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**SHAKESPEARE AT THE CROSSROADS OF RACE, LANGUAGE, AND
AMERICAN EMPIRE**

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

LITERATURE

by

Stephen Richter

March 2022

The Dissertation of Stephen Richter is
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Abstract

SHAKESPEARE AT THE CROSSROADS OF RACE, LANGUAGE, AND AMERICAN EMPIRE

by Stephen Richter

The words and works of William Shakespeare have divided Americans along the lines of race, language, partisan politics, and social class since the founding of the American experiment – a division that continues to the present day. When Shakespeare is performed within the United States, ghosts haunt each production – the ghosts of the African slave, the indigenous American, the European colonist, and the countless immigrants who built a country with their blood, sweat, and toil and died on American soil. Whether attended to or not, the presence or absence of Black, White, or Indigenous bodies in American Shakespearean casting, the inclusion or exclusion of languages other than English in the dialogue spoken, and the new forms of signification that have emerged from Shakespeare's plays through restagings at various (and, frequently, critical) moments in American history, place Shakespeare firmly at the crossroads of race, language, and American empire. This dissertation examines the audience reception of multilingual/multiracial adaptations of Shakespeare's *Othello* and *Macbeth* in the United States, from the colonial period to the present, with three intentions: (1) to increase understanding around the ways Shakespeare's plays have been translated, adapted, or appropriated to address the topics of race, language, and American imperialism; (2) to unpack some of the

practical strategies used by theatrical practitioners when staging Shakespeare's plays to create a dialogue with American audience members around some of the most fraught subjects in our current political moment; (3) to gather and analyze audience reception data on how multilingual/multiracial Shakespearean adaptations are being received by a diverse sample of American audience members from around the United States and how those adaptations affect audience perception of Shakespeare's plays.

Dedication

To the Marines, Sailors, Soldiers, and Civilians who contributed to the story and to the study, yet lost their lives along the journey toward enlightenment. You are not forgotten. Semper Fidelis.

- Stephen Richter

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As with any creative endeavor worth its salt, the writing of the plays, the productions, films, and this dissertation, for that matter, would never have been possible without the guidance and support of Drs. Susan Gillman, James Bierman, Danny Scheie, Mary-Kay Gamel, Ayanna Thompson, Patty Gallagher, Jorge Aladro Font, Renee Fox, Dorian Bell, Zach Zimmerman, Juan Poblete, G.S. Sahota, Carla Della Gatta, Kathryn Vomero Santos, Jackie Pua Johnson, Justina Taft-Mattos, Dianne Looser and all those brave and talented individuals who risked their time, well-being, jobs, and in some cases their very lives, to bring these adaptations of Shakespeare's works to the stage and to the screen.

Mahalo nui loa,

-Stephen Richter

Introduction, Theoretical Foundations, and Methodology

On Thanksgiving morning, my sister, Nadia, arrived at the Benito Juárez International Airport in Mexico City. She carried a duffel bag with her, crammed full of food and clothing from *Costco* in Palo Alto. Per the regulations of the *reclusorio*, the clothing she had purchased for me was either tan or white. Folded neatly inside the clothes were three books – Peter Ruby’s *The Elements of Storytelling: How to Write Compelling Fiction*, Jack Bickham’s *The 38 Most Common Fiction Writing Mistakes*, and a paperback copy of the Wordsworth *Complete Works of William Shakespeare*. No one knew that Nadia had flown to Mexico City, *mucho menos*, that she was making her way to the infamous *Reclusorio Norte* prison. She would stay a few nights with me behind the prison walls, at the *visita íntima*, “el hotel más caro del mundo,” it is sometimes referred to, due to its high price of admission. It is a hotel that offers one every comfort they may desire. The price, however, is that you can never leave. Like a Mexico City version of the Hotel California.

Inside the brick building, the wealthy and high-profile heads of Mexico’s drug cartels partied through the night with their women and associates as they served their time inside the prison walls. The *hotel* was located just above the soccer field, next to the *locratorios* and the *salon verde*. By this point, I had been in the *reclusorio* for nearly a year and was still awaiting my appeal. My lawyers said they were having dinner with a judge from the *salas de apelación* and that they would soon make the

arrangements for my acquittal. But that's what all the lawyers tell their clients, to keep them paying until they are finally out of money then simply left to rot behind bars.

A month later, however, I would indeed be acquitted but then kidnapped and smuggled out of México, and yet through it all, I carried that same copy of the complete works of William Shakespeare that Nadia had given me, every step of the way. I cannot explain *why* that particular book became so valuable to me, nor how it somehow managed to stay in my possession throughout this entire journey: from *Reclusorio Norte* prison to immigration in Neza (Nezahualcóyotl), an LAX holding facility to LA county jail, the Wayside Detention Center to the level 4 yard of Corcoran State Prison, Hollywood and my apartment in Toluca Lake to my desktop at STS Media Services and the Warner Brothers post production facility, Los Cabos, fleeing for our lives along *La Carretera Transpeninsular*, after the *narco* violence had taken over our small town, to Tijuana, awaiting an opportunity to cross back into the United States, to the campus of the University of California Santa Cruz and my bookcase at Family Student Housing, into a gym bag, stashed in the corner of a Victorian apartment building on Telegraph Avenue, where someone was once shot on the roof during the Battle for People's Park in Berkeley, 1969 to finally, right over here - resting on my desktop in Volcano Village, beside the *Kilauea Caldera*, on the Big Island of Hawai'i.

Looking at it now, written along the spine of this worn, paperback edition of Shakespeare's complete works is a faded number – P32357. This is due to the fact that *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare* belong to prisoner P32357, or more importantly, they belong to me and have for quite some time now. Over the past twenty years, I have adapted, staged, and now live-streamed Shakespeare's plays to audiences around the globe, in an attempt to understand, "my relationship to myself and my past," (to borrow Jimmy Baldwin's words). As a U.S. Marine, a playwright, an American, and especially as a Black man in America, race, language, and American empire are discourses of which I have been acutely aware of my entire life, touching every aspect of my experience. I feel divided when I am asked to describe *my* relationship to the language of William Shakespeare, and I am not alone. The words and works of Shakespeare have divided Americans along the lines of race, language, partisan politics, and social class since the founding of the American experiment and continue to do so to the present day. When Shakespeare is performed within the United States, ghosts haunt each production – the ghosts of the African slave, the indigenous American, the European colonist, and the countless number of immigrants who built a country with their blood, sweat, and toil and died on American soil. Whether attended to or not, the presence or absence of Black, White, or Indigenous bodies in American Shakespearean casting, the inclusion or exclusion of languages other than English in the dialogue spoken, and the new forms of signification that have emerged from Shakespeare's plays through restagings at

various (and, frequently, critical) moments in American history, place Shakespeare firmly at the crossroads of race, of language, and American empire.

Introduction

Background

In addition to the texts I have previously mentioned, a multitude of other texts provided contextual depth, informed, or situated my two artifacts of study for analysis. A brief description of the few critical works on U.S. audience reception of multilingual/multiracial adaptations of Shakespeare that I have found useful, will show both what led me to the scholarly gap and its solution.

Work conducted by Dickson showed several patterns regarding different ways in which the translation and adaptation of Shakespearean plays spread around the globe. As a result of Dickson's work, it is possible to examine the discourses of race, language, and empire within American Shakespearean adaptations through a much wider lens. For instance, Shakespeare was naturalized in some areas, such as in Germany. Dickson reported that Goethe, Schiller, and Ulrici claimed that *Unser* Shakespeare was the greatest of German poets and, as quoted by Dickson, stating, "We want to Germanise him, Germanise him in the widest and deepest sense of the word; we want to do everything in our power to make him even more and in the truest and fullest sense what he already is: a German poet" (Dickson 43).

Within the U.S., Shakespeare was first naturalized then nationalized as being one of its own during the 19th century. This is made evident by the existence of the *Folger Shakespeare Library*, which boasts the most comprehensive collection of “Shakespeareana” on the planet, or by the first statue of the likeness of the bard (John Quincy Adams Ward – 1870) gazing over Central Park.

On the Indian subcontinent, on the other hand, Shakespeare has never been regarded as being an “Indian” poet or playwright. Yet, the widespread adaptations of Shakespeare’s comedies in the Parsi theater would later evolve into Bollywood Cinema and produce the largest number of Shakespearean film adaptations in the world. In countries on the African continent, as it was in India, the works of Shakespeare were taught in the mission schools of the English colonial school system. In some areas, such as in South Africa, where the colonial education system sought to erase African languages and literary traditions, people like Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje¹ translated the works of William Shakespeare into Setswana with the aim of legitimizing the Tswana people as having a language and culture just as sophisticated as the English, rather than for the creation of some sort of Tswana Shakespeare. As Dickson pointed out, for Plaatje, translating the works of William Shakespeare was a means to preserve the oral language of Setswana² in a written

¹ Plaatje is known for work in journalism, linguistics, and political activism.

² Setswana is known for its primary orality.

form, saving the language from extinction, which was, in Dickson's opinion, "a much braver ideal [involving] saving an entire culture" (Dickson 283).

DiPasquale documents how Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and *Othello*, among other plays, were received by the Hawaiian monarchy prior to their removal and annexation by the United States. Even as the native population was decimated as a result of contact with Europe and America, for generations, members of the Hawaiian *Ali'i Nui*³ attended performances of Shakespeare's plays from the Chatham Theater in New York to Drury Lane Theater in London. The Hawaiian tradition of Shakespearean consumption would eventually turn to appropriation and then re-production of Shakespeare's words in acts of political resistance to Hawaii's annexation by the United States. It is in this theatrical tradition that *MOORE – a Pacific Island Othello* is operating (DiPasquale 18).

Morley focuses on the orientalist and paternalistic gaze so prevalent in American scholarship and journalism during the nineteenth century, in regard to the Hawaiian people. This perspective still persists in many ways to this day. Morley's desire for equivalence, that is, to translate Shakespeare into a native Hawaiian context, is striking⁴. Similarly, Greenblatt delivered a chilling depiction of how

³ The literal Hawaiian translation is "great chief," but, as a result of the context of the sentence, it refers to "the Hawaiian monarchy."

⁴ "We are asking ourselves the question, 'Is Shakespeare far away?' I wonder if it has occurred to you what curious analogies there are between the world that Shakespeare knew and your own beautiful islands here. Shakespeare's works themselves are the volcanic islands of literature. You will find in them the old craters, presumably extinct, of great emotions and passions, and you will find in them craters that still steam and burn. You will find in the plays the graceful palms, the green plantations, music and mirth and hospitality, and underneath all that you will also find serrated levels hard, ironic lava and then a little further out, off the shores of the plays, where the sea breaks in silver cascades on

Shakespeare's plays can also be read as a roadmap for the rise of despots and enablers that make their ascent to "the golden round" possible. To understand how Shakespeare has been employed as a means of political resistance, Greenblatt's research provides a step-by-step manual on the rise of partisanship during the War of the Roses and how Shakespeare may have nearly avoided execution⁵ himself for making oblique political or anti-government statements in his works by either setting the events of his plays very far from his own historical moment, or by setting his plays in "worlds elsewhere." (Greenblatt 20). Therefore, the work of Greenblatt contributes to understanding some of the ways in which American Shakespearean adaptations have been overtly and covertly used as acts of political resistance.

Levine points to a moment in American history when Shakespeare begins to transition from being the ubiquitous, populist, playwright of 19th century America to becoming usurped and privatized by the educated and/or wealthy elite. The Astor

the coral reefs, you will find Shakespeare's Sonnets, which stand like the reefs outside the island of his work, and just like your reefs catch the big rollers of the sea. Let no critic, no lover of poetry get too close to those reefs of Shakespeare's Sonnets unless he is clever with a surfboard. The more I think about it, the more I am impressed with the analogy between the feeling of Shakespeare's works and the feeling of Hawaii. Shakespeare's England, Elizabethan England, was more like the kindly life of Hawaii than any part of the world I can think of. Remember that Shakespeare's England was a land of flowers, a land of garlands, a land of music, song and folk-dancing. In those old times, instead of a copy of *Liberty* or *Ballyhoo* in the barber shop, they hung up a lute, (that was their ukulele) and while you waited for the barber you would play and sing a little madrigal. Just tonight as I was leaving the hotel I saw three or four of your citizens walking around with guitars ready to play me a little tune to the moon, - you don't see that sort of thing so much on the mainland today. Here you are closer than Harvard or Yale is, or Princeton is, closer than California is, to what Shakespeare knew and dreamed about" (Morley 12).

⁵ At one point in Shakespeare's life, the threat of execution was very real and was narrowly avoided after a request by Edward Arden, a cousin of Shakespeare's mother, to insert some subversive lines of dialogue into a performance. Arden was arrested for reportedly plotting against Queen Elizabeth I, although there was no clear evidence that he was actually involved. Arden was then imprisoned in the Tower of London and executed.

Place riots⁶ marked a peripeteia in American history and may serve as a reminder of how far the country has or perhaps has not advanced since then. The work of Levine provides a perspective into the very American traditions of incorporating music, dance, blackface, and vaudeville into Shakespearean performance, contributing to their almost universal appeal in 19th century American theater (Levine 82).

Shapiro examined how the works of Shakespeare are somehow able to put words to subjects that Americans typically find too difficult to engage in a civil dialogue around, such as race, immigrants, citizenship, murder, or rape, for example. The subjects chosen by Shapiro provided a foundation for an understanding that Shakespearean adaptations for the American stage are not necessarily about translating Shakespeare's plays into some sort of a contemporary American context, but rather using Shakespeare's language to translate the contemporary "American" moment, using the language of William Shakespeare to obliquely speak the truth to power (Shapiro 10).

Based on the preceding studies, one of the patterns that emerged was that in the countries who most radically engaged in Shakespearean adaptations or

⁶ The Astor Place riot occurred on May 10, 1849, at the Astor Opera House in Manhattan. The aftermath led to the deaths of 22 to 31 rioters and over 120 injuries. At the time, it was the deadliest of a number of civic disturbances in the area, which typically had immigrants and nativists pitted against each other or these two groups united to pit against the wealthy. At this time, the wealthy were known to control Manhattan's police and New York's militia. Since the Revolutionary War, there had not been this many civilian casualties as a result of military action, leading to increased police militarization. It was believed that the riot occurred as a dispute between Edwin Forrest and William Charles Macready – playing in dueling Macbeths in theaters up the street from one another (Sween).

localizations,⁷ Shakespeare was much more likely to have become naturalized or adopted as one of that country's own national poets. Yet, in places where Shakespearean translations occurred with more emphasis on fidelity to the text, or in the pursuit of demonstrating equivalence (such as in the Setswana -English case), Shakespeare was much less likely to become naturalized nor abundantly offered in university literature courses for that matter, where more oft than not, the works of William Shakespeare were being replaced by authors from the country's own national literature. In all cases, however, Shakespeare and the discourses of race, language, and empire are all at work: race-making, empire-making, language-making, just manifested to different degrees.

Within this dissertation, further avenues for research into multilingual/multicultural adaptations of Shakespeare's plays that interrogate the issues of race and American imperialism will be both explicitly and implicitly referred to. This includes acknowledging the groundbreaking performances and scholarship in the emerging fields of *Asian Pacific Shakespeares* by Dr. Alexa Alice Joubin and the MIT Global Shakespeare Project; *Borderland Shakespeares* by Drs. Kathryn Vomero Santos, Ruben Espinoza, Katherine Gillen, Adrianna Santos, and the Borderland Shakespeare Collective in Texas; *Shakespeare and Latinidad* by Drs. Carla Della Gatta and Trevor Buffone, Dr. Ayanna Thompson, and the Arizona Center for Medieval & Renaissance Studies' ShakesRace and RaceB4Race programs; and

⁷ Engaging in radical adaptations and localizations involves the irreverent changing of plots, characters, dialogue, and locations.

the literal seachange that has come from the documentation and re-examination of “race-making” during the Early Modern period.

Contemporary theatrical performances by Keith Hamilton Cobb (*American Moor*), Kalob Martinez (*El Beto*), *The Show Must Go Online*; and the groundswell of live-stream adaptations of Shakespeare’s plays produced during the Global Pandemic of 2020 and documented by the Shakespeare Institute’s Gemma Allred, Benjamin Broadribb, and Dr. Erin Sullivan in the forthcoming Arden Shakespeare’s, *“Lockdown Shakespeare: New Evolutions in Performance and Adaptation,”* all of which, however, continue to demonstrate how Shakespearean adaptation exists as a living force, provoking dialogue, challenging racist institutions and ideas, while affecting positive change, from Stratford-upon-Avon to Stratford Connecticut.

Problem Statement

Shakespeare’s plays and characters are intimately connected with the construction of the 19th century “American national identity,” which would later evolve into and shape the 20th and 21st century American national identities (Lavine, Shapiro, Thompson, Dickson, Carlson). Shakespeare wrote the ugly American equally as much as he wrote *American Pie*, and as problematic as that may sound, there is truth in it. One of the best ways to describe the relationship Americans have with the works and words of William Shakespeare was given to us by Emerson: “He wrote the airs for all our modern music: he wrote the text of modern life; the text of

manners: he drew the man of England and Europe; the father of the man in America” (Emerson 95). What it means to be an American, or who gets to be counted as being “fully American,” can be relatively accurately indexed by the actors who are allowed to perform as Shakespeare’s heroines and heroes on the American Stage, as noted by Shapiro:

It turns out that who gets to perform in Shakespeare’s plays is a fairly accurate index of who is considered fully American. As far back as the 1820s, when Ira Aldridge had to move from New York to London in order to play Othello, Shylock, and other roles denied to African Americans in the United States, those who aren’t accepted as truly American - because they don’t look or sound the part - have been rejected when it comes to being cast as one of Shakespeare’s heroes or heroines. (Shapiro xii)

To this end, the words and works of Shakespeare have led to a division among Americans along the lines of race, the languages that they speak, and just what it means to be an “American” since the founding of the country, while at the same time, adaptations of Shakespeare’s plays in the United States have managed to bring Americans together, challenging and complicating such notions in the first place (Thompson, *Passing Strange: Shakespeare, Race, and Contemporary America*; Dickson; Shapiro; Levine).

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this study is to increase understanding of how Shakespeare's plays have been appropriated, translated, and adapted in the United States to address the issues of race, language, and the American empire. Secondary purposes are to assess how multilingual/multiracial Shakespearean adaptations are being received by a diverse sample of American audience members. Within an interdisciplinary study of literature, theatrical practice, and audience reception, such as the present study, there is a multitude of texts across multiple fields of study that inform various elements relevant to the research. Though all texts cannot be considered within a single research study, in-depth analysis of some of the most influential works has been included.

Research Questions

1. RQ1–Qualitative: What themes have emerged from the surveys and papers written by audience members and students who report that viewing the multiracial/multilingual adaptations *enhanced* their experience or understanding of Shakespeare's plays?
2. RQ2–Qualitative: What themes have emerged from the surveys and papers written by audience members and students who report that viewing the multiracial/multilingual adaptations *detracted* from their experience or understanding of Shakespeare's plays?

3. RQ3–Quantitative: How do multiracial/multilingual adaptations of Shakespeare’s plays affect the experiences of audience members based on age, education level, gender, language proficiencies, racial or ethnic identity, region or state, academic institution, and overall combined total?

Significance and Contribution to the Study

As a scholar and practitioner of theatrical translation and adaptation, I have engaged in both the theoretical and the practical problems of adapting Shakespeare’s plays in America into multilingual, multimedia performances for the stage and screen. Although there has been extensive scholarship addressing Shakespeare and race, Shakespeare and language, or Shakespeare and American empire, that scholarship has primarily focused upon Shakespeare’s literary or theatrical *production* in Shakespeare in America, leading to performance histories and analyses of adapted texts. As Dr. Ayanna Thompson points out in her keynote address, “Shakespeare and Blackface / Shakespeare and Unfreedom,” at the 2019 triennial congress conference, entitled *Shakespeare and Social Justice: Scholarship and Performance in an Unequal World*, minimal scholarship has been devoted to the audience reception of multilingual/multiracial forms of Shakespeare’s plays staged in the USA (Thompson, “Shakespeare and Blackface / Shakespeare and Unfreedom”).

Hans Robert Jauss developed literary reception theories that attribute the value of a given text to the reader’s *horizon of expectations*. According to Jauss,

significance, signification, or value are not static attributes that can be found within the body of a text. Instead, they are perpetually evolving and changing with the specificity of each reader's location and moment in history (Jauss and Benzinger; Jauss and De Man). For example, in consideration of Shakespearean performance in America, the registers of race and language change dramatically as the time and location of the American audience changes. Within theatrical practice, this phenomenon is referred to as the primary dramaturgical question. The question that must be answered prior to mounting any production anywhere in the world should always be, "*Why this play here and now?*"

As pointed out by Taylor, the knowledge or forms of signification transmitted *through* a performance are co-created by the presence of the actor and audience member in the moment *of* the performance. Taylor also stated that, "the repertoire requires presence: people participate in the production of knowledge by 'being there,' being a part of the transmission . . . The live performance can never be captured or transmitted through the archive. A video of a performance is not a performance, though it often comes to replace the performance as a thing in itself (the video is part of the archive, what it represents is part of the repertoire)" (Taylor 20). Thompson examined audience reception of multilingual/multiracial theatrical translations of Shakespeare and found that there is a lack of research literature and quantitative data available for analysis. Fernandes echoed these findings:

The problem of translating for the theatre is now viewed as much more context-based than it first appeared to Bassnett, who strove to find ideal circumstances under and according to which this type of translation should be undertaken. Once we realise that theatre translation contains such a rich universe so poorly explored – different languages, different linguistic codes; different cultures, different cultural codes; different theatres, different theatrical traditions; different audiences, different memories –, it is urgent that theoreticians start drawing attention to theatrical sign systems and audience expectations. (Fernandes 123)

Fernandes asserts that there are many ignored questions and problems in translation studies in terms of translating for the stage. The present study is significant because of its plan to address many of these non-textual, non-verbal, and extratextual questions through studying the reception data generated by the two artifacts of interest: *Marqués - a Narco Macbeth* (2016) and *MOORE - a Pacific Island Othello* (2020). At the same time, *Macbeth* and *Othello* will be used as a lens through which the evolving registers of race and language in American Shakespearean performance will be examined – ranging from the founding of the thirteen colonies to current times. After examining the 252-year trajectory of American adaptations of *Macbeth* and *Othello*, the two artifacts mentioned previously will be used for a more in-depth analysis, as the focus of this dissertation is to study both the theory and the practice of

adapting Shakespeare's plays, from the U.S./Mexican border, to the furthest outposts of the Pacific Theatre of Operations (WESTPAC). This study will increase understanding regarding the impact that Shakespearean adaptations continue to have on both sides of Levine's American cultural divide.

Theoretical Foundations

The theories used in the present dissertation are reception theories, specifically the horizon of expectations and the model (ideal) reader. These are discussed below and then a discussion is provided regarding how they relate to the study.

Horizon of Expectations

The horizon of expectations is a critical element of reception theory and exists within Jauss's literary history theory, where the focus was to decrease the gap between the schools of history and literature where readers only had a minor role in the interpretation of a text (Jauss and Benzinger). Specifically, the horizon of expectations refers to the structure in which text is comprehended, decoded, and appraised by the reader based on cultural conventions and beliefs at the time of reading, not the time of writing. As a result, this element exudes flexibility, which means that texts can be interpreted in different ways by different generations of readers (Hausberger and Patras). Therefore, the reader is perceived as being an important, if not the most important, element in text processing because the reader

has knowledge and experiences based on interactions from other texts, which lead to familiarity based on genre and style rules and expectations (Jauss and De Man). In fact, Jauss reportedly stated that literary works did not represent a stand-alone object with the same meaning for each reader in each generation, further indicating that reading is not autonomous but was based on a collection of similar concepts based on the culture and period (Chartier).

In this context, the reader is a participant in the *text triangle*, which also involves the writer and audience. However, per Jauss, the communication that occurs between reader and text leads to a shift in the reader's horizon of expectations. This is because the reader-text interaction can be emotive since the acquaintance held by the reader with specific genre features can lead to expectations of the entire text (Jauss and Benzinger). As a result of these prior experiences, when reading a new text, the reader will adjust, transform, or replicate their horizon of expectations based on the genre boundaries. When the interaction held with a new text leads to invalidation of a prior experience or leads to a new experience, a *horizon of change* occurs. The *aesthetic distance* is that distance between the *horizon of expectation* and the *horizon of change* (Jauss and Benzinger). If there is no horizon of change within a text, all of the reader's expectations are fulfilled and described as *light reading*. Conversely, if there is a horizon of change within a text, particularly related to a challenge to expectations, either a positive outcome can occur (a new perception) or a negative outcome can occur (an unpleasant experience). However, these expectations may

dissolve or a negative element of the text may become explicit, leading to a familiar expectation and becoming part of the future expectation for that genre (Jauss and Benzinger).

Model (Ideal) Reader

Essentially, the model (ideal) reader theory is based on the theory of semiotics by Umberto Eco. Under this theory, it is impossible to define the concepts of *text* and *interpretation* without referring to the other because of the way they are both interwoven (Pisanty). On the one hand, it is inevitable that in order to have an interpretation, *something* must exist for the interpretation – most commonly, *text*, which is coincided with the assumption of a *representamen* under Peircean semiotics, in which “something which stands for somebody for something in some respect or capacity” (Peirce 101). On the other hand, the interpretive possibilities are found within the *text* itself, which means that the latter becomes “a matrix of all possible readings” (Pisanty 37) or “a product whose interpretive outcome must form part of its own generative mechanism” (Eco, “Lector in Fabula” 54). Therefore, the idea that all possible interpretations of a text is used to develop a possible meaning that is also contained (embedded) within the text is derived from Peirce, inasmuch as it correlates with the *interpretant* concept in the definition of the sign based on unlimited semiosis and centrality. Under this context, cognitive semiotics focuses solely on the semiotic, logical, and cognitive level at the beginning of the interpretive process (Peirce). The beginning, in this context, is so important because there is little information regarding

the internal structure of the text and how the interpreter's activity may be impinged upon. Eco, then, counteracts with the introduction of philosophical questions based on his theory of general semiotics. These questions are used to interact with the textual analysis and lead to Saussurian and Hjelmslevian semiology for Eco's definition of *text*. Based on this perspective, text is viewed as being a discursive configuration in which meaning may be found at different structural levels (Eco, *A Theory of Semiotics*).

However, Eco breaks apart from orthodox structuralism because of his assumption that these levels are already filled with interpretation even before the analysis begins. Thus, he has a staunch belief in "levels of possible abstraction at which the cooperative activity can take place" (Eco, *The Role of the Reader* 14–15), where cooperation is formed by the text and interpreter. Eco's model is derived from interpreting the works of Peirce through a structuralism lens and focuses on answering two questions:

1. As inspired by Peirce, what happens when an individual engages in interpreting a text?
2. Based on structuralism, how is text constructed and/or how is the language structured?

