Theatrical Adaptations of Shakespeare in Canada in the Early Twentieth Century

Dissertation

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Stefanie C. A. Brenzel

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Erstgutachter: Prof. Dr. Ralf Schneider (Universität Bielefeld)
Zweitgutachter: Prof. Dr. Burkhard Niederhoff (Ruhr-Universität
Bochum)

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Zusammenfassung

Die vorliegende Arbeit untersucht dramatische Shakespeare-Adaptionen in Kanada in der ersten Hälfte des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts. Zu dieser Zeit wurde das Land schrittweise zu einer autonomen politischen Einheit und verhandelte die eigene nationale Identität in öffentlichen Diskursen. Aufgrund unterschiedlicher Faktoren gab es jedoch wenig kanadische Mythen, Nationalhelden oder kulturelle Eigenheiten. Das Fehlen der kanadischen Kultur wurde in künstlerischen Arbeiten wie den Gemälden der "Group of Seven" sowie zahlreichen Kultur- und Literaturmagazinen der Zeit bemängelt und diskutiert. Literaten, Politiker und Journalisten regten die Entwicklung eines kanadischen Nationaltheaters, ähnlich dem irischen Abbey Theatre, an. Da der Markt aber von ausländischen Theatergruppen aus England und den USA dominiert wurde, wurde das kanadische Theater erst in den 1950er Jahren professionalisiert. Deshalb ist es nur selten Gegenstand wissenschaftlicher Untersuchungen geworden. Das nicht-professionelle Theater war jedoch in Kanada ein wichtiger Bestandteil der Kultur und funktionierte als Sprachrohre kultureller und politischer Diskurse.

Shakespeare war in Kanada einer der meistgespielten Dramatiker. Seine Dominanz wurde immer häufiger hinterfragt, da kanadische Kritiker auf authentisch kanadische Stück hofften, obwohl es keinen Konsens darüber gab, was solche Stücke letztlich auszeichnete. Durch Schreibwettbewerbe und Theaterfestivals versuchten Theaterbegeisterte die Entwicklung des kanadischen Theaters zu unterstützen. In diesem Zusammenhang erscheint die Adaption von Shakespeares Stücken als ungewöhnlich, da die Umarbeitung eines englischen Dramas nur bedingt zu einem authentisch kanadischen Theaterstück führen kann. Zusätzlich ist die Umarbeitung eines vorhandenen Textes umständlicher als eine Neukomposition. Die vorliegende Arbeit zeigt aber, dass Shakespeare-Adaptionen durch ihren Bezug auf Englands Nationaldichter die kanadische Nationalidentität auf unterschiedliche Weisen verhandeln.

Der Korpus der zu untersuchenden Texte liegt größtenteils nur als Manuskript vor, deshalb gibt der Anhang eine Übersicht mit Zusammenfassung über die kanadischen Shakespeareadaptionen zwischen 1900 und 1953. In den zwei exemplarischen Analysekapiteln zu *Star-Crossed* und *Antic Disposition* wird eine neu entwickelte Adaptionstheorie auf jeweils eine publizierte und eine nur als Manuskript vorliegende Adaption angewendet. In beiden Fällen sind die Texte und ihre Autoren in

der Wissenschaft unerforscht, weshalb eine kurze Einführung in ihre Entstehungsgeschichten hilft, die Texte einzuordnen.

Um diesen Korpus analysieren zu können, entwickelt die vorliegende Arbeit ein Adaptionsmodell mit kulturtheoretischem Ansatz, bei dem die Publikumsperspektive in den Fokus gestellt wird. Basierend auf Cuellars Dynamischem Übersetzungsmodell, kombiniert das Dynamische Adaptions-Modell Ansätze aus Linda Hutcheons Adaptionstheorie mit Laurence Venutis Übersetzungstheorie, um zu zeigen, dass dramatische Umschreibungen wie intralinguale Übersetzungen von Diskursen funktionieren, da der Diskurs aus dem Hypotext zu einem anderen Idiom im Hypertext wird. Anstatt sich, wie interlinguale Übersetzungen, auf Handlung und Charaktere zu fokussieren, übersetzt die Adaptation Diskurse und Motive in ein zeitgemäßes Drama. Handlungen und Charaktere können dabei in den Hintergrund treten oder vollkommen verändert werden. Ebenso wie die Sprache sind Handlung und Charakter allerdings Kategorien, die als hypotextliche Druckpunkte dienen. Jedes Drama weist solche Druckpunkte auf, die die subjektive Essenz des Stückes für das Individuum bezeichnen. Werden diese Punkte verändert, nimmt der Zuschauer das Stück nicht mehr als das Werk, sondern als seine Adaption oder einen neuen Text wahr. Als prominente und dramatische Grundkategorien sind Sprache, Handlung und Charaktere besonders effektive Druckpunkte, die zwar nicht allgemeingültig, aber dennoch weit verbreitet sind.

Auch Diskurse können Druckpunkte des Stückes sein, sind aber aufgrund ihrer Abstraktheit weniger stark ausgeprägt. Bei der intralingualen Übersetzung durch eine Adaption werden die Diskurse wie bei einer interlingualen Übersetzung dekontextualisiert, um anschließend re-kontextualisiert zu werden. Durch diesen Prozess können sich Bedeutung und Sinn verschieben, da der neue kulturelle Kontext mit anderen Gegebenheiten einhergeht. Daher kann eine Adaption durch kreativen Vandalismus auch eine gegenteilige Bedeutung annehmen. Die Analyse von Antic-Disposition zum Beispiel zeigt, dass die Hamlet-Adaption eine pazifistische Ideologie verbreitet, wohingegen Shakespeares Hamlet Krieg als Heilmittel gegen Dissidenten im eigenen Land darstellt. Durch einen veränderten Schauplatz werden Shakespeares Dramen politisiert, wie die Analyse von Star-Crossed, einer Romeo and Juliet-Adaption zeigt, in der die Rahmenhandlung von Shakespeares Tragödie in die von Nationalsozialisten besetzten Niederlande verlegt wird. Die Analyse zeigt weiterhin, dass das Lesen eines Hypertextes durch den Schleier eines Hypotextes die dramen-

Publikumserwartungen an die Handlung des neuen Dramas entstehen, die erfüllt oder enttäuscht werden können. Dadurch entsteht ein Spannungsfeld, das den Reiz des Genres Adaption ausmacht. Dieses Genre ist per Definition metadramatisch, da die Adaption nur durch den permanenten Vergleich mit dem Hypotext als solche wahrgenommen wird. In *Antic Disposition* bewirkt dies die Verschränkung mehrerer metadramatischer Ebenen und weist so auf die Wirkungsmechanismen des Dramas im Allgemeinen und der Adaption im Speziellen hin.

Der Fokus der Analysen liegt auf der Identifikation von formalen und thematischen Interpretanten, die ideologische Verschiebungen sichtbar machen. In *Star-Crossed* wird das feministische Potential von Shakespeares *Romeo and Juliet* ausgebaut, entsprechend der zweiten Welle des Feminismus, die zur Entstehungszeit Kanada erfasste. Im Gegensatz dazu lässt *Antic Disposition* durch eine Gender-Verschiebung auf der Charakterebene Diskurse um Inzest, Sexualität und Feminismus verschwinden, um den Fokus auf das zentrale Thema der Adaption zu legen, einem pazifistischen Memo gegen die Verwendung von biologischen Kampfwaffen. Auch *Star-Crossed* schreibt den Hypotext durch kreativen Vandalismus um. Die Adaptation idealisiert Kanada und kontrastiert die Idealisierung mit der Herabstufung Englands.

Shakespeares Status als berühmtester englischer Nationaldichter spielt eine Rolle in den Adaptions-Diskursen, da die Adaption seiner Werke als implizite Kritik an seiner Vormachtstellung im kanadischen Theater gesehen werden kann. Durch die Kontrastierung Englands zu Kanada, bei der Kanada als übergeordnete Macht hervorgeht, wird dieser Prozess, der allen kanadischen Adaptionen innewohnt, explizit hervorgehoben und Shakespeare abgewertet. Gleichzeitig nutzen die Adaptionen Shakespeares kulturelles Kapital, um den Diskursen Gewicht zu verleihen. Das Vorwissen aus seinen Stücken wird als literarische Kurzschrift genutzt, um Themen anzureißen, aber nicht näher ausführen zu müssen. Auf diese Weise verhandeln die Adaptionen die kanadische Nationalidentität inhaltlich, wie beispielsweise in *Star-Crossed*, aber auch implizit durch ihr Genre der Adaption, die durch ihren Bezug auf den englischen Nationaldichter nicht umhinkommt, sich mit seiner Vormachtstellung in der kanadischen Kultur auseinanderzusetzen.

1 Introduction

Shakespeare's dazzling presence often outshines the fascinating range of theatrical adaptations which have evolved from his work and are often regarded as second-rate literature. Canada has produced an impressive number of compelling Shakespearean reworkings: From Sister Mary Agnes' 1915 A Shakespeare Pageant: Dialogue for Commencement Day, a short metatheatrical pageant for graduates citing Shakespeare's most famous heroines, to Pauline Perrigard's 1926 The King which invents a modernized backstory to King Lear's storm scene, to Star-Crossed, a relocated Romeo and Juliet set in the Nazi-occupied Netherlands of the 1940s. Shakespeare's plays have been adapted since the Restauration period. Some plays, such as Cymbeline, reached their popularity as an adaptation rather than Shakespeare's play (cf. Bate and Rasmussen, "Cymbeline" 158). In England, it was partially due to the adaptations, like Nahum Tate's The History of King Lear, that the Shakespeare-cult reached bardolatrous proportions during the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Nowadays, the genre of adaptation is often regarded as uninspired plagiarism.

Shakespeare, the English national poet, had a constitutive part in English culture (see Bennett 12ff.). Surprisingly, he also played a major role in Canada's theatrical history (see Fischlin "Welcome"), even at a time when Canada tried to redefine herself politically and culturally in the early twentieth century. Margot Heinemann argues that Shakespeare is not just deeply embedded in the English culture, "he also has a global there-ness" (204). Besides this global significance in scholarship, theatre and movie productions, in Canada adaptation represents a prominent cultural phenomenon; the Canadian theatre has produced more than 500 rewritings, adaptations and revisions of Shakespearean texts in 100 years (cf. Fischlin "Welcome"). Additionally, there have been hundreds of radio adaptations of Shakespeare's plays (see Straznicky) and popular screen adaptations such as the highly acclaimed television series *Slings and Arrows*. The cultural prevalence of this phenomenon raises the question of what functions these adaptations serve in the Canadian culture (cf. Bennett 22).

Throughout the twentieth century, the Canadian people have searched for a Canadian national identity, seeking to find communal values to substantiate what

¹ This study refers to English culture as opposed to British culture as outlined by MacPhee and Poddar, where Britishness refers to a more open sense of unity, including the colonies, whereas Englishness refers specifically to the community of England, and thus excludes its colonies and dominions, such as Canada.

Benedict Anderson defines as their "imagined community" (5 ff.). In the first half of the twentieth century, Canada seceded from England politically and culturally. The Group of Seven, a Canadian nationalist art movement from the 1920s, for example, tried to identify essential Canadian features of painting, such as the motif of the Canadian landscape. Other forms of art from this period could be expected to show an equally thriving interest in their home culture. Indeed, contemporary cultural leaders often bemoaned the lack of a Canadian National Theatre in popular journals, such as The Canadian Forum or The Dalhousie Review. Journalists and politicians, like Arthur Beverly Baxter, Vincent Massey or Rupert Caplan, emphasized the importance of a National Theatre, either as a physical venue or in the form of Canadian playwriting. In this context, a surprising number of Canadian dramatists recycled the English national playwright, instead of composing their own characters and storylines about typically Canadian issues. The 1902 tragedy Canada, Fair Canada by Albert Ernest Knight, for example, rewrites Shakespeare's characters from Romeo and Juliet and several events from its plotline. Other writers, such as Olive Archibald in *The Lost Queen*, bases her play loosely on the marriage trouble between Oberon and Titania in Shakespeare's A Midsummer Night's Dream. Whether a close reproduction in iambic pentameter or a fleeting literal reference, the corset of an alien play is restraining for the playwright. If the act of rewriting does not facilitate the act of composition, the genre of adaptation must benefit from grander, cultural mechanisms. Considering Shakespeare's cultural significance and the impressive number of Shakespearean rewritings, this dissertation seeks to establish which cultural contributions these adaptations serve.

The field of adaptation is vast and theories and practical analyses of various kinds of adaptations abound. However, the majority of studies focuses on the literal shortcomings of adaptations (cf. Stam, "Film Adaptation" 54) and are restricted to generic re-interpretations of texts (see Hutcheon, "Adaptation"). Few studies have considered adaptations as serious literal phenomena and most regard the process of rewriting not as an act of interpretation but an act of plagiarism or a lack of creativity. The first study to draw appreciative attention to adaptation as a genre was Fischlin and Fortier's critical anthology *Adaptations of Shakespeare* and while it marked the starting point for the critical development of the field of adaptation studies, current theories of adaptations still exclude cultural aspects. The anthology also produced the foundation for a study of theatrical rewritings of Shakespeare but, to date, no comprehensive analysis of the field has been conducted. And despite a few studies on Shakespeare in

Canada (see Brydon and Makaryk) or even individual articles on Canadian adaptations of Shakespeare (see Fischlin and Knowles), an extensive study using a suitable theoretical framework is lacking. Ric Knowles' Shakespeare and Canada: Essays on Production, Translation and Adaptation is the only comprehensive work on this topical area but it focuses on the literary aspects of adaptation, ignoring the cultural side. Knowles focuses on recent Shakespearean adaptations from the 1980s onwards, which is why this dissertation lays its focus on the preceding era and examines cultural functions. The first half of the twentieth century is of particular interest since the quest for a national identity was especially strong. This period of time has often been ignored by Canadian theatre historians because Canadian theatre was predominantly nonprofessional at the time. Due to this, the plays discussed in this dissertation have been ignored by scholars. While plays like Ireneo and Antic Disposition have been published, others, like Macbeth, Altered a Little by Hubert Osborne, only exist as typewritten manuscripts in the depths of Canadian theatre archives. Irrespective of their short performance history or lack thereof, these adaptations are profound artifacts of the cultural discourse of the time.

In order to analyze the plays' cultural contributions adequately, this dissertation reverts to existing theories from another field of study. Presupposing that the process of adaptations corresponds to the process of translation, this study applies established tools from the field of translation to the field of adaptation. Translation tries to reproduce a text's illocution using a different sign system, such as a different language. It is a general truism that even though a translation tries to reproduce a text as closely as possible, an exact replica is not possible due to cultural and linguistic systemic differences. This dissertation argues that like translations, rewritings aim at reproducing one or more of a text's multiple illocutions but unlike translations, adaptations do not aim at reproducing Shakespeare's text. Ireneo by Laurence Dakin, for instance, reproduces Shakespeare's ornamental language and its rhythm and follows Romeo and Juliet's plot. The tragic love story is embedded in the context of early Christianization. Dakin has thereby politicized Romeo and Juliet's "ancient grudge" (Rom. Prol. 3) which is not specified in Shakespeare's play, while other aspects, such as the role of fate or filial obedience, are elided. Similarly, in *Prince Hamlet Philip Freund focuses* on the background stories of Hamlet, Claudius and Gertrude to provide psychological realism for *Hamlet*. Freund translates an English play about war and revenge into a modern negotiation of psychological realism and turns a tragedy into a comedy, omitting such aspects as war or the contemplation of suicide in the Christian context, so prominent in Shakespeare's play. The adaptation of literary themes, such as the justification of murder, is one important aspect in the process because prioritizing one theme before another proves its cultural relevance. Additionally, as in translation, adaptation ensures a text's canonization through its cultural endurance (Venuti, "Canon Formation" 29) and thereby gains enormous cultural powers.

Definitions of adaptation abound, yet the umbrella term does not do justice to the great variety of literary forms. Broadly defined, any text which palimpsestuously engages with a previous text is an adaptation. In the early twentieth century, Shakespeare was frequently performed in Canadian theatres and the surviving promptbooks and programs detail that more often than not the Shakespearean text was heavily altered to fit the needs in production. Canadian director Roy Mitchell recommended: "if a scene appear too coarse for use [the director] should delete offending passages" ("Community" 8), advocating adaptation as a legitimate, even necessary, theatrical procedure. Similarly, Fischlin and Fortier argue from the literary perspective that every performance is "the first step toward adaptation" (63). The extant prompt-books from Canadian theatre archives demonstrate that in addition to sanitizing plays, as Mitchell suggests, directors had to cut scenes, characters and events due to external circumstances, such as the size of cast, playing time, or lack of technical equipment in the theatre. During their 1924/25 season, Hart House Theatre's production of The Winter's Tale shortened the majority of Leontes' speeches, while the cast shows an impressive number of 31 actors and actresses. The lighting script of F. Shelley's 1950 production of Cymbeline, on the other hand, documents that the director cut half of the play's lines and almost all unnamed characters. Shelley even cut entire scenes from the play. The majority of prompt-books kept in Canadian archives show these kinds of alterations. Yet they are not the object of interest here because the phenomenon of these theatrical adaptations is not cultural but only a matter of practicality.

In contrast to this, arguing from a dramatists' perspective, the process of rewriting plays is inherently different from altering a play according to production requirements. The various directors of the productions, whose prompt-books have been preserved in Canadian theatre archives, tried to facilitate the performance of their respective play. This is signified by the productions' names: Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* or William Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*. Opposed to this, such rewritings as *Star-Crossed*, *Prince Hamlet*, or *Antic Disposition* signal in their title that they are not

instances of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* or *Hamlet*. They creatively engage with Shakespeare's plays in a culturally relevant context and produce something new, which is why they have been renamed. Sinfield argues that

[n]ot any interpretation will pass as Shakespeare, of course. A major role of theatre criticism is to police the boundaries of the permissible (which is perceived as the consistent or the credible), judging whether or not particular productions fall within the scope of Shakespeare as currently recognized. (176)

Adaptation happens when a play crosses this boundary of the permissible clearly and purposefully. For some productions, which cut many lines, whole scenes and characters, it is difficult to judge whether they fall within this scope. The genre of adaptation explores and negotiates another text's cultural relevance. These kinds of adaptations use Shakespeare's play but go through the trouble of modernizing it, as *Star-Crossed* and *Canada*, *Fair Canada* do with *Romeo and Juliet*; they use the story, including its characters, and modernize the language to instrumentalize the play as a literary tool in a cultural discourse. Despite necessary cuts and alterations, performing a play is a form of comparatively passive consumption of an existing script, whereas adaptation actively engages in its cultural discourse. Although mixing necessary alterations with creative adaptations blur the boundaries. Hence, adaptation is a culturally relevant act and as such inherently grapples with national literary canons and national identity.

This study focuses on rewritings. Mere citations, such as the plays by Lester Sheddon Sinclair All the World's A Stage, The Lunatic, the Lover, and the Poet, as well as Museum of Man, are excluded, as are plays that simply reference the historical person William Shakespeare, such as Osborne and Eyre's 1911 The Shakespeare Play: A Drama in Rhythmic Prose. These would require individual studies to account for the cultural phenomenon. Like rewritings they engage with the cultural heritage of Shakespeare and/or his plays, but they do not translate individual Shakespearean themes or discourses as rewritings do. In order to provide a clear focus, this study concentrates on more elaborate engagements. Similarly, the many radio adaptations of Shakespeare which the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation² produced in the early twentieth century are excluded from this study because they do not engage with Shakespeare's texts but reproduce them in a different medium. The theory of translation is applicable to generic

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² In the following referred to as CBC.

adaptations, yet the results of the analysis of this cultural phenomenon differ. Parody is another interesting, yet all too different, form of adaptation, which is omitted from this study. Parody is a repetition with critical difference (cf. Hutcheon, "Parody" 6). It ironically inverts textual features often for humorous purposes and does not translate discourses but exploits them. Nonetheless, the theatrical forms of adaptation, such as Hubert Osborne's 1911 Macbeth, Altered A Little, and his Richard III, Altered A Little, have been summarized chronologically in the appendix for further reference. While the overview in appendix A is not exhaustive and excludes detailed historical accounts of the adaptation's context of origin, the summaries include individual examples of how the plays adapt the Shakespearean text to illustrate the great variety of adaptation. Due to Shakespeare's status as the English national poet, Franco-Canadian adaptations have been omitted. The Quebecois relationship with England fundamentally differs from the Anglo-Canadian relationship and the French adaptations, such as Paul-Henry Spaak's 1945 Songe d'une nuit d'été relied on French translations to begin with, which is why they are not included in this dissertation. Future research applying this study's theoretical model to Quebecois adaptations of Shakespeare or other writers, such as Molière, may prove fruitful.

In order to show that theatrical adaptations function as intralingual, intercultural translations of themes and discourses, this study begins with the synthesis of relevant theories from the two fields of translation and adaptation theory to develop the dynamic adaptation model. The first chapter begins with an introduction to the two theoretical fields and establishes their proximity. The resulting model combines two theories from prominent scholars of their respective fields: relating Linda Hutcheon's theory of adaptation to Lawrence Venuti's concept of interpretants, the textual process of adaptation is embedded in its cultural context. This model allows scholars to compare the texts' stories and discourses within the adaptation's historico-cultural context, considering the adaptor's function as cultural mediator, thereby providing a unique focus on the cultural function of adaptation.

In the subsequent chapter, the historical background of Canada and the Canadian theatre in the first half of the twentieth century are detailed. Since adaptations are assessed as cultural translations, the political and cultural background is of particular importance for this paper, especially since the field of theatre, despite its importance as a cultural tool and mouthpiece, has been almost entirely ignored by scholars. Two aspects are foregrounded: the development of and quest for a Canadian national identity

during the early twentieth century, especially the influence of political saltations, and its presentation in and bearing on the Canadian theatre. Since the Canadian theatre was largely nonprofessional until 1953, this chapter illuminates the dark realms of non-professional theatre as an expression of Canadian identity. It focuses on the Dominion Drama festival and the Little Theatre movement as the driving forces for a Canadian theatre. While the search for a National Theatre did not end in 1953, this year signals the foundation of the first enduring professional theatre company in Canada. Tellingly this company was the Stratford Shakespeare Festival in Ontario. The inauguration of this theatre revolutionized Canadian theatre in the long term and marks a decisive break in the production of Canadian drama. Due to its focus on the first half of the twentieth century, the texts studied in this dissertation originate in this first era of Canadian theatre: the communal and nonprofessional drama.

The legitimacy of the chosen texts is grounded in their literary quality and diversity and in the fact that due to their proximity to the community, they are important, authentic cultural outlets, despite their status as nonprofessional and, in some cases, non-published plays. The nonprofessional theatre was as ubiquitous as it was communal and thus even more representative of cultural developments than the often elitist and remote professional theatres. The early twentieth century was a time of political upheavals. The political separation from the mother country England spurned discourses of distinct Canadian national identity and the theatres were regarded as important cultural outlets, as discourse analyses of contemporary newspapers and journals, such as the *Canadian Forum* or the *Dalhousie Review*, show. Yet, the intimidatingly great neighbor to the south, the United States, compromised the Canadian confidence in their own national culture and the theatres in particular failed to meet expectations when compared to the English or American stage. In this nationalist context, the choice to adapt Shakespeare, the English national poet and epitome of great theatre, gains significance.

This historical chapter is followed by two exemplary analyses of representative Canadian adaptations, which provide a practical application of the dynamic adaptation model. The 1950s adaptation *Star-Crossed* is an example of an unpublished manuscript which translates *Romeo and Juliet's* characters, themes and plot. While the adaptation's origins are obscure, the text follows these structural categories rather strictly. *Antic Disposition*, on the other hand, was published and performed twenty years earlier. It is more referential and focuses on themes rather than simply relocating *Hamlet's* story.

While Star-Crossed follows the Shakespearean text closely and underlines its workings, Antic Disposition takes up a more antagonistic relationship with Shakespeare's Hamlet. The former is a political rewriting of Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet, which modernizes the play's story. By relying on a palimpsestuous reading, the adaptation not only participates in a Canadian national ideology but also creates a new audience experience. In Antic Disposition the adaptor translates the themes of madness and warfare from Shakespeare's Hamlet through a radical shift to make a dedicated plea against the use of biological warfare. This diversity shows the broad applicability of the dynamic adaptation model. Both analyses may show significant cultural function of adaptations and rely on the importance of the adaptations' intertextuality. Since the Canadian adaptations of Shakespeare from the first half of the twentieth century are so varied and hitherto unexplored, the Canadian adaptations of Shakespeare are comprehensively listed in chronological order until the 1950s, including examples of how the individual adaptations translate Shakespearean discourses. Despite their English roots, these Canadian adaptations voice contemporary Canadian opinions and reveal their function as vital mouthpieces of Canadian culture and identity. Simultaneously they show a Canadianization of Shakespeare in an act of decolonialization. Both the theory chapter and the conclusion illustrate the cultural potential of these adaptations referentially.

Nonetheless, this dissertation does not raise claims to comprehensiveness. Further research, which is currently conducted at the University of Guelph, will yield new Canadian adaptations of Shakespeare. Although first steps towards understanding the importance of non-professional theatre in Canada prior to 1953 have been undertaken, research into the function of non-professional theatre as a mouthpiece for national identity and other cultural aspects is still wanting. The dynamic adaptation model, developed in the subsequent chapter, gives rise to a wealth of new cultural approaches to adaptation and should be tested on other theatrical adaptations as well as other kinds of adaptations, for instance vertical adaptations which result from generic shifts, such as novel to film.

Chapter 2: A Theory of Adaptation

This chapter develops a theoretical framework to be employed in the analysis of the cultural functions of Shakespearean adaptations in twentieth-century Canada. By applying this theory to the sample texts in the main part of this study, the analysis examines theatrical adaptations in Anglophone Canada as intralingual, intercultural translations of selected discourses and themes, revealing the adaptor as a cultural mediator.

This chapter begins with an introduction to the theoretical field of translation, focusing on its interpretive nature and intralingual potential, and proceeds to a discussion of Lawrence Venuti's translation theory of interpretants. Based on a hermeneutic concept of language, the first part of this chapter introduces translation as a hypertextual transformation, emphasizing the role translational shifts play as they occur through the application of thematic and formal interpretants. The proceeding subsection defines adaptation in accordance with Linda Hutcheon's adaptation theory and enhances her concept by transferring the tools from the previously established field of translation to the textual process of adaptation. While this layout seems to foreground the aspect of translation over adaptation, this privileging occurs only on a structural level and is necessary in order to describe adaptation as a translational procedure, which requires the point of comparison, translation, to be defined first. Since the field of translation studies is too broad and theories too varied to be covered entirely, the present discussion focuses on the relevant aspects of translation, such as translational shifts which occur through the application of interpretants. Based on Austin and Searle's speech act theory, the aspects emphasized in this study are relevant for adaptation as a form of communication to show that adaptations work as intralingual and intercultural translation of selected themes and discourses.

Having related the two fields of study, translation and adaptation, the following sub-chapter proceeds to discuss the advantages and pitfalls of applying Venuti's concept of interpretants to the field of adaptation by illustrating the similarities and differences between the procedures of adaptation and translation. Finally, Sergio Bolaños Cuellar's *Dynamic Translation Model* creates a synthetic model of the translatory process by positioning Venuti's theory in a broader cultural context, and solves those problems indicated in the previous discussion. The synthesized model of Venuti's theory positioned in Cuellar's Dynamic Translation Model can be applied to the field of

adaptation, as the *Dynamic Adaptation Model*, which serves as the theoretical framework for this thesis.

2.1 Translation Theory

Lawrence Venuti defines translation as "a process by which the chain of signifiers that constitutes the foreign text is replaced by a chain of signifiers in the translating language" (Venuti, "Invisibility" 13). It is an inherently semiotic procedure involving two texts – one primary and one secondary – using different code systems. While the term "translation" for the resulting text in the translating language is unproblematic, scholars use differing terms, such as "source" (Lambert and Robyns 3595), or "original" (Munday 8) for the text in the foreign language, the starting point of the process. The term "original" suggests a sense of derivation, secondariness, or antagonism between the two texts involved, which may be perceived as a lack of quality. To avoid this kind of normative evaluation, a more neutral vocabulary, as suggested by Gérard Genette, is employed throughout this study: According to Genette a hypertextual transformation, such as a translation, unites "a text B (. . . the *hypertext*) to an earlier text A (. . . the *hypotext*), upon which it is grafted in manner that is not that of commentary" ("Palimpsests" 5; emphasis in the original). Employing this vocabulary such premature judgement, as is suggested by the term "original", can be avoided.

The common ground, which has both united and divided the field of translation, is the differences between a hypotext and its translation. Often systemic differences occur between two languages, especially in such heightened and poetic language as Shakespeare's. In Shakespeare's language "form and meaning are inseparable" (E. Smith 85), as Emma Smith demonstrates discussing the application of stylistic devices, such as metaphors and the forms it takes from prose to rhymed iambic pentameter. That neither such acoustic qualities as puns, nor the linguistic form, as prose or verse, can be transferred unaltered from one language to another is a common truism.

Textual differences between hypotext and translation are not limited to the linguistic level. Translation does not take place within a cultural vacuum (Lefevere 2), since according to the holistic principle of emergence, any text is part of a situation, a cultural and socio-economic space (cf. Snell-Hornby, "Übersetzen" 21). Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet illustrate this with a simple and comprehensive example: in an English text a father comes home and "kisses his daughter on the mouth"; literally

this could be rendered in French as "Il embrasse sa fille sur la bouche" but for a French audience this translation introduces an element of paedophilia which is not present in the English text (cf. 91). The divergent evaluation results from cultural differences because one kind of behaviour may be acceptable in one culture but not in another. Vinay and Darbelnet therefore suggest that this case may be translated using a cultural equivalent, such as "Il serre tendrement sa fille dans ses bras" (he hugs his daughter tenderly), to avoid changing the message's perlocution (cf. ibid.). Due to such systemic differences, both linguistic or cultural, even competent translators change aspects of the hypotext to create a hypertext, which, although slightly deviant, has the same perlocution. J.C. Catford introduced the term "translation shift" in 1965 to describe this phenomenon: "by 'shifts' we mean departures from formal correspondence in the process of going from the SL (source language) to the TL (target language)" (141). According to this, shifts mark formal or semantic differences between the two texts.

Analyzing the disparity or different degrees of correspondence has occupied translators and translation scholars since antiquity. Even today, there is no consensus as to whether or not shifts are inherent in the process of translation. Translators, such as Vladimir Nabokov, believe that shifts reflect a translator's incompetence:

The person who desires to turn a literary masterpiece into another language, has only one duty to perform, and this is to reproduce with absolute exactitude the whole text, and nothing but the text. The term "literal translation" is tautological since anything but that is not truly a translation but an imitation, an adaptation or a parody (77).

Other scholars, such as Lawrence Venuti, believe that shifts are inevitable because due to systemic differences between languages a direct transfer of meaning is impossible. These oppositional approaches depend on two diverging concepts of language. Those translation scholars who claim that a direct transfer of meaning or a literal translation is possible, base their approach on an *instrumental* concept of language. According to this concept, language is used in an external empirical reality, which is independent of language and can only be described by it. The translation practice of seventeenth-century writer John Denham demonstrates this instrumental concept of language in which "meaning is a timeless and universal essence, easily transmittable between languages and cultures regardless of the change of signifiers, the construction of a

different semantic context out of different cultural discourses" (Venuti, "Invisibility" 49-50). According to this approach, meaning is independent of language and culture.

Opposed to this is the *hermeneutic* approach, which goes back to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. It is summarized even earlier by Erasmus who claims that "ideas are only intelligible to us by means of the words which describe them" (162). According to this approach, language is constitutive in its representation of thought and reality so that reality can only be accessed through language. Therefore, the language used to describe reality determines how this reality is perceived and evaluated. In this model, reality depends for its representation on language so that it is not just *what* is said but *the language it is said in* that determines meaning. This hermeneutic concept of language has far-reaching consequences because it makes a direct transfer of meaning from one language to another impossible and deems translational shifts inevitable.

In his study of translation theories, Cuellar demonstrates that the field of translation studies has been divided between linguistic-empirically oriented approaches and culture-and-literature-oriented approaches. The latter field is of more interest for an analysis of adaptation as cultural translation. Even the culture-and-literature-oriented approach has been theorized from several different angles: Descriptive Translation Studies analyzes the acquisition of socio-historico values of translations in the target community, Skopos theory examines the different functions of translation, the hermeneutic approach focuses on the interpretive intervention on behalf of the translator, and deconstructionist, poststructuralist, postcolonial, gender approaches, or cannibalism consider the power-related aspects of translation, as Cuellar summarizes in his study (cf. 39-107). The majority of translation scholars are concerned with translator training, providing prescriptive theories and normative strategies for translation but often avoid theorizing the process itself. Few have considered the connections between the textual transformation, the participants involved and the cultural impact of the translational process, as Cuellar criticizes in his study. Only recently have scholars, such as Holmes and Snell-Hornby, developed integrated approaches, the most recent and most useful of which is the theory developed by Lawrence Venuti³. He bases his theory on Charles Sanders Peirce's triadic structure of signs and the belief that translation functions as a semiotic procedure.

This approach refers back to Roman Jakobson's notion of intralingual translation

³ Cuellar criticizes Venuti's theory but Venuti has refined his approach since.

("On Linguistic Aspects" 114). It is also expressed by George Steiner, who argues that a translation can occur, not just between two languages, but also within the same language, because languages develop over time, hence an intralingual translation is possible:

When we read or hear any language-statement from the past . . . we translate. Reader, actor, editor are *translators of language out of time*. The schematic model of translation is one in which a message from a source-language passes into a receptor-language via a transformational process. The barrier is the obvious fact that one language differs from the other, that an interpretative transfer . . . must occur so that the message 'gets through'. Exactly the same model . . . is operative within a single language. But here the barrier or distance between source and receptor is time. (29; emphasis in the original)

Steiner suggests that an Old English text, such as Beowulf, needs translation for a modern reader, just like a text in any modern language unfamiliar to the reader. A similar point is made by Jakobson, who shows that translation does not have to take place between two or more languages but can also be *intralingual*, taking place in only one language, for instance as a "rewording", which is "an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language" ("Aspects" 114), such as a plot summary or a paraphrase. Jakobson differentiates between interlingual (from one language to another), intralingual (paraphrase of some kind), and intersemiotic (between two signsystems) translation (cf. ibid.). To consider a simple example for an intersemiotic translation, in *Hamlet* Claudius exclaims: "There's matter in these sighs, these profound heaves; / You must translate. 'Tis fit we understand them' (Ham. 4.1.1-2; emphasis added). In this conversation the king asks his wife to use a different sign-system, such as spoken language, to convey her meaning because he does not understand her former use of signs, her use of body language. In this manner, translation can be understood as a semiotic procedure which takes place between different sign-systems or codes. Accordingly, translation works as an act of communication: a message in a source code is decoded (i.e. understood) by a person who then re-encodes (i.e. translates) this message into a new code, thereby becoming a translator. It is thus that William Frawley remarks:

Translation means 'recodification'. Hence, a theory of translation is a set of about how, why, when, where . . . coded elements are rendered into other codes. As such, translation is nothing short of an essential problem of semiosis. (251)

One such problem of semiosis, to which Frawley relates here, is the independence of the author and the receiver of the message. While the author of the message, i.e. the hypotext, may strive to let illocution and perlocution correspond and therefore be understood, the translator-to-be decodes the message according to his/her own abilities, ideas and concepts. Therefore, illocution and perlocution may correspond, when the translator understands what the author of that message intends to say but they do not automatically correlate. The act of decoding is therefore independent of the message's author and depends entirely on the translator as the receiver of the message.

Lawrence Venuti uses this as a basis for his application of Peirce's triadic structure of signs:

A sign . . . is something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity. It addresses somebody, that is, creates in the mind of that person an equivalent sign, or perhaps a more developed sign. That sign which it creates I call the *interpretant* of the first sign. The sign stands for something, its *object*. ("Logic" 135; emphasis in the original)

Peirce's theory of semiosis, the process of meaning making, is not to be reduced to this triadic structure, but it is this relation between object, sign, and interpretant which Venuti applies to his translation theory. Roman Jakobson sums up Peirce's theory of semiosis: "the meaning of the sign is the sign it can be translated into" ("Results" 566). Hence the interpretant is also a sign (in the mind) and can therefore trigger a potentially unlimited process of semiosis itself because each sign creates a new sign in the mind, which can in turn become a sign itself, creating a new sign, and so trigger an infinite process of signs becoming other signs. Therefore, the process of translation is inherent in Peirce's theory of the structure of signs as Peirce himself understands the interpretant as a translation of a sign (Lambert and Robyns 3602).

Drawing on Peirce's notion of the interpretant Venuti distinguishes between *formal interpretants* and *thematic interpretants*:

In translation, the interpretant is a principle of mediation and transformation that is both formal and thematic. *Formal interpretants* include a concept of equivalence, such as a semantic correspondence based on current dictionary definitions, or a concept of style, a distinctive lexicon and syntax related to a genre. *Thematic interpretants* are codes: they may be specific values, beliefs, and representations; a discourse in the sense of a relatively coherent body of concepts, problems, and arguments; or a particular interpretation of the source text that has been articulated independently in commentary. ("Empiricism" 75; "Critique" 31; "Genealogies" 23; emphasis added)

According to Venuti, any element 'S' in Shakespeare's play can be decoded by applying an interpretant to it. This interpretant can be either formal or thematic but in either case

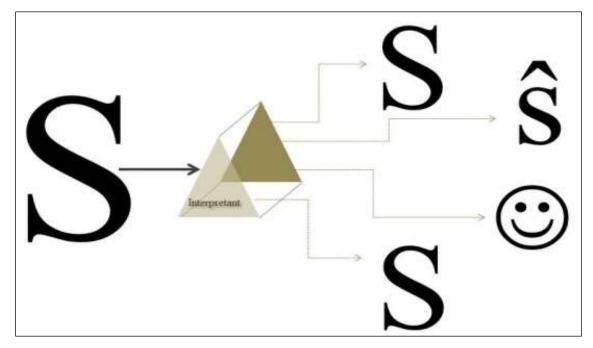


FIGURE 1: THE PROCESS OF DECODING

it works like a prism, opening up an infinite potential of possible meanings, 's', 'S', ' \hat{S} ', ' \hat{S} ' (see fig. 1). In translating this element 'S', the author selects one of the potentially infinite variables of 'S', which the interpretant opens up. During the process, the application of a formal interpretant is based on semantic correspondence, such as a current dictionary definition and can best be understood as isomorphisms. The translator may decide to select only one discursive structure, while disregarding others or to choose to focus on the semantic correspondence between hypotext and hypertext (Venuti, "Canon Formation" 33). Other formal shifts which reveal the application of interpretants can be – but are not limited to – a shift from realistic detail to abstract

reflection to quoted statement, or the fragmentation of syntax (Venuti, "Invisibility 254), the transfer of sound and meter, the pattern of figurative language, the representation of human agency (Venuti, "Canon Formation" 33-4) but equally the manipulation of dialects and registers, which are often difficult to transfer across language barriers ("Invisibility" 276). Thematic interpretants "can encode setting or characterization, terminology or reference" ("Canon Formation" 34). They work as a cultural or religious prism and yield results based on interpretations of a text (Venuti, "Empiricism" 75), for instance a story alluding to mustard seeds may be translated in Christianizing terms because a translator interprets it as a biblical parable.

Vinay and Darbelnet's example illustrates this notion. When a formal interpretant is applied to the example of the father who comes home and "kisses his daughter on the mouth" principles of semantic correspondence and dictionary definitions will lead to the French translation "Il embrasse sa fille sur la bouche". The application of a thematic interpretant may lead to the translation "Il serre tendrement sa fille dans ses bras" because, based on cultural knowledge and experience, the translator may interpret the kiss on the mouth as a sign of affection but not pedophilia. In order to clarify meaning he or she may choose a sentence that has the same function in the target culture but differs semantically. It is thus that Venuti observes that interpretants are not mechanical tools but interdiscursive and rooted primarily in the receiving situation, in the target culture ("Empiricism" 75-6), or as Peirce puts it, they mediate between sign and object ("Writings" 53-4). In Theatre at the Crossroads of Culture, Pavis suggests that any message from a source culture is made intelligible to the target culture by being channelled and altered but not destroyed (see 4 ff.). Venuti elaborates on the interpretive nature of translation by referring to Derrida and Saussure, saying that "meaning is an effect of relations and differences among signifiers along a potentially endless chain (polysemous, intertextual, subject to infinite linkages) . . . [therefore it] is a plural and contingent relation, not an unchanging unified essence" ("Invisibility" 13). This can be seen as

[t]he structural differences between languages, even between languages that bear significant lexical and syntactical resemblances based on shared etymologies or a history of mutual borrowings or analogous formal features like inflections, requires the translator variously to dismantle, rearrange and finally displace the chain of signifiers that make up the source text. (Venuti, "Empiricism" 75-6)

Therefore, even a translation between related languages requires some intervention by the translator because the process requires more than mere recodification since all codes are different and each signifier depends for its meaning on its relation to other signifiers within the code. This goes back to the notion that translation does not occur within a cultural vacuum. The transfer of the object, such as the kiss on the mouth, from one language and culture to another language and culture *de*-contextualizes the object; the kiss no longer stands as a sign of fatherly affection. However, the interdiscursive relations in the source culture and source language are not simply destroyed but substituted by new relations in the target culture and target language. In this manner, the hypertext is *re*-contextualized (ibid.); the kiss on the mouth stands as a sign of pedophilia. This may lead to miscommunication, as the example above has demonstrated, which is why thematic interpretants are applied, but as Salman Rushdie remarks "[i]t is normally supposed that something always gets lost in translation. I cling obstinately to the notion that something can be gained" (17), suggesting that the recontextualization can add layers of meaning which were not present before.

Venuti describes translation as the "forcible replacement of the linguistic and cultural differences" ("Invisibility" 14) and distinguishes between three contexts which are substituted, that is de- and subsequently re-contextualized:

- 1. The intratextual, which is constitutive of the source-text, of its linguistic patterns, discursive structures and verbal texture
- 2. The intertextual, which describes the relationship with other pre-existing texts, forms and themes
- 3. the context of reception. ("Poet's" 235)

Since this triple context is constitutive of the signifying process in the source language — constitutive in the sense that it contributes to the creation of meaning — it cannot survive the alteration of the code; it is thus that "a reader of a translation can never experience it with a response with which the source-language reader experiences the source text" (ibid.). But while this experience may be refused to the reader of a translation, it is substituted with a new experience, which in turn is inaccessible to the reader of the hypotext. Unlike most other theories, which are based on a hermeneutic concept of language, Venuti's theory, instead of harping on the semantic and formal loss which

translations suffer, analyzes their "exorbitant gain" (ibid.).

When there is no semantic and formal loss, the lack of shifts demonstrates cultural similarities, whereas structural, formal, or semantic gaps in a translation can also highlight cultural differences. Therefore, Justa Holz-Mänttäri describes translatorial action as

[eine] Expertenhandlung [durch die]
[...] ein Botschaftsträger 'Text'
im Verbund mit anderen Botschaftsträgern
produziert werden [soll],
ein Botschaftsträger 'Text',
der in antizipierend zu beschreibender Rezeptionssituation
zwecks kommunikativer Steuerung von Kooperation über Kulturbarrieren
hinweg
seine Funktion erfüllt

[a specialist action which produces a 'text', as a vehicle for a message, which is related to other such carriers. This text functions in a receiving situation as anticipated according to the communicative guidance of the cooperation across cultural barriers]. (366; my translation)

Translation is an action across cultures, where not a text is transferred but a message, of which the text is only the vehicle; in this manner the transfer of a message, a semiotic sign, across cultures designates an act of cultural communication, or "cultural transfer" (Snell-Hornby, "Übersetzen" 13), which Lefevere calls an "acculturation" (12).

And yet, Lawrence Venuti bases his assumptions on a notion of untranslatability, claiming that a formal transposition of a text from one language into another is impossible. At the same time, he remarks that this is not to suggest that no formal or semantic correspondence exists between hypotext and hypertext

but that any such correspondence results from an interpretive labor that is decisively determined by the translating language and culture. Translating never gives back the source text unaltered. It can only inscribe an interpretation, one among many possibilities, through lexical and syntactic choices that can alter

source-textual features like meter and tone, point of view and characterization, narrative and genre, terminology and argument. ("Empiricism" 74)

Therefore, interpretants create formal and thematic differences as well as formal and thematic similarities between hypotext and hypertext and thereby inscribe an interpretation, which is only one option among other possibilities (see Venuti, "Critique" 29). However, by doing so the adaptations engage with the already existing national contexts, such as literature and canons, by competing with existing productions, sometimes reinforcing them and sometimes subverting them, as Jiřví Levý points out.

2.2 Adaptation Theory

Having established the theoretical background in translation studies, the next item to be considered is the object of study: adaptation. The field of adaptation is vast and definitions, categorizations and approaches to it abound, but so far no one definition has asserted itself. The following section will first illustrate the deficiency of earlier studies and then proceed to an appropriate definition of adaptation based on Linda Hutcheon's theory of adaptation, but avoid any claims to the universality of this definition. The process of adaptation will be analyzed in relation to the ambiguous nature of drama as both text and performance.

The most prominent example of adaptation today is probably the filmic or cinematic adaptation because film versions of novels, such as *The Reader* (2008, directed by Stephen Daldry), *Atonement* (2007, directed by Joe Wright), or *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy (2001-3, directed by Peter Jackson), as well as film versions of plays, such as *Romeo* + *Juliet* (1996, directed by Baz Luhrman), or *Doubt* (2008, directed by John Patrick Shanley), are omnipresent in Western culture and even dominate the lists of the Oscar nominees and winners of the past decades (cf. Zatlin 150). These filmic or cinematic adaptations are at the heart of most adaptation studies (see Hutcheon "Adaptation"; Stam; McFarlane; Bluestone). Opposed to this, the current study examines a phenomenon which is considered less frequently in scholarly debates although it is nonetheless of vital importance in the Canadian cultural landscape: the theatrical adaptations of Shakespeare; plays which rewrite the works of William Shakespeare. The titles of the plays from this corpus, hint at the genre: *Antic*

Disposition, Star-Crossed, or Speak Again, Bright Angel. These titles are telling because while they announce their proximity to Shakespeare's plays, they also indicate their being different. Due to the title, an audience might expect a play like Shakespeare's Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, which is slightly changed and not the thing itself, hence the alternative title. An audience may perceive the hint to Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet hidden in the title's citation of the play's prologue: "A pair of starcrossed lovers take their life" (Rom. Prol. 6), or to Hamlet's decision to "put an antic disposition on" (Ham. 1.5.173), but they will not expect William Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet or Hamlet.

To facilitate the definition of the process of adaptation, the textual objects of study involved shall be considered. As the introductory remark indicates, in adaptation – as in translation – two texts are involved which have a hypertextual relationship as the one evolves from the other. Hence adaptation can be defined in terms of Genette's hypertextuality as a case where "a text B (. . . the *hypertext*) [is united with] an earlier text A (. . . the *hypotext*), upon which it is grafted in manner that is not that of commentary" (5; emphasis in the original). Thus the vocabulary of *hypotext* for the primary or source text, and *hypertext*, for the resulting adaptation, is applicable to adaptation as well as to translation.

As the examples above demonstrate, there are two basic categories of adaptation: those which change the medium, like a film adaptation of a novel, and those which remain within the same medium, such as the theatrical adaptations of Shakespeare. The notion of John Fiske's two kinds of intertextuality may clarify this distinction⁴: First, "horizontal intertextuality" refers to "primary texts that are explicitly linked through genre, character or content" (Fiske 108). Secondly, in "vertical intertextuality" primary texts are "linked to others of a different type" (ibid.), such as an explicit reference or criticism (ibid. 117). According to this terminology, translation is grouped as horizontal intertextuality because the text remains within the same genre and the relationship between hypotext and hypertext is not referential, albeit at times critical. The current study focuses on the field of adaptation (as opposed to the broader field of intertextuality). Accordingly, in this study *horizontal adaptation* refers to adaptations which maintain the hypotext's genre, such as theatrical adaptations of a Shakespearean play. *Vertical adaptation* refers to any adaptation that change the medium, from stage

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⁴ Fiske's "intertextuality" corresponds to Genette's definition of "transtextuality". For reasons of clarity, this study will use Fiske's terminology.

play to film or novel to film, for instance. The process of adaptation usually affects both dimensions so that the text's story and discourse are both altered to different degrees.

Seymor Chatman's categories of story and discourse help refine this distinction. Chatman defines the *story* as "the *what* in a narrative" (19), i.e. its components – events and existents, which in turn are defined as characters and setting (cf. ibid.). Opposed to this is the *discourse* of a narrative, which is defined as the narrative's way, the means through which the story is transmitted (cf. ibid.). Fig. 2 illustrates the two dimensions of adaptation. Accordingly, vertical adaptation changes the discourse but retains the story, whereas the process of horizontal adaptation changes the story, retaining only certain features, and thereby transfers the discourse. As the diagram shows, adaptation commonly occurs in both dimensions so that the hypotext's story and discourse are changed, only to different degrees.

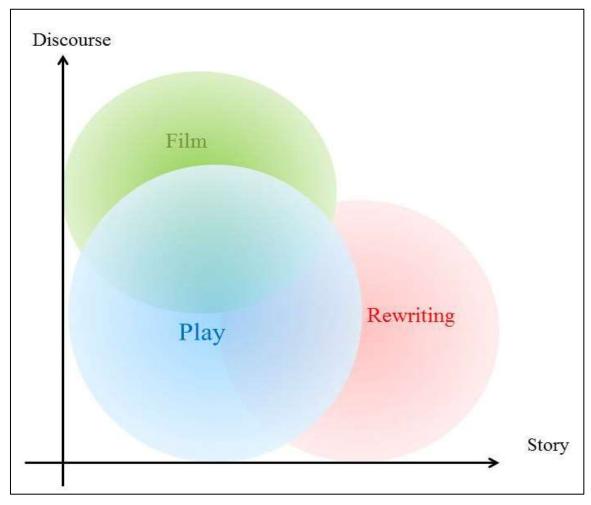


FIGURE 2: TWO DIMENSIONS OF ADAPTATION

For example, the 1902 adaptation *Canada*, *Fair Canada* by Albert Ernest Knight establishes a hypertextual relationship with Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, as the

lovers Alice Chopineau and George Kingheart fall victim to the economic struggle of their families. In the componential dimension, several Shakespearean events are transferred. Juliet, for example, is to marry Paris, just as the Lieutenant Gobin asks for Alice's hand in marriage in the Canadian adaptation. These hypertextual connections are contrasted with alterations and additions to the Shakespearean play. The plot is relocated to the Montreal stock market exchange in the beginning of the twentieth century. Events are changed as, unlike Juliet's family, the Chopineaus confront George with his intentions of marrying Alice. Thus Shakespeare's discrepant awareness is omitted. The character constellation and the basic plotline of two young people tragically in love create a hypertextual connection to Shakespeare's play. Simultaneously, a discursive shift occurs: the adaptation offers sound business advice as the stock market exchange and the family businesses' economic struggles are a major reason for the parents' aversion to Alice's relationship with George. As the adaptation was published by the Montreal Shorthand Institute and Business College in 1902, Gordon Lester suggests that it might have served as a business lecture. Additionally, the adaptation engages in discourses of the division between Anglo- and Franco-Canadians or the importance of aristocracy. These discourses are not present in Shakespeare's tragedy. In this manner, both dimensions of the Shakespearean hypotext, story and discourse, are altered whilst simultaneously maintaining hypertextual connections.

