However, American Indians are the one group conspicuously absent from Koch's list of 'the various races [...] that have gone into the making of our big state.' Instead, they are treated as an exotic curiosity both in the text of the masque and in the surrounding commentary. In the masque, William Strachey admits that the natives whom he brought to England 'do in stature greatly resemble white men', but he presumes that 'Further inland, no doubt, they become more distorted until their human semblance is quite destroyed' (55). Similarly, Ben Jonson pronounces: 'We wis not of what wild orgies these monster men are capable' (56). The Indians can communicate with the English only through an interpreter, and their own language is rendered almost inhuman in the stage directions.⁴⁵ They 'respond to their interpreter's request with grunts of approval' (56) and, on seeing a painting of the legendary Native American monster Piasa, they 'walk toward the picture, uttering strange, guttural sounds' (56).⁴⁶ Thus, rather than becoming partners in a meaningful dialogue, they are reduced to an exotic spectacle: they are met with 'exclamations of wonder' (56), and they 'dance for the crowd a native dance' (56).

Koch's commentary on the masque displays a similar attitude: he calls the American Indians 'specimens of the strange inhabitants of the new world'.⁴⁷ His other phrases treat the Indians either instrumentally: 'We shall use full blooded Chippewas from the Turtle Mountain Reservation',⁴⁸ or as possessions: 'our own native red men'.⁴⁹ Moreover, it is not clear whether the word 'native', when applied to the Indians, means quite the same thing as in Koch's phrase 'genuinely native art', discussed above. The Indians' art – a dance and a painting – gets admitted into the masque, but it is rendered voiceless and strange, a spectacular but alienated backdrop to the main action. While recognised and, to some extent, included in the celebrations, the Indians – unlike the English, the Poles, or the

Italians – remain on the margins of American society, a position embodied in reality by their removal to the reservation.

Conclusion

An examination of the American celebrations of the Shakespeare Tercentenary other than its New York centrepiece reveals that they participated in a negotiation of a complex network of interrelated identities. On the national level, Americans were reclaiming what they saw as their English Renaissance heritage, but not without asserting that they had to rework, renew, and improve on the original. Engagement with Shakespeare could provide cultural legitimization for some underprivileged groups, such as the lower classes, Jews and new immigrants.⁵⁰ Other groups, however, found themselves in ambivalent positions: either incorporated into the narratives of American origins as the exotic 'other' (like the American Indians in North Dakota), or excluded from mainstream celebrations (like the African Americans in Atlanta). Locally, the Tercentenary served as a focal point for the expression of civic pride and the promotion of regional interests, not always identical to those of the metropolitan centre. Overall, Shakespeare celebrations of 1916 provided an arena on which the ideas regarding what made one a 'native' American could be debated, contested, and reworked. It will be interesting to see whether the same issues will still be at stake at the next major Shakespeare anniversary in 2016.



The Native Americans with the painting of Piasa. I have been unable to determine conclusively whether the character on the left depicts Shakespeare or one of his contemporaries present in that scene. Photo courtesy of the University of North Dakota Theatre Arts archive.

¹ Lyle M. Bittinger et al., *The Book of Shakespeare, the Playmaker, Written in Collaboration by Twenty Students of The University of North Dakota, Under the Direction of Professor Frederick H. Koch of the Department of English, Designed for the Shakespeare Tercentenary Commemoration by The Sock and Buskin Society, for Presentation at The Bankside Theatre on the Campus of The University of North Dakota* (Grand Forks, North Dakota: University of North Dakota, 1916, repr. from *The Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota*, 6.4, July, 1916), 56. Hereafter referred to as *Shakespeare, the Playmaker*.

² See, for example, Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race, or The Racial Basis of European History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916), 74, 77.

³ See John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1925* (New York: Atheneum, 1955; repr. 1963), 106-93; Matthew Pratt Guterl, *The Color of Race in America, 1900-1940* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001), 14-67.

⁴ Thomas Cartelli, *Repositioning Shakespeare: National Formations, Postcolonial Appropriations* (London: Routledge, 1999), 63-83; and Coppélia Kahn, 'Caliban at the Stadium: Shakespeare and the Making of Americans', *Massachusetts Review*, 41:2 (2000), 256-84.

⁵ Kahn, 268.

⁶ Cartelli, 75.

⁷ Percy MacKaye, *Caliban by the Yellow Sands: Shakespeare Tercentenary Masque* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Co, 1916).

⁸ Monika Smialkowska, "A democratic art at a democratic price": The American Celebrations of the Shakespeare Tercentenary, 1916', forthcoming in *Transatlantica*, 2010.

⁹ Under the label of 'pageantry' I include both related forms of the pageant and the masque. For comprehensive accounts of the development of American pageantry in the period, see David Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), and Naima Prevots, *American Pageantry: A Movement for Art and Democracy* (Ann Arbor: U.M.I. Research Press, 1990).

¹⁰ Armond Carroll, *A Pageant and Masque for the Shakespeare Tercentenary* (Atlanta: Atlanta Center, Drama League of America, 1916). Subsequent page references appear in the text.