These two questions led to a combined question: "What internal (structural) and external (communicative) factors allow the text to produce certain effects (rather than others) on its interpreters?" (Pisanty 38). This question has challenged scholars back

to Biblical times and in order to answer this type of question Eco proposed different definitions as to the meaning of *text* and how it interacts with *interpreters*. Thus, in some contexts, Eco focused on textual characteristics and the presence of the interpreter. In other contexts, Eco focused on an interpretative approach, which is based on cognitive processes that make it possible for the reader to develop a unique hypothesis based on the proposed “meaning” (problematic term) of the text. At the same time, the definition of the text/reader relationship varies, per Eco, where the text is the source of all possible meanings in some cases, and in other cases, the text evokes a set of restrictions that limit the range of possible meanings, indicating that text is either a matrix of generations or a matrix of restrictions. However, although perceived as being separatist, it can also be argued that these two matrices could be synthesized to create a unified textual sign theory (Pisanty). Eco focused on the text-receiver relationship and applied the theory of formativity by Pareyson (Fröhlich) in situations when there appeared to be a relationship between contemporary art and *disorder* (Eco, “The Poetics of the Open Work” 2). Per Eco, *disorder* refers to the entropy level that can be found in a message and further refers to the theory of information, which is based on mathematics. The commonality found in the different representations that Eco investigated is that the structure is incomplete and ambiguous. Since there was marked autonomy, the interpreter, per Eco, has abstract and informality indeterminants and versatility in terms of words used in the text, which require effort by the interpreter (Eco, *The Role of the Reader*).

Open work poetics encourages the conscious freedom of the performer, allowing for the creation of infinite inter-relations – all of which impact the interpreter – but also stops the performer from being externally influenced, leading to the organization of the work (Eco, *The Open Work* 4). As a result, the *open work* concept was devised to define the communicative functioning of restricted texts that have an intentionally indefinite structure, leading the interpreter to independently determine the meaning. Therefore, *open works* are defined as those that “reject the definitive, concluded message and multiply the formal possibilities of the distribution of their elements” (Eco, *The Open Work* 3) and can be followed by the interpreter. In this sense, Eco seeks to account for the aesthetic experiences associated with the work and understand the cause, found within the text, of interpreter stimulation into a co-author or co-collaborator. With this concept of *openness*, Eco stated that even if there is a complete structure, different interpretations can be had based on the different prejudices, views, feelings, values, beliefs, and interests of the reading audience. It has been noted that “according to certain contemporary ideas of art at the time, the aesthetic value of a text depends on its ability to generate an indefinite number of different readings” (Pisanty 40) and Eco pointed out that the text “wants to be an inexhaustible source of experiences” (Eco, *The Open Work* 24).

Novels, for example, are viewed as having a *closed* structure but are considered an *open work* because there are many different interpretations possible due to the reader’s attitude in relation to the text (Halliday; Hébert and Tabler; Manoliu).

All of this means that any work of art, also considered to be *text*, is viewed as being a balanced whole, where it constitutes an *open work*, due to the potential for infinite interpretations that do not impinge on specificity (Eco, *The Open Work* 4). Eco also indicates that *openness* can be found in all other communicative devices because the interpreters must collaborate with the text in determining the meaning through encountered *propositions* with the experiences associated with propositions. Thus, *openness* radiates from all propositions and accompanies all forms of human communication that exists and may be structured in a way that interpreters have flexibility based on the type of text (Eco, *The Open Work* 30). Eco used semiotics to assess the duality of the role of the interpreter based on the inclusion of all communicative phenomena functioning (Eco, “Peirce’s Notion of Interpretant”) because, *text* was not an initial focal point of Eco (Eco, *A Theory of Semiotics*) and, instead, the focus was on aesthetics (a significant influencer of semiotics) and on how works of art are formed and interpreted, (Eco, “The Influence of Roman Jakobson on the Development of Semiotics”).

When Eco adopted the concept of text, he considered it to be a composite and drew upon different theories to develop his principle of interpretive cooperation in the context of interpreting text, stating, “So-called open texts are only the extreme and most provocative exploitation – for poetic purposes – of a principle which rules both the generation and the interpretation of texts in general” (Eco, *The Role of the Reader* 4–5).

Moreover, text may be described as “a chain of expressive devices which must be actualized by the receiver” (Eco, “Lector in Fabula” 50). Thus, it is expected that interpretative outcomes are explicitly expected and interpreters are expected to resolve implicit meanings within a text, often based on presuppositions. As a result, all text is interpreted *literally* and *figuratively* using superimposed levels through vertical layering (Pisanty). Eco focuses on this type of laying using narrative texts:

A fictional narrative encompasses most of the problems posed by other types of texts. . . . Narrative texts – especially fictional ones – are more complicated than are many others and make the task of the semiologist harder. But they also make it more rewarding. (Eco, *The Role of the Reader* 12–13)

Application of the Theories to the Present Study

Starting with the premise that the significance of these two Shakespearean adaptations – *MOORE* and *Marqués* – or at least the ways in which they have been received and interpreted, reside with the audience members who experienced the performances themselves (Randel and Jauss). Rather than analyze the reception of these performances from a critical position that assumes a model or ideal audience member (Eco, *The Role of the Reader*; Eco, *A Theory of Semiotics*; Eco, “Lector in Fabula”), the initial premise of this study is that the actual audience is infinitely more complex and diverse, both in composition and their ability to create meaning or significance. Johanson represents one of an increasing number of scholars to point out

that the theater audience has been almost entirely absent from prior scholarly performance studies (168). Walmsley elaborated this point:

This deficiency is not only a methodological and epistemological failure on the behalf of audience studies in the performing arts; it represents a perplexing and counter-intuitive conundrum, considering that the actual audience is ‘more complex and interesting’ than the ideal audience that has long received the attention of scholars (Johanson 170). The net result of this deficient research context is that over the past few decades, and indeed centuries, theoretical scholars have conspired to make general assumptions about audiences; speak on their behalf; assume simplistic homogeneity of reception and response; and construct reductive notions of ‘bad’ or ‘ideal’ audiences. In short, audience research has not historically been very audience-friendly. (Walmsley 10)

Walmsley pointed out that antiquated and beleaguered theoretical perspectives on audience research are not shared by the majority of contemporary researchers, some of whom have abandoned their historic disregard for empirical research and have come to value its ability to explicate the experience of the audience on their own terms (8). One such researcher mentioned by Walmsley was Reinelt:

Most of the recent scholarship on reception in theater and performance studies points to a lack of sustained attention to spectator research, or

more specifically, to the kind of research that tells us what spectators experience, how they make meanings or feelings in relation to theater, and how they come to value ‘assisting at performance.’ These features have been much less investigated and interpreted than the theoretical framing of the problems of the audience or the description of the reception of particular performances. (Reinelt 337)

What Reinelt, Johanson, and Walmsley all gesture toward is a shift in methodology in a field of study that has suffered from a “significant over-reliance on theoretical approaches to explicating the audience experience” and to acknowledge an “urgent need” for an empirical approach to increase understanding of audience reception (Walmsley 10).

Methodology

Research Design

The present study is being conducted as a qualitative historical literature review followed by a quantitative analysis of audience member reception data. This means that there will be an examination of a group of isolated events, texts, and performances framed into a historical context, against which audience reception data will be interpreted, as evidenced by the divisions of chapters (see “Data Collection and Analysis”). Thus, the historical literature review is based on examining specific events in time, then tracing the evolution of certain audience reception phenomena

over the determined time period, so analysis of the artifacts of interest become situated within a broader historical context (Anderson; Newman et al.; Thomas and Harden).

Data Collection and Analysis

To more effectively gauge how the two multilingual adaptations of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and *Othello* have affected the experiences of their American audience members, the concept of empirical reception will be the primary guiding principle for my collection and analysis of data in order to answer each of the research questions posited above (pg. 10).

Types and Sources of Data

1) Online survey forms filled out by audience members will be analyzed from the performances of two Shakespearian adaptations: *MOORE - a Pacific Island Othello* (2020). (see survey form 1 under "methods of data collection.") as well as data gathered from undergraduate research papers written about the productions).

2) Online survey forms filled out by instructors and undergraduate students from universities across the United States will be tallied and analyzed. Participating Universities were: Florida State University, Trinity University, Arizona State University, UCSC, UCR, UCLA, Stanford University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the University of Hawaii at Hilo and Manoa. (see survey form 2:

“instructor survey form” and form 3: “student survey form” URL:

<https://sites.google.com/ucsc.edu/mooreaudiencesurvey>

3) Data collected from students and instructors who have read, viewed, and written papers on these adaptations (in the courses listed below) will be examined in greater detail (this includes student essays, peer reviewed articles and texts, interviews, and Zoom discussion groups). University courses from which data has been collected are as follows:

TA80K- *Shakespeare 4 every1* (instr. Danny Scheie, UCSC Spring 2016), ENGL4402-*Shakespeare and/in Translation* (Trinity University, Winter 2019 instr. Kathryn Vomero Santos), DRAM 322-*Acting Shakespeare* (University of Hawaii Hilo, Fall 2020 instr. Justina Taft Mattos), ENL 5227 - *Studies in Renaissance Literature: Shakespeare and Aurality* (Florida State University, Spring 2020 instr. Carla Della Gatta), ENL 4324 - *Global Shakespeares* (Florida International University, Fall 2020 instr. James Sutton), *Global Shakespeare: 20th and 21st century adaptations from around the world* (Trinity College, Dublin Ireland, Fall 2021).

Literature review data will come from a variety of texts, based on the theoretical framework described previously (see “Theoretical Foundations – Application to the Present Study”). The historical literature review will span texts from the colonial period to the present. The present study is grounded in different geographies, not just time periods. The literature review being conducted is also

based on thematic analysis, which includes a bibliographic textual quality assessment matrix to be completed to assess the utility of each source text to the present study. Information regarding this matrix and the actual completed matrix can be found in Appendices A and B.

Organization of the Remainder of the Study (Review of Chapters)

The chapters of this dissertation that follow are structured chronologically and geographically, interweaving an examination of Shakespeare and race and language into an American Empire framework, rather than create discrete chapters to examine each relationship separately.

Chapter 1: Shakespeare in the Thirteen Colonies. This chapter begins with a brief historical overview of early Shakespearean performance in America. Beginning with the thirteen colonies and the more textual relationship colonial Americans had with Shakespeare's work, the emergence of early American Shakespearean adaptations and the religious justification/approval of the reading of Shakespeare's works as "morality tales" will be examined. There will also be an examination of analyses of theatrical production in cities, such as New York and Philadelphia, up until the American Revolution. Emphasis will be given to the differences between how Shakespeare's works took root in the American colonies as compared to other locations across the world.

Chapter 2: Northern and Southern Shakespeare. Within this chapter, stagings of *Macbeth* and *Othello* from northern and southern states will be examined. The time period of interest is the early 19th century, during slavery, emancipation, the founding of the African Grove theater in New York, the emergence of Shakespeare in blackface, Ira Aldridge, T.D. (Daddy) Rice, and the proliferation of minstrel performances. Data points from Thompson's research on *Othello* and blackface and the origins of minstrelsy are examined as well. There will be a brief description of the lives and careers of Ira Aldridge, James Hewlett, Thomas Hamblin, Paul Robeson, and Peggy Ashcroft. Another area of interest is President John Quincy Adams' 1836 controversial essay, *The Character of Desdemona*, which addresses, in part, the relationship between Shakespeare and miscegenation. Data points by Shapiro will also be incorporated through discussions of Shakespeare and Lincoln, the Civil War, the Booth family, and the emergence of African American actors onto the American Shakespearean stage. Further investigations will be in relation to the 1936 production of *Voodoo Macbeth in Harlem*, by Orson Wells, prior to returning to *Othello*, specifically how the role of Othello has been considered the 'breakthrough' role for the African American male actor and why Thompson believes the play should never be staged, as well as why Quarshie believes that no Black man should ever play 'the Moor' at all.

Chapter 3: Shakespeare at the Border. Translation for the stage is not just based on bilingualism or multilingualism. Any staging of Shakespeare's plays is

arguably a form of translation, prompting the need for dramaturges. Even the English printed editions of Shakespeare's plays are translations in the sense that no contemporary English speaker or reader is fully versed in every subtlety or nuanced meaning of Shakespeare's English. For this reason, most scholarly editions of Shakespeare's works will contain just as many pages of notes as they do playtext, and possibly explain why Calbi claims that "the language of the 'original' may be the language of the other" (Calbi 112). Therefore, this chapter is based, in part, on the traditions of multilingual Shakespearean performances in America, allowing for an examination of how bilingualism and the incorporation of the Spanish language in American Shakespearean performances have both elevated and/or excluded Latinx actors, writers, and theatrical practitioners from the American Shakespearean stage. The examination will be based on Spanish language adaptations of Shakespeare leading up to the Mexican-American War as a counterpoint to the work by Shapiro that examines the 1845 U.S. Army production of *Othello*, 1821 *Hamlet*,⁸ 1827 *Otelo*, and 1844 *Hamlet* at the inauguration of el Teatro Santa Ana just prior to the invasion of Mexico by the American Army. All of these 19th century Shakespearean translations and adaptations staged along the U.S./Mexico border set the state dramaturgically for the analyses of *Marqués - a Narco Macbeth* and *MOORE - a Pacific Island Othello*.

⁸ This is the first Shakespearean production in Mexico.

Chapter 4: Shakespeare in Hawaii. This chapter examines Shakespearean adaptations in Hawaii and how they were appropriated and employed during the ousting of the Hawaiian Monarchy and annexation by the United States. This involves an in-depth understanding of the long-standing relationship between Shakespeare and the people of Hawaii. From a boat⁹ owned by Kamehameha II (1821) to Queen Lili'uokalani's appropriation of Shakespeare in a last attempt to resist annexation in her 1898 letter to President William McKinley, the significance of Shakespeare to the Hawaiian monarchy and their close ties to the English crown and culture is a story that is easily overlooked, yet essential to understanding Shakespeare in America. To the Hawaiian *ali'i*, Shakespeare served a dual purpose – giving them what has been referred to as *European mana*.¹⁰ In 1855, a decade prior to the assassination of Lincoln, the soon-to-be famous actor, Edwin Booth¹¹ arrived in Honolulu. This chapter will include an examination of interactions between Booth and King Alexander Liholiho during a Shakespearean performance in the Hawaiian Kingdom. Further analyses will be in relation to Twain's 1866 letters from Hawaii to offer context and a contemporary *haole* view of Hawaii, the Hawaiian monarchy, and Honolulu's Shakespearean theatrical traditions.

⁹ Interestingly, this boat was named *Cleopatra's barge*.

¹⁰ This concept refers to “haole goods customs, and behaviors that conveyed a specifically Hawaiian kind of power upon their possessors within a Hawaiian context, while at the same time marking them as ‘civilized’ in the eyes of British and American observers” (Sahlins, *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities* 26, 31).

¹¹ Edwin Booth was the brother of John Wilkes Booth, the assassin of Lincoln.

By following the trajectories of *Macbeth* and *Othello* across 19th century America – from the North to the South, along the U.S./Mexican border, to California, and finally, to the Hawaiian Pacific – these uniquely American performance histories can be used to situate and analyze the artifacts of interest – *Marqués* and *MOORE*.

Chapter 1: Shakespeare in the Thirteen Colonies

On April 23, 1616, William Shakespeare died. Although this occurred over 400 years ago, aficionados within the United States have observed the date as though Shakespeare were a native son. The 2016 celebration of Shakespeare's death, for example, lasted the entire year, exuding, "a distinct American blend of both equality and quality," where, to some, the greatest writer in the world was both honored through artistic productions and made palatable to a population mostly accustomed to "cultural fast food" (Kinsley; Moghaddam). In fact, Chicago, rather than London or Stratford-upon-Avon, was recognized as the Shakespearean cosmopolis of 2021. The Chicago commemoration honoring Shakespeare featured 850 events across 120 locations with an audience of at least 500,000 people. The driving force behind the project was the Chicago Shakespeare Theater that has produced *Othello: The Remix* and *Tug of War*. Local actors also participated in staging a 75-minute production of *Twelfth Night* in neighborhood parks. Meanwhile, Chicago-based musical institutions have contributed to Shakespearean adaptations in their own right. For example, the Lyric Opera presented Gounod's *Romeo et Juliette*; the Symphony Orchestra

presented Tchaikovsky's *Fantasy-Overture* of Berlioz's symphony. The same orchestra presented Verdi's *Falstaff*. The Joffrey Ballet adapted *Romeo and Juliet* using the score by Prokofiev. A Shakespearean supernatural exhibit was presented at the Art Institute. Multiplexes have played several Shakespeare film series. Sociologists even become involved through panel discussions on all things Shakespeare in relation to the criminal justice system. Another popular event was the *High School Shakespeare Slam*, a year-long event, producing Shakespearean adaptations for captive teen audiences across the country. *The Culinary Complete Works* features 38 chefs serving Shakespearean dishes from the canon, all washed down with "PUCK: The Beer," created by the North Coast Brewing Company (Kinsley; Moghaddam).

Americans take a great deal of amusement from Shakespeare and a great deal of pride in their possession of Shakespeare. For example, Tulane University and the Jambalaya Brass Band¹² held jazz funerals for Shakespeare. The New York Art Directors Club presented Shakespearean posters from different productions that occurred across the world. The Folger Shakespeare Library, home to the largest assemblage of Shakespeareana in the world, conducted a tour that displayed a *1623 First Folio*¹³ in succession to every state, where each volume was opened to Hamlet's, "To be or not to be" soliloquy (Cantor; Shandler). The *America's*

¹² This band is located in Manhattan.

¹³ 82 of the 233 known *First Folios* are owned by the Folger Library. These are important because they represent the first editions of collected plays and are considered to be the "crown jewels" for any Shakespeare collector.

Shakespeare exhibit at the Folger Library exhibited some of the rarest Shakespearean memorabilia in existence, such as a 1966 clip from *Gilligan's Island*, where the actors put on a scene from *Hamlet* or a 1980s commercial where Shakespeare is depicted as writing a sitcom in return for payment of a Klondike bar (Cantor; Shandler).

YouTube has made it possible to view more recent recordings of Shakespearean adaptations on any smartphone around the world. The Shakespeare Theatre Association and the University of Notre Dame sponsor the *We Are Shakespeare* website, where fan-produced videos can be submitted. On this website, it is possible to see Hamlet's contemplation of suicide as he shaves using a straight razor. Another popular adaptation of the same scene is *Hip Hop Hamlet*, where the famous soliloquy is followed by a group of boxers chanting, "What am I gonna do, these things I'm goin' through . . . Dyin's sleepin', that's all dyin' is" (Valiunus).

Dr. James Shapiro has stated that the plays of William Shakespeare represent a common ground for Americans, serving as one of the few places where both liberals and conservatives alike have been able to, "meet and air their disparate views," (Shapiro ix). Shakespeare's plays seem to somehow put words to the subjects Americans find too difficult to have civil dialogue about. Issues such as the imagined threat of people of different races, immigrants, murder, rape, incest, gender roles, radicalized religious terrorism (non-Islamic, but rather the threat of Christian /Catholic terrorism), issues that troubled Shakespeare and his own contemporaries of the late sixteenth century, would go on to trouble the colonists of seventeenth and

eighteenth century America, and quite frankly continue to trouble people living in the United States to this very day, as the insurrection of January 6th, 2021 made painfully clear.

It may seem unlikely that a country founded by puritanical religious exiles, cut from the same fundamentalist Christian cloth as those who would call for the shuttering of the theaters of London in 1642, would somehow come to embrace the plays of an Englishman that embodied some of their darkest fears and most lascivious fantasies: misogynism - a black man marrying then murdering his white wife; a Jew making a diabolical contract with a Christian to cut off a pound of his flesh upon default; suicide, fratricide, madness, assassinations and murders most foul (Shapiro xi). Yet, it is perhaps for these very reasons, or the warnings which they may signal towards, that allowed Shakespeare's plays, at least in written form, to take root among readers throughout the thirteen colonies, serving as "morality tales," to a Christian audience accustomed to the language and lessons of the King James Bible. It is still ironic however, and a bit of a mystery, as Andrew Dickson points out in *World's Elsewhere: Journeys Around Shakespeare's Globe*, how a sixteenth century British playwright would become utterly absorbed into the lifeblood of the United States, where he would eventually be transformed into a sort of symbol for the American national identity and permeate American politics for centuries to come (Dickson 92).

The influence of Shakespeare on the American colonies was not unlike other “contact zones” in the Americas, where cultural exchange was always a two way street. The colony of Virginia, founded in 1607, by 104 English settlers who invaded the ancestral lands of the indigenous Alogonquian people, decided to rename their site, Jamestown, after their sovereign benefactor, King James I. The colony of Virginia itself was a tribute to James’ predecessor, Elizabeth I (both patrons of Shakespeare). Meanwhile, back in London, another company of “the King’s Men” were busy staging works about shipwrecks and Europeans stranded and struggling to survive in strange lands across the sea. As Dickson writes, “Stories from America and its struggling colonies would infiltrate Shakespeare’s late work, most obviously *The Tempest*. Who needed Hamlet off the coast of Sierra Leone? Here was a more solid seafaring connection” (Dickson 93). While tales from America influenced Shakespeare’s writing, Shakespeare’s writing was influencing colonial Americans as well as American politics. The “founders” were some of the first to proclaim the merits of reading (rather than seeing) Shakespeare’s plays.

In the late-eighteenth century, Massachusetts was still exacting heavy fines on anyone who might dare watch or perform in a stage play. But as literature, Shakespeare’s plays survived and thrived on American soil. Benjamin Franklin ensured the purchase of a complete works of Shakespeare for the Philadelphia Library in 1746. Thomas Jefferson wrote to his friend Robert Skipwith in 1771, encouraging him that, “A lively and lasting sense of filial duty is more effectually impressed on

the mind of a son or daughter by reading King Lear, than by all the dry volumes of ethics and divinity that were ever written” (Jefferson. to Robert Skipwith. Monticello. Aug. 3. 1771). John Adams, the second president of the United States, called Shakespeare, “the Great Master of Nature,” and the “great teacher of morality and politics” (Haraszti 170).

Morality, politics, and Shakespeare were three of the most clear preoccupations on the mind of the young John Adams. Adams filled his diaries with quotes from King Lear, Troilus and Cressida, The Merry Wives of Windsor, Henry VIII, and Romeo and Juliet. Yet, it was Shakespeare’s ability to create characters and stories that, although they may not have been real, were absolutely true to human nature and the circumstances that move every man, woman, or child to commit “the evil that men do;” Shakespeare’s insight into individual motivations took hold of Adams’ mind and held it captive for the rest of his life. “Let me search for the Clue, which Led great Shakespeare into the Labyrinth of mental Nature!” he wrote in his diary in December of 1758:

Let me examine how men think. Shakespeare had never seen in real Life Persons under the Influence of all those Scenes of Pleasure and distress, which he has described in his Works, but he imagined how a Person of such a Character would behave in such Circumstances, by analogy from the Behaviour of others that were most like that

Character in nearly similar Circumstances, which he had seen. (Adams 1:61)

Shakespeare's ability to enter and embody the mind of a despot or a would-be autocrat would also compel James Shapiro to call Shakespeare the "canary in the coal mine of Democracy," or as Stephen Greenblat points out in *Tyrant: Shakespeare on Politics*, "from the early 1550's , at the beginning of his career, all the way to its end, Shakespeare grappled again and again with a deeply unsettling question: how is it possible for a whole country to fall into the hands of a tyrant?" (Greenblat 1). And since, "The evil that men do lives after them," Adams was deeply concerned about the possibility of fighting to build a democratic republic where, despite all of the sacrifice and toil, the ambitions of a few might one day overthrow the will of the people, and lead to the destruction of the entire country. These very same themes that are also found in Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and *Othello* would go on to haunt the Adams Family as well as the rest of the Nation for generations to come: Themes like the fate of a former slave-become-military leader, murder, assassinations, miscegenation, vaulting ambition, commanders that are betrayed by their junior officers, bloody insurrection, all of which would play out in American history as if scripted by Shakespeare himself, eventually to boil over during the civil war and the violence that would continue throughout the reconstruction.

Yet for a 17 year old John Adams, Shakespeare's words and works would prove to be both sword and shield for a young man attempting to fend off the tyranny of his fellow classmates at Harvard. As a black man in America I find it somewhat difficult to fully sympathize with Adams' lot, but I can empathize with the contours of his predicament nonetheless. As Catherine Drinker Bowen points out in, *John Adams and the American Revolution*, while Adams was an undergraduate at Harvard, during his junior year, he was both surprised and pleased to be invited to join the Harvard Discussion Club. Adams, at the time, was a notoriously shy student but he accepted the invitation eagerly. For his initiation, however, he was given the task of reciting Oedipus's speech from Alexander Pope's translation of Thebais (the Thebes) to the club members (some 50 students) and a handful of faculty advisors in the college library (Drinker Bowen 107-108). Adams, however, was so nervous that he butchered the speech and at one point completely faltered. He stood at the lectern, shaking and stuttering in front of his peers, pointing a trembling finger at the audience, unable to recite the lines.

When he reached the end of Oedipus's speech, he raised his hand high, then lowered it slowly, and pointed it at the students. "Don't shoot, Adams!" yelled one of his classmates. "For God's sake, spare a mother's son!" At that, the students exploded into wild laughter, and Adams rushed frantically out of the room. Afterward, he found the

teasing he received extremely humiliating, and he vowed never to be caught in such a trap again. (Ibid, 108–109)

A few months later, Adams would have a second opportunity to address the club, this time with a speech of his own choosing. To defend himself, Adams selected a passage from Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* that could communicate everything he had experienced at the hands of his tormentors. He approached the lectern. Audience members began to laugh in anticipation. Adams grew angry. He slammed his copy of Shakespeare's text closed, fixed his gaze on the crowd, and recited the passage from memory, shouting furiously:

Look, sir, my wounds!
I got them in my country's service, when,
Some certain of your brethren roar'd and ran
From the noise of our own drums.

Adams increased his intensity:

You common cry of curs! whose breath I hate
As reed o' the rotten fens . . .
For you, the city, thus I turn my back:
There is a world elsewhere. (Ibid, 109)

“There is a world elsewhere.” This ability of Shakespeare's words to give credence or voice to individuals feeling the sting of oppression and marginalization at the hands of their own countrymen, while at the same time, serve as a form of resistance without causing offense, lies at the very root of Shakespearean adaptation

and appropriation in America. If one can speak truth to power, to curse one's oppressors without being held accountable for the words spoken perhaps hearts and minds can open to new possibilities. And like Caliban, the ability to speak the language of the oppressor comes with at least one fringe benefit: one can curse and be clearly understood. This effect was not lost on Adams' teachers and classmates. It is said that when Adams finished, he returned to his seat without another word, while the students began clapping, pounding their shoes, and shouting compliments, "Adams!" they cried, "You'll make the best speaker of us all!" One student shouted at the end of the meeting: "Coriolanus angry is surely better than Oedipus scared!" (Ibid, 109).