Linda Hutcheon demonstrates the process of vertical adaptation in her *Theory of Adaptation*. She analyzes adaptations' different forms, showing, telling and interacting. She examines how Nicholas Wright, who adapts Philip Pullman's substantial novels, *His Dark Materials*, into a play, cuts 1.300 print pages to two three-hour plays (see Hutcheon, "Adaptation" 118). Due to the difference in length and the different ways of distributing information in the different modes, major characters and their worlds are cut. Moreover, the difference in medium requires Wright to speed up the action, replace narrative climaxes, and explain certain themes and plot details (cf. ibid. 19). Therefore, the story's characters and events are transferred to the medium, but the discourse –the means through which the story is transmitted (cf. Chatman 26) – changes dramatically.

Hutcheon's study is notable as the only systematic approach to adaptation. She defines adaptation as "deliberate, announced, and extended revisitations of prior works" ("Adaptation" xiv) and summarizes it as follows:

• An acknowledged transposition of a recognizable other work or works

- A creative and an interpretive act of appropriation/salvaging
- An extended intertextual engagement with the adapted work. (ibid. 8; emphasis in the original)

While she does not explicitly use Chatman's terminology, Hutcheon's study suggests that changing the narrative's medium is an alteration of the discourse, rather than the story, and that the switch from one medium to another generates automatic alterations of point of view, focus, themes, and even plot-structure. Hence, her focus is on the change of medium, for instance in the dramatization of novels, or the adaptation of a popular movie into a video-game.

As the present study focuses on horizontal adaptations, issues arise which do not occur in Hutcheon's study. In vertical adaptation, the hypertext is called "adaptation" because it is related to the hypotext – as they share the same story – but it is different because the discourse is changed. In horizontal adaptation, the case is more obscure. Earlier studies of theatrical adaptations, such as Ruby Cohn's Modern Shakespeare-Offshoots, have tried to categorize the various ways in which Shakespeare's plays have been adapted by applying the idea of textual proximity. In her study, Cohn distinguishes between reduction/emendation, where lines and words are cut or altered; adaptation, where material is substituted and rearranged; and transformation, where "Shakespearean characters move through a partly or wholly non-Shakespearean plot, sometimes with introduction of non-Shakespearean characters" (3-4). In a similar manner, Julie Sanders distinguishes between adaptation and appropriation separating those hypertexts which openly signal their relationship with the hypotext and those which do not (cf. 26). However, neither system of classification can account for the seemingly endless variety of adaptational forms, nor do they adequately theorize the actual process in context. Both Cohn and Sanders define the different kinds of adaptation in terms of their fidelity to the Shakespearean hypotext. This discussion about textual proximity or fidelity is rooted in purist's performance studies, which highlight the sanctity of the text, and call adaptations "betrayal", "deformation", "perversion", "infidelity", and "desecration" (cf. Stam, "Fidelity" 54). In order to theorize adaptation effectively and explain the popular, cultural phenomenon in Canada, notions of textual fidelity and bardolatry must be surpassed and a new approach to horizontal adaptation, which focuses on causal relations instead of normative evaluation, must be found.

The process of theatrical adaptation begins with a play-text. Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier remark that

every drama text is an incomplete entity that must be 'translated' by being put on stage. Adaptation is, therefore, only an extreme version of the reworking that takes place in any theatrical production . . . Theatre is always a form of reworking, in a sense the first step toward adaptation. (7)

Thus Fischlin and Fortier suggest that any performance of Shakespeare can be classified as an adaptation. Peter Mudford agrees as "to perform means literally to complete by adding what is wanting" (6). According to this, any performance adds something to the written play and therefore changes the play-text. To Fischlin and Fortier this shift constitutes the nature of adaptation. From a semiotic perspective, performance is a translation from the one-dimensional linguistic text to the multidimensional theatre, as theatre semioticians, such as Keir Elam, Jindřich Honzl, and Erika Fischer-Lichte have shown. To understand this relationship one needs only to imagine how a linguistic sign can be verbalized onstage through an actor. For instance, the simple word "Exit" is sufficient on the page to denote that a character leaves the stage and is no longer visible, in performance, however, the multidimensional nature of the theatre opens up a performance potential, a theatrical openness, and requires interpretation: Before Romeo and Juliet marry they leave the stage and exit with Friar Laurence, because this event takes place offstage. This is signified by the word "exeunt" (see Rom. 2.5.35ff.), but this "exeunt" does not denote how the characters leave. Does the Friar go first with Romeo and Juliet following him, holding hands, or do they go before the friar so he can keep an eye on them? The one-dimensional word "exeunt" cannot comprehend all information necessary for a multidimensional performance (see Brown 60). Hence the transfer from page to stage works like a translation: substituting one code for another. As in translation, the two codes do not correspond so that the transfer of codes leads to shifts from the written text to the performance.

In performance, shifts also occur due to practical reasons. The cutting of words and/or lines is a common practise in modern theatre production, as the performance of an uncut Shakespeare play in a modern theatre can take up to five or six hours performance time – depending on the play –, and would thereby exceed the expected playing time of a modern performance considerably since performances are nowadays

expected to last approximately three hours, or less – depending again on the theatre. Consequently, it would be difficult to find audience members who would be willing or able to sit through a five or six hour show. Since most theatres – at least in Canada – depend on their audience for money, cutting the text is a common practise to make the theatrical experience conform to modern lifestyle (see Dollerup 63). Hart House Theatre's 1925 production of A Winter's Tale, for instance, cut the play extensively. In act 4, scene 4 more than 150 lines are cut, according to the prompt book. Shelley's 1950 Cymbeline cut two gaolers, the soothsayer and more than 13 unnamed characters (cf. Dram. Pers.). Such alterations to the play-text occur frequently but are often executed in a way that is imperceptible to the audience. Opposing Fischlin and Fortier's notion that any performance is an adaptation (see "Welcome"), M. J. Kidnie remarks that collapsing the two terms adaptation and performance "neglects a crucial feature of the phenomenon – precisely the widespread critical ability to discriminate between Shakespeare and Shakespearean adaptation" (5). By considering "Critical ability", Kidnie alludes to the fact that the difference lays not so much in the definite incongruence between the one instance and the other but in the perception of it, which depends on the audience's knowledge and interpretation of the text. For instance, the cutting of Hamlet's "To be or not be"-soliloquy may be obvious to most audience members, whereas the cut of a line like the first gentleman's "[w]e must forbear. Here comes the gentleman, / The Queen, and Princess" (Cym. 1.1.69-70) in Cymbeline, King of Britain is less notable because it is arguably a less famous line from a less popular play and it announces only that which the audience members can witness onstage anyway, namely the arrival of the Queen, Posthumus and Imogen. Due to its iconicity, cutting the famous soliloquy from *Hamlet* can be perceived as an adaptation of the play because it may be perceived as more essential to the play whereas the latter passage from Cymbeline lacks precisely this iconic status.

Henceforward, in this study theatrical adaptation on the horizontal level is defined as a creative and interpretative alteration of the hypotext's story *and/or* discourse, which results in the hypertext (Text B) which is related to the hypotext (Text A), but not the same. As in translation studies, the alterations from hypotext to hypertext are called *shifts*, and they imply additions as well as deletions and substitutions (Venuti, "Translation" 33). As in translation, shifts in adaptation occur during the perceived transition from text A to text B (Cattrysse 38-9).

In horizontal adaptation, as in Hutcheon's theory of vertical adaptation, an extended intertextual engagement is an important criterion (see "Adaptation" 8) because this excludes the use of mere quotations. Therefore, *Star-Crossed* is an adaptation not because it quotes a line from *Romeo and Juliet* but because it uses Shakespearean characters and events, whilst changing the discourse. When dealing with vertical adaptation, as outlined in Hutcheon's theory, there seem to be many similarities between hypo- and hypertext because the story is altered only in so far as required by the discourse and the new medium of expression. In horizontal adaptation, however, the hypertext has more creative freedom because both story and/or discourse can be changed independently.

In this definition of horizontal adaptation the extended intertextual engagement refers to a perceived relationship between hypotext and hypertext, which allows for both similarities – so that the intertextual connection is made – and differences – so that the hypertext is not perceived as the hypotext itself. While Hutcheon relies on the author to acknowledge or authorize the intertextual relationship of the adaptation, this study privileges the receiver, so that the decision to treat a text as an adaptation lies with the consumer, who can perceive a relationship, where the author did not intend, or at least not announce, it. In this study, all kinds of manifest intertextuality, whether they paraphrase, quote, or transfer a discourse (see Fairclough 104 ff.) are included. Thus the decision to treat a text as an adaptation lies with the consumer, who can perceive a relationship, where the author did not intend, or at least not announce, it. Hence, the transposition does not have to be acknowledged, as Hutcheon requires for vertical adaptation. Carroll Aikins' 1919 play The God of Gods, for instance, profits from a reading which contrasts it with Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet because extra layers of meaning are added if it is perceived as an adaptation. However, despite similarities in plot, the hypertextual connection is not anchored in the play-text and The God of Gods can be comprehended if read as an independent text. The author's (pronounced) intents as such do not influence the interpretation of Aikins' play. Defining horizontal adaptation independently from the author allows for the inclusion of works where the intertextuality is merely implied but not announced.

For the consumer, be they reader or audience member, the semantics of the text are influenced by the perception of a play as an adaptation, as the play itself or as an autonomous text. Since the process of meaning making depends on one's perception of a specific text, its categorization as a certain genre depends on subjective and personal

criteria, which will be called *pressure points*. A pressure point is the personal interpretation of a play's essence and depends on the subjective experience of performance, reading, and interpretation and previous "filtering", i.e. cutting of lines, emphasis on themes or loss of historical relevance (see Dollerup). Therefore, pressure points cannot be defined in absolute terms and each play may consist of an infinite multiplicity of pressure points. Nonetheless, some dramatic elements have a predilection for becoming common pressure points, that is a pressure point that is shared by many. Susan Bennett suggests that theatre reviews reveal "expectations which apparently need no explanation" (55). The reviews, which she cites, share a remarkable predilection for Shakespeare's language (cf. Nathan 122), in the form of his "poetry" (Taylor 123) and the "Shakespearean echoes" (Church 124), as well as his "story (Billington 125), which seems to consist of character, events, and themes (cf. Church 124) (see Bennett 56).

While pressure points can *per definitionem* never be universal, common pressure points serve as a starting point to any analysis of Shakespearean adaptation. Since drama is a form of communication, language is an essential component. Similarly, "character" is another common pressure point. Eric Bentley states: "The theatrical situation, reduced to a minimum, is that A impersonates B while C looks on" (150). Unlike themes or an indiscernible set, characters are essential dramatic categories (cf. Pfister, "Theory" 160). While modern experimental drama in its attempt to define its object has created plays without setting or stage, it needs *per definitionem* somebody to act, which is why any comparative analysis of two dramatic texts can rely on the existence of characters. Although character criticism has become obsolete, Yachnin and Slights argue as a dramatic category, it "is the quantum of meaning-making in Shakespeare's plays" (8). Thus, the focus of this dissertation lies on language and characters as common and readily defined dramatic categories, which enable a comparison of different adaptations' treatment of them as well as a comparison between hypo- and hypertext.

Henceforward, instead of creating absolute criteria for the adaptation or transformation process, as Ruby Cohn does in her study *Modern Shakespeare-Offshoots*, this thesis considers the overall effect created by the application of various techniques. For instance, with regards to language, if the "to be or not to be"-soliloquy is considered to be the essence of *Hamlet*, its cutting changes the narrative's story and/or discourse; whether or not the play is interpreted as such depends on one's

interests, one's teachers and one's reading/viewing experience, amongst other things. Whether or not one experiences the hypertext as an adaptation thus depends on one's previous knowledge and interpretation of the hypotext and the expectations which are raised; the "whether or not" suggests that any text can theoretically be experienced as A, B, or C, which is why Mark Fortier rejects definitions of adaptations and defines them as "wild", theorizing them as "anything you can get away with" (cf. "Wild Adaptations" iii). The hypotext is always the starting point and the point of comparison. If all pressure points of a play are erased, the connection between hypotext and hypertext is imperceptible and the instance will be regarded as an autonomous text C. It is thus that a play can be perceived as an adaptation, the play itself, or an autonomous text. In this manner, this study cannot avoid the notion of textual proximity, but it can avoid the issue of textual fidelity.

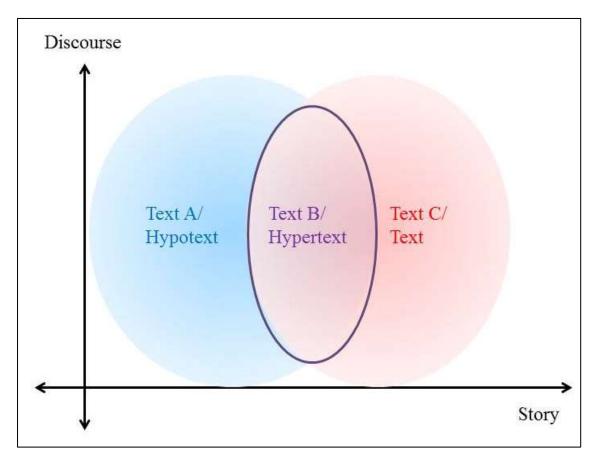


FIGURE 3: THE MODEL OF TEXTUAL TRANSFORMATION

In order to provide a clear focus, fig. 3 filters a homogeneous group of primary texts from the heterogeneous corpus of Canadian adaptations. The model of textual transformation demonstrates that in horizontal adaptation the hypertext is set between two extremes: the hypotext A and an autonomous text C. This model can be read in two

directions: First, the hypotext is the starting point of the act of transposition, which can take place on the level of story and/or the level of discourse. If the story and/or discourse are changed but the text is still recognizably derived from text A, the result is defined as an adaptation, or text B. A case in point would be a Shakespeare play that has been altered in a manner that the resulting play is no longer considered the actual play; in this case we can speak of an adaptation in performance. This transposition can be taken to extremes so that story and discourse are both altered to an extent that the consumer can no longer perceive the intertextual relationship, interrupting the connection and creating an independent text (text C). This text C has then the same relationship with text A (which is no longer its hypotext), as the total sum of other texts. It is only related to text A in as much as all texts are intertexts as Kristeva argues when she says that "any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another" (66). For example, the "wicked stepmother" is a common type, creating an intertextual bond between Grimm's fairy tales, like *Snow* White, to Renaissance plays like Cymbeline and modern fiction, like Harry Potter. The model of textual transformation also works in the opposite direction, if a newly written text is composed to mirror text A using either paradigm of story or discourse, the resulting text, which mimics text A but is not identical, is then a rewriting, which is another form of adaptation.

The first kind of horizontal adaptation – adaptation in performance – is a pragmatic adaptation, where the transformation commonly occurs as a result of the production. It is influenced by such extra-textual elements as venue, casting, and finances, or, as has been seen above, length of performance. An example of this is the work by Josephine Barrington, who directed children's performances of Shakespeare in Canada during the 1920s. While her productions with the juvenile theatre in Toronto are often referred to as adaptations (see Fischlin, "For Children") or as "bowdlerized versions of Shakespeare" (Tomasson Goodwin), the pressure points of both paradigms are maintained. It is in this case that Fischlin and Fortier's approach to adaptation as an extreme form of performance is applicable (cf. 7).

Rewriting, on the other hand, works in the opposite direction: the text is altered without primary need of production and may not actually be played at all, as is the case for Olive Archibald's *The Lost Queen*. The term is derived from Lefevere, who claims that translation is a kind of rewriting, by which he means a reproduction in various forms: from translation to anthologization, to historiography to criticism (see 13).

Rewriting exploits the hypotext in a creative or interpretive way. While adapting in performance is required by extra-textual elements, rewriting is done because extratextual features have inspired a textual formation. Since this study focuses on precisely this exploitation of Shakespearean texts from a cultural perspective, the scope of adaptations is limited to rewriting because in those cases, adaption is *inspired* and not *required*. Oftentimes these procedures occur simultaneously. If a rewriting is composed for a specific production, extra-textual elements are bound to play a part in the process of composition. The question, what cultural functions the Shakespearean adaptations in Canada serve, does not aim at these pragmatic reasons but at culturally relevant or literary practices, which relate to Shakespeare's status as England's national poet; which is why this study focuses on Shakespearean rewritings.

Like other definitions of adaptation, this study, too, depends on the hypotext as a starting point. So far the focus has been on the hypertext. However, if the hypertext is seen as a transformation of the hypotext, and the latter is taken as the point of comparison, then this theory depends solely on a stable hypotext as the single cornerstone upon which the conception is built. Considering a Shakespearean hypotext closely raises two problems. From a textual point of view, the problem lies in the lack of a definitive edition by Shakespeare, or plainly a Shakespearean hypotext. With the potential except of Sir Thomas More (see Jowett, "More"), there is no extant authorial manuscript of any of Shakespeare's plays and therefore "our knowledge of his version of the story is restricted to the inferences we can draw from the early printed texts" (Thompson and Taylor, "Language" 74) without knowing how much Shakespeare contributed to the printing process or to the written manuscripts as the basis for the printed version. The early printed texts of Shakespeare's plays, which came into being during or shortly after Shakespeare's life-time, are usually referred to as "substantive texts" (Jowett, "Text" 199) and are of special importance because they do "not simply rely on an earlier printed text but instead [are] based wholly or partly on a manuscript of independent authority" (ibid.). Because of this strong connection to the authorial manuscript, substantive texts are regarded as being close to what Shakespeare originally wrote.

And yet James McLaverty asks: "If the *Mona Lisa* is in the Louvre, where are *Hamlet* and *Lycidas*?" (82), questioning whether or not we can find an authoritative *Hamlet*, Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, in the substantive texts. For reasons of simplicity, *Macbeth* shall illustrate the problem: While there is no printed version of *Macbeth* from

Shakespeare's life time, it was printed in the 1623 folio – seven years after the poet had died. The 1623 folio-text is the earliest surviving document of this particular play and arguably the highest approximation to the text as written down by Shakespeare 400 years ago. However, scholars agree that this *Macbeth* contains some passages which are attributed Thomas Middleton, not Shakespeare (Braunmuller 255), like the Hecatescene act 3, scene 5. Why they were included, must remain conjecture. In this case, the only text close to Shakespeare is not entirely Shakespearean; so, to define a hypotext of Macbeth there are two options: either one regards the unaltered folio-text as the Shakespearean original and therefore the source-text for *Macbeth*-adaptations, but that disregards the fact that Shakespeare did not compose all parts of this text; alternatively, one fabricates a new text, cutting the passages by Middleton, knowing that this version does not originate in the Renaissance, but in the twenty-first century. In the face of possible multiple-authorship, debated canon-formation, and the as yet unresolved question of how much the Renaissance actors contributed to the process of play-writing, there seems to be no such thing as an extant Shakespearean *Macbeth*. With plays such as Hamlet or Romeo and Juliet which exist in several distinct substantive texts, the problem is even more intricate. This creates a problem for the definition of adaptations which rely on the existence of definitive hypotexts.

Since the written texts cannot be taken as the touchstone of Shakespearean authenticity, it could be argued that Shakespeare's plays were not conceived of as "literature" as they were only written down for practical purposes. John Russell Brown argues: "Shakespeare's plays would be much easier to study if they could be read as works of literature, but they were written for performance" (46) and asserts the validity of this claim by defeating Lukas Erne's argument who claims in Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist that Shakespeare wanted readers in which case Shakespeare's plays could be theorized as literature. Due to the lack of definitive Shakespearean texts, Brown claims privileging performance over text provides a possible solution. Thus the performed play could replace the written text and be conceived as the hypotext in relation to its adaptations. However, Brown's privileging of Shakespeare as a dramatist rather than a poet bears several problems: first, "all theatrical events are temporary and unrepeatable" (J. R. Brown 47) which makes it difficult to theorize performances as hypotexts, as only a limited number of people are able to speak of one and the same performance (as opposed to one production) and even those few critics who witness the same performance, experience it differently, and can only theorize it retrospectively,

after the performance is over. Brown himself doubts scholars' ability to view "what happens on stage objectively or consistently" and believes that they depend on their own "instinct, textual, or historical judgement" (ibid. 34). Secondly, Shakespeare's plays have a long history of performance. The decision which performance of a play to choose as a point of comparison for the adaptation is as arbitrary as the textual comparison. Our theoretical understanding of the Renaissance staging depends largely on reconstruction and conjecture. But any modern performance, by the Royal Shakespeare Company for example, has no more claims to be authentically Shakespearean than a modern textual edition by The Arden Shakespeare or Oxford series, since, as has been demonstrated above, a performance, like a textual edition, is always an interpretation of the text. Finally, an audience's experience of a play is influenced by such extra-textual features as venue, company, even place and date (cf. ibid.), so that each member of the audience experiences a performance differently, which makes pinpointing a hypotext in performance as difficult as locating a definitive hypotext in a textual edition of Shakespeare.

Laurie E. Osborne suggests that "[t]he production of Shakespeare's plays reveal the flaw in imagining a fixed and immutable canon of his work, since every presentation, whether in text or performance represents a version of the play, not the play itself" (170) and is thus caught in the type-token-dichotomy. This dichotomy seems to renounce the existence of a hypotext entirely and would defeat previous definitions of adaptation. M. J. Kidnie calls this the "definitional problem" (7) of the dual nature of drama, which "distinct from the novel, is generically situated at the intersection of text and performance" (ibid.). Kidnie solves this problem by introducing the term the work, which is "what enables one to speak of King Lear or Pericles, grouping under a generic title non-identical examples of text and performance that are somehow recognized as 'the same'" (ibid.). According to this, the work is the sum of all pressure points needed to define a play as itself, whether as a textual or performative instance. Kidnie suggests that "the work" depends on the play in production – textual or performative – and is not a stable entity but a "continuing process that evolves over time [and space] in response to the needs and sensibilities of its users" (ibid. 2). The work can, thus, not be found in the author's mind, nor in any constructed text but evolves as a consequence of production – in multiple forms (ibid.). Therefore the notion of an "ideal iteration of any Shakespearean play towards which one can or should strive" (ibid. 9) must be avoided. But Kidnie emphasizes that it is still possible to "identify texts and performances that are regarded as authentically Shakespearean" (ibid.) at specific moments in time. Sinfield suggests that " [a] major role of theatre criticism is to police the boundaries of the permissible ..., judging whether or not particular productions fall within the scope of Shakespeare as currently recognized" (176). Accordingly, it is the task of the literary critic to assert whether a text is "authentically Shakespearean" or crosses the boundaries of the permissible and becomes an adaptation. This definition of the work as the hypotext, and the perceived shifts as a criterion for adaptation allows for a new and audience focused approach to the phenomenon.

2.3 Adaptation and Translation as Intertextual Procedures

Adaptation studies have traditionally borrowed theories from other fields such as cultural studies, as Fischlin and Fortier and Ric Knowles do, from intertextuality, as Cohn does, or from philosophy, as Mark Fortier does in his study of the sublime in Shakespearean adaptation (see "Undead"). The idea of applying translation theories to the field of adaptation is not simply grounded in an interdisciplinary tradition, it is based on immediate concruences which create a close proximity between the two fields of study. Gérard Genette demonstrates that both adaptation and translation procedures are related since they can be located within the realm of transtextuality, or what Fiske terms intertextuality, where the hypertext is derived from the hypotext (cf. Genette 5); so, as genres translation and adaptation bear a strong resemblance. This can also be seen in the frequency with which "adaptation" recurs as a metaphor for translation. Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet, for instance, define adaptation as one kind of translation procedure (cf. 90). Similarly, Jorge Luis Borges uses the term in his study on translation of *The Arabian Night* (cf. 37), as does Vladimir Nabokov in "Problems of Translation: 'Onegin' in English'" (cf. 77) and Eugene Nida in "Principles of Correspondence" (cf. 128). The list of scholars who apply the term "adaptation" to translation is long and includes scholars from André Lefevere (147) and Antoine Berman (286), to Ernst-August Gutt (390). Conversely, adaptation scholars, such as Linda Hutcheon or Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier use "translation" as a metaphor for adaptation (cf. Hutcheon, "Adaptation" 16; Fischlin and Fortier 7). The frequency with which the one field refers to the other indicates that the analogy works reciprocally and that it is, in fact, more than a superficial metaphor. Moreover, just like Hutcheon's definition of adaptation,

translation, too, can be defined as an extended intertextual engagement, which works creatively and interpretively to overcome cultural or linguistic differences, as scholars from Steiner to Venuti have shown.

The Canadian playwright Michel Garneau's work on Shakespeare's *Macbeth* (1978), *Coriolanus* (1989), and *The Tempest* (1989), which he, himself, referred to as *tradaptations*, demonstrates the similarity of the two procedures. Instead of using the international French translations of these plays, which were widely available in Canada at the time, Garneau translated the play-texts into *joual*⁵ and occasionally modified the content wherever he saw fit (cf. Drouin). Remarking the congruence between adaptation and translation, Garneau combined the two procedures into one. Similarly, in his monumental study *After Babel* George Steiner comments on the excellence of the German Schlegel-Tieck translations of Shakespeare's works on the grounds that they "have improved on numerous stretches of foolery, bawdy, and verbal farce in Shakespeare's comedies" (423), indicating that these German translations work in a similar manner as Garneau's tradaptations in Canada, by re-codifying on the one hand and "improving" on the other.

Both translation scholars, Steiner and Jakobson, cite intersemiotic transfer as one kind of translation. But Steiner also argues that "every generation *retranslates* the classics, out of vital compulsion for immediacy and precise echo" (30; emphasis added). William Shakespeare's plays are often counted among these classics and are frequently modernized, or "retranslated", as Steiner argues. A famous, even notorious, example for this kind of updating is Baz Luhrman's 1996 film *Romeo + Juliet*, or as will be shown, Patrick Bentley's Canadian adaptation *Star-Crossed* from the 1950s. In these cases Shakespeare's setting is modernized and with it costumes as well as sound cues accordingly. From Steiner's point of view, this kind of adaptation is a translation across time; therefore, he suggests that "translation" is a transformational process which mediates between two languages and cultures (cf. Lefevere 6), which are often spoken in different parts of the world. Accordingly, both adaptation and translation work as intralingual mediations across time and space.

One decisive difference between translation and adaptation lies in the extent to which a liberal treatment of the hypotext is possible. In *The Translator's Invisibility* Lawrence Venuti demonstrates that in English translations a norm has asserted itself

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⁵Joual denotes the Québécois working-class slang.

which he calls "fluency" (1). According to this, an acceptable translation must through the "absence of any linguistic or stylistic peculiarities ... give... the appearance that it reflects the foreign writer's personality or intention or the essential meaning of the foreign text" (ibid. 1); manipulating "linear syntax, univocal meaning, and varied meter [to] produce an illusionistic effect of transparency" (ibid. 47). This strategy ensures that the reader of the translation will read the text as the hypotext, as "the living thoughts of the foreign author" (ibid. 50) and not as a translation and will therefore forget about the translator's intervention. Venuti lists several features which characterize a fluent translation and can also be detected in adaptation:

written in English that is current ("modern") instead of archaic, that is widely used instead of specialized ("jargonisation"), and that is standard instead of colloquial ("slangy"). (ibid. 4)

With the exception of Dakins' adaptations, the corpus of adaptations analyzed in this study use modern Canadian English instead of Shakespeare's Early Modern English. In The Lost Queen, for example, Elaine is "clad in a lacy white nightie, covered by a woolly pink kimono, and slippers" (4) and in Canada, Fair Canada Jacques Duval refers to "Puss in Boots" (7). This language is modern as Shakespeare's doublet and hose are substituted by kimonos and slippers. The language is neither specialized nor colloquial because the references would be understood throughout Canada and are not linguistically deviant. And yet while fluency may create the illusion that a translation offers direct access to the hypotext, in Shakespearean adaptation it reinforces the status of the adaptation as adaptation because Shakespeare's popularity made his Early Modern English, his specialized and topical vocabulary and his dense poetry (see Widdicombe), in other words his linguistic deviance, so notorious that anything but a fluent text would pass as the hypotext. While in translation this rule of fluency is a prescriptive norm, which as Venuti argues should be circumvented (cf. Venuti, "Invisibility"), adaptations are more liberal because they originate in a creative process and few prescriptive norms inform their composition. Modernization of language appears as a trend in Canadian rewriting, revealing an anxiety about Shakespeare's linguistic complexity which can only be countered by simplifying and updating his language. Additionally, while in translation, as Venuti argues, an "illusion of authorial presence" is created, "whereby the translated text can be taken as the original" (ibid. 6),

in adaptation the adaptor functions as an author and has no intention of re-creating the hypotext. It is the adaptor's precise function that he or she interprets the hypotext and interlaces strands from it with new contexts and discussions. Therefore, a distinct difference exists between the status of a translator and that of an adaptor.

Venuti suggests "foreignizing" as a strategy which prevents a hypertext from conforming to the target culture. By transferring linguistic peculiarities of the hypotext to the foreign language translation, the reader can access the hypotext's context. This translation strategy does not try to create the illusion of a transparent translation which offers unmediated access to the hypotext but focuses attention on the translation as a translation and openly signals the translator's intervention (cf. ibid. 23). Domesticating, on the other hand, blends over cultural and linguistic differences and nurtures "ethnocentrism and racism, cultural narcissism and imperialism" (ibid. 16). By making a foreign text seem familiar, the reader is led to believe that he or she is experiencing the hypotext unmediated.

In accordance with this terminology, adaptations domesticate their hypotexts, which in this case means *Canadianizing*. The adaptations use Canadian English, and Canadian peculiarities, not only linguistic but cultural. *Canada, Fair Canada*, for example, treats the stock market exchange, and *The King* shows a harsh winter night, and ice storms – aspects which, though not exclusively Canadian, are familiar to the Canadian public and do not have the same place in Shakespeare's text. Foreign names, which can either remain foreign or be domesticated (cf. Cuellar 186), are indicative of a translator's or adaptors strategy. In *The Land* Shakespeare's Kate Minola is Canadianized as Millicent Moray. In *Canada, Fair Canada* the Shakespearean names Romeo Montague and Juliet Capulet are Canadianized as George Kingheart and Alice Chopineau through the domesticating process. This Canadianization familiarizes the text as it is "[t]he aim of translation . . . to bring back a cultural other as the recognizable, the familiar" (Venuti, "Invisibility" 14). Similarly, an adaptation can retell an old, foreign story to make it relevant and familiar, to move an otherwise irrelevant or incomprehensible story closer to the audience. F. Schleiermacher claimed that

Meiner Erachtens giebt es deren nur zwei [Wege]. Entweder der Uebersetzer läßt den Schriftsteller möglichst in Ruhe, und bewegt den Leser ihm entgegen; oder er läßt den Leser möglichst in Ruhe und bewegt den Schriftsteller ihm entgegen.

[In my opinion there are only two options. Either the translator leaves the writer be, and moves the reader towards him; or he leaves the reader be and moves the writer towards him]. (qtd. in Störig 77; my translation)

Any translator or editor of Shakespeare has this choice of what Venuti calls domesticating or foreignizing. The majority of adaptors move the writer, in this case Shakespeare, towards the Canadian receiver, yielding Canadianized versions of Shakespeare. This process also works with plays like *Star-Crossed*, which relocates the plot to a non-Canadian country, as the plot is still familiarized by moving it closer to its audience in time.

Another potential difference between adaptation and translation is that an adaptation pushes the hypotext towards either of two directions through its inscribed interpretation; Robert Stam argues that adaptation either forces the hypotext to the right "by naturalizing and justifying social hierarchies" or to the left "by interrogating or leveling hierarchies in an egalitarian manner", or both ("Introduction" 42-3). Depending on the interpretation of the hypotext, a whole text, its author, or only a character within the text can rise or fall in a social hierarchy, since a shift away from the hypotext can either appraise the hypotext and ensure its afterlife, or it can interrogate it, even to the point of nullification. It can equally do both at the same time, concurring with some issues but rejecting others. A translation can function in the same way but if regarded from a functional perspective, it does not automatically have to do it. In fact, many translations attempt to cover up their interpretative nature due to the omnipresent assumption that translations only reproduce an exact copy of the hypotext. However, the mere act of translation ensures a text's afterlife and thereby inherently appraises the hypotext. Additionally, translation, as has been demonstrated above, just like adaptation, is an interpretive transformation so that both have the same confirmatory or subversive potential.

Lawrence Venuti highlights the fact that since both adaptation and translation inscribe an interpretation by detaching prior materials from their contexts, both are decontextualizing, but an adaptation "is likely to decontextualize these materials in a much more extensive and complex way" ("Critique" 30) than a translation. Furthermore, in translation, an interlingual transformation occurs from one sign-system, such as the French language, or body language, into another language, such as a verbal language,

like English, as the example from *Hamlet* shows. In horizontal adaptation, a similar transformation occurs when a one-dimensional alpha-numeric code, the play-text, is put onstage in a multidimensional theatrical code. In both cases, signs are decoded and reencoded in different systems. The disparity between the two systems may cause shifts and requires interpretive and sometimes creative ways of how to derive a hypertext, so that despite the deliberate change, the resulting hypertext (adaptation or translation) is still hypertextually connected to the hypotext. However, in horizontal adaptation, this similarity occurs most often in adaptation in performance, rather than in rewriting, if the hypotext's culture and the hypertext's culture are substantially different. A brief return to the previous example by Vinay and Darbelnet illustrates this aspect: the problem of how to translate the English sentence "a father comes home and kisses his daughter on the mouth" can cause similar problems when staged in a culture where this behavior is deemed inappropriate. It can therefore cause an adaptation in performance if, for instance, the father comes home and hugs his daughter tenderly. A rewriting can happen for similar reasons if the adaptor preconceives of this behavioral difference between cultures and decides to compose a stage-direction where a father hugs his daughter tenderly. In all three cases, the shift is due to cultural differences. It is thus that Hanna Scolnicov argues that "[t]he problem of the transference of plays from culture to culture is seen not just as a question of translating the text, but conveying its meaning and adapting it to its new cultural environment so as to create new meanings" (1). Such differences can be expected when a text from Renaissance England is adapted in early twentieth-century Canada, so that while rewriting does not require the transformation, or translation, of a one-dimensional code into a multidimensional theatrical code, the transfer of meaning from one culture to another functions similarly in both kinds of adaptation as well as in translation. This also demonstrates that just as the translator must be an expert, not just linguistically but also culturally, as Justa Holz-Mänttäri postulates, the adaptor must have equally specialized linguistic and cultural skills.

In the past, adaptation and translation have faced similar problems and prejudices and to a certain extent they still do. Being products of textual transformation, both translation and adaptation have struggled to overcome the status of depreciated texts, which are only viewed as belated, secondary and derivative. Only recently, adaptation scholars have started to denounce discussions about the fidelity and faithfulness to the author and the consequent inferior status of adaptation (cf. McFarlane 12; Stam, "Fidelity" 54), whereas earlier studies have focused on textual fidelity. Ruby

Cohn regards adaptations (or offshoots, as she calls them) as "verbal departures from Shakespeare's texts" (ix) and with this definition cannot but reach the conclusion that "no modern Shakespeare offshoot has improved upon the original" (vii) because she bases her study on the assumption that textual proximity or distance can serve as benchmarks for the quality of adaptation. It is thus that Linda Hutcheon remarks: "I have been struck by the unproductive nature of both that negative evaluation of . . . adaptations as derivative and secondary and that morally loaded rhetoric of fidelity and infidelity used in comparing adaptations to 'source' texts" ("Adaptation" 31). In a similar manner, translations have been criticized for obliterating the hypotext as they can never be faithful to it, which is why something is always Lost in Translation – as Sofia Coppola's highly acclaimed 2003 film as well as Nicole Mones' 1999 novel demonstrate. Walter Benjamin argues that "the intention of the poet is spontaneous, primary, graphic; that of the translator is *derivative*, ultimate, ideational" (20; emphasis added) and Jeremy Munday, in his introduction to translation studies devotes an entire chapter to the attitude, especially in the English-speaking world, regarding translation as "a derivative and second-rate activity" (5). Only seldom and recently have translation studies discarded ideas of normative prescriptions for the translator, as the earlier quotation by Salman Rushdie, has shown (17).

Both adaptation and translation are secondary products, from a temporal perspective. They succeed the hypotext and are deeply indebted to it because, as the following analysis will show, the intertextual references add a potentially infinite number of meaningful layers to the hypertext in adaptation. In translation, the hypotext enables its own translation. Despite the fact that notions of textual fidelity are unproductive, this study, too, cannot but carry out a textual comparison to examine which elements are cut, added, or altered. However, the analysis does not evaluate the adaptations from a superior Shakespearean perspective, it asks questions about why certain elements are included and what consequences may arise from deleting particular aspects, following Linda Hutcheon who claims that adaptations are derivations that are "not derivative – works that are second without being secondary" ("Adaptation" 9).

A difference between adaptation and translation may be thought to exist with regards to the status of the author. While the present study includes unacknowledged adaptations of Shakespeare into its corpus of works, translations are commonly acknowledged transpositions of a hypotext. However, according to Lawrence Venuti, the translator, who as a *creative* composer is also an author, is often ignored and hence

invisible (cf. "Invisibility"); so just as an unacknowledged adaptation can be read as a work in its own right, a translation is often "taken as the original" (ibid. 6) and read as the work itself, thereby eliminating culturally specific aspects, which may add to the meaning of the text. Both adaptation and translation benefit from an acknowledgment of their status as derivative texts but neither relies for its meaning exclusively on this acknowledgment. Therefore, adaptation and translation remain distinct procedures but they are related in a manner which enables a transfer of methodologies and tools from one field to the other.

2.4 Adaptation as Translation

In "Adaptation, Translation, Critique", translation scholar Venuti suggests the transfer of his theory and vocabulary to the field of adaptation. He proposes that considering the process of adaptation as a textual transposition the formal and thematic interpretants work as in translation. Venuti provides several examples by analyzing films like Franco Zeffirelli's 1968 Romeo and Juliet. In the film Zeffirelli deletes a textual passage from Shakespeare's opening dialogue between the Capulet's servants, which is filled with double entendres. Venuti demonstrates that the notion of sexual aggression, which is suggested by this deleted text passage, is substituted by costumes and camera movements that emphasize the servants' genitals, guiding the viewer's eye towards their "bulging crotches" ("Critique" 36). Venuti argues that the filmmakers apply a formal interpretant. The critic interposes a gender-oriented reading of the play (cf. ibid.) as the verbal sign for sexual aggression is substituted by equivalent signs which consist of costumes and camera movement, creating isomorphisms between film and play-text. Similarly, he argues, the deletion of the servants' coarse language is due to the application of a thematic interpretant, which "romanticizes the representation of love and sexuality in the text" (ibid.). This demonstrates how a filmic adaptation translates the semiotics of the text to the semiotics of the film genre through an interpretative and creative transfer. This process is interpretive because of the thematic interpretants and the according interpretation, and creative, because the filmmakers can choose the language of costume design out of many other options at their disposal.

In practice the examination of additions, deletions, and substitutions (ibid. 33) leads to the interpretants applied and locates the shifts in the adaptation. This can be achieved by performing a textual comparison between hypotext and hypertext. Neither

adaptation nor translation are restricted to the application of only one interpretant, rather a number of interpretants is applied in any adaptation (cf. ibid.). To detect the sum of all is impossible, especially since locating shifts reveals the critic's own application of interpretants, which may also be thematic (an interpretation of the prior materials) or formal (a critical methodology) (cf. ibid.), so that different critics may also find different interpretants at work within the same adaptation.

There are few possible objections to the application of Venuti's theory to the field of adaptation but the following paragraphs will resolve these obstacles. The most obvious problem applying Venuti's approach to theatrical adaptations of Shakespeare is that Venuti himself only suggests the applicability of his theory to filmic adaptations of novels and plays, in other words, vertical adaptations, whereas the present study focuses on horizontal adaptations. One might therefore wonder if the application works in this case. Venuti mentions only two other scholars who have applied the notion of interpretants to adaptation: Mikhail Iampolski studies the references to Samuel Taylor Coleridge's poem *Kubla Khan* in Orson Welles's film *Citizen Kane* and Patrick Cattrysse studies the genre of American noir film. Venuti remarks:

A film adaptation . . . recontextualizes its prior materials, but once again the process is much more extensive and complex [than in translation] because of the shift to a different, multidimensional medium with different traditions, practices and conditions of production. Not only do aspects of film form (*mise-en-scène*, montage, soundtrack, genre) contribute to the construction of a different context that creates a substantially different signifying process, but they are further inflected by distinct styles of acting, directing and studio production, by the trajectory of a particular actor's, director's or screenwriter's career, by economic and political factors, and by the hierarchy of values, beliefs and representations in the cultural situation where the adaptation is produced. ("Critique" 30)

This creates the impression that Venuti's theory depends on the shift which occurs when a one-dimensional code is transferred to a multidimensional medium, i.e. from page to stage. The theory is applicable to adaptation in performance because it is precisely this shift in codes that causes the adaptation, but not all adaptation-texts have been performed and hence turned into a multidimensional hypertext.

Olive Archibald's 1925 adaptation *The Lost Queen* was "probably not meant for performance, but was a short story presented as a drama", as Gordon Lester argues. If this is the case, *The Lost Queen* falls into the category of vertical adaptation and outside the scope of this dissertation. It does emerge as a hybrid form that is both unusual and special. But if the theory cannot be applied to *The Lost Queen*, this bears consequences for other theatrical adaptations as well: If the model can only be applied to performed instances of adaptation, the analysis requires more than textual scripts of the adaptations. Only performances of the adaptations could be examined, which is impossible for early twentieth century as no videos were taped and the few photographs and performance details which have survived are not sufficient to reconstruct the performances. This accounts only for what has earlier been defined as adaptation in performance, those shifts which are necessary, but not for those textual rewritings which are creative and interpretive and independent of pragmatic influences.

However, Venuti's theory does not exclusively depend on the multidimensional shift. If, as is the case for *The Lost Queen*, no director's or actor's styles and no soundtrack exist, the number of possible interpretants is reduced but the options for textual shifts are still vast. Critical readings, concepts of equivalence, beliefs, values and ideologies, are examples of interpretants which work in both vertical as well as horizontal adaptation, so that the multidimensional nature of adaptation must not be regarded as the most defining feature in Venuti's theory. The decisive notion is the transfer of codes, whether these are linguistic, technical, artistic, or cultural codes is secondary. However, the liberty that results from the creative potential of rewriting may cause additions, deletions and substitutions but at the same time, even creativity is influenced by the application of interpretants to the hypertext.

A final objection to applying Venuti's theory to the field of adaptions is that, as both scholar and translator, Venuti, himself, is most interested in the function of the translator. In *The Translator's Invisibility*, he argues for more intervention on behalf of the translators, trying to grant them a more prominent position. Accordingly, his translation theory is also oriented towards the translator's mind, the ominous "black box". By extension, the application of his theory to the field of adaptation yields results concerning the mind of the adaptor. Venuti's theory can therefore be used to understand the workings of adaptation in the adaptor's mind but it must be expanded to yield results concerning Canada, Canadian culture and the broader historico-cultural context. The following sub-chapter provides this missing link, i.e. the connection between Venuti's

theory and the broader historico-cultural environment by considering Sergio Bolaños Cuellar's *Dynamic Translation Model*.

2.4.1 Towards a New Model

In his doctoral thesis "Towards an Integrated Translation Approach. Proposal of a Dynamic Translation Model (DTM)" Sergio Bolaños Cuellar develops an integrative model of the translation process which reconciles hitherto incompatible linguistic approaches, as theorized by the Leipzig School, and cultural approaches, such as descriptive translation studies and skopos theory. Thereby the integrated model relates the participants involved to the greater context. When applied to the field of adaptation, this contextual framework, enables the application of Venuti's theory to the field of adaptation and relates it to the Canadian culture. Cuellar's model realizes the complexity and dynamism of the translational procedure which "is always a powerrelated activity where traditional domination [and] colonizing schemes can be reproduced, reinforced, denounced and fought against" (135). As fig. 4 illustrates, Cuellar establishes three mutually-interconnected levels involved in the process of translation: first, the outer historico-cultural context, secondly the translational communicative process in the middle, and thirdly the textualization on the innermost level (cf. ibid. 141). Using this model therefore enables text-oriented approaches, process-oriented approaches or translator-oriented approaches, depending on which level is examined, without omitting the other levels and it presents an integrated approach which recognizes that translation is both a linguistic and a cultural phenomenon (cf. ibid. 145).

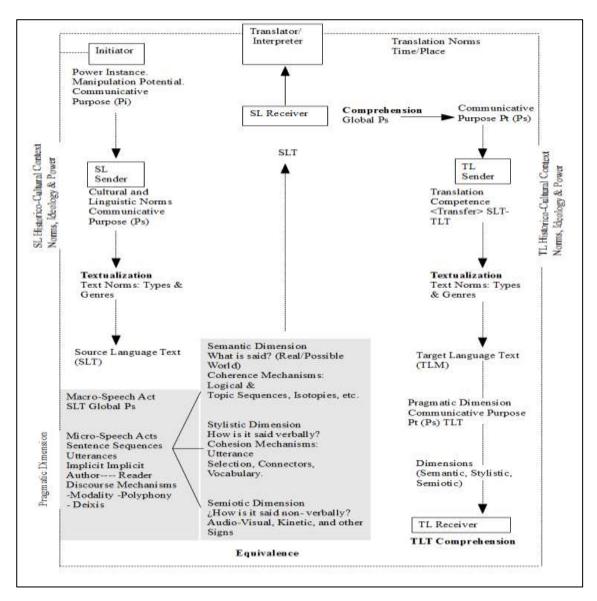


FIGURE 4: CUELLAR'S DYNAMIC TRANSLATION MODEL (DTM)

As fig. 4 illustrates, Cuellar's outermost level consists of the historico-cultural contexts of the source-language⁶ and target language⁷, with their according norms and ideologies. In this context the participants, such as the initiator of the translation, the SL-sender, the translator, or the TL-receiver are situated. At this level a "function-oriented" analysis can be carried out which examines the "role that the translated text plays in the target community" (ibid. 146-7). Cuellar quotes Koller to suggest a focus "on the cultural aspects actually materialized in SLT [source-language text] and TLT [target-language text] wording" (ibid. 147; see Koller 47) but also admits that there is "a dynamic relationship between SL and TL historico-cultural traditions" (Cuellar 147), which influences the translation process. Discussions may arise as a result of "the

⁶In the following abbreviated as SL.

⁷In the following abbreviated as TL.

comparison of the way cultural items have been textualized from SLT to TLT by the translator" (ibid. 148). The DTM's second level is the translational communicative process, which connects the participants located in their specific cultures with one another and with the texts (cf. ibid. 180). Toury's descriptive translations studies, Even-Zohar's polysystem theory, Vermeer's Skopos theory as well as deconstructionist, poststructuralist, cannibalism and gender approaches are located at this level as they focus on the aim, purpose and function of the translation in the target culture. Cuellar's innermost level details the textualization divided into macro- and micro-speech-acts with the according pragmatic dimensions.

The DTM serves as a map which locates specific procedures in relation to each other. Cuellar's model illustrates that most translations theories focus on one point of the translational process, while consciously or not ignore the rest. Cuellar develops a dynamic model because it "allows us to keep track of the flow of translational decisions from the initiator's incipient translational purpose or intention, through the SL sender's text, to the translator as SL receiver and his TL textualization, and finally to the target receiver" (ibid.). Therefore, the model enables scholars to reconstruct the translational process after its completion by comparing hypotext and hypertext (cf. ibid. 140) to detect shifts or probe for thematic and formal interpretants. Cuellar provides a detailed account of the translation norms which influence the production of a translation (cf. 204). The majority of these are specific to translation and cannot be applied to adaptation as Cuellar suggests that the "translator's task consists in comprehending the original author's predominant communicative intention verbalized in a specific text type" (ibid.), which may or may not require manipulation of the macro- and microspeech acts, with their according semantic, stylistic and semiotic dimensions. However, the textual proximity between hypotext and hypertext on a sentence/word level, which Cuellar presupposes, cannot be taken as a prerequisite in adaptation. Additionally, Cuellar claims that it is the hypotext's illocution, "the communicative purpose (intention) of the original's sender" (177), which the translator seeks to determine and transfer to the TL. He calls this the Default Equivalence Position⁸ because his notion of equivalence does not refer to "sameness", but going back to Albrecht, to the "same value" (ibid. 162; see Albrecht 264). In adaptation, however, it is precisely the creative manipulation of the hypotext's illocution (if it can be determined at all), which marks

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⁸In the following referred to as DEP.

the adaptation as such because the rewriting process of an adaptation such as Laurence Dakin's 1936 *Ireneo*, explicitly changes the setting (time and place), characters, families and circumstances, which is an avoidable effort, if he wanted to comply with Shakespeare's illocution. Hence, while Cuellar's model serves as a map to the field of adaptation, which connects different translation theories, it cannot be used unaltered.

Fig. 5 illustrates the according simplification of the DTM which presents the

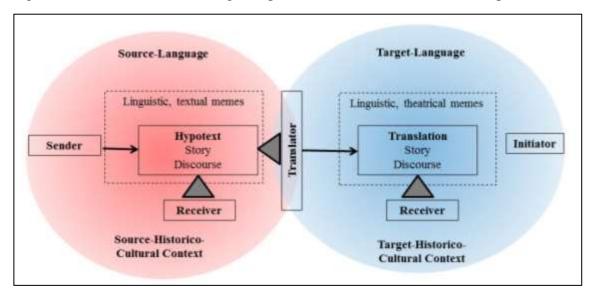


FIGURE 5: THE SIMPLIFIED DTM

relationship between the different historico-cultural contexts, the linguistic textual norms and relates the SL-text to the TL-text. The simplifying omissions of macro- and micro-speech-acts, Cuellar's DEP and the general notion of communicative purposes prepare the model for a applying it to the field of adaptation.

The simplified model maintains the DTM's three levels. The innermost textual level, which can be divided into story and discourse, is influenced by the second level, consisting of linguistic and textual memes. The "memes" displace Cuellar's "norms" because, as Mary Snell-Hornby demonstrates, Vermeer and Toury, whose theories Cuellar applies, use the terms quite differently, which may lead to confusion (cf. "Norms" 72-8). Cuellar argues that "[b]esides being a social and cultural construct, norms tell us what is considered 'correct' or 'proper' behavior" (149). Snell-Hornby argues for the introduction of a new term, such as "meme". This term was independently introduced to the field of translation by both Vermeer and Chesterman in 1997. It originates in the theory of the sociologist Dawkins, who suggests that a meme "conveys the idea of a unit of cultural transmission, or a unit of *imitation*" (192; emphasis in the original). He names tunes, ideas and clothes fashions as examples (cf.

ibid.). Comparing memes to genes, Dawkins suggests that "[j]ust as genes propagate themselves in the gene pool by leaping from body to body. . . , so memes propagate themselves in the meme pool by leaping from brain to brain via a process which, on the broad sense can be called imitation" (ibid.). He argues that scientists propagate ideas from other scientists and pass them on to scholars and students so that the idea propagates itself "spreading from brain to brain" (ibid.). In the simplified DTM, the linguistic and textual memes pertain to Cuellar's textual norms which prescribe rules for correct linguistic usage but also for textual genres, i.e. what manifests a play as opposed to a novel or a poem. This level, in turn, is influenced by the outermost level, the historico-cultural context, in which the SL-sender and the TL-receiver are situated. The translator, as well as the initiator, can be located in either of the two contexts and can theoretically be bi-cultural. The initiator is included in the simplified model in fig. 5 because he or she can influence the translator's decisions and, as in Cuellar's model, exert power. The most prominent position, however, is given to the translator who connects the two historico-cultural contexts.