¹¹ A headline in the local newspaper indicates the scale of the event: 'Over 2,000 People Will Take Part in Elaborate Pageant On May 27, in Honor of the Shakespeare Tercentenary' (*Atlanta Constitution*, 21 May, 1916, C10).

¹² Isabelle Fiske Conant, *Will o' the World: A Shakespearean Tercentenary Masque* ([Wellesley, Mass.: Mangus Printing], 1916). Subsequent page references appear in the text.

¹³ *Shakespeare, the Playmaker*. Subsequent page references appear in the text.

¹⁴ This explanation comes from the short introductory article 'Communal Play Making', included in the published text of the masque (7-8). It was written by the Professor of Drama Frederick H. Koch, under whose direction the entertainment was produced.

¹⁵ 'The Shakespeare Community Masque', *Literary Digest*, 10 June 1916, 1700-1701 (1701).

¹⁶ MacKaye, 1916, xiii.

¹⁷ Pauline Periwinkle, 'Tercentenary of Death of Shakespeare in April', *Dallas Morning News*, 3 Apr. 1916, 13.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Gertrude G. Walker, letter to Percy MacKaye, 19 Apr. 1916, in 'Papers of MacKaye Family', ML-5 (108), Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH. Courtesy of Dartmouth College Library.

²¹ "'Tempest" to Have a Notable Revival', *New York Times*, 27 March 1916, 9.

²² Conant, 22.

²³ Koch, in *Shakespeare, the Playmaker*, 8. Subsequent page references appear in the text.

²⁴ Percival Chubb, 'The Shakespeare Tercentenary: Developments of the Plan for a Nation-Wide Celebration', *The Drama: A Quarterly Review of Dramatic Literature*, 19 (Aug. 1915), 531-36 (535).

²⁵ 'New York Gets Ready to Honor Shakespeare', *New York Times Magazine*, 19 March 1916, SM12.

²⁶ The Drama League of America was a voluntary organisation which arose from women club activities. It had fairly autonomous local branches across the country. See Karen J. Blair, *The Torchbearers: Women and Their Amateur Arts Associations in America, 1890-1930* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994), 148-60.

²⁷ Conant, 17-18 and 24-25. Subsequent page references appear in the text.

²⁸ Wellesley, Massachusetts, in Norfolk County, is home to Wellesley College, a female higher education institution established in 1870.

²⁹ 'Over 2,000 People Will Take Part in Elaborate Pageant on May 27, in Honor of the Shakespeare Tercentenary', *Atlanta Constitution*, 21 May 1916, C10.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ 'Thousands Witness Beautiful Pageant', *Atlanta Constitution*, 28 May 1916, D1, D8 (D8).

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ 'Armond Carroll Is Author of Shakespearean Pageant', *Atlanta Constitution*, 16 April 1916, 4.

³⁵ 'Guarantors Being Sought for Shakespearean Pageant', *Atlanta Constitution*, 4 May, 1916, 4.

³⁶ 'Thousands Witness Beautiful Pageant', 8.

³⁷ In other locations, African-Americans held their own Tercentenary events, separate from the mainstream ones (see my discussion in 'A democratic art'). It is possible that this was also the case in Atlanta. More research needs to be conducted to gather evidence for this.

³⁸ 'Thousands Witness Beautiful Pageant', 8.

³⁹ *Shakespeare, The Playmaker*, 7. Subsequent page references appear in the text.

⁴⁰ Community theatre, was MacKaye's long-standing project, on which he published extensively. His views on the issue at the time of the Shakespeare Tercentenary are neatly summarised in the Preface to *Caliban by the Yellow Sands*, xiii-xxiii.

⁴¹ MacKaye, 1916, xviii.

⁴² Frederick H. Koch, 'The Amateur Theater in the University', *The Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota*, 6.4 (July 1916), 298-308 (307). Subsequent page references appear in the text.

⁴³ Frederick H. Koch, 'The Dakota Playmakers', *The Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota*, 9.1 (Oct. 1918), 14-21 (14).

⁴⁴ *Shakespeare, the Playmaker*, 17. Subsequent page references appear in the text.

⁴⁵ Before the production of the masque, Koch explained that the Native Americans 'will speak their own language thru [sic] an interpreter' ('The Amateur Theater', 307).

⁴⁶ A footnote in the text explains: 'Piasa is the name given to a prehistoric rock painting formerly on the face of a bluff on the Mississippi river, near the present city of Alton, Illinois, and first discovered by Marquette in 1673' (49). For the monster's description by the seventeenth-century French Jesuit missionary, Jacques Marquette, see *Father Marquette's Journal*, trans. Reuben G. Thwaites, ed. Roger L. Rosentreter, 3rd ed. (Lansing, MI: Michigan Historical Center, 2001), 30-31. A modern reconstruction of the painting is a now tourist attraction in Alton, Illinois (<http://www.altonweb.com/history/piasabird>, accessed 28 June 2010).

⁴⁷ 'The Amateur Theater', 305.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 306.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 306-07.

⁵⁰ See Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 176.