Though John Adams was only the second U.S. president to be held captive by Shakespeare's writing, First Lady, Abigail Adams, was perhaps an even more devout Bardolator than her husband. Their son, John Quincy Adams recounts that an edition of Shakespeare, "had been on my mother's nursery table and at ten years of age I was as familiarly acquainted with his lovers and his clowns, as with Robinson Crusoe, the Pilgrim's Progress and the Bible" (Levine 16). But then came the ideological paradox that Shakespeare's *Othello* would present to an eighteenth century Abigail Adams and to nineteenth century U.S. politics. Though a devout Christian and possessor of "the liberal mind," reading *Othello* and seeing the play acted out onstage were two very different experiences, an experience that would rock Abigail Adams to her core. On March 4th, 1786, Abigail Adams attended a performance of *Othello* in London.

Though performed by a white actor in blackface, for an American, who's very existence was predicated on a culture of institutionalized slavery, Othello and Desdemona's relationship represented a "revolting" union, in every sense of the word. Not only was Adams disgusted by the thought of a black man being with a white woman, that same fear of miscegenation and the emancipation of African American men, would incite southern Democrats into "revolting" against the Union itself, instigating the Secession of the South.

As Wernor Sollors notes in his book *Interracialism: Black-white Intermarriage in American History, Literature, and Law* (Oxford University Press, 2000) "Mrs. Adams's perceptions were too close to the era's racial views to be dismissed as exemplifying only her unique view. She wrote to a friend that she was disturbed by 'the sooty appearance of the Moor. . . . I could not separate the African color from the man, nor prevent that disgust and horror which filled my mind every time I saw him touch the gentle Desdemona; nor did I wonder that Brabantio thought some love potion or some witchcraft had been practiced to make his daughter fall in love with what she scarcely dared to look upon'" (Sollors 82).

Even in the nascent United States, Shakespeare's *Othello* laid bare the founders' true beliefs surrounding race in America, although Abigail Adams would regret the feelings that seeing *Othello* invoked within her, as Sollors explains, "She needed to remember that there was something estimable in every human being," that

“The liberal mind,” she reminded herself, “regards not what nation or climate it springs up in, not what color or complexion the man is” (Sollors 83). Yet still, the central paradox that was so difficult to come to terms with for Abigail Adams’ liberal mind, was after all, the foundational paradox of the United States of America: How could one truly claim that, “all men are created equal,” as stated in the Declaration of Independence, in a country that was built upon the institutions of slavery, plantation culture, with an aristocratic social order that decried racial amalgamation and upward social mobility?

Despite the internal conflict Abigail Adams experienced at the 1786 production of *Othello* in London, thirty-five years earlier, in New York, the first known production of *Othello* on American soil did not cause any overt racial controversy, at least in the historical record. The performance took place in December of 1751 at Robert Upton’s Nassau Street Theatre in New York City. There are no existing reviews or first hand accounts to describe the performance nor the audience reception of the play. All that is known is the fact that audience members could sit in the box, pit, or gallery. The advertisement in the New York Gazette read, “By his Excellency’s Permission . . . will be presented by a new Company of Comedians, a Tragedy, Call’d *Othello*, Moor of Venice; to which will be added, a Dramatick Entertainmente, wrote by the celebrated Mr. Garriock . . . Boxes 5s. Pitt, 4s. Gallery,

2s.”¹⁴ As Andrew Carlson points out in, “How Othello Became Black: a Cultural History of Shakespeare’s Moor in New York City,” there are a couple of elements worth noting about the Gazette’s advertisement for the first recorded performance of *Othello* in America.

First, Upton’s 1751 advertisement promotes “a Tragedy, Call’d Othello, Moor of Venice,” not “the Tragedy of Othello, the Moor of Venice,” nor is Shakespeare’s name mentioned anywhere at all. Upton assumes a lack of familiarity with one of Shakespeare’s most famous plays to the York Gazette’s readership and with good reason. Early advertisements and reviews for productions of *Othello*, found in New York newspapers, show that many eighteenth-century New Yorkers had never even heard of *Othello* nor had any idea what the play was about (Carlson 21).

As late as February 6, 1793 The Daily Advertiser referred to “a” tragedy of Othello. In contrast to the advertisements of the early nineteenth century that would highlight star Shakespeareans, these ads made no mention of the man playing Othello. A reviewer of Othello in The Time Piece wrote in November of 1797 that not only was he unfamiliar with the play, but that “last evening was the first time I ever visited a theatre for the representation of plays”. (Ibid, 22)

¹⁴ Advertisement, New York Gazette, December 23, 1751. The original capitalization and spellings are maintained in this quotation. For a description of this space and the theater at John Street, see A.M. Nagler, *A Source Book in Theatrical History: Twenty-five centuries of stage history in more than 300 basic documents and other primary material* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1952)

Although not as stringent as the laws and culture of late-eighteenth century Massachusetts that levied fines on theater audience members and actors alike, these early performances of *Othello* in New York do reflect the largely hostile attitudes most eighteenth century Americans held towards Theater in general. The performances of Shakespeare's *Othello* had to be justified as having "moral value," by serving as a lesson in the dangers of jealousy, or to serve as a venue for charitable christian fundraising endeavors, in order for its attendance to be deemed "socially acceptable behavior." A 1762 New York Mercury advertisement stated that *Othello* would be performed "for the benefit of such poor families as are not provided for by the public."¹⁵ As Carlson explains, *Othello* was not advertised as a form of entertainment in and of itself, but as a performance staged as an act of social service, for the common good of the community (Ibid, 22).

In the halls of government however, in both England and in the American colonies, Shakespeare was being put to a very different sort of social service, not quite as philanthropic as in the theaters of 1762 New York City. In England, Shakespeare was being nationalized and converted into a symbol of, and justification for, British imperial expansionism and white supremacy. Instead of raising money for the poor, both *Macbeth* and *Othello* were being employed as tools for negotiating and consolidating English power, while at the same time, subjugating and racializing the indigenous populations of eighteenth century America (Dobson 193).

¹⁵ Advertisement, The New York Mercury, February 1, 1762.

Empires are built on foundational myths of national and or racial superiority. As pointed out repeatedly in Kiki Gounaridou's *Staging Nationalism: Essays on Theatre and National Identity*, the Theater has always been used as a vehicle to reinforce and reinvent the mythical stories that create a nation's identity. For the British empire, As Michale Dobson describes in *Fairly Brave New World: Shakespeare, the American Colonies, and the American Revolution*, by the time of the American Revolution, the "nationalist culture of the English Enlightenment" had already begun to emancipate Shakespeare from the feudal past, which would later pave the way for his naturalization in the United States, while at the same time, the English began to employ Shakespeare in their public discourse in order to reinvent and reinvigorate British imperial expansion (Dobson 190).

All of this culminated at the Stratford Shakespeare Jubilee of 1769, where Britain celebrated the transformation of a mythical Shakespeare-as-national playwright into a symbol that would represent the range and profundity of England's global influence. The Jubilee served as a venue for England to publicly recognize and re-constitute itself into a fully imperial power (Ibid, 191). Essayists, poets, and composers, created odes, ballads, and other performative works dedicated to Shakespeare, reaffirming the greatness of Britannia's ingenious national treasure, who's works on which the sun would never set. Some of the presentations at the Jubilee referenced America and painted Shakespeare as her conqueror.

Most importantly for the future status of Shakespeare in the United States, the frequent allusions to this growing empire made in the course of contemporary paeans to the Bard often point specifically to the American continent - unsurprisingly, given the struggles then in progress for dominion over Canada and Louisiana. The rousing conclusion of William Havard's "ODE to the Memory of SHAKESPEARE," for example, performed (to music by Boyce) at Drury Lane on 12 April 1757, triumphantly maps Shakespeare's imaginative daring onto the map of America, its concluding metaphor hymning him, in effect, as a British conqueror of the New World:

SHAKESPEARE, that undaunted Soul,
Leaps into Space, and occupies the Whole
If e'er thy lofty Wing
Too daringly has flown,
'Twas but, Columbus-like,
To find out Worlds unknown.

CHORUS.

Then, Britain, boast that to thy Sons was giv'n
The greatest Genius ever sent from Heav'n! (Ibid, 192)

The identification of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and *Othello* with the British imperial project in America had been taking place long before their actual appearance in the theaters of New York City. In the Spring of 1710, a delegation of dignitaries from the Iroquois Nation traveled to the court of Queen Anne in London, to negotiate

a treaty of mutual cooperation. During the negotiations, the Iroquois were ceremoniously escorted to the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane to attend a performance of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. The sight of the Iroquois dignitaries, sitting in their box seats, dressed in tribal attire, struggling to understand the language of Shakespeare's play, both racialized and marked the Iroquois nobles as uncivilized and culturally inferior, in the eyes of English audience members around them. It also reaffirmed the notion of the superiority of white, English, metropolitan culture to those same spectators who were gazing at them. This sort of performance of British cultural nationalism, that used the plays of William Shakespeare as a form of Native American pageantry, reinforced white power and underscored English cultural dominance. There is a documented pattern of Shakespeare's plays being used ceremoniously by the English, during the ratification of agreements between indigenous nations in the Americas and the imperial British authorities. It became a common practice in the American colonies, once they had acquired theaters of their own (Ibid.)

In 1752, while negotiating a treaty with the Cherokee Nation, the governor of Virginia escorted a delegation of tribal leaders to attend a performance of *Othello* in Williamsburg (Ibid). It is said that audience members were more entertained by the Cherokee dignitaries than by the performance of Shakespeare's play.¹⁶ The same

¹⁶ "Incongruous New World," gleefully exclaims Esther Cloudman Dunn over these incidents in 1939, "reflecting at one moment the decorum and politeness of London and at the next confronting and meeting the new and often ludicrous situations of pioneering on a primitive continent. That

scenario occurred on December 14, 1767, when a delegation of nine Cherokee chiefs arrived in New York City to ratify yet another agreement with the British imperial government. During their stay, they too found themselves on display at a production of Shakespeare's *Richard III* at the John Street Theater, much to the surprise and delight of the New York City audience.¹⁷ Even a request to perform a traditional Cherokee war dance was offered and graciously accepted at the event.

The change of attitude toward Shakespeare's plays and their function in American civic life is striking here. In five short years after the first production of *Othello* in America, staged as a charitable event to raise money for the poor for an audience unfamiliar with the play, Shakespeare had now come full circle. Shakespeare returned to New York and the New York stage with authorizing imperial power, in an exotic public display that Bruce McConachie would refer to as the, "Theater of Paternalism," (which would endure in American theatre until 1835) a theater which reaffirmed the superiority of elite, white metropolitan culture, demonstrating that in America, Shakespeare spoke for the English imperial power, and that the cultural capital of Shakespeare, and everything behind that cultural capital, belonged to, constructed, and privileged only the white Anglo identity.¹⁸

Shakespeare should have presided twice at the juxtaposition of these incongruities is quite appropriate."

¹⁷ Dunlap, William, and Tice L. Miller. *A History of American Theatre from Its Origins to 1832*. University of Illinois Press, 2005. 30-31

¹⁸ Bruce McConachie, *Melodramatic Formations: American Theatre and Society 1820-1870* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1992), 15.

Surviving contemporary accounts of these incidents stress with pleasure the Indians' complete inability to understand the plays they witnessed, which for the colonists was clearly part of the desired meaning of the proceedings: Shakespeare's works serve here as definitive tokens of metropolitan culture, the native Americans' uncomprehending exposure to them dramatizing both the power of British culture and its outer limits. (Dobson 193)

Those individuals seated at the outer limits of British culture, other than the Cherokee chieftains, had already been defined and categorized back on December 23, 1751, in the New York Gazette's advertisement for Robert Upton's *Othello*: "Boxes 5s. Pitt, 4s. Gallery, 2s." Box seats were for the elites. The Pit was for the middle classes, and at the very bottom of the food chain was the Gallery, where the masses were on display and gazed upon from above, "which by the early nineteenth century included some women (often prostitutes) and free African Americans" (Carlson 23). The Theater, then, became a mechanism for reproducing the social power structures of the city itself. These wealthy white men hadn't come to the theater to see a performance of Shakespeare, they came to be seen at a performance of Shakespeare, sitting in their seats of power as they performed their social identities in public view, a "performance of the self" (Ibid 153). Even at this nascent stage in American theater history, there, at the intersection of John Street and Nassau, race, language, and empire were all being negotiated, with Shakespeare as the currency, assigning value,

status, and power to some and denying it from others, formalizing the social and racial hierarchies of the greatest of American cities.

As stated in the introduction, when Shakespeare is performed in the United States, each production is haunted by the ghosts of the African slave, the Indigenous American, and the European colonist. All three identities, African American, Indigenous American, and European American were performed and produced in and by early American Theater. In the same way the *form* of the theater in pre revolutionary New York became a mechanism for reproducing the social power structures of the city by physically dividing and organising the theater space into Box, Pit, and Gallery, the *content* of the performances, transformed the theater into what Marvin McAllister refers to as a “laboratory of national identity.” During the period between the war of independence and the early 1830s, a “becoming” U.S. national/cultural identity was emerging through the performance of Shakespeare’s plays. In his essay, “Cultural Identity and Diaspora,” Stuart Hall builds on Franz Fanon's ideas around the process of constructing a postcolonial cultural identity. *In Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon writes,

Colonialism is not simply content to impose its rule upon the present and the future of a dominated country. Colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native’s brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverse logic, it turns to

the past of the oppressed people, and distorts it, disfigures and destroys it” (Fanon 210-11). Hall responds to Fanon with two questions, “Is it only a matter of unearthing that which the colonial experience buried and overlaid, bringing to light the hidden continuities it suppressed? Or is a quite different practice entailed - not the rediscovery but the production of identity? (Hall 224)

For Hall, cultural identity is not something fixed and hidden, to be rediscovered and excavated from a pre colonial past, but rather something actively produced in the present moment. Cultural identity is not so much who we were as who we become after all of the disruption, fracture, relocation, and erasure of being colonized. The construction of cultural identity is not an archaeological project of rediscovery, but a creative project - a re-telling of the past in order to re-position and rewrite a collective and alternative future for the group of people telling the story.

As Benedict Anderson would argue, this retelling or re-construction of a national or cultural imaginary is a scripted and printed process as much as it is a performative one. As Carlson points out in, “How Othello Became Black: a Cultural History of Shakespeare’s Moor in New York City,” whiteness or the white cultural identity in New York was constructed through the language and performance of Shakespeare’s *Othello* by white actors, but also through the popular press, where critics evaluated “legitimate” performances of Othello in comparison to each other,

establishing and equating the “Shakespearean” with “correctness” and “whiteness,” “writing narratives of Othello’s stage history that made stars of actors such as Edmund Kean and Edwin Forrest. In this white history, black association with the bard became abnormal, humorous, and non-Shakespearean” (Carlson 20).

Modern nations have writers to define national life. France has Victor Hugo; Germany has Goethe; Russia has Leo Tolstoy; America has Mark Twain and Herman Melville, and England has William Shakespeare. Yet despite the prominence of these writers, if they were to be ranked by their influence, Shakespeare would be at the top of the list. All of the aforementioned writers, with the exception of Tolstoy,¹⁹ recognized the influence of Shakespeare in their own writing. Hugo, for example, composed an eulogy to Shakespeare that was 400 pages long, presenting him as a proto-Romantic.

²⁰ According to Hugo, Shakespeare’s work is “absolute, sovereign, imperious, eminently solitary, unneighborly, sublime in radiance, absurd in reflection, and must remain without a copy” (Valiunus).

Shakespeare Admirers – Artists

Goethe’s Wilhelm Meister was besotted with theater life and would talk about Shakespeare ad nauseum. While playing the role of Hamlet, Meister believed that the ghost of Hamlet’s father was actually his own dead father’s ghost. According to

¹⁹ Tolstoy is recognized for vehemently disparaging Shakespeare as being a “windbag and nihilist moral trifle” (Valiunus).

²⁰ This representation is Hugo’s recognition of Shakespeare as being a worthy precursor.

Goethe's conversations with Johann Peter Eckermann, if Goethe had been born an Englishman, he would have been unable to write a single word because Shakespeare's work would have been looming over his every thought. When uninformed individuals would disparage Shakespeare's work, Goethe was known for retaliating, stating: "But I cry: Nature! Nature! Nothing is so like Nature as Shakespeare's figures" (Dickson).

The adulation of Shakespeare is complicated for American writers. Melville, in *Hawthorne and His Mosses*, acknowledged the excellence²¹ of Shakespeare, but also argued that Shakespeare's work is not unapproachable, nor is it unique. This led Melville to the conclusion that the so-called "matchless power" of Shakespeare was based on erroneous beliefs and presented a dire hazard for the progressiveness of Republicans, stating: "Believe me, my friends, that men not very much inferior to Shakespeare are this day being born on the banks of the Ohio" (Bersani 138).

Similarly, Ralph Waldo Emerson had to overcome his Puritan antipathy to the stage to embrace Shakespeare's works. Early in his career, Emerson was noted for decrying Shakespeare's "moral turpitude," yet he would eventually develop a passionate admiration for Shakespeare's work. In Emerson's 1850 essay, *Shakespeare; or, the Poet*, which was published in *Representative Men*, he noted that Shakespeare could be considered the best dramatist in the world, but this observation would diminish his true magnificence as being a thinker. Emerson stated, "But it turns out that what he has to say is of that weight as to withdraw some attention from the vehicle . . . And

²¹ Another common term used was "pre-eminence."

the importance of this wisdom of life sinks the form as of Drama or Epic, out of notice” (Emerson 94).

Yet, Emerson, in that same essay, also chastised Shakespeare for using confections and entertainments to tarnish his gift of intellect. Shakespeare’s *Twelfth Night* and *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* are, per Emerson, rightful derisory objects and there will be an eventual “poet-priest” to recognize the seriousness of the writing – all of which shows Emerson’s Puritanical streak (Elandt).

One of the most famous Shakespearean appearances in American literature can be found in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885) by Mark Twain, in which the pair of boys believe²² themselves to be the Duke of Bridgewater and the Dauphin of France. The elder boy further believes himself to be Edmund Kean and the younger boy, David Garrick. With these imaginings, the boys put on a production of their adaptation of prominent Shakespearean scenes in an Arkansas river town.²³ Hamlet’s famous soliloquy was memorized by Huck Finn and the Duke rehearsed it with brio: “All through his speech he howled, and spread around and swelled up his chest, and just knocked the spots out of any acting ever I see before” (Twain, *Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians: And Other Unfinished Stories*). According to the Duke, the most celebrated thing in Shakespeare is

To be, or not to be; that is the bare bodkin . . . That makes calamity of
so long life; . . . For who would fardels bear, till Birnam Wood do

²² In this context, *believe* refers to pretending or imagining.

²³ It has been argued that this town has a working-class population and may indicate low literacy.

come to Dunsinane, . . . But that the fear of something after death . . .
Murders the innocent sleep, . . . Great nature's second course, . . . And
makes us rather sling the arrows of outrageous fortune . . . Than fly to
others that we know not of. (Cantor; Twain, *Huck Finn and Tom
Sawyer among the Indians: And Other Unfinished Stories*)

Most of the dozen Arkansans leave prior to the end of the performance, which
put a damper on the expectation of box-office gold by the main characters. As
Shakespeare did not appear to be effective, another performance was scheduled to
meet the mental caliber of the townspeople. As the handbill states that women and
children would not be admitted, the place was packed. In this case, the Duke
rolled up the curtain, and the next minute the king come a-prancing out
on all fours, naked; and he was painted all over,
ring-streaked-and-striped, all sorts of colors, as splendid as a rainbow .
. . The people most killed themselves laughing (Twain, *Huck Finn
and Tom Sawyer among the Indians: And Other Unfinished Stories*)

The audience gawked in wonderment and demanded two encores. Twain assesses the
readiness of the American heartland for high culture, which knows no better
representative than William Shakespeare (Stovall; Twain, *Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer
among the Indians: And Other Unfinished Stories*).

Shakespeare's Admirers – Statesmen

Some of the greatest statesmen of America have also been known for being some of the greatest bardoitors in America. For example, in the foreword to *Shakespeare in America* (2014), Bill Clinton wrote that George Washington took a break during the 1787 Constitutional Convention to participate²⁴ in *The Tempest* (Clinton). Thomas Jefferson²⁵ and John Adams,²⁶ on the other hand, visited Shakespeare's birthplace, where Jefferson reacted by kissing the floor and Adams cut a sliver from Shakespeare's chair.²⁷ Adams also encouraged John Quincy Adams, his son, to study Shakespeare, which would offer the man invaluable lessons regarding, "the Treachery Perfidy Treason Murder Cruelty Sedition and Rebellions of rival and unbalanced factions, if he can keep his Gravity and his attention from being diverted by the Gaiety and Drollery of Falstaff" (Valiunus; Frey).

Years later, John Quincy Adams would remark that he had been reading Shakespeare for "at least three score years" (Frey). In fact, he published an essay – *The Character of Desdemona* – in 1835, a moralizing rant on Desdemona and miscegenation. Eventhough Adams was a known abolitionist, when it came to the interracial relationship of Othello and Desdemona, all bets were off. To President Adams, *Othello* should be read as proof "that the intermarriage of black and white

²⁴ In this context, *participate* could simply mean being an audience member.

²⁵ Jefferson was noted for worshipping Shakespeare.

²⁶ Adams was noted for being a pilgrim.

²⁷ Although there is no verifiable documentation, the chair in question is believed to be Shakespeare's from verbal reports.

blood is a violation of the law of nature" (Adams 2). Jefferson and the Adamses were raised in circumstances that would be considered privileged, while Abraham Lincoln, on the other hand, obtained his education using whatever methods and materials he had available.

According to Lincoln, one of the most valuable things that he ever obtained was a copy of the complete works of Shakespeare.²⁸ In the aforementioned foreword, Clinton wrote that "Shakespeare never stopped speaking to him [Lincoln] and through him." In fact, Lincoln was the closest thing to what Melville imagined as a backwater Shakespeare emerging from nondescript places. When making his judicial circuit rounds, Lincoln took his copy of the works of Shakespeare. This continued even as Lincoln was in the White House, where his son remembered his father always having a copy of the works of Shakespeare in hand. Also in the White House, John Hay listened to the midnight declamations of Lincoln's favorite Shakespearean passages (Anderegg). Notably, Lincoln, in his first inaugural address, quoted *Hamlet*. However, his favorite play, interestingly considering later events, was *Macbeth* (Kinsley). With considerable irony, Lincoln's assassin, John Wilkes Booth, was cast as Antony in a performance of *Julius Caesar*, alongside his two brothers, which was hailed as being "the greatest theatrical event in New York history" (Teague). The take from the box-office assisted in financing the statue of Shakespeare that is still standing in Central Park and few today know of the infamy of the benefactor or that

²⁸ Obtaining the works of Shakespeare was especially important in the case of Lincoln because he obtained very few books in his youth.

Booth, on the day of the assassination, wrote a letter addressed “To My Countrymen,” which was intended for publication in the newspaper. In this letter, Booth also used the language of Shakespeare:

When Caesar had conquered the enemies of Rome and the power that
was his menaced the liberties of the people, Brutus arose and slew
him. The stroke of his dagger was guided by his love for Rome. It was
the spirit and ambition of Caesar that Brutus struck at. 'O then that we
could come by Caesar's spirit, . . . And not dismember Caesar! But
alas! . . . Caesar must bleed for it!' (J. W. Booth)

Political murder in modern times has rarely occurred with such command of Shakespeare's language (Schanzer). Following Lincoln's assassination, there was a decline in Shakespearean enthusiasm in American statesmen. As a lieutenant serving in the 1846 Mexican War, Ulysses Grant was dragooned into playing Desdemona in a production of *Othello* put forth by the U.S. Army, but an actress supplanted him prior to the performance, sparing him humiliation. John F. Kennedy, in 1961, hosted a White House presentation of Shakespearean gems, speaking of Shakespeare as being “an American playwright” – which was only partly untrue (Schanzer; Shinagel).

Shakespearean Adaptations in America

Actors, directors, and musical theater composers in America have all adopted Shakespeare into their work or have engaged in Shakespearean adaptations to

challenge the beliefs held by American audience members for more than two centuries. In 1922, John Barrymore produced an innovative *Hamlet* that foregrounded the play's oedipal themes. In 1936, Orson Welles, in conjunction with the Federal Theatre Project²⁹ and the Harlem New York Negro Unit, produced a version of *Macbeth*, known as the "Voodoo Macbeth" that opened at the Lafayette Theater on 137th Street and Seventh Avenue in Harlem. A young James Baldwin was in the audience. Yet, as Peter Erickson points out in "Black Characters in Search of an Author," Two elements in the production actually dovetailed to reinforce the problem of black stereotyping rather than to deconstruct it: the decision to stage *Macbeth* in Haiti and Wells' use of themes from Eugene O'Neal's *the Emperor Jones* (1920).

The Haitian connection refers us not to the inspiring moment of the successful revolution led by Toussaint L'Ouverture against the French colonial power in 1804 and the establishment of an independent black republic, but rather points to the later moment of collapse under Henri Christophe. Instead of a symbol of black freedom and hope, Haiti then becomes an emblem of political failure. The opportunity to play Shakespeare is thus crossed, through the association with Haiti, with the enactment of black defeat; while at the same time that black actors are elevated by entry into the Shakespearian realm, they are diminished by an image of their inability to handle their freedom which in turn keeps them in their racialized place. This dimension is compounded by the exoticism derived from *Emperor Jones*, including the use of

²⁹ This project was part of the New Deal.

drumming, that creates ‘a sort of Brutus Jones Macbeth’ and makes Orson Wells the self proclaimed King of Harlem” (Erickson 224).

Orson Wells was able to see a parallel between the Coup d'état in Shakespeare's "Scottish Play" and the Haitian revolution. Yet Wells' answer to the central dramaturgical question, "Why Macbeth in Harlem in 1936?" was found wanting for some audience members, and in many ways, recolonized rather than liberated a burgeoning black consciousness in the United States. For James Baldwin, Wells' "Voodoo Macbeth" only underscored the impossibility of an African American actor ever identifying with or finding a place within any sort of Shakespearian tradition. Baldwin claimed to only discover that instead, he realized that he was kind of a "bastard of the West," that Shakespeare did not contain his history, nor did it belong to Baldwin in any way. The production only alienated Baldwin further as he wrote, "I might search in them in vain forever for any reflection of myself. I was an interloper; this was not my heritage" (Erickson 223).