The inclusion of Venuti's concept of formal and thematic interpretants is a slight addition to Cuellar's model. In fig. 5 they are indicated by triangular prisms because the translator comprehends or decodes the SL-text through their application and produces a new TL-text in accordance with the initiator's wishes and the TL linguistic and textual memes governing the TL-historico-cultural context. Subsequently the TL-receiver decodes the new text by applying interpretants, and interprets the translation according to his or her knowledge of current memes.

This simplified DTM changes Venuti's focus on the author's illocution and turns the focus to the cultural and social function of translation by placing the translator in between the two historico-cultural contexts (see fig. 5), demonstrating his or her ability to mediate between these two contexts. Translational shifts can occur due to the application of thematic or formal interpretants and are detected by comparing the hypotext with the hypertext. The simplified DTM's innermost level's treatment of the SL-text's and TL-text's story and discourse is indicative of the second level's linguistic and textual memes. The memes, in turn, are embedded in the outermost level and the historico-cultural context, which is why memes are intricately bound to the cultural context. The translator is placed within this cultural context and is influenced by its memes and ideologies, just as he or she is influenced by the initiator, which in the case

of a translation is the customer or employer, i.e. the instance commissioning the translation.

Applying the simplified DTM to the field of adaptation leads to a dynamic model of adaptation: the DAM, which is illustrated in fig. 6. This model demonstrates the specific case of adapting Shakespeare in Canada, but could be appropriated to other circumstances by altering sender and historico-cultural context.

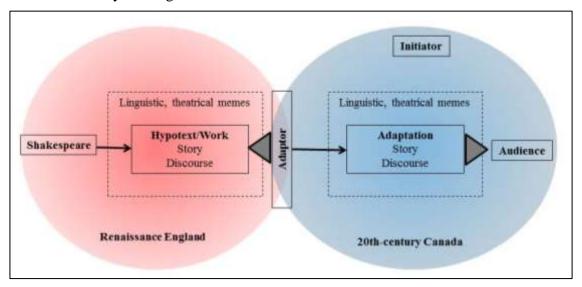


FIGURE 6: DYNAMIC ADAPTATION MODEL (DAM)

In this DAM, Cuellar's SL-Sender becomes William Shakespeare, who is situated in a specific work's historico-cultural context, in this case in Renaissance England. His work(s) are governed by linguistic and theatrical memes, rather than by Cuellar's textual norms. The most obvious example of a theatrical norm from Renaissance England is the poetic language of the plays. Drama was written in Early Modern English and verse form, whereas in twentieth-century Canada plays were written in modern English prose. Such theatrical memes can also encompass textual memes, such as the make-up of a play, but extend beyond these boundaries to specific theatrical conventions, from epic theatre to the performative nature of a play. In the DAM the adaptor replaces the translator and is situated in the adaptation's historico-cultural context, i.e. Canada in the early twentieth century. The adaptor, who applies formal and thematic interpretants, is situated at the point where the two cultures intersect, indicated in fig. 6 by the mixing of color schemes. Following Sherry Simon and Mary Louise Pratt this mixing of cultures, which occurs as an artifact from one culture moves to the other, is called "contact zone" (Sherry 6). Being situated in this contact zone, the adaptor is acquainted with Canadian cultural memes as well as sixteenth-century English culture. It is this knowledge which allows an adaptor to understand the work. For example, an adaptor of *Hamlet*, such as Cicely Louis Evans, would have to know that "doublet and hose" are fashionable clothes in the Renaissance, or that Hamlet's black clothes signify melancholy. To Shakespeare, situated in only one culture, this was a cultural meme, whereas a potential audience member of Shakespeare's play from twentieth-century Canada would not necessarily have access to this particular knowledge, which is why the adaptor mediates between the two cultures to ensure accessibility of the hypertext.

The receiver of the hypertext, either reader or audience, may not be situated in Canadian culture. He or she may have the same knowledge of the Renaissance as the adaptor him- or herself. If this is the case, this knowledge will influence the receiver's understanding of the adaptation, which in turn may lead to new insights into the hypotext. This makes the textual relationship reciprocal and more dynamic than in the first case. In twentieth-century Canada, the production of Shakespeare's plays was so popular that it is unlikely that someone attending a performance of a Shakespeare adaptation would not have been to the theatre and have seen one of his plays before. In this manner, adaptations may have influenced the reception of Shakespeare's plays in Canada. Even though an adaptation can only be perceived as such if the hypotext is known, the adaptor usually has superior knowledge, having studied the hypotext more extensively than an audience member.

Wherever the audience may be situated, the initiator, such as a theatre company commissioning a Shakespearean adaptation, is situated in the Canadian context. Fig. 6 includes this instance because the initiator holds power over the adaptation process. Defining this institution is difficult because the initiator may also be the adaptor him- or herself. Playwrights (to which group adaptors belong) often write plays out of their own initiative and sell the finished product to a theatre. The initiator can also consist of a whole directorial team, instead of one single person. As no initiator for the plays from the current corpus are indicated, for reasons of simplicity, this study assumes that the respective adaptor also initiated the adaptation and thereby controlled the process. An analysis of the initiator's exertion of power may prove fruitful in future analyses.

As in the simplified DTM, the TL-text (the adaptation) is governed by linguistic and theatrical memes, although these are less rigid than in translation because theatrical memes are inherently more creative than Cuellar's textual memes. The historico-cultural memes and ideologies which influence the adaptation are one aspect that is of interest in this study. It is with reference to such ideologies that Bassnett and Trivedi

argue that "[t]ranslation is not an innocent, transparent activity, but is highly charged with significance at every stage" (2). In translation, ideologies can be established or informed by censorship, translational rules, such as trying to provide a formally equivalent TL-text, but also by the mere choice of the hypotext, because a text from a specific culture may acquire new meanings in a different, for instance colonial, context (cf. ibid.). In adaptation, censorship may play a part, when a theatre does not want to or cannot perform Shakespeare for political reasons. As translation scholars, such as Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi argue, memes can also be informed by more general systems of belief, such as imperial or gender ideologies (ibid.), or it can be used as a "weapon", as Lefevere suggests, being informed by "poetological, sociocultural, linguistic" aspects (13).

Henceforward, while Venuti's theory by itself focuses on the translator, Cuellar's DTM places the translator and the process of translation, i.e. the application of interpretants, within the larger historical, social, and cultural context. Establishing an according, if simplified, model of dynamic adaptation (fig. 6), connects the textual formation to the communicative process as well as the communicative process and the historico-cultural context and can thus facilitate the analysis of theatrical adaptation of Shakespeare in Canada.

2.4.2 Applying the DAM

The DAM is not simply a model which enables a descriptive analysis of the textual transformation from hypotext to hypertext. The analysis of shifts in the form of additions, deletions, and substitutions during the transformative process discovers interpretants which are indicative of the cultural functions of adaptation. The analysis of the adaptational process operates on three different levels. Cuellar suggests product, process, and function as relevant categories (see fig. 4). While this study uses his distinction, it will depart from Cuellar's restrictive use of the terms.

First, in this study the product-oriented analysis focuses on the textual shifts and equivalences by comparing the hypo- and hypertext on the level of story and discourse. This initial analysis discovers formal and thematic interpretants applied by the adaptor and locates textual similarities and differences. It identifies the creation of hypertextual connections between work and adaptation, focusing on formalist categories of drama such as language, character constellation, and plot. The product-oriented analysis

concentrates on discursive similarities and differences, with an emphasis on ideology, which reveal theatrical memes from twentieth-century Canada. Since memes pertain *per definitionem* to a "regularity of behaviour in recurrent situations of the same type" (Toury 55), or simply patterns, they will be discovered in the concluding chapter. It compares the two adaptations analyzed in separate chapters with other adaptations from the corpus and thereby identifies common Canadian memes and patterns. A product-oriented analysis examines how the hypertextual connection between two texts is created and how knowledge of the hypotext influences the interpretation of the hypertext.

Secondly, a process-oriented approach considers the translator or adaptor and the process that goes on inside his or her mind, the 'black box', analyzing interpretants. However, a detailed analysis falls into the field of psychology. A process-oriented analysis can also consider the role of the audience and the initiator during the adaptational process. Audience's reaction could be examined in eye-witness-accounts, in newspaper articles of the performance, or in reviews, depending on the kind of process, i.e. publication or performance, and if the process was completed. The initiator's influence might be studied in correspondences, in minutes from theatre meetings, or from reviewed manuscripts. However, for the plays from the current corpus, none of these sources are extant and in some extreme cases, like *Star-Crossed*, no exact time and place of performance or initiation are known. Moreover, the process-oriented analysis is not relevant for the cultural function of the adaptation. It is thus omitted from this study. In Future times, however, the process-oriented analysis of adaptation may yield fruitful results for other source materials theorizing the creation of adaptation.

Third, the function-oriented analysis examines the role which an adaptation fulfills in its target-culture. Following Cuellar, adaptation can be studied as a cultural activity. Postcolonial translation scholars, such as Maria Tymoczko or Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi, who influenced Venuti and are represented in Cuellar's model, have claimed that translations always engage in power-related discourses, because they facilitate colonization (Bassnett and Trivedi 5) and because "[t]ranslation practice[s] . . [are] always grounded in a set of assumptions about ways in which linguistic forms carry cultural meanings" (ibid. 16). According to these theories, the analysis of interpretants may reveal governing ideologies because "the translation process . . . is mediated by the diverse values, beliefs, and representations that circulate in the

translating language" (Venuti, "Invisibility" 266) and culture. Hence, in adaptation the discovery of interpretants reveals ideologies. By engaging in a specific kind of discourse, the adaptor can radically alter the hypotext's illocution. Performances of Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* during the Holocaust used Shylock as a theatrical tool in Nazi propaganda, to name but one example of such political influence (see Bonnell). While this is an example of translation and adaptation in performance, rather than a case of rewriting, the following analyses will demonstrate how the Canadian adaptations of Shakespeare have made a Renaissance playwright more modern, relevant and familiar all for the sake of accessibility furthering specific Canadian ideologies.

The "enormous power" which the transformational process of both adaptation and translation can wield "in the construction of identities for foreign cultures" (Venuti, "Invisibility" 14) is not limited to the discourses *within* the text when it is appropriated to serve a specific cultural agenda. Both translation and adaptation are transformative acts which are themselves endowed with ideological significance. Itamar Even-Zohar's polysystem translation theory is the starting point from which Venuti develops the idea that the intercultural exchange of texts can either help maintain or subvert literary canons (see "Invisility"). Despite the fact that "the texts [for translation] are chosen according to their compatibility with the new approaches" (Even-Zohar 193), their transfer to a different culture will expand and alter the existing repertoire and literary canons. Venuti suggests, based on Schleiermacher, that

a foreignizing translation practice can be useful in building a national culture, forging a foreign-based cultural identity for a linguistic community about to achieve political autonomy, it can also undermine any concept of nation by challenging . . . national values in the translating language. (Venuti, "Invisibility" 84)

In the early twentieth century, Canada did not have an established literary canon but accepted the English repertoire as its own. Hence another question to be asked is whether the adaptation of Shakespeare confirmed the established canon, or subverted it by offering a Canadian alternative, or both. Venuti argues that "translation is a double writing, a rewriting of the foreign text according to values in the receiving culture" (ibid. 176). The numerous Restoration adaptations of Shakespeare's plays are indicative

of this subversion. Nahum Tate's *The History of King Lear* superseded Shakespeare's own plays on the British stage for centuries. If Tate's adaptation of *King Lear* managed to displace Shakespeare's hypotext from the English stage, Canadian adaptations could (attempt to) do the same in their own country of origin. Venuti suggests that

the translator is an agent of linguistic and cultural alienation: the one who establishes the monumentality of the foreign text, its worthiness of translation, but only by showing that it is not a monument, that it needs translation to locate and foreground the self-difference that decides its worthiness. (ibid. 265)

In the specific case of Shakespeare, the act of adapting engages in the discourse of general cultural superiority, in the discourse of bardolatry as well as anti-Shakespearean discourses. On the one hand, adaptation, like translation, is a reiteration of the author's – in this case Shakespeare's – universal genius since it reaffirms his popularity and presupposes knowledge of his plays. Moreover, adaptations profit from the cultural capital which is associated with Shakespeare's name. On the other hand, in an act of "creative vandalism" (Dollimore 15a) adaptation subverts the notion of bardolatry. By transferring and antagonizing discourses, adaptors demonstrate that Shakespeare needs translation and updating to be relevant. This advances anti-Shakespearean discourses, which are most prominent in Hubert Osborne's 1911 parodies *Macbeth, Altered a Little* and *Richard III, Altered A Little*. Therefore, the final question which the subsequent analyses must answer is whether the adaptations profit from Shakespeare's cultural capital and cement his monumentality or whether they subvert it.

Chapter 3: The Historical Background

Up to date none of the plays from the current corpus have been produced by a professional theatre company: Star-Crossed merely exists in an unpublished typescript, The Lost Queen was written for children's performances, and A Shakespeare Pageant was published in a school paper of St Mary's Academy; even the published Antic Disposition was written by a 21-year old, inexperienced university student. This supposed amateurism explains the lack of attention these plays have received from scholars and theatre practitioners. The current study details how these adaptations, despite their seemingly insignificant status as works of clumsy amateurs, had a vital cultural function because in the early twentieth century the Canadian theatre was exclusively nonprofessional. According to McNicoll, Canadian nonprofessional theatres, in contrast to professional ones, worked with unpaid actors – directors were sometimes paid a small fee – and neither actors nor crew were trained in their craft so that they made their money in other paid jobs (cf. 4). Despite their lack of professionalism, the theatres were serious cultural outputs and thus excelled the amateur theatre of other nations. This chapter argues that during the early twentieth century, a time of political upheavals when the discourse of national identity became an omnipresent issue, a heightened awareness of the Canadian distinctiveness from the mother country England and an intimidatingly great neighbour, the United States, compromised the Canadian confidence in their own national culture. The theatre in particular failed to meet expectations when compared to the English or American stage. In this nationalist context, the choice to adapt Shakespeare, the English national poet and epitome of great theatre, gains significance. When considering the omnipresent wish to establish a Canadian National Theatre, questions arise why the practitioners rather recycled an English national treasure than compose a new Canadian play. It remains to be seen what cultural functions these adaptations served.

3.1 Canadian National Identity

Identity crisis is the catchphrase of any discussion of early twentieth-century Canada. A vast country, established from a varied native population and two European nations, divided between Protestants and Catholics, annually attracting thousands of immigrants, with a decentralized federal system, crowned by a monarch living thousands of miles away: there is an obvious difficulty in finding a common denominator, one whose

shared background would have enabled Canada to imagine itself as a community and establish a Canadian national identity. In the twentieth century, a transformative sequence of political upheavals repeatedly forced the Canadian public to review their definition of Canadianness and made the lack of a Canadian identity prominent in contemporary discourse (cf. Brown and R. Cook).

Ramsay Cook, Robert Craig Brown, L.W. Morton, as well as many later historians, have examined the development of the Canadian national identity and found it diffuse. Canada's situation was unusual because unlike other nations it was "a nation projected rather than a nation formed" as W.L. Morton explains (46). It had not gone through the unifying experience of war and revolution, as the United States, nor had it developed over a long period of time, as England had. Thus it lacked national heroes, myths, and stories embedded in cultural memory, having been stuck "in ceaseless self-psychoanalysis" (Spicer 13), trying to find a unifying ideal ever since its foundation in 1867. Many studies have searched for motifs which symbolize the Canadian experience and express its identity. Especially prominent, though not generally accepted, is the myth of Canadians as Northern People (see Berger; Morton; Spicer 18-9).

This idea was first expressed shortly after Canada's foundation by the Canada First movement. A number of Ontario-based intellectuals, such as writers Charles Mair and William Alexander Foster, or the politicians Edward Blake and George Denison, tried to foster Canadian nationalism and pride, basing their concept of identity on the Canadians' constant confrontation with an inhospitable northern environment (cf. Bumsted 19) and its influence on the people, their common values and ideals (cf. Foster). Canada First also established an opposition in often discriminating ways to define what Canada was *not*. On the one hand, this opposition was directed outwards against the United States, the ever strengthening neighbour to the south, and England, which had made popular the patronizing metaphor of the mother country. On the other hand, it was directed inwards against the First Peoples⁹ and Franco-Canadians. While these oppositions and anxieties of cultural domination from the United States and England remained prominent throughout the twentieth century, due to its racist tendencies the Canada First movement never reached far out from its Ontario-base and gradually collapsed during the late 1870s.

For Canadians the twentieth century began with the realization that the mother

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⁹The term 'First Peoples' is used to refer to all aboriginal Canadians, and includes First Nations, Inuit, and Métis.

country, England, expected her colony-children to pay something back – the lives of soldiers. This sparked many political debates about the (un)due influence of British colonial ties as those in favour argued for the love of the mother country, whereas those against it, argued for more independence and a Canadian distinctiveness.

The first of several such discussions was spurred by the Boer War in South Africa from 1899-1902. As a sign of imperial loyalty, Prime Minister Wilfried Laurier desired to create an Imperial Council, send soldiers to South Africa, and contribute to the Empire's Royal Navy. He was opposed by nationalist Henri Bourassa who wanted to assert national sovereignty by eluding the war, the Imperial Council, and avoiding contribution to the Navy (cf. Laxer and Laxer 158). However, under joint national and imperial pressure Laurier agreed to a colonial compromise: volunteers were sent to South Africa and a Canadian navy was established in 1908 (cf. Morton 49-50). Carman Miller demonstrates the controversial potential of the decision to send troops (cf. 312). He deconstructs the commonly accepted notion that there was a clear division into French anti-war and English pro-war camps in Canada as a popular myth (cf. ibid. 314). There was a variety of visions of what relationship Canada was to have with the Empire and how it wanted to see itself and be seen by others. "Canada's imperial tie to Great Britain" was weakened by the Anglo-Boer War (Page 1); an outward sign of the emerging Canadian distinctiveness was the Canadian military uniform as Canadian battalions were clothed differently from British soldiers with a distinct Maple Leaf Badge (cf. C. Miller 318).

The political mother-child relationship between England and Great Britain was tested again in 1903 during the Alaska Boundary Dispute, when both Canada and the United States claimed valuable territory for themselves. A mixed tribunal of three American, two Canadian, and one British member resolved the issue by arbitration: Great Britain sided with the United States to improve Anglo-American relations, and thereby overruled Canada. Just shortly after the compromise of the Boer War this demonstrated yet again the political disadvantages of the imperial obligations and indicated the potential for conflicting interests between Canada and England.

Unlike the Boer War and the Boundary Dispute, Britain's decisions during the Great War affected Canadian everyday-life profoundly (cf. Bothwell and Granatstein 49-69). Due to its status as a Dominion, Canadian international politics depended on Great Britain which is why Canada was drawn into World War I when Britain declared war on Germany in August 1914. The war split Canada into two camps: the one camp

focused on the disadvantages of being under "Britain's imperial umbrella" (Vipond 445) and regarded the First World War as a meaningless slaughter. Their position was strengthened when during the Conscription Crisis of 1917 the government made military service mandatory against their strong opposition. Additionally, the war caused the death of more than 60 000 Canadian soldiers of a total population of Canada just over 7 million (cf. T. Cook 612), who gave their lives not for their own country but for a far-away foreign kingdom. Many surviving soldiers remained physically or mentally scarred by the brutal gas and trench warfare tactics. In contrast to this, many Canadians had initially volunteered as they held it their filial duty to serve the mother country. In order to unite the two camps, the Canadian War Records Office¹⁰, officially intended to document the country's war efforts, constructed a myth of glorified Canadian soldiers by providing idealized photographs, articles and books such as Canada in Flanders (cf. Keshen 6). For the soldiers themselves the victorious battles at Vimy Ridge, the Somme, and Passchendaele, being the first major Canadian military achievements, created a sense of community as all four Canadian divisions fought together, making Vimy the symbol of Canadian military excellence (cf. T. Cook 141), despite the fact that British infantry was present and the number of war casualties was great. After the war, the need for spiritual and emotional healing required a more positive interpretation so that a myth of the noblesse of the cause was constructed (cf. Keshen 11) by building memorials, in various forms, from statues, to stained-glass church windows to street names, and gardens, and by making 11th November the Remembrance holiday, enshrining the soldiers as heroes in Canadian memory (see Vance "Armageddon").

In 1916 journalist Arthur Beverly Baxter wrote "[i]n the agony of the present conflict, Canada has given birth to a national consciousness" (38), which concurs with the eye-witness account by veteran and later historian George Roy Stevens, who remarks that during the war

Canadians had become deeply conscious of a national identity and of their own superb performance in the field: they no longer felt it necessary to adopt without question usages, manners and behaviour simply because they were British. They were a branch diverging from the parent stem and the relationship of Mother Country and offspring never would be quite the same again. (145)

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¹⁰In the following referred to as CWRO.

But not everyone agreed that the distancing from the mother country automatically resulted in the birth of a national consciousness; Vincent Massey, for instance, commented: "Canada is a unit only in a political sense – otherwise it is still a magnificent abstraction" (59). Thus, modern historians contest the importance of the Great War for Canada: Tim Cook calls the First World War "Canada's war of independence" (627) and claims that military success "pushed the nation towards full autonomy and international recognition" (ibid.), whereas Buckner and Francis deny its importance, arguing that "[i]t is a myth that Canadians emerged from the war alienated from, and disillusioned with, the imperial connection" (1). While the absolute importance may be debatable, scholars agree that the war caused "a vigorous debate among English Canadian intellectuals about the extent to which Canadians should follow British leadership" (ibid.). While many still believed that Canada was, and should continue to be, a British nation (cf. ibid.), the great number of Canadian war casualties had produced bitter feelings not just towards the German enemy but also towards the British (see Schwartz). Paradoxically, the war divided the country over the question of what united it and made it distinctively Canadian. This rising nationalism found expression in the Canadian Club movement, which had originated in the 1890s, and was revived during the 1920s. The prestigious Royal Society of Canada and other clubs, such as the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, the Historic Landmarks Association¹¹ or Toronto's Arts and Letters Club conducted lengthy debates about the meaning of the Canadian identity and nationalism and together with their associated journals searched for meaningful symbols and common goals.

Canada's umbilical cord was cut with the decision of the Imperial War Cabinet of 1917 which recognized the "Dominions as *autonomous* nations of an Imperial Commonwealth" (United Kingdom 9; emphasis added). As a sign of Canadian distinctiveness from Britain, Canada signed the 1919 Treaty of Versailles by itself and was a separate founding member of the League of Nations. This development of political autonomy was furthered when in 1926 the appointment of Canada's Governor-General became a prerogative of the Canadian government, decreasing Britain's control, and finally with the 1931 Statute of Westminster, which declared

¹¹ Later the Canadian Historical Association.

that the Parliament of a Dominion has full power to make laws having extraterritorial operation. [And n]o Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom . . . shall extend, to be deemed to extend, to a Dominion as part of the law of that Dominion. (ibid. 3 §3-4)

Henceforth, the British monarch remained the nominal head of the Canadian state with the crown as "the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations" (ibid. 1), but with control over its foreign policy, Canada was now a politically independent nation. This confirmed on a political level what Canadians had frequently asserted. They had maintained that they were *not* British and that they were *not* American since the War of 1812. However, the political upheavals did little to define what Canada *was*.

When Britain declared war on Germany in September 1939 Canada only followed suit after a week had passed, demonstrating the new political independence (cf. Morton 55). As during the earlier wars, the Second World War pushed Canada and Britain further apart by demonstrating, on the one hand, the disadvantages of colonial ties. On the other hand, the Second World War served as a catalyst for Canadian nationalism, creating national pride in the role Canada played during the war (see Vipond; Buckner and Francis) not only because of the substantial military contribution to the liberation of Europe but also because Canada achieved international political and economic recognition in its aftermath (see Bothwell and Granatstein). But at this time Canada was flooded by European immigrants which made the quest for national unity more complicated as the nation became even more heterogeneous. Nevertheless, in 1947 the Canadian Citizenship Act turned the inhabitants of Canada from British into Canadian subjects and in 1949, not only did the province of Newfoundland and Labrador join Canada, completing the formation of modern Canada, but the Supreme Court in Ottawa was made the final court of appeal, providing Canada with its own independent justice system (see ibid.).

The political upheavals and consequent distancing of Canada from Britain during the first half of the twentieth century forced a continued negotiation of the Canadian national identity. Those Canadians who had hitherto clung to a British identity were searching for a new one which they could substitute for the former imperial identity, while those, such as the First Peoples and Franco-Canadians, who had never believed in a common imperial identity, simply continued their quest for a national

common denominator. The wars, as well as the rapid transformations through industrialization and urbanization had created Canadian heroes and myths, but at the same time they had divided the nation and established irreconcilable differences between the various groups of Canadians (cf. MacKenzie 12). The discourse of national identity, however, was omnipresent at the time.

3.2 The Myth of Insufficiency

While scholars have frequently examined this historico-political background of the early twentieth century, there is a profound lack of interest in the theatrical field of Canada during this period. Don Rubin in an article on the Canadian theatre dismisses the pre-1945 period as "dilettantish amateurism" (391) and entirely omits any event between 1867 (the Canadian Confederation) and 1949 (The Massey Royal Commission) from his timeline (410), as if nothing of note had happened during these decades. The present study seeks to enkindle a new interest in the Canadian theatre of the early twentieth century because it made a significant cultural contribution to the general discourse of national identity. The period shows a surprising variety of theatrical forms – from political theatre, to touring and Little Theatres – and despite the lack of Canadian professional theatres it laid the foundations for today's theatre in Canada.

In a broad sense *culture* can be defined as an expression of identity, so the Canadian theatre, being part of the culture, can serve as a mouthpiece for Canadian national identity, as Robertson Davies suggests: "do you know of any nation that the world has considered truly great which has not had one or many manifestations of great art? . . . It must have art if it is to be great" ("Theatre" 390). Likewise, Governor-General Lord Bessborough emphasizes the role of the theatres when he says: "The spirit of a nation, if it is to find full expression, must include a National Drama" (qtd. in Lee 116).

Many early Canadian plays explicitly treated the topic of the Canadian national identity (cf. Benson and Conolly 17), such as the political burlesque *Dolorsolatio* by pseudonymous Sam Scribble from the 1860s. The Canadian government discovered this powerful connection when they employed theatre as a propaganda weapon during World War I. Money for the war was raised through patriotic pageants and concerts or other artistic fund raising (cf. Litt 335): the Royal Victoria Theatre, for instance, and the Red Cross Stock Company performed several plays in order to convince Canadians to contribute something to the war – be it money, or able-bodied young men (see Vance,

"History"). During World War II, while most theatres were closed, the few active theatres provided war-time revues for the entertainment of the troops (cf. Wagner 23). While the idea that drama can foster and promote a national identity continually haunted the discourse of the performing arts, the non-existence of and consequent yearning for a Canadian national identity was mirrored in the arts which lacked a professional Canadian drama and yearned for a National Theatre.

3.2.1 The Myth of an Insufficient Canadian Theatre

Despite this lack there was great "dramatic enthusiasm" which was expressed in "the repeated call from all parts of the Dominion for a National Theatre (cf. Christie 77). Artistic director Rupert Caplan, for instance claimed: "[t]here is not a city of twenty-five or fifty thousand population in this country where a beginning of an organization towards an ultimate National Theatre could not find a supporting audience" (144). Even the Canadian government supported this quest for a National Theatre as the *Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences* argued:

The drama has been in the past, and may be again, not only the most striking symbol of a nation's culture, but the central structure enshrining much that is finest in a nation's spiritual and artistic greatness. (Canada 193)

Discourse analyses of contemporary newspapers and journals, such as the *Canadian Forum* or the *Dalhousie Review*, show that the Canadian theatre was frequently found unsatisfactory. By belittling or denying the existence of Canadian drama, twentieth-century journals, newspapers, debating clubs, and even the theatres themselves perpetuated an identity-crisis of the Canadian culture and thereby established a myth of an insufficient Canadian theatre. Canadian writer, actor and critic Mavor Moore commented in 1950: "I know of no country, including Afghanistan and Tibet, where the dramatic arts and artists are in such low estate as in Canada" ("Canadian Theatre" 110). British actor Maurice Colbourne exclaimed after having toured through Canada: "we found the theatre. But it was moribund. Frankly I do not see how the patient is going to survive" (125). Writer John Daniel Logan claimed in 1928 "there is no evidence of a developed Stage Drama" (333) and Vincent Massey asserted that up to 1922 no more than fifteen Canadian plays had been produced (53). The most pessimistic Canadian theatre critic, Merrill Denison, declared in 1929 that there was no Canadian National

Theatre, nor was there ever going to be one because Canada had no distinctly Canadian culture to be expressed in its drama (see "Nationalism"). However, not everyone thought that way: in a letter to the editor of the *Canadian Forum*, S.C. Swift protested an earlier article: "we do object to the implication therein contained that no literature worthwhile is possible in Canada to-day" (524), but while contesting to the possibility of Canadian drama Swift admits: "We have many splendid stories to tell – and we tell them badly" (ibid.).

A look at the database of the Canadian Adaptations of Shakespeare Project¹² reveals evidence of eleven published and another four unpublished theatrical adaptations of Shakespeare in Canada up to 1922¹³; taking into consideration the existence of other Canadian plays from the time shows that Massey's assertion is factually wrong. The question is why journalists and theatre practitioners denied the existence of an evidently existing Canadian theatre? The reasons were manifold and originated mainly in disappointed expectations: Unlike the British theatres, Canada had ignored indigenous cultural traditions, and it lacked professional theatres until well into the twentieth century. Consequently, two rival cultures, the United States and Great Britain, dominated Canada until well into the twentieth century.

3.2.2 The Lack of Theatrical Traditions

Canada had a long-standing theatrical tradition prior to the arrival of European settlers. In the paleolithic times, some 20 or 50 000 years ago, the First Peoples performed paratheatrical activities, such as initiation, marriage, funeral, or healing rituals, and they staged incidents from clan mythology at certain indoor ceremonies (cf. Aikens 146; Gardner, "Acting" 4). Although records and details are scarce, a few examples will illustrate the extraordinary performative potential of the First Peoples' various rituals: the Kwakiutl on Vancouver Island dramatized stories in the Cannibal performances, where a young hero battles with the Cannibal's three spirits, and with the Cannibal itself, and upon his return home must be tamed through song, dance and speech (cf. Benson and Conolly 1). The shamans, or spirit-priests, created surprisingly elaborate theatrical illusions through dance, the use of different voices, masks and face-paint, even ventriloquism (cf. Courtney 20). In the native Mystery Cycles of the Nuu-chah-

¹²In the following referred to as CASP.

¹³ CASP uses a broader definition of Shakespearean adaptation, which is why its database lists more adaptations than the appendix to this study.

nulth tribes on the Pacific Northwest Coast, the flickering firelight was used for sudden appearances and disappearances, quartz crystals were employed for lighting effects, the use of screens enabled the performer to sink into the ground, and optic illusions could animate a face painted on a curtain, making it three-dimensional (cf. ibid. 21-2). Some tribes in British Columbia performed in large wooden long-houses with special acting areas (cf. ibid. 22) and the Inuit's Kaggi were special igloos with designated playing and audience spaces (cf. Benson and Conolly 2), not unlike European theatre buildings.

Some cultural exchange seems to have occurred in the early stages of theatre in Canada when Algonquian Mi'kmaq performed together with French explorers in Marc Lescarbot's masque Le Théâtre de Neptune en la Nouvelle-France at Port-Royal in 1606 (cf. Plant 148). But this was an isolated incident and mainly bears significance as Lescarbot's play – the first play performed in Canada – dates back to the same year as Shakespeare's King Lear (Jacob, "73" 416), which relativizes the claim that Canada, unlike Great Britain, had no theatrical history. Some First Peoples' rituals have survived to the present day. Nevertheless, their theatrical tradition had little or no bearing on the development of a European-style theatre in Canada. Few Canadians had personally encountered First Peoples' culture, as they represented less than 2% of the Canadian population in 1901. This had led to a prevalent ignorance of their culture and a colonial attitude which regarded First Peoples' culture as primitive (cf. Bothwell and Granatstein 15). Despite the fact that theatre – in the sense of physically enacted story-telling – appears as a common denominator traditionally shared by all inhabitants of Canada, First Peoples' performative traditions have not been accepted as a form of Canadian national drama because the common definition of drama, which originated in Europe, excluded such alternative forms as aboriginal rituals.

European style theatre in Canada had two roots. First, the garrison theatres, English and French soldiers who improvised theatrical performances to relieve the tedium of garrison life on the frontier (cf. Benson and Conolly 47-8) or entertained the local settler communities. The early pioneers, who settled in the West, also passed their time acting and performing plays which they had brought from home (see Booth) and their amateur performances were often supported by stationed officers (cf. Benson and Conolly 8). With the British plays, favored by the garrison and pioneer theatres, ideals and values of their home culture were imported and reminded the crew of their "civilized life" in Europe (Vance, "History" 41-2). These traditions stopped in the early

twentieth century when the garrisons were replaced by the North-West Mounted Police (Gardner, "Little Theatre" 302).

The second root of Canadian theatre was the foreign professional companies. In the big cities, such as Toronto or Vancouver, American branches of permanent vaudeville or stock companies opened but in the rest of Canada, especially the rural parts, theatrical performances were refined to British and American touring companies, such as the American Company of Comedians, who, in 1768, were the first professional theatre company to perform on what would later be Canadian soil. The touring era started slowly, but peaked between 1880 and 1914 (cf. Aikens 148). Despite the fact that there were also about a dozen Canadian touring groups, their influence waned in the face of the many "star-studded foreign companies" (Lee 60; Gardner, "Acting" 5) who imported some of England's most famous actors and actresses to the Dominion: from Sarah Bernhardt, to Sir Henry Irving, or Ellen Terry (cf. Rubin 396). While these foreign touring companies provided a professional theatre experience, they saturated the theatrical market and due their magnitude inhibited the development of local Canadian theatres (cf. Benson and Conolly 7).

Although as late as 1952 Canadian literary critic Desmond Pacey explained that the Canadian "output of dramatic writing has been almost negligible" (194), a Canadian playwriting tradition was emerging in the nineteenth-century: Graves Simcoe Lee's Fiddle, Faddle and Foozle premiered in Toronto in 1853 (cf. McNicoll 8), Sarah Anne Curzon wrote her feminist play Laura Secord, the Heroine of 1812, and Charles Heavysege composed such plays as his biblical verse drama Saul in 1857, which was appreciated during his time and only later criticized for the "awkward imitations of Milton and Shakespeare" (Pacey 22). The most famous nineteenth-century drama is Charles Mair's Tecumseh, a play about the oppression of the First Nations. It was published in 1886 and even though it was initially dismissed by certain critics it was later hailed as the nation's "greatest literary achievement" (Vance, "History" 161). The publication of these plays bears testimony to the general existence of Canadian plays, but during the nineteenth century their performance was confined to a few local amateur groups as there were no professional theatres in Canada and the visiting companies would not touch untried Canadian plays (cf. Pacey 35).

By the end of the nineteenth century, the acceptance of foreign drama in Canada was great, whereas the locally produced amateur theatre was scattered thinly across the country so that at the beginning of the new century, Canada's few native plays were

only performed by the Canadian nonprofessional theatre companies (cf. Lee 64). The lack of professional and the scarcity of nonprofessional theatres created a myth that the Canadian theatre was nonexistent. As the twentieth century dawned on Canada, this myth of the lack of a Canadian theatre became the myth of an insufficient one. Even though Canadian drama diversified and matured from 1900 onwards, the myth was enhanced by several factors. First, the American and British domination of the Canadian theatres, which had begun in the previous century, prevailed until the 1930s. This inhibited the development of a native theatre. Secondly, the Canadian nonprofessional theatre faced severe competition from other, new media, such as radio, the movies, and television. Thirdly, the only kind of theatre which prospered in Canada was the nonprofessional theatre following the international Little Theatre Movement. Even though these theatres were not accepted as a Canadian National Theatre, their work was well supported throughout the country and they served a crucial cultural function. Nonprofessional theatres were the only Canadian theatres available and they had declared it their goal to foster Canadian drama and presented the basis for the longed-for National Theatre. Thereby the theatre enhanced its connection with the general discourse of national identity, even if the myth of an insufficient or non-existent Canadian theatre could not be dispelled.

3.2.3 Competing Theatres

Despite the Canadians' rising awareness of a national distinctiveness, journalist B.K. Sandwell asserted in 1911 that "Canada is the only nation in the world whose stage is entirely controlled by aliens" (23). As in the nineteenth century, it was not only the historic lack of professionalism but more so the domination from the outside, from the United States for example, and the constant confrontation with its own deficiency which caused the Canadian inferiority complex in the field of drama.

The United States dominated Canadian theatres not simply because their touring and stock companies, as well as vaudeville productions, provided the only opportunity to see professional theatre in Canada, but also because the physical buildings of several theatres in Canada were financed by American syndicates and their interests (cf. Lee 65) so that Canadian audiences could often only see what the Americans thought worth – in the financial, not the idealist sense – the long trip. This limited the repertoire of plays produced in Canada to the classics, amongst them Shakespeare, and other well-tried

plays, interspersed with some burlesque, melodrama, and vaudeville - plays which had previously done well (cf. Benson and Conolly 11). As during the nineteenth century, there were no opportunities for Canadians to see any new or untried plays because the foreign companies would not take such financial risks. A prime example for the foreign domination of Canadian theatres is the Ottawa Drama League¹⁴. Journalist Arthur Beverly Baxter hailed its 1915 opening in the Victoria Memorial Museum as the beginning of the Canadian National Theatre (cf. 38), irrespective of the fact that the ODL's headquarters were situated in the United States and the opening ceremony was performed by British director Harley Granville-Barker. Baxter even calls this "good sense" (ibid. 39-40), suggesting that Canadians were unable to establish their own theatres. Other problems for the development of the Canadian theatre arose from copyright issues: Foreign playwrights usually sold Canadian rights along with the American ones to producers in the United States (cf. ibid.). Therefore, if an American producer decided to mount a production only in the United States, Canadians had no access to the play. Mavor Moore details how the New Play Society's 15 1946 production of Synge's The Playboy of the Western World was almost prevented in Canada because the rights were tied in a Broadway revival. Permission to stage the play was only granted after the Canadian theatre had convincingly argued for the NPS's insignificance ("Reiventing" 155-64). Such incidences perpetuated the myth of an insufficient Canadian theatre.

American shows were too big and too popular for Canadian theatres to compete with so that Canadian theatre practitioners were locked out of the Canadian theatres, creating an American "colonizing monopoly" which allowed Americans to subject Canadians to a diet according to American tastes (cf. Filewood 17). Journalist Lawrence Mason demonstrates this in a 1928 article:

Towns that are on the regular route of the travelling road shows fare badly enough nowadays, but towns that are off that beaten track are in a truly deplorable plight...[I]nferior 'brainstorming' outfits or cheap vaudeville have the field to themselves, all being unsatisfactory in quality and steeped in undesirable United States propaganda. (73)

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¹⁴In the following referred to as ODL.

¹⁵In the following referred to as NPS.

Only few successful Canadian entrepreneurs, such as the Marks Brothers, were able to establish themselves by resorting to the smaller towns and out of the way places in the Canadian hinterland, which were not on the road of the touring companies and housed neither vaudeville nor stock companies (cf. Litt 332). This cultural domination – which extended beyond the field of theatre – led historian and playwright Jessie Edgar Middleton to assert in 1914 that "there is no Canadian Drama. It is merely a branch of the American Theatre" (661).

In 1912 the British Canadian Theatrical Organization Society attempted to balance the increasing American influence by acquiring controlling interests in Canadian theatres and resorting to the organization of British tours. However, this did not cause the release from the "commercial and cultural stranglehold" but merely its division between British and US managements (cf. Conolly 1806). Similarly, in 1915 the Trans-Canada Theatre Society was founded. Although it was Canadian owned, the society organized British tours (cf. ibid.), and thus only substituted "one form of mediocrity for another" (Massey 53), which is why Mavor Moore complained about Canada being viewed as Britain's "cultural appendage" ("Theatre for Canada" 4). For the first three or four decades of the twentieth century, the only professional theatres in Canada were these British or American touring companies, which adhered only to American or British tastes, not the Canadian ones and had a limited repertoire and geographic reach. These professional companies can be divided into two categories: one, is the "touring 'second company" who regarded theatre as a business and presented low-quality productions for financial benefit, which is why they charged comparatively high prices. George Brodersen calls this the "commercial theatre" (149). Opposed to it, is the "professional theatre" which had "higher aims and higher ideals" (ibid). Nevertheless, both were commercial as its practitioners produced theatre for remuneration.

The touring era was interrupted by the outbreak of the First World War, when Canadians developed an interest in their own point of view which the American and British products could not satisfy. But after the war the *status quo ante bellum* was reestablished (see Litt). The cultural domination from the outside inhibited the development of a Canadian professional drama, with very few exceptions. Simultaneously, through constant comparison with British and American theatres and their possibilities, the foreign cultural domination of the Canadian theatre perpetuated the Canadian inferiority complex. It ended only during the Great Depression when there

was no money to be made anywhere and foreign companies had no reason to travel to Canada.

The theatrical situation in Canada was also impaired by other media which competed with the Canadian theatres for actors, directors, playwrights, and audiences. During the 1920s and 30s the Famous Players Canadian Corporation bought many theatres and converted them into movie houses (cf. Wagner 17), taking away the few actual theatre buildings to screen American Paramount movies (see Pendakur). From the late 1920s radio drama became the "toehold for a burgeoning . . . professional theatre" (Gardner, "Acting" 5) in Canada. Unlike the locally confined theatres, who had to fight for audience attendance, the nationalized Canadian Broadcasting Corporation 16 could broadcast live drama for national audiences in the millions, at no charge. And unlike the stage, the radio did compose new Canadian plays. Each year between 80% to 100% of the radio plays were written by Canadians (cf. McNicoll 98) and it was here that actors, such as Christopher Plummer or William Shatner, directors, most prominently Andrew Allan, and playwrights, such as George Ryga and Lister Sheddon Sinclair, achieved fame and were (financially) successful. Thus professional actors and directors flocked to Toronto, the capital of radio drama, and bled the rest of Canada dry of theatrical talent (cf. ibid. 91 ff.).

When the age of television dawned on Canada in 1952 the CBC focused on the production of television drama. After the "Golden Age of radio" (ibid. 92) actors and directors were now drawn to the screen, where the money was better and the conditions more stable than in the theatres so that Canadian theatres were confronted by yet another prominent competitor for their actors, directors, playwrights, and audiences.

3.2.4 Nonprofessional Theatres

The failure of a professional theatre to emerge on the Canadian stage after 1900 had the positive side effect that nonprofessional theatres cropped up across the country. By the 1930s all major cities and many smaller communities had an established nonprofessional theatre (cf. Conolly 1807). For religious reasons the theatre in Canada had long been restrained – mainly by Methodists and Catholics – but in 1908 Frederic Robson saw the first sign of a growing respect, as society realized that "in its transmission from the footlights to the auditor [the theatre] does not carry the poison of

¹⁶In the following referred to as CBC.

a plague" (58). With increasing appreciation, the theatre in Canada became more popular: the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression with its theatre, the Greek Temple, was founded in Toronto in 1906. However, it was an educational institution and did not employ professional actors or directors. Similarly, Hart House Theatre at the University of Toronto acquired some reputation and was described as an "amateur activity of note" (Conolly 1807). Both institutions trained later theatrical professionals, such as Dora Mavor Moore, Merrill Denison, William Hutt, or Wayne and Shuster, but they did not offer paid employment for theatre practitioners and did therefore not produce professional theatre. While Northrop Frye acknowledges the importance of the educational institutions in culture when he suggests that "the university today is to culture what the church is to religion: the social institution that makes it possible" ("Divisions" 118), the theatrical activity at Hart House Theatre had no direct connection to any course offered at the university of Toronto "with the exception of the electrical work" (Coventry 108). The first chair of drama at a Canadian university was only opened at the university of Saskatchewan in 1945.

Outside the educational context, nonprofessional theatres were privately run by members of the community with an interest in theatre, from teachers, to accountants, to rich daughters, and wealthy sons, who met in clubs and organized the players' activities. Although in 1920 journalist Keith R. Hicks attested to the "good fat roll in the treasury" (309) that some of these theatres made, more often than not they performed their plays not in an actual theatre but in drawing rooms, church halls, or makeshift barns (cf. ibid.) – Merrill Denison describes the theatre at Toronto's Arts and Letters Club: "There was no proscenium opening, no wings, no scenery" ("Arts and Letters" 31), attesting to the difficult basic conditions.

Despite the often improvised theatrical activity, the negative connotations of the term "amateur" – denoting performances of low quality – did not do justice to the "high standards" of Canadian theatre (Aikens 149). As Hicks explains in 1921 "the modern player squirms at the word" (309). The few people who called the actors "amateurs", did so in Baxter's sense referring to "the true meaning 'lovers of theatre', who perform for the sake of the theatre, not remuneration" (42).

The emerging respect for this kind of theatre – which was often the only kind of theatre available – is shown in Merrill Denison's calling Hart House Theatre "a capable and sincere company... which is assuredly nonprofessional rather than amateur" ("Hart House" 63). But Denison did not rate all nonprofessional theatres as highly, when he

recalls "far more people [being] bored to death by the little theatre than were ever inspired by it" ("Nationalism" 89). Similarly, British actor Maurice Colborne declares that the amateur theatre in Canada is so "inexpert" that it ruins the reputation of the "real theatre" (127). However, Denison's pessimism seems to have originated in his ambitious dream to have Canadian drama "permeate and influence the world of the theatre as the great German and Russian experimentalists have" ("Hart House" 63). As Alan Filewood details, Denison's is one of the few dissenting voices (cf. 19). Similarly, Colbourne's criticism expresses his disappointment over Canadians' reaction to his 1928 tour. Since his was the first company to play in certain towns for seven years he expected people to flock in, but audience numbers could not meet his expectations because many stayed away as they were too busy rehearsing their own play -"amateuring" as he calls it (127). Opposing this negative attitude, Fred Jacob calls Hart House's 1926/7 production of *The Cherry Orchard* "a flaming artistic success" ("74" 60), Landon Young finds the work of the Winnipeg Little Theatre "the reverse of amateurish" (371) and when Sir Barry Jackson, founder and director of the Birmingham Repertory Theatre, visited Canada in 1929 he too commented: "One day, I hope to see Canadian cities take as much pride in their theatres as they do in their grain elevators" (qtd. in Lee 79). As critics and theatre practitioners were well acquainted in the nonprofessional theatre scene their evaluation may have been biased, however the overall positive reviews, the praise from international directors, amongst them Harley Granville-Barker (cf. ibid. 223), and the number of nonprofessional theatres bears witness to their quality and confirms Hicks description of the nonprofessional theatre as "a serious effort, not by individual stars but by co-operative groups" (309; emphasis added), which is why this kind of theatre was also labelled *community theatre*, stressing the importance of the communal effort.

Due to the inevitable comparison with American and British companies, an opposition was set up between the professional companies from abroad and the Canadian nonprofessional theatre. It was enhanced as the major strand of nonprofessional theatres followed a world-wide movement in the arts against artistic commercialism. This led to the establishment of many, so called Little Theatres ¹⁷. The term *Little Theatre* could often be taken literally, for the theatres were little in size. Hart House Theatre, for instance, seated fewer than 500 people (cf. Coventry 108). But the

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¹⁷With *la petite scène* as the Franco-Canadian equivalent.

idea of the non-commercial Little Theatres had been kindled by the European Little Theatre movement which became an international theatre-as-art movement from the 1880s onwards (Gardner, "Little Theatre" 303). Rupert Caplan stresses the importance of the nonprofessional stage for the furthering of a National Theatre "because they build the foundation for more mature creative theatres and develop an audience for the Ultimate National Canadian Theatre" (143-4). A similar confidence in Canadian drama is expressed by Lionel Stevenson: while in other countries a play's publication is a sign for its success, this was not true for Canada because, as he details in his 1926 book Appraisals of Canadian Literature, "[t]here is a considerable number of [Canadian] plays as yet unprinted which have proved themselves successful on the stage" (139). Stevenson explains that the shortage of published Canadian stage plays is not indicative of a lack of quality, because Canada lacked the large number of publishing houses which the United States or Great Britain could boast (cf. ibid.; MacSkimming 1-5). This complicated the publication of Canadian plays as foreign criteria of quality frequently proved inapplicable to Canadian drama.

Inspired by the Irish literary movement, which evolved at the Abbey Theatre in Dublin, the Canadian Little Theatre movement tried to rebel against the conservative tastes of the Canadian public, which had developed due to the limited repertoires of the commercial theatres, and to reclaim the Canadian stage from its domination of foreign theatre with a twofold agenda: first, the movement was directed against commercial theatre – "the damnatory catch-word of the moment" (Hicks 309). According to Merrill Denison the "adamantine rule" of Toronto's Arts and Letters Club, a little theatre of note, was "never to produce anything that had been done in Canada before" ("Arts and Letters" 31). This led to their eclectic repertoire of modern authors such as Ibsen, Wilde or Synge. Secondly, Canada's Little Theatre movement was avowedly nationalist trying to further Canadian playwrights. A newsletter from The Bill from 1932 explains the purpose of the Little Theatre, which is "to lay [the] foundation for such a Canadian Theatre as will offer to Canadian playwrights the possibility of national recognition" (qtd. in Vance, "History" 277). This artistic idealism was due to the fact that as local nonprofessional organizations, which did not pay their actors and no or little rent, the Little Theatres were not dependent on financial success. They had no travelling costs and as a communal effort were assured well-meaning support by the locals. Theatre critic Lawrence Mason described the twofold mission of Sarnia's Drama League:

The Sarnia Idea, then, is not the presentation of 'amateur theatricals' for profit or just for fun, as a pastime. It aims at remedying the drawbacks in the existing theatre situation, so far as professional companies and 'the road' are concerned; and beyond that, it aims at forwarding a National movement with deeply important implications. (73)

The ideals of the Sarnia Drama League, trying to further a National Theatre and develop contemporary Canadian drama, are representative of the Canadian Little Theatre movement. Not all nonprofessional theatres in Canada adhered to these artistic ideals of the Little Theatre movement, which is why the terms *community theatre* or *alternative theatre* retained their function. Most theatres could not be categorized as one or the other due to ever changing artistic directors, personnel, and general circumstances.

The Canadian Little Theatre movement was strongly influenced by the Group of Seven, painters with a nationalist agenda, who had developed distinctly Canadian painting techniques to express the essence of Canada through her Northern landscape, culminating in A.Y. Jackson's The North Shore of Baffin Island (c. 1929) or Lawren Harris's Bylot Island (1930) (cf. Berger 231-2). From 1908 Toronto's Arts and Letters Club provided a forum of exchange for these artists with their theatrical colleagues, such as directors Herman Voaden and Roy Mitchell. When Mitchell became artistic director of Hart House he made his university theatre the flagship of the Little Theatre movement. Collaborating with the Group of Seven, who contributed sets and lighting, on several Hart House Theatre productions (Denison, "Hart House" 65), Mitchell countered the commercialism of the touring companies in Toronto with productions of artistic plays that did not primarily have to be a financial success (cf. Stevenson 140). He expressed his views in his much acclaimed theatrical manifesto *Creative Theatre*, where he describes the merits of the alternative theatre life and denounces the American commercialism which does not "derive from an ideal but from a necessity they only vaguely understand" (77).