Haiti, Harlem, and Macbeth, three elements converging in perhaps what Cuban Anthropologist Fernando Ortiz would call a "failed transculturation," or at least for Baldwin, the production had failed to unite and illuminate cultural similarities but rather made the impossibility of their union and cultural difference even more pronounced. For theater history, the production was at first considered problematic, then later proved to be an overwhelming success and became a watershed moment in American Theater history. As theatrical practitioners, the

lessons we took away from Wells' *Macbeth*, was an intention to confront what could easily be deemed stereotypical depictions of character and scenario by setting our own *Macbeth* in the world of Mexico's warring narco cartels, and to attempt to invert and subvert those depictions by staying true to the interpersonal and familiar motivations of each character, and to remain true to the dramatic arch of the story, ensuring that every character was fundamentally changed by the events that took place.

In 2008, José A. Esquea and Teatro LA TEA staged an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* titled *Macbeth 2029* at The Clemente in New York city. In his essay "A Post-Apocalyptic *Macbeth*: Teatro LA TEA's *Macbeth 2029*," Esquea writes about his frustrations early in his career that stemmed from not being able to find a place for himself on the Shakespearian stage as an actor of color. If he wanted to see more Shakespearian roles for people of color, then he would have to create those roles or direct the play himself. Much like Baldwin before him in Harlem, Esquea could not see a possibility for himself anywhere within the established Shakespearian theatrical tradition. To embrace Shakespeare, he would have to create his own Shakespeare. He states that, "Power is not transferred without revolution, which begins with the mastery of the oppressor's language. The next step is to proclaim that art belongs to everyone. We cannot wait for our oppressors to hand us the opportunity to perform in the classics. We have to create these opportunities for ourselves" (Esquea 135). Esquea's *Macbeth 2029* was a thoroughly multicultural production,

from its cast to its technical crew. Set in a post-apocalyptic world with remnants of a Scottish past such as kilts, the script maintained the original English text in a monolingual Shakespearian production. Groundbreaking in its diversity, Esquea's *Macbeth 2029* allowed opportunities for actors of color to act in *Macbeth*, staged in an unconventional context.

We admired the amount of diversity in Teatro LA TEA's casting choices. We would incorporate this practice into our own casting for *Marqués*. *Marques* was played by a Filipino American actor, the murders were Chinese and Mexican American women, Duncan was Hawaiian, and so on. Beyond multicultural casting, our largest challenge with the bilingual script we had written, was making sure the actors could navigate the Spanish language and the subtleties of the modismos and would not end up becoming an example of "brownface," through poorly executed Spanish or affected, accented English. We looked for examples of successfully executed multilingual *Macbeths*. One of the most interesting to us, was another post-apocalyptic adaptation of *Macbeth* directed by Paul T. Mitri of UH Manoa's Theater Arts Department.

Not only was Mitri's production multiethnic, it was strikingly multilingual. Staged at the Kennedy theater at UH Manoa, on Oahu, Mitri's multilingual world of *Macbeth* was constructed through language. The witches spoke several languages. The clan Macduff spoke Russian. Duncan and his men spoke Japanese. Both Gaelic and Arabic

were used for the nurse and the doctor, and the Macbeths were bilingual Spanish and English speakers. In the scene with Macbeth, Baquo, and the witches:

Enter Macbeth and Banquo.

MACBETH. so foul and fair a day I have not seen.

BANQUO. How far is't call'd to Forres? Nanda are wa,

So wither'd and so wild in the attire,

Kono yo no monotomo omowarenga,

Tashika ni soko ni oru?-Live you or are you aught

That man may question?

MACBETH. Habla, if you can: ¿qué eres?

FIRST WITCH. ¡Gloria a Macbeth! gloria a ti, noble de Glamis!

ALL. Hail to thee, thane of Glamis!

SECOND WITCH. ¡Gloria a Macbeth! ¡gloria a ti, noble de Cawdor !

ALL. Hail to thee thane of Cawdor!

THIRD WITCH. Gloria a Macbeth, tu serás rey de aquí en adelante.

ALL. All hail, Macbeth, that shalt be king here after.

Below, is the same passage from Marqués:

TODAS. ¡Hermanas fatídicas, enlacemos las manos! ¡Mensajeras de la tierra

y

del mar, giremos, giremos! . . . Tres vueltas por ti, y tres por mí, y otras
tres para
que sean nueve. ¡Silencio! . . .

(They crouch down, observing. Enter Marqués and Paco. Paco notices them.

He

draws a small pistol and points it at the sisters.)

MARQUÉS. Where were you hiding that?

PACO. Don't ask. (to sisters) Show me your hands! Enseñenme las manos!

(The sisters neither move nor speak. Paco slowly inches towards them. They
do

not regard him at all. Their eyes are fixed on Marqués.)

PACO. How far is it to Todos Santos? . . . (Beat) Me entienden?

(Each of the sisters raises a finger to her lips.)

MARQUÉS. Señoritas, Disculpen la molestia, we do not mean to be rude,
we're

just lost. Do you know the way to Todos Santos?

BRUJA 1. (stands) Salve Marqués . . . Hail to thee, señor de Las Animas.

BRUJA 3. (stands) Salve Marqués . . . Hail to thee, señor de Los Cabos.

BRUJA 2. (stands) Salve Marqués . . . that shall be king and head of the
largest

cartel en México.

(Bruja 3 walks up to Marqués)

BRUJA 3. (whispers in Marqués' ear) Or die tonight, at the hand of don David

...

(She caresses the back of Marqués' hair. He goes pale. Paco points his pistol

at

her.)

In both passages much of the same information is communicated. Both employ forms of interlingual code switching, such as beginning a sentence in one language and finishing it in another language, or a statement that is made in one language then repeated in the other language. In the passage from *Marqués*, the Spanish spoken by Marqués is quite different from the language Paco uses. It tells us a great deal about their backgrounds and social status. As our objective was to say something different about Marqués' character, the fatal sisters warn him that Don David (Duncan) is about to kill him that very night. This knowledge changes Macbeth's motivation from "vaulting ambition" to self preservation, which would later make Doña Marqués' character more sympathetic (Lady Macbeth) as she and her husband are in a position where they are forced into fighting for their own survival. We wanted to place the Macbeths in a situation where the only choice was between something bad and something worse.

In 1937, Welles would produce *Julius Caesar* (playing the role of Brutus himself) to warn American audiences of fascism on the march in Europe. In the following years, Welles played the title roles of Macbeth and Othello, as well as directed himself in the 1966 *Chimes at Midnight*.³⁰

In 1943, Paul Robeson would become the first black actor to perform the leading role of *Othello* on Broadway. The show ran for 296 performances - the longest running production of Shakespeare in the history of the “Great White Way.” Popular Hollywood actors have also played Shakespearean characters: Marlon Brando (Antony), Al Pacino (Shylock), Laurence Fishburne (Othello), Keven Kline (Hamlet and Bottom), Ethan Hawke (Hamlet and Iachimo), Leonardo DiCaprio (Romeo), and Claire Danes (Juliet) (Boose and Burt; Burt and Boose; Lev and Welsh; Keller and Stratyner).

Director Michael Almereyda is known for his contemporary version of *Hamlet* starring Ethan Hawke. In this version, the hero is expected to inherit a multinational corporation based in Manhattan yet prefers a life of cinema. The film student in the movie videotapes the soliloquy while using various suicidal poses, but then reprises the soliloquy while in a video store. In this version, Cymbeline is also reconceived as a motorcycle gang caught up in a police shakedown feud, rather than warfare between the Britons and the Romans. According to critics, however, the

³⁰ This film was recognized as being one of the greatest hits of Falstaff.

concept did not pack enough power and fizzled out into an action movie that was mediocre at best (Lev and Welsh; Keller and Stratyner).

Julie Taymor has been recognized for her adaptation of *The Lion King* (which itself is an adaptation of Hamlet) that was performed on Broadway. She was more successful than Almereyda in the context of creative anachronism in her 1999 film, *Titus*. Taymor capitalized on a cavalcade of the unspeakable in what some would call a slasher movie, showing the Roman imperial world and street violence of fascist Italy in the 20th century. According to Taymor, *Titus Andronicus* is one of the greatest works by Shakespeare. Conversely, it is frequently considered to be one of his worst, but Taymor was laser-focused on the full realization of the play, perhaps more than any of the film-based adaptations and it paid off. Taymor also adapted Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (2010), replacing Prospero with Prospera. This choice was not a publicity stunt, political manifesto, nor an empty-handed gesture towards feminism (Lev and Welsh; Keller and Stratyner) and was very appropriate, if one considers Prospero's meta-textual "Farewell to Magic" speech that Shakespeare borrowed from Medea in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

Here is the English translation of the Ovid:

. . . ye Elves of Hilles, of Brookes, of Woods alone,
Of standing Lakes, and of the Night approche ye everychone
Through helpe of whom (the crooked bankes much wondring at the thing)
I have compelled streames to run cleane backward to their spring.
By charmes I make the calme Seas rough, and make the rough Seas plaine,
And cover all the Skie with Cloudes and chase them thence againe. . . .
By charmes I raise and lay the windes, and burst the Vipers jaw.
And from the bowels of the Earth both stones and trees doe draw.

Whole woods and Forestes I remove. I make the Mountaines shake,
 And even the Earth it selfe to grone and fearfully to quake.
 I call up dead men from their graves: and thee O lightsome Moone
 I darken oft, though beaten brasse abate thy perill soone.
 Our Sorcerie dimmes the Morning faire, and darkes the Sun at Noone.
 The flaming breath of firie Bulles ye quenched for my sake
 And caused their unwieldie neckes the bended yoke to take.
 Among the Earthbred brothers you a mortall war did set . . .
 (Book 7 Line 265 – 280)

And here is Shakespeare's version:

Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes and groves,
 And ye that on the sands with printless foot
 Do chase the ebbing Neptune and do fly him
 When he comes back; you demi-puppets that
 By moonshine do the green sour ringlets make,
 Whereof the ewe not bites, and you whose pastime
 Is to make midnight mushrooms, that rejoice
 To hear the solemn curfew; by whose aid,
 Weak masters though ye be, I have bedimm'd
 The noontide sun, call'd forth the mutinous winds,
 And 'twixt the green sea and the azured vault
 Set roaring war: to the dread rattling thunder
 Have I given fire and rifted Jove's stout oak
 With his own bolt; the strong-bas'd promontory
 Have I made shake and by the spurs pluck'd up
 The pine and cedar: graves at my command
 Have waked their sleepers, oped, and let 'em forth
 By my so potent art. But this rough magic
 I here abjure, and, when I have required
 Some heavenly music, which even now I do,
 To work mine end upon their senses that
 This airy charm is for, I'll break my staff,
 Bury it in the earth,
 And deeper than did ever plummet sound
 I'll drown my book (Temp.V.ii.42-66).

Meanwhile, on Broadway, Shakespeare's plays have been adapted into musicals with catchy tunes,³¹ many of which have become classics in their own right.

American Shakespeareans

For centuries, Shakespearean criticism has been an English tradition, producing thinkers such as A.C. Bradley, John Dryden, Harley Granville-Barker, Alexander Pope, William Hazlitt, Samuel Johnson, and Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Today, Shakespearean criticism is renowned for its American critics as well, especially Harold Bloom.³² Allan Bloom saw Henry V as being a legitimate hero, in contrast to Harold Bloom's beatification of the coward, Falstaff, and trashing Henry V as a warmonger (Shandler). Allan Bloom led Leo Strauss'³³ students through one of the most fascinating re-readings of Shakespeare in contemporary times. Never before had it been seen that Shakespeare was not focused on being an entertainer. Instead, it was emphasized that the works of Shakespeare offered profundity and intention, requiring delicate re-readings, such as the works of Machiavelli, Plato, Bacon, or Aristotle. There is also David Bevington, responsible for compiling what has been

³¹ Rodgers and Hart adapted *The Comedy of Errors* to *The Boys From Syracuse* (1938); Porter adapted *The Taming of the Shrew* to *Kiss Me, Kate* (1948); Bernstein and Sondheim adapted *Romeo and Juliet* to *West Side Story* (1957).

³² Bloom notoriously argued that Falstaff is the greatest creation by Shakespeare.

³³ Strauss was a recognized political philosopher.

called one of the most popular editions of the collected works of Shakespeare and has also contributed to the Folger Shakespeare Library editions (Bloom).³⁴

Andrea Mays wrote a biography of Henry Folger, the man responsible for founding the Folger Shakespeare Library in 1932, and credits Bevington with instigating the biography through sponsoring her application to read in the exclusive library, in which there are voluminous archives of all things Shakespeare. Folger may be one of the most significant American Shakespeareans ever in the sense that he acquired what he truly desired, acting as Charles Foster Kane did, amassing an unmatched collection of Shakespeareana for a memorial worthy of the one he considered to be the greatest writer in the world (Mays). Folger, according to Mays, was recognized for being an “oddity.”³⁵ While the scholar or actor may debate whether the playwright has “ownership” over the text she or he wrote, collectors like Folger only desire “ownership” of the playwright. Folger has an American story contrary to the familiar morality tale of the robber baron who squanders his riches and ruins lives. Though many Americans wish for pharaonic wealth, it is also recognized that it is not socially acceptable to have their wealth consume them.³⁶ Folger, on the

³⁴ These editions were mass-market paperbacks. They featured useful glosses on the left-hand page to accompany the text on the right-hand page. As a result, these editions earned a strong academic following.

³⁵ In this context, Mays noted that Folger’s actions were like those of a hoarder, representing the impulse of an obsession.

³⁶ This is in relation to the popular adage – Money buys happiness. Instead, because of the social acceptability “clause,” the argument is more of – Can’t money buy happiness? – yet also argues that it may be impossible for happiness to be complete without having enough money to fulfill urgent wishes. Thus, money and happiness exist in a paradox under these assumptions and arguments, where one cannot exist without the other.

other hand, recognized that his happiness was intimately tied to his wealth and, through the Folger Library, the cultural wealth garnered by his material wealth is now rationed out to those with the literary passion or expertise that makes them worthy to enter the institution (Mays).

Mays also tells a very American tale about the meaning of money, through the viewpoint of William Shakespeare. According to Mays, Shakespeare was an entrepreneur, aspiring to become an entertainment conglomerate of himself:

In other words, he was an author, actor, producer, co-owner of the acting company, and co-owner of the theater that sold the tickets. Thus Shakespeare prefigured the economic vertical integration that characterizes much of the modern entertainment industry. (Mays 53)

Under this perception, Shakespeare was the hardest-working individual in show business, which, at the time, was already becoming a highly competitive space. Mays considers Shakespeare as a businessman, indifferent to what many call his literary greatness: arguing instead that Shakespeare produced a steady income flow through keeping his audience amused, which was his primary concern.³⁷

Folger, on the other hand, understood very well the prestige and power that comes through the ownership of Shakespeare. He wanted to build a colossus of learning and succeeded in doing so. The Folger Library is composed of 1,400 copies

³⁷ Based on Mays' perception, it could be surmised that Shakespeare viewed his work as being either on the same level as or just above bear-baiting.

in 9,700 volumes of the collected works of William Shakespeare, as well as 82 original *First Folio* copies, each unique in some way. In this aspect, no other library in the world matches the Folger Library in terms of the number of Shakespeare's first folios or quartos in their possession. Folger's scrutiny was legendary and none of the volumes were even remotely dubious. Folger also created a specialty collection of books that belonged to famous people,³⁸ but when a book that was touted as being owned by President Lincoln was offered to Folger, Folger declined to purchase it. His reasoning was that, when examining *Macbeth*, the pages were pristine and Folger was well aware that this was Lincoln's favorite play, often re-read (Grant).³⁹ The Folger Library is also home to ancillary sub-specialties that were based on different categories. Shakespeare's Sources were especially important.⁴⁰ Over 5,000 volumes in the Folger Library contain allusions, which could be as short as a phrase, to Shakespeare or the works of Shakespeare. Within its vaults, the Folger Library has some 250,000 playbills of Shakespearean productions (Grant; Mays).

Life of a Nation

The opening of the Folger Library on April 23, 1932 marked the 316 anniversary of the death of Shakespeare, and was commemorated by a speech from

³⁸ Reportedly, Folger had books owned and read by Abraham Lincoln, King George III, John Adams, Queen Victoria, George Washington, Edwin Booth, David Garrick, and Walt Whitman. For those books owned by directors, they were notable for the handwritten notes in the margins.

³⁹ As a result, it can be argued that Folger did not believe that the book was owned by Lincoln at all.

⁴⁰ Source material examples include *Lives of the Noble Greeks and Romans* by Plutarch; *English History* by Holinshed; a virtually unknown playwright's (Greene) work because of being the source for *The Winter's Tale*.

Joseph Quincy Adams – the first director of research at the Library – regarding Shakespeare and American culture. According to Adams, Washington DC had become a city of monuments, where the three most significant⁴¹ were to those considered to be the “three greats” – Washington, Lincoln, and Shakespeare. Adams also noted that these “three greats” are the ones universally worshipped by Americans and that no others would, or even could, be added to this group of “greats.” Adams took further liberties, stating that Shakespeare in America was regarded as revered even more so than in England, with Americans having the greatest knowledge and appreciation for Shakespeare's work (Grant; Mays).

Chapter 2: Northern and Southern Shakespeare

(& the Production of an American Identity)

After years of turmoil in the Baja, Central México, and the Yucatán, the surviving members of our family regrouped in Mexico City for one final act of rebellion. México had grown too small, running was no longer sustainable, and even if it were and we somehow managed to survive the journey to the North, we would only be taken into custody then sent back to México and our certain deaths. Our patrón had already been castrated, tied to a chair, his genitals stuffed into his mouth, then set on fire beneath the overpass at *El Tule* in Los Cabos. Now, it was only a matter of *when*, not if, the rest of us would be found, captured, tortured, then murdered in the most horrific ways the ones pursuing us could imagine. Neither time

⁴¹ This significance was evident by the size, conspicuousness, beauty, and dignity of the monuments.

nor distance can negate the stone-cold truth of who truly owns you. Such is the fate of runaway slaves.

We descended on the Zona Rosa during afternoon traffic to conceal our movements and to get close enough to meet our decisive battle at the same location where our troubles had begun nearly two years earlier when our group had been “absorbed” as assets belonging to our new master’s estate - spoils of a war he had fought and won against our former patrón.

It was Ash Wednesday. I remember the black ashes smeared on the foreheads of people walking along *el Paseo de la Reforma* in the morning sunlight. We rounded the Angel of Independence monument in a dispersed stack formation, maintaining 360-degree security as we moved through the crowd, heading toward Florencia and the lobby of our current patrón’s Mexico City hotel.

I can’t remember much of what happened next. I still have memory gaps from the head trauma. But I do remember Miguel screaming when a sea of uniformed officers rushed towards our exposed flank, their weapons at the ready. The impact slammed me onto the pavement, knocking the wind out of me. I covered my head and neck as a mob of *Policía Judicial* beat me unconscious beside a green and white *microbus*. When I regained consciousness, I couldn’t see out of my left eye. My right eye was nearly swollen shut. I was in shackles, naked on my side, lying on top of a drainage grate in the middle of an enclosed concrete courtyard. Men in black tactical

gear pointed M16-A3 service rifles down at me from the walls above. As I lay there bleeding, I whispered four words through cracked and swollen lips, “To die, to sleep . . .”

I only wanted to sleep. I was utterly exhausted with the life I was living. I cannot explain why Shakespeare’s words came out of me at that moment. Besides, I was actually thinking of Othello, not Hamlet, as I laid there on the ground, bound and chained. Othello, a Black man who had once been a soldier, a felon, and a slave.

The Slave Trail of Tears and Shakespeare

On August 20, 1831, Alexandria Virginia was a hub of human trafficking. On this date, in the Franklin & Armfield⁴² slave pens, 200 half-naked men slept in groups of about 12 men each, on the ground. They were bound by shackles and chains, and, upon sunrise, they would be formed into a *coffle*⁴³ that would embark on a 1,200-mile forced march from the slave pens in Virginia to the slave markets in Natchez⁴⁴ and New Orleans. The millions of people who marched in these forced migrations compose what is now known as “The Slave Trail of Tears” (Ball). This forced migration is noted for being over 20 times bigger than the 1830s “Indian removal” campaigns by Andrew Jackson, which led to the original Trail of Tears, where Indigenous Americans were driven out of the southern states of Alabama, Georgia,

⁴² This refers to the Franklin & Armfield slave-trading firm.

⁴³ A *coffle* refers to hundreds of humans (women and children included) chained together.

⁴⁴ Located in Mississippi.

and Mississippi. It was bigger than the 19th century immigration of Jews into America, where approximately 500,000 immigrated from Russia and Eastern Europe. It was also bigger than the wagon migration to the West. This slave migration consumed more people and lasted longer than any other mass-migration in North American history prior to 1900 (Ball). On that very same night, in Southampton County, Virginia, on the plantation of Joseph Travis, Nat Turner walked into the woods with an axe in his hands while Ira Aldridge took to the stage, playing the role of Othello in North Hampton, England.

Studies have shown that the relationship between Shakespeare and America is notoriously ambiguous, where, on the one hand, he is rejected, and, on the other, he is appropriated. The emphasis has focused

on the double paradox of appropriating ‘a poet of the past’ emblematic of the old feudal order in a new democratic nation, and of claiming a poet representative of the old colonial power as an honorary American referred to as ‘our’ Shakespeare. (Vignaux, para.1)

Thus, Shakespeare was considered to be “as American as George Washington” (Sturgess). To this end, Sturgess offers an account of how Americans appropriated Shakespeare during the 19th century in relation to the construction of an American identity, but also noted the provision that Shakespeare was equally popular in long-established cities in the East and booming towns in the Frontier. As Walt Whitman once observed:

It almost seems as if only [. . .] feudalism in Europe, like slavery in our own South, could outcrop types of tallest, noblest personal character yet—strength and devotion and love better than elsewhere—invincible courage, generosity, aspiration, the spines of all. (285)

That slavery created men of the "tallest, noblest personal character," should rightly be questioned, however this viewpoint of the South would flourish and eventually evolve into the myth of the "lost Cause." Yet, during the late 16th and 17th centuries, the slave trade was also flourishing in England, leading to the development of a different sort national identity.

England's Shakespeare and Slavery

There are many elements to slavery, as indicated by the brief story below.

An old woman said that once they were slaves, but now they were free. . . .

The small boy was puzzled. . . . He asked the teacher what was the meaning of slave, and the teacher explained. But it didn't make sense. . . . He told the teacher what the old woman had said. She was a slave. And the teacher said she was getting dotish. It was a long, long, long time ago. . . . And moreover it had nothing to do with people in Barbados. No one there was never a slave, the teacher said. . . . Thank God, he wasn't ever a slave. He or his father or his

father's father. Thank God nobody in Barbados was ever a slave. It didn't sound cruel. It was simply unreal. (Lamming 57)

The Lamming story indicated that, in Barbados in the 1940s, there was much denial, curiosity, bewilderment, and estrangement associated with slavery and the history of slavery. The fullest extent of English participation in the Atlantic slave occurred during the 18th century, but the very beginnings of this participation date back to the 1560s. English colonists in the Caribbean were busy establishing plantation slavery systems, but, in England itself, African slaves were not introduced until the mid-16th century. Generally, slaves were entertainers (both in court and in wealthy households (especially those of merchants) or domestic servants (Fryer; Walvin).

Slavery was noted for being a material practice, but England, many believed it was a land free from slaves. In 1587, William Harrison expressed this misguided belief:

As for slaves and bondmen, we have none; nay, such is the privilege of our country by the especial grace of God and bounty of our princes that if any come hither from other realms, so soon as they set foot on land they become so free of condition as their masters, whereby all note of servile bondage is utterly removed from them. (118)

Even as English culture both denied and promoted slavery, it also had a contradictory understanding of both slaves and slavery. For example, in English society, a circular existence developed, where all but the monarch are subjects, but both subjects and monarch serve the other. Therefore, the words *subject* and *serve* are not associated with pejorative connotations because subjection was not viewed as disgraceful as a result of English culture and the aforementioned circular existence. At the same time, the commodification, where people were viewed as property, did not provoke abhorrence. Rather, there were multiple forms of subjection⁴⁵ that placed restrictions⁴⁶ on people. Enslavement that occurred as a result of a military misadventure and able to be resolved through ransom⁴⁷ was not viewed as disgraceful, but, rather, unfortunate. However, this recognition of the actuality of slavery coexisted with the *natural slave* concept, where this individual is not capable of honor (Slights).

This combination of denial and familiarity, of contempt and pity regarding slavery is evident in early modern drama. In these productions, Plautine slaves are presented as being clever, which enables them to plot and scheme, discomforting their masters and delighting the theater audience. At the same time, references to base, cowardly, lying, murderous, and pernicious slaves are depicted in Shakespeare's plays with insulting language. For example, Tamburlaine enslaves kings, yoking them to his

⁴⁵ Other forms of *subjection* include marriage, apprenticeship and imprisonment.

⁴⁶ The *restrictions* are based on subjection, included property rights, and limited movement.

⁴⁷ Paying money for ransom to recover enslaved victims was a common practice in many parts of England Parish records indicate that collecting money to ransom victims captured and enslaved by "infidel Turks" was a familiar practice in many parts of England (Prager).

chariot, and the word, *slave*, is spoken readily by Hamlet to express his disgust with both Claudius and himself. Despite the inscription of slavery in *Hamlet*, it is effaced and distanced within the plot. In fact, the significance of Hamlet's self-description as being a "peasant slave" and self-recrimination for not "[fattening] all the region kites / With this slave's offal" (Hamlet, II.ii.578-580) is dependent upon its distance from the literal reality. For another example, the Dromio twins beatings and the enslavement of Caliban brings into focus the physical violence that is the very base of slavery, but, even still, these subjugations are located on a remote island or in ancient Ephesus. Thus, on the early modern English stage, slavery occurred far away a long time ago (Cantor). *Othello* offers an example of slavery foregrounding and distancing, as well as the viewing of slaves with contempt and pity.

Chattel slavery, as compared to other types of subjection, is natal alienation and social death for the enslaved. As Patterson states, "because the slave had no socially recognized existence outside of his master, he became a social nonperson. . . . Alienated from all 'rights' or claims of birth, he ceased to belong in his own right to any legitimate social order" (28). Also per Patterson, the antithesis of slavery was belonging,⁴⁸ not autonomy. It has also been argued that a slave is an "'autonomous' stranger who had no family or clan to protect him . . . as a slave" (Davis and Noonan 15). Although the concept of distinct races, as determined by science and biology, did not gain ground until the 19th century, some scholars have noted the emergence of

⁴⁸ In this context, *belonging* also refers to protected.

racism and racist ideas during earlier periods, showing their role in both national and personal identity construction (Bartels). As such, the beginnings of racialized slavery assumptions can be seen as far back as the Renaissance. By no means were *black* and *slave* used interchangeably during the 17th century and "the slave population of Europe consisted of Tartar, Greek, Armenian, Russian, Bulgarian, Turkish, Circassian, Slavonic, Cretan, Arab, African (Mori), and occasionally Chinese (Cathay) slaves" (Loomba). Thus, the early modern formation of personal identity may offer interacting ideas that may lead to complications and illuminations to the history of race, race-making, and racism in America. Even though early modern slavery was not necessarily racialized, slave labor profitability in the Americas led to a need to rationalize the drive for control, the fear of isolation, and the dehumanization of black-skinned Africans that was made possible as a result of the disengaged self.