The number of Little Theatres grew rapidly and spread across the country, from Vancouver Little Theatre, which was founded in 1921, to Le Cercle Molière (1925) in St. Boniface, Manitoba, to the Saskatchewan Drama League (1933), to Halifax's Theatre Arts Guild (1931) (Vance, "History" 278). The list is vast and so far it has been impossible to comprehensively list the Little Theatres at one point in time; suffice it to say that the movement spread rapidly *a mare usque ad mare*. Although Robertson

Davies' novel *Tempest-Tost*¹⁸ is set in a fictional small-town in Ontario and portrays fictive characters from the 1940s, the novel realistically describes a Little Theatre organization. In his novel, Davies details the set-up of a stage in the garden of Mr Webster's estate, with a local math-teacher, a scholar and young girls turned into Shakespearean actors and actresses, the director being the only one with professional experience. As a biographical account, Davies' description may be colored by romantic idealism and it contrasts with an eye-witness account of a 1913 performance of the Players Club at the University of Toronto, which suggests a less than ideal set-up:

The stage was extemporized in a college dining hall, the scenery was conventionalized draperies, the current lighting was taken from any available socket. The curtain was, in fact, the only piece of equipment that was designed *ab initio* for its function. (Coventry 108)

Robertson Davies, himself, depicts a similar theatrical imperfection in his 1951 "Dialogue on the State of Theatre in Canada":

The average amateur theatre group works in a hired hall, pays its way from year to year, and in the course of time acquires a wardrobe and some scenery. If, at the end of a season, it has paid its bills and still has enough in hand to finance some preparatory work for the season to come it has done well. And in addition to the groups of average success, there are struggling groups which often cannot make end meet. (377)

Despite the difficulties and resulting theatrical imperfections, the wide variety of the Little Theatre movement was encouraged throughout Canada by patrons who provided financial support or a place to perform. From 1907 the Earl Grey Musical and Dramatic Competitions furthered the growth of nonprofessional drama clubs by giving them a place of contact and a forum for communication, but it ceased existence in 1911 (cf. Perkyns 6). When the Great Depression killed the professional touring industry in Canada the Little Theatres remained as the sole surviving theatre in the country. But they too faced hard times as many of their cultural patrons gave significantly less or withdrew their support altogether (cf. Pacey 194). The Excelsior Glee Party from

¹⁸ Incidentally another Canadian adaptation of Shakespeare from 1951.

Calgary, for instance, toured rural Alberta during this time charging a bushel of wheat per seat as their audience was unable to pay them money (Vance, "History" 305).

Despite its noncommercial nature, the financial predicament under the economic impact of the Depression and the competing media almost caused the collapse of the Little Theatre movement in Canada. Luckily, the English Lord Bessborough, then Governor General of Canada, picked up the idea of the Earl Grey Competitions with the aim of developing a truly Canadian drama. In 1931 during a speech held at the Empire Club at Toronto he said:

I should like to see as a normal part of our life in this country, dramatic performances taking place of plays by Canadian authors with music by Canadian composers, with scenic decoration and costumes by Canadian artists, performed by Canadian players. (qtd. in Lee 88)

It was this idea which Lord Bessborough set to work in 1933 with the help of Martha Allan, Vincent Massey, Colonel Henry Osborne and Herman Voaden in the form of the Dominion Drama Festival¹⁹. Betty Lee's *Love and Whisky. The Story of the Dominion Drama Festival* gives a detailed account of the participation of the different theatres from across the country.

The first regional festivals were held in April 1933. It was to be an annual competition in two steps: local groups would be chosen in regional competitions (eight at the time) by a regional adjudicator and the winners would proceed to a week-long festival competition which was first held in Ottawa but was moved across the country to other major cities in subsequent years (Whittaker, "Dominion Drama Festival" 144). These nonprofessional theatre groups competed for the prestigious Bessborough trophy, the main award to be presented to the best play in either English or French. In order to further the production of Canadian plays the DDF introduced another trophy for the best Canadian play in 1934, but ironically they named it after an English theatre director the "Sir Barry Jackson Award" (cf. Lee 294). Moreover, until the 1960s the DDF invited only foreigners to adjudicate the final of their festival, from Rupert Harvey to Harley Granville-Barker, because they did not think Canadians were qualified enough to work as judges for the DDF (ibid. 242); critic Mayor Moore complains of the

¹⁹ In the following referred to as DDF.

belief that the sole adjudicator for our Dominion Drama Festival must have as his principal qualification a knowledge of theatrical convention elsewhere, preferably in Europe; the assumption being that the same rules hold good everywhere. ("Theatre for Canada" 5)

In this manner, the DDF undermined its own goal of fostering Canadian theatre. Nevertheless the festival prospered, the number of trophies increased, and it annually moved to a new city to accommodate all of Canada, but it never gave up its devotion to the nonprofessional theatre.

While the vast Little Theatre movement was idealist in its conception, its individual physical manifestations were less than ideal and often the theatrical venue, the costumes, hair and make-up, the properties, and the technical equipment were makeshift and the actors and directors untrained in their craft. The quality of productions therefore varied widely, which may be the reason why the Little Theatres were not accepted as a form of Canadian National Theatre. Artistic director Roy Mitchell claimed that "[t]he vital factor is in the audience that can look past poor scenery, poor acting and thin plays for the soul of a theatre that is its own" ("Creative" 79). As time went by, experience made up for the lack of training, and if a group had been successful for a couple of seasons they saved enough money to improve their equipment. Despite the Little Theatres' constant struggle to survive in often less than ideal circumstances they continually searched for a Canadian drama to express their identity. As the only form of theatrical output in Canada the Little Theatres served a vital cultural function not only because they educated the general public by introducing them to such new kinds of drama as modernism but also because they provided Canadians with opportunities to gain theatrical experience in Canada; for the first time in its history the country could boast a thriving theatre culture – if only nonprofessional – and even though the first half of the twentieth century did not see the establishment of an official National Theatre, the practices of the Little Theatres helped negotiate, though not define, a Canadian national identity.

3.2.5 The Rise of Professionalism

The DDF as well as the majority of other Little Theatres, including Hart House in Toronto, ceased operation during the Depression and World War II. Those few Little Theatres which operated during the war years turned to vaudeville and musical comedies – anything for escapism (cf. Wagner 23). This may account for the limited number of Canadian adaptations of Shakespeare from this period. After the war, the DDF and the Little Theatre culture picked up again where they had left off and the nonprofessional theatre prospered. Jonathan F. Vance counts 24 drama festivals in the spring of 1950: from the DDF regional competition in January, to Fort St. John's Music and Drama Festival in May ("History" 377).

The post-World War II period was also the breakthrough for theatrical professionalism in Canada. Few professional theatres existed prior to the Second World War and they remained rare exceptions until more professional companies emerged in the post-War period, especially in British Columbia, Ontario, and Quebec. McNicoll describes the development of the professional theatre by example of several companies which started business after the Second World War: such as Ontario's Earle Grey Players, which were founded in 1946, or Vancouver's Totem Theatre, established in 1951. The most thriving professional theatre was the Theatre Under the Stars²⁰, which was founded in 1941 and was one of the few operational theatres during World War II, continually playing musicals until 1963 (cf. McNicoll 76). Particularly popular ventures were the summer festivals, such as the International Players, the Niagara Falls Summer Theatre, or the Straw Hat Players (cf. ibid. 189). Professional theatre meant sufficient payment for people to do theatre exclusively and not having to work in another profession. However, it was this financial professionalism which caused the short lifespan of most of the post-War professional theatres.

While the Little Theatres used whatever space and personnel was available and played to whatever audience came, the professional theatres worked under increased economic pressure as they rented or built real theatres, and payed actors and crew members. In order to afford this professionalism they needed to satisfy the audiences by playing what they demanded and were willing to pay for, similar to the British and American touring companies. TUTS, for instance, initially performed a mixture of Shakespeare's plays and opera but when they realized that the plays were not as successful, they resolved to the more popular musical theatre (cf. ibid. 70). As commercial enterprises, the lack of audiences for a single production or miscalculated ticket prices could lead to a professional theatre's bankruptcy, as was the case for

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²⁰ In the following referred to as TUTS.

Melody Fair in 1954 or the Peterborough Summer Festival after 1957 (cf. ibid. 202-3 and 185).

Due to the professionalization, post-war Canadian theatre was as serious as the British or American theatre, but it was still not accepted as a Canadian National Theatre for several reasons: most professional theatres were short-lived and only operated for a brief period of time: Vancouver's Everyman Theatre only survived for seven years (1946 to 53) and the lifespan of Toronto's Jupiter Theatre was even shorter as it played for only three years (1951-54) (see McNicoll). This did not give them enough time to acquire a national reputation. Those which survived longer, such as TUTS, playing for more than twenty years, presented foreign musicals and therefor did not qualify as a Canadian National Theatre. Moreover, the confinement to one area prevented the theatres from gaining national fame so that the lack of touring marginalized many theatres with great potential.

3.3 The Search for a Canadian National Theatre

TUTS, despite its success not being accepted as a National Theatre, shows the discourse of the need for Canadian drama to be flawed in its own rights – there was more behind the yearn for a long-lasting professional theatre. The problem lay in the definition of *Canadian drama*. While the DDF, for instance, had declared it their goal to develop a Canadian National Theatre, its honorary director, Colonel Henry Osborne, said in 1947: "I've yet to discover what the phrase national theatre really means" (qtd. in Lee 288). Discourse analyses show that the problem lies not so much in the lack of definitions, but in the confusing plethora of concepts grouped under the umbrella term *Canadian National Theatre*, as it was applied to a variety of items.

The most tangible idea of a National Theatre was the notion of a physical venue, a building that could stage the National Theatre of Canada, like the Abbey Theatre in Dublin represented Irish theatre (cf. Massey 58). Governor General Massey discusses the problems of this definition in quasi-religious terms:

The drama cannot flourish apart from the theatre any more than religion can survive divorced from a church. By a theatre I mean, of course, something more than the material equipment of stage and auditorium. I mean as well the company of actors and craftsmen that make the modern theatre community, just

as the church is composed of a body of believers and is not merely a fabric of wood and stone. (ibid. 53)

Robertson Davies suggests that a Canadian National Theatre cannot be refined to one building as it must tour the country since no theatre located in Ottawa, or anywhere else, would ever be available to *all* Canadians:

to many people the words National Theatre mean a building, probably in Ottawa. Now unless such a building is a centre from which travelling companies go on tours through the length and breadth of Canada, it is a foolish extravagance. A theatre is not a thing of bricks and mortar. If a djinn from the Arabian Nights were to whisk the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre from Stratford and set it down in Ottawa, with all its equipment, we would still be without a National Theatre. But if we can develop even one company, acting in a tent or in school halls, which can move Canadians to tears and laughter with the great plays of the past, and with great plays of the present (including perhaps a few of their own), we have the heart of a National Theatre. ("Theatre" 386)

Stressing the cultural, communicative and expressive function of the theatre, Davies almost seems to have foreshadowed the Stratford Shakespeare Festival in Ontario with his allusions to acting in a tent and the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre. The notion of a company of the National Theatre, rather than a building, was more generally thought of as a national institution with which Canadians would identify. Such an institution would have had to be bilingual at least but in actual fact needed to include First Peoples' tongues as well as the multiple immigrant languages. Due to its bilingual mandate, its catering to the whole of Canada, and its national prestige, the DDF was promoted as a National Theatre for a time but it was realized that the festival neglected important strands of Canadian theatre as it resented certain types of plays which could threaten the Festival's formality – "the protocol, balls, and dinner parties that were an essential part of DDF Finals" (Whittaker, "Dominion Drama Festival" 145). In the 1930s a Europeaninspired Workers' Theatre emerged in Canada which challenged the ruling WASP ideology, promoting theatre as a political force by exposing the exploitation of the workers by the bourgeois society (cf. Benson and Conolly 57). While DDF-adjudicator Michel St. Denis praised the performance of Irwin Shaw's Bury the Dead in 1937, it

was passed over as a prize winner and the Theatre of Action was not invited to the final ball (ibid.). An estimated 70% to 80% of the Workers' Theatres' plays were written by Canadians (Cecil-Smith x) and it was deeply

rooted in the lives and struggles of the toilers of Canada's shops, mines, farms, and slave-camps. Plays written in the heat of life by the same workers. Mass recitations and plays presented by worker-actors who understand what they are doing because they can live the very parts they take. (ibid. 39)

This is why Alan Filewood claims that the Workers' Theatre was the "closest that Canadians came to a true National Theatre" since they generated plays out of their own communal experience (20) and they toured to places where audiences had never seen a "dramatic presentation of any kind" (Cecil-Smith 102). Since the DDF as well as contemporary critics marginalized the Workers' Theatre they prevented its national appreciation (cf. Filewood 21; Cecil-Smith 103) so that it finally ceased existence during World War II. It was the exclusion of the Workers' Theatre – as well as other alternative theatres – which led to the DDF's failure to establish itself as the national institution. It was not inclusive in its choice of plays, and while being bilingual it did not present plays in First Peoples' or other tongues, which is why it was not the experience Canada was expecting.

If the National Theatre was not to be realized as an institution of some kind, many people longed for a specifically Canadian *style* of theatre, one that if transported to a different country would remain recognizably Canadian. Theatre practitioner David Gardner defines style as "the marriage of form and content" ("Acting" 6). Accordingly, a Canadian style pertains to a specific genre or trend, which could be combined with Canadian components, such as a Canadian setting or specifically Canadian problems, mirroring the Group of Seven and their paintings of the Canadian landscape. Author and literary critic Desmond Pacey, considering mainly poetry and prose fiction and consciously neglecting drama, as "very little [plays] of permanent interest emerged" (194) from the early twentieth century, suggests that setting and theme could create a Canadian style: for example, man "dwarfed by an immensely powerful physical environment which is at once forbidding and fascinating" (ibid. 2). Likewise stressing the importance of setting, theatre practitioner Harcourt Farmer contests that plays set in "London, Paris, New York, and Lisbon" or "Chicago, New York, Pittsburg and Cuba"

and featuring "British, American, German and [Irish]" characters can never portray the Canadian "spirit" (55-6). To develop a Canadian drama, he suggests, writers should dramatize the national history, but he stresses that while this needs "objectivity" the outcome must have a "dramatic technique" lacking from existing historical accounts (56). Governor General Vincent Massey dismisses this prescriptive approach because a "Canadian style . . . will not be discovered from an analysis in the laboratory; it will be produced spontaneously by the artist's conscientious performance of his task" (59). However, in the early twentieth century a Canadian style did not emerge as no single genre or form was generally accepted, and innovative theatrical forms, such as the mass recitations typical for the Workers' Theatre, were dismissed. This lack of style was partially explained with the lack of artists. Farmer comments ironically:

Playwrights and dramatists do exist in Canada, to my knowledge, because I have personally met all of them — the whole three. There may be others lurking in the vastness of Granby or cunningly aloof in the social whirl of North Bay... (55)

And he dismisses these three as "dramatic plumbers" (ibid.). Three decades later Desmond Pacey complained that "Canada is not a particularly favourable environment for the writer" (4). Curiously, while Charles Mair is now widely accepted as the first Canadian dramatist because he was born in Canada and dramatized the oppression of the First Nations, Pacey dismisses his *Tecumseh* as a "literary curiosity" (35), suggesting that "Mair was clearly not the national poet for whom Canadian critics were impatiently waiting" (37). The perceived lack of Canadian playwrights in the early twentieth century is, however, a myth which was enhanced by such critics as Desmond Pacey and such papers as the *Canadian Forum*.

Some critics also believed that the shortage of Canadian plays was caused by a lack of demand (see Farmer 56) even though there was an abundance of people calling for a National Theatre (cf. Christie 77). The existing playwrights, however, were either dismissed as inartistic, if the plays were not internationally praised and did not confirm to American or British standards, or they were rejected as un-Canadian based on subjectively defined criteria of Canadianness. In his anthology *Major Plays of the Canadian Theatre 1934-1984* Richard Perkyns, for instance, includes immigrant playwright Michael Cook, who wrote plays about Canada, arguing that his drama is

"more suffused with the atmosphere and spirit of Canadian regional life than most plays written in Canada" (1) but Perkyns excludes Bernard Slade on the grounds that, despite being Canadian born, he lives in the United States and also writes about it (see Cote, Leclercq and Luze). In contrast to this, Harcourt Farmer defines Canadian playwrights as artists who write about matters of Canadian interest, irrespective of their place of birth:

By 'Canadian playwrights' I don't mean persons of Canadian descent, who, migrating to New York or London, have written popular successes. . . The result is simply a commercial product, not in the least fashion typical of the author's own country. I mean persons of Canadian descent, or adoption, who have written plays the subject-matter of which deals with some intrinsic part of Canadian life, past or present; and whose plays are directly artistic representations of Canadian life, or interpretations of Canadian temperament. (55)

Mavor Moore deconstructs the notion of Canadianness of drama by considering plays commonly defined as Canadian: He compares Robertson Davies' *Jig for a Gypsy* (1954), which is set in Wales but written by a born Canadian, with John Coulter's *Riel* (1950), a play about Canada written by an Irishman, demonstrating the difficulty of defining the one as more Canadian than the other ("Theatre for Canada" 3). Only few cases are as simple as Davies' 1949 *Fortune, my Foe*, which is a play about Canadian life, written by a Canadian author.

So, the myth of the lack of Canadian playwrights was enhanced because certain plays were perceived as not Canadian enough – based on subjectively defined criteria, such as a playwright's place of birth, the subject-matter, or their initial impact on Canadian life (cf. Rubin 404). The following list of twentieth-century Canadian playwrights – some of whom Vincent Massey recognized as "promising" in 1922 (53) – may serve to discover the myth of their lack, by attesting to both their quantity and quality: from Mazo de la Roche's *Come True* (1927), Marjorie Pickthall's *The Woodcarver's Wife* (1922), Carroll Aikins' *The God of Gods* (1919), Merrill Denison's *Brothers in Arms* (1923), to Herman Voaden's *Earth Song* (1932).

The perceived absence of Canadian playwrights was connected to another issue: that of collaboration, as Mavor Moore demonstrates by recognizing the dual nature of theatre, existing on the page and simultaneously on the stage:

a 'Canadian' company from Stratford visits New York in a play by a sixteenth-century Englishman, staged by an Irishman, designed by an Englishman, music by a Scot, stage-directed by an Australian, and the two leading roles performed by an English actor and an Australian actress. ("Theatre for Canada" 2)

This raises the question of hierarchies, for which of these different elements is more important? Arthur Phelps asked in 1938

If Canadian actors, in a Canadian theatre before a Canadian audience, produce an English, American, German or Russian play, to what extend is that Canadian drama? . . . [I]f the play produced be written by a Canadian on a Canadian theme, is the show then wholly and purely Canadian? (19)

The hierarchy of the collaborative elements is a matter of degree and personal preferences, depending on which is to be weighted more heavily, the play on the page or the company on the stage. Even if the company weighs more heavily than the play, which could be regarded as general cultural good. In a country as heterogeneous as Canada the theatre companies were diverse, too. In this context, it is a common truism that there is no valid scale of hierarchy in the theatre because everyone plays their part. Thus no basic rules for defining a play as Canadian could be set.

Decades later, the multinational character of the companies was resolved as Canada recognized and constitutionalized Canadianness in its multicultural background in 1988. With multiculturalism actually *being* Canadian some of Moore's objections are partially resolved: while many Canadian theatre practitioners had been born and raised in a different country and had become Canadian citizens afterward, some of the people Moore mentions were indeed *imported* from England. Tyrone Guthrie or Alec Guinness, for example, came to Canada for the sole purpose of showing off their English theatre skills and then returned to their home-country. For this reason, as well as the refusal to accept a nonprofessional theatre as a Canadian National Theatre, the theatre in Canada perpetuated the myth of its own insufficiency.

3.4 Defining the 'Canadian Theatre'

As no universal definition of Canadian theatre could assert itself, many critics, such as Vincent Massey, hoped that the problem would resolve itself given time:

if our dramatists are both good Canadians and good artists their plays will have in them the essence of Canada, and will embody the spirit of the country, whatever that may be, and Canada will be the richer for them. (62)

Taking a more practical approach, Mavor Moore suggested that instead of developing Canadian plays, drama in Canada should, first of all, be spoken in a Canadian dialect. This, he suggested, could provide the necessary Canadian authenticity. For even in the 1950s Shakespeare's plays and other classics were performed in imitated contemporary speech fashions of London ("Theatre for Canada" 3). Richard Perkyns finds that Canadians seem to "denigrate themselves, to consider their work . . . ipso facto inferior to that of American or other cultures" (2), agreeing with Moore that Canadian drama already existed, it was a matter of accepting it as such:

Saying that things Canadian are not different often means only that when we look at Canadian life through British or American spectacles, we see only what is compatible with those lenses. . . It is this ingenious device that gives rise, for instance, to the complaint . . . that we have 'no theatre' in Canada. Not a different theatre, notice, but no theatre, or 'none to speak of.' . . . [T]he upshot of thus borrowing the cultural yardstick along with the culture is that whatever it does not measure is presumed to be not worth measuring. (Moore, "Theatre for Canada" 8)

According to this, Canadians were blinded by presumptions which were based on foreign models so that a Canadian theatre was declared inexistent due to the fact that the cultural methodologies were incompatible. Thus to find a Canadian theatre the Canadian must simply accept that which is present and develop the methodology accordingly, as Arthur Phelps suggests: "[t]here is a sense in which some sort of dramatic output here in our country can be – can be nothing else but – Canadian" (20). In a similar manner, Desmond Pacey commented on a 1950 review from *The Times Literary Supplement*,

which declared that "Canada is a country with no indigenous culture" (qtd. in Pacey 1), by deconstructing the notion of a "distinctive culture" (ibid.): Canadian culture has not developed in isolation from the English, Americans, and European models, henceforward it must be influenced by these. But in that sense "England has no indigenous culture" either (ibid.). Likewise, Alan Filewood suggests that "'National theatre' is a rhetorical idea that expresses particular values of nationhood and the theatre's place as a nation's 'shining glory'" (22). Despite Filewood's retrospective deconstruction of the idea of a National Theatre and its expression of the nation's lack of confidence, the wealth of newspaper articles, reviews, and discussions shows the prominence of this discourse at the time. Considering this together with the anxious efforts to establish a Canadian theatre, it appears all the more surprising that so many playwrights turned to the English national poet as a source of inspiration and adapted his plays, instead of composing new plays, featuring Canadian history or various Canadian components, from settings to characters.

Desmond Pacey suggests that Canadian audiences, even though they were legally independent from Great Britain, were still "colonials at heart" (4). They accepted the American or British theatrical superiority uncritically but never their own qualities: no Canadian theatre "can be other than a poor substitute for the real thing" (ibid.). Similarly, Mavor Moore commented:

Almost any of us, workers in the Canadian theatre, are regarded by the Canadian public at large . . . as 'amateurs'; yet in London and New York – the very world centres of theatrical activity in our language – we are accepted as accomplished professionals . . . Meanwhile we see third-rate American artists accepted blindly as professionals in our own cities and towns. ("Canadian Theatre" 110)

According to Moore, the reason for the insufficiency myth was not imposed colonial values, as Pacey's saying may suggest. Moore finds this to be an inner conflict which is deconstructed by the colonial powers who, unlike Canadians themselves, accepted the quality of Canadian theatre (cf. ibid.). This Canadian mental problem created a vicious circle by impeding the "development of national artistic endeavours" (Perkyns 2) which in turn aggravated the lack of self-confidence. Northrop Frye suggests that the problem originated in Canadians' wrong expectations, as they expected Canadian authors to compose "new Iliads and heroic sagas" but because the models, from Byron to

Wordsworth, were not Canadian their products were only "faint echoes" thereof and as such neither great nor Canadian ("Divisions" 121). While these general problems could not be resolved during the first half of the twentieth century, the government and the theatre practitioners themselves attempted to foster the development of a Canadian drama.

In 1949 Prime Minister Louis St Laurent created a Royal Commission on the National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences to interview artists, academics, government officials and First Peoples across the country about the needs in their fields. In 1951 their radical report²¹ was published: radical because its main request was government intervention in the arts and education (cf. Rubin 397). It problematized Canada's lack of cultural sovereignty from the United States:

American influences on Canadian life to say the least are impressive . . . It cannot be denied, however, that a vast and disproportionate amount of material coming from a single alien source may stifle rather than stimulate our own creative effort; and, passively accepted without any standard of comparison, this may weaken critical faculties. We are now spending millions to maintain a national independence which would be nothing but an empty shell without a vigorous and distinctive cultural life. (Canada 18)

While the attitude towards cultural dependence on England was more ambiguous, the report concluded that the government immediately needed to form a national institution that would support the arts both structurally and financially. This call was answered with the foundation of the Canada Council for the Arts in 1957 which subsequently subsidized and promoted the arts in Canada, enabling the establishment of various new professional theatres (cf. Rubin 400). Before the publication of the comprehensive Massey Report, various institutions attempted to help Canada develop a national drama by supporting and protecting Canadian playwrights and fostering the composition of new plays because the general consent was that despite popular demand there were not enough plays (cf. Massey 61). In 1921 the Canadian Author's Association²² formed a lobby group to help promote and protect their work. And even though sales did not increase dramatically, authors now had a new found respect (cf. Vance, "History" 245).

 $^{^{21}}$ In the following referred to by its popular title, the *Massey Report*, after its chair Vincent Massey. In the following referred to as CAA.

The CAA published two journals, the *Canadian Bookman* and the *Author's Bulletin*, both of which were nationalist, promoting national literature as an essential part of Canadian nationality (cf. Vipond 454).

Several playwriting contests leveraged the creation of Canadian plays. The Canadian Forum offered a prize of five dollars in a series of playwriting competitions – in its inaugural edition in 1920, for example, for a soliloguy of Hamlet on seeing himself in the movies (cf. MacPherson 16). Toronto's Hart House Theatre scheduled a triple bill of new Canadian plays for April 1921, commencing a tradition which lasted for a decade and produced at least one Canadian work during each Hart House Theatre season (cf. Wagner 10). In 1929/30 Herman Voaden staged a Canadian playwriting competition for one-act plays at the Central High School of Commerce in Toronto, with the main requirement being that an exterior northern setting be the subject matter (cf. Grace 55). Moreover, after *The Globe* had criticized the DDF for not offering a prize for the best Canadian play for the promotion of Canadian drama in their final, the DDF's committee awarded a prize for the best Canadian play from 1934 (cf. Lee 122). The success of such competitions led several Little Theatres to establish their own playwriting groups. Herman Voaden founded the Play Workshop in Toronto in 1934 with the aim of "developing 'a distinctly Canadian art of the theatre" (Wagner 13). Toronto's Playwright's Studio Group had a similar goal and in 1935 issued a catalogue of 27 scripts for other Little Theatres to produce (ibid.). One of the few non-Torontonian groups who encouraged Canadian authors was the playwriting group of the Montreal Repertory Theatre (Whittaker, "Montreal Repertory" x).

Canadian clubs and press also helped promote Canadian theatre and Canadian nationalism. Due to overlapping memberships, debating clubs were associated with university journals, such as the *Dalhousie Review* or *Queen's Quarterly*, but they also directly published the *Canadian Nation* or the journal of the Association of Canadian Clubs. The *Canadian Magazine*, *Canadian Nation*, or *The Rebel*, which was succeeded by the *Canadian Forum*, printed club speeches as well as articles of general cultural interest, such as prints and articles by and about the Group of Seven (see Davidson). Initially, the *Canadian Forum* only published occasional articles on the theatre but from 1925 Fred Jacob wrote the regular column "The Stage" which began focussing on the Little Theatres towards the end of the 1920s with such articles as Carroll Aikins' "Survey of the Canadian Amateur Stage". Other journals, such as *Saturday Night*, also published articles about theatre in general or particular productions. Nevertheless, for a

specialized journal about theatre to be created Canadians had to wait until 1974 when the *Canadian Theatre Review* was first published.

Following Merrill Denison who proposed that Canadian drama was a fancy of the intellectuals ("Nationalism" 88-9), Mary Vipond argues that the nationalist movement in the arts was restricted to the Canadian intelligentsia, the social élite who had time and means to meet in clubs and write for and read those journals. The intellectuals made it their task to raise awareness and mould public opinion but as the clubs' membership was largely refined to the upper-classes and the journals were only read by the intellectuals they "devoted more time to the Masseys than to the masses" (456). Therefore, Vipond argues, that the Canadian preoccupation with nationalism in general and Canadian forms of art in particular are not a common Canadian phenomenon but was restricted to the intellectual élite, "the creative artists, the writers, the university professors" (ibid. 447). The intelligentsia played a vital part in furthering Canadian drama. Vincent Massey is the most prominent figure because he not only founded Hart House Theatre, engaged in several clubs, and frequently wrote for their journals, but as Governor-General of Canada from 1952 to 59 he also wielded political tools to promote Canadian drama. But the interest in Canadian theatre was not, as Vipond suggests, restricted to Massey and his circles. Daily newspapers, such as the Ottawa Journal (see Anonymous) or The Globe²³, Toronto's daily newspaper, also published articles on Canadian theatre, such as "The Sarnia Idea", and employed a drama critic in Lawrence Mason, whose articles were widely read. Even the plays produced by the community theatres treated the topic of national identity, as Canada, Fair Canada:

from Sydney to Victoria, from Kingston to Dawson City, the country is alive. Canada has awoke from her sleep and realizes the importance of her destiny among the nations of the world. (Knight 24-5)

And finally, the Little Theatres and community theatres, with their efforts to come together in the DDF, or the Workers' Theatres, presenting Canadian workers' life exceeded the elitist circle. Vipond is right in stating the immense importance of people like Vincent Massey, Mavor Moore, or Herman Voaden because they provided invaluable support, but the discourse of a Canadian National Theatre was not restricted

²³ Later *The Globe and Mail*.

to the social élite. Through the local theatres, and daily newspapers, it pervaded peoples' homes all over Canada.

3.5 Shakespeare's Role(s) in Canadian Theatre

A decisive breakthrough in Canadian theatre history was made on 13 July 1953 as the Stratford Shakespearean Festival²⁴ in Ontario was opened for its first premier show. Susan McNicoll demonstrates in *The Opening Act* that founding a professional theatre company in Canada was, although still unusual, no longer exceptional in 1953. And even the idea of dedicating a festival to Shakespeare had been preceded by the less known, but first, Canadian Shakespeare Festival, which was established at Trinity College in Toronto in 1949 by actor-manager Earle Grey and his wife Mary Godwin (cf. Makaryk, "Introduction" 21). However, Canadian theatre historians agree that the "one event that catalysed and revolutionized theatre in Canada was the opening of the Stratford Shakespeare Festival" (Aikens 150). Northrop Frye demonstrates why:

the beginnings of the Shakespeare festival in Stratford turned out to be a very important event in the history of *Canadian* drama: it helped to foster a school of Canadian actors, and the lift in morale it represented fostered Canadian playwriting well. Second, it represented an extraordinary recreation of the power and freshness of Shakespeare himself: one almost felt sorry for the British, who having no Stratford except the one that had actually produced Shakespeare, would find it harder to make this kind of rediscovery of him. ("Divisions" 23-4)

The Stratfordian success depended firstly on the new theatre education program: since previous professional theatres had struggled due to a lack of good actors, the Stratford Shakespeare Festival began offering drama courses in 1954, the year after its inauguration, to provide some of the needed personnel (cf. Somerset xii). Employing international stars, such as artistic director Tyrone Guthrie, designer Tanya Moisewitch, or actors Alec Guinness and Irene Worth, the Stratford Shakespeare Festival proved from its beginning that high-quality professional theatre in Canada was possible and soon found many imitators. After its initial tent-situation, the two million dollar-Festival

name.

²⁴ The Festival has changed its name from the initial name 'Stratford Shakespearean Festival' to 'the Stratford Festival', later 'Stratford Festival of Canada' and is currently called the 'Stratford Shakespeare Festival'. For the sake of convenience this study refers to the company by its current

Theatre was built in 1957, only four years after its inauguration (ibid. xiv). Today the festival runs four theatres of 260 to 1 800 seats (cf. "Stratford Festival"). The Stratford Shakespeare Festival also expanded its audience otherwise: in 1956 Guthrie's *Tamburlaine the Great* appeared in Toronto and on Broadway and his *Oedipus Rex* was made into a film (cf. Somerset xv). This success was followed up by a television production of *Peer Gynt* (ibid. xvi) and subsequent tours to Broadway. The international respect it has been awarded and the great expansion it underwent throughout these years ensured a lasting success, which is why the Stratford Shakespeare Festival is still up and running after 60 years.

The reason why the festival is often regarded as the cataclysm of Canadian professional theatre lies in the combination of education, through the drama school, and long lasting national and international artistic and financial success, which was enabled by a combination of good management, international star-ensembles, and the nation-wide availability through films. The latter also ensured that even far away, in British Columbia, the Stratford Shakespeare Festival became a brand-name with a high recognition value. However, despite the fact that for a brief time during the 1970s the touring company called itself the "Stratford *National* Theatre of Canada" (Filewood 21), initially the festival did little to establish a Canadian theatre as it was run by an English director, showcasing English star-actors, and only started employing Canadian artistic directors in 1968 when Montreal-born Jean Gascon succeeded English director Michael Langham.

Even if the immediate importance of the Stratford Shakespeare Festival for the development of a National Theatre in Canada may be debatable, it was the English national poet Shakespeare, of all authors, whose festival catalyzed the professional theatre in Canada. This is indicative of Shakespeare's extraordinary role in the Canadian theatrical field.

As mentioned above, settler-, pioneer-, garrison-, and even touring companies performed Shakespeare so frequently that there was an "unbroken tradition of playing Shakespeare since at least the 18th century" (Makaryk, "Canada" 64). This was partially due to the fact that the immigrants imported the Bard from home. For them playing Shakespeare – or other British playwrights – represented an act of nostalgia and British patriotism, embracing ideals known from home (cf. Flood 69). Examining the repertory of theatres in Victoria between 1860 and 1865, Michael R. Booth lists 49 performances

of Shakespeare's plays, making him the most popular dramatist²⁵ (53). Raymond Massey recalls going to the theatre during the Christmas holidays of 1913 in Toronto, seeing six plays by visiting companies, four of which were plays by Shakespeare²⁶ (cf. 21ff.). While at Hart House Theatre the number of plays by G.B. Shaw exceeded the number of plays by Shakespeare, these two were nonetheless the most popular playwrights and more frequently performed than Ibsen, O'Neill, and more than Canadian playwrights, such as Robertson Davies or Merrill Denison. The number of Shakespearean adaptations in Canada is equally indicative of Shakespeare's popularity because the recognition value of any play in adaptation is only enabled by the audience's prior knowledge of the hypotext. The first recorded Shakespeare adaptation in Canada was William Moore's Fashionable Raillery, which was staged in 1785. Adapting the Fallstaff-plays The Merry Wives of Windsor and the two parts of King Henry IV (Fischlin, "Welcome"), it inaugurated a "tradition of rewriting Shakespeare to satirize local politics" (Makaryk, "Canada" 65); this context also produced Measure by Measure, or the Coalition in Secret Session, an anonymous political farce published in 1871. This tradition was broadened in scope during the twentieth-century. CASP lists more than 500 adaptations from the past century which span a wide spectrum of themes and issues, and range from the serious to the outrageous.

Outside of the theatre Shakespeare's popularity had increased from the midnineteenth century and the foundation of libraries which had made his works more easily accessible to Canadians – as theatres were scarce. From the 1860s onwards his works even became part of the school curriculum and were taught at university in English Canada (cf. ibid. 64). Additionally, the large number of Shakespeare societies is a testimony to the Bard's increasing popularity in Canada during the nineteenth century.

Whether Canadians saw Shakespeare on the stage or read him at school, the Bard had a prominent place in Canadian life and appeared in various forms from books, to theatre productions to art to adaptations. This phenomenon is called the "Shakespeare effect" (Fischlin, "Being Canadian" 4). His capacity for permutation ensured Shakespeare's availability and popularity (see Fischlin "Nation). More than other playwrights Shakespeare was used as a cultural touchstone: E. Cecil-Smith says "[w]e

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²⁵Hamlet x 11, Macbeth x 8, Othello x 6, Richard III x 5, The Taming of the Shrew x 5, Romeo and Juliet x 5. "Scattered performances" of King Henry IV, King Henry VIII, King Richard II, King Lear, The Merchant of Venice, and As You Like It (Booth 53).

²⁶ Hamlet, Romeo and Juliet, and Macbeth at the Princess theatre and another Hamlet at the Royal Alexandra Theatre (see R. Massey 21ff.).

must learn to recapture the secret of Shakespeare and the Elizabethans; we must make the very audiences a part of the company of actors" (39), insisting on the quality of Elizabethan theatre, personified by Shakespeare. Similarly, Norman Newton suggests Shakespeare's undeniable quality when he says "I am not comparing Lister Sinclair to Shakespeare" (111), which is to say that while Canadian playwright Sinclair is good, Shakespeare is superior. This attitude was widely promoted and became a rhetoric device. Additionally, the DDF showcased frequent performances of Shakespeare's plays – if only in excerpt due to the time constraints. The initial festival week in Ottawa, inaugurating the DDF tradition, even opened its doors on 23 April 1933, Shakespeare's supposed birthday. In this manner, Shakespeare was frequently presented as the ultimate aim, the dramatic goal which Canadian writers should strive to reach, perpetuating and idealizing the "Shakespeare effect".

This discourse analysis shows Shakespeare's great cultural presence in Canada during the twentieth century: he haunts the Canadian theatrical field as the dramatic consummation devoutly to be wished for. While the Bard remains an icon of British culture, he could be used as a bulwark against American commercialism (cf. Makaryk, "Canada" 64), and through his availability, his language and the long performative tradition, he was generally accepted as a cultural touchstone in Canada. This status was finalized with the success of the Stratford Shakespeare Festival. Nevertheless, in the context of a Canadian identity crisis, the emerging culture expressed in the theatre defined itself in dialogue with and against Shakespeare and relied on Shakespeare's mutation (cf. Fischlin, "Being Canadian" 8). As the subsequent chapters analyzing two exemplary adaptations demonstrate, this process is driven between de-colonization by demonstrating his insufficiency and contradicting Shakespeare's claims to universalism and confirming the colonial heritage by enshrining Shakespeare in cultural memory.

Chapter 4: Analyzing Star-Crossed

The Canadian play Star-Crossed²⁷ is a political rewriting of Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet. By relocating the story to the Nazi-occupied Netherlands the adaptation translates and familiarizes the Shakespearean tragedy for the mid-twentieth-century Canadian context. Since Star-Crossed is relatively unknown this chapter begins with an introduction to its obscure origins and context. Subsequently, the product-oriented analysis compares formal and thematic features of hypo- and hypertext to demonstrate how the hypertextual connection between *Romeo and Juliet* and *Star-Crossed* is created, as the adaptation is mimetic but not identical with Shakespeare's play. On the linguistic level, Star-Crossed is the result of an intralingual translation enabled by the application of interpretants. Linguistic shifts, such as the modernized language, are the consequence of a modernized and familiarized setting, while Shakespeare's foreignizing colloquialisms are maintained as potential pressure points. Similarly, the adaptation maintains the basic character constellation but applies a thematic interpretant to Romeo, causing a politicizing re-envisioning of the plot. The discourse of fate in Romeo and Juliet is devalued and creatively vandalized as the adaptation modernizes the Renaissance leitmotif for an enlightened audience. Through the application of thematic interpretants to characters and set, the product-oriented analysis reveals discursive shifts. The first enhances Romeo and Juliet's existing feminist potential in Star-Crossed. The nationalist thematic interpretant creatively vandalizes Romeo and Juliet, questioning its place in the English canon and relocating it to the heart of Canadian national pride by translating Shakespeare's tragedy into a story of Canadian international success. Frequently reiterating certain pressure points, the audience is constantly reminded of the play's being an adaptation. This technique adds a layer of information disseminated from the genre. It enables a palimsestuous experience where the adaptation is read through the veil of its hypotext, creating audience expectations about the hypertext and shifting the drama's external communication system to enhance Star-Crossed's own suspense potential. Finally, the function-oriented conclusion summarizes the results to locate Star-Crossed's role in the target culture and establish its criticism of Shakespeare's reputation and status in Canada.

²⁷On the manuscript's title-page the play is called "Star-Crossed: A Play". For brevity's sake it is referred to as *Star-Crossed* throughout this study.

4.1 Origins and Contexts

The origins of *Star-Crossed* are mysterious. The play only exists in typescript form in the National Archives of Canada²⁸ as part of the Dominion Drama Festival Fonds and was not published in print. Dating *Star-Crossed* is difficult because the note on the LAC file only indicates the imprecise date of "196-" ("Appendix"). This is likely the date of acquisition – between 1961 and 1969 – and not the date of composition as Marissa McHugh argues (cf. 256). Since this is the only information on its context of origin available from the LAC, the exact date and place of composition remain obscure.

However, the period of composition can be narrowed to the 1950s. The play is mentioned in W. S. Milne's Canadian Full-Length Plays in English: A Preliminary Annotated Catalogue (31) which was first published in 1964. Therefore, the latest possible date of composition is 1961 if reasonable time is allowed for the play's composition, its rehearsal and performance at the DDF, and the catalogue's publishing. The earliest date of composition for *Star-Crossed* also points to the 1950s. The play is an accurate treatment of the end of the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands in 1944, suggesting a post-1945 date. Star-Crossed's preservation in the DDF-files also indicates that it was performed during the DDF although no records of this survive. This is not unusual since many DDF playbills – from the regional contests to the finals – have not been preserved. Canadian plays were encouraged during the 1920s by the Little Theatres (cf. Perkyns 7) and the Samuel French publishing-house produced a series of Canadian plays following from the 1930s. But short one-act plays remained the dominant form until the DDF started accepting full-length Canadian plays in 1950 (cf. Whittaker 144). Since Star-Crossed is a full-length play and was likely performed during the DDF it has likely been composed during the 1950s, as Daniel Fischlin suggests (see "Star-Crossed").

Although no exact date of composition can be claimed with certainty several factors point to the year 1953 or thereabouts. The Netherlands had formed a special bond with Canada during the Second World War as Canada had granted asylum to the Dutch royal family and allowed them to instigate a government in exile. The Canadian government even declared a room at the Ottawa Civic Hospital extraterritorial so that the Dutch Princess Juliana could give birth to her daughter Margriet on Dutch soil. Most importantly, Canada had played a crucial role in the liberation of the Netherlands (cf.

²⁸In the following referred to as "LAC" (Library and Archives Canada).

Goddard 44). This bond of friendship between the two nations is annually remembered with the Ottawa Tulip Festival, a gesture which was officially inaugurated in 1953 when Princess Juliana sent 100 000 tulip bulbs – tulips being the Dutch national flower – to Ottawa to thank Canada (cf. ibid. 232). It is conceivable that the play was initially composed for this context and performed as part of the celebrations.

Star-Crossed's authorship is as controversial as its exact date of composition. Fig. 7 demonstrates that the play's title page indicates Patrick Bentley as the author but

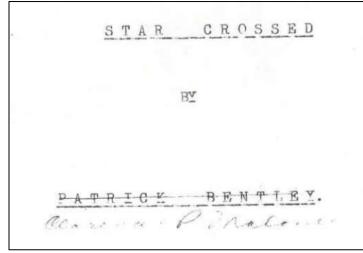


FIGURE 7: TITLE PAGE STAR-CROSSED

the typewritten name is crossed out and underneath is written "Clarence P. Malone" by hand. In a note added to the typescript, the LAC indicate the name "Patrick Bentket" as a third option ("Appendix"). But this is likely a misspell of "Bentley".

Both editions of W. S.

Milne's Canadian Full-Length Plays in English list Malone as the sole playwright (cf. 31). In the first edition, Milne also mentions another play by Malone entitled The Heart of My Mystery. Like Star-Crossed this play is Shakespeare-related discussing the infamous authorship controversy (Milne, "Preliminary" 30). Malone seems indeed to have worked as a playwright since Milne's second edition lists the unpublished comedy A Great Day by "Malone, C. Patrick" (Milne, "Supplement" 22). He, therefore, appears as a possible authorship contestant for Star-Crossed. Unfortunately, while his other two plays survive in the LAC they are currently inaccessible and will be for some time due to internal restructurings so that a comparison of form and content between these plays and Star-Crossed, which might prove or disprove Malone's authorship of this rewriting, is impossible. It may prove fruitful in future times, however.

The second potential author of *Star-Crossed* is Patrick Bentley. He is credited as the author on the title page as well as the page containing the dramatis personae, which is why Daniel Fischlin states that Bentley "appears to have been its author" ("Star-Crossed"). Thus Fischlin contests both Milne and the LAC who list Malone as the author (LAC, "Appendix" 141) – although the LAC leaves the option of Bentley's authorship as they add "*Star Crossed*: a play by *Patrick Bentley*" (ibid. 141; emphasis

added).

Marissa McHugh suggests that since Malone's middle name is Patrick according to Milne – "Patrick Bentley" might have been Malone's pen name (cf. 255). This hypothesis is supported by the fact that no records of "Patrick Bentley" exist – not in the DDF records nor in any birth, death, or military records at the Canadian Genealogical Centre (cf. ibid.). However, the service records for living World War II veterans remain confidential and inaccessible (cf. ibid., note 21) and neither the Canadian Genealogical Centre's nor the DDF's records are exhaustive. Believing Bentley to be Malone's pen-name, McHugh located a general record for one Clarence P. Malone, a native of Guelph, Ontario (cf. ibid.). McHugh suggests that his wife's maiden name "Kaiser" indicates her German origin, which would provide a context for the author's interest in the character of Folkert Busch (cf. ibid.). However, the author of Star-Crossed, whether he be Bentley or Malone, is unlikely to have been German, or related to someone able to speak German because he makes several mistakes. He misspells Schubert's song Seligkeit as "Seligkert" (1), and calls the German poet who composed the lyrics "Ludwig Holtz" (1), confusing him with Ludwig Hölty. Additionally, he confounds Hitler's Wolf's Lair with the Brown House when Folkert speaks of the "Brown House Conspiracy" (35) and an attempt on Hitler's life. Folkert's description of a bomb placed underneath a table to assassinate Hitler (cf. 35) is an allusion to the Stauffenberg attack on 20 July, 1944. However, this attack occurred at the Wolf's Lair near Berlin, Hitler's bunker, not the Brown house in Munich, which was the NSDAP's headquarter. Moreover, although the character name of "Private Schmitt" (32) is a common German name, it is usually spelled "Schmidt". These – albeit slight – confusions indicate an inability to speak German. Therefore, it is unlikely that this Clarence P. Malone from Guelph is the author of Star-Crossed. There is another, yet inconclusive, entry in the records of the Canadian Genealogical Centre about Clarence Patrick Malone: he lived from 1900 to 1969 and was MID²⁹ (see LAC "Military"). As this man would have been too young to participate in the First World War, this military honour indicates his participation in World War II. While he contests for the authorship of Star-Crossed, no other conclusive information about him is available.

The events described in *Star-Crossed* show a detailed knowledge of Dutch life during World War II, only accessible to someone who had direct experience of the war

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²⁹ "Mentioned in Despatches"

in Holland. For instance, using the British soldier Edwards the play realistically demonstrates the so-called "onkerduiker system" which provided shelter for hundreds of British soldiers and airmen with Dutch families (cf. S. Bentley 120). The sabotage of the blockage by Willem and his colleagues, who build the barricades for the Nazis as loosely as possible, is a second kind of resistance typical for The Raad Van Verzet³⁰, which Star-Crossed portrays accurately. Dirk's assassination of Captain Busch suggests his belonging to the Landelijke Knok Ploeg³¹, who engaged in local sabotage operations (cf. ibid. 8). The author of Star-Crossed also displays an awareness of the significance of such simple items as radios and bicycles in the occupied Netherlands. In his study of the Dutch resistance Stewart Bentley demonstrates the importance of BBC broadcasts to which the Dutch population listened covertly as the government in exile communicated with its people through such radio broadcasts (cf. 7). In Star-Crossed the radio informs the audience diegetically of the war happenings outside of the immediate Heerdinckfamily. The play, for instance, begins with a radio announcement that "[t]he Polish Army is smashed and the country is at the mercy of the Germans" (4). In *Orange Blood*, Silver Wings S. Bentley also stresses the importance of the "ubiquitous bicycles" which, as gasoline was expensive, were the only means of transportation affordable for the Dutch (cf. ibid.). Accordingly, Willem repeatedly rolls his bicycle across the stage and to hide it in the offstage garden-area. He stresses: "I had better put this bicycle away . . . I had to get off and hide three times on the way or they [the Nazis] would have taken it from me" (11). Even though Bentley's study focusses specifically on the role of the Dutch resistance during the failed Market-Garden operation, his exemplary description of circumstances pertains to the entire war period. Many issues are accurately related in the adaptation, for instance in the play's vivid depiction of shortage of coffee, and food in general. This detailed description of circumstances suggests that the author was either Dutch himself or had access to eye-witness accounts from the Dutch community in Canada, as Fischlin argues (cf. "Star-Crossed"). While this limits the number of authorship contestants many Netherlanders had immigrated to Canada during or after the War so that the Dutch community was too to identify one individual in the records. The only feasible hint is the play's participation in the DDF, which leads Fischlin to conclude that *Star-Crossed* was "a very local, amateur provenance" ("Star-Crossed").

From a theatre practitioner's point of view the likeliest explanation for the

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³⁰ Council of Resistance

³¹ Central Government Fighting Group

double authorship is that one man composed the play and the other edited it for performance. Patrick Bentley is indicated as the author twice and typed his name and therefore probably typed the script. The LAC explain in their appendix that two scribes later edited the typescript by hand. The main corrections were made "in pencil with a script hand" ("Appendix" 1) and an additional six "in blue pen and in block letters" (ibid.). The LAC suggest that the major corrections were made by Malone but offer no explanation for the scribe with the blue pen. In this reconstruction of events Bentley, being the author, gave his typescript to the director Malone who adapted the text according to his needs and added his name by hand. The additional notes in blue ink could be from a co-director helping Malone with the prompt-book, a current practice in theatre. If Malone then sent his other plays *The Heart of My Mystery* and *A Great Day* together with Star-Crossed to the editors of Milne's Annotated Catalogue, they would have assumed that he wrote Star-Crossed. While a final resolution to the authorship mystery – which is reminiscent of Shakespeare's own plays (cf. McHugh 255) – may never be found, the present study acts on the assumption that Patrick Bentley is the author of Star-Crossed. However, the lack of information on the adaptation's context of origin makes a process-oriented analysis, focusing on the writer, superfluous.

4.2 Product-Oriented Analysis

Having established the adaptation's ominous context of origin, the product-oriented analysis of *Star-Crossed* focuses on the more graspable formal and thematic features of *Romeo and Juliet* and its hypertext. Formal and thematic similarities between hypo- and hypertext create hypertextual connections which are carefully balanced with the according differences, locating *Star-Crossed* in the middle of the model of textual transformation as a rewriting which is mimetic of *Romeo and Juliet* but not identical with it. This product-oriented analysis has a tripartite structure: first, considering the adaptation as an intralingual translation from Early Modern English to Modern English, which reveals the application of linguistic formal and thematic interpretants. The second part of the analysis focuses on the formal feature of Chatman's "existence" (19), in particular the characters. The third level of analysis is the level of discourse, which focuses on the thematic feature of ideology as well as genre to suggest that the rewriting of a hypotext essentially changes the audience's experience of the story. None of these issues have been exhausted but have been selected based on their influence on the

discursive shifts.

4.2.1 Language

The most basic aspect of a play to be adapted in any rewriting is its language. The theory chapter has discussed the option of adaptation without textual alteration as adaptation in performance, but in rewriting, as the name suggests, the act of altering the words is a prerequisite. Adaptation scholars have long attempted to define the point at which a linguistic intervention in Shakespeare's text becomes an adaptation (see Cohn; Sanders; Fischlin and Fortier), but unlike the examples of adaptation in performance, *Star-Crossed's* linguistic intervention goes beyond the changing of a few words or lines and therefore changes this potential pressure point drastically.

By changing the play's title from *Romeo and Juliet* to *Star-Crossed* the genre of rewriting is announced prominently. The title Star-Crossed is an allusion to Romeo and Juliet's prologue: "From forth the loins of these two fatal foes / A pair of star-crossed lovers take their life" (cf. Rom. Prol. 5-6; emphasis added), creating a hypertextual connection between the two plays. As Shakespeare was the most "inventive shaper and user of the English language" (Fischlin, "Being Canadian" 7), his language has arguably achieved an iconic status. Comparing it to a "global lingua franca" Fischlin deems Shakespeare's language a pressure point of any of his plays (ibid.) so that its manipulation signals a shift away from the hypotext. Ensuring an audience's understanding of the play's status as an adaptation, the hypertextual connection is reinforced through the full quotation of the two lines from *Romeo and Juliet*'s prologue, which are cited in the typescript (1). As the title prominently suggests a palimpsestuous reading, the audience continually checks hypertext against hypotext. Even though this hypertextual connection is created on the linguistic level, it channels audience expectations about other dramatic categories, such as character or plot. The title implies that the play follows Romeo and Juliet's plotline, ending tragically. Additionally, a palimpsestuous reading proposes that the lovers are as genuine as Shakespeare's couple, characterizing them even before the start of the play.

The language of *Star-Crossed* is the result of an intralingual translation enabled by the application of formal and thematic interpretants. In accordance with Renaissance conventions Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* is written in Early Modern English blank verse and rhymed iambic pentameter. In the Renaissance, this may have had a

mnemonic function for the actors. The rather fluent state of Early Modern English, allowing for linguistic variability, from elisions "wat'ry" (Rom. 1.4.62) instead of "watery", to grammatical inversions, such as "[w]hich oft the angry Mab with blisters plagues" (Rom. 1.4.75), created the frequently praised poetic language of the Renaissance (see E. Smith). In twentieth-century Canada, however, plays, like Davies' Fortune, my Foe or Aikins' The God of Gods were written in naturalistic prose, omitting such poetic elaboration. Avoiding metaphoric verse probably facilitated the work of the nonprofessional playwrights and helped Canadian actors, who were untrained in the art of verse-speaking. Being nonprofessional, the actors also did not need mnemonic techniques as they had fewer lines to learn than professional actors of the Renaissance. Naturally, the Canadian playwrights also composed their plays in their contemporary Modern English not in Early Modern English and used Canadian idioms, such as "rôle" (see Freund). However, the Canadian English was defined by stricter grammar rules, which did not allow for the same kind of freedom Shakespeare could enjoy with the Early Modern English. While the languages of both plays therefore differ radically, the language of *Star-Crossed* is the result of applying a formal interpretant, as the adaptation is composed according to its respective theatrical conventions and memes, creating a story with a contemporary sound, similar to the Renaissance experience of Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet.

Another formal interpretant is applied to Shakespeare's frequent use of Italianisms with which *Romeo and Juliet* are enwrought. Several of Shakespeare's characters have Italian sounding names, such as Benvolio or Mercutio, and the list of guests who are invited to the Capulet feast also enlists Italian names, such as Martino (*Rom.* 1.2.64), Placentio (*Rom.* 1.2.67), or Valentio (*Rom.* 1.2.71), and titles, such as the Italian "Signor" (*Rom.* 1.2.64). Shakespeare's play uses Italianate language, especially with regards to weapons and duels. During the 1590s, Italian-style fencing with a rapier, as opposed to the English sword and buckler, was made popular by the three Italian fencing masters Bonetti, Jeronimo, and Saviolo (cf. Turner and Soper 10-1; Rossi 175). Mercutio's "Come, sir, your *passado*" (*Rom.* 3.1.83; emphasis in the original), for instance, refers to Saviolo's *passata sotto* (cf. Turner and Soper 70), and "the *punto reverso*" (*Rom.* 2.4.25-6; emphasis in the original) alludes to a backhanded stroke described in Saviolo's fencing manual (cf. ibid. 54). Similarly, "hai" (*Rom.* 2.4.24; emphasis in the original) is an Italian outcry meaning "thou hast it" used when an antagonist is struck (cf. Gibbons, Note, 143). When Mercutio calls out "*Alla stoccado*"

(Rom. 3.1.73; emphasis in the original) he references another fencing manual written by the Italian Giacomo Di Grassi (cf. Turner and Soper 38-9). Additionally, Mercutio's comment on Tybalt being "the very butcher of a silk button" (Rom. 2.4.22-3) alludes to the teachings of Rocco Bonetti (cf. Gibbons, Note, 142; Turner and Soper 52). Generally the art of duelling with the Italian rapier, so omnipresent in Romeo and Juliet, was associated with the Italian fencing schools, many of which were located near the playhouses for which Shakespeare wrote (cf. Turner and Soper 10-1). Another Italianate reference in Romeo and Juliet is the depiction of "quick-tempered and immature ruffians" (Sause 214) in the fight scenes which an audience may have read as an allusion to the Italianate Englishman, well-off young men who had travelled abroad and returned with Italianate manners (cf. ibid.). These frequent Italianisms constantly remind a Shakespearean audience of the Italian setting in Verona.

Since Star-Crossed takes place in Holland, the Italian colloquialisms are translated accordingly into Dutch expressions to serve as a reminder of the changed setting: Not only are the characters' names, such as the last name Heerdinck or the first name Anton, typically Dutch, the author alludes to historical Dutch persons; which also indicates his familiarity with Dutch culture. A Dutch historian by the name of Hendrik Willem van Loon fled to Boston and promoted the Dutch cause during World War II through a radio program from WRUL station in Boston (Anon. 1) and may have contributed Willem's first name and Elizabeth's last name, "van Loon". The choice of her first name – Elizabeth – suggests a reference to the RMS Queen Elizabeth, the ship which famously brought the Dutch Princess and her husband to Canada during the War. Similarly, Marguerite³², Willem's wife, may be an allusion to Princess Margriet, who was born in Ottawa in 1943. Like Shakespeare's Italianisms these namesakes establish a Dutch setting. This is reinforced by Philip's addressing Willem with the Dutch phrase "Mynheer" and Elizabeth's insisting "it's real coffee, not ersatz" (19). Hence Star-Crossed is a translation from Early Modern into Modern English, in accordance with George Steiner's notion of intralingual translation across the barrier of time (cf. 29). The application of an interpretant causes a formal shift in the use of non-English idioms which reflect the alternate setting on the linguistic level, emphasizing its geographical re-location to the Netherlands.

Despite the obvious linguistic differences, Star-Crossed also literally echoes

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³² The character is spelled "Marguerita" in the list of characters (2) but "Marguerite" (6-9) in the remainder of the play.

Romeo and Juliet to create a hypertextual connection. Particularly prominent in Shakespeare's play is the theme of blood, which is evoked roughly 25 times throughout the play; for instance in the prologue's "civil blood" (Rom. Prol. 4), or in Benvolio's "For now . . . is the mad blood stirring" (Rom. 3.1.4). In Star-Crossed this imagery is used when Dirk says "I am not ashamed. It will not balance the blood they [the Nazis] have shed" (61) to which Anna answers "Blood! Blood! Everything is blood!" (61). Since the imagery of blood is otherwise absent from the adaptation, Anna's outbreak can only be understood as a hypertextual reference which echoes the hypotext's abundance of blood-references. Similarly, Philip is described as having "fire and imagination" in the stage directions (4) and Dirk says about him "[h]e was like a flame" (41), an unusually metaphoric way of speaking for the Star-Crossed characters. This heat-related metaphor, however, is linguistically grounded in Philip's hypo-figure, Mercutio. Mercutio ironically accuses Benvolio, "thou art as hot a jack in thy mood as any in Italy" (Rom. 3.1.11-12). Benvolio later describes how Mercutio fought with Tybalt "all as hot" (Rom. 3.1.159). Therefore, Star-Crossed not only translates Romeo and Juliet and thus shifts the hypotext's language but also creates hypertextual connections through such verbal echoes and thereby acknowledges the linguistic pressure points.

In this manner, the language of *Star-Crossed*, although it is not identical with its Renaissance hypotext, mimics *Romeo and Juliet* in its combination of contemporary English – in accordance with the current theatrical memes – with foreign colloquialisms and verbal echoes to maintain a subtle connection between the two texts. Both the choice of Early Modern English as well as the application of Venuti's foreignizing strategy reveal the application of formal interpretants as the cultural translation requires the transfer of linguistic features of the one play to equivalent features of the other. In this manner, *Star-Crossed* modernizes *Romeo and Juliet*, familiarizing the sound for its Canadian audience.

4.2.2 Characters as Pressure Points

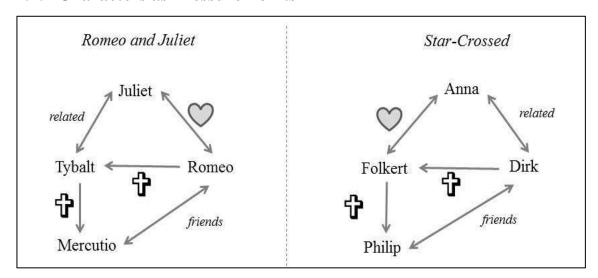


FIGURE 8: CHARACTER CONSTELLATION ROMEO AND JULIET - STAR-CROSSED

In addition to the language, another prominent feature and possible pressure point is the play's story, in particular the characters. The subsequent analysis illuminates which characters have been retained or altered and how the changes of these formal features reveal the application of thematic interpretants. A glance at the two lists of dramatis personae in fig. 8 immediately reveals the conflated personnel in *Star-Crossed*. It is partially due to the adaptation's lack of musicians, citizens or torchbearers, but also due to the reduced number of family friends – for instance, Romeo has two friends in Mercutio and Benvolio, and another two followers in Abram, the servant to the Montagues and his personal servant, Balthasar, whose functions are appropriated by only one character in *Star-Crossed*: Philip. The following analysis demonstrates that *Star-Crossed* is carefully balanced between mimicking the Shakespearean characters – potential pressure points – and yet rewriting them according to the new context.

The character constellation in fig. 8 demonstrates the structural correspondences between *Romeo and Juliet* and *Star-Crossed*, and thereby locates the adaptation within the model of the textual transformation as an instance of rewriting. The author of *Star-Crossed* maintains several structural correspondences on the character level. Fig. 8 visualizes these isomorphic structures of the character constellations: In *Star-Crossed* Dirk, being related to Anna, kills her love-interest Folkert. Similarly, Romeo, Juliet's love-interest, kills Tybalt, who is related to Juliet. The center part of the constellations is a mirror image so that the lover and relative parties are exchanged, whereas the female lovers and the dead friends retain their positions in fig. 8. This draft demonstrates that while certain characters, such as Mercutio and Philip, can be categorized as friends,

Tybalt and Dirk differ in their degree of relatedness: while Dirk is Anna's only brother, Tybalt is Juliet's cousin, indicating a closer relationship between Anna and Dirk. Although English Renaissance and twentieth-century Canadian definitions of the nuclear family differ, Dirk's relationship with Anna is shown to be more intimate than Juliet's relationship with Tybalt because Anna and Dirk interact with each other, unlike Juliet and Tybalt. It is due to such differences that the categorization of one character as the hypo-character, the character in *Romeo and Juliet*, for another is not immediately accessible and needs some justification. Retaining a hypo-character's function but manipulating certain characteristics of it, the hyper-character, the pendants in *Star-Crossed*, create a hypertextual connection and a simultaneous textual distance to ensure the audience's understanding of *Star-Crossed* as an adaptation. Providing an example, the following analysis compares Shakespeare's Romeo with Captain Folkert Busch in *Star-Crossed* to demonstrate, on the one hand, their similar functions as love-interests, indicated by the character constellation in fig. 8, and on the other hand, the differences which arise from the application of a thematic interpretant.

Despite their similar functions within their respective plots a crucial difference between Romeo and Folkert is the audience's attitude towards them: While Romeo kills both Tybalt and Paris onstage, Folkert does not draw his weapon, he even saves Willem from his superior officer at a considerable risk for himself (35). This may suggest that an audience is more sympathetic towards Folkert than they would be towards Romeo. Contrarily, Romeo's murder of both Tybalt and Paris appear as panic reactions provoked by Mercutio's death, in the first case, and by Juliet's supposed death in the second. Moreover, Tybalt is consistently shown to be an unsympathetic character, whom Romeo kills in a fair duel. In the rest of the play Romeo appears as a pacifist asking others to "beat down their weapons. / Gentlemen, for shame, forbear this outrage" (*Rom.* 3.1.88-9), and unlike Tybalt or Mercutio, he is not depicted as an aggressive fighter, which increases his sympathetic potential. In contrast to this, Folkert, despite saving Willem, kills Philip, who, in contrast to Tybalt, is a sympathetic figure. Dirk relates the event of Philip's death, presenting Philip as a self-less hero:

Six months ago Philip and I were trapped in a wood by the German Police. There was no escape. Then, before I realized what he was doing, Philip stood up, laughing and slapping me on the back, and left me, deliberately drawing the attention of the Germans, so that I might escape. They followed him and killed him. It was Captain Busch who killed him. I got away. (62)

Thus Philip sacrifices himself for his friend and for this selfless deed, he is killed by Folkert. In this manner, Philip's heroic death sheds bad light on his murderer, Folkert, whereas Romeo, killing the unsympathetic hotspur, Tybalt is spared such harsh treatment. As a consequence of Philip's heroic portrayal, the audience's attitude towards Folkert differs from that towards his hypo-character Romeo.

Additionally, while Romeo's being a Montague is significant for the plot, the Montague name itself does not have negative connotations, whereas a Canadian audience from the 1950s would not have been able to face a Nazi officer, like Folkert, from a neutral perspective as the effects of the Second World War would still have been too ingrained in Canadian memory. Even for an audience unfamiliar with the specific Dutch experience of the Nazi occupation – an audience at the DDF finals, for instance – a Nazi character would have been negatively connoted. Moreover, the addition of Anton, the Heerdinck's neighbor who begs food for his starving wife and child (cf. 21) vividly demonstrates the Nazis' evil. Politicizing Romeo by turning him into a Nazi, therefore, creates negative connotations for him, which is why despite Folkert's sympathetic deeds, he constantly fights the audience's preconception about him.

On the one hand, the retention of Romeo's functions in *Star-Crossed* reveal the application of a formal interpretant, with the functional changes, such as Folkert's murder as opposed to Romeo's suicide, being a direct consequence of the relocation. On the other hand, in the model of textual transformation the application of a thematic interpretant shifts *Star-Crossed* further away from *Romeo and Juliet* because as a Nazi, Folkert, unlike his hypo-character, is highly politicized and thus faces the audience from a different perspective, which may lead to an audience's moral re-envisioning of the whole story.

4.2.3. Discourse

Star-Crossed does not simply adapt Shakespeare's story, the level of discourse – the way the story is purveyed – is also changed significantly. This study focuses on two discursive issues: the dissemination of information (both internal and external) and ideologies. The first part of this discourse analysis examines the level of internal communication in Star-Crossed, where the Renaissance idea of fortune is translated into

a modern concept of human agency by applying formal and thematic interpretants. Additionally, the analysis examines the influence of the play's genre of adaptation on the external communication system. The second part reveals the application of two exemplary thematic interpretants which alter the hypotext's ideological discourse, focusing on feminist as well as nationalist ideology.

4.2.3.1 Information Dissemination

Pfister analyzes drama as a form of communication in which information is disseminated (see "Das Drama" 67). He differentiates between two categories: the internal and the external communication system (cf. "Theory" 40): the former taking place between the characters within the drama and the latter taking place between the characters and the audience (ibid. 4). The dissemination of information, or the lack thereof, as part of the internal communication system of drama, relates to what Pfister calls the characters' "discrepant awareness" (ibid. 50). In *Romeo and Juliet* this discrepancy is the plot's prominent driving force. It marks a decisive shift from the hypotext to the adaptation. *Star-Crossed*'s belonging to the genre of adaptation implicitly communicates information to the audience through the play's external communication system, thereby manipulating the audience's expectations.

Pfister suggests that it is "possible to calculate the sum of information held by each dramatic figure at any point in the text" (ibid.) and that it is due to this "discrepant awareness . . . [that] the same situation is assessed differently by each figure involved" (ibid.). In *Romeo and Juliet* the characters' sums of information differ widely. Even if a detailed ranking of the characters' discrepant awareness is futile, the discrepancies are relevant to the plot with regards to the different levels of awareness of the lovers' feelings, their resulting marriage, as well as the plan to elope, including its changes. Friar Laurence, for instance, is aware of all the variants, including Friar John's delay and the consequent alteration of the plan (cf. Evans 845f.). The Nurse is present for most, but from the moment of her counselling Juliet to marry "with this County" (*Rom.* 3.5.217) she is no longer partial to the information. Even Romeo and Juliet are not at all times privy to all information. And most characters, from the parents to Prince Escalus, do not have access to any of the information mentioned above. It is this discrepancy which leads to the tragic ending, as Jochum argues, "Romeo and Juliet are the victims

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³³This analysis consciously omits the aspect of discrepant awareness on the level of external communication.

of discrepancies of awareness" (160).

Star-Crossed omits this discrepancy and therefore a causal force of the plot: Early on in the play, Father Lambertus foreshadows the tragic ending by saying "[w]e have to see she [Anna] is not "hurt during these last few days" (23). Later Elizabeth informs Willem that Anna is in love with Folkert (54) and the father talks to Anna about it (58). And even Dirk makes an informed decision to execute his target, having been apprised of the situation by Anna. Anna, herself, knows about Dirk's determined plan to kill Folkert, but she consciously decides not to share her information with Folkert as both have realized that there is no option of an alternative life together. While Juliet is aware that she is faking death, Romeo's discrepant awareness causes him to commit suicide – a result of Friar Laurence's failure to inform him of the plan. Opposed to this, the characters in Star-Crossed are aware of the relationship between Anna and Folkert. But Willem, Elizabeth, and Father Lambertus, although they are informed of the facts, assess the situation incorrectly. Similarly, Dirk's fatal decision to kill Folkert is carried out on the assumption that Folkert's death will have no consequences. Unlike Juliet, and despite her superior awareness Anna actively decides not to divulge their discrepant awareness (60) but lets Folkert die without a warning and then commits suicide (66). In this manner, Star-Crossed presents the circumstances as inevitable. At the same time, the tragic ending is shown to be man-made, as all characters with the exception of Folkert share the same level of information.

Klaus Peter Jochum reads the discrepancies of awareness in *Romeo and Juliet* as a demonstration of "the working of inexorable *fate*" (160; emphasis added). Similarly, by saying that "Shakespeare wished to create a feeling of inevitability, of a mysterious force stronger than individuals shaping their courses . . . culminating in the lovers' death" (186) Coppélia Kahn stresses the importance of the theme of fortune in *Romeo and Juliet*. Sause demonstrates the importance of the role of fortune in Shakespeare's tragedy on the linguistic level (cf. 133 ff.). Indeed the word "(mis-)fortune" is mentioned twelve times in *Romeo and Juliet*³⁴; for instance when Romeo exclaims "I am fortune's fool!" (*Rom.* 3.1.136). Sause argues that the Renaissance concept of fortune connected old pagan ideas of fate with Christian theology so that fortune acted as God's agent in the service of providence (cf. ibid.). Due to enlightenment, this concept has declined in popularity since the Renaissance as human agency has

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³⁴In Q2; 11 times in F1, and 5 times in the corrupt Q1.

supplanted fortune's overruling might. Nevertheless, the word "fortune" is echoed in *Star-Crossed*: Folkert says "I hardly dare hope that some day fortune will favour me" (24) and the Corporal says to Elizabeth: "[Y]ou know, the fortunes of war, ma'am" (14), to which she replies "Yes, of course. Although 'fortune' seems a strange word to apply to such a grisly business" (ibid.). The latter passage explicitly demonstrates the process of cultural translation, as Elizabeth ambiguously explains that the Renaissance leitmotif has lost its currency – it appears "strange" – revealing the application of a formal interpretant.

On a linguistic level *Star-Crossed's* use of the word "fortune" echoes *Romeo and Juliet* and highlights the formal connection between hypo- and hypertext. This is enabled by a shift which re-contextualizes the Renaissance concept of fortune according to modern norms. In addition to the linguistic re-contextualization, the application of a thematic interpretant translates the Renaissance idea of fortune into a modern concept of human agency. In *Romeo and Juliet*, unfortunate circumstances prevent a happy ending, as Kahn suggests (cf. 186): from Friar John's delay, to Romeo's bad timing at the end, where the lover takes the lethal drug only shortly before Juliet awakes. In addition to *Star-Crossed*'s evocation of the hypotext's discourse of fortune, the characters underscore the genre's implied suggestion that, like the hypotext, the adaptation will end in a catastrophe. In *Romeo and Juliet*, fate is the driving force, whereas in the adaptation, this concept is rationalized. Political reasons and not an unexplained "ancient grudge" (*Rom.* Prol. 3) or a divine force prevent the lovers from being together. And unlike Romeo and Juliet, Anna and Folkert explicitly acknowledge the obstacles:

ANNA. They will always come between us. Should you say you love me?

If the others knew, they would. . . Anton's wife has a little boy.

They are both weak and ill because of lack of food. The child may die, or if it lives, it may never be well and strong again. It had a right to be well and strong! . . .

FOLKERT. You are right to feel as you do. I have no answer for you. What has happened is terrible but WE must be free of it. We must not hate each other.

ANNA. I cannot be sure that we should not. Can I forget that I am a Netherlander and that you are a German?

FOLKERT. All I know is we must not hate each other. (24-5; emphasis in the original)

Although it may not need an explanation, Anna's personal aversion against the Nazis is intensified by the starving Anton, by the unsympathetic and ruthless Colonel Kurt Hoffmann, and the multiple instances in which the Heerdinck family is shown to suffer from their occupiers. In *Star-Crossed* it is not only Anna, who could change the tragic outcome of the play, the Nazis are presented as human individuals each of whom actively justifies the Dutch defiance of them. Through this technique the hypotext's unexplained "ancient grudge" (*Rom.* Prol. 3) is translated into the political opposition between Nazi Germany and occupied Holland. From the beginning of the play the audience is constantly reminded that it is not a mysterious, powerful force, such as fortune, that causes suffering – and consequently Anna's and Folkert's death. The adaptation presents human beings as the cause – mainly "Der Fuehrer" (4) and his helpers, the Nazis. This is a decisive shift from *Romeo and Juliet* where the opposition between Montagues and Capulets appears as God-given and thus immutably related to the concept of fortune.

In this manner, the importance of human agency is expressed in the lack of discrepancies of awareness, demonstrating the thematic shift away from the Renaissance idea of fortune as the creator of obstacles, to human beings as agents who determine their own way, creating their own obstacles, being victims only to each others' mistakes. This shift is linguistically stressed in the echoing of the Renaissance theme of fortune. By connecting hypotext and hypertext, the contrast between fortune and human agency is emphasized. The discursive shift in the internal communication system of *Star-Crossed* rationalizes and politicizes the Renaissance mystery of the tragedy and thus modernizes and appropriates it for an enlightened audience.

Another discursive shift occurs in the external communication system of the play as the shift from hypotext to hypertext changes the play's genre. In this discussion genre does not refer to a set of universal principles, a taxonomy which holds true for all texts within a certain genre – for instance all classical comedies end in marriage – the change of genre from hypo- to hypertext relates to the attested critical ability to distinguish between a hypotext and its adaptation. In accordance with Venuti's "foreignizing strategy" (see Chapter 2), which constantly reminds its reader of the existence of the hypotext so that the hypertext is continuously checked against the hypotext, *Star*-

Crossed works as a cultural translation. While in interlingual translation, knowledge of the hypotext cannot be presupposed, in adaptation this knowledge is the genre's basic prerequisite. If the hypotext is unknown, the hypertext cannot be experienced as derivative but will be experienced as an autonomous text. Thus only when read through Romeo and Juliet can Star-Crossed be experienced as a rewriting. Todorov explains that "readers read in function of the generic system, with which they are familiar" (18-19). Therefore, genre refers to a reader's horizon of expectation (cf. Frow 69). Therefore, establishing Star-Crossed's status as an adaptation of Romeo and Juliet – through title, character constellation, plot or linguistic echoes and allusions – alters the adaptation's external communication system as the change of genre influences how the adaptation works as a dramatic piece. Through the generic shift from tragedy to adaptation audience expectations are manipulated. Their experience of Star-Crossed differs decisively from an audience's experience of Romeo and Juliet which is not filtered through another text and read palimpsestuously.

Romeo and Juliet could be classified as a number of genres but since the focus is on its adaptation it can simply be categorized as a tragedy, as Shakespeare's substantive texts Q1 (A1r), Q2 (A1r), and F1 (ee3r) do on their title pages. The genre of tragedy raises different audience expectations than an adaptation: in adaptation the receiver always provided he or she knows about the play's being an adaptation - forms expectations about plot, outcome, topic, or characters not based on historically defined boundaries of genre conventions but depending on the hypertext's treatment of the hypotext (see Frow). This is done by reading the adaptation through the hypotext constantly reflecting on the secondary nature of a rewriting and its difference from the hypotext. Thus Venuti asserts that "the reception of a text is shaped . . . by the cultural and social identities of its readers, the varying assumptions and expectations, interests and abilities they bring to their interaction with the text" ("Interpretation" 28). Therefore, the genre of adaptation depends on the receiver's application of formal interpretants which are applied during the process of decoding. Following from Derrida's discussion on whether or not "genres are . . . to be mixed" (Derrida 55), the act of rewriting blurs the boundaries of established genres because Star-Crossed is primarily an adaptation but can simultaneously be categorized as a tragedy. In this manner, the act of adaptation bears a significant subversive potential as it demonstrates the elasticity of generic boundaries.

Certain formal features of genre are directly translated from Romeo and Juliet to

Star-Crossed, such as the setting up of false hopes: Romeo and Juliet features several moments of final suspense, where the tragic outcome could be averted: While Romeo's killing of Tybalt should cause his death, and Lady Capulet begs the Prince "[f]or blood of ours shed blood of Montague" (Rom. 3.1.148), Prince Escalus reverts his former sentence: "[n]ot body's death but body's banishment" (Rom. 3.3.11). This provides room for leverage, which according to Friar Laurence is reason "to take heed" (Rom. 3.3.144); the Friar's plan

[t]o blaze your marriage, reconcile your friends,
Beg pardon of the Prince, and call thee back,
With twenty hundred thousand times more joy
Than thou went'st forth in lamentation (*Rom.* 3.3.150-3)

equally gives reason for hope. Opposed to this, Old Capulet's preponement of Juliet's wedding creates negative expectations for Romeo and Juliet which are counterpoised by Friar Laurence's new plan to fake Juliet's death and have her elope with Romeo. This new hope is briefly met with an anticlimax when Friar John cannot deliver the letter to Romeo but are newly roused as Friar Laurence is determined to reach the monument in time. In the end, hopes are destroyed so that a pattern of creating and destroying hopes is set up.

This plot structure of setting up false hope is emulated in *Star-Crossed*: for instance, Romeo's banishment is mirrored in Folkert's retreat because as Romeo's spatial removal saves him from a harsher judgement from the Prince, Folkert's withdrawal to Germany could save him from the Dutch underground. Moreover, Anna's desperate plea to Dirk to spare Folkert raises hopes, but they are destroyed as Dirk refuses to listen to her. There seems to be a ray of hope for the lovers when Anna discusses her problems with her father and Elizabeth and speaks to Folkert. At this moment Anna has the chance to either warn him of Dirk's plan or to elope with him but since she does neither, Folkert, just like his hypo-character, dies. Despite his death, however, there is another extended moment of relief when the Canadian army arrives and Anna is still alive. Only at the very end are her family and the audience informed of her death in the canal. While formally this dramatic structure is rooted in *Romeo and Juliet* and the shift from Romeo's banishment to Folkert's military retreat is a direct consequence of the changed setting, a crucial difference lies in the conveyance of

information to the audience. As the above analysis of *Romeo and Juliet* has shown, the audience's positive expectations are raised by explicit statements, particularly Friar Laurence confiding his plans to the audience. In Star-Crossed, however, positive expectations are not actively encouraged by the characters. Yet audience participation is expected in the genre of adaptation as it requires the supposition of inferences based on knowledge of the hypotext. In Star-Crossed logic creates positive expectations. For instance, Dirk cannot harm Folkert if he is physically absent. Positive expectations are raised by the act of reading Star-Crossed through its hypotext. At the end, only knowledge of Romeo and Juliet's double suicide makes an audience fear for Anna's life because textually, the play does not foreshadow the character's death. An audience might fear for Folkert as well as for Dirk. While Folkert is in imminent and explicit danger from being murdered by Dirk, Dirk is in danger from being caught and executed by the Nazis as well. Reading Star-Crossed as an adaptation, recognizing the formal similarities between the texts, puts blinds on an audience which force them to channel their expectations in one direction only, focusing on the lovers. Thereby a thematic interpretant is applied as Star-Crossed inscribes an interpretation of Romeo and Juliet as a tragedy which focuses on the lovers' circumstances and the tragic outcome.

Scholars and translators such as Lawrence Venuti and Salman Rushdie advertise the "exorbitant gain" (Venuti, "Poet's Version" 235; Rushdie 17) which a text accrues when it is translated. Similarly, a text may gain from being adapted. The following paragraphs demonstrate how an old, known story, such as *Romeo and Juliet*, can gain interest through the change of genre and the related parameter of suspense as the outmoded story can be experienced anew. Since the Renaissance experience of suspense cannot be recreated in a modern context, the adaptation substitutes a new one for it. This is of particular relevance because it explains part of the appeal of the genre of rewriting. The following paragraphs refine these interpretants by analyzing the suspense-related aspect of time and its influence on the experience of the adaptation *as an adaptation*.

According to Pfister, a play's suspense potential is created by an audience being torn between partial awareness, on the one hand, and their anticipating formulation of hypotheses, on the other (cf. "Das Drama" 142-3). Pfister differentiates between two kinds of suspense in drama: Was-Spannung³⁵ and Wie-Spannung³⁶. *Plot-suspense* uses

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³⁵In the following this is translated and referred to as *plot-suspense* because this idea is only part of Pfister's revised edition, and not found in Halliday's translation *The Theory and Analysis of Drama* which was done prior to said revision.

lack of knowledge to make the audience hypothesize about the outcome of the drama, whereas *discursive suspense* provides knowledge of the events, for instance through epic information dissemination techniques such as a prologue, but leaves the recipient uninformed about the 'how' (Pfister, "Das Drama" 143). In both cases suspense is created through anticipation and the continuous formation and rejection of hypotheses.

It could be argued that in Romeo and Juliet there is a distinct difference between a Renaissance and a twentieth-century audience's expectation and an audience's level of knowledge about the events in the play. Even though Canada could not boast a large number of theatres in the early twentieth century, an audience could have been expected to know about the outcome of Romeo and Juliet because on the existing stages it was one of the most popular plays and part of the curriculum taught at schools. Seeing a performance of Shakespeare's play would thus have been governed by discursive suspense, not by plot-suspense because an audience would have known that the lovers die at the end. Compared to this the story of Romeo and Juliet was less well known during the Renaissance. This discrepancy could suggest that a Renaissance audience experienced the play governed by plot-suspense. However, not only does the title page of all surviving substantial texts – Q1, Q2, and F1 – label the play as a tragedy (cf. Shakespeare, "Facsimile"), indicating the death of the protagonists at the end, the prologue also foreshadows the events of the story by mentioning the "two households" (Rom. Prol. 1) and their "ancient grudge" (Rom. Prol. 3), and the "pair of star-cross'd lovers" (Rom. Prol. 6) who "with their death bury their parents' strife" (Rom. Prol. 8). Therefore, Shakespeare informs even people unfamiliar with his own hypotext about the events to be expected, so that both Renaissance and twentieth-century audiences alike would experience discursive suspense rather than plot-suspense.

A crucial parameter which influences the suspense potential of any play is the dissemination of future-oriented information (cf. Pfister, "Das Drama" 145): if an audience is informed about plans – such as Friar Laurence's plan to drug Juliet until Romeo can rescue her from the crypt – and possible obstacles, such as Juliet's waking up too early, this will lead to hypothesizing about the outcome. This potential can be enhanced if a deadline is set, creating a scenario of a race against time (ibid.). Therefore, time is a crucial element in the creation and experience of suspense. When the prologue in *Romeo and Juliet* mentions "the two hours' traffic of our stage" (*Rom*.

³⁶In the following this is translated and referred to as *discursive suspense*.

Prol. 12) it sets such a deadline, with the "dead" to be taken literally, thereby enhancing the suspense: It starts a countdown: two hours from now Romeo and Juliet will be dead. This creates an anticipating discursive suspense and anxiety in the audience.

According to Bruce Smith "bad timing" is as crucial for Romeo and Juliet's tragedy as the meaning of time in general (cf. 64). Likewise, the manipulation of the experience of time - slowing it down or speeding it up - stresses the importance of dramatic time (see Driver 365; I. Smith; Lucking). The play is enwrought with metaphors related to time and its passing: from the constant evocation of the stars, to "th'inconstant moon / That monthly changes in her circled orb" (Rom. 2.1.151-2), to whithering flowers, "The roses in thy lips and cheeks shall fade" (Rom. 4.1.99), and age "old cakes of roses" (Rom 5.1.47) (cf. Gibbons 53). But the play also uses precise time references to "provide the anchoring points of time" as Herman illustrates (cf. 150). Driver counts no less than 103 references to time (cf. 364). Similarly, Tanselle stresses that the play is "saturated with allusions to time" (349) and argues that "[t]heir unusual frequency . . . contribute to the sense of foreboding which permeates the play" (350). Sause details how "time is experienced in demonic conjunction with the influence of fortune, with time instrumentalising fortune" against the lovers (139). In this manner, Romeo and Juliet constantly alludes to time to remind the audience of the countdown till the lovers' death. So, while there is no plot-suspense, the discursive suspense is enhanced by this metaphorical ticking of a clock.

The idea of a countdown is translated to *Star-Crossed*. For a countdown, two items must be given: first, the time period must be limited, and second, at the end of this period a catastrophe must be waiting. In *Star-Crossed* the impending doom is not explicitly announced by a prologue, but it is communicated through the external communication system as it is implied in the genre of adaptation: an audience infers that because Romeo and Juliet die, their hyper-characters will die too, especially since the title *Star-Crossed* alludes to the passage in the hypotext's prologue which prophecies the lovers' deaths and therefore proposes a tragic ending. This reveals the application of a thematic interpretant, for *Star-Crossed* can only be read in this way if the plots of hypo- and hypertext are assumed to take the same course and if the tragic aspect of *Romeo and Juliet* is foregrounded. By setting up such expectations this interpretant creates discursive suspense. As in Shakespeare's play, the suspense potential is increased by a countdown. While the circumstances, parties involved, and the ending in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* are known either from education or from the

omniscient chorus, the so-called prologue in *Star*-Crossed, whose existence suggests isomorphic structures of hypo- and hypertext, does not provide an equivalent assurance. Where in the Shakespearean hypotext the short sonnet-like prologue summarizes the play, *Star-Crossed*'s six-page prologue takes the place of an exposition, introducing the circumstances and characters. It is set in "Autumn 1939" (3) before the invasion of the Netherlands by the Nazis, when both Marguerite and Philip are still alive. Therefore, the prologue is set apart from the rest of the play by its temporal setting, functioning as a prelude, but it does not foreclose the events of the story and does not have a bearing on the suspense potential.

Nevertheless, the prologue manipulates the story's time scheme as *Star-Crossed* rewrites the hypotext's formal feature of time by simultaneously stretching and compressing it: *Romeo and Juliet*'s plot takes roughly seven days to unfold³⁷, whereas in *Star-Crossed*, including the prologue, this period is stretched to five years – from 1939 to 1944. Simultaneously, time is also compressed because most of this period is omitted as a period of five years elapses between the prologue and act 1 so that the main part of the adaptation takes place within four days, as fig. 9 demonstrates:

Autumn 1939			
Prologue		Evening	
Autumn 1944			
Act 1	Scene 1	Late Afternoon	Day 1
	Scene 2	2 o'clock	Day 2
Act 2	Scene 1	Morning	
	Scene 2	Evening	
Act 3	Scene 1	2 o'clock	Day 3
	Scene 2	Daybreak	Day 4
	Scene 3	Midmorning	

FIGURE 9: TIME-SCHEME IN STAR-CROSSED

According to Pfister, suspense can be enhanced when the possibility that an event occurs is particularly unlikely, but not impossible (cf. "Das Drama" 146). The possibility of an event occurring can be decreased if the time-span is shortened and the deadline moved forward. For instance, the possibility that Romeo and Juliet can be together is made

less likely when Capulet prepones the wedding between Juliet and Paris in act 3, scene 4 because it reduces the time to plan and act. In this manner, suspense is enhanced as time is speeded up. Shakespeare, himself, enhanced the suspense potential of the story when he compressed what took nine months to unfold in his hypotext *The Tragicall*

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³⁷See Tanselle for a discussion of possible approaches.

Historye of Romeus and Juliet into one week (cf. Tanselle 349) and he counterpoints the speeding up of time with comments by Friar Laurence: "Wisely and slowly; they stumble that run fast" (Rom. 2.2.94).

Star-Crossed further enhances this potential by compressing the time even more. As fig. 9 demonstrates, the four days covered by the plot, give the characters no room for leverage and no time to react. However, a first-time audience cannot know about the short time span covered between acts one to three, which is why the effect is achieved through different means. The adaptation does not indicate a precise performance time, as Romeo and Juliet's two hours, but it constantly stresses the brevity of time and time's coming to an end: in the beginning the information is quite vague: "The talk in the village is that the Germans will have to withdraw in a day or two" (11; emphasis added). The German Corporal even sets a potentially longer time span when he says that "the next few days will be very, very difficult" (15; emphasis added). But from the moment Anna and Folkert talk alone, time is emphasized: Folkert immediately tells Anna that he only has "a few moments" (16) to talk to her and even their conversation about cigarettes immediately turns to the topic of time:

FOLKERT. Some day I hope to offer you a good cigarette.

ANNA. When will that be?

FOLKERT. When all this - present business - is over.

ANNA. ... That may be a long time.

FOLKERT. You don't think it will last forever, do you?

ANNA. For us, no - but for you ---. (16)

After Folkert has told Anna about his feelings, the references to time passing become more frequent. Willem, for instance, explains that the Germans will withdraw as "the British army may be here in *a day or two*" (18; emphasis added). Father Lambertus sets a deadline when he clarifies that "there will be only a few more days and then - we shall be free" (22). He adds that they must "see that she [Anna] is not 'hurt' during these last few days" (23) to emphasize that the deadline signifies an impending doom. As in *Romeo and Juliet*, time is frequently stressed in conversations about the past four years, the beginning of the war, and Chamberlain's prophecies, as well as in conversations about the past three months, in which Folkert has stayed with the Heerdincks, and the past two days when they have been hiding the English pilot Edwards. As in *Romeo and*

Juliet these frequent references keep the audience focused on the time and its ticking away. In this manner, the two criteria for a countdown are met: the period is definite and set to end in a catastrophe.

The time limit is suddenly shortened when Folkert returns to the house and tells Anna "[e]verything is being speeded up. . . I shall not be here much longer" (24). In addition to the fact that they become a couple at this moment the shortened time period increases the suspense: knowledge of *Romeo and Juliet* in combination with the allusions to the star-crossed lovers and warnings by Father Lambertus leads an audience to expect the play to end badly, especially since Folkert wishes "[i]f we could have met in other times!" (25). Therefore, the improbability of a happy ending for Anna and Folkert enhances the suspense potential.

The second act begins with concrete information: "The British are closer. Eight kilometres now" (28; emphasis added). The advancing temporal and spatial proximity increases the tension further because the British reaching the village signifies Folkert's withdrawal; so if, as the hypotext presupposes, Folkert is to die, this must happen within the short time span. At this moment the audience receives conflicting information: On the one hand, a diegetic radio announcement suggests that the countdown is a countdown to liberty as the British infantry as well as the Canadian army are on the way to trap the Nazis (see 40). Dirk confirms the speculations about the proximity of the liberation when he reaffirms that the Germans will have "to withdraw in a day or two" (42). On the other hand, knowledge of Romeo and Juliet's tragic ending suggests a countdown to death. This is supported by Anna who muses that Folkert "always speaks of the future - desperately - as though he was not quite sure there would be one" (49) and by Dirk who intends to kill Folkert. At this point, the audience's partial awareness of the outcome is built upon because, instead of speculations based on knowledge of the hypotext, the added facts from the adaptation suggest that the countdown is a countdown to Folkert's death by Dirk's hand.

The suspense potential is enhanced yet again when Elizabeth says that instead of the eight kilometres, the British are now "about four or five kilometres away" (52), to which the Corporal responds: "Then our rear party should be ready to be clear of the village by nightfall!" (ibid.). The nightfall appears as the point of safety for Folkert because if Dirk is to kill him he has to do it before the Germans leave and Folkert is out of reach. The time period left is shortened again when Anna enquires "Captain Busch is leaving this morning?" (54) to which her aunt replies "yes, about eight o'clock" (ibid.).

Shortly afterwards, Folkert appears to say goodbye to Anna and inform her that he is leaving at this moment (cf. 59-60). So, as in Romeo and Juliet the timer seems to be ticking faster and faster until Folkert's exit suggests his safety. When Dirk informs Anna in the last scene that "[t]he Canadians will be here soon. They are just a few kilometres away" (61) a false sense of security is established because from the audience's point of view Folkert has left and Anna and her family are still alive. This moment of relief, however, is instantly destroyed by Dirk who asserts that he has just killed Folkert (61). Since Folkert's death reconfirms the hypertexual connection between Romeo and Juliet and Star-Crossed, the audience assumes that the countdown is not yet stopped because Juliet's death presupposes a danger for Anna, even though the stage-directions' "[s]poradic bursts of cheering, noise and laughter" (62) suggest a happy ending. As Willem, Elizabeth and Father Lambertus contrast the happy future with the long, dreary past five years, Elizabeth again lures the audience into a sense of happy ending when she confirms that "[t]he British have arrived just in time" (65). Together with Dirk they take delight in the Canadians' arrival and dream of future luxuries like cigarettes, chocolate and soap, providing a sense of relief for the audience, implying that the countdown has stopped and the expectations about Anna raised by the hypotext have not come true. At this point, the play implies that the Canadians have outrun fortune and saved the Dutch girl, even if they could not save the Nazi. Only at this moment of relief - a supposed happy ending - the audience as well as the characters are informed that Anna has drowned in the canal. Willem confirms that the audience was meant to feel this way because he made precisely this mistake taking the Nazi's withdrawal as a point of safety: "I was mistaken. They had not finished with us. Now they are finished with us. They will do no more to us now" (67).

Although both *Romeo and Juliet* and *Star-Crossed* use discursive suspense as opposed to plot-suspense, and both emphasize the importance of time and set a countdown to enhance the suspense potential, the time schemes differ. In Shakespeare, the prologue, which sets the deadline, suggests a countdown to death so that the audience dreads the ending, whereas in *Star-Crossed*, the countdown seems to signify the end of war and therefore implies safety and a happy ending. In *Star-Crossed*, an audience longs for the end of the countdown and welcomes the shortening of it. Metaphorically, Romeo and Juliet are fighting against time³⁸, whereas time fights for

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³⁸see Lucking 119 ff. for a more detailed discussion

Anna and Folkert. Hence, in the adaptation the lovers' sudden death exploits the revelation's surprise to the fullest, which is why *Star-Crossed* functions as a cultural translation which transfers the experience of suspense. Through the application of a formal interpretant, the time scheme and through it the genre are changed translating a tragedy into an adaptation. The manipulation of the internal communication system translates the dated concept of fate to the modern era to suit a post-enlightened audience. Simultaneously, altering the play's external communication system letting an audience read the play palimpsestuously, creates a new experience of a known story and thereby shifts and re-contextualized the discourse of suspense. This enables a new experience of a known and popular story and is a crucial part of the appeal of the genre of adaptation.

4.2.3.2 Ideologies

In addition to its information about genre, a play's external communication system also conveys ideologies to its audience – ideologies which can be manipulated through the application of thematic interpretants and can shift the text to the left or the right. Two exemplary thematic interpretants are discussed in the following, the first of which reveals *Star-Crossed's* feminist interpretation of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, and the second of which marks a shift in national ideology. While the feminist interpretant is directly inspired by the hypotext, the nationalist interpretant suggests a resentment of English national pride and supremacy, creatively vandalizing the hypotext and its status in the English literary canon.

The following analysis relies for its definition of feminism on Newman and White's feminist study on Canadian women. It refers to liberal feminism focusing on the idea that women and men are "the same" so that women are not "defined by a patriarchal culture" (Newman and White 8) and cannot be "rationalized as the 'weaker' sex" (ibid. 31). In this ideology women are respected as "persons autonomous from and equal to men" (ibid. 8). Accordingly, a play's feminist potential relies on the depiction of women as equal to men and on female characters who exist in a patriarchal system rebelling against it.

In *Romeo and Juliet* some characters, such as the Nurse or Lady Capulet, confirm the conventional picture of women within a Renaissance patriarchal system, represented by Capulet who wields absolute power over his family members in microcosmic analogy to the heavenly father ruling the world (cf. Sause 107). The Nurse,

for instance, in her anecdote of Juliet's falling backward (cf. *Rom.* 1.3.35-48) reveals a limited understanding of the role of women as wives and mothers (cf. Kahn 182). Similarly, throughout the first scene the servants introduce a background of common belief of women as "the weaker vessels" (*Rom.*1.1.12ff.) (cf. Novy 100). Even Romeo associates femininity with weakness when he exclaims: "O sweet Juliet, / Thy beauty hath made me effeminate" (*Rom.* 3.1.113-4). According to Newman and White's definition this cultural concept of women is typically anti-feminist.

Nevertheless, leading feminist critics have demonstrated *Romeo and Juliet*'s feminist potential. Both Callaghan and Kahn have acknowledged the play's engagement with a patriarchal discourse but agree that rather than supporting it, *Romeo and Juliet* "articulates a crisis in patriarchy" (Callaghan 72; see Kahn 72). Therefore, a patriarchal system with a general conception of the female as weak, passive participants is established (cf. Kahn 183) but then opposed by both title characters.

Unlike the titles of *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, or *Othello*, which focus on the importance of their male protagonists, the title *Romeo and Juliet* itself suggests gender equality (cf. Novy 99). Juliet's behaviour, which van Peer describes as "nonconformist", is implied in her language use (cf. 101) and it initiates the play's feminist potential. Juliet questions her own family ties, which bind her to her father and his patriarchal system, when she asks "What's in a name?" (*Rom.* 2.1.85) and opposes her place as a passive participant within this system by her "unconventional, fully conscious and willed giving herself to Romeo" (Kahn 183) against her father's will. In her relationship with Romeo, Juliet takes an active part:

ROMEO. Lady, by yonder blessed moon I swear,

That tips with silver all these fruit-tree-tops, —

JULIET. O, swear not by the moon, th'inconstant moon,

That monthly changes in her circled orb,

Lest that thy love prove likewise variable. . . .

ROMEO If my heart's dear love—

JULIET. Well, do not swear. (*Rom.* 2.1.149-58)

In this exchange, Juliet interrupts Romeo when he wants to swear oaths of allegiance (cf. van Peer 102). Instead of passively waiting for him, Juliet subsequently demands an engagement of Romeo who consents. So, even on a linguistic level, Juliet demonstrates

her nonconformist attitude towards the Renaissance ideal of a subjugated woman. Although, initially she compares losing her virginity to losing a game, she subverts the image to become the victor herself, thereby paralleling her virginity with Romeo's (cf. Novy 104), when she says: "learn me how to lose a winning match, / Play'd for a pair of stainless maidenhoods" (*Rom.* 3.2.12-3). Nevertheless, Romeo plays an active part, too, as Juliet is frequently presented to the audience through Romeo's eyes, for instances when he describes her beauty:

O, she doth teach the torches to burn bright!

Her beauty hangs upon the cheek of night

Like a rich jewel in an Ethiope's ear;

Beauty too rich for use, for earth too dear!

So shows a snowy dove trooping with crows,

As yonder lady o'er her fellows shows. (*Rom.* 1.5.43-8)

In this description, the use of imagery makes the audience, whether male or female, gaze at Juliet through Romeo's, and thus male, eyes. Additionally, Romeo is the initiator of the initial conversation as he approaches Juliet. Yet, from the beginning she refuses to accept her womanly part and actively participates in his sonnet:

ROMEO. If I profane with my unworthiest hand
This holy shrine, the gentle fine is this:
My lips, two blushing pilgrims, ready stand

To smooth that rough touch with a tender kiss.

JULIET. Good pilgrim, you do wrong your hand too much,

Which mannerly devotion shows in this.

For saints have hands that pilgrims' hands do touch,

And palm to palm is holy palmers' kiss.

ROMEO. Have not saints lips, and holy palmers, too?

JULIET. Ay, pilgrim, lips that they must use in prayer.

ROMEO. O, then, dear saint, let lips do what hands do:

They pray; grant thou, lest faith turn to despair.

JULIET. Saints do not move, though grant for prayers' sake.

ROMEO. Then move not, while my prayer's effect I take. (*Rom.*1.5. 92-105)

The English sonnets during the 1590s were composed in the Petrarchan, male dominated, tradition idealizing a passive lady (cf. Edmondson and Wells 16). In accordance with this tradition Romeo depicts Juliet as a saint, an image which implies female dominance of the man (cf. Novy 102). Unlike a saint, Juliet does not remain motionless on her pedestal but talks back, adopting his quatrain form and imagery (cf. ibid.), thereby engaging in the male-dominated genre of sonneteering and emancipating herself from the silent woman tradition. Romeo accepts Juliet as his equal and the reciprocity of love (cf. ibid. 101-5) as he speaks of "[t]h'exchange of they love's faithful vow for mine" (*Rom.* 2.1.169) and admits that "one [woman] hath wounded me / That's by me wounded" (*Rom.* 2.2.50-1).

Juliet's feminist potential – her refusal to participate in the patriarchal structure of Verona's society – is not evaluated normatively by Shakespeare's play itself, although individual performative instances, particularly modern ones, may suggest such an evaluation. In *Star-Crossed* an ideological shift adapts, increases and exploits this feminist potential to suit modern, twentieth-century tastes through the application of a feminist interpretant. This shift translates the story of *Romeo and Juliet* into a twentieth-century play which engages in the contemporary discourse of second-wave feminism in post-war Canada.