These attitudes encouraged an understanding of slavery as a product of natural baseness, not a threatening possibility and the slave as being 'socially dead.' While Patterson argues that slavery was constitutive of the freedom ideal,⁴⁹ Slight argues that self-defining subjectivity freedom was constitutive of the racialized slavery ideology. Still, Appiah warns, "if it is clear enough how this ideology that will develop into racialism could serve already in the 17th century to license the

⁴⁹ This argument was based on Patterson's argument that "before slavery, people simply could not have conceived of the thing we call freedom. Men and women in premodern, non-slaveholding societies did not, could not, value the removal of restraint as an ideal" (340).

domination of subject peoples, it is also important to mark the differences” (42).

Although race and slavery would eventually become so intertwined that they would be perceived as being inseparable, during the early 1600s, the two concepts were distinct.

As Taylor pointed out, the rational control ethic led to the internalization of the honor ethic virtues. Moreover, in relation to Descartes generosity, Taylor stated that “the central motive of the honour ethic [means] that strong sense of one’s own worth and honour which pushed men to conquer their fears and baser desires and do great things” (192). Based on this, Slight argues that the fascination of the early modern English regarding slavery is based on a fear that individual autonomy could lead to isolation and that a freedom ideal as a control over the external world and self-objectification could lead to the opposite reaction.

John Locke had his own concept of a disengaged self, which led to freedom, responsibility, and inalienable human rights ideals. As quoted by Davis and Noonan, Locke stated that "slavery is so vile and miserable an Estate of Man, and so directly opposite to the generous Temper and Courage of our Nation, that 'tis hardly to be conceived, that an Englishman, much less a Gentleman, should plead for't" (120–21). However, Locke was also a slave-holding colony administrator, a Royal African Company investor, and wrote that slaves "are by the Right of Nature subjected to the Absolute Dominion and Arbitrary Power of their Masters" (Davis and Noonan 121).

Theorists have argued that the civic humanism tradition is potentially beneficial for addressing political problems and enables the reconciliation of a ‘negative’ freedom concept⁵⁰ with the personal liberty idea realized through public service and civic virtue (Mouffe). The idea of using political participation to obtain freedom can supplement the rights-based liberalism freedom negativity but does not resolve problems created through possessive individualism and the alienation of the disengaged self from objectified others. To summarize this, in the novel by Lamming, the teacher denied that slavery had anything to do with the Barbados people: “It was in another part of the world that those things happened. Not in Little England” (57). The older population remember slavery and the “great and good [Q]ueen” Victoria, who freed the slaves (Lamming 56). However, as Davis and Noonan point out, they do not remember that “it was not the enslavers who colonized and subjected Africa, but the European liberators” (xvii).

America’s Shakespeare and Slavery

According to Levine, Shakespeare was a vital element of 19th century American culture. More importantly, the 19th century was also when Shakespeare was especially popular on stage prior to the relegating of his works to elite culture and print:

⁵⁰ A ‘negative’ freedom concept is one where freedom has no constraints whatsoever.

By the turn of the century Shakespeare had been converted from a popular playwright whose dramas were the property of those who flocked to see them, into a sacred author who had to be protected from ignorant audiences and overbearing actors threatening the integrity of his creations. (Levine 72)

The first documented American professional Shakespearean performance was in 1750 in New York of *Richard III* and occurred at the closing of most, if not all, theaters during the American Revolution. This closing occurred in 1774, but, regardless of this, Shakespeare was the most popular playwright within America. Even after the American Revolution, Shakespeare was noted as being the most popular playwright within America. Despite the increasing adoption of books during the 19th century, the stage was the primary tool to aid Shakespeare's popularity (Levine). Yet, the South, as compared to Puritan New England, had a more open attitude regarding the theater. Moreover, a warmer welcome and more relaxed moral climate was found in the South. This was particularly true in Maryland by Thaiss, who compared the popularity of stage plays to that of other types of popular entertainment.⁵¹ It was also noted that the South played a crucial role in promotion and development of American Theater itself. As Kolin pointed out, "without the hospitable, albeit unsophisticated, audience of Maryland, even the strong companies might have failed, thus setting back for decades the growth of the American theater"

⁵¹ During this time period, popular entertainment included circuses, fairs, and races (Thaiss).

(Philip C Kolin 69). After 1865, Baltimore was transformed into a leading theatrical center because of the sudden popularity of Edwin Booth.⁵² During the 1870s, new productions were performed in Baltimore – a favorite for new productions to be tested prior to transitioning to New York.

As prominent American citizens sent their sons to receive their education in England, these same sons acquired the English taste for theater-going, which transferred back to America when they returned. As a result, the old South had a strong connection to the theater and the bygone time when theater was considered one of the traditional English pleasures available to the Southern gentry.⁵³ However, the 19th century elite were not the only ones to enjoy Shakespeare and “both [the Elizabethan England and the American South] theaters were pluralistic, however aristocratic the society in which they were shaped” (Philip C Kolin 7). The public audience contained merchants, visitors, ladies and gentlemen, small farmers, wealthy planters, and steamboatmen, where the gallery contained those unable to afford better seats⁵⁴ or those disallowed⁵⁵ to go elsewhere.

The *Daily Picayune* in New Orleans emphasized the popularity of Shakespeare more than any other class of performance among the Black population. When considering Shakespeare and the Civil War, it has been found that Shakespeare

⁵² After Lincoln’s assassination by John Wilkes Booth, the younger brother of Edwin Booth, the latter was ashamed to perform in Washington DC and moved venues. However, his popularity increased dramatically as a result of the assassination.

⁵³ This was not the only English pastime acquired by these individuals. Others included dancing, hunting, riding, card playing, and drinking (Nalley).

⁵⁴ These individuals included servants, poor workingmen, apprentices, and servants.

⁵⁵ These included slaves, free (women of color, and prostitutes).

was enlisted to meet the unique purposes of both the North and South (Dickey). For example, Lincoln quoted *Hamlet* during his 1861 Inaugural Address to provide a warning to the South against secession, implying that such an action would be suicidal. Douglass referenced Caesar when writing *My Bondage and My Freedom* in 1855. Both instances indicate that Shakespeare's language was appropriated for a purpose and the original context was reapplied to a unique situation. Based on this, it is understood that the theater was more welcomed in the South, which may have impacted the popularity of plays, including those of Shakespeare, in both regions of America. However, research has shown that this impact did not exist and "favorite plays" were common in both the North and South. In fact, the most popular among both regions were *Romeo and Juliet*, *Othello*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Richard III*, and *Macbeth*. It is also notable that the American and London stages also had no notable differences in their most popular Shakespearean productions. It is assumed that this lack of difference was attributed to the newly-introduced star system (Aronson). In fact, it was noted that tragedies were more attractive in America, as the talents of actors were more suitable for these types of plays, as well as the preference of American audiences for melodrama and the romance woven into American Shakespearean adaptations (Menzer). *Othello* was particularly popular in the South (Hoole). In fact, *Othello* was a favorite across all areas of Southern society because of the "[recognition of Iago as [the] villain and not as the scourge of abhorrent miscegenation, and sympathized with the tragic Othello," (Lower 201). As a result of

this, in the South, it was seen that the theater experience was separate from daily life, which meant that it was possible for the coexistence of both the institution of slavery and the popularity of *Othello* because of the presumption that the context of the play was not only considered as being an art form, but also as something that occurred in another time period and in a distant place (Orkin, "Othello and the " Plain Face" of Racism"). Carlson, on the other hand, points out that on the stages of both the south and north, Othello was seen as white, a "tawny moor" rather than a "blackmoor," making it even more possible to compartmentalize and rationalize the institution of slavery, plantation culture, and Shakespeare's noble moor.

In the South, it is also suggested that there was a familiarity with the works of Shakespeare, which facilitated the region's "tradition of amateur acting" (Vignaux, para.14). In Richmond, there was a production of *Othello* by amateur actors (Philip C Kolin) and other characters played by amateur actors in Maryland (Thaiss). In 1760, the top star, Lewis Hallam Jr. of the Douglass company, was overlooked for the role of Romeo, where, instead, an unknown actor was placed in the starring role. Per Thaiss,

the company's frequently allowing stage-struck gentry to take roles shows clearly how the players saw their popularity as being dependent on the whims of their small clientele . . . [who] seems to have preferred the novelty of a local hero to the genuine talents of young Hallam. (48)

This finding by Thaiss was in contradiction to the argument that Shakespearean drama was part of the resumé of all theater star actors “whether or not the public demanded [Shakespearean productions]” (Dormon 257). As a result, although having star actors was a powerful element in Shakespearean adaptations, they were not required for the plays to be successful. There also may have been presumptions about social environment and mindset similarities between Elizabethan England and the American South.

***Othello* and Slavery**

The early modern English stage showed representations of personal identity, revealing an interconnection with older political concepts, which enabled scholars to learn about early modern subjectivity and individual perceptions and understandings regarding coercion and liberty. *Othello* is a powerful example that can be used to argue that new understandings of the self can help explain attitudes and ideas regarding slavery and that these attitudes and ideas may illuminate the new understandings of self. One such argument is that a form of consciousness developed in early modern Europe, known as the “disengaged self,” which was linked with freedom and independence ideals, as well as objectification of one’s world and self (C. Taylor). Taylor based his view based on that of Plato, arguing that

reason can be understood as the perception of the natural or right order, and to be ruled by reason is to be ruled by a vision of this order

[and] gaining mastery of oneself, shifting the hegemony from the senses to reason, was a matter of changing the direction of our soul's vision. (C. Taylor 143)

In comparison, the disengaged subject no longer assumes that the self is inherent in the concept of meaningful order. This means that the subject views no order in the environment in which the subject lives (the neutralized universe), but, instead, internally constructs it, as explained below.

The new model of rational mastery . . . presents it as a master of instrumental control. . . . The hegemony of reason is defined no longer as that of a dominant vision but rather in terms of a directing agency subordinating a functional domain. (C. Taylor 149)

This ethic is based on *rational control*⁵⁶ and contributes to the way that self-worth contributes to a subject being seen as a rational being. On the other hand, the disengaged subject has developed moral and political law concepts, as well as a unique sense of responsibility, leading to an established form of personal rights and freedom. Thus, the disengaged self-developed a need to control experiences held and the external world (C. Taylor 176).

⁵⁶ In this context, *rational control* refers to having the power to engage in body and passion objectification (Slights).

According to Taylor, this led to a new form of individualism during the 17th century and replaced older political concepts⁵⁷ with a newer one of *political atomism*.⁵⁸ Macpherson noted that *possessive individualism*⁵⁹ developed from political atomism. Benhabib pointed out that these basic rights also included the right of property and man's household authority.⁶⁰ Thus, these concepts led to a concept of "being on his own," which meant that paradigms of order must come from within (C. Taylor). As a result, individual autonomy was linked with the commonly accepted ideal of freedom and isolation. Per Benhabib, Hobbes most accurately described the autonomous self: "Let us . . . consider men as if but even now sprung out of the earth, and suddenly, like mushrooms, come to full maturity, without all kind of engagement to each other" (109). The comparison of autonomy as mushrooms was beneficial because it supported privacy and individual liberty values, as well as led to individual isolation and social fragmentation fears. For example, John Donne expressed dismay regarding these new philosophies as outlined by Taylor, indicating that the world in which he lived had lost "'all Relation': Prince, Subject, Father, Sonne, are things forgot, For every man alone thinkes he hath got To be a Phoenix, and that there can bee None of that kinde, of which he is, but hee" (278).

⁵⁷ Older political concepts, in this context, assumed that community membership was automatic and inherently given (Slights).

⁵⁸ In this context, *political atomism* refers to the individual being the basic social unit and community membership must be created (Slights).

⁵⁹ According to Macpherson, as quoted by Taylor, "*possessive individualism* refers to "a conception of the most basic immunities we enjoy – life [and] liberty – on the model of the ownership of property" (C. Taylor 146).

⁶⁰ Note that only men were included. They were seen to have absolute authority over their wives, children, and servants (Benhabib 155).

Othello explored the atomistic, autonomous identity that was emerging in early modern Europe. For example, Roderigo is described as "an extravagant and wheeling stranger / Of here and every where" as being a hostile version of the self-description Othello made of his "unhoused free condition" (Oth.1.1.136-137). Othello was seen to value personal freedom over inherited loyalties and family lineage, leading him to assume that his societal position was derived from service to the state and conscious choice. Shakespeare's other protagonists, such as Macbeth, are tightly embedded in feudal allegiance and kinship networks, whereas Othello's social identity and personal identity are built upon merit and individual achievement (Sights). Othello owes his Venetian societal position to fortunes of war and personal ability, but claims he was descended from "men of royal siege," and sees no distinction between his current position and origins. Thus, Othello's social identity is derived from "My services which I have done the signiory" (Oth.1.2.20-22). In Renaissance Europe, Venice was famous for being a cosmopolitan trading center and an independent republic, making it an appropriate place for a military hero to participate in a civic community that is characterized by individual merit, justice, and public service values (Vaughan).

Othello also made it clear that his social identity was derived from the hierarchical ordering of the Venetian society, allowing power to be aligned with lineage, as opposed to wealth. According to Contarini, political power can be derived from civic virtue, where "all which were noble by birth, or enobled by vertue, or well

deserving of the commonwealth, did . . . obtain this right of government” (18). In particular significance in relation to Othello’s social position, Contarini stated that, “yea and some forrain men and strangers have beene adopted into this number of citizens, eyther in regard of their great nobility, or that they had been dutifull towards the state, or els had done unto them some notable service” (18).

By identifying Othello as a “Moor of Venice,” Shakespeare drew “on the humanist myth of Venice⁶¹” (Slights 380). However, if the “Moor of Venice” celebrates a new type of hero and relationship of self-to-the state, dangers to self-created and autonomous identities are revealed. An example is the observation of Iago, who became a lieutenant based on merit, stating: “I am worth no worse a place” (Oth.I.i.11). Like Othello, Iago values his independence and believes that rewards should be based on service, where such a position of responsibility is a reward in and of itself. Moreover, Iago appeals to the autonomous sense of privacy when he “refuses to wear his heart on his sleeve” (Slights 380). This is evident when Othello urged Iago to “give thy worst of thoughts / The worst of words, [whereupon Iago protested] I am not bound to that all slaves are free [to]” (Oth.III.iii.133-135).

The construction of the ‘naturally’ base slave elicits fear and loathing, per Slights, registering a pervasive anxiety regarding autonomous subjectivity development and the dissolution of social relations. Literal slavery is represented in

⁶¹ In this context, the *humanistic myth*, refers to an ideal where civic virtue is responsible for the production of a free and powerful society, which responds by protecting and nurturing the freedom and honor of members (Pocock).

Othello, not as a manifestation of inferiority of race or individuals, but as a result of exigencies created by military and finance. However, the enslavement of Othello is presented as an unfortunate mishap, as part of a military life. When considered as a sign of social death, on the other hand, *slave* is met with absolute contempt.

Therefore, when Iago is repeatedly called 'slave,' he experiences his alienation from society and justifies the infliction of "any cunning cruelty / That can torment him much, and hold him long" (Oth.IV.ii.391-394). Both definitions of *slave* are relevant to Othello because in the past, he survived slavery to be placed in a position of power in Venice.

Othello unfolds the main character's (Othello) degeneration from being an honorable member of Venetian society to a dishonorable slave, which leads him to be viewed as an outsider. The tragedy of Othello is due to the potential for the development of monstrosity within honor. Conversely, Iago is able to skillfully manipulate his victims because he has the same thought processes⁶² as they do, enabling him to articulate the rationale for individual responsibility and self-creation that Othello embodies. In *Othello*, in relation to the preceding analysis of Iago, he states

'tis in ourselves that we are thus or thus. . . . the power and corrigible
authority . . . lies in our wills. If the [beam] of our lives had not one
scale of reason to poise another of sensuality, the blood and baseness

⁶² In this context, it is meant that Iago thinks like his victims.

of our natures would conduct us to most prepost'rous conclusions. But
we have reason to cool our raging motions. . . . (Oth.I.iii.319-332)

Like Iago, Othello does not indicate that love is part of his “raging motions,” but several critics have indicated that Othello becomes vulnerable to the identification held by Iago, where love is lust, because of his suppression of sensuality. To this end, on his wedding night, Othello assures the Venetian senate that “feather’d Cupid” would not be a distraction from his “business” (Oth.I.iii.300-306; Snow; Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*). In fact, Greenblatt was able to trace the disparagement of sensuality and passion to the traditional Christian concept of sexuality distrust. Slights disagreed with Greenblatt’s assumption, arguing that this disparagement is more associated with rational self-control. To the Venetian senate, Othello protested that his desire for his wife’s accompaniment is not “to please the palate of my appetite, Nor to comply with heat (the young affects In [me] defunct) and proper satisfaction; But to be free and bounteous to her mind” (Oth.I.iii.262-265). In the Taylor analysis, Othello’s review of his attitude towards Desdemona is less associated with two kinds of love,⁶³ but, instead, lies with the Cartesian rational control ideal.⁶⁴

Contradictory to the view that the vulnerability of Othello is based on his “alien” position,⁶⁵ Othello can also be seen as *the* “alien,” as opposed to *an* “alien” (or

⁶³ In this context, *two kinds of love*, is in reference to the Augustinian concept that embodies charity and concupiscence (C. Taylor).

⁶⁴ In this context, the *rational control ideal*, is in reference to the way that desires are objectified and the central virtue is strength of will (C. Taylor).

⁶⁵ In this context, *alien position* can also be described as “a Moor not fully secure within Venetian society” (Slights 387).

Moor of Venice), where the deepest sense of self and values are consonant with those of the other people in Venice (Berry). Thus, Othello represents a warrior, believing that his military service “makes ambition virtue” (Oth.III.iii.350), which articulates civic humanism (Skinner). Through the interpretation of the Venetian values held by Othello as representing alien cultural norms and being tenuously adopted may imply that Othello’s transformation to murderer from defender of justice represents a view of a black barbarian being unmasked from civilized behavior to savagery. On the other hand, it can be read as Iago dissolving the civilized veneer of Othello in order to force him to revert to savagery. Several scholars, however, refute this assumption, such as Snow's statement claiming that

to attribute the destructive impulses unleashed in Othello to man's 'bestial nature,' to the sexual impulse breaking through the civilized barriers that usually contain it, is to turn the vision of the play on its head. Shakespeare locates the principle of evil and malice at the level of the superego, the agency that enforces civilization on the ego.

(Snow 410)

At the same time, the early modern period represented a critical time in European history regarding public reactions to black-skinned Africans. Iago's use of the image of “an old black ram” tugging Brabantio's white ewe (Oth.I.i.88-89), is noted for being appealing to the scientific and biological concept of race found in the 19th century (Appiah). Thus, Brabantio’s statement that “bond-slaves and pagans shall our

statesmen be" (Oth.I.ii.98–9) indicates what Ayanna Thompson refers to as "race-making" taking place during the early modern period, prefiguring the emergence of racialized slavery in the coming centuries. When it comes to the roots of racialized slavery, *Othello* can also be read as a key text, because of the tenets of slavery, self-identity, and race being represented as an explosive combination that occurs only occasionally. The infrequency indicates that it was not inevitable that these elements would be identified. *Othello* does not portray nor does it evoke stable responses to the blackness of Othello. Iago's image of "an old black ram" is counterbalanced through references of Othello being a noble Moor. Thus, the blackness and cultural displacement of Othello are both correlative to Othello being presented as a citizen that is both autonomous and self-defined (Slights).

While Othello has confidence in the respect he has earned in Venice, Iago manipulates him through his need for social order.⁶⁶ Perversely, Othello is portrayed as being obsessively jealous and his sense of justice is "a monster / Begot upon itself, born on itself" (Oth.III.iv.161-162). The aristocratic warrior honor ethic has been transformed to the free man's self-esteem, where the reason held by Othello controls his passion, and his honor allows for the defense of civilization from barbarism. When Iago criticizes Cassio for his decision to sacrifice his reputation in favor of "the name / Of a night-brawler" (Oth.II.iii.195-196), then finds himself in disgrace, stating that the loss of his reputation meant that he has lost his "immortality," Iago finds the

⁶⁶ In consideration of this analysis, this distinction of Othello being manipulated by Iago as a result of a need for social order is significant because Othello was also considered to be an "alien."

cause of their ruin. Iago realizes that Othello, Desdemona, and Cassio are not driven by carnal lusts but rather are motivated by their self-perception as being part of a civilized community, leading him (Iago) to exploit their sense of self-worth, generosity, and loyalty. For example, Iago can rely on the generosity of Desdemona,⁶⁷ as well as the open and free nature of Othello. The destructive scheme developed by Iago is perniciously brilliant because he uses the strengths of Othello against him, which leads to a perversion of Othello's sense of responsibility into murder, "else she'll betray more men" (Oth.V.ii.6; Bartels).

Richard III manipulates power from greed, whereas Iago manipulates "pitch" (Oth.II.iii.360-361) from virtues, and from the most valued ideals and qualities held to the self, creating a net that ensnares them all. The Venetian ideals of justice, participation in civic life, and civic order are correlated with the fear of the loss of control, which is the indirect cause of the shame felt by Cassio regarding his public trust betrayal; the cause of the claim of Brabantio, stating: "I am glad at soul I have no other child, / For thy escape would teach me tyranny" (Oth.I.iii.196-197), and the methodological preparations of the Venetian senate for defending themselves against the Turks. These examples of the fear of loss of control are continuous with the determination of Othello to remain in control of himself, Desdemona, and Cyprus (Philip C. Kolin). Othello experiences the suspected infidelity of Cassio and Desdemona as a privacy invasion and a property rights violation. According to

⁶⁷ This generosity extends to the intercession on the behalf of Cassio.

Slights, when Othello's "sense of control is undermined, the possessiveness inherent in his love becomes explicit" (387), as evident in Othello's statement: "O curse of marriage! / That we can call these delicate creatures ours, / And not their appetites" (Oth.III.iii.268-270). Donne acknowledged that "love is a possessory affection, it delivers over him that loves into the possession of that that he loves" (271), but the vulnerability associated with being possessed is not tolerated by an identity based on control and possession and, as a result of Othello having such an identity, love must be destroyed.

Iago activates the overwhelming need held by Othello for clarity by insinuating that there is a threat to the "good name" of Othello. Iago defined jealousy as being uncertain and irrational by being one "who dotes, yet doubts; suspects, yet [strongly] loves" (Oth.III.iii.169-170), making it possible for him to manipulate Othello into coming to the conclusion that dispassionate examination is the same as rationality, leading to certain judgement. Once Othello is placed in a position of impartiality in the objectification of Desdemona, then female sexuality generalizations and Venetian social norms replace his experiences of his love for Desdemona as being knowledge. Without the interdependent certainty and order of love, raging lust is replaced by Iago's dualistic instrumental vision (Slights).

Othello's chaotic animality perception is a pathological form of the fear of witchcraft held by Brabantio. For instance, the theory held by Brabantio that Othello could not have any power over Desdemona without witchcraft is reflective of the

troubling power exerted in Renaissance English culture regarding the idea of unnatural evil (Appiah). The belief in witchcraft that was prevalent in Europe at this time coincided with a decrease in the belief in magic, whereby it has been suggested by Taylor that the English obsession with witchcraft and the belief in and supposed threat posed by witches can be viewed as a crisis during identity transitions, where the new identity was emerging, leading to an establishment of a self-defining subject (C. Taylor). The identity of the autonomous self was corroded through terror of the uncontrollable.⁶⁸ Othello sought to gain certainty and these efforts became self-defeating, with the final straw being the loss of the handkerchief. This loss was especially important because it signified the loss of control of Desdemona and cultural isolation. The first account of the handkerchief had Othello telling how his mother received it with a promise that it would “subdue my father / Entirely to her love” (Oth.III.iv.59-60), and, at the time of her death, Othello’s mother gave it to him to give to his bride. The second account of the handkerchief has Othello explaining how his father gave it to his mother and, later, Desdemona received it as a pledge of Othello’s love. In both accounts, the handkerchief symbolizes love and the power of which is derived from Othello’s parents. Therefore, when the handkerchief was lost, like a slave, Othello was cut off “from the social heritage of his ancestors” (Patterson 5). Then, Othello kills Desdemona and commits suicide in an effort to regain a societal connection through the identification with Venetian order and freedom ideals,

⁶⁸ In this case, witchcraft and possession were viewed as being “uncontrollable.”

where “in Othello, slavery and freedom transform themselves into each other” (Slights 388). The free condition of Othello incorporated his period of slavery, but through his attempts to defend his honor and gain control over Desdemona, he becomes enslaved by Iago’s interpretation of, not only him, but also his entire world. As a result, faced with the consequences of exerting his revenge, Othello remembers his potency: “I have seen the day That with this little arm, and this good sword, I have made my way through more impediments Than twenty times your stop” (Oth.V.ii.262-264), but these same memories prompt him to recognize that the fantasy of autonomy is futile: But (O vain boast!) / Who can control his fate?” (Oth.V.ii.264-265). With these thoughts, it is impossible for Othello to imagine being able to work independently through impediments because his mind was possessed by self-images of exclusion and isolation, not power and control nor weakness and defeat:

Now-how dost thou look now? O ill-starr'd wench, Pale as thy smock!
when we shall meet at compt, This look of thine will hurl my soul
from heaven, And fiends will snatch at it. Cold, cold, my girl? Even
like thy chastity. O cursed, cursed slave! Whip me, ye devils, From the
possession of this heavenly sight! (Oth.V.ii.272-278).

Othello, then, is “damned, a cursed slave” (Slights 389) because Desdemona is now dead.

The writing and first performance of *Othello* took place during a moment of transition, where a large swath of the Early Modern English population consisted of subjects and enslavement was viewed as a misfortune, potentially suffered by anyone, and the enslavement of those existing at the outer limits of empire was justified as natural. When Othello's tragedy is represented as being subjection to "the practice of a damned slave" (Oth.V.ii.292), the fascination of society with the slavery ideal as being a dishonorable abjection is recorded, but Ottoman slavery is added, while contemporary European slavery, viewed as a social institution was not seen in Othello's Venice. The effacement of and fascination with slavery were English culture characteristics:

Dramatizing both the empowering dignity and the fragile vulnerability of the self-defining autonomous self, the play embodies cultural anxieties about isolation and illuminates the conditions that in the late-17th century would produce both a flourishing slave trade and theories of inalienable human rights (Slights 389).