Compared to other suffragette and feminist movements Canadian suffrage was less militant and non-violent. Due to the increased industrialization and urbanization of Canada from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards women were increasingly needed as part of the Canadian workforce, which is why the domestic sphere changed and so did the traditional roles of women (cf. Newman and White 72; Prentice et al. 113 ff.) which led them to demand access to education, increased property rights (cf. Prentice et al. 169 ff.; Newman and White 160), and recognition as "persons" under the law (cf. Prentice et al. 282 ff.). During and after World War I, equity feminism became more dominant and achieved formal political rights for women, such as the right to vote, but nevertheless the cultural concept of womanhood was still tied to ideas of motherhood and homemaking (cf. Newman and White 72; Prentice et al. 113 ff.). However, during the Second World War, as the pool of male workers was depleted, the Canadian government actively pursued Canadian women to contribute to the war effort

by joining the workforce (cf. Pierson 9). From 1942 they were even admitted to the military, air force, and navy (cf. Newman and White 73; Pierson 95). After the Second World War, however, women did not cease to join the workforce as their contribution had become necessary to sustaining both the home and the economy – a fact addressed by a number of government initiatives: In 1951 the Ontario government passed the Female Employees Fair Remuneration Act, the first step towards Equal Pay in Canada (cf. Newman and White 226). In 1954 the government of Canada created a Women's Bureau within the Department of Labour (cf. ibid. 131 and 205), and in 1956, it passed legislation providing pay equity for women working in the federal civil service. By the end of the 1950s all provinces (except for Newfoundland and Labrador, and Quebec) had passed similar legislation. Therefore, *Star-Crossed* was written at a time when the role of women in society and in the domestic sphere played a prominent part in contemporary discourse.

The character constellation in fig. 8 visualizes the functional similarity between Anna Heerdinck and Juliet, which suggests a similarly non-conformist hyper-character. However, Anna displays a worldly innocence or childishness when compared to the older characters in *Star-Crossed*, which is initially inspired by her confinement to the domestic sphere. She appears as inexperienced, young and naive when she muses over the causes of war:

ANNA. Dirk, will the Germans come here?

DIRK. Yes, I think so.

ANNA. Why must they? . . .

DIRK. Because they want to rule the world,

ANNA. But why? Isn't the world doing all right? (5)

But Anna's naivety is grounded in Juliet's own immaturity, which she displays despite her otherwise strong, feminist behavior when she explicitly compares herself to a child as she anxiously awaits her wedding-night. Considering the previous scenes where men have been slaughtered in the streets, this soliloguy displays Juliet's childishness:

So tedious is this day
As is the night before some festival

To an impatient child that hath new robes And may not wear them. (3.2.28-31)

Albeit naively, Anna enthuses over the thrill of working for the underground, displaying a feminist will to fight as the men. Philip comments on her childishness saying "[i]t won't be as romantic as you think" (6), to which Anna naively responds "I don't think it's fair" (6). Even later in the play, when the war has been going on for years, Anna still displays this naivety when she suggests that instead of hiding an Englishman in the basement from the Nazi officer upstairs "[p]erhaps we had better invite them both for coffee" (11).

But despite her childish naivety, Anna is a strong character who exploits her hypo-character's feminist potential. From the beginning she admires the young men, Dirk and Philip, for being able to fight against the Nazis. When Dirk and Philip reveal to her their plan to join the Dutch underground Anna says "I wish I could go with you! I wish I were a boy!" (5). On the one hand, this demonstrates that Anna, like Juliet, lives in a male-dominated society in which it is not suitable for a woman to fight. Philip explicitly tells Anna that the underground "would be no place for you. It'll be pretty grim most of the time" (5) and Dirk reaffirms "home is the place for you" (5). On the other hand, Anna's wish to join the underground exposes her feminist thoughts and she validates her ideas by subverting Dirk's mocking stereotyping "[n]ever tell a secret to a woman" (6) by not telling her family about Dirk's and Philip's plan. While Anna displays a childish naivety, the following conversation demonstrates her wish to subvert society and her own feminist position:

ANNA. You won't mind the hardships because there will be danger.

That's why I wish I was a boy. We can only stay behind and hope you are safe. If anything happened to you and Dirk, I'd like to be there - and take the . . same risks. . .

PHILIP. That was a very fine thing for you to say, Anna.

ANNA. Oh, it's easy to say fine things. It's better to do them. That's where you and Dirk have the advantage. I don't think it's fair.

PHILIP. But you mustn't think of it that way. Just being you is all you have to do. (6)

Anna resents the passiveness which is assigned to her female position, and she also resents the boys' dismissal of her. Accordingly, Anna becomes an active member of the underground during the war by hiding fugitives – albeit not by herself. And although she initially resists the urge to become active when she knows about Dirk's assault plans on Folkert, she escapes female passivity in a manner unanticipated by the other characters: From a feminist perspective her suicide appears as a step of emancipation because instead of destroying her brother's plans by telling Folkert or simply accepting her fate, Anna escapes through suicide.

Kahn details how in the "patriarchal milieu" (171) of Shakespeare's play manhood is performed as aggressive violence in the public sphere (cf. ibid. 174) especially by the younger men – Mercutio, the servants, Tybalt, and Romeo. Similarly, in Star-Crossed fighting takes place in the streets but where in Shakespeare's play an audience witnesses this assertion of manhood, Star-Crossed focuses on the domestic – female – sphere of the Heerdinck living room, omitting public scenes in the streets and fights, such as Philip's killing. Hence the adaptation excludes the Shakespearean sphere of male aggression. Nevertheless, both Marguerite in the prologue as well as Elizabeth are refined to the domestic environment, just like Juliet (cf. Kahn 173), whereas the men Willem, Father Lambertus, Dirk, Edwards, Folkert and the Nazi soldiers enter and exit from and to the offstage 'outside' area. However, Anna stands out because the only scene which shows onstage the outside of the Heerdinck house – act 3, scene 1 – features Anna and her brother. Therefore, while Juliet is also shown outside in Friar Laurence's cell, her domestic scenes are contrasted with the other characters' public scenes, which by contrast portray her as locked up in an 'ivory tower'. In opposition to this, the lack of contrast and the singular scene outside of their house, present Anna as freer – being shown outside – than the rest of her family.

Anna's superior emancipation to Juliet can be seen by comparing the quarrel between Juliet and her father in act 5, scene 3 to Anna's discussion with Willem in which he tries to explain Dirk's reasons for hating Folkert (57-9). While Old Capulet stresses his patriarchal rights and refuses to discuss the issue with Juliet, Willem appreciates his daughter's feelings and, despite his skepticism, allows her to find her own solution. Thus in *Star-Crossed* father and daughter talk as equal partners demonstrating an emancipated position of the daughter within the family. This shift towards a stronger female character exploits Juliet's subversive feminist potential and adapts the character to Canadian standards of the 1950s.

Lawrence Venuti remarks that a thematic interpretant, such as this feminist rewriting, can exert "a canonizing force by inscribing a scholarly interpretation that has achieved dominance as an understanding of the foreign author's work" ("Interpretation" 39), but an adaptation can also provide a new interpretation of its hypotext which achieves its dominance subsequently. Critics have demonstrated Romeo and Juliet's feminist potential, i.e. readings which support the idea of Juliet as a strong female character and criticizing the tragedy's "patriarchal milieu" (cf. Kahn 171); likewise, Star-Crossed presents a strong female protagonist in Anna Heerdinck, which exploits Juliet's feminist potential. However, Star-Crossed cannot be read as the canonization of a dominant scholarly interpretation of *Romeo and Juliet* because, having been composed during the 1950s, it precedes the era of feminist literary criticism. Nevertheless, the feminist interpretant is applied and even precipitates the scholarly debate by a decade. Thus the context of feminism is not simply transferred from the hypotext but surrounds the hypertext and originates in its Canadian culture. In this context, Anna Heerdinck with her ideas about equality and her desire to be part of the war is representative of the Canadian second-wave feminist movement and the adaptation itself appears as a Canadianization of Romeo and Juliet.

The final thematic interpretant in *Star-Crossed* is a "cultural taste", which is "used to appeal to a particular audience" (Venuti, "Adaptation" 33): while *Star-Crossed's* feminist interpretation enhances an aspect already present in the hypotext, the nationalist thematic interpretant rips *Romeo and Juliet* away from its place in the English canon and positions it at the heart of Canadian national pride by translating Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* into a tale of Canadian international success.

In *The Genius of Shakespeare* Jonathan Bate details how the "two most influential books on Shakespeare written in the early years of the twentieth century were A. C. Bradley's *Shakespearean Tragedy* of 1904 and Walter Raleigh's *William Shakespeare* of 1907" (Bate 191-2). In addition to their books both scholars "celebrated the National Bard as the guardian of all that England was fighting for" (ibid. 193) in their lectures. This popular attitude, backed by respected scholars, placed Shakespeare, and especially his famous tragedies, at the heart of the English canon. The predominantly English immigrants who settled in Canada had imported their culture and their literary canon from England. Additionally, Canadians were forced to consume English texts because most books which circulated in Canada were printed in England as Canada itself had few publishing houses (cf. MacSkimming 1-5). Hence, despite the

fact that post-War Canada had asserted itself as a nation and was trying to find its own distinctly Canadian, non-English, national identity and literary canon, Bradley and Raleigh's celebration of Shakespeare, the English national poet and genius, was omnipresent in Canada. The maintenance of a foreign canon had long suppressed any aspirations to a native Canadian canon of its own. Shakespeare was "Canada's most popular playwright" (Makaryk, "Canada" 64) and a "real explosion of interest in Shakespeare ... occurred after 1945" (ibid. 65), the time of composition of *Star-Crossed*. In this context of bardolatry, the composition of a new play, such as *Star-Crossed*, appears as a determined break with the English cultural supremacy and engages in the nationalist discourse, discussed in Chapter 3, emphasizing the importance of a Canadian canon. Instead of trying to compose a play, however, that could compete with Shakespeare – his plays as well as his reputation – the adaptation seems to suggest that there is a Canadian version of Shakespeare, one which is opposed to the English Bard.

At a first glance, one may wonder how Star-Crossed can present a Canadianized Shakespeare since it is set far East of the shores of Nova Scotia, in Holland. The Canadianization is facilitated not by the hypotext's setting or its nationalist content –the patriotically English King Henry V would have been more suitable – but by the hypotext's popularity and its non-English setting. Romeo and Juliet's popularity enables a palimpsestuous reading of its hypertexts, which is why it so frequently serves as a hypotext. Between 1900 and 1960 no less than five playwrights, A. E. Knight, Charles Carrol Colby Aikins, Patrick Bentley, Laurence Dakin and John Bruce Cowan, used Romeo and Juliet as their hypotext. Its non-English setting facilitates a nationalist play because, unlike King Henry V, Romeo and Juliet can approach the discourse of nationalism from a more neutral perspective as it does not have to de-contextualize the play from its original English context before re-contextualizing it in a new one. Although Michael Langham's 1956 staging of King Henry V at the Stratford Festival proves that even Shakespeare's most patriotically English work can be interpreted as a Canadian play. Langham's critically acclaimed production cast the French roles in King Henry V as Franco-Canadian actors opposite Anglo-Canadian actors as the English characters (see Langham) and thereby portrayed a basic Canadian struggle onstage in an act of adaptation in performance. Unlike the application of a feminist interpretant, which exploits an existing feature, Star-Crossed's application of a nationalist interpretant is an addition which re-interprets the story from a new angle. The following paragraphs demonstrate that Star-Crossed translates Romeo and Juliet in both time and space by applying a formal interpretant to its setting. The nationalist aspect, however, is achieved through the application of an additional thematic interpretant, which creatively vandalizes *Romeo and Juliet's* status as a popular Shakespearean tragedy in the English canon to Canadianize the story and criticize its cultural capital.

Shakespeare's tragedy is set in exotic Verona featuring an opulent "feast" (*Rom.* 1.2.18) and so much food that even the servants can unobservedly steal some "marchpane" (*Rom.* 1.5.8), whereas the Canadian adaptation is set more simplistically in a small village in North-Brabant, Holland, during the Second World War. While in Shakepeare "rich Capulet" (*Rom.* 1.2.81) boasts

At my poor house look to behold this night
Earth-treading stars that make dark heaven light.
Such comfort as of lusty young men feel
When well-apparelled April on the heel
Of limping winter treads – even such delight
Among fresh female buds shall you this night
Inherit at my house (*Rom.* 1.2.22-8)

the Heerdinck family in *Star-Crossed* lives on a daily diet of potatoes, rabbit, "a drop of milk [and] a few tulip bulbs" (13). They only have left the clothes on their body and Elizabeth asserts that her shoes are so worn she can "feel every pebble when [she goes] outside" (13). The women dream of future times when they will have access to such "opulent" items as "[h]ot water AND soap" (13; emphasis in the original). The opposition of Verona's opulence and abundance and the infamous Dutch Hunger Winter of 1944/45 when more than 20 000 Dutch starved to death as Nazi Germany rationed their food portions to levels of starvation (cf. van der Zee 304-5) could suggest a severe alteration of the setting.

Despite this seeming opposition between Verona's opulence with one of the darkest chapters of Dutch history, the cultural translation is formally equivalent because the Capulet and Heerdinck family are similar in that both are *comparatively* wealthy. The Heerdincks do not live in a mansion but they have a house, even if its furniture bears witness to the "touch of war" (stage direction 10); their clothing "is of good material and well cut" (ibid.), equally testifying to their comparatively wealthy status. This is emphasized by their neighbour Anton who begs for food to protect his wife and

child from starvation (21) and in this manner serves as a foil against which the Heerdincks appear rich. Additionally, they have stored brandy and "pre-war coffee" (18) to which they invite Father Lambertus, who comments "[i]t's heavenly nectar" (19) and "I feel as though I had been to a banquet" (23) after he has had a cup of coffee. Elizabeth explicitly confirms this when she says "We have been more fortunate than many" (13). Therefore, while there is no correspondence between the Capulet family and the Heerdincks on an absolute level, in context both families appear to be well situated so that the Dutch Heerdincks may be regarded as a translation of the Veronese Capulets.

A similar formal interpretant is at work in the geographical choice of place: To an English audience Shakespeare's settong in Renaissance Verona in Italy is a distant place, and yet Shakespeare recast Verona in familiar terms merging Italy with London, as Jack D'Amico suggests: "The city-states Shakespeare recreates on his stage are as much Italy Anglicized as the Ingles Italianato" (3; emphasis in the original). Likewise, Star-Crossed, written for a Canadian audience of the mid-twentieth century, is set in Holland in 1944. It is more or less contemporary for its intended audience who would have been able to decode the semiotics of the costumes, the properties, and the set design, just as a Renaissance audience could have related to Shakespeare's "torchbearers" (Rom. 1.4.stage direction), "doublet" (Rom. 3.1.30) and "smock" (Rom. 2.3.106). Additionally, the cultural exchange which took place between Renaissance Italy and England is translated into the friendly relationship between Canada and the Netherlands so that despite the geographical and temporal shift Star-Crossed achieves formal equivalence with Romeo and Juliet's setting. Both authors could assume their audience to be familiar with the respective country depicted, as both the Renaissance English and the twentieth-century Canadian audiences were presented with a setting that was "teasingly familiar and yet different" (D'Amico 6). Thus the setting itself results from the application of a formal interpretant and does not constitute a Canadianization itself. There are also obvious historical circumstances which forced the adaptor to seek a setting outside of Canada, since the Nazis never reached this far East but the following paragraphs demonstrate that it is precisely this formally equivalent setting which allows for the ultimate Canadian entrance in a deus ex machina fashion and the Canadianization of Shakespeare's play.

The Canadian cultural taste, which Venuti calls thematic interpretant, is applied on a level other than the mere setting. This cultural interpretant creates a hypertextual connection to Romeo and Juliet as it presents the hypotext's culture - the English culture – as inferior to the hypertext's culture – the Canadian culture – while the Dutch culture, albeit presented as sympathetic, is not evaluated on the same level. Star-Crossed sets up a spatial opposition between "the British" (28) and "the Germans" (18) - the stereotyping of the different nationalities is emphasized by the frequent use of this particular phrasing. Throughout the play several characters await the Germans' withdrawal as "[t]he British are closer" (28) or "the British army may be here in a day or two" (19). In this manner the Dutch – who remain physically static – seem to be caught between the dynamic enemy lines with the British approaching and the Germans retreating. While the Nazis are the obvious political enemies, and the British are politically welcomed, the adaptation is enwrought with acoustic cues - "[s]hells are heard falling" (14, 21, 27, 29) – which remind the audience of the danger posed, not by the Nazis, but by the British who are "aiming at the canal bridge" (27). When "[t]he roar of a plane is heard flying low overhead, then the sharp crack of ack-ack guns firing at it" (32) the Heerdinck family is frightened. These sound cues describe the scenario of a British bomber approaching, which is targeted by the German ack-ack guns³⁹, so that erroneously the Nazis appear as the village's protectors, while the British pose a danger. In this manner, while historically the British are political allies liberating the Dutch, they are presented as an omnipresent danger to the family of the play.

The opposition between the Germans and the British is also drawn up on the character level: act one begins with a conversation about "the Englishman", living downstairs, opposed to the German officer, who lives upstairs. Before he escapes, the English soldier Edwards "sees Anna for the first time and looks at her in silence" (26); despite the fact that he has just talked about his upcoming date with "a blonde" (26) in London, he seems to be smitten with Anna as he begins to stutter: "How do you do! You see, I --- I've had three dates already, and I --- I can't change my mind now. It's too ----" (26). With the hypotext in mind, Edwards' affection may lead the audience briefly astray to think that the Englishman could be Anna's love-interest as Folkert has not yet entered the stage. Thus Edwards serves as a hyper-character to Shakespeare's Rosaline, whom Romeo loves in the beginning of the play, or to Paris, Juliet's alternative suitor. While the option of Anna and Edwards becoming a couple is quickly abandoned, the introduction of an English competitor for Folkert creates another level

³⁹ antiaircraft canons

of contrast between the Nazis and the English. While Shakespeare's Paris may be seen as a competitor for Romeo, he does not create a moral contrast to Romeo because he does not appear as morally inferior or superior to the young Montague but only serves as an additional obstacle. Opposed to this, Edwards serves as a foil to Folkert due to their different nationalities, contrasting an Englishman with a Nazi. While Edwards' appearance is so brief that the author forgot to list him in the dramatis personae, his death leads to a crucial event in the plot: as Edwards' corpse is found close to the Heerdinck's house, the Nazis become suspicious of the Heerdincks and threaten to intern Willem so that only Folkert can save him. Being dead the Englishman Edwards cannot be held responsible for the Nazis behavior as it is the Germans who want to intern Willem, not the English. Nevertheless, the play gives the German Folkert a chance to distance himself from the fellow Nazis and their deeds and provides him with an opportunity to show his virtuousness. In contrast to this, the English are not portrayed as exclusively positive. Their bombs and shells post a permanent danger to the Dutch villagers and the Englishman Edwards' almost causes Willem's internment. While the Nazis are presented as morally objectionable as they threaten to intern Willem, Edwards' hiding in the basement and the consequence of his flight combined with the constant reminders of the danger of the British weaponry presents neither the Germans nor the British in a good light. The Dutch, on the other hand, appear as sympathetic and victimized characters. They demonstrate their positive traits, such as courage, to resist the Germans, helpfulness, hiding Edwards, and pacifism, as they long for the war to end to appear as morally superior to the other nationalities.

The connection to the Canadians is preponed to the end of the play and is tentatively announced by the radio:

Mighty British infantry . . . plunged across the sodden Netherlands countryside tonight in a race to trap the German 19th Army . . . after British troops of the 1st Canadian Army made a daring amphibious landing on the Scheldt Estuary Island of South Beveland. (40)

In this radio announcement, the British infantry is linguistically set up as clumsy, suggested by the choice of the word "plunged", and they are presented as the enemy of the Germans. Opposed to this, the Canadians are introduced positively as "daring" and linguistically located in Holland. Implicitly and historically this passage sets up the

Canadians as German enemies but linguistically the opposition is omitted. This allows the Canadians to hover airily above the fight between Germans and Englishmen.

The Canadians are not mentioned frequently in *Star-Crossed* but suddenly and unexpectedly emerge as the peacemakers only at the very end of the play in a *deus ex machina* fashion, appearing almost out of nowhere. Father Lambertus says "I hear the troops who are relieving are Canadian, not English" (65), which presents the English as a disappointment because they have been announced throughout the play but they do not come. He then asserts "They [the Canadians]'ll be idolized! And well they deserve it!" (65), creating an opposition between the English and the Canadians by glorifying the Canadian achievement. Dirk then announces for the second time within a few lines that "the Canadians are here" (65), unnecessarily emphasizing the liberators' nationality. The Canadians are immediately associated with all the luxury items the Heerdincks have been missing during the occupation, as Father Lambertus, Willem, and Elizabeth start talking about cigarettes, chocolate, and soap:

FATHER L. Willem they will have plenty of cigarettes and chocolate!

WILLEM. I'd love to smoke a good cigarette!

FATHER L. Perhaps we might be able to find a soldier who would sell us a cigarette?

WILLEM. We might!

ELIZABETH. Or a piece of soap! (65)

Thus the Canadians seem to be able to make up for all that has been missing in the lives of the Dutch, filling the hole created by the Nazis. *Star-Crossed* does not show any Canadians onstage, avoiding potential distrust in characters and allowing an audience to form their own, idealizing image of the liberators. But while the Canadians are invisible onstage, the sound cues from offstage – "The sound of a tank motor is heard - and cheering. All listen for a moment" (stage direction 65) – is unmistakably positive and thus stands in stark contrast to the negative English sound cues of shells exploding and guns firing.

In this manner, the adaptation sets up an opposition between the English and the Germans, which is depicted as dangerous and negative, surprisingly for both sides. In the end, the Canadians are presented as the glorious liberators, who have not caused any deaths but liberated Holland and made peace – a depiction which is almost

Shakespearean in its treatment of historical circumstances. While the negative evaluation of the Nazis is neither unusual nor surprising, the depiction of the British as dangerous is extraordinary. In the Canadian context, however, the critical portrayal of the English forces cannot only be explained by the historical circumstances but can also be understood as a critique on the English cultural supremacy in Canada. If Shakespeare is regarded as the icon of Englishness and inherently connected to the country, as Bradley and Raleigh promulgated, then *Star-Crossed's* criticism on England automatically includes criticism on Shakespeare.

Star-Crossed rewrites a play, which was designed for a Renaissance English audience to suit Canadian twentieth-century tastes. The adaptation denigrates the English explicitly in the play by portraying their destructive potential. The act of adaptation itself implicitly criticizes English cultural supremacy as it demonstrates the need for England's national poet to be translated and adapted, defeating claims to his universal applicability. By translating Shakespeare's play for a Canadian audience, the Canadian author has annexed the British national poet: by evaluating the English negatively, he is turned against his own people. So, as post-War-Canada was trying to find its own unique national identity to be expressed in Canadian culture, adapting an English masterpiece subverts the idea of English cultural superiority.

4.3 Function-Oriented Conclusion

As the product-oriented analysis of *Star-Crossed* has revealed, the adaptation creates numerous hypertextual connections to Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* by retaining potential pressure points, such as linguistic themes, characters and plot, and even narrative structures, such as the frequent setting up and subsequent destruction of positive audience expectations. By applying a formal interpretant to Shakespeare's language, the language is translated into Modern English to make the play sound more familiar to its twentieth century Canadian audience. Simultaneously, *Romeo and Juliet's* foreignizing strategy is maintained yet adapted to locate the play in the new, Dutch setting. Nonetheless, verbal echoes of linguistic themes from *Romeo and Juliet*, such as the leitmotif "blood", remind the audience of the hypertextual connection. The Shakespearean characters are translated into Second World War Dutch equivalents but the basic Shakespearean character constellation is maintained in the adaptation. The deand subsequent re-contextualization in the Second World War, a literal translation across

time and space politicizes Shakespeare's story, which leads to a re-evaluation of the characters and events. Accordingly, the internal communication system of *Star-Crossed* is manipulated to eliminate the element of discrepant awareness to shift the discourse of fate to human agency, demonstrating people's responsibility for their actions and intensifying the adaptations political statement.

The external communication system is equally changed even though *Romeo and Juliet's* use of discursive suspense has been maintained. The adaptation, *per definitionem* of the genre, relies on its audience's knowledge of the hypotext to recognize these connections. The resulting audience expectations create a new experience of suspense in *Star-Crossed*, which is intensified by maintaining the Shakespearean countdown as a pressure point. This translation across time and space bears an influence on setting, characters, events and on the language to facilitate an intralingual translation of the discourses. Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* tentatively presents a proto-feminist character in Juliet in accordance with the social conventions of the time. In *Star-Crossed* written during Second Wave Feminism, the feminist discourse is translated, which in this case means, intensified because feminism played a bigger role in twentieth century Canada than it did in Renaissance England.

The nationalist discourse, which is prominent in *Star-Crossed*, is absent from Romeo and Juliet. Nonetheless, it is translated. As the English national poet, Shakespeare's plays were touchstones of English cultural superiority, as Chapter 3 demonstrates. Star-Crossed translates this extra-textual discourse into the text and simultaneously vandalizes the nationalist discourse creatively by turning it against itself. Instead of presenting Shakespeare's culture of origin as superior, it is almost equated with the Nazis. In this manner, the rewriting can be understood as a subversive criticism of Shakespeare's cultural status. First, the modernized existence and language suggest that the hypotext itself is dated. Similarly, the fact that the play is rewritten as a new literary genre, which enables the old story to be told anew and surprise and excite its audience, can be understood as an act of dusting the Bard. Secondly, while Star-Crossed enhances the feminist discourse already present in Romeo and Juliet, its doing so suggests again Shakespeare's datedness, contradicting claims to the Bard's universal genius. Third, the act of rewriting is also a criticism of current performance practices. The simplified language and general requirements, such as the elaborate fight scenes in Romeo and Juliet, as well as Star-Crossed's conflated personnel are indicative of the shortcomings of other non-professional productions of Shakespeare in Canada at the time. The adaptor seems to appropriate his play to the non-professional stage to enable a good performance of an easy play, rather than the insufficient performance of Shakespeare's ambitious play. Finally, infusing *Romeo and Juliet* with a Canadian superiority which is contrasted with English insufficiency – where the English are equated with the Nazis – downgrades English culture. Thereby the adaptation disputes the acceptability of the English canon as the Canadian one.

At the same time Star-Crossed establishes the possibility of a Canadian Shakespeare. Star-Crossed creates isomorphisms on the level of plot, characters, even linguistic themes. Therefore, Shakespeare's genius, as defined by Bate, is not generally disputed as pressure points are transferred from hypo- to hypertext. By translating Star-Crossed for a twentieth century audience, the adaptation presents Shakespeare as being in need of translation or Canadianization to be relevant. Shakespeare's reputation as a sophisticated playwright and his popularity in Canadian theatre also helped the adaptation to be accepted by the DDF. Shakespeare was a playwright who was socially acceptable – a fact that many theatres in countries with heavy censorship have used, from Nazi Germany, to the GDR, to Russia, and China, who used Shakespeare's plays to hide dissident messages. In post-war Canada no such political censorship was present and so theatres in general could stage political plays, but the DDF was an apolitical institution who avoided political statements – hence their neglect of the 1930s Worker's Theatre (cf. Chapter 3). So while Star-Crossed does not contain any offensive anti-Canadian, or anti-minority ideology, it politicizes Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. The adaptation uses a Shakespearean cloak to hide its political context which, though not seminal or unpopular, might otherwise have been reason enough for the play to be excluded from participation in the DDF (McHugh 256). In this manner, Star-Crossed simultaneously criticizes Shakespeare's cultural status and accepts, even exploits, the Bard's iconic superiority to develop a Canadian national identity and a Canadian culture as its mouthpiece.

Chapter 5: Analyzing *Antic Disposition*

Cicely Louise Evans' play *Antic Disposition* is a politicized rewriting of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. It functions as an intralingual translation of the hypotext's themes of madness and warfare by maintaining, yet altering, the components, character and setting, but radically shifting the plot to make a dedicated plea against the use of biological warfare.

The chapter begins with an introduction to the play's origins and contexts. Secondly, a product-oriented analysis focuses on the de-contextualization of *Hamlet's* components. In *Antic Disposition* the formal components characters and setting are maintained, yet modernized and simplified in accordance with a new plot, creating isomorphic structures which refocus the play. The product, being mimetic but not identical, is thus positioned within the model of textual transformation as a rewriting which de-contextualizes the formal pressure points characters and setting as well as the thematic pressure points madness and warfare by disconnecting them from the Hamletian plot and consequently re-contextualizing them. This radical shift requires the rewording of the dialogue and thus a linguistic shift. Nevertheless, the following analysis demonstrates that the isomorphic pressure points create a recognizable hypertextual connection between *Hamlet* and *Antic Disposition*.

The subsequent discourse-oriented approach focuses on the intralingual translation of the thematic feature of gender, madness and warfare, locating discursive similarities and differences between hypotext and hypertext, which causes a generic shift from a revenge tragedy to a doubly metadramatic adaptation. Finally, the function-oriented conclusion summarizes the de- and subsequent re-contextualization of Shakespeare's play and analyzes the cultural function of *Hamlet* as a hypotext for *Antic Disposition* in the translation of its themes of madness and biological warfare.

5.1 Origins and Contexts

Cicely Louise Evans, later Melsom, was born on 19June, 1914 and died on 30 July, 2002 at age 88 (cf. Vaux Peers 201). She grew up in Edmonton, Alberta, where her family lived in the Sylvancroft mansion. Evans lived most of her life in Edmonton, only spending brief periods in England during the Second World War when she accompanied her husband, Dr. Anthony Loudon Peers who was a Surgeon Captain in the Canadian Naval Reserve. She earned an Honours Degree in English Literature with a strong focus on Shakespeare at the University of Alberta (cf. ibid. 202), where she participated, and

won first prize, in the Carnegie Trust playwriting competition with her first play *Herodis* in 1933, at age 19 ("Personals"). Her second play *Antic Disposition* was published in 1935 when Evans was only 21 years old. In addition to the plays, Evans also published numerous short stories (cf. ibid.). During the 1960s and 70s she also wrote several novels, such as *The Newel Post* (1967), *Shadow of Eva* (1970), *Nemesis Wife* (1970) or *Saint Game* (1975). While these novels were, at least in their first editions, published by the American publishing company Doubleday, *Antic Disposition* was published in a collection of *Eight New One Act Plays of 1935*, by Dickson and Thompson and edited by John Bourne in London. According to her son, Simon Anthony Vaux Peers, Evans' father "learned about a competition in London, England for the best 8 one act plays in the world for that year. He encouraged [Evans] to apply" (203). As with many contemporary plays, the lack of Canadian publishing questions whether Evans' play can be grouped as a Canadian adaptation. Indeed, Evans is listed in Joannou's *The History of British Women's Writing* (cf. 186) and in D'Monté's *British Theatre and Performance* (cf. 123).

However, Vaux Peers attests that Antic Disposition was performed in Canada by the Hart House Players of the University of Toronto (cf. Vaux Peers 203) and despite its publication in London, it was written in Canada. The place of publication was only chosen as a matter of practicality as it was difficult for Canadian authors to be published at home. During the 1930s the native publishers faced hard times in Canada and published famous English and American books to make a profit so that untried Canadian authors frequently had to publish their works with English or American publishers (cf. MacSkimming 1-5). Henceforth, young writers strove to have their works published outside of their native country. Furthermore, Vaux Peers attests that C. L. Evans "definitely thought of herself as a very proud Canadian" (203) and points to her coming from a family of Canadian heritage: The town of Evansburg, Alberta, was named after Evans' father, Harry Marshall Erskine Evans, after he drew up the original town site for the coal mine, standing as a monument to the Evans family (cf. ibid. 201). Evans' father was treasurer to the joint Red Cross and Patriotic Fund in 1916 and 1917 and was elected Mayor of Edmonton in 1918 (Blue 21-2). He later received the Order of The British Empire for his work in raising money for war bonds during the Second World War and also arranged payment for the Province of Alberta's debts which prevented the province from having to declare bankruptcy during the Great Depression (cf. Vaux Peers 203). Evans' mother, Edith Isobel Evans, was the president of the International Order Daughters of the Empire of Canada at the age of 19 and Evans' sister Sylvia not only served with distinction in the Royal Canadian Air Force during World War II, becoming the first woman squadron leader in Canada, she also became personal secretary to Princess Alice, wife of the Earl of Athlone, Canada's governor general (cf. ibid. 202). This confirms Vaux Peers' assertion that Cicely Louise Evans grew up in a patriotic, proud Canadian family, who was deeply rooted in Canadian culture and can therefore be grouped as a Canadian author.

5.2 Product-Oriented Analysis

The following product-oriented analysis of *Antic Disposition* examines the transfer of the formal features character and setting, and the themes of gender and madness from Shakespeare's *Hamlet* to its hypertext. While Evans maintains these pressure points, the language is altered significantly and the themes as well as the components are decontextualized. The adaptor cuts Hamletian events and both modernizes and simplifies her characters and her setting accordingly. The application of a thematic interpretant translates Renaissance madness into an existentialist post-World-War I view of madness. This radical re-contextualization causes the rewording of the dialogue and thus a radical linguistic shift. Nevertheless, enough pressure points are maintained to create a recognizable connection between hypo- and hypertext so that the resulting rewriting is mimetic of *Hamlet* but not identical and is thus positioned within the model of textual transformation at the heart of adaptation.

5.2.1 Components as Pressure Points

As the subsequent analysis shows, the shift of one component (characters, events, set) causes an automatic response in the other two due to their reciprocal relationship. By comparing *Hamlet's* components to those of *Antic Disposition*, such shifts can be located and interpretants revealed. In *Star-Crossed*, the Shakespearean events from *Romeo and Juliet* are maintained, whereas in *Antic Disposition* events are eliminated and substituted with new ones, weakening the hypertextual connection, which is created by retaining such pressure points.

In *Antic Disposition*, the bacteriologist Rupert feels betrayed by his family and his girlfriend, Elizabeth, as his father, whom he suspects has murdered his mother, plans on helping the government in the development of bacteriological weapons. As both his

step-mother, of whom he is suspicious as well, and even his girlfriend plan on sending him away, and as everyone opposes his pacifist plea against the use of biological weapons, Rupert sees only one solution: he kills himself at a dinner party in the hope that this drastic measure will convince the witnesses of his pacifist ideals.

For this newly composed plot, which eliminates most Hamletian events, Cicely Louise Evans configures a new setting by shifting the action from the Renaissance castle of Elsinore to a contemporary house of the family of a bacteriologist during the 1930s. This shift may seem as radical as the shift of events but presents a Canadianization of Shakespeare's Danish setting. Although Evans' initial stage direction suggests that "the action is laid in any country the spectator's imagination



FIGURE 10: EVANS' FAMILY, CIRCA 1940S

cares to place it in" (149), an attempt at providing her play with universality, her description of the window "through which is seen a glimpse of the mountain scenery" (149), the fireplace on the left "with most of the comfortable furniture grouped around it" (149) and the "modern lampshades" (149) is reminiscent of her parents' living room

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 $^{^{\}rm 40}$ Evans does not specify if she means stage or house left.

at Sylvancroft mansion in Edmonton, where two of her later novels are also set. As the photograph in fig. 10, taken during the 1940s, shows, the Sylvancroft living room featured art deco lampshades, *en vogue* in the 1930s, a fireplace and a window in the background, as well as the other stratum of furnishing with an old carpet, couch and the "big deep armchair" (149), which Evans mentions in her stage direction. *Antic Disposition's* second scene is set in a dining room, which is not described in as much detail as the first setting but since it is large enough to host a dinner party with several unnamed guests, in addition to the eight named characters sat at the table, the setting suggested is a lavish one, fitting with a mansion, such as Sylvancroft. Even if only Edmontonians would have seen this direct connection to the prominent Sylvancroft mansion, the setting represents a Canadianization as it familiarizes Shakespeare's setting by translating the remote Danish castle of the Renaissance into a modern pendant more at ease with a Canadian audience.

Unlike the newly composed events, this shifted setting reveals a formal interpretant. In the Renaissance, a castle was not any ordinary place but it was a common enough site, just like a mansion would have been in early twentieth-century Canada, where a castle would have been strikingly out of place. Evans' setting is thus as familiar to the Canadian audience as the castle would have been to a Renaissance audience. In this manner, Evans translates the wealth of a Renaissance castle into a modern equivalent; in this case, the living room of the bacteriologist's house, where, according to the stage directions "everything [is] of the best" (149). The shift is accounted for by the changing cultural codes of housing.

The radicalness of the shifted events questions the hypertextual connection and therefore the general status of *Antic Disposition* as an intralingual translation of *Hamlet*, because an adaptation depends on isomorphic structures, especially on such prominent narrative categories as plot. *Star-Crossed*, for instance, maintains the Shakespearean plot structure to enhance the hypertextual connection. Similarly, interlingual translations commonly retain such pressure points and replicate events and characters as closely as possible. Opposed to this, intralingual translations focus on discursive instead of narrative structures. In this case, Evans applies a thematic interpretant to *Hamlet* because the equivalence of the high standard setting allows her to translate the Hamletian discourse of civilization. Hamlet says that "[s]omething is rotten in the state of Denmark" (*Ham.* 1.5.67), referring to the murder of Old Hamlet and the ensuing marriage and plots. Following a humanist idea of civilization, which is opposed by

barbarism, Shakespeare exposes the flaws of the supposedly civilized Danish court (cf. Headlam 89). In *Antic Disposition*, Evans makes this idea, which Rupert ironically calls "the game of civilization" (160), the primary focus of her intralingual translation. The discourse of civilization could have been enwrought by aspects of social injustice, or could have dealt with financial envy of the poor but by retaining the focus on the upper class and applying a formal interpretant to the setting, Evans circumvents these aspects. Instead, she questions the idea of "civilization", in a modern and familiar context, thereby translating Shakespeare's debate of the uncivilized behaviour of the court, the supposed centre of civilization during the Renaissance, for a twentieth century Canadian audience.

Modernizing setting and events requires modernized characters as well, but Evans manipulates her character constellation in multiple ways to create an effective translation. Applying a formal interpretant, Evans retains the basic conflict between a son and a father working in the same profession as well as certain character traits. However, the characters are altered to fit the new context. For example, Evans downgrades Hamlet's and Claudius' job socially from political ruler to that of a bacteriologist. The social downgrading makes Evans' characters more ordinary and, like the setting, helps the audience identify with them as bacteriologists were more common than kings during the 1930s.

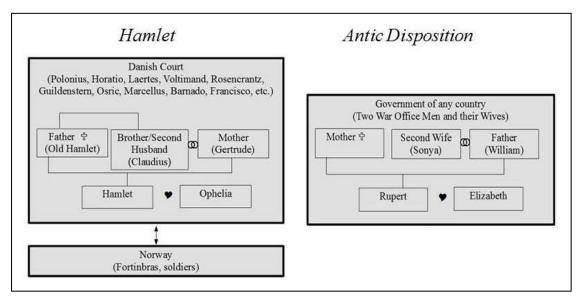


FIGURE 11: CHARACTER CONSTELLATION HAMLET - ANTIC DISPOSITION

As fig. 11 demonstrates, in addition to the modernization, the character constellation is also simplified since Evans cuts Shakespeare's Norwegian characters, eliminating Fortinbras' plans for revenge and consequently all of his soldiers. The

author also reduces the Danish court with its many representatives to two government officials and their wives, thereby cutting Horatio's example of integrity (cf. Beyer 154), the father-figure Polonius and his son Laertes, eliminating their function as foils to Claudius and Hamlet, as well as Rosencrantz and Guildenstern and their "betrayal", as described by Beyer (cf. 159). This simplification condenses Antic Disposition into one single plotline, making it easier to follow the events and their causal relationships. It is, however, not to be understood as criticism of Hamlet's multiple plotlines and characters, but corresponds to the one-act genre, which was popular in early twentiethcentury Canada (cf. Whittaker 144), but which cannot treat as many characters and their plotlines due to its brevity. Eliminating so many characters, their plotlines, and the issues or virtues they represent, eradicates not just these components, each of which may serve as a pressure point, it also simplifies Hamlet's complexity, creating a directness, clarity, and singular focus atypical for a Shakespearean play. A Midsummer Night's Dream, for example, intertwines five plotlines and needs more than twenty characters. Despite these severe simplifications to the character constellation and the plot, Evans creates isomorphic structures between the two plays, as fig. 11 demonstrates. The following paragraphs show that the hyper-characters mimic their hypo-characters, thereby creating a hypertextual connection between *Hamlet* and *Antic* Disposition, but as a result of their re-contextualization they differ radically. The simplification of the plotlines and the consequent adaptation of the characters allow for a new focus on a single topic.

As their function in the plot, the central position in the character constellation, and their dominating proportion of speech are so similar, Evans' character Rupert can easily be identified as Hamlet's hyper-character, especially since he points out the similarities himself (cf. 164 ff.). However, Evans does not simply take the character Hamlet and transfers him to her own plot. In order for her to translate Shakespeare's play for her audience, she modernizes and therefore rewrites him to refocus the play.

Rupert is described as "utterly and maddeningly cynical" (151) and thus maintains Hamlet's pessimism and cynicism about mankind. Hamlet cynically remarks "to be honest, as this world goes, is to be one man pickt out of ten thousand" (*Ham.* 2.2.177-8) and he uses the image of an "unweeded garden" (*Ham.* 1.2.35) as a metaphor for the degeneration of human society (cf. Beyer 151). He is deeply pessimistic as his belief in man, the "paragon of animals" (*Ham.* 2.2.314), is deeply disturbed: "And yet, to me what is this quintessence of dust" (*Ham.* 2.2.314-5) (cf. Schülting 539).

Nevertheless, Hamlet does not lose his religious faith as he believes in God's omnipresence, claiming "there's a special providence in the fall of a sparrow" (*Ham.* 5.2.218-9) (see Beyer 690). Evans translates this pessimism and melancholia, a state which the Renaissance believed to originate from the imbalance of the bodily fluids (cf. McLean 169 ff.), into Rupert's world weariness. Unlike the Renaissance theory of the four humors and an absolute religious trust without doubt, *Antic Disposition's* portrayal of world weariness goes according to the medicinal theories of an enlightened, post-World-War I audience. While Hamlet elaborately soliloquizes about "[t]he undiscovered country from whose bourn / No traveller returns" (*Ham.* 3.1.81-2) and fears the endless pain of purgatory, Rupert's pessimism is characterized by absolute disillusionment as he believes exclusively in the power of human agency. As a consequence of this dark world view, Rupert even commits suicide as the ultimate human action. Inspired by Shakespeare's play, Rupert believes that instead of trusting in higher forces, like God or faith, he must be the agent to set things right.

Although *Hamlet* is often classified as a revenge tragedy (cf. Bowers 90), Hamlet does not just seek revenge for the regicide but sees himself in charge of the state of Denmark and its political system (cf. Beyer 154): "The time is out of joint. O cursed spite / That ever I was born to set it right" (Ham. 1.5.176-7), just as Rupert does not simply detest his father's engagement in the biological weapons program but sees these weapons as symptoms of the downfall of the whole system of "humanity" and "civilization". Despite the modernized world view and underlying set of values, Evans applies a thematic interpretant focusing on the protagonist's concern about the corruption of values, particularly the corruption of the central value of both plays: humanity (see ibid. 151). In Hamlet the corruption of this value finds its political expression in Claudius' regicide but also on the personal level in the failing of interpersonal relationships, such as love, family and friendship (see ibid.), personified by Ophelia's betrayal, Gertrude's scandalous remarriage to her former brother-in-law, Claudius' murder of his own brother, and Rosencrantz and Guildenstern's betrayal of their friend Hamlet. By cutting the characters of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Antic Disposition eliminates the corruption of the value of friendship, but Evans retains the corruption of the values of family and love, which are integral parts of the value of humanity, as pressure points.

Antic Disposition simplifies the corruption of the value of family through a gender exchange. The shift from Shakespeare's dead father, Old Hamlet, and the

consequent remarriage of the mother, Gertrude, to her brother-in-law, Claudius, to the death of an unnamed mother and the subsequent remarriage of the father, William, to another woman, Sonya, is deprived of the notion of incest. Nevertheless, there is an animosity between Rupert and Sonya, which is made explicit when William says "he is becoming most difficult", to which Sonya replies "[b]ecoming? Has he ever been anything else?" (150) and is also implied in the behind-the-back-communication between Rupert and his father about whether or not to participate in the government program. Therefore, the family is presented as dysfunctional. The death of Rupert's mother weighs heavy on the family although the circumstances of her death are unclear. William describes her death as "this painful incident" (151) and Sonya asserts that she had nothing to do with it twice. Nonetheless, the isomorphic structures of *Hamlet* and Antic Disposition suggest that Rupert's mother, like Hamlet's father, did not die naturally. Rupert implicitly accuses William and Sonya of this in his first "bed-time story", where the character of the "lonely wife" (169) is poisoned. Through Rupert's insistence on engaging Sonya and William to react to it, his story appears as an accusation, blaming the couple for his mother's death. Therefore, the notion of incest is removed, possibly due to reasons of propriety, but the mysterious death of Rupert's mother and the open animosity within the family demonstrates the corruption of the value of family, creating discursive isomorphisms with *Hamlet*.

As love-interests who betray their partners, Ophelia and Elizabeth have a similar function within the character constellation (see fig. 11) and their behavior is exemplary of the downfall of humanity. Rupert illustrates her betrayal in his second "story" (172 ff.). He starts with a romantic description of their first encounter "on a day when the trees were blossoming, all in the pleasant spring" (ibid.) that resembles a medieval spring opening. Rupert renounces the personal connection to himself, but he repeats the phrase that Elizabeth had used earlier on "for your own good" (160) several times, suggesting that the story's "lovely lady" is based on Elizabeth and the man who loves the lady "altogether and completely" (172) is Rupert himself. Elizabeth tries to talk to him and "make [him] understand" (ibid.), emphasizing this connection. The description of the lady who cuts the man into little pieces may seem like the story of a madman at a first glance but as a speech addressed to Elizabeth it illustrates Rupert's own feelings. The fact that he focuses one of his stories on Elizabeth shows the importance of her betrayal. To intensify Elizabeth's dishonesty, Evans reverses the events. Ophelia is initially in love with Hamlet and only loses faith in him after he abuses her in the so

called "closet scene". Opposed to this, Elizabeth admits to Sonya: "I'm not even sure that I love [Rupert]" (157) at the start of the play. Thus, while Ophelia has a reason to pass on love-letters to her father and thereby betray Hamlet, Elizabeth's betrayal is unprompted. She betrays Rupert by trying to persuade him to take the position at the dairy plant (160 ff.) without having been given a cause and before Rupert has mistreated her. Therefore, the well-rounded character of Ophelia (see Desmet 11 ff.) is reduced to Elizabeth's lack of dedication and integrity. On the one hand, this alteration reduces Elizabeth's importance in the plot, on the other hand, it reduces the emotional potential of the *Hamlet*-sujet because it eliminates the element of a tragic love-story. In addition to the lack of friends, Ophelia's hyper-character, who displays only negative character traits, does not appear as a contrasting foil to Rupert's honesty, but she intensifies Rupert's isolation from the unidealistic society in which he lives.

In this manner, Evans transfers the Shakespearean conflict of values to Antic Disposition, showing the corruption of central human values, such as love and family, onstage. The lack of an integer character, such as Horatio, and the intensified corruption of the value of love, which results from Elizabeth's lack of integrity, isolates Rupert. Consequently, Hamlet's and Rupert's motivations and endings differ. Hamlet's initial motivation is revenge for his father's death, which is entwined with disgust at his mother's incestuous remarriage, and the urge to set things right on a grander scale, in the Danish kingdom, which is why Hamlet can be classed as a Renaissance revenge tragedy, a genre which was popular at the time. Isolated and disillusioned, Rupert does not seek revenge for his mother's death, nor for his father's or Elizabeth's betrayal. In twentieth-century Canada, the morality of a revenge tragedy would have been questionable as vigilantism goes against the principles of democratic society and modern concepts of justice. Therefore, Evans applies a formal interpretant to translate the Renaissance story. Thus, Rupert's motivation is depersonalized as he concentrates solely on a political agenda, ignoring personal feelings of disappointment and revenge. He wants to convince the government officials, his father, Sonya and Elizabeth and, on a metatheatrical level, the audience of the perverseness of the biological weapons program. Hamlet ponders over the question of whether "[t]o be, or not to be" (cf. Ham. 3.1.58), deciding to "be" and revenge his father. Opposed to this, Rupert never philosophizes on this existential question, although it haunts the play palimpsestuously, but he does commit suicide. Unlike Hamlet, however, Rupert does not seek death as a means to get his peace of mind, although the Hamletian euphemism of sleep as a

peaceful death, is alluded to in the adaptation (cf. 159), but Rupert utilizes his death to trigger a reaction and convince his on- and offstage audience of his ideals.

In *Hamlet*, the Danish prince is successful, as he is able to revenge his father's death as well as the various betrayals committed against him, even though he pays with his own life. By contrast, Rupert's success depends on the spectator. As his death closes the play, the efficacy of his plan is not revealed – the spectator has no way of knowing whether Rupert's stories and the unexpected suicide spark the reaction he anticipates in the government officials or William. In order for an audience member to get a sense of closure, he or she must make their own decision, depending on whether one is convinced by Rupert's ideals of humanity or condemns him as a mad man. These dramatic shifts further Evans' translation of the corruption of the value of humanity in a modern and disillusioned context. With the flattened character Elizabeth and the lack of personal revenge, *Antic Disposition* is depersonalized. This depersonalization of the story detaches it from the characters and broadens the applicability of the theme. In this manner, Evans shifts the Hamletian characters to achieve a modernization of the theme of humanity.

In this manner, the components of *Antic Disposition* are carefully balanced between similarity to Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and difference from it. While the events in *Antic Disposition* are newly composed, Evans applies a formal interpretant to the setting to translate a Renaissance castle into a modern equivalent, yielding the living room of the bacteriologist's house, which allows her to apply a thematic interpretant to *Hamlet*, focusing on its civilizing discourse only.

The modernized setting and events bear a direct impact on the characters. The character constellation (see fig. 11) visualizes the isomorphic structures of hypotext and hypertext – the difficult relationship between parent, step-parent and son, or the betrayal of the son's love-interest – and illustrates the hypertextual connection between *Hamlet* and *Antic Disposition*. The difference between the characters themselves and the character constellation is a direct result of Evans' modernization strategy which is reflected in all components: formal interpretants have been applied to the setting and the characters. As the events of a play represent an important pressure point and Evans' events differ radically from the Shakespearean hypotext, *Antic Disposition* may seem like an autonomous text rather than a translation. This effect is enhanced by the simplification of the personnel and the differing motivations. Nevertheless, considering the thematic interpretant which Evans applies to *Hamlet*, shows that the author does not

only modernize the play's components, she also focuses on the thematic aspect of civilization. To modernize and translate this particular aspect, Evans radically changes the events, updates the setting, and manipulates the characters. Her inference with the Shakespearean hypotext, however, is not at random, but facilitates her application of the thematic interpretant. Translating the issue of civilization in the context of post-World-War I disillusionment, requires this modernization strategy. Additionally, Evans cuts other themes, such as the notion of incest, to focus on her chosen topic. In this manner, while the componential shifts alter important pressure points, they allow Evans to translate the Shakespearean theme of civilization.