Othello and Iago represent two versions of the politically and morally autonomous self, conflated by liberal positions.⁶⁹ Othello sought to serve the common good in a society that was ordered and culturally diverse, but his fall also insinuates that civic humanism is based on self-possession, which is founded first on possession

⁶⁹ Othello derived honor through serving the common good. Iago, on the other hand, follows Othello only to serve himself.

of military power, then on possession of property. In *MOORE -a Pacific Island Othello*, we attempt to unpack some these ideas in the dynamics of Gunnery Sergeant Moore's final scene:

LT. JOHANSON

O, please, I need to call an ambulance!

MOORE

(fighting for breath)

In Aleppo once, I spied an ISIS recruited Turk. Shot him before he could detonate. On his back he cursed, "Slave, as I die, so shall you. . ."

LT. JOHANSON

O?!

MOORE

It's true. Please take me home. (long exhale)

(He dies.)

When Moore (Othello) is shot by Desdemona and "fights for breath," (asphyxiation being a looming theme in both MOORE and the public discourse of 2020 in the wake of George Floyd's murder) he reaffirms his true position as a Black Man in the U.S. Military: a weapon of U.S. imperial power, only destined to meet the same fate, at the hands of his own countrymen, as the "enemy" he was sent to destroy. "Slave," the ISIS recruited Turk calls him, "as I die, so shall you. . ."

and it is the absolute truth and a very possible future (or lack thereof) for any Black Man in America. It is precisely this dynamic, which begins with Othello being made white on the stages of 19th century New York by white actors such as Edwin Forest, William

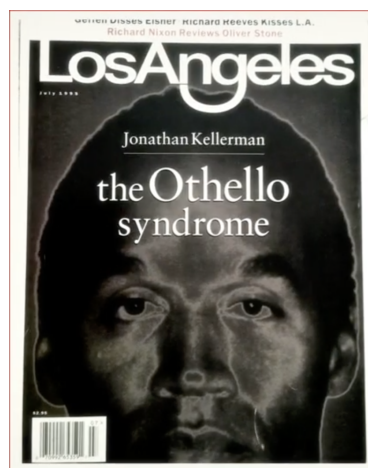
Macready, and others, during what Ayanna Thompson refers to as the "great Bronze Age" of *Othello*, when Black masculinity is made safe to white America only when it is mocked, burlesqued, and portrayed as buffoonery such as in blackface minstrelsy, yet once white womanhood becomes involved, just as it was for known abolitionist, President John Quincy Adams, all bets were off when it came to the thought of miscegenation. Black masculinity no longer represented the "noble Moor," but rather the threat of a Black male pathology, or "the Othello syndrome," as the cover of Los Angeles Magazine advertised during the OJ Simpson trial.

On the stages of 19th Century New York, the "tawny moor," the Othello-made-white, was the true and noble Moor of William Shakespeare, described in detail by New York theater critics in the newspapers. Yet when there was ever a suspected crime and a white woman was involved, Othello became black again, as the same New York newspapers would commonly run stories about the "Central Park Othello" or the "Five Points Othello," which in many cases, a white woman was not even assaulted and would only lead to the lynchings of random unfortunate black men (Carlson). In either case, for 19th century New Yorkers, when Othello was noble he was white and when a criminal he was black (Carlson).

It is this very entrenched set of associations that we are overtly challenging with *MOORE - a Pacific Island Othello* by 1) changing the narrative itself, so that Othello does not ever commit a crime. 2) challenging the audiences' expectations in

response to white female pathology, as both Desdemona and Karen (Iago) become murderers. The reason behind these theatrical choices stemmed from our primary dramaturgical question, "Why Othello here and now?" which led not to an answer but only to a much more profound question, which was, "In the wake of George Floyd's murder and the BLM movement, how can one responsibly stage *Othello* in America and have a Black man get up on stage and murder his white wife? And if we did, what would we be saying about Black men in America at this moment in history?"

Ayanna Thompson, Hugh Quarshie, and many other actors and scholars of color do not believe Othello should be staged in America anymore as it was written. I used to be among them. But to change that 19th Century Othello narrative, the same narrative that played out right before our eyes with George Floyd, then a good place to start is by changing the narrative being told on stage.



Chapter 3: Shakespeare at the Border

¡El Paniquiádo! was my first novel, written while I was a prisoner in *el Reclusorio Norte* in Mexico City. It was edited (on a daily basis) by my neighbor and unlikely benefactor, former professor and head of La Familia Michoacana, don Servando Gómez Martínez. We had both been sentenced to a considerable amount of time, and I had been brought to him one Friday night as a translator during a poker game he was playing with a Marine Corps buddy of mine. Around midnight, Don Servando stopped the game abruptly and cleared the room. He told me not to move then called in a group of his henchmen from the hallway who immediately took hold of my arms. I had spent most of the night writing in my notebook while they were playing poker, only stopping to translate whenever necessary. Don Servando had noticed and wasn't happy about it at all.

"You've been writing all night, *cabrón*," he told me, "What are you writing about? About me?"

I quickly explained that I was working on a novel, based on the events that had led me to the reclusorio.

"*No mames, güey*," he said, "If you're telling the truth then tell *me* the story."

He ordered his men to release me then motioned for me to sit at the table.

"It's a long story, *Señor*."

"We have time, *cabrón*, *no mames*."

He sent one of the custodios to bring us a bottle of Añejo poured into a plastic bag.

I told him everything.

Don Servando laughed so hard that at one point he literally pissed on himself while stumbling to the restroom. When the sun came up he looked me in the eye then shook his head. "That's the craziest story I've ever heard, *cabrón*. Tell me again."

So I did. Afterward, he told me, "I like you, Esteban. You're a smart guy but you're also very stupid, but don't worry, you're going to be alright in here." He also told me that he could read English fairly well but just wasn't very good at speaking it.

"May I?" he asked. I passed him my notebook and that's how it all began.

Each day, Don Servando would pass by my open doorway and if I wasn't busy writing, he would say, "*Ese mi Shakespeare. . . ¡échale ganas, cabrón!*" At the end of each day, he would reappear in my doorway like a ghost (usually startling the shit out

of me, to his great amusement), collect the pages I had written then return them in the morning with edits and notes in the margins *en español*. He would get frustrated with me sometimes when we'd talk over *cafesitos* on Sunday mornings, not so much over content, but mostly over style. He said I should stop trying to sound like Hemingway and that my sentences were way too short.

"Here, " he said, "you really need to read these, *cabrón*. . ."

He gave me a worn copy of Carlos Fuentes' *El naranjo, o los círculos del tiempo* and a beautiful hardback edition of *Cien años de soledad* by Gabriel García Márquez. It was a surreal year, to say the least. It was also an extremely violent year. I still wake up kicking and screaming sometimes, haunted by the things I witnessed there, the things I did or failed to do. At the end of the year, I would be acquitted, released to immigration then kidnapped and smuggled out of the country, but that's another story entirely. Don Servando was also acquitted a few months after I was then returned to Michoacán, started the Knights Templar cartel, and went to war with Los Zetas.

I never saw Don Servando again, but I heard through the grapevine that after he was eventually captured and locked up at Altiplano, he ended up faking a heart attack so El Chapo could escape for the second time. It happened just after I finished my master's degree in playwriting, while I was working as a dramaturg on Shakespeare Santa Cruz's production of *Macbeth*. I was about to start the Ph.D. program in fall, and UCSC's Theater Arts department was producing my adaptation

of Oedipus at Colonus. Erik Pearson was coming over from Brooklyn to direct the show. He had asked me to write a "radical" revision to the script, to just "go wild" and then we'd work our way back from there over the rest of the summer.

Then Donald Trump descended that escalator and made his speech about Mexicans being rapists and drug dealers. I couldn't sleep. I went to Costco, bought a big bottle of Añejo, and began to write: *Marqués - a narco Macbeth*

Twenty five days later, I sent the script to Erik in New York. Four days after that he responded via email:

So, Macbeth as adapted by Robert Rodriguez?

;-)

Exciting stuff!

Though I'm not sure I'd call it a rewrite . . .

It's an entirely new play!

Can you talk tomorrow?

Looking forward,

Erik

To synthesize, I began to write and adapt the works of Shakespeare into Spanish because of an unlikely act of hospitality, a welcoming in of the stranger, in this case *I* was the stranger, the radically other "Other," invited in to translate the events unfolding right in front of our eyes. In *Hamlet*, early on, Horatio reflects on the supernatural events unfolding, remarking, "O day and night, but this is wondrous

strange” (Ham.I.v.185). The rejoinder given by Hamlet is compelling: “And, therefore, as a stranger, give it welcome” (Ham.I.v.186), leading to his famous statement: “There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, . . . Than are dreamt of in our philosophy” (Ham.I.v.186–89). Hamlet's statement can be read as a gesture toward an inclusiveness, of the otherworldly, and the practice of hospitality.⁷⁰ Hamlet suggests that these strange events should be welcomed as a stranger would be welcomed, indicating that, by welcoming in the stranger, one will have a better understanding of the world at large and the stranger (Espinosa). *Stranger* can also be used to describe a *foreigner*, such as a Latino/a,⁷¹ and their engagement with Shakespearean works to increase understanding of Shakespeare’s cultural capital.

Considerations for Access to Shakespeare

For many students, language can present a significant barrier in their educational career, especially in the understanding of Shakespeare. Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco argue that the very nature of language represents, “a marker of identity and an instrument of power” (135), leading to the politicization of the issue of the languages spoken within America. The authors further state:

As a rule, where there are language-marked social inequities, the groups involved will resist (both consciously and unconsciously)

⁷⁰ Later in *Hamlet*, Polonius is urged by Hamlet to “see the players well bestowed [to] let them be used” (Shakespeare et al. 502–03), then states: “Use them after your own honor and dignity” (Shakespeare et al. 508–09) – concepts often used to explain the meaning of *hospitality*.

⁷¹ Latino/a is used for describing Mexican Americans – all of whom have unique qualities, experiences, and cultural identities that influence how Shakespeare is viewed.

mastering and using the other's language . . . Where one language is clearly a higher-status language, native speakers of the lower-status language often have trouble mastering and will indeed resist using the higher-status language. (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 135–36)

In the case of Latinx students, the language of Shakespeare becomes a contact point for the “higher-status language” mentioned by Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco. This does not mean that these students are instinctively resistant towards Shakespeare on account of his language. Rather, the resistance is typically based on “the unfamiliar nature of blank verse, the awkward syntax, and the huge divide between his world and ours” (Espinosa 52). Conversely, acceptance and adoption of Shakespeare is common, as noted by Colombian-born Ocampo-Guzman:

[As] a Latino actor, mastering Shakespeare is an additional source of self-esteem, because I am able to master a language that so many native English speakers find challenging. It has been extremely beneficial for me to succeed at the constructed standard of my adoptive culture. (135)

The ability to master the language of Shakespeare is a feat worthy of admiration by native and non-native English speakers alike. Ocampo-Guzman also noted that his experience revealed the power of identity politics. To this end, the author stated:

To tell someone that the way he or she sounds is not good enough, and specifically not good enough for Shakespeare, is oppressive. If Shakespeare is a paragon of human creativity, we all have a right to access him from our own identities. If Shakespeare holds the mirror up to nature, it ought to reflect our current cultural spectrum and the sounds and colors of our contemporary culture. (Ocampo-Guzman 132)

Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco gives a similar sentiment:

Rather than being viewed as a potential asset to be cultivated, the linguistic skills brought by newly arrived immigrants are seen by many as a threat to the integrity of the English language and as a symbolic refusal to accommodate to American culture. (136)

The key element here is assimilation. Latinx people are at a disadvantage as a result of linguistic differences because the power structure of the United States is built in such a way that speaking English, as opposed to any other language, is a “true” marker for the “American identity” (Espinosa).

Thompson examined the reactions of literary reviewers to Sellars’s 2009 *Othello* production, unique because of the non-traditional cast of actors of color. Per Thompson, literary reviewers focused on the “mastery of the Shakespearean verse” by actors as being a form of code, revealing the acting company’s racial makeup,

allowing for the celebration or denigration of actors based on race. Thus, “the actors cannot pass for white characters in [the critic’s] eyes, ears, or mind; they cannot pass for white actors; and, therefore, they cannot pass aesthetically for Shakespearean” (Thompson, *Passing Strange: Shakespeare, Race, and Contemporary America* 174). This type of reaction leads to an understanding about attitudes regarding American identity and skin color, where Latinx people in America are being “unassimilable” because of cultural and linguistic differences. In fact, there is a predominant perception “about the changing color of American society—the ‘browning’ of America. . . . The fault here lies not with Latinos but with America’s unwillingness to treat them as fully American” (Roth 195).

When engaging in Shakespearean adaptations for Latin American audiences, most include

European Spanish norms and forms with a somewhat archaic color, [which favors] a concept of translation seeking an evidently impossible (and pointless) identity with the source texts and the cultural assumptions that gravitate around them from both their English and Spanish ends. (Modenessi, “Of Shadows and Stones” 154–55)

The same author also stated:

The local transformation of a foreign but not alien cultural icon where a tradition of admiration—whether sincere or merely a matter of

course—combines with an equally old inclination to cultural poaching and cannibalization as legitimate tactics of self-invention. (Modenessi, *‘Meaning by Shakespeare’ South of the Border* 105)

This diversification allows disempowered communities to develop unique Shakespearean adaptations. Moreover, as an unfixed identity is considered valuable in the context of Latin America, a fluid cultural identity defines the Latinx experience of American-Mexican border Shakespearean adaptations (Espinosa).

Mexican-Mexican Border Shakespeare

Latinx people on the border are faced with varying and overbearing identity politics due to these individuals being viewed as “not quite American and not quite Mexican” (Espinosa 57). Anzaldúa notes that “living on borders and in margins, keeping intact one's shifting and multiple identity and integrity, is like trying to swim in a new element, an ‘alien element’” (19). Despite this difficulty, the strength behind Chicanx identity has tremendous potential. The border is, among this particular population, considered to be *una herida abierta*,⁷² which is “where the Third World grates against the first and bleeds, [allowing the individual to develop a new level of consciousness and healing so that they] are on both shores at once” (Anzaldúa 25, 100). This concept is integrated into Marqués during Comandante Mendez's dialogue with Manuel (MacDuff to Malcolm) "Bleed, bleed, poor country . . . [Looks out over

⁷² The Spanish phrase for “an open wound.”

the water.] México lindo y querido. . . when will you ever see your wholesome days again?" (Richter 85).

The outlined cultural and national identity faced by Chicanx people along the U.S./Mexican border is germane to the identity politics that all Latinx people in the United States face:

Chicanos and other people of color suffer economically for not acculturating. This voluntary (yet forced) alienation makes for psychological conflict, a kind of dual identity—we don't identify with the Anglo-American cultural values and we don't totally identify with the Mexican cultural values. We are a synergy of two cultures with various degrees of Mexicanness or Angloness. I have so internalized the borderland conflict that sometimes I feel like one cancels out the other and we are zero, nothing, no one. [But to be] on both shores at once [does not negate one's sense of self]. (Anzaldúa 85)

Even Shakespearean adaptations often deploy stereotypes. Orgel, for example, imagines *The Merchant of Venice* was produced in such a way where Shylock would be portrayed by a Latino actor, which is particularly relevant because Shylock "is not an outsider, any more than Latinos are in American society. He is as Venetian as the Christians are, but he is part of an underclass, marginalized within the society" (Orgel 153).

Orgel also imagines Antonio and Bassanio at a *barrio*⁷³ bank for the purpose of borrowing money. However, absolute disbelief was shown by Latinx students at the University of Texas at El Paso about the assumptions regarding Latinx people by Orgel. The most striking was the assumption that Latinx people desire to assimilate the “Anglo world,” leading to the question by these students of “what—within the play and within our world—would suggest that Shylock or Latinos would want to identify with a group that so often has utter disregard for the dignity of others” (Espinosa 59).

Espinosa notes that YouTube offers a viewpoint of how some Latinx students view and perform Shakespearean adaptations, even when they seek to allow cultural identity differences to influence their interpretations. Here, language and culture stray from the expected “authenticity” of Shakespeare and Latinx actors are centered. One particular adaptation of *Hamlet*⁷⁴ had “young Latino actors deal with the cultural and linguistic divides in a rather provocative light, and their attention to the ‘authenticity’ of language for both Shakespearean verse and Latino/as in America is evident” (Espinosa 61). Using the Internet to present Shakespeare suggests that there are equal opportunities to show authenticity or resistance to assimilation by other cultures, such as a Latinx Shakespeare (Holland). The adaptation of interest initially appears to be absurd because its opening scene is on a playground where the elder Hamlet is wearing a sarape and sombrero, riding a spring-anchored playground horse. Later in

⁷³ In this context, *barrio* refers to “Spanish-speaking.”

⁷⁴ This adaptation of YouTube was called the “Hamlet English Project.”

the scene, the elder Hamlet sang “Vale Mas”⁷⁵ in Spanish, which was then translated into English:

I am worth more with you,
And I am happy at your side
You are worth so much to me,
With my heart I tell you (Espinosa 62)

As this adaptation opens with a love song being sung by the elder Hamlet, his loss of Gertrude is remembered and, as a result, the scene is framed as someone dealing with and remembering the love and memory of someone lost, especially as the last lyrics sung in the scene are “Let us forget the past” (Espinosa 62), which contradicts the Ghost’s line: “Remember me” (Shakespeare et al. 91), but at the same time, it addresses the power of memory. The weight of the elder Hamlet’s emotion is evident as he sings the song and he, not the setting, dominates the scene. As he walks away, two unknown assassins⁷⁶ execute him. A few days later, per the adaptation, Hamlet is seen riding the same horse and encounters his father’s ghost, who sings to him in Spanish: “I am your father’s ghost! Your uncle Claudius poisoned⁷⁷ me. Bring me honor and do what I tell you” (Espinosa 63). During the ensuing conversation⁷⁸ between father and son, Hamlet agrees to avenge the murder of his father, leading to

⁷⁵ This love song is performed by a famous Latino singer – Vicente Fernandez – a significant choice because Latino/a students are given a vehicle to explore the iconic status of Shakespeare.

⁷⁶ One of these assassins is presumed to be Claudius.

⁷⁷ It is noted that *poisoned* may not always be referenced to actually being poisoned but may refer to an interpretation of cause of death or execution.

⁷⁸ In this adaptation, this conversation is particularly significant because the actors code-switched.

the end of the scene.⁷⁹ In the YouTube adaptation, the Latinx actors viewed the father and son Hamlet as being magnetic, charismatic, and highly masculine figures. However, it is more important to note that these actors are aware of the issue of legacy and kinship as they are both applied successfully.

Not only did the students pay a striking amount of thoughtfulness to meaningful issues within the scene, but also their confidence in developing a Latinx cultural identity in their interpretation of *Hamlet*. For example, the actors sing in Spanish, translate to English for the viewer, code-switch, and use Mexican celebrities for depicting Shakespeare's characters. Therefore, it appears that Shakespeare has been both alienated and made culturally relevant. This is especially striking when the common conceptions and stereotypes associated with how Latinx people are perceived by white America as being "other" or *outliers* on the fringes of "American culture." This is also known as being pressured by the "Latino Threat Narrative," which refers to a narrative driven by right-wing politics and the "conservative" media to portray Latinx people as being incapable and/or unwilling to integrate into the American community (Chavez). The biggest threat of this narrative is how white America is "[blinded to the] Latino contributions to social and cultural life, to what we think of as being American" (Chavez 213). This perspective is frequently overlooked.

⁷⁹ The credits to this scene identify the elder Hamlet as being Vincente Fernandez and the younger Hamlet as being his son, Alejandro Fernandez (also a famous singer). The significance is that famous Latino actors were selected to play famous Shakespearean characters.

A different light can be cast on the works of Shakespeare when they are performed through different cultural identities, as shown by the aforementioned discussion of *Hamlet*. The YouTube adaptations of the works of Shakespeare that draw explicitly on cultural identity vary in their perceived value, tone, and intent, and offer a commentary on Shakespeare and his place within Latinx culture in the United States. This perspective is not always positive and there are racist adaptations of the works by Shakespeare, produced by non-Latinx actors that only reinscribe the markers of perceived "cultural inferiority" and racism. One adaptation, *Hamlet of Mexico*, shows a non-Latino cast portraying Latinx versions of the main characters of the original play – Hamlet, Horatio, and the Ghost. These actors used cultural stereotypes about Latinx identities, depicting significant bigotry (Espinosa). However, there are also adaptations of Shakespeare found on YouTube that emphasize significant issues in today's world – ethnic identity, race, xenophobia, and identity – and, due to the nature of YouTube, momentous open discussions have been held regarding racism and identity politics in America. *Marqués - a Narco Macbeth* falls into this category of Latinx adaptations of Shakespeare that interrogate issues of racism and identity politics in America. The performance has been viewed by over 16,000 people and taught and written about by scholars across the United States, England, and Ireland. In their book *Shakespeare and Latinidad*, Drs. Della Gatta and Buffoen write,

As Latinx theatre, *Marqués* critiques the political and economic systems of oppression and of the points of positionality, including both the United States' and Mexico's active roles and complicity in it. Just like the feudalistic Macbeth, *Marqués* – with its violent hyper-capitalism as natural order – offers no redemption in the end. Advancements in technology do not further knowledge or public happiness if they are not rooted in ethics, morals or humanity. What *Marqués* showcases is that everything crosses borders and languages, from Shakespeare to violence to coloniality to culture. (Della Gatta 33)

The U.S. government positions Latin America in the same space as the Indigenous brujas, and the movement towards the recognition of Mexican subjecthood threatens gender, economic, political and societal structures.

Although *Marqués* is Mexican, his disgust for and derision towards the brujas stem from his failed interpretation of their prophecy, which he understood as an alternative version of the American Dream. (Buffone xii)

It is also argued that Latinx adaptations of Shakespeare can help audiences understand how diverse groups of people (natives and non-natives) view

Shakespeare. The challenge is the negotiation and scrutiny of pre-conceived and long-standing notions and biases regarding the cultural capital of Shakespeare, the cultural space that Shakespeare occupies (Espinosa). As Dr. Ayanna Thompson points out,

Shakespeare represents the epitome of Western culture because he represents the exclusivity of white culture. . . . Most people will assume that an avowal of Shakespeare's universality is universally applicable, encompassing, timeless, and, well, good. The tensions arise, however, when race enters into Shakespeare's universe. . . . Students often abandon their espousals of universality for those of historical specificity: that these portraits are products of Shakespeare's age. (Thompson, *Passing Strange: Shakespeare, Race, and Contemporary America* 37, 41–42)

Or as Dr. Juan Poblete explains:

Marqués takes advantage of the cultural space, the cultural capital of Shakespeare, and everything behind that cultural capital. The play brings the audience members into a face to face, or I should probably say, a 'slap in the face' encounter with the political issues of U.S./Latin American relations. So, through the languages spoken, the actors, and the media, that theater space transformed into a contact zone, between the form of the tragedy, the cultural capital of

Shakespeare, and a political intervention that is critiquing U.S./Mexican relations and I'm telling you, people were shaken up by it when they walked out of that building. (Poblete 12:22:10)

In short, based on these situations, the universality of Shakespeare yields to particularity and historical circumstances that cushion the issues of race and racism. The imperative action, then, is to interrogate and challenge those attitudes because the associated tensions and discomforts expressed through Shakespeare lead to discussions of Shakespeare's value in relation to today's issues and to an increased understanding of race and ethnicity in the USA.

As there is never a clear definition for cultural and national identities along the border, the definition of the "outsider" and "insider" cannot always be seen, which begs the question of *who* gets to decide the relevance or irrelevance of Shakespeare's work. To consider reading the works of Shakespeare through a lens that interrogates cultural relevance would be, as Orgel stated, to make "real capital" of the indeterminable cultural capital of Shakespeare's status in the United States. Thus,

Questioning Shakespeare's relevance to a Latino/a readership is not an attempt to diminish Shakespeare's worth but rather to provoke apprehensive readings that might allow us, as scholars invested in Shakespeare, to reconsider how we think about the value of Shakespeare in our contemporary, multiethnic society. (Espinosa 61)

*Kindness*⁸⁰ was assessed in several Shakespearean plays. For example, Hamlet was referred to as *cousin* and *son* by Claudius. For these references, Hamlet responds: “A little more than kin and less than kind” (Ham.I.ii.64–67). This represents a play on words for *kinship*⁸¹ felt between Hamlet and Claudius. The betrayal of King Henry was alluded to in the chorus of *Henry V*:

O England!—model to thy inward greatness,
Like little body with a mighty heart,
What mightst thou do, that honour would thee do,
Were all thy children kind and natural? (Henry V.II.Prol.16–19)

The above quotation offers a straightforward play on the concept of *kind*, where the native men of England are identified as being less than natural because of their engagement in treason. Their betrayal, however, also registers their harmful natures and foreignness, despite being natives of the nation. As suggested in the chorus, if all Englishmen were native, then they would realize the potential of being English.⁸² In *The Merchant of Venice*, Shylock’s benevolence was undercut by Antonio, who said: “Hie thee, gentle Jew. / The Hebrew will turn Christian; he grows kind” (Merch.I.iii.190-191). In each of these cases, *kindness*⁸³ signifies how the unfamiliar⁸⁴

⁸⁰ In the context of this study, *kindness* refers to the efforts made by Shakespeare to capitalize on and explore impressions of benevolence, similitude, and integrity.

⁸¹ In the context of this study, *kinship* refers to being more than “kin,” less than “kind,” but not “kindly.”

⁸² This potential is represented as “England’s mighty heart.”

⁸³ Recall in Note 63 that *kindness* could be related to similitude, which can be related to non-natives.

⁸⁴ *Unfamiliar* could be restated as *foreign*, such as a non-native.

is viewed as being “dangerous.” Yet, it can be argued that encouraging others to be less than kind⁸⁵ signals toward the incivility that sometimes dictates how strangers are seen or how strangers see natives.

By engaging with attitudes and notions regarding race in Shakespeare, the responsibilities and shortcomings of communities on both sides of the border are revealed. Cross-racial imitation is examined by the hypothesis that the handkerchief is black, not white, in *Othello*, and is connected to “the inventing and manufacturing [of] the theatrical black body” (Smith 22) found on the early modern stage:

[It is necessary] to situating the play within a performance history, positing the implications of the black handkerchief for material race in early modernity, [leading to an increased need to be aware of] the habits that inform our reading practices [by questioning] what reading whiteness in the handkerchief, despite evidence to the contrary, reveals about the habits and intellectual reflexes that inform our critical imagination [and] whether this inveterate predisposition to see only a white handkerchief functions as an index to inherited critical frameworks that continue to circulate and shape the work of reading and producing knowledge in the field of early modern studies. (Smith 25)

⁸⁵ Indicating different, reverential, or not alike.

To raise this awareness, audiences should re-evaluate and consider revising assumptions about Shakespeare and the deficiencies in how issues of race have been approached and/or ignored by early modern scholars of Shakespeare, as well as how Shakespeare functions in the delimitation and opening of understandings of race. An early examination of the literary whiteness found in the works of Shakespeare, it is noted that

When we insist on attempting to protect Shakespeare and his works by reading Shakespeare's poems (and Shakespeare himself) as 'universal' and merely as praise of an abstract 'beauty' (male or female) rather than as specific cultural productions that manage fairness, modern teachers and critics produce the invisibility that fuels white hegemony.
(K. F. Hall 20–21)

However, according to Loomba and Orkin, to look beyond Shakespeare is to discover what [non-European] cultures were doing and saying about Europe and about themselves [will] require adjusting our conceptual framework to acknowledge the existence and the depth of these other societies and to remember that they shaped the world in which Shakespeare created his pictures of race and colonialism. (168)

It has also been argued that theoretical and historical early modern race studies have perpetuated "the conventional contemporary mistruth: there were no

actual people of color in early modern England; references to them in popular media of the time are metaphoric; and the period is race-innocent” (Habib 9). Habib demonstrates that, in early modern England, there were many people of color and references are not metaphoric. Moreover, he states that the period is not “race-innocent.” Other critical frameworks ignore “other subjects”⁸⁶ and that the resistance to reading early modern race speaks less . . . to the early modern era’s capitalization on race than to our refusal to make significant our place, our white place, in the tribal and historical trajectories of race and racism. (Little 6–7)

In an appeal to scholars of Shakespeare, Dr. Thompson lamented:

There are moments when the field seems to be expansive and inclusive, encouraging work that focuses on race, and at other times I feel like I am speaking to a very small audience of peers. If the field were to support the inclusion of race studies more systematically and consistently, then our ranks may diversify more rapidly and thoroughly. I find it incredibly depressing that I can name most of the Shakespeareans of color despite the fact that our professional organizations are relatively large. (Thompson, *Passing Strange: Shakespeare, Race, and Contemporary America* 180)

⁸⁶ In this context, *other subjects* could refer to people of color or other ethnic groups. Most certainly, it fits those people that are considered to be “outside the norm.”

Based on the writings of all of these scholars, it can be said that the responsibility for change in the understanding and perception of racism and cultural identity also lies in the hands of the Shakespearean scholars, leading to a need for re-imagining and, if possible, re-making, the value of the cultural capital of Shakespeare (Espinosa).

Marqués: A Narco Macbeth

In Shakespeare, Volume 17, Issue 1 (2021) "Shakespeare, Race and Nation," Dr. Kathryn Vomero Santos writes, "In many ways, Shakespeare might seem to be an unlikely and unhelpful interlocutor for thinking about such pressing issues of national boundaries and racialized rhetoric around late capitalism and migration. In fact, as I argue elsewhere, there is a long history of Shakespearean analogy or quotation that works to reaffirm white American supremacy in journalistic and popular narco storytelling. However, between 2016 and 2018, there have been at least three bilingual appropriations of Macbeth at U.S. colleges and universities that used Shakespeare's "Scottish play" and its violent colonial borderland dynamics to explore and expose the hypocrisies that have shaped present public perceptions of drug trafficking and its impacts on the U.S.–Mexico border. As Ayanna Thompson notes in the introduction to Weyward Macbeth, "Macbeth may not fit neatly into the category of a 'race' play", but "like a specter is it nevertheless haunted by, and haunts, the rhetoric and performances of race." To think about how the mutual haunting that Thompson describes is made manifest, one production in particular should be

examined, Stephen Richter and Mónica Andrade's *Marqués: A Narco Macbeth*, which was directed by Erik Pearson and performed at the University of California, Santa Cruz from 26 February 2016 until 6 March 2016. A film based on a recording of the performance was edited by Richter and made available on YouTube shortly thereafter" (Santos).

Marqués - a narco Macbeth, is a bilingual, multimedia, theatrical adaptation of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, written by myself, Stephen (Kepano) Richter and Mónica (Nick) Andrade, directed by New York based director and projection designer, Erik Pearson (Spike Lee's *Mike Tyson: Undisputed Truth* on Broadway/HBO, *Comedy of Errors: Allentown Shakespeare In The Park*) Scenic Design by Austin Kottkamp. Costume Design by Elysia Ellis. Lighting Design by Will Poulin. Sound Design by Joseph Krempetz. Projection Design by, Mónica (Nick) Andrade. Stage Manager: Amanda Marshall. Technical Director: Jack Rusk. *Marqués* was first presented at the eXspace (Experimental Theater) at the University of California Santa Cruz on February 26th, 2016, running for two weeks of sold out performances until closing on March 6th, 2016. The staging for *Marqués* was conceived by Erik Pearson (see figures 2-5) and Executed by Austin Kottkamp and Jack Rusk with a group of TA50 students under the technical supervision of Joe Weiss and Kate Edmunds of UCSC's Theater Arts Department.

The stage for *Marqués* consisted of four platforms interconnected by four runways, to create a templar-shaped cross, integrating the thematic concepts of both

Mexican narco-feudalism and the Knights Templar drug cartel into the scenic design itself. The staging was designed to support front projection of media on three walls that would surround the playing space, audience, and actors. The east and west platforms each supported a 32 foot wide by 10 foot high wall, the average size of a regular multiplex cinema screen. The north platform wall was 16 feet wide by 10 feet high. All three walls had doorways installed for actor entrances and exits. A trap door was installed in the center platform. Seating for the audience was divided into the four quadrants created by the intersecting runways. Media projection was facilitated by four 6,500 lumen projectors for the east and west walls and one 10,000 lumen projector for the north wall. Projection distances and throw angles were calculated to adhere to the NY theatrical standard of 20 lumens per square foot.

By using media projection as scenic architecture, we were able to recreate the world of the Mexican Baja in large scale and photorealistic detail without requiring any other set construction. By implementing a digital or virtual set, the only physical set dressing required were twelve folding chairs and a beverage cart. The dramatic action of the play was then staged and played out over large distances, placing a heavy importance on the timing of sound and lighting cues, media projections, and dynamic entrances and exits by the actors.

Besides documenting the performance on film, there were also various cinematic segments within the theatrical production itself that required a separate video production team. To accommodate both needs, we assembled a video

production unit to shoot a feature length performance video as well as all of the required media called for in the script.

Marqués - a narco Macbeth, as it moved through each of its permutations: from print, to performative, then finally into filmic text, all began with an act of translation: cultural as well as linguistic. The concept behind translating Shakespeare into a bilingual cultural context—that is, transplanting a classic work like *Macbeth* from Scotland to Mexico, then placing that narrative in the middle of the U.S./Mexican war on drugs—was to open up a space for political intervention and dialogue about current social issues surrounding U.S./Mexican relations. We wanted to capitalize on the audience and expectations that “Shakespeare” brings into a space. We would take advantage of the cultural space, the cultural capital of “Shakespeare,” and everything behind that cultural capital. Then once the audience was present, the idea was to bring spectators into a face to face, close encounter with the political issues of U.S./Mexican relations, by allowing the text of *Macbeth*, the very same words in most cases, to speak and mean something very different than they did in their original context.

The plays of Shakespeare live, or come to life rather, on stages, in classrooms, theaters, and in outdoor festival glens around the world, precisely at the moment of their utterance, when the words are spoken. Each time the lines will be delivered differently, and in each case and place they will create new significance for each particular geographic and historic moment in which they are uttered. That difference

and new meaning, emerging from an original work, through translation or transculturation (to use Ortiz's term) actually helps to preserve the original work. By preservation, in this case I mean survival, en Español - sobrevivir, perdurar, or perhaps Benjamin's "Überleben," to give the work something beyond its life, more life. Our intention behind Marqués was to give Macbeth even more life, by making it more accessible to a broader audience, while at the same time creating new meaning for its established and existing audience. All of this was performed first and foremost linguistically, by making our production of Shakespeare bilingual.

Monolingual hegemony is threatened by the liminality of the multilingual speaking body. The theater is a liminal space. Dionysus, the god of the theater, was also a liminal figure, both masculine and feminine, native and foreign, human and divine. The theater is a wonderful space to deconstruct cultural binaries, biases, and to investigate the borderlands and spaces between cultures for the richness that emerges from multiplicity, simultaneity, and perhaps even create a space to embrace diversity, tolerance, and to foster cultural understanding. A meaningful, accessible, 'borderland Shakespeare for everyone,' through bilingual multicultural representation, was our somewhat messianic goal for the production of Marqués - a narco Macbeth, or at least our stab at expanding the intellectual and artistic traditions we were working with. To recreate the world of Marqués, on both sides of the U.S./Mexican border, we would need to employ an extensive amount of digital technology. 98 minutes of continuous media projection would have to be designed in photorealistic detail to effectively

bring an audience into and hold them within the spell of our “contact zone.” This contact zone would be created and mediated by several performative technologies: digital audio-visual, architectural design, and through the blocking and positioning of the actors in relationship to the audience.

The world of Marqués consisted of two distinct spheres: the Mexican Baja, home to the warring narco cartels: a land of superstition, magic, and ancient gods, and the United States: San Diego / Coronado Island - home to the U.S. imperialist court of Major Lana Burns, the United States Marine Corps, and the CIA. Each sphere has its own rules, sounds, color palettes, and theatrical vocabularies. As the play moves from one sphere to the other, or more accurately, as the theatrical space is dominated by one sphere then the other, the theatrical vocabularies for violence or projection design for example, change along with that ideological move.

During the first two thirds of the play, while las brujas (the witches) are the agents or bringers of death, there is no attempt at naturalistic violence. In lieu of blood, red paint is used to mark the dead and violent acts happen over large distances, employing dance choreography rather than fight choreography. As the world of las brujas and the goddess Tonanzin (Hecate) gives way to the imperialist U.S. military intervention, the theatrical vocabulary for violence gives way to a naturalistic vocabulary of gunfire and brutal hand to hand combat.

When asked to describe the impact of the performance, Dr. Santos writes, "The power of Richter and Andrade's creative and provocative take on Macbeth lay not in

its capacity to examine the nature of violent ambition or the soul of the proverbial good guy gone bad but rather in its call to question how and for whose benefit stories of corruption and military intervention are told. As Richter explained in an interview leading up to the 2016 performance, the actions of the drug trade “do not happen in a vacuum” (Garcia). Whether they wish to acknowledge it or not, the audiences in the theatre in 2016 and watching on YouTube today are implicated in the larger transnational structures of power and commerce that *Marqués* dramatized. As the next presidential election rapidly approaches, perhaps the most urgent takeaway from this production and its filmic afterlife is that the U.S.–Mexico border was never the dividing line between good and evil that it is all too often assumed to be” (Santos).

Chapter 4: Shakespeare in Hawaii

The exact time of Shakespeare’s arrival in Hawaii is unknown, but it is most agreed-upon that Shakespeare’s verses were on 18th century ships that landed there. In 1820, missionaries began arriving in Hawaii and were noted for revering Shakespeare’s poetry. *The Friend*, a Hawaiian newspaper founded and edited by missionaries, made numerous references to Shakespeare. In the 1860s, it was speculated that the head of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association always carried the Bible and the works of Shakespeare on his person. By the mid-19th century, native Hawaiians, including royalty, embraced Shakespeare, earning him a Hawaiian name – *Hoonaueuihe*.⁸⁷ According to DiPasquale, Shakespeare was used by white settlers to

⁸⁷ Shakespeare’s Hawaiian name translates to “to make a spear shake.”

describe the *ali'i nui*⁸⁸ of Hawaii. Native Hawaiians were excited by the idea of the Bard, particularly educated high chiefs in Western canon.⁸⁹ Between 1850 and 1925, Hawaiian newspapers printed serialized dramas written by Shakespeare. The first known Hawaiian production of Shakespeare occurred during 1834, with Edwin Booth and William St. Maur being star performers by the 1850s (Dobson).

Shakespeare was also used to express the political struggles experienced by Hawaii while the royalty negotiated with England and America. After the overthrow of the monarchy, a translation of *Julius Caesar* as *Mooleo o Juliusa Kaisara*⁹⁰ was printed by the *Ka Nupepa Kuoka*.⁹¹ This publication has led many critics to assume that the timing was meant to rebuke those participants in the overthrow (Dobson). In 1898, *Hawaii's Story* was published just as annexation was to occur. In this publication by Queen Lili'uokalani, a passage from *Measure for Measure* was quoted in an effort to petition for kingdom restoration by likening the annexation to a draconian law fought against by Isabella, indicating that like Isabella's confrontation with a supreme authority with life-and-death power, Lili'uokalani was fighting against tyranny (DiPasquale).

⁸⁸ This is the Hawaiian phrase for "high chiefs." It is noted that *ali'i* by itself refers to "royalty."

⁸⁹ During this time period, the educated elite class was expected to not only read and quote Shakespeare, but also explain personal actions by alluding to his works.

⁹⁰ This is Hawaiian for "The Tale of Julius Caesar."

⁹¹ This is Hawaiian for "The Independent Newspaper."

Shakespeare and Hawaiian Pidgin

One of the best-known Hawaiian adaptations of Shakespeare was *Twelf Nite O Wateva* by James Grant Benton in 1974 (Hokama). Importantly, this adaptation links elements of Shakespeare's prose with Hawaiian Pidgin, which is distinct from the Hawaiian language spoken by Native Hawaiians⁹² prior to Western contact and still used today. The origin of Hawaiian Pidgin is a creole language rooted in the plantation economy of Hawaii and has Hawaiian, English, and immigrant plantation worker languages from across the Pacific Rim. In 1835, the first Hawaiian sugarcane plantation was established and, subsequently, immigrant workers came from Puerto Rico, China, the Philippines, Okinawa, and Portugal (Sakoda and Siegel). As a result of the multilinguistic working conditions, new pressures ensued, leading to the development of pidgin, linking the immigrant languages and the Hawaiian language to create a common language to facilitate communication among immigrant and Native Hawaiian workers. Pidgin has been defined as

one language we talk in Hawai'i. Mo den half da peopo hea. Different from Hawaiian. Maybe a little bit like English, but get all kine stuff from odda kine languages mix in. Like from Hawaiian, Cantonese, Portuguese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino—you know, all da peopo wen work da plantations. (M. Booth)

⁹² In Hawaii, these individuals are called *kānaka maoli*.

These multicultural social and labor conditions led to the development of Pidgin, where the first was based on Hawaiian and the second was based on English.⁹³ Both gave a common language for all workers and plantation overseers (known as *luna* in Hawaiian). These overseers were also immigrants. Although no longer reliant upon a plantation economy, Hawaiians still often use pidgin⁹⁴ and most are bilingual, speaking English and pidgin. Therefore, the decision of Benton to use a pidgin translation was never done before because of the vilification and suppression of the language. Pidgin speaker discrimination has represented a version of socioeconomic disenfranchisement and racism, as described by Sakoda and Siegal

. . . as being important to local culture, [pidgin] has at the same time been denigrated as corrupt or “broken” English, and seen as an obstacle to learning standard English, the official language of the schools, government, and big business. (18)

From 1924 to the 1960s, Hawai'i had a two-tier public school system with both English and district schools. To be enrolled in the English school system, students had to demonstrate their oral proficiency in American English. If English was spoken as a second language or pidgin English was used, these students were

⁹³ While the first instance of Hawaiian Pidgin was created with the influx of immigrant workers, the second instance of Hawaiian Pidgin did not occur until around 1875.

⁹⁴ As a first language, pidgin is attributed to approximately half of Hawaii's population and the working class primarily pidgin (Yokota).

frequently sent to an alternative district school system.⁹⁵ Hughes noted that there were multiple motivations for the use of the two-tier school system.⁹⁶ Pidgin speakers were segregated from English speakers in school systems. Even when the English school system was dismantled, there was still contention about the use of pidgin in the classroom. In 1987, the Hawaiian Board of Education proposed a classroom language use policy to ban pidgin in public schools (Lippi-Green). Similarly, pidgin has been viewed as a professional liability.⁹⁷ Today, speaking pidgin allows for discrimination at all life stages and often leads to social stigma. The use of English in Hawaii frequently refers to a desire to be seen as *haole*⁹⁸ and to have the related privileges:

The emotion-charged attitudes associated practically everywhere with the use of different levels of speech take on additional significance in Hawaii, for there the type of English spoken is connected with race as well as with class differences. The only persons to whom standard English is native are (roughly speaking) the few Americans and British, locally known as Haoles, who occupy an envied position of economic advantage. Good English and the Haole are associated in the popular mind. “A Haole,” defined a Japanese girl, “is a person who

⁹⁵ The alternative district school systems were for those unable to pass the proficiency examinations for English.

⁹⁶ The motivations are class anxieties, race, and educational quality (Hughes).

⁹⁷ For example, in 1985, a meteorologist applied to the Honolulu office of the National Weather Service for a broadcast position. Although the weather service found him qualified, he was notified that his pidgin English disqualified him. The weather service hired a less-qualified meteorologist. The

⁹⁸ District Court of Hawaii heard the lawsuit about the disqualification. He lost the suit because he “did not sound White” (Lippi-Green 184).

⁹⁸ Hawaiian for “white.”

speaks a beautiful language.” To be like a Haole has been, by and large, to share in his economic and social advantages, to feel one’s self more closely approximate to that state of a “real American” which the schools and press glorify. Yet at the same time it implies being “haolefied,” dissociating one’s self from one’s class and racial group. Therefore the use of “good English,” always a class fetish emphasized by the pedagogic mind, becomes in Hawaii doubly a fetish, about which play ambivalent sets of attitudes. (Reinecke 783)

Since there is immense discrimination against those speaking pidgin, there is a small body of literature in the language. One of the most well-known and one of the first was *Twelf Nite O Wateva!*, an adaptation of Shakespeare’s *Twelfth Night*.

The focus of *Twelf Nite O Wateva!* was to “reimagine pidgin as a language suitable for literary writing” (Hokama 62) and sought to translate the original play in such a way that the language of Shakespeare would come alive in the audience’s native language. Pidgin, as used by Benton, is both vigorous and agile, which allowed him to capture the original moods, emotions, and settings evoked by the original work. As a result, pidgin was elevated by Benton to the same level⁹⁹ as the original text, but also questioned exclusivity and privilege claims (Hokama). Within Benton’s work, many different pidgins were adopted, which is unsurprising considering the perspectives of Sakoda and Siegel:

⁹⁹ In this context, *level*, refers to the literary stature.

Pidgin remains a primarily spoken language, and it is spoken in a variety of ways. Some people speak “heavy” or “strong” Pidgin, which is very different from English. (Linguists call this form the “basilect.”) Other people speak a “lighter” form of Pidgin, which is close to standard English. (This is called the “acrolect.”) The majority of speakers speak varieties in between (the “mesolects”) and can switch back and forth between lighter or heavier forms of Pidgin as required by contextual factors such as who they’re talking to, topic, setting, and formality. (19-20)

In Benton’s production, the pidgin English used by characters reflects their social aspirations and standing. Thus, pidgin heaviness was based on social class. Carroll and Carroll noted the different pidgins in the play as being “light” for the most inflexible characters and “heavy” for the most spontaneous characters (67). In Benton’s production, Malolio is the only one that seeks to remake pidgin in response to an effort to drive his social and economic standing. Here, Malolio grapples with the legacy of a stigmatized language, even to the point of despising it, even as he speaks it, leading his attempts to suppress its use, even within himself.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ In the original version and Benton’s version, Malolio chastises other characters (Sir Toby Belch, Count Opu-nui), Sir Andrew Aguecheek/Sir Andrew Waha, and Feste/Lope for their loud holiday merriment. However, Benton’s version takes this further, where Malolio is not offended only by the loudness, but also the language being used. Moreover, in Shakespeare’s play, the trio’s merriment is likened to the “clanging of tinkers” or the sound of pots and pans being repaired, while Benton’s play, likened the merriment (also considered to be babbling) to how Hawaiian women sound when pounding *poi* – a food staple in the Islands made from the taro plant (Hokama).

Thus, in Benton's version, Malolio took offense at the loudness of the holiday merriment and the language being used – pidgin. As noted, pidgin is hated by Malolio – how it sounds, its social association with the working class, and the discrimination it evokes. It has been theorized that part of Malolio's hatred stems from his use of pidgin, making a key element of the adaptation the eradication of pidgin from Malolio's language, even while struggling to use proper English/ The efforts made by Malolio to assimilate the English used by Protestant missionaries with pidgin allow Benton to explore language anxieties created through the early modern English religious conflict, which has been argued to lead to a manifestation into a semiotic ideology (Keane).¹⁰¹

In his adaptation, Benton also seeks to isolate a theme to be interpreted in his own culture, leading to direct contestation of the text “in the interests of an opposing or alternative social . . . agenda” (Cartelli 17). Importantly, Benton emphasized cultural and linguistic harmonization, which meant that the individual elements of language and theatre were pulled together as one “mutually affecting dialogue,” including 20th-century English, Pidgin, Early Modern English, 1970s Honolulu, and Hawaiian (Kashay; Harfst). The play's text is also noted for its richness and resonance, even during the 21st century, making it a powerful tool for analysis purposes.

¹⁰¹ In this context, *semiotic ideology* refers to linguistic and material markets of identity (Keane).

Hawaiian Adoption of Shakespeare

Shakespeare came with the English when they arrived in the South Pacific, where a copy of his plays was likely to be found upon the *Endeavour* – the ship that first landed in New Zealand, sailed by Captain James Cook (D. J. Carr). During the next century, European and American missionaries, businessmen, journalists, and actors began interacting with those living in the Pacific, including those living in Hawaii. Throughout the 19th century, many European and American writers used inspirations from Shakespeare to describe the *ali'i nui*, revealing how the *haole* viewed the *ali'i nui*. At the same time, the *ali'i nui*, particularly Lunalilo and Lili'uokalani, used Shakespeare to describe themselves. Like Cartelli, DiPasquale focused on the post-colonial appropriations of Shakespeare in different contexts. However, DiPasquale focused upon the use of Shakespeare in describing the *ali'i nui*. This is important because, per Cartelli, there is a frequent blurring of the lines between transpositional and proprietary appropriations of Shakespeare. Many Shakespearean appropriations of the 19th century used to describe the *ali'i nui* are transpositional in that they interpret a Shakespearean theme or character in a new way to either underwrite or enrich a related argument. The interest held across these arguments is not just that they illustrate Hawaiian history and its relationship with the literary canon of the English, but they also show how the *ali'i nui* adopted the cultural commodities from European settlers into use by native Hawaiians, showing how the rulers of Hawaii sought to negotiate the presence of Americans in the area. The

appropriations are proprietary because both sides (*haole* and *ali'i nui*) imply that Shakespeare is an artist and focus on reading the appropriated material in a reverential way (Cartelli). The language and characters created by Shakespeare were seen as being valuable commodities that were signs of prestige, which were seen to potentially, "bridge or reinforce cultural and political borders, including the boundary between nineteenth-century American republicanism and the markedly English variety of constitutional monarchy that, for a time, prevailed in . . . Hawaii" (DiPasquale 2).

However, Shakespearean appropriations are created by the conditions that may be used to shape the form of an appropriation (Cartelli). As a result, readers can respond to the Shakespeare-*ali'i nui* exchange by finding it to only be an example of the colonizing power held by Shakespeare's work (DiPasquale). The most common impression of the *ali'i nui* in relation to Shakespeare is that it is consumed by the force of the language used by Shakespeare or how the use of Shakespearean language departs from the language and culture of Hawaii. Many elements of Hawaiian culture are based on embracing many elements of non-Hawaiian culture.

To appreciate the Shakespearean allusions by the *haole* and *ali'i nui*, it is necessary to trace how some appropriate "travel from their local conditions to Shakespeare, becoming, in their encounters with the texts, voyagers within foreign terrain" (Orkin, *Local Shakespeares* 2). Thus, many different 19th-century people came together to reveal the place of Shakespeare at the intersection of different

cultural histories.¹⁰² For example, English and American writers in the early 19th century likened King Liholiho and Queen Kammalu to Antony and Cleopatra by Shakespeare, leading them to be positioned as pagan majesty. In the mid-19th century, the dignity and authority of King Liholiho was undermined by *haole* writers that used Shakespearean language as a way to describe him. On the other hand, American writers used allusions of Shakespeare to describe the *ali'i nui* in a political manner, specifically in relation to Kamehameha V (as an autocrat) and Lunalilo (as a democratic hero), expected to dismantle the monarchy and model Hawaii after the American republic. Thus, Shakespeare is seen as being highly versatile, giving *haole* writers with versatile and appropriated Shakespearean texts with allusions and language that could be used to capture the responses to the *ali'i nui* (DiPasquale).

¹⁰² These cultural histories were based on British cultural history, Hawaiian cultural history, and American cultural history.

However, it is also shown that two of the Hawaiian *ali'i nui*¹⁰³ transitioned from Shakespearean consumption to Shakespearean appropriation and production. The *ali'i nui* used Shakespearean language to advance their respective cultural and political agendas, which were radically different and incompatible (DiPasquale). Lunalilo performed *Richard III* to advertise the American cultural framework. Lili'uokalani alluded to *Measure for Measure* to encourage resistance to American power and the restoration of the lost sovereignty through Hawaiian *mana*.¹⁰⁴

Kamehameha II (Antony) and Kammalu (Cleopatra)

The first known Hawaiian king-Shakespeare encounter did not occur on stage or in text, but through a yacht, *Cleopatra's Barge*, purchased by King Kamehameha II¹⁰⁵ and represented the first American-built pleasure yacht. It was constructed in

¹⁰³ These individuals were Lunalilo and Lili'uokalani. The former reigned from 1873 to 1874, whereas the latter reigned from 1891 to 1893. Lunalilo was elected as the sixth Hawaiian monarch. He ruled until his death in 1874. Of royal descent, Lunalilo was a grandnephew of Kamehameha I and educated by American missionaries at the Royal School. King Kamehameha III found him eligible for the throne and following the death of King Kamehameha V, Lunalilo was elected to the throne unanimously by the Hawaiian legislature. Since he was popular and the first elected Hawaiian monarch, he was known as "The People's King." A year after his election, he died from tuberculosis (Cahill; Kuykendall, "Lunalilo, the People's King"). Lili'uokalani was the last sovereign Hawaiian monarch and the only queen regnant. She ruled until the overthrow of the kingdom in 1893. She was informally adopted, baptized, and educated at the Royal School, leading King Kamehameha III to consider her eligible for the throne. After the death of her younger brother in 1877, Lili'uokalani was named heir apparent, ascending in 1891 to the throne. She attempted to draft a new constitution to restore the monarchy's power and voting rights to the disenfranchised. The monarchy was overthrown in 1893 because of her attempts to engage in Bayonet Constitution abrogation. The monarchy was unable to protect itself because of the U.S. Marines in Hawaii to protect American interests. The overthrow led to the Republic of Hawaii, with the goal being annexation to America. After an unsuccessful uprising to reestablish the monarchy, Lili'uokalani was placed under house arrest and, in 1895, forced to abdicate. Further attempts were made for monarchy restoration and annexation opposition, but the Spanish-American War halted these actions (Askman; Fuchs; Kualapai; A. Morris).