Since Evans cuts exiting dramatic features from *Hamlet*, such as the ghost or the duel between Hamlet and Laertes, the entertainment value of Shakespeare's tragedy is translated through the generic shift. As in *Star-Crossed*, the genre of adaptation creates suspense. Based on the assumption that *Antic Disposition's* plot bears isomorphic resemblances to *Hamlet's*, an audience is likely to expect Ophelia's, Gertrude's, Hamlet's and Claudius' hyper-characters to die. Rupert's entrance with a gun confirms the expectations of a tragic ending, even though he does not explicitly threaten to kill anyone and foreshadows his own suicide. The contrast between audience expectations based on the hypotext's plot and indicators from the hypertext create a suspense which the audience assumes to be discursive since they assume to know the course of the plot. Rupert's single suicide which spares three lives, whose hypo-characters die, is unexpected from an audience's point of view and contrasts with the Shakespearean hypotext. In this manner the discursive suspense is turned into plot suspense, which due to its unexpectedness enhances its potential.

In addition to the added suspense, *Antic Disposition* is easier to stage than Shakespeare's *Hamlet* because there are fewer characters and consequently no subplots. Additionally, Evans' play is shorter, the plot is easier to follow, and there is only one set change. Thus, the Canadian author translates a Renaissance tragedy into an early twentieth century Canadian play in accordance with the Canadian nonprofessional theatre's requirements during the 1930s. Thus Evans translates Shakespearean memes into Canadian ones, applying formal interpretants. However, the simplicity and singular focus do not make her play trivial. The genre of adaptation makes subplots superfluous because, while Fortinbras and his father may serve as foils to Hamlet and his father, Rupert and William do not need another couple to reflect on their relationship because their hypo-characters serve that function. Likewise, Rupert does not spend stage-time on

philosophizing on death and suicide because due to the importance of this discourse in its hypotext, it haunts the play palimpsestuously. In this manner, the simplification allows Evans to focus her play on one topic, the "game of civilization", without losing *Hamlet's* suspense potential or its sophisticated complexity and diversity.

5.2.2 Language

The term rewriting implies the changing of the words and in the cases at hand, the linguistic intervention goes beyond the changing of a few lines, as is customary in adaptation in performance, and therefore changes the potential pressure point of the play's language drastically. While in *Star-Crossed* close linguistic isomorphisms are enabled by the analogousness of plot and characters of the two plays, Evans' characters and plot are so different from Shakespeare's play that close linguistic proximity is not achieved. Nevertheless, the language provides the crucial connection between hypotext and hypertext which locates the play at the heart of the model of textual transformation (see fig. 3). The following analysis examines *Antic Disposition* as an intralingual translation which acknowledges the mimetic potential in a few verbal echoes but, unlike *Star-Crossed*, openly signifies its being a rewriting through metatheatrical references.

In addition to the shifted character and plot, Antic Disposition decisively differs from its hypotext because Evans' play is not composed in rhymed verse, but in naturalistic modern English prose. This shift is the result of a formal interpretant because, like Archibald's The Lost Queen or Aikins' The God of Gods, Evans uses an isomorphism by writing in contemporary English which is more accessible to her audience than Shakespeare's blank verse. Despite this interpretant, major pressure points, such as names or Hamlet's "To be or not to be"-soliloguy are eliminated as Antic Disposition does not try to mimic Hamlet linguistically. Due to this substantial incongruity the play is not easily defined as an adaptation according to the model of textual transformation (see fig. 3). However, despite the lack of typically Shakespearean dialogue in the main part of the play, Antic Disposition creates a strong linguistic connection to its Shakespearean hypotext through numerous explicit quotations and literal references to *Hamlet*. Generally, the modernization of language simplifies the text for a twentieth century audience. The lack of linguistic density (see E. Smith), the lack of Early Modern English, and the use of naturalistic prose ensure an audience's understanding of the basic conflict in the play. In this manner, Antic Disposition

refocuses on story and content instead of linguistic beauty.

The most prominent allusion to the Shakespearean hypotext is, as in *Star-Crossed*, the play's title, *Antic Disposition*, which refers to Hamlet's decision "[t]o put an antic disposition on" (*Ham.* 1.5.173), which Rupert also explicitly quotes in the course of the play (cf. Evans 165). Audience expectations of the play are based on the title. In this case, the title explicitly connects *Antic Disposition* to *Hamlet* while simultaneously announcing its divergence from Shakespeare's play and thereby prominently announces the play's genre of adaptation. Unlike *Star-Crossed*, Evans states the congruity between *Hamlet* and *Antic Disposition* explicitly, when Rupert exclaims:

there is something that is bothering me . . . an analogy, some sort of analogy . . . Hamlet! Of course, it's Hamlet! I knew the solution had something to do with Shakespeare. (163)

At this point in the play – shortly before the end of act one – the analogy might not be clear to the audience because other than the title and the character constellation the similarities between hypo- and hypertext are scarce in the first act. However, Rupert takes out a copy of *Hamlet* and reads the Player King's speech about Hecuba in a metadramatic manner. To Elizabeth his quoting seems nonsensical, but to an audience who – due to the title's reference to *Hamlet* – is prepared for intertextuality, this reference explicitly announces the connection between *Hamlet* and *Antic Disposition* and thereby tunes the ears for other subtler linguistic allusions.

Antic Disposition is interspersed with subtle linguistic references which intensify the hypertextual connection and are the result of the application of formal interpretants. For instance, speaking about his dead first wife, William says: "I know that I have asked you not to discuss this painful incident with me. I thought it was buried in the past" (151), to which Sonya replies: "Well, if it was, its ghost still walks" (ibid.). This reference to ghosts could easily be understood as a metaphor and can only be perceived by an attentive member of the audience. But it is inspired by Old Hamlet's ghost who reveals the truth about his murder to Hamlet. The allusion may seem subtle and slight but it stands out linguistically because Sonya does not use metaphoric language elsewhere in the play. The passage, albeit brief, is therefore linguistically emphasized and marks a connection between hypo- and hypertext. The allusion to Old Hamlet's

ghost reveals the application of a formal interpretant, which suggests that despite her claim to the contrary, Sonya has killed Rupert's mother, just as Claudius killed Hamlet's father. In this manner, the revelation of the formal interpretant bears an impact on the discourse transferred. The formal interpretant influences the play's external communication system as it creates discrepant awareness between different members of the audience. Only when subtle linguistic allusions to *Hamlet* are understood as such is Rupert's sanity beyond doubt. Without the palimpsestuous reading of *Antic Disposition*, the audience sides with Elizabeth, Sonja and William who are unaware of their hypercharacters in Shakespeare's play. The conversations between Rupert and Elizabeth are enwrought with discrepant awareness. Rupert suddenly asks Elizabeth "Are [you] [sic.] afraid of ghosts?" (162), but she does not understand the connection to *Hamlet* and ghosts, so she deduces that Rupert is "losing [his] reason" (163). He explains, only for the benefit of the audience, that he is making "an analogy" (ibid.) and points to the parallels between himself and Hamlet: "Ghosts and madness" (ibid.) to uplift the audience above Elizabeth's level to his own level of awareness.

Another subtle linguistic connection translates Shakespeare's metaphoric language, which is expressed with an emphasis on bird imagery in Shakespeare's plays in general (cf. Spurgeon 48-9) and birds of prey in particular in *Hamlet*, such as falcons and eyases (cf. ibid. 368). Similarly, Rupert compares civilization to "a vulture that feeds on a vulture" (174). Caroline Spurgeon's book on Shakespeare's imagery, which details his astonishing knowledge of ornithology, was first published in 1935 and would, thus, have been available to Evans during her own studies. As Evans appears to have taken a strong interest in feminism it is feasible that she knew of Professor Spurgeon, who was a professor of English literature at Bedford College from 1913 and as the first fully recognized female professor of English literature had an international reputation (cf. Haas 102). Moreover, Evans had visited London on several occasions, so that it is likely that she would have known Spurgeon's research and studied her book. While the language of Antic Disposition, unlike Hamlet's, is not enwrought with metaphors and imagery, Rupert's allusion to vultures translates Shakespeare's metaphoric language into a full-fledged analogy by applying a formal interpretant. In this manner, the adaptation's language is kept simple, facilitating communication with the audience, yet the hypertextual connection is created on the linguistic level.

The deciphering of such textual references to *Hamlet* creates a discrepant awareness in the audience. When Rupert asks, "[w]hat is rest? I knew it yesterday",

Elizabeth responds: "And will to-morrow" (159), to which Rupert replies "If it is what I think it is – perhaps" (ibid.). To Elizabeth Rupert's enquiry about "rest" simply refers to the feeling of physical relaxation when sitting down or sleeping but Rupert's assertion that he may only understand it the next day, suggests a more intellectual interpretation of "rest" as peace of conscience or the feeling of moral relief. In this brief exchange Rupert creates a hypertextual connection to *Hamlet*. Only when understood as a reference to Hamlet's soliloquy, can the audience decipher Rupert's answer as a suicide warning as he connects rest or sleep to death, as Hamlet does:

To die, to sleep –

No more, and by a sleep to say we end
The heartache and the thousand natural shocks
That flesh is heir to – 'tis a consummation
Devoutly to be wished. To die, to sleep,
To sleep, perchance to dream. Ay, there's the rub,
For in that sleep of death what dreams may come
When we have shuffled off this mortal coil
Must give us pause. (*Ham.* 3.1.62-70).

Hamlet compares the similarity of sleep and death, debating if death will "shuffle off this mortal coil" and provide restoration from the "thousand natural shocks", just as a night's sleep provides physical recuperation. In this manner, the audience is divided: through the intertextuality Rupert gives a subtle suicide warning, which only those audience members who catch the intertextual reference will understand as a warning. Those who do not see the connection to *Hamlet*, remain as ignorant of the sincerity of the situation as Elizabeth.

Another allusion to *Hamlet* which enhances the linguistic connection between Shakespeare's tragedy and Evans' play through the application of a formal interpretant is Rupert's "I shall make a little grave – the very smallest grave will do – and at the head I shall put rosemary, for remembrance; and at the foot, a poppy for oblivion" (162). This appears to be a cryptic passage, the mad babbling of an insane man, unless it is understood as a reference to Ophelia's:

There's rosemary, that's for remembrance; . . . and there is pansies. That's for thoughts. . . There's fennel for you, and columbines: there's rue for you; and here's some for me: we may call it herb-grace o' Sundays: . . . There's a daisy: I would give you some violets, but they withered all when my father died. (*Ham*. 4.5.173-82)

The formal interpretant transfers the Hamletian connection between flowers, death, and the memory of the dead to Antic Disposition. There are no allusions to flowers, in the context of death and remembrance elsewhere in *Antic Disposition*. Therefore, Rupert's lines seem out of place and nonsensical. They appear as proof of his insanity, but through the formal interpretant of Shakespeare's tragedy, they provide meaning and confer the Shakespearean discourse onto the adaptation. In this context, Rupert's lines stress his intellectual superiority because they demonstrate his intellectual sophistication; and prove his sincerity about the issue at hand as he alludes to Ophelia's dead father. At the same time, the formal interpretant foreshadows the ending of the play: for just as Ophelia commits suicide after she has spoken these lines, so too does Rupert shoot himself. In addition to the creation of hypertextual connections between Hamlet and Antic Disposition, and its according significance in the definition of Antic Disposition as an adaptation, these allusions divide the audience along lines of intellectual superiority. Those audience members who discover the formal interpretant experience and interpret the play differently than those without the additional background information. What appears to be mad talk for one group is an intellectual quip for the other, providing sincerity and a clue as to the outcome. In this manner, Evans creates discrepant awareness (see Pfister "Theory" 50). One fraction of the audience understands and sympathizes with Rupert, the second fraction sympathizes with Rupert's opponents, who think him mad. In this manner, Evans applies a thematic interpretant because *Hamlet* is also a play about discrepant awareness: from Gertrude and Claudius's knowledge of the regicide to Rosencrantz, Guildenstern, Ophelia, Polonius, Gertrude and Claudius's awareness and assessment of their betrayal of Hamlet, to the plan to murder Hamlet. Hamlet's story is about the misinterpretation of situations and their reversal. Evans applies a thematic interpretant to this notion of discrepant awareness and translates it on- and offstage.

Although *Antic Disposition* does not try to mimic *Hamlet's* language as such, its linguistic particularities have a threefold purpose. First, by changing *Hamlet's* language

in form and content but simultaneously alluding to it through direct quotations and textual allusions, Evans carefully balances her play between the hypotext, *Hamlet*, and an autonomously composed drama. This linguistic connection to *Hamlet* functions as a narrative shorthand. Due to the application of a formal interpretant, interpretive clues suggesting Sonya as the murderer of Rupert's mother are provided metatextually, and linguistic themes are transferred from one play to another to add suspense and background information, such as proof of sincerity, to the play without the need to establish the themes in their own right. Secondly, the revelation of the formal interpretant is reserved for a sophisticated audience with the appropriate knowledge as only they can understand Rupert's allusions. In this manner, the audience is divided into two groups with opposing interpretations of the play: unlike the title prominently announcing the play's being an adaptation of *Hamlet*, the majority of linguistic allusions are so subtle that they create a discrepant awareness between fractions of the audience. One fraction of the audience does not comprehend the allusions to the hypotext and accordingly interprets the randomness of Rupert's comments as proof of his madness, like Elizabeth, Sonya and William. The other part of the audience understands the subtleties and through a palimpsestuous reading of the play understand Rupert's suicide warning and his sincerity. In this manner, Antic Disposition works in the same way as a translation because knowledge of the translation's hypotext creates an interpretation which differs from that of reading the translation with no background information. Similarly, knowledge of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* influences the assessment of *Antic* Dispositions characters, especially the interpretation of Rupert's sanity. Thirdly, the linguistic simplification of Antic Disposition ensures an audience's understanding of the play's plot, main motifs and discourses, which are the subject of the following subchapter.

5.2.3 Discourse

Formal differences between hypotext and hypertext, such as linguistic or componential isomorphisms locate formal interpretants. The subsequent function-oriented analysis focuses on the discourse because it reveals the ideologies hidden in the text and the shifted role a text plays in the target culture. In *Antic Disposition* two aspects are of interest: first, Evans' metadramatic interpretation of *Hamlet*. Secondly, *Antic Disposition* reveals a politicized reading of Shakespeare's tragedy. As Bassnett and

Trivedi have argued for translation, this adaptation is not "innocent" (see 2) but has a political agenda. Locating discursive shifts in the text reveals Evans' application of two prominent thematic interpretants: first, a gender-oriented reading of *Hamlet* and secondly, a pacifist interpretation of Shakespeare's tragedy.

5.2.3.1 Metadrama

Shakespeare's *Hamlet* is saturated with metadramatic passages. Jonathan Bate explains that "[Hamlet] recognises the power of acting to expose the feigning of public life" ("Introduction" 4). The Danish prince compares the theatricality of life with the theatre's potential to imitate life when he muses on the ritualization of grief as "actions that a man might play" (Ham. 1.2.84; emphasis added). He refers to the cultural codes of mourning and the limited semiotics of the theatre, with costumes – an "inky cloak" (Ham. 1.2.77) and "customary suits of solemn black" (Ham. 1.2.78) – and bodily signs - "windy suspiration of forced breath" (Ham. 1.2.79) or "the dejected haviour of the visage, / Together with all forms, moods, shows of grief' (Ham. 1.2.81-2) foreshadowing the metatheatricality of *The Mousetrap*. Hamlet holds "the mirror up to nature" (Ham. 3.2.22) to imitate life and show his audience a reflection of themselves. In aiding Hamlet in his plot to reveal Claudius' complicity in the murder of Old Hamlet, the play-within-the-play responds to Renaissance anti-theatricalists, who claimed that the theatre broke sumptuary laws and defied decency (cf. Fraser). Thereby, The Mousetrap demonstrates the theatre's potential to enable a self-reflexive process, foreshadowing Brecht's notion of alienation.

In *Antic Disposition*, Evans applies both formal and thematic interpretants to *Hamlet*'s metadrama. However, the play-within-play, *Hamlet*'s most iconic metadramatic element is shifted towards a more narrative form as a result of a formal interpretant. Within the narrative logic of *Antic Disposition*, Rupert does not have a group of actors at his disposal, which is why the mirror he holds up to nature comes in the narrative form of storytelling. Like Hamlet, Rupert confronts his suspects with the truth using a narrative device. Therefore, despite the formal shift from play-within-the-play to storytelling, both forms share the same function within the internal communication system of their respective play: to demonstrate the truth, and convince its respective audience. Thus the shift is a direct result of the formal differences between hypotext and hypertext. Despite the formal isomorphism, eliminating *The Mousetrap* reduces the play's level of metadrama. Evans expresses her metadramatic reading of

Hamlet through other means as she relocates the metadrama from the internal to the external communication system, creating a metadramatic isomorphism. In an act of metatextuality, Rupert quotes a long passage from *Hamlet*:

What's Hecuba to him or he to Hecuba
That he should weep for her? What would he do
Had he the motive and the cue for passion
That I have? . . . He
would drown the stage with tears,
And cleave the general ear with horrid speech,
Make mad the guilty and appall the free,
Confound the ignorant, and amaze indeed
The very faculties of eyes and ears. . . .
How strange or odd so'er I bear myself
As I perchance hereafter shall think meet
To put an antic disposition on. (163-5)

In this passage Rupert communicates his awareness of being a character in an adaptation to the offstage audience. Unlike other characters, such as Anna and Folkert in Star-Crossed or Alice and George in Canada, Fair Canada, Rupert is aware of the parallels between himself and Hamlet. He even takes *Hamlet* as a source of inspiration. Openly announcing his own artificiality stands as a singular case within the landscape of Shakespearean adaptations of the time, but it has become more popular in recent adaptations, such as Ann-Marie MacDonald's 1988 Goodnight Desdemona, Good Morning Juliet. Drawing attention to the play's Shakespearean roots and its genre of adaptation adds a level of metadrama which the hypotext is lacking. Reading the passage about Hamlet, who finds himself moved by the Player King's speech about Hecuba, Rupert understands the theatre's potential to influence the external environment. Inspired by Hamlet's success in making Claudius react, Rupert tries to convince his father and Sonya using narrative means as well. In this manner, the hypertextual connections between hypo- and hypertext are not accidental but intentional. While Star-Crossed only echoes Shakespeare's play, Rupert likens himself to Hamlet by comparing himself to the Danish prince, taking Shakespeare's tragedy as an inspiration for his subsequent actions and directly quoting from *Hamlet*. In masterly fashion, Evans entwines different layers of metatheatricality as her character, himself to be read palimpsestuously through the Hamletian lens, refers to Shakespeare's metatheatrical passage about a player's speech about Hecuba, a character originating from yet another play by Euripides. Even though she eliminates the metadramatic element of the play-within-the-play, Evans uses a metatheatrical passage to make a metatheatrical statement. Stacking different layers of metathetricality on each other, Evans creates a meta-meta-dramatic passage. The purpose of metatheatre is to draw the audience's attention to the play itself - "[t]he play's the thing" (Ham. 2.2.606), as Hamlet says. Instead of secretly manipulating the audience's emotions by story or stage chemistry, metatheatre draws attention to its own techniques. Announcing a play to be an adaptation is a metathetrical statement by itself because it encourages the audience to watch the play palimpsestuously through their experience with and knowledge of the hypotext. Evans goes a step further and not only encourages the palimpsestuous interpretation of Antic Disposition but simultaneously demonstrates drama's potential to hold a mirror up to nature and influence life outside of the theatre. By breaking the fourth wall, Evans refocuses the audience's attention on her themes, backgrounding character traits and stage chemistry and thereby increases the value of adaptation.

Enhancing the metadrama, the First War Office Man says "It's hard to know what the world is coming to these days" (166), to which Rupert replies:

It's coming to the stage entrance . . . Back stage and actors and make-up and light effects . . . It's left the theatre and is waiting at the stage entrance -- for the stars to come out . . . the world has come back stage and met the author and the producer. (166-7)

In this passage Rupert alludes to Shakespeare's own theatre, the globe with its motto *totus mundus agit histrionem* ("The whole world acts the player"; my translation), and to Shakespeare's well-known speech from *As You Like It*:

All the world's a stage,

And all the men and women are merely players.

They have their exits and their entrances,

And one man in his time plays many parts. (AYL 2.7.139-42)

In this passage Jacques metadramatically likens the theatre to the world and therefore suggests that what is seen onstage is pars pro toto the whole world. Thereby Jacques extends the lessons of the play to real life. By alluding to this passage from As You Like It, Rupert agrees with Shakespeare's character, underlining his own argument which he details explicitly: if the theatre is a metaphor for the real world but the theatre itself is an image for a fictitious and artificial world, then, Rupert believes, real life and fictitious world are colliding. He suggests that all theatrical techniques which create the theatre's artificiality – actors, make-up, light-effects – are revealed, meaning that the lies which hold up a pleasant appearance in the real world have been uncovered and now the world knows what lies underneath and will see who is responsible: the author and the producer. Rupert does not specify whom he, personally, holds responsible, nor does he state more precisely what kind of theatrical fiction has been uncovered but in the context of the play, and his other "stories", he talks about warfare, biological warfare in particular. And as he directly addresses the War Office Men, he suggests that they are the persons in charge, which likens his family and Elizabeth to the theatre crew, the actors, make-up artists, and technicians who help the author and the producer set up their lies. In this context, the first layer of intertextuality is only significant in that it relates Antic Disposition to the discourse from As You Like It. Instead of adding the whole context and explaining it at large, Evans refers to an already existing and reasonably famous Shakespearean discourse. But the fact that it is metatheatrical, drawing attention to its own medium whilst discussing it, is an act of honesty. Instead of disguising herself as an author, Rupert as an actor, and the theatre as the real world, Evans shows her audience these otherwise concealed mechanisms and thereby avoids the pitfalls, which she criticizes in her play. In addition to the cultural capital of As You *Like It*, this metatheatricality adds credibility to her argument.

In another act of metatheatricality Rupert breaks the fourth wall by directly asking the audience the question "what is civilization? Did I see the little dearie in the front row put up her hand? Perhaps she can tell us. No? Some bright boy at the back, then?" (173-4). The shift from *The Mousetrap* to breaking the fourth wall by directly addressing the audience reveals Evans' application of a thematic interpretant. The formal differences in the play's self-referentiality broadens the spectrum of *Hamlet's* metatheatricality. While Shakespeare's self-referential gesture is confined to the internal communication system of *Hamlet*, Evans' alienating device, which demonstrates to the audience their being an audience, connects the internal communication system to the

external communication system as the character within the play directly communicates with the audience outside of the play. Thereby, Evans actively engages the audience in the play's internal discourses. By connecting these levels of communication, Rupert extends the discursive validity to the audience's reality.

Despite eliminating Hamlet's first and foremost metadramatic device, the playwithin-the-play, Evans spins a complex web of intertextuality and metatheatricality. Antic Disposition shifts the metadrama from inside the communication system to the outside, reversing the communicative direction and connecting the in- and external levels of discourse and connecting the audience with the play's discursive content. As awareness or lack of the hypertextual connection to *Hamlet* may fraction the audience, the adaptation's metatheatricality prepares both fractions for an honest post-show debate about the play's themes of civilization and humanity, as the metadrama connects internal and external discourses. Cutting the Player King, his players and The Mousetrap has the added advantage of lowering the production costs, a prominent Canadian theatrical meme. Simultaneously, the intertextuality reintroduces the metadramatic element, creates a formal connection between hypotext and hypertext, and adds the metadramatic discourse without the need to raise the issue explicitly. Interestingly, Evans does not just translate any discourse but the self-referentiality of the play. Adaptations only work as palimpsests, when read through the veil of another text, realizing similarities and differences. The theatrical adaptation of a Shakespeare play is thus per definitionem metadramatic. Evans reinforces this palimpsestuous effect through the thematic interpretant. Adding an additional metalevel to the hypotext's metadramatic play-within-the-play, creates a new level of meta-meta-theatricality. In this manner, Evans reveals the communicative means she uses in an act of honesty. Additionally, Evans both references metadrama's potential to influence real life – using the Hamletian example – on a theoretical level and demonstrates it by breaking the fourth wall and actively engaging the audience. This is particularly meaningful because, as communication, Evans' locution has a political illocution colored by ideological shades absent from the Shakespearean hypotext.

5.2.3.2 Ideologies

Antic Disposition's ideological shifts reveal the application of two thematic interpretants, discussed in the following subchapters. The author has modified characters' gender and added a pacifist ideology, which challenges and creatively

vandalizes Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Like *Star-Crossed*, which adds the Third-Reichcontext, Evans politicizes Shakespeare on a grand scale.

5.2.3.2.1 Pacifism

Shakespeare's *Hamlet* has a strong political potential: most prominently, Denmark's conflict with Fortinbras and Norway. As the character constellation in fig. 11 visualizes, *Antic Disposition* cut this conflict of foreign policies, despite its political agenda which engages in the discourse of biological warfare. Evans' pacifist reading of Shakespeare's play is the result of a thematic interpretant applied to the element of madness, which the author modernizes and translates for her audience.

Madness was a common plot device in Early Modern drama. Examples range from Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi* to Kyd's famous *The Spanish Tragedy* or Middleton and Rowley's *The Changeling*. Shakespeare uses madness in various plays, such as *The Two Noble Kinsmen* or as a plot device in *Twelfth Night*, and it is central to his great tragedies *Macbeth* and *King Lear*. In *Hamlet*, however, "[m]adness reaches epidemic proportions" (Salkeld 28) exploiting the variety of this theme, as a disease caused by shock or melancholia displaying certain physical and social symptoms, as an allegory for governmental behavior, and as a plot device of disguise (see ibid. 91).

In Hamlet "the meaning of madness is open and plural" (ibid. 27): Horatio believes that the ghost can "draw you into madness" (1.4.74), which the ghost confirms: "I could a tale unfold whose lightest word / Would harrow up thy soul" (Ham. 1.5.15-16). This is a shock-induced madness caused by the overload of the human mind when confronted with supernatural or divine phenomena. Hamlet suggests another shockinduced madness caused by the sudden revelation of a bad conscience as a well-acted play would "[m]ake mad the guilty" (Ham. 2.2.574). Equally shock-induced, Ophelia's madness is opposed by Hamlet's feigned madness, the "antic disposition" (Ham. 1.5.173) to which the adaptation's title alludes. To add more Early Modern conventions of madness, Polonius muses that unrequited love might be the cause of Hamlet's madness, whereas Rosencrantz and Guildenstern suppose a severe melancholia as the cause, since Hamlet says "I have of late... lost all my mirth" (Ham. 2.2.295-6), possibly caused by an imbalance of the four humours (cf. Salkeld 20). In the broader discourse of madness, a certain kind of social behaviour, such as Gertrude's marrying her dead husband's brother would have been regarded as incest and therefore interpreted as a kind of madness as well.

While other Hamletian themes, such as mortality or revenge, are downplayed or eliminated in *Antic Disposition*, Evans retains this diversity of madness as a pressure point. The author transfers its variety to *Antic Disposition* by applying a thematic interpretant to *Hamlet* and translating what Duncan Salkeld calls its "central theme" (88) for a post-World-War-I audience. As with the simplification of the characters and the language, the adaptor refocuses her play but retains the twofold implication of madness as a "subversive power" (ibid. 94) of both people and political systems.

First, Evans de-contextualizes Ophelia's mental confusion and the resulting suicide and re-contextualizes it as the background story for Rupert's mother. Elizabeth asks Sonya whether Rupert's mother committed suicide because she was "temporarily -not quite normal" (156), to which Sonya replies "It was advanced melancholia I think -though I'm sure Rupert believes it was jealousy" (ibid.). The suicide as a result of madness as well as melancholia and jealousy as the Hamletian causes for madness are transferred to the adaptation and retained as pressure points, proving their currency for twentieth-century audiences. At the same time, Rupert's own suicide is contextualized. Even though he expresses in the beginning of the play that he must "drown the stage with tears" (164), in order to make people understand his pacifist ideals, and in his stories explains that he has no choice if he wants to save humankind from the terrors of bacteriological warfare, in the context of *Hamlet* and other Shakespearean plays, his drastic measure is reminiscent of Lady Macbeth and Ophelia's suicide, both of whom are mad. Additionally, Rupert's stories all evolve around the topic of death and murder. Due to their depressive content and the despair they express, the stories might be indicative of a mental illness, like melancholia, as Sonya suggests. As the hypotext relates Ophelia's and the hypertext relates Rupert's mother's suicide to mental confusion, Rupert's shooting himself can be read as an affirmation of his mental illness. Thereby even the ambivalence of Hamlet's madness is retained as a pressure point, translating the complexity of the theme of madness for a twentieth century audience.

In *Hamlet*, madness is visually expressed according to Early Modern stage conventions by Ophelia's dishevelled hair worn down, dressed in white and bedecked with wild flowers (cf. Salkeld 94). Some of these conventions Hamlet, himself, uses earlier in the play to feign madness. Ophelia lists such physical signs of madness for Hamlet, such as dishevelled clothes: "his doublet all unbraced; / No hat upon his head; his stockings foul'd, / Ungarter'd, and down-gyved to his ankle" (*Ham.* 2.1.78-80). In twentieth-century drama, madness as a stage device had lost its popularity and so most

conventions, such as the dishevelled clothes or color-coding, had lost their meaning as the relationship between signifiant and signifié had ceased to exist, which is why Rupert does not display these physical signs of madness.

What Evans retains as pressure points is the characters' absurd or ambivalent social behavior. In the so-called "closet scene" Ophelia relates to her father that she was "so affrighted" (Ham. 2.1.76) by the supposedly mad Hamlet who entered her chamber and hurt her when "He took [her] by the wrist and held [her] hard" (Ham. 2.1.88). Rupert adopts Hamlet's violent behavior, despite the omission of the "closet scene" with its exact events. In his first scene with Elizabeth the stage directions explicitly state that she, like Ophelia, is "shaken" (162), "worried" (163), "frightened" (164) and "startled" (163), and Rupert physically hurts her when "he pushes her into the chair" (163) and then "kisses her fiercely, then thrusts her from him" (164). Unlike Ophelia's description of mad Hamlet, Evans moves Rupert's assault of Elizabeth onto the stage, giving her audience direct access to the violent and dangerous trait, which is later reinforced by his rude behavior at the dinner party. Antic Disposition translates these social manifestations of madness for its audience, who was unaccustomed to the physical signs of Renaissance madness. In Hamlet, Ophelia is diagnosed with madness by a gentleman as "[s]he . . . speaks things . . . That carry but half sense. Her speech is nothing" (Ham. 4.56-7). This inexplicable behavior inspires Rupert's performance of madness.

By telling allegorical stories which, for his onstage audience, carry but half sense, Rupert simulates confusion and madness because his onstage audience does not understand the complexity of his narrative nor the references to themselves. In his first so called "bedtime story", Rupert tells the story of "the wife who was lonely" (169) and how she was poisoned, a narrative which forces both William and Sonya to react as they try to make him stop. Rupert continues with a story about a "maid" (172) that a man loved "altogether and completely" (172), who stabs her lover to death, which makes Elizabeth cry. On the one hand, the onstage audience "titters nervously" (170) and a guest interjects "[h]e's mad. Can't somebody get the police –" (170) expressing their inability to connect Rupert's characters to the characters onstage. However, just like Claudius' reaction to *The Mousetrap*, William, Sonya's and Elizabeth's reaction to their respective stories diverge from the other guests' reactions. In his story there is a suicide note. When Rupert threatens to share its contents, William "starts" (170) to stop him and Sonya cries out "I didn't mean it. I didn't mean any of it – ever – I never thought –

(covering her ears)" (171; emphasis in the original), suggesting that despite Rupert's occasional nonsensical interjection – "Here we go round the mulberry bush, pop goes the weasel" (170) – they understand those allegories aimed at them because, like the guilty Claudius, they want to stop the narrative unfolding the truth. In Shakespeare it is a common trope that "mad men and women tell the sharpest truths" (Salkeld 46). In this manner, the plotlines of hypo- and hypertext take the same course and the narratives, disguised as madness, serve the same function: to display an uncomfortable truth to cause an affirmative reaction.

However, the disguise of madness is not refined to the content of the stories. An effective tool, which Rupert applies, is his choice of words. He simulates an inability to use language properly by twisting conventional imagery around for rhetoric effects. He says that "[1]ife refrigerates us" (173) and only death warms us up again, whereas in conventional rhetoric, death is associated with cold and life with warmth. Shakespeare compares the fading of youth to the fading of light and the dying of fire in a sonnet: "In me thou seest the glowing of such fire / That on the ashes of his youth doth lie" (*Son.* 73.9-10) (cf. Estermann 11). The onstage audience, especially the first War-Office Man, takes the twisting of conventional imagery as an indicator that Rupert has lost his command of language and is "utterly mad" (175).

Like the linguistic allusions, Rupert's rhetoric subversion creates two layers of meaning. Although his utterances can be interpreted as symptoms of his mental confusion, if supposed as an inadequate use of rhetoric conventions, his twisted imagery follows the laws of logic. Rupert's words paint a distorted vision, discovering the bizarre nature of the world. In his opinion, only death can free a person from this cruel and inhumane world. This dyadic structure, which builds a tension between madness and sanity, exceeds the rhetoric and stretches to the content level of Rupert's stories. In the introduction to his story, Rupert simulates conventional madness by feigning the delusional talk of a madman asking "[d]oes anyone see a giraffe on the ceiling?" (173). However, his conclusion – if nobody can see a giraffe, there is none (cf. ibid.) – proves his sanity because, just like his rhetoric deviation, it follows the laws of logic. In this manner, Evans constructs an oxymoron of madness where Rupert's actions – his behavior, his stories and their verbalization – are drawn between confirmation of his madness and sharp insights into the workings of the world. By transferring the variety of the representation of madness, Evans retains an important thematic pressure point

from Shakespeare's play and is able to transfer related discourses from the Renaissance to twentieth-century Canada.

In the Shakespearean corpus, madness is not only a diagnosis of individual people's psychology or a disguise, expressed in physical or behavioral signs, the concept of madness also serves as a vehicle for the tenor of the collective behavior of the state. Shakespeare's *King Lear* is the most famous example of madness as an extended metaphor for "the ruling power" (Salkeld 81) and a diagnosis of the state of society. In *Antic Disposition*, Evans retains the idea that "something's rotten in the state . . ." (*Ham.* 1.5.67) as a pressure point, but both modernizes and Canadianizes the state.

In what he calls "the main feature of this evening's programme" (173), Rupert constructs an analogy between the abstract notion of civilization and a concrete concept from the natural world, the vulture. By comparing the positively connoted idea of civilization to a grotesque-looking carrion-eater, Rupert implies that living in a civilization is not the same as being "civilized". Opposing civilization with civil behavior and moral goodness, Rupert associates civilization with two kinds of behavior: first he associates it with the research done in laboratories, where animals are tortured and "hacked about" (174) before they are killed. While research is generally connected to progress and thus civilization, Rupert illustrates that this progress can only be achieved by emotional coldness and un-civilized behavior and instead of being an improvement, the researchers become "stooped and blind" (174). Secondly, Rupert associates civilization with the superficiality of women's makeup and nail polish and the banality of leisure activities, such as dancing and singing (cf. ibid). With the rhetorical triptych "a marvellous, tremendous, stupendous growth" (ibid.), he illustrates the irony of civilization rhetorically by following the notion of civilization from the conventionally positive idea of "marvelousness" to the neutral idea of "tremendousness" to the negative notion of "stupendous growth". The analogy is not immediately accessible to the onstage audience because Rupert's initial statement "I see something, something none of the rest of you can see. I see a great vulture whose wings darken the sun, waiting to feed on carrion" (173) seems out of context. The subsequent analogy of civilization as a cannibalistic vulture – "civilization is a vulture that feeds on a vulture" (174) – is well illustrated but abstract, just like Hamlet's device of *The Mousetrap*.

Despite this initial negative evaluation, Rupert reverts to a conventional and positive notion of civilization as opposed by "barbarians" (ibid.). Commonly barbarians denote explicitly uncivilized, wild human beings, whereas Rupert states that the

barbarians in his stories are the "[c]lean men in clean laboratories" (ibid.), or their "disease-producing bacteria" (175), which he deems the War Office Men's children and grandchildren. Thus the positively connoted civilization which he wants to save, as William assures Sonya earlier (cf. 153), is set up as cultured and refined. In this manner, Rupert illustrates the difference between civilization and civilized behaviour and how "civilization", which is a disguise for ruthless progress and research, is going to kill itself through the development biological weapons.

Connected to the notion of civilization, Rupert also tells a story about the consequences biological warfare might have on humanity. He personifies humankind as his "friend" (175) and illustrates civilization's problems as Humankind having "a pain in his tummy" (176). The government officials are characterized as his adversaries who trick him into giving away his last penny, which he was saving to help Humankind. Rupert compares buying "a packet of poison" (175) to kill humankind to helping the government develop bacteriological warfare. And he likens the significance of "an allday sucker" (ibid.) to marrying Elizabeth. With this story he finally relates his analogies back to himself, illustrating the desperate dilemma in which he finds himself: he can only collaborate with the government or do nothing but he cannot save civilization and humanity. In this manner, Rupert translates Early Modern, mainly bodily, signs of madness into a modern, behavioural and linguistic, code of madness that his comprehensible for a twentieth century audience. Additionally, just as Hamlet enacts the regicide – a Renaissance form of madness – so Rupert demonstrates the madness that is biological warfare, thereby juxtaposing his own conventional madness with the government's behaviour which he presents as real madness.

These stories are indicative of Rupert's mental state: to the onstage audience they signify madness, but when read as formal and thematic interpretants of *Hamlet*, they serve as pressure points which demonstrate Rupert's sanity. His disguise as nonsensical babbling is not only inspired by *Hamlet* and cashes in on his cultural capital, Rupert is trying to mirror his onstage audience's behaviour: to him their behaviour is as absurd and bizarre, as his stories are to them.

Using *King Lear's* vehicle of madness for the tenor of the state of society, Evans connects the omnipresent theme of madness to another crucial Hamletian imagery: war. Hansen states that *Hamlet* is "essentially a play about war" (154): linguistically the play is enwrought by war imagery, as Muir and Foakes demonstrate (see Muir 261; Foakes). Even the ghost of Old Hamlet appears in full battle armor, the characters discuss the

impending wars, and the play ends with the appearance of Fortinbras and his army (cf. Jorgensen 113). Evans compares madness – a state of mental corruption and confusion – to war – biological warfare in particular. *Antic Disposition* carefully introduces the topic:

WILLIAM. It's a government-paid job; they want us to investigate ways and means of transporting bacteria in case of war -- in hand-grenades and ice-cubes and food and on paper -- whatever we can devise.

SONYA. Do you mean that they are going to spread disease germs like poison gas or something? How horrible. (152)

William immediately states that Rupert is opposed to this idea of developing biological weapons, not because he is a pacifist but because he believes in something "vaster and more composite . . . civilization. And if we destroy ourselves this time we prove that civilization and corruption are one" (153). In this passage, Evans introduces her adaptation's central theme: the opposition between biological warfare and civilization.

This dominant theme is connected to another theme, as Hamlet reiterates the Elizabethan idea that peace time breads infections and war is the cure (cf. Jorgensen 117 ff.). Through the application of a thematic interpretant, Evans changes the hypotext's martial appeal of war as the cure into a dedicated plea for pacifism. By cutting Norway and removing the King and his successor, moving her play into an ordinary citizen's house, the author de-politicizes her play, but by introducing the matter of biological warfare, the story is subsequently re-politicized in an act of creative vandalism— as the discourse translated is deliberately antagonized.

Rupert explicitly states his pacifist agenda throughout the play. His suicide puts an exclamation mark on his anti-war statements. He is unknowingly backed by Sonya, who says: "it's all the men and women and children that will have to suffer. It will be worse than those awful plagues they used to have" (153). And even William admits that his will to cooperate with the government is only based on his disillusion: "There is no sense in being idealistic -- ideals don't advance the world anyway" (153). Considering the trauma of the First World War, the adaptation's intended audience is sure to have been sympathetic towards Rupert's pacifist position.

In post-World War I Canada, Evans' plea for pacifism may not surprise: her choice of topic, however, does. Research into biological warfare, defined as the

military employment of microbial or other biological agents (including bacteria, viruses, and fungi) or toxins to produce death, temporary incapacitation, or permanent harm in humans or to kill. (Guillemin 2)

in Canada did not begin until 1937 (cf. Bryden 13) – two years after the publication of *Antic Disposition*. Even after the traumatizing events of World War I and the fatality of German gas attacks, Canada had not invested in research on either chemical or biological warfare but had relied on British programs (cf. ibid. 13-4). It took Sir Frederick Banting and Andrew McNaughton, who were convinced of the existence of German, Italian, and Japanese biological warfare programs, until 1941 until the Canadian government approved of and provided funding for germ warfare (cf. Avery, "Research" 197). Evans' warning is therefore ahead of its times but it was not entirely without cause in 1935.

Jeanne Guillemin points out that biological warfare had a long history and cites the "pitching of corpses of plague victims into the sieged city of Caffa in 1346" as an example (3). The pollution of "enemy wells with animal carcasses" (ibid. 3) was another ancient use of biological weapons, which by definition disseminate "biological agents and toxins for hostile purposes" (ibid. 2). In the early twentieth century, such weapons were usually developed as part of larger war programs in conglomeration with the development of chemical weapons. While John Bryden presents the two decades after the First World War, when Evan's was composing her play, as a time when "pacifism and disarmament was the policy of government" (15), it was not a time without fears. Not only were the Allied Forces traumatized after the devastating and unexpected experiences of German chemical warfare during the Great War, but during World War I the Germans had resolved to measures of biological sabotage against Argentina, Romania, Norway, the USA, and probably Spain (cf. Wheelis 35-56), "although known incidents were directed against draft, cavalry and military livestock", but not targeted at humans (ibid. 35). Likewise France had a biological sabotage program directed against Germany (cf. ibid. 56-7). As a result, the Geneva Protocol banned the use of chemical and biological warfare in 1925 and was signed by Canada as well as Britain (cf. Guillemin 4). The Britidh military, of whom Canada was a part, did not take the German biological weapons program seriously as they thought it ineffective (cf. Wheelis 58). However, it did not put a stop to several biological warfare programs, for instance by the French, who used loop holes in the Geneva Protocol to keep their programs to be armed for retaliatory attacks (cf. Guillemin 11), and were later followed by Britain and Canada, who partnered with the USA (cf. ibid. 12).

While neither Canada nor Britain had official programs for the development of biological warfare during the time when Evans was composing her play, Antic Disposition is embedded in an ongoing discussion during the 1930s about the advancement of other nation's warfare programs – in particular Germany, Italy, Japan, and the advanced French program – and about the possibility of using biological warfare as a defense or means of retaliation. Additionally, the seriousness of the German biological sabotage program against the USA became known during the Mixed Claims Commission hearings during the early 1930s (cf. Wheelis 58), a time when the journalist Henry Wickham Steed published an article in July 1934 in The Nineteenth Century and After, which caused international outrage, as he claimed to have insider information about the German's conducting research into biological warfare to disperse bacteria at the entrance into the Paris Metro and the London Underground. Although there was some inconsistency in Steed's article and not all experts believed in its authenticity, "Aerial Warfare: Secret German Plans" confirmed the public's worst fears and in the end led to the development of British biological warfare program (cf. Guillemin 40ff.). Moreover, during 1935 the Toronto Daily Star ran a series of revelations under the title "Disease Germs Going to Flood Cities When Next War Comes" (1) and even though there were no biological weapons actually used during World War II, Evans' play was ahead of its time as Canada made a crucial contribution to the British biological warfare program (cf. Guillemin 46). Evans' vision came true in 1940 when Sir Frederick Banting together with two other Canadian scientists assembled a committee of science and military experts, financed by the wealthy Canadians John David Eaton, Sir Edward Beatty and Samuel Bronfman, to conduct laboratory experiments on germ weapons (cf. ibid. 52).

In addition to its visionary potential, in retrospect Evans' play can be understood as an attempt to draw attention to a grander scheme, which was conducted by the government in secrecy and whose international seriousness only became apparent at the time of composition. Even today, scholars researching the history of Canada's (and other state's) involvement with biological warfare have complained about the states'

secrecy and lack of cooperation (cf. Bryden vii-x; Guillemin, Wheelis 36). And although Canada did not have its own biological warfare program during the 1930s, in 1970 the Canadian delegate to the United Nation's Conference of the Committee on Disarmament declared that "Canada has never had, and does not possess biological weapons (and toxins) and has no intention to develop, acquire or stockpile such weapons in future" (qtd. in Avery, "Research" 190), a blatant lie, demonstrating the validity of Evans' fears.

Given this context, the choice of Shakespearean hypotext seems even more feasible. Evans translates the Renaissance theme of madness not only in terms of its content by translating the symptoms, she also translates it thematically by correlating it to the discourse of biological warfare. Incidentally, this notion fits two opposing parties: for those who share her pacifist ideals, the play presents a defense of pacifism and confirms public fears fueled by Wickham Steed's articles. For those not taking the threat of Germany's biological warfare program serious, Rupert's madness is confirmed as a conspiracy theory.

Choosing biological warfare as a topic was risky at the time, especially for a play entering into competitions with other plays. The national competitions were nonpolitical – too frail was the national identity. Moreover, entertainment was the theatre's main purpose and a political statement could too easily appear tiring. At the same time, biological warfare was a topic for the elite. While the articles published by an anonymous German Jewish scientist were published in the Toronto Daily Star, an ordinary newspaper, biological warfare was not an issue ordinary citizens could read up on. The discourse was present during the 1930s as Avery demonstrates (see "Pathogens" 16), but neither the papers nor debating clubs or scholarly debates of the time relate to it. Thus, the hypotext as well as the cultural context must have inspired Evans to her bold choice of topic, as she enwraps her topic in several layers of metatextuality to provide two possible interpretations of Antic Disposition: to understand and agree with Rupert's plea against biological warfare or to take Rupert for a madman and his allegories as the nonsensical babbling of someone who has lost his command over language. In this manner, she not only updates Shakespeare's dated theme of madness, translating it for her audience, Evans also reinvents the old and established discourse to translate it into her own, innovative topic.

5.2.3.2.2 Gender

Evans' introduction of the topic of biological warfare to the *Hamlet*-sujet is not the only discursive translation. A look at the character constellation (see fig. 11) reveals that as parent and stepparent Evans' William and Sonya correspond to Shakespeare's characters Claudius and Gertrude. But Evans reverses the gender, so that the husband has lost his wife and has remarried. An isomorphic structure is created as both Old Hamlet and Rupert's mother have died prior to the dramatic act. In contrast to Gertrude's husband, who appears as a ghost and reveals to his son that he was murdered by Claudius, William's wife remains dead. This gender reversal could reveal the application of a thematic interpretant, which expands *Hamlet's* already existing feminist potential. However, Evans chooses an alternative.

Thompson and Taylor stress the importance of gender in *Hamlet* when they claim that "femininity itself becomes the problem within the play" ("Gender" 47). Many critics have remarked on feminist issues of Shakespeare's tragedy. *Hamlet* features only two female characters, Ophelia and Gertrude, a lack which critics have variously attributed to Shakespeare's own misogyny or to the precarious practice of using boy actors as women. Although Hamlet's exclamation "Frailty thy name is woman" (Ham. 1.2.146) has some obvious misogynist potential (cf. ibid. 44), the tradition of actresses, such as Sarah Siddons or Charlotte Cushman, playing Hamlet bears witness to the princes own feminine potential (ibid. 43). Another gender related issue in Shakespeare's Hamlet is the fact that Hamlet sees his own inaction in general and his verbosity in particular as effeminate (ibid. 42). These "fears about Hamlet's apparent lack of essential masculinity" haven often been expressed, for instance by Goethe, or Edward P. Vining's *The Mystery of Hamlet* (1881), who conjectured that Hamlet may have been born female. Most gender critics agree in the oppositional presentation of femininity by Ophelia and Hamlet's mother. Showalter describes a "decorous and pious Ophelia of the Augustan age" (92), just as Dusinberre argues that Ophelia's "whole education is geared to relying on other people's judgements, and to placing chastity and the reputation for chastity above even the virtue of truthfulness" (94). Schülting says that the melancholic Ophelia has no voice of her own as her mad talk consists of fragments of quotations and allusions to songs, fairy tales, and rituals (cf. 540). Martha C. Ronk claims that "Ophelia is represented as the projection of male others, specifically, her father, brother and Hamlet" (21). Ronk reads Ophelia as an iconic character, as her

visual appearance, her hair and clothes described in the stage directions, her flowers, and even her songs are emblematic, making Ophelia a fragmented victim (cf. 24).

Opposed to this, critics have commented on Gertrude's sexuality (cf. Adelman), sexual licentiousness (cf. Schülting 540) and her centrality within the play (cf. Adelman). Even though Showalter argues that in view of feminists who theorize the madwoman as "a powerful figure who rebels against the family and the patriarchal order" (91), as Catherine Clément and Hélène Cixous suggest, Ophelia could be read as a strong female character, she agrees that Ophelia has been marginalized for centuries. Even though Adelman depicts Gertrude's centrality to the play, she agrees that Hamlet's mother, nevertheless, "remains relatively opaque" (34). Thompson and Taylor have commented on the difficulty of defining Gertrude because in spite of her sexuality and powerful potential, she appears as submissive as Ophelia, "behaving as a sort of projection" (Ronk 29; cf. Thompson and Taylor, "Gender" 46).

Evans' gender reversal of the parental victim – Shakespeare's Old Hamlet and Rupert's mother – suggests a strong association between femininity and victimization. Sonya, for example, appears as intellectually inferior to her husband:

SONYA. But it is -- it's perfectly vile! How could they think of such a thing!

WILLIAM. . . . The aim of war, my dear, is killing, and one does not waste time dressing it up to make it look charming and desirable. Do you think disease is so much worse than festering wounds and amputated limbs? You are as bad as Rupert, but it is pardonable in you because of your sex -- women are pacifists in peace time. (152)

This short exchange demonstrates William's macho or chauvinist trait as he patronizingly lectures Sonya on the topic of war and explicitly points out the different attitudes to and comprehension of war and peace. According to William, women are naturally unable to understand the cruelty of war due to their sex, whereas men, who are associated with strength, fortitude, and violence, can naturally comprehend and assess the implications of war.

Despite the lack of feminist literary criticism at the time of her writing, the cultural context Evans was writing in was an era of first wave feminism. During and

after World War I, equity feminism became more dominant in Canada (cf. Newman and White, 72; Prentice et al. 113 ff.). In this context, William's negative evaluation of women – "you are as *bad* as Rupert" (152; emphasis added) – can be taken as Evans' negative example of male behavior and thus as a feminist re-interpretation of *Hamlet*. However, Sonya's naive reaction – "But it is -- it's perfectly vile!" – to William's previous explanation of what biological warfare entails, confirms her intellectual inferiority. Therefore, the only feminist remnant in the adaptation is William's assertion that all women are like that and that their pacifism is not only bad but also changeable. But this assertion is not questioned by the play as neither Sonya nor Elizabeth actually discuss war sensibly so that the lack of a counterstatement in favor of the women strengthens William's point and negates feminist interpretations of *Hamlet*.

In fact, Elizabeth is a modern equivalent of Ophelia, as interpreted by Schülting, Adelman, Ronk, and Dusinberre, as she does not think or speak for herself. Like Ophelia, who does not understand Hamlet, Elizabeth cannot follow Rupert's intertextual allusions to *Hamlet*, nor his appreciation of their situation. She confesses to Sonya once that "I'm not even sure that I love him" (157) but this is the only time she speaks her mind and in this situation no man is present. Although, Elizabeth is less grounded in male society because she is not guided by her father or a brother, like Ophelia, she follows Sonya's, and thus by extension William's, request to try and convince Rupert to take the position at the diary plant. During Rupert's mad talk and the second scene, she only makes four short remarks. The stage directions specify that Rupert's stories make her cry (172) so that Elizabeth appears as an emotionally weak and intellectually inferior victim of Rupert and his family. The only advantage she has over Ophelia is that, although Rupert's mad talk makes her cry, she is not mentally destabilized to the point of committing suicide, like Ophelia. In *Hamlet*, Ophelia's madness is presented as a female malady (cf. Neely 52 f.), but in Antic Disposition madness is not gender specific as both Rupert and his mother are potentially mentally unstable.

Read palimpsestuously as a hyper-character of Gertrude, Sonya's marriage to William makes her unsympathetic and potentially ruthless but her role is limited to her intellectual inferiority. Unlike Gertrude, who may or may not have had a hand in Old Hamlet's murder, Sonya explicitly does not know what happened to William's dead wife, but assumes that it was suicide.

Psychoanalytic interpretations, from Freud to Jones and Lacan, have interpreted *Hamlet* in terms of the Oedipus complex. Feminist critics, like Adelman and Heilbrun,

have stressed Gertrude's sexual licentiousness. By reversing the parental gender, having Rupert's father remarry, instead of his mother, Evans limits this Oedipal and incestuous potential. Sonya is similar to Gertrude in her manipulative potential but she is a desexualized – in Shakespearean terms "unsexed" – Gertrude because Hamlet's references to "incestuous sheets" (*Ham.* 1.2.157) are omitted. Neither Sonya and William's, nor Elizabeth and Rupert's relationship is talked about in sexual terms, and sexual physicality is equally omitted from Evans' stage directions. At first, the de-sexualization of *Hamlet* may appear as censorship, or as Bowdlerization to make a play, which was to compete with others in a competition, not offensive, but at a second glance, Evans' lack of incest, sexual politics, but equally feminist potential, reveals the application of a thematic interpretant because the omission of gender issues and sexuality allows her to focus on her actual theme, namely her dedicated plea for pacifism. Evans thus resolves *Hamlet*'s gender issues as irrelevant and through her interpretant refocuses the play on what unites humanity rather than what separates the sexes.

In this manner, the gender reversal, rather than intensifying the discourse of gender politics, which play such an important role in *Hamlet*, de-politicizes the hypotext. Applying thematic interpretants, Evans cuts gender issues and aspects of sexuality, just as she omits the political plot-line concerning war between Denmark and Norway by eliminating characters. At the same time, the author re-politicizes her adaptation by introducing the highly political topic of biological warfare. Applying another thematic interpretant to the Renaissance theme of madness, Evans translates this dated concept to make it more interesting for her intended audience and she instrumentalizes it to disguise the prominence of politics in her hypertext.

5.3 Function-Oriented Conclusion

Antic Disposition shifts its components from Shakespeare's Hamlet, radically altering the events and cutting large portions of the character constellation. Hypertextual connections are created through linguistic means, most prominently the title and Rupert's quotation of Hamlet as well as several metaphoric allusions. While Rupert's character is an only slightly modernized version of Hamlet, Antic Disposition's other characters, are simplified, as the comparison between Ophelia and Elizabeth has shown. Their function, demonstrating the dysfunctional relationship within and outside of the family, however, is maintained as a pressure point.

A strong connection between hypo- and hypertext is created through the metadramatic allusion to Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Rupert's taking the Renaissance tragedy as a source of inspiration. Although the linguistic differences between the hypotext and its adaptation are great – greater than in *Star-Crossed* – the quotations and allusions give strong interpretive clues. They influence the audience's interpretation of Sonya as the allusions to *Hamlet* suggest that she has killed Rupert's mother. Nonetheless, the Shakespearean pressure points are fewer than in *Star-Crossed* and the most prominent component, the plot, is eliminated. By comparison with other adaptations, such as *Canada*, *Fair Canada*, these shifts move the adaptation away from the heart of the model of adaptation (see fig. 3) towards an independent text C. Maintaining only weaker pressure points, such as Hamletian themes, one part of the audience is deprived of their palimpsestuous experience as they overlook the similarities and miss interpretive clues. Their experience of the play is thus radically different from those who understand the allusions.

Reading *Antic Disposition* through *Hamlet* provides important background information. Shakespeare's tragedy is used as shorthand to introduce topics, such as the theme of madness or suicide without the need to talk about it at length. The allusions to suicide add seriousness to the play just as the theme of madness diversifies the topic and adds credibility. In order to communicate these aspects, Evans applies a formal interpretant to the hypotext and translates the Renaissance signs of madness, pertaining to costume, hair, and color codes, into symptoms of madness, such as nonsensical babbling, which are comprehensive for a contemporary audience. By alluding to one of Shakespeare's most famous tragedies, Evans can cash in on *Hamlet's* cultural capital. Automatically, her play shares the grandeur with a classic. This assessment depends on an audience's understanding of the play as an adaptation, which may be prevented by the prominent shifts. Dividing the audience along lines of background knowledge adds to the adaptation's similarity to translation as one's experience and understanding of any translation changes radically when one has read the hypotext and can compare it to the resulting translation.

While *Hamlet* is greatly admired for its well-rounded characters and its multiple plotlines, *Antic Disposition* does not foreground deep characters or intricate plotlines, nor poetic language. These components are merely tools to connect hypo- and hypertext. The adaptation can afford to reduce its personnel and plotlines as well as simplify plot, characters and themes because as a Hamletian palimpsest, the

Shakespearean diversity haunts the play and avoids its becoming too simplistic and trivial.

At the same time the simplifications allow Evans to create a singular focus, highlighting the discourse which is at the heart of her adaptation: biological warfare and its devastating effects on civilization and humanity. The shifts work towards translating the basic metaphor which Evans finds in Shakespeare's tragedies, *Hamlet* and *King Lear*: the connection between madness and war. The author strips away those aspects which distract an audience from this metaphor, hence cutting gender struggle and personal revenge. She simplifies the characters and character constellation to the minimum needed to portray this struggle. *Antic Disposition* modernizes setting, characters and the language to ensure the audience's understanding, whilst keeping the discourse of warfare at the heart of the text.

In this translation, maintaining *Hamlet's* metadrama has a twofold purpose: by breaking the fourth wall and revealing the adaptation to be a theatrical adaptation, Evans connects her fictitious play to the reality outside of the theatre. In an act of honesty the additional layer of metadrama reveals the mechanisms working onstage, demonstrating the play's manipulative potential. This forces the audience to think about the matter of biological warfare because it carries the internal discourse to the external world. However, it does so openly without hiding its own techniques or ideology.

Antic Disposition shifts several of Hamlet's most prominent pressure points, raising the question of why the author goes through the trouble of adapting a play rather than composing an autonomous text. The analysis suggests two reasons: first, the explicit allusions to one of Shakespeare's greatest tragedies connect hypo- and hypertext. This link associates Shakespeare's cultural capital with a play by a young, unknown author. As part of the established Canadian canon, Hamlet also serves as cover for a political statement. Evans de-politicizes her hypotext, eliminating Fortinbras and the matter of royal succession, and uses this seemingly apolitical classic as a disguise to hide her own political agenda. Using Hamlet as shorthand to avoid introducing discourses or explain background information, helps the author to keep the play short and concise. The second reason, however, is even more important and originates from a more pragmatic perspective. Evans translates a discourse which she finds in Hamlet. The hypotext serves as her inspiration which provides the theme of madness and its connection to warfare opposed by civilization and humanity. The application of a thematic interpretant causes various shifts. The simplified hypertext refocuses the play

putting everything which does not support the main idea in the background. The result is a modernization of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. It is even more than that. The setting as well as the requirements for staging - with a small cast, simple set design and properties, modern language – and even the portrayal of madness alter the hypotext to become more easily producible in the nonprofessional theatres of Canada and more comprehensible to a Canadian audience. Most importantly, the main theme, the development of biological weapons, was a topic of interest after the traumatizing events of World War I. For people less engaged in it, the play has an educative function. Wheelis points out that the development of biological weapons had become an issue of national pride in Germany and France (see 35). As a play by a proud Canadian, Evans' Antic Disposition, outlines the Canadian way: taking pride in the non-existence of a biological warfare program. In an act of creative vandalism, Evans antagonizes Shakespeare's glorification of war and instead of transferring it onto a modern discourse, she deliberately composes a plea against warfare, particularly biological warfare. In this manner, Evans implicitly criticizes Shakespeare for his martial appeal. By shifting the hypotext in the opposite direction, changing the setting and updating the language, Evans, like Bentley, defeats Shakespeare's universality by showing that the Bard's plays need modernization. By pacifistically vandalizing *Hamlet*, Evans Canadianizes Shakespeare, demonstrating that in Canada the English Bard has a different, peaceful look.

6 Conclusion

This study set out to analyze the cultural functions of theatrical adaptations of Shakespeare in Canada in the first half of the twentieth century. Since a comprehensive theoretical framework for the analysis of cultural functions of rewritings was unavailable for this study, the first chapter develops a new theory of adaptation as cultural translation. The basis for this theory is the introduction of a dynamic classification system for the umbrella term adaptation. According to this model of textual transformation, adaptation can take place vertically, by changing the medium, or horizontally, changing the story's components, such as setting, plot and characters, but retain the medium. Since adaptation is a creative process, the dimensions are elastic and mixed adaptations which take place in both directions are conceivable. However, in accordance with the model of textual transformation, the resulting hypertext cannot alter both dimensions infinitely as hypertextual connections must be maintained. Focusing on horizontal adaptations, this dimension differentiates between adaptation in performance, a pragmatic theatrical necessity of performance, and rewritings, which translate themes and discourses exploiting the hypotext in creative and interpretive ways. This classification system describes the dynamic relationship between text, interpretation and performance and thereby positions the process of rewriting in relation to the necessary alterations in performance, asserting a model of textual transformation which allows for fluent categories with smooth transitions. Its main purpose is not to provide yet another system of classification but to demonstrate the multiplicity of approaches to the genre of adaptation. Additionally, the model filters a homogenous corpus of primary texts from the versatile and heterogeneous body of Canadian adaptations.

The accordingly theorized rewritings are analyzed using tools from translation studies since both rewritings and translations function as intralingual mediations across time and space. The profound difference between the two processes of textual transformation lies in translation's adherence to narrative structures, while rewritings subvert these restrictive boundaries. Adaptations do not focus on the exact transfer of formalist categories, such as characters or plot, but on the mediation of discourses and themes. Nonetheless, selected instances of character, plot and language are transferred as these pressure points create hypertextual connections and invite the audience to consume the play palimpsestuously. The isomorphic structures on the level of plot between Patrick Bentley's *Star-Crossed* and *Romeo and Juliet*, for instance, suggest that

Shakespeare's characters serve as foils to their hyper-characters, which is a prerequisite to fully understand the discourses translated.

Despite the different treatment of narrative structures, the notion of translatorial shifts mark formal and thematic differences between hypo- and hypertext and are useful tools in the analysis of theatrical adaptations. In both fields, shifts result from the application of formal and thematic interpretants. During the process of interpretation, interpretants work as prisms on multiple levels, such as language, components or themes and discourses, opening up various options for each individual linguistic, componential, thematic or discursive signifier. During the process of translation as well as adaptation, one option of this variety is chosen so that different interpretants are applied simultaneously, accounting for the endless diversity of adaptation.

To account for adaptations' cultural functions this thesis creates the dynamic adaptation model, DAM. The DAM is a synthesis of Lawrence Venuti's translation theory of interpretants and Linda Hutcheon's adaptation theory. As neither translation nor adaptation take place in a cultural vacuum, Sergio Bolaños Cuellar's dynamic translation model, DTM, locates the processes of translation, and by extension adaptation, in their cultural contexts. The DTM connects the textual formation to the communicative process and embeds the communicative process in its historico-cultural context. This model shows that the adaptor works in a contact zone where two historicocultural contexts mix. The adaptor modernizes discourses and themes, such as feminism or revenge, from the Renaissance to mediate a culture across space and time. In order to analyze this mediation, the DAM subdivides adaptation into three categories: adaptation as product, as process and as function. While the process-oriented approach is not culturally relevant as it focuses on the author, the product-oriented analysis examines textual and discursive shifts to locate formal and thematic interpretants. In Dakin's adaptations Ireneo and Pyramus and Thisbe, for instance, Shakespeare's linguistic features, such as his ornamental language and the iambic pentameter are recreated, whereas in Cicely Louise Evans' Star-Crossed a formal interpretant is applied to the language of Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet. Although the play is linguistically rewritten and modernized, allusions to "blood" and the use of foreign colloquialisms locating the play abroad, create isomorphic structures and serve as pressure points to connect hypo- and hypertext and ensure a palimpsestuous reading. Similarly, in both Star-Crossed and Antic Disposition, the basic character constellations are retained, yet simplified. The Lost Queen, The God of Gods and Canada, Fair Canada also transfer

this narrative category, indicating that characters and their relations are prominent pillars of the narrative framework and therefore prone to be recognizable pressure points. By contrast, Perrigard's *The King* breaks up *King Lear's* character constellation as only the King features in the adaptation. Formal similarities serve as pressure points and create hypertextual bonds. The application of formal interpretants often shifts the hypertext forward in time, creating modern isomorphisms, as is the case with Antic Disposition's setting. Evans' setting domesticates Shakespeare's Danish castle by translating it into a contemporary mansion, a setting more familiar to a Canadian audience. And, as is typical for the shift of formal features, this also depends on the application of thematic interpretants. A central discourse which Evans translates is the "game of civilization". In *Hamlet*, courtly behavior is criticized for not being civil. *Antic* Disposition modernizes this discourse by raising the question of how scientific developments can be regarded as civilized behavior as they destroy humanity and civilization. This is facilitated by the formal interpretant applied to the setting because the focus on the upper classes evades issues such as social injustice or financial envy of the poor, which are topics inextricably bound to the general discourse of civilization. In this manner, rewritings are balanced between hypertextual connections and additions or alterations and they translate themes and discourses using selected formal features such as characters, language, plot or setting.

Star-Crossed demonstrates a particularly spectacular application of a formal interpretant which is entwined with several thematic interpretants resulting in a generic shift. A formal interpretant is applied to the function of time in Romeo and Juliet. The author uses this feature to create a new experience of suspense. Suspense is created through the anticipation and the continuous formation and rejection of hypotheses and is enhanced by the setting of deadlines. In Star-Crossed, the formation of hypotheses is furthered by knowledge of Romeo and Juliet's tragic ending. This palimpsestuous reading leads to an alteration of the external communication system, as Star-Crossed's genre of adaptation implicitly raises audience expectations. As in Shakespeare's play, Star-Crossed implies a countdown by setting a deadline. The adaptation shifts its function as the hypertext's time scheme suggests a moment of relief at the end of the play, which stands in contrast to Romeo and Juliet's forecast of a tragic ending. Suspense is created through the setting up of false hopes based on knowledge of the Shakespearean plot and the metaphorical ticking of the clock, in contrast to the adaptation's implied moment of relief at the end of the play. The outcome, which

follows Shakespeare's tragic ending, is more surprising because of the palimpsestuous contrast. The balancing of shifts and similarities of hypotext and hypertext and the resulting suspense appears to be part of the appeal of the genre of adaptation, although *Star-Crossed's* exploitation of this aspect is extraordinary. Other adaptations, like *The God of Gods* or *The King* do not explore their generic potential because they do not emphasize pressure points to set up audience expectations.

The application of thematic interpretants facilitates discursive shifts and reveals new ideologies, which can emphasize or challenge the hypotext's illocution in an act of creative vandalism. *Star-Crossed*, increases and enhances the hypotext's feminist potential to suit modern, twentieth-century tastes through the application of a feminist interpretant. Anna Heerdinck's ideas of gender equality and her desire to be part of the war is representative of the contemporary Canadian second-wave feminism. The feminist discourse inherent in *Romeo and Juliet* is thereby translated and modernized whereas Shakespeare's patriarchal structures are eliminated. The result is a Canadianized discourse which is familiar to contemporary audiences.

In Antic Disposition the metadramatic discourse is shifted through the application of a thematic interpretant. In accordance with the setting, Hamlet's metadramatic play-within-the-play is substituted by the metadramatic quoting of Hamlet's reflection on the Player King's speech. As the genre of adaptation adds a layer of intertextuality, a double layer of metadrama is created, enhancing the metatheatrical discourse. This is furthered by Rupert's breaking of the fourth wall and his connecting to the audience. In this manner, the communicative levels are changed as in- and external levels of discourses are connected, so that the external audience engages in the play's internal discourses. Quoting the hypotext avoids isomorphic structures on the linguistic level but creates a hypertextual connection. In this case, the discursive shift, which adds layers of metadrama to the adaptation, is not created through the application of an interpretant but through an unfiltered transfer of Shakespearean text, which is atypical for adaptations from the early twentieth century. It gained greater popularity in the second half of the century, as Ann-Marie MacDonald's 1988 adaptation Goodnight Desdemona, Good Morning Juliet or Rick Miller's 1995 MacHomer: The Simpsons Do *Macbeth* demonstrate, both of which explicitly cite their respective hypotexts.

Based on such product-oriented analyses, in the DAM the function-oriented conclusions examine the role of the adaptation in the target culture. *Ireneo's* ornamental language, for example, transfers Shakespeare's iambic pentameter and linguistic

peculiarity to the hypertext and thus foreignizes it, making it sound unfamiliar to the target audience. Other adaptations from the first half of the twentieth century, however, use a domesticating strategy. These plays make plots, characters, themes and discourses familiar to their contemporary audience by Canadianizing them. *Canada, Fair Canada*, for instance, shifts characters and events from *Romeo and Juliet* to the contemporary Montreal stock market exchange. *Antic Disposition* translates Renaissance bodily signs of madness into linguistic and behavioral codes comprehensible to a Canadian audience from the 1930s. Similarly, MacPhail re-contextualizes the setting of Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* into the context of agriculturalism in Quebec, criticizing market speculation in the beginnings of the twentieth century. This domestication translates Shakespearean discourses for contemporary Canadian audiences through modernization.

Comparing the results of the two adaptations studied, four major cultural functions of a Shakespearean hypotext surface. First, Shakespearean adaptations cash in on Shakespeare's cultural capital. Alluding to *Hamlet* or *Romeo and Juliet* in the title, *Star-Crossed* and *Antic Disposition* both prominently announce their connection to Shakespeare. Sister Mary Agnes' *Shakespeare Pageant* explicitly uses Shakespeare's plays as a teaching tool for graduate students. Angela says "our beloved Shakespeare rises persistently before me, claiming a passing tribute, seeming to suggest lessons of wisdom which even a young schoolgirl can appreciate" (79), invoking Shakespeare's literary value and superiority. The sheer number of adaptations attests to Shakespeare's popularity. Within the external communication system, alluding to Shakespeare and his plays in the title, as in Ray Brown's *Fantasy on Shakespearean Themes* or Bruce Cowan's *Speak Again, Bright Angel* served as a major selling point as the title of a play is the major marketing device. On the internal level of the text, Shakespeare's perceived cultural superiority supports contentious arguments, such as feminism, and adds credibility to young or nonprofessional playwrights, such as Cicely Louise Evans.

Secondly, Shakespeare's plays serve as a narrative shorthand of themes and characters. Antic Disposition does not elaborate on the theme of madness. The various kinds of madness are known to the audience from Hamlet and their explanation is implied in the adaptation. The functions of narrative, which can move a suspect to tell the truth, are equally well established and are transferred to the adaptation without further explanations. Characters like Antic Disposition's Rupert, The Lost Queen's George or the unknown man in The King gain enormous depth, in the form of characterization and background story, from their hypo-characters. In this manner,

adaptations are ideal for the predominantly one-act drama of early twentieth-century Canada because the Shakespearean hypotexts saved playwrights precious time in describing characters and discourses.

Thirdly, the use of a well-known hypotext and the resulting palimpsestuous reading create audience expectations. Where Star-Crossed and Canada, Fair Canada set up tragic expectations based on their hypotext Romeo and Juliet, The Shakespeare Pageant uses Prospero as a means to foreshadow a happy ending. In this manner, a sense of foreboding, a common Shakespearean device, pervades the genre of adaptation. By contrasting expectations set up by the hypertext with expectations raised by the hypotext, the palimpsestuous reading effectively creates suspense, as in *Star-Crossed*. In this manner, a popular and well-tested story can be told anew. The story's proven popularity minimizes the risk for the author to fail meeting audiences' tastes, while the genre of adaptation maintains the potential of suspense. Adaptations' metatextuality also diversifies the audience experience as knowledge of the hypotext can alter the experience of suspense, as in Star-Crossed, or the perception of a character, as in Antic Disposition. Some adaptations announce their status as an adaptation explicitly, as The Shakespeare Pageant and Antic Disposition. Others only hint at their genre in their title and the maintaining of pressure points, such as character constellations and plotlines; Pyramus and Thisbe, Prince Hamlet and Canada, Fair Canada, for example. Others, like The Lost Queen, The King, The Land or The God of Gods, maintain only a minor number of pressure points and few or no explicit linguistic allusions. These adaptations profit from a palimpsestuous reading because additional textual layers also add layers of meaning. It is in the nature of adaptation – Shakespearean or not – that they divide their audiences along lines of knowledge of the hypotext creating discrepant awareness. If one fraction of the audience fails to note the hypertextual connection, layers of meaning, which may derive from a narrative shorthand, are lost, resulting in serious misinterpretations and misevaluations of characters and events. In Antic Disposition, failing to understand the connection between Hamlet and Rupert leads to an evaluation of Rupert as a madman, similarly lacking Shakespeare's Kate from *The Taming of the* Shrew as a hypo-character makes Millicent Moray in MacPhail's The Land less sympathetic and ruder. Other plays, like Canada, Fair Canada or Star-Crossed benefit from a reading as hypertexts but the texts are less ambiguous as their perlocution is more explicit.

The final cultural function of using Shakespearean hypotexts is to hide political or ideological contents. Shakespeare's reputation as a sophisticated, socially acceptable and apolitical playwright helped *Star-Crossed* to be accepted by the DDF, as the festival was a nonpolitical institution which avoided political plays. Similarly, *Antic Disposition* cloaks its political plea for pacifism in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* to be able to compete in a playwriting competition. Less political but ideologically charged, *Canada*, *Fair Canada* hides its business lectures in Shakespeare's tragic love story and *The Land* cloaks its misogyny in Shakespeare's universalism. In this manner, by using Shakespearean hypotexts, his popularity and social acceptability outshine ideologies of various kinds, supporting Bate's notion that Shakespeare "leaves space to project our opinions on to him" (353).

By analyzing dramas exclusively written for and performed in nonprofessional theatres of Canada during the early twentieth century, this study sheds light on a hitherto unexplored period of Canadian theatre history. Previous studies have often neglected this period, based on a myth of insufficiency which the Canadian theatre itself perpetuated. The omnipresent cultural superiority of England and the United States compromised the Canadian confidence in their own national culture. In addition to the lack of professional theatres and the lack of published Canadian plays, this created the cultural myth of the Canadian theatre having been nonexistent during the first half of the twentieth century. It perpetuated even though by the 1930s all major cities and many smaller communities had an established nonprofessional theatre. Eventually this turned the myth of nonexistence into that of a qualitatively inferior Canadian theatre. Even today the majority of studies into Canadian theatre history surveys the period after 1953 when the first professional theatre company with lasting success, was founded. This thesis shows that despite their nonprofessional status, the creative variety of theatrical forms, of which the Shakespearean rewritings are only one part, provided serious cultural outputs and made a significant cultural contribution to the general discourse of the Canadian national identity.

The myth of the insufficient theatre also resulted from the Canadian identity crisis of the twentieth century. Politically, Canada gained its independence from England step by step during the first half of the twentieth century. This was echoed by a call for Canada's cultural independence and the development of a Canadian national identity. In this nationalist context, the choice to adapt Shakespeare, the English national poet and epitome of great theatre, gains significance. While the Canadian

public yearned for Canadian plays to voice their Canadian identity, a surprising number of playwrights adapted Shakespeare's plays instead of composing drama about inherently Canadian heroes, stereotypes or even everyday life. While the adaptors did not choose culturally enrooted Canadian subjects, their adapting Shakespeare still negotiates the Canadian identity. In the postcolonial context of Canada, each shift from the Shakespearean hypotext can be read as a form of criticism, indicating the hypotexts' datedness, contradicting claims to the Bard's universal genius. Shakespeare's great cultural presence haunted the Canadian theatre. As an icon of British culture, he was generally accepted as a cultural touchstone in Canada. As Canada was searching for its own unique national identity to be expressed in Canadian culture, modernizing or Canadianizing an English masterpiece subverts the idea of English cultural superiority. Star-Crossed's added suspense, signifies that Shakespeare was too well-known to surprise. With the exception of Dakin's Ireneo and Pyramus and Thisbe, this study's corpus of adaptation modernizes the setting and accordingly characters, plot and language, disclaiming Shakespeare's success for all times, describing him as dated. Enhancing the feminist discourse in Star-Crossed equally shows that not all aspects of Shakespeare's plays are still up to date, and by eliminating such discourses as incest, sexuality and gender, Antic Disposition deems them irrelevant. Several adaptations, like Star-Crossed, Antic Disposition, Canada, Fair Canada and The Land also politicize Shakespeare's plays, engaging in a more concrete context, lacking from the Shakespearean hypotexts. Antic Disposition even goes so far as to turn Hamlet's martial appeal into a dedicated plea for pacifism, thereby implying a strong point of criticism of Shakespeare's tragedy. In this manner, the adaptations devalue Shakespeare's openness to insignificance.

At the same time, adaptation practices are also critical of contemporary performance practices in Canada. They are indicative of the incompatibility of Shakespeare's plays with the existing theatres. The adaptations from the current corpus shorten the play time, dramatically decrease the number of roles, simplify sets and scene changes, and reduce the demands on costume, hair and makeup department. With the exception of Dakin's *Pyramus and Thisbe* and *Ireneo*, they also modernize the language and, conforming to contemporary theatrical standards, are written in Modern English prose. The ubiquity of these features signifies that Canadian nonprofessional theatres had simple means of staging, little rehearsal time, few money and had to work with nonprofessional actors, who needed a simplification of Shakespeare's language,

characters and plots. Nonetheless, the dramatic standards of these adaptations were high, possibly enabled by the fact that directors and writers of the Little and community theatres often were professional.

This thesis has applied the new theoretical framework of the DAM to two exemplary analyses. It shows that Patrick Bentley' Star-Crossed is an intralingual translation of Romeo and Juliet's tragic love story. The adaptation Canadianizes narrative categories such as language, set, plot, and characters and thereby enhances the discourse of feminism, decreasing the patriarchal element accordingly. Although knowledge of the hypotext commonly limits the plot-suspense in an adaptation, Star-Crossed translates the theme of fate and the hypotext's time scheme to achieve the narrative effect of discursive suspense, exploiting the potential of the genre of adaptation and audience expectation. In an act of creative vandalism, the adaptation politicizes the tragic love story by Canadianizing it and explicitly presenting Canada as superior to England. Through the application of this nationalist interpretant, Star-Crossed subverts England's status as culturally superior and engages in the contemporary discourse of Canadian national identity. The first half of the twentieth century was formative for Canada. Canada's political emancipation from Britain heightened the public's awareness of the Canadian distinctiveness from the mother country England. It reinforced the negotiation of a Canadian national identity, which had hitherto been fractured by the originally non-English inhabitants. The hope that Canadian drama could foster and promote a national identity continuously haunted the performing arts, which yearned for a National Theatre. Even though a generally accepted National Theatre or identity did not emerge, the issues voiced in Canadian adaptations, whether they explicitly uplift Canada's role in World War II or thematize the matter of biological warfare, fostered Canadian discourses and thereby shaped an understanding of Canadianness.

Cicely Louise Evans' play *Antic Disposition* functions as an intralingual translation of *Hamlet's* discourse of civilization and humanity. The application of a thematic interpretant translates Renaissance madness into an existentialist post-World War I madness. Modernizing and simplifying the formal pressure points, character and setting, creates isomorphic structures. The sum of all these pressure points is decontextualized from the Hamletian plot and consequently re-contextualized in a familiarized setting with new events. Through the simplification, those aspects which potentially distract an audience from the central theme of madness as a diagnosis for

society and the constitution of civilization, such as gender struggle and personal revenge, are cut, refocusing the play on the corruption of central human values, such as love and family which are indicative of the central topic of civilization. Evans questions the idea of "civilization", in a modern and familiar context, thereby translating Shakespeare's debate of the uncivilized behavior of the court, the supposed center of civilization during the Renaissance, for a twentieth-century Canadian audience. Quotations and linguistic allusions ensure the audience's understanding of the hypertextual relation with Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, and create a generic shift from a revenge tragedy to a doubly metadramatic adaptation.

When comparing the adaptations analyzed in this study and the adaptations listed in the appendix several cultural functions of Shakespearean adaptations in Canada emerge: Adaptations, instead of discarding Shakespeare and his literary and cultural capital, use Shakespeare as a tool to add credibility to their arguments. In this manner, Shakespeare is instrumentalized and objectified. As such he is used like a seal of quality and in adaptations like Star-Crossed, Antic Disposition, The Land or Canada, Fair Canada he is employed for political propaganda. The narrative of the plays guides the audience's sympathies and tries to convince them of their arguments. At the same time, like all drama, the adaptations have a socializing function, didactically setting examples for morale. The King didactically teaches the audience the importance of hospitality, The Shakespeare Pageant sets examples of heroic womanhood, Antic Disposition warns its audience of the danger of biological warfare and Ireneo shows the horrors of revenge. As could be expected, all adaptations have an entertaining value. In The Shakespeare Pageant the characters explicitly worry about this value. The entertaining aspect became more popular towards the end of the twentieth century and with comedies like Goodnight Desdemona, Good Morning Juliet or James Gordon's 2007 Tryst and Snout or Chris Coculuzzi and Matt Toner' 2001 Shakespeare's Rugby Wars. As a genre, adaptation inherently manipulates its hypotext's external communication system because due to the referentiality it metadramatically enables a palimpsestuous reading. In plays like Antic Disposition this feature is employed to extend a political statement to the play's external world by connecting in- and external communication system.

Adaptation has more specialized functions as the genre enables its audience to experience a known story anew. *Star-Crossed* creates a new form of suspense which is enabled through its genre of adaptation. While MacPhail's *The Land* and Sister Mary

Agnes' *The Shakespeare Pageant* reiterate traditional and conservative opinions, most adaptations shed new light on long-established interpretations of plays and discourses. *The Lost Queen* and *The King* focus on minor plotlines from Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *King Lear. Antic Disposition* elaborates on Hamlet's personal dichotomy. Interestingly, the majority of adaptations – *The God of Gods, Canada, Fair Canada, Star-Crossed, The Lost Queen* and *The Land* – explicitly engage with the Canadian history or presence and in the nationalist context of the early twentieth century engage with the discourse of Canadian national identity. By adapting Shakespeare, the adaptations incorporate the Canadian dialectic into a literary genre. Just as Canada tried to find its own national identity which was and was not English, so these adaptations are and are not Shakespeare (see Fischlin "Being Canadian"). The dichotomous nature of adaptation enables a unique way of expressing a Canadian national identity because like Canada, the adaptations are both old and new, indebted to England and yet distinct.

The main objective of this study was to show that Canadian adaptations function as intralingual translations of discourses and themes. In the future, the theoretical framework developed for this study can be applied to vertical and horizontal adaptation to examine more cultural functions of the discursive translation. The process-oriented analysis of horizontal adaptations may also yield new insights into the textual transformation. The list of adaptations found in the appendix, which is chronologically structured until 1953, suggests a number of Canadian adaptations which translate other Canadian discourses and themes but have escaped scholarly attention so far. The theoretical framework may also yield new insights into adaptations from other cultural contexts.

This study has shed light on the dark realms of the Canadian nonprofessional theatre. Due to its focus, it could only summarize a field in which case studies of individual theatre companies and theatre historical research is to be done. Despite their supposed stigma of nonprofessional drama, the Canadian adaptations of this corpus should be analyzed in more detail. In particular *Star-Crossed* and *Antic Disposition* will reveal a wealth of other discourses. Even though the analysis of interpretants reveals the application of interpretants on the part of the analyzer, studying adaptations as discursive translations which mediate themes and discourses over time and space may not only help the adaptations outshine Shakespeare's dazzling presence but also provide a cultural framework to the whole field of adaptation.

Appendix A: Overview: Adaptations of Shakespeare in Canada between 1900 and 1960

In this appendix, Shakespearean rewritings from Canada from the first half of the twentieth century have been listed chronologically to give an overview over the great range of topics and approaches chosen by the adaptors. The list, which contains information as available, names author, date and place of publication as well as exemplary pressure points. It has developed from CASP and presents a starting point for further research into rewriting, Shakespearean adaptations and Canadian theatre history, which is why a brief plot summary is included wherever possible.

1900-1910

1902 *Canada*, *Fair Canada* by Albert Ernest Knight (pseudonym A.E. de Garcia)

The play was published by the Montreal Shorthand Institute and Business College and may have been intended as a business lecture (Lester).

The adaptation relies on Romeo and Juliet's plot and explicitly quotes Mercutio's pun: "it won't make a grave man of you" (72; cf. Rom. 3.1.97). The tragic love story, which Canadianizes Shakespeare's hypotext, enfolds between Alice Chopineau and George Kinghearts, who come from two rivaling transportation companies. The divide between the two families is set along the lines of old money and new money and Anglo- and Franco-Canadian lines. The plotlines follow the Shakespearean hypotext closely. Apart from the Canadianized setting, the greatest shift is the characters awareness of the love between Alice and George. They actively try to inhibit their relationship to the point where George can be convinced that he cannot marry Alice, which makes her so sick that she dies of a broken heart, which leads him to commit suicide. The play uses Shakespearean soliloquies and the stereotypical peaceful countryside contrasting with the harsh city life, which Shakespeare depicts in As You Like It or A Midsummer Night's Dream. King Richard III is exploited for humorous purposes when Jacques exclaims "An office boy, an office-boy, my forth-coming novel for an office boy!" (7). Other allusions to Shakespeare are created through Alice's sister Juliette, whose name references Shakespeare's character of the same name and more explicitly when Juliette refers to "Jessica's elopement" (64), "a conceit that not even the

genius of Shakespeare can justify" (66). The play is a typical example of a translation of Shakespeare's theme of the "ancient grudge" (*Rom.* Prol. 3) which is re-contextualized in a Canadian context and combined with the modern discourse of the stock market.

1911-1920

1911 Macbeth, Altered a Little by Hubert Osborne

Manuscript, n.p.

This Shakespearean satire mocks Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. Characters and plot structures are maintained as pressure points but the seriousness of *Macbeth* is ridiculed. All characters are shown up, reasons are turned into a laughing matter, and deaths are revoked. The King of Scotland is sent through a trapdoor because Lady Macbeth does not want blood stains on the carpet. Macduff can rescue the King and afterward pardons Macbeth, blaming Lady Macbeth. Unlike other rewritings, this satire exploits the metatextual references for humorous purposes.

1911 King Richard III, Altered A Little by Hubert Osborne

Manuscript, n.p.

Similar to Osborne's *Macbeth*, this play satirizes Shakespeare's *King Richard III* by exploiting the hypertetxual connection for humorous purposes. Although the number of characters is dramatically decreased, the major events are retained as pressure points. Even Richard's initial soliloquy "This is the winter of our discontent" (1) is quoted. Tragic Shakespearean elements are compressed and simplified for comic effect. Lady Anne, for instance, is wooed and immediately poisoned by a cough drop. The hypotext's plot is translated into modern language. It is then enacted in a condensed fashion. By ridiculing the suffragettes (cf. 17 ff.) and other political parties, like the English Lords and the House of Commons (cf. 18 ff), Osborne mocks England and its national poet.

1914 The Land: A Play of Character, in One Act with Five Scenes by Andrew MacPhail

Published by Montreal's *University Magazine*.

Macphails translates *The Taming of the Shrew's* misogyny and the motif of a wife as subdued by man for a contemporary audience. Milicent Moray believes she has inherited her father's fortune and can now purchase her freedom from her husband. She demands a formal separation. After she discovers that her father's fortune was lost on the stock market, she accepts her status as the wife subdued. The shift from Shakespeare's comedy is apparent in Milicent's rude behavior, which lacks Kate's sharp wit (cf. Lester), the plotlines have been reduced to a single focus all for the sake of intensifying Milicent's taming. Macphail also updates Shakespearean gender issues, present in *The Taming of the Shew*. By having Milicent defend working women, Macphail tries to discredit the contemporary women's movements as the indulgences of bored, upperclass women of leisure (cf. Lester). In this manner, MacPhail translates the misogynist motif of woman as man's property and makes it his single focus.

1915 A Shakespeare Pageant: Dialogue for Commencement Day by Sister Mary Agnes

Published by St Mary's in Winnipeg.

The schools graduates wonder what they might do to entertain their "audience" when they receive their diplomas. Mildred claims to have inherited Prospero's wand and makes several Shakespearean characters, such as Rosalind and Celia from *As You Like It* or *Hamlet's* Ophelia appear on the stage to educate the girls. The play is no translation because there is little rewriting. It only displays several famous scenes and iconic passages to cash in on Shakespeare's cultural capital.

1919 The God of Gods by Charles Carroll Colby Aikins

Published in Canadian Plays from Hart House Theatre.

The play indigenizes *Romeo and Juliet* by re-contextualizing the themes of tragic loss and waste (cf. Lester) and the literary motif of young, forbidden love. Suiva, a tribal girl is in love with Yellow Snake, but Mablo, the son of Amburi, Chief of the Seven Feathers, also wants to marry Suiva. To keep Suiva and Yellow Snake apart, Mablo bribes Waning Moon, the high priestess, to choose Suiva as the next priestess. Mablo kills Yellow Snake. The body of Yellow Snake is brought to Suiva as a sacrifice for the

"God of Gods". When she recognizes his body she leaps to her death. The play can be read as a social critique of contemporary power structures, or as an allegory for the war, where young men died for the outdated beliefs of old men (cf. Lester). The hypertextual connection is frail but reading the play as an adaptation, adds context and depth.

1921-1930

1925 The Lost Queen by Olive Archibald

The adaptation was published in the student paper *Acadia Athenaeum* at Acadia University in Wolfville, Nova Scotia.

The play translates the marriage trouble between King Oberon and his wife Titania from Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* into a twentieth century allegory about the British Empire's problems with Canada and the United States. Gordon Lester suggests that the play was "a short story presented as a drama" and therefore not meant to be performed onstage. The brief one-act adaptation shows the little girl Elaine as she dances in the garden. Having been told off by Aunt Mary for going out at night, Elaine explains to her father that she takes the place of the missing fairy queen in the dance. The missing fairy queen is Elaine's mother, whom she presents as King Oberon's wife. Through her story, Elaine's father, George, realizes the error of his ways and resolves to win back his wife.

The connection to Shakespeare's comedy is merely allusive. Archibald is translating the marriage trouble from a Renaissance fairy story into a modern equivalent. In this manner, Shakespeare saves a middle class family from breaking up (cf. Lester). As an allegory, George can be read as the British Empire under the rule of George V (1910-1936), in which case Canada can be either the child trying for parental attention or the wife gone missing. Aunt Mary represents the United States with the membership in the Women's Christian Temperance Union (cf. ibid.).

1926 The King by Pauline B. Perrigard

The adaptation was published in the collection *One Act Plays by Canadian Authors* by the Canadian Authors Association.

The short play rewrites the storm scene from Shakespeare's *King Lear*. It is set in a northern setting during a very cold winter night when a snow storm has just passed over. While Michael and his wife Dina are having dinner with their daughter Marya and her fiancé Ivan, an unknown old man asks for shelter. He claims to have lost his way to the palace and claims to be the king, roaming his kingdom to get to know his people, modernizing *King Henry V's* tour through his camp on the evening before the battle of Agincourt. Two guards appear and claim that the unknown man is a madman, not the king, and they want to take him to the asylum. The unknown man is taken away. The adaptation adds an episode to *King Lear*, providing a humane scene contrasting with the hard-hearted characters from *King Lear*. It translates the storm scene for a contemporary audience and therefore the notion that the storm brings out Lear's humanity.

1931-1940

1935 Antic Disposition by Cicely Louise Evans.

Published in England in 8 New One-Act Plays of 1935.

This adaptation translates the theme of madness from Shakespeare's *Hamlet* for the contemporary Canadian stage by relating madness as a metaphor to biological warfare. Rupert, whose mother has been murdered by his father William and his new wife Sonya, does not want to help William develop a biological weapons program for the government, which is why his family and girlfriend Elizabeth try to remove him from the house. Inspired by *Hamlet*, Rupert tries to convince the government officials, Elizabeth and his family of the danger of using biological weapons by telling allegorical stories during a dinner party. As his audience does not support his claims, he reverts to the only means, he sees left, and shoots himself to move his audience to action.

1936 Ireneo. A Tragedy in Three Acts by Laurence Dakin

Published in the USA by Portland, Maine: Falmouth.

This adaptation combines characters, plotlines and themes from Shakespeare's *Romeo* and Juliet with *The Merchant of Venice* and alludes to several other Shakespearean plays. The play is written in iambic pentameter, quotes Macbeth: "Ay, what is done, is done" (30; *Mac.* 3.2.14) and uses soliloquies similar to those of *Hamlet* and *Othello*.

The story historicizes and politicizes the fatal love from Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, setting it in the Bay of Sidon, 80 A.D. in the context of Christianization by Paul and the fight between Romans and Hebrews. Ireneo loves Judith but her father, Levi, and Ireneo's father Claudius hate each other. It is implied that Claudius had a hand in sinking Levi's ship, picking up the theme from *The Merchant of Venice*. The feud escalates and Judith is killed. As a consequence, Ireneo kills her murderer and then himself. The play's historicized context is atypical for the genre of rewriting. The shifts simplify *Romeo and Juliet's* plot and instead of translation the financial aspect from *The Merchant of Venice*, the adaptation enlists several unconnected revenge plots. With the exception of the wise fool, who, reminiscent of Feste in *Twelfth Night*, asks "why do wise men keep their secrets / And fools give theirs away?" (18), the characters are poor copies of Shakespeare's hypo-characters.

1939 Pyramus and Thisbe by Laurence Dakin

Published in the USA by Portland, Maine: Falmouth.

This play is loosely based on the plot of Shakespeare's play-within-the-play of the same title in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, where Pyramus and Thisbe are in love but cannot be together and their plan to elope ends in a double suicide after a lion has attacked Thisbe. The adaptation is written in blank verse and uses the imagery from Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, particularly the contrast between light and shadow but also the natural imagery, such as the "pomegranate rich and red" (16; cf. *Rom.* 3.5.4). The adaptation is interspersed with religious allegories comparing God to a potter. While Shakespeare's wall and moon exploit theatrical imperfections for humorous purposes, Dakin translates them into serious obstacles and thereby exploits Shakespeare's tragic source in Ovid's *Metamorphosis*.

1950s

1950 Tonight of all Nights by Peter Quince

This adaptation was performed at the Banff School of Fine Arts in August together with two more Canadian plays. Judging by the author's pen name, the play adapts Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. The Performance is mentioned in the Edmonton Journal. No script or further details are known.

1953 Prince Hamlet by Philip Freund

Published by Bookman in New York.

The play follows the plot of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* closely although it omits Fortinbras and the court of Norway. It presents the story in a sequence of dialogues, providing neither action and nor stage directions, except for Hamlet's stabbing Polonius. The adaptation uses French-Canadian spelling "rôle" (50) and is written in modern Canadian prose, which is "a more serious form befitting the most serious subject" (42), as Hamlet explains. In addition to this shift towards passivity, the play provides background stories, characterizations and thematic interpretants of Shakespeare's tragedy. Polonius calls Hamlet "a dreamer who cannot read either his own mind or that ruthless desire in him . . . which is merely an idle young man's fretful lust for power" (11). And the queen explains that she helped kill Old Hamlet because Claudius is Hamlet's father (cf. 48 ff.). While Hamlet talks both Claudius and Gertrude into killing themselves, Ophelia and he both survive. In this manner, the play translates a tragic war play into a cynic but painless comedy and translates Shakespeare's characters and plot into the language of psychologic realism, *en vogue* at the time.

1953 Star-Crossed by Patrick Bentley

Manuscript, not published.

This adaptation relocates the plot of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* to the Nazioccupied Netherlands of the 1940s. The Heerdinck family, like the rest of their village, suffer from the repression of the Nazis. Their son, Dirk, has joined the underground to fight against the Nazis, the mother, Marguerite, died during the bombing of Rotterdam. In an act of resistance the family hides the British pilot Edwards, who is recovering from an accident. Daughter Anna falls in love with the Nazi officer Folkert, who protects her family from the bullying Nazi Captain. Shortly before the liberation of Holland by Canadian troops, Dirk returns to kill Folkert to take revenge for Folkert's killing his best friend Philip. Anna tries to prevent this but is unsuccessful. After Folkert's death, the liberators march through the village but Anna drowns herself in the canal because she cannot live without Folkert. *Star-Crossed* politicizes *Romeo and*

Juliet but stays close to the narrative structures, echoing the hypotext even linguistically.

1950s Fantasy on Shakespearean Themes by Ray Brown

An unpublished, undated manuscript was submitted to the Committee of the National Office, DDF in Ottawa, who summarized the play in their annotated catalogues as follows: "Written largely in blank verse, this play carries further the lives of some of Shakespeare's characters" (Milne 7). This summary suggests that Brown's play develops certain Shakespearean characters but Milne's description is too varied. So far the whereabouts of this manuscript remain unknown.

1950s Speak Again, Bright Angel by John Bruce Cowan

An unpublished, undated manuscript was submitted to the Committee of the National Office, DDF in Ottawa, who summarized the play in their annotated catalogues (see Milne 13). The adaptations title quotes Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. It is a modern fiction, in which Shakespeare is unknown to the world until a manuscript turns up. When Shakespeare's tragedy is performed it becomes an instant success. From this short summary it is apparent that the adaptation does not rewrite Shakespeare's play but uses it as a theatrical property which is why it does not translate motifs or discourses.

Appendix B: Email Interview About Cicely Louise

Evans

Simon Vaux Peers. Email Interview. 7 June 2013.

Interviewer. When and where did Cicely Louise Evans live?

Peers. Edmonton: June 19, 1914 – July 30, 2002

She lived both in England and Canada during WWII (travelling by ship to whatever side of the Atlantic my father went to with the British Navy during this period). She lived in Edmonton primarily but moved to Victoria, British Columbia around 1970 where she resided until her second husband, Robert Melsom died. She relocated to Edmonton about 1988 where she resided until she died

in 2002.

Interviewer. What was her profession?

Peers. Writer. In her later years she held script writing classes in her

home.

Interviewer. Where did Cicely Louise Evans come from? What was her personal

background?

Peers. Mother came from a very illustrious and highly scholastic

Canadian family who lived at Sylvancroft, a 2 acre estate with a 36 room mansion and carriage house located in what is now downtown Edmonton, Alberta. The property also had [sic.] tennis

courts and a skating rink in Winter.

[Her f]ather was Harry Marshall Erskine Evans, OBE (Order of the British Empire) (Mayor, financier, mining engineer, surveyor and pioneer businessman). Won Prince of Wales Gold Medal for highest marks in Upper Canada at the age of 13. Graduated from the University of Toronto at the age of 19. A mathematical genius (able to do 12 figure math in his head), he completed a full mining engineering course at Houghton Michigan School of Mines in only six months. He came West to manage the Canadian Agency headquartered in London, England, owned by the Grenfell Banking Group. The Canadian Agency owned 500,000 acres of land, including the mineral rights, mostly in Alberta.

[Her m]other was Edith Isobel Evans, MA (nee Jackson – likely one of the first at that time, if not the first, to achieve a Masters degree from the University of Toronto. President of the IODE of Canada (International Order Daughters of the Empire) at the age of 19. Her father, William Jackson, was a Master (teacher) at Upper Canada College. He was fluent in French and German as well as English. My Grandmother also spoke German as well as English.

. . . [Her s]isters: Honor Evans (married Ken Pesch, pilot, U.S. Army Airforce), Anne Brada Evans (married Patrick Donovan Crofton, Colonel in the PPCLI – Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry), Sylvia Isobel Evans (spinster) (Went on to be the first woman squadron leader in Canada and subsequently commanding officer of the Canadian Women's Airforce).

[Her husband] was Dr. Anthony Loudon Peers (Surgeon Captain in the Canadian Naval Reserve – Head of Veteran's Affairs for the Province of Alberta).

[Her second husband was] Robert Melson (Attained the rank of Squadron Leader during WWII with British Intelligence).

[Her c]hildren . . . [were] Constance Virginia Anne Peers (married John Hilliard), Jeremy James Loudon Peers (married Michelle Diamond and then Jane Plaetner), Susan Jane Elizabeth Peers (married Keith Spencer) [and] Simon Anthony Vaux Peers (married Judith Ann Scott and then Jennifer C. Mabley).

Interviewer.

Did Cicely Louise Evans have an interest in Shakespeare and *Hamlet* in particular?

Peers.

Yes she both read and studied them in courses at the University of Alberta under Dr. E. K. Broadus (author of The Golden Bough, a graduate of Harvard University). She earned an Honours Degree in English Literature with a strong focus on Shakespeare. Undoubtedly she attended a performance of *Hamlet* when attending university.

She loved the theatre. When we were children she wrote plays (pantomines) for us to perform on my father's birthday, December 27th. My father performed on the London stage and also attended

Clifton boarding school in Bristol, England, with noted actors, Michael Redgrave (even dating his sisters, Lynn and Vanessa) and also with Trevor Howard.

For the pantomines performances, my father built an elaborate stage with proper lighting and curtains in our basement. For "Peter Pan" he even rigged wires for the children to fly.

Interviewer.

What other text did she write?

Peers.

During WWII, she wrote children's programs for the BBC in London. Later she did the same for the CBC in Canada. She wrote two plays *Herodis* (1933) and *Antic Disposition* (1935), she wrote short stories for *Child Life* and articles for *Parent's Magazine* and other periodicals. Her novels include *The Saint Game* (1975), *The Newel Post* (1967), *Shadow of Eva* (1970), *Nemesis Wife* (1970). She wrote numerous other manuscripts, including novels and screenplays which have not been published or produced to date.

My Grandfather learned about a competition in London, England for the best 8 one act plays in the world for that year. He encouraged my Mother to apply [with *Antic Disposition*]. She was subsequently chosen to be one of the eight and the only entrant chosen from North America. The play was performed by the Hart House players of the University of Toronto.

Interviewer.

What was Cicely Louise Evans' relationship to Canada?

Peers.

She definitely thought of herself as a very proud Canadian. Her father, a pioneer businessman came to Western Canada after the turn of the 20th century. He subsequently became Mayor of Edmonton (1917) and the Town of Evansburg, Alberta was named after him after he drew up the original town site for the coal mine. He received the Order of The British Empire for his work in raising monies for war bonds during WWII. He also arranged payment in gold in New York for the Province of Alberta's debts which prevented the Province from having to declare bankruptcy during the Great Depression.

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Hiermit erkläre ich, dass

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