¹⁰⁴ In this context, *mana* refers to "supernatural or divine power, mana, miraculous power, . . . authority" (Pukui and Elbert). It is seen that Pukui and Elbert used *mana* in their description, referring to "power" or "prestige."

¹⁰⁵ Also known as Liholiho.

Salem, Massachusetts in 1816 and initially set to be called *Car of Concordia* by its owner, George Crowninshield, Jr. (Johnston 20, 24). However, by the time the much-publicized cruise to Europe was undertaken by Crowninshield in 1817, the yacht had been renamed *Cleopatra's Barge*, and per Johnston, "the reason for this was never revealed, but may have been due to a reading of some lines from Act II, scene 2 of William Shakespeare's romantic tragedy *Antony and Cleopatra*" (2). Part of the cause may have been the speech by Enobarbus that described the first encounter between Antony and Cleopatra:

The barge she sat in, like a burnished throne,
Burned on the water. The poop was beaten gold;
Purple the sails, and so perfumèd that
The winds were love-sick with them. The oars were silver,
Which to the tune of flutes kept stroke, and made
The water which they beat to follow faster,
As amorous of their strokes. (Ant.II.ii.227–231)

There is no documentary evidence that shows the intentions of Crowninshield, the change in the name of the yacht in the early 1800s would have been seen as an evocation of the quoted speech. Although there is some borrowing¹⁰⁶ by Shakespeare to create the speech. In the third act of *All for Love*, Dryden reworked parts of the same speech, where the same lines were spoken by Antony (Harth). However, when the yacht was named, the Enobarbus speech was a frequent example of the eloquence of Shakespeare and text references to Cleopatra often included this speech like an

¹⁰⁶ This involved images and words transcribed from the *Plutarch* translation by North (North and Carr 981–82).

illustration.¹⁰⁷ The rechristening of Crowninshield's yacht indicated the owner's assumption that the name would cause him to be associated with the picture of self-indulgence and wealth painted by Shakespeare. This is exactly what happened and *Cleopatra's Barge* drew unprecedented crowds at each port of call on her maiden voyage. After Crowninshield returned to America and his subsequent death, the yacht was bought by his brother, who then sold it to Bryant & Sturgis, who planned to sell the yacht to King Liholiho (Johnston).

Liholiho was Kamehameha I's son. Kamehameha I subdued other *ali'i nui* on his own island through violence, allowing him to conquer the *ali'i nui* on the other islands, leading to a united Hawaii by 1810 (Kuykendall, "The Hawaiian Kingdom—Volume 3"). Due to the influence of his stepmother,¹⁰⁸ Liholiho abolished the *kapu* laws.¹⁰⁹ Following the death of Liholiho, Ka'ahumanu converted to Calvinist Christianity, leading to an increase of the missionary agenda. However, Liholiho had more interest in luxury than religion, which contributed to his preference for European and American goods and reflected the traditional importance of consumption to signify the power held by the *ali'i nui* (DiPasquale):

[T]he customary conflicts between the king and ranking chiefs . . .

more and more appeared as demonstrations of indigenous mana in the

¹⁰⁷ An example of this type of illustration is seen by Carr, who noted that the view (scenery) found along the Rhine to cause him to "envie not the aquatic pomp of Cleopatra" (116). Carr's point was illustrated using Enobarbus's speech, where the language of Shakespeare was retained.

¹⁰⁸ Ka'ahumanu.

¹⁰⁹ These laws were in relation to ancient Hawaiian religion.

most appropriate forms of foreign wealth . . . Trade goods were glorious extensions of sacred chiefly bodies already stretched to their organic limits. (Sahlins, “Cosmologies of Capitalism” 432–33)

Knowing the importance of consumption for the *ali'i nui*, when Bryant and Sturgis sent the yacht to Hawaii in 1820, Liholiho bought it¹¹⁰ and took possession in 1821. According to the Bryant & Sturgis agent, Charles B. Bullard, "If you want to know how Religion stands at the Islands, I can tell you — All sects are tolerated, but the King worships the Barge" (Johnston 12).

A routine overhaul of the yacht undertaken in 1822 found that it was rotten around the mainmast. Gilbert Mathison, an English visitor, described this situation through casting Liholiho as a mixture of Antony and Cleopatra, stating, “She was called Cleopatra's Barge, and to catch his Sable Majesty was fitted up in a style of considerable elegance; but she had not been long in his possession, when the timbers on one side were found to be decayed” (Mathison 463). In this guise, Liholiho is seen as being “both an Antony caught in the toils of a deceptive and inwardly corrupt beauty and a contemporary male incarnation of the queen” (DiPasquale 5).

Mathison’s perception was that Liholiho was seduced by the appearance of the yacht, but Liholiho was not to be taken advantage of, telling Bryant & Sturgis that he would not be paying the full agreed-upon amount,¹¹¹ and ordered that the yacht be renovated.

¹¹⁰ The cost of *Cleopatra's Barge* was huge – 1.07 million pounds of sandalwood (Johnston).

¹¹¹ This does not mean that Liholiho did not make some payments; he did, but he did not pay the full amount.

Once *Cleopatra's Barge* was once again seaworthy, she was renamed *Ha'aheo o Hawaii*.¹¹² The use of a Hawaiian name on the yacht indicated the intention of Liholiho to claim it and get rid of cultural cargo.¹¹³

The name change of the yacht did not lead to a complete dissociation between Kamehameha II and Cleopatra. At the end of April 1823, Liholiho initiated a festival to commemorate the death of his father and his accession. Hiram Bingham¹¹⁴ was a guest at these festivals and described the final day of the festivals, stating that while the opening day had European goods and Christian prayers, the final day included rites that were

chiefly Hawaiian, quite imposing . . . and as a display of aboriginal taste and customs . . . striking and interesting. . . . [Of particular interest was the entrance of] the favorite queen, Kamamalu, borne in state by about seventy subjects, upon a singularly constructed carriage

¹¹² This name translates to Pride of Hawaii.

¹¹³ Interestingly, there is no evidence that Liholiho had any experience with Shakespeare's work. However, it is possible that he investigated the importance of the original name. According to an English clergyman, William Ellis, "[the king's] mind was naturally inquisitive. The questions he usually presented to foreigners were by no means trifling; and his memory was retentive . . . I have heard him entertain a party of chiefs for hours together, with accounts of different parts of the earth, describing the extensive lakes, the mountains, and mines of North and South America; the elephants and inhabitants of India; the houses, manufactures, &c. of England, with no small accuracy, considering he had never seen them. He had great thirst for knowledge and was diligent in his studies. . . . [O]ne day, when he opened his writing desk, that he expected more advantage from that desk than from a fine brig belonging to him, lying at anchor opposite the house in which we were sitting . . . I have sat beside him at his desk sometimes from nine or ten o'clock in the morning, till nearly sunset, during which period his pen or his book has not been out of his hand more than three quarters of an hour" (Ellis 456–57).

¹¹⁴ Bingham was the leader of the first American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) missionaries. ABCFM was founded in 1810 by New England Congregationalists.

— whale-boat upon an extensive wicker-work scaffold of transverse poles and light spars lashed together, and supported on the heads, hands, and shoulders of a column of men in their martial dress. . . . Seated as a Cleopatra in the middle of the boat, having a scarlet silk robe around her waist, a coronet of brilliant feathers on her head, and a large and superb umbrella of scarlet silk, fringed and tasselled, supported over her by a warrior chief, who was girded with a scarlet girdle, and had on a lofty feathered helmet, she rode, a queen, above the heads of the admiring multitude. (Bingham 184)

Notably, Bingham assumed that readers would be familiar with famous images created by Shakespeare, not just that of the feminine majesty of the occupant of the boat but also the audience of those “gaz[ing] on Cleopatra” (Shakespeare et al.), showing Bingham’s role, much like that of Enobarbus, as an eyewitness telling of an outlandish spectacle. In fact, as Bingham continues to describe Kammalu, the description is like that of Cleopatra. For example, when Liholiho and Kammalu left Hawaii for England, Bingham noted that “[the queen] distinguished herself, as she was wont to do [in] an elevated and poetic impromptu [as she embarked, she] poured forth eloquently her parting salutation — her last farewell” (Bingham 203). According to DiPasquale, this performance by the queen epitomized for Bingham what may have been if “this noble woman . . . from her childhood been trained in the Christian religion, or had she been indulged with some years more of thorough

instruction” (Bingham 204). However, this did not happen because the royal couple contracted measles in 1824 while in London and, by July, "the hope of the queen's recovery was abandoned. With tenderness, and many tears, the royal pair took leave of each other" (Bingham 259).

Kamehameha IV: Shakespearean Performer and Spectator

In London, Liholiho and Kammalu had the opportunity to go to the *New Theatre Royal* in Drury Lane and saw William Moncrieff's *Zoroaster*. At the time he was in London, it was unlikely that Kamehameha II had any experience with Shakespeare. In fact, 25 years following the death of Liholiho, two members of the *ali'i nui*, Prince Alexander Liholiho¹¹⁵ and Lot,¹¹⁶ were at Drury Lane and saw *The Merchant of Venice*. The pair left Hawaii in 1849 with the most trusted adviser of Kamehameha III, Dr. Gerrit P. Judd. Notably, Judd was acting as a diplomat for France, Great Britain, and the United States. He decided to combine his official duties as a diplomat with a tour for the royal pair to enable them to obtain “knowledge and experience of the world and of courts” (Adler ix–x).¹¹⁷ They first voyaged to San Francisco, crossing the isthmus of Panama, then sailed to New York prior to leaving for London via Halifax. Prince Alexander Liholiho (primarily called Alex) kept an English-language journal throughout the journey and, within this journal, Alex

¹¹⁵ Prince Alexander Liholiho was 15 years old and was the heir-designate as the adopted son of Kamehameha III.

¹¹⁶ Lot was 18 years old and reigned as Kamehameha V after the death of Prince Alexander Liholiho.

¹¹⁷ Notably, the royal pair had been educated at the Chiefs' Children's School. This facility was established by Kamehameha III with the explicit goal of educating the next generation of royalty (Kanahele 23–27).

recorded his impressions of the performance on Drury Lane. He did not explicitly note the name of the performance but did say “[I] was much pleased with the Pantomimes. But I liked the Drama better than anything else I saw” (Kamehameha IV 30). By showing his appreciation for Shakespeare’s work, Alex showed sophistication that was not seen at Drury Lane that night because the *Times of London* reported that most of the audience ignored the Shakespearean comedy, further stating that most were determined to not hear the play but pay attention to the pantomime. Thus, per the *Times of London*, the only part heard by the audience was the trial scene. It was indicated that Alex was not offended by the tendency of the English to make light of royalty through his statement of being “pleased with the Pantomimes” (Kamehameha IV).

However, it was also seen that he was angered by American racism experienced during his extended stay. In his journal, Alex described how, while in Washington DC, he seated himself on the train when the conductor accosted him and insisted he left the carriage, saying that Alex was in the wrong one. After the conductor was informed of Alex’s identity, the conductor told him to remain where he was, but when asked by Alex to explain his actions, the conductor refused to justify his assumptions. Per Alex, the conductor had

probably taken me for somebody's servant, just because I had darker skin than he had. Confounded fool. . . . The first time that I ever received such treatment, not in England or France, or anywhere else.

But in this country I must be treated like a dog to go & come at an Americans bidding. . . . Even the waiters in their hotels in answering a bell, instead of coming and knocking at the door, they stalk into the room as if they were paying one a visit. . . . In England an African can pay his fare for the Cars, and he can sit alongside of Queen Victoria. The Americans talk and they think a great deal of their liberty, and strangers often find that too many liberties are taken of their comfort, just because his hosts are a free people. (Kamehameha IV 108)

Alex returned to Hawaii with a strong preference for British Victorian tendencies. In 1855, he took the throne as Kamehameha IV and married Emma Rooke, a woman of Hawaiian and British ancestors. On the Hawaiian side, Emma noted high ranking *ali'i nui* and, on the British side, her maternal grandfather was an adviser of Kamehameha I (Kanahele). Emma had been raised as the adopted child of a prominent couple, in line with the *ali'i nui* custom. The royal couple had an Anglican marriage ceremony and, in 1862, Alex established the Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church (a branch of Anglicanism). In fact, Alex personally translated the Book of Common Prayer into Hawaiian (Kanahele 62). The first Anglican Bishop of Honolulu, Thomas Nettleship Staley, described Alex as being a man of "elegant tastes . . . who could enjoy Kingsley, Thackeray, Tennyson, and was ever quoting Shakespeare" (Hopkins 446).

There are many Shakespearean allusions and anecdotes that cluster around the reign of Alex. It is possible to understand the investment of the *ali'i nui* by the late 1850s and early 1860s into British royalty constructions by examining the Shakespearean elements against Honolulu theater history. At the same time, this type of an investigation also shows the scope and dignity of Hawaiian royalty power, as well as the degree to which Shakespeare was a powerful source of “European mana” (Sahlins, “Cosmologies of Capitalism”), used to convey Hawaiian power in a Hawaiian context but also ensure that British and American observers viewed Hawaiians as being “civilized” (Sahlins, *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities* 26, 31).

Soon after Alex’s accession, Edwin Booth stopped in Honolulu after an Australian performance tour. Per Booth’s sister, Alex went to great lengths to see Booth’s performance of Shakespeare:

The king of the Sandwich Islands had lately died, and, the court being in mourning, his successor was unable to attend the theatre publicly; but expressing a desire to witness Booth's production of Richard III., his Majesty was accommodated behind the scenes. The arm-chair used for the stage-throne was placed at the wing, with Edwin's theatrical robe thrown over it, and the king seated himself upon it; his escort, who were a Frenchman and a huge Kanaka, the latter wearing a military jacket, white trousers, and a long sword, stood by his side.

Edwin was compelled to trouble the king for the throne in the coronation scene, and his Majesty good-naturedly stood until it was returned for his use. Kamehameha IV was an educated gentleman, speaking English fluently; he told Edwin that when he was a little boy he had seen the elder Booth perform Richard III at the Chatham Theatre in New York. (A. B. Clarke 141)

Clarke's narrative describes Alex as non-threatening in showing his blending of culture, westernized accomplishments, and good humor. Viewing Alex flanked by a European and an indigenous man with a European weapon may make the image seen as being ridiculous on the one hand, but on the other hand, positioned as a Shakespearean enthusiast, Alex is cast as a participant in a history play (DiPasquale). However, another recount of the same events by Montrose Moses is both mocking and dismissive. In this account, Alex was, "loath to let his subjects find him at a place of amusement. So he sat behind the scenes on Richard's throne, watching the three-hours' traffic of the stage, and was ignominiously deposed whenever the throne was wanted as a stage property" (Moses 41).

In this account, there is no evidence of any of Clarke's assumptions,¹¹⁸ but does indicate that "the reader is treated to a joke at the expense of an

¹¹⁸ Per DiPasquale, "gone is Clarke's hint of regret at impropriety ("Edwin was compelled to trouble the king"); gone is the Hawaiian monarch's polite cooperation; gone is the very specific explanation that the king had to stand only once, for the "coronation scene," as well as the information about the king's education and theatrical Sophistication" (10).

"amusement"-seeking native chief who hides his frivolous activities from his own subjects, whose only throne is a "stage property," and who can be popped out of it repeatedly on cue" (DiPasquale 10). It is also recognized that Moses does not disclose Alex's remark about seeing Junius Brutus Booth perform, indicating that this aspect of the narrative by Clarke may be inaccurate because Alex was a teenager during his visit to New York and his itinerary did not have him in New York on any date when *Richard III* was performed by Booth in New York.

In no case was the 1855 rendition of *Richard III* the first Shakespearean play staged in Honolulu. In 1834, the Oahu Amateur Theater presented several Shakespearean vignettes¹¹⁹ at Major Warren's Hotel. In 1847, The Thespian, the first fully-equipped theater in Honolulu opened, but after it burned down, other theaters, such as the Varieties and the Royal Hawaiian, opened and featured Shakespeare and actors, such as William St. Maur:

[St. Maur] created quite a sensation in the dress circle of the Varieties one night while playing the Ghost of Hamlet's Father, and nearly scaring the life out of the first Mrs. A. P. Everett, who was so overcome that she was carried out of the theatre in a swoon. (Thrum 98)

¹¹⁹ These vignettes included the final scene of *Othello*, the final scene of *Hamlet*, and Act 2, Scene 7 of *As You Like It* (Hoyt 14–15).

The Shakespearean adaptations seen in mid-19th century Hawaii were frequently partial and/or modified versions of the original because of the Victorian-era theatrical practices used at the time. For example, an advertisement for the Royal Hawaiian in 1853 promoted a selection of scenes from *Hamlet*. When Booth performed *Richard III*, the version was Colley Cibber's, which included parts from *Henry VI* plays and original script by Cibber.¹²⁰ For example, as Richard emerges from the self-doubt created by his dreams prior to battle, to respond to a warning of "Be more yourself, my lord," Cibber improvised Richard's response, stating "Richard's himself again" (Spencer 339) – a line performed by Booth, heard by Kamehameha IV, and would haunt the latter in 1859 when he

heard . . . idle and malicious" rumors involving a breach of propriety on the part of his private secretary, Henry Neilson, and Queen Emma. Brooding, the king drank himself into an alcoholic haze, acquired a pistol, sought Neilson out, and without a word, shot him at point blank range. The bullet passed through Neilson's body and, miraculously, he survived. Sober again, the king realized that "his suspicions of Neilson and the queen were without any merit" and "was so filled with guilt and remorse that he decided to abdicate." Rumors swirled; the papers were filled with reports and editorials, some supporting the king and others hostile toward him; the members of the privy counsel had all

¹²⁰ Of note in Cibber's work is the famous line "Off with his head. So much for Buckingham" (Spencer 331).

they could do to talk him out of his plan to relinquish the throne.

(DiPasquale 11; Kanahele 112–13)

Later, Alex decided against abdication, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and one of Alex's closest friends, Robert C. Wyllie, drew from Scottish Romanticism and Cibber's Shakespearean adaptation, stating, "I wish to direct your mind from brooding over one overpowering Idea . . . Let that idea be gone forever; let 'Richard be himself again' . . . [let] the breaking up of the government never be again pronounced" (Kanahele 115–16). The message by Wyllie is mixed due to the choice of allusions used. For example, Alex is expected to identify with Richard prior to the fatal battle, where the tragic hero had no luxuries of conscience, but, at the same time, Alex was expected to perceive that he suffered from a condition that would only afflict a sensitive feminine being. Wyllie's statement of "one overpowering idea" appears in many works of fiction and likely alludes to the heroine in *Clan-Albin: A National Tale*, a popular 1815 novel by Christian Isobel Johnstone.¹²¹ The two allusions appear to be incompatible, but guilt-stricken Alex receives the needed message where

though he has all the exquisite sensitivity of a Romantic heroine, he
must not indulge it; like the Richard of Cibber's play and like the

¹²¹ The heroine, Flora, was viewed as being both strong and deeply emotional. Upon being informed of her husband's death, she felt grief described as being "horrid and unnamed state, when hideous sensation combines with mental agony . . . when one overpowering idea . . . throbs in the brain, [affecting] a nature too gentle to combat with such horrors" (Johnstone 138–39).

flamboyant Shakespearean hero-villain who inspired him, he must hold the course. The projection of a strong and unyielding image is essential to the maintenance of sovereignty. (DiPasquale 12)

Wyllie's *Richard III* allusion was even more powerful because it gave Alex a royal English alternative to the enemy¹²²-assigned Shakespearean role:

It seems almost impossible to believe that the King could have any real distrust of the Queen . . . her whole life and character from childhood was against any cause for such a thought. . . . Some evil demon, some devilish Iago must have distilled some damnable poison into the King's mind to have caused him to commit such an insane act!
(Kanahele 122–23)

These same remarks would be reprinted to cast Gilman as a friend of the king. However, the initial printing shows Alex as Othello and susceptible to manipulation and willing to believe wrongdoing occurred through the actions of a trusted person. Thus, it is unsurprising that despite Wyllie's encouragement for the king to continue on like Richard III prior to his defeat and does not assume that all will be well, Alex followed Wyllie's advice. One thought on this is that it may have been viewed as being preferable in 19th century Hawaii, that Alex followed Richard's example as a doomed English king, as opposed to Othello's example as a dark-skinned victim.

¹²² This enemy was Gorham Gilman.

Kamehameha V and Lunalilo: Shakespearean Politics in Hawaii

Kamehameha IV established a kingship that was reminiscent of the British monarchy and late 19th century American Shakespearean appropriations to describe Hawaiian kings began to reflect the ambivalence towards monarchies by Americans. To this end, Mark Twain¹²³ made effective use of Shakespeare's work, especially during his work as a *Sacramento Union* reporter during his 1866 visit to Hawaii. Not only did Twain use Shakespearean allusions as a satirical effect, but he also used it in a sympathetic manner towards Kamehameha V (Lot), who ruled from 1863 to 1872. Although Twain had a low opinion of monarchy, he judged Lot as being "attractively unpretentious and conscientious" (Twain, *Mark Twain's Letters from Hawaii* 54–55):

Some people in California have an idea that the King of the Sandwich Islands is a man who spends his time idling about the town of Honolulu with individuals of questionable respectability, and drinking habitually and to excess. This impression is wrong. Before he ascended the throne, he was "faster" than was well for him or for his good name, but, like the hero of Agincourt, he renounced his bad habits and discarded his Falstaffs when he became King, and since that time has conducted himself as becomes his high position. He attends closely to his business, makes no display, does not go about much, and

¹²³ At this time, Twain was gaining an American following and notoriety as being scathing, hilarious, and informative journalist.

in manners and habits is a thorough gentleman. (Twain, *Mark Twain's Letters from Hawaii* 121–22)

Through this passage by Twain, American readers were invited to revise their perceptions and notions of native chiefs and to consider Lot through a Shakespearean lens. To this end, Lot transitioned to being Henry V of the Shakespearean play – famous for both his self-reformation and military exploits, easily loveable by all Americans, rejecting vices and winning loyalty from the common man. However, Twain had no illusions regarding Lot's authoritarian rule. Despite his praise, Twain also spoke of how the 1852 constitution¹²⁴ was rejected by Lot and how, in 1864, without a suitable constitution being presented, he implemented a constitution¹²⁵ that strengthened monarchical power. Despite this, Twain did note that Lot "used his vast authority wisely and well" (Twain, *Mark Twain's Letters from Hawaii* 106–07).

Not everyone agreed with the opinion of Twain. Lot was not endeared to the missionary party¹²⁶ because of his commitment to maintaining royal power. This faction was happy that Lot died without naming a successor. As a result, Prince William Charles Lunalilo succeeded to the throne in a democratic way. Since Lot died childless, there were several eligible people in line for the throne. However, under the 1864 constitution, without naming a successor, the Hawaiian legislature could elect a

¹²⁴ The 1852 constitution was notable because it embodied American republicanism.

¹²⁵ The 1864 constitution remained in place until the 1887 "Bayonet Constitution," which was forced on King Kalkaua by the missionary party (Daws 184).

¹²⁶ The missionary party was a group of American *haole* residents that would eventually cause the downfall of the Hawaiian monarchy. This faction was named such because the members were grandchildren of the 1820s missionaries (DiPasquale).

new ruler. Interestingly, those eligible included women. When considering those who desired the throne, Lunalilo had the strongest blood claim and was the preference of the missionary party because of his willingness to democratize the government – a direct contrast with the preferences of a strong monarchy a native Hawaiian cultural traditions by his rival, David Kalkua. The popular vote was won by Lunalilo, which preceded the official legislature ballot. The Hawaiian legislature had no desire to antagonize the supporters of Lunalilo and declared him king, leading to immense support as well as allusions to Shakespeare:

The events occurring during the month of January, 1873, will form a most important chapter in Hawaiian history. The month opened with a noteworthy and unheard of thing in Hawaiian annals. At the call of a Prince aspiring to the throne, the legal voters throughout the Kingdom . . . cast over twelve thousand votes for him who has since been enthusiastically proclaimed the King of the Hawaiian Islands. Such a triumphant expression of the popular will would be worthy of record even in a Republican form of government. The minds of the King and his subjects are harmonious. His Majesty is reported to have said that he wanted his Government as Republican as would be consistent with the existence of Monarchical and Constitutional forms. If the sovereigns of some older and more populous nations than Hawai'i had manifested equal confidence in the people and the justice of their

claims to the throne, there would not have been the ground for the oft-quoted saying of Shakespeare: "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown." A sovereign ruler supported by the will of the people may dismiss his soldiers to till the ground and his courtiers to seek their livelihood in some useful employment more dignified than that of obsequious and sycophantic attendance at Court. Hereafter we hope the will of the people may find free expression under this King, or whoever may be his successor in office . . . When a sovereign asks the people to place the crown upon his head, it is an acknowledgement that political power emanates from the people. (The Friend 12)

In the editorial by The Friend, Shakespeare was appropriated in a “republican” way, leading the editorial to advocate a kingship with no resemblance recognizable by late-Elizabethan audiences of Shakespeare and rejects the Hawaiian presumption that *ali'i nui* are higher beings, tasked with caretaking for their people. This presumption prevailed during Kamehameha V's reign¹²⁷ and, after Lunalilo, would be central to the ideas of rule of Kalakaua and Lili'uokalani.

¹²⁷ Kamehameha V advocated limited suffrage, assuming it would be unrealistic to “jump by one bound from feudalism, [which] involves unquestioning obedience to the will of a superior, who ruled and thought for those under Him [to pure democracy]” (Daws 184).

The editorial's appropriation of Shakespeare is both proprietary and transpositional. This is because the philosophy of kingship conveyed by Henry IV is distorted to advance the American agenda. As perceived by The Friend, a crowned head lies uneasily because it embodies an unsound institution, a despotic system in which able-bodied men serve as the king's armed guards rather than as productive farmers and in which the sovereign is surrounded by "obsequious and sycophantic" courtiers who lack any notion of gainful employment. The monarch's slumbers are disturbed because his power relies upon the support of these parasites, and he lives in constant fear lest the people, realizing the corruptions of the ruling class, rise up to overthrow him. (DiPasquale 15)

In Act 3, Scene 1 of *Henry IV*, the soliloquy has no meaning regarding fear of the common man. In the play, the ruler perceives that he bears a weight that the people have no notion of its strength. The ruler is threatened by nobles that resent his sovereignty, despite helping him acquire the throne, prompting him to ponder the challenges faced as a result of these nobles – not concerns over the commons. Instead, Henry tells his son, Hal, that his popularity was a contributor to his rise to power. The Friend bet on this same type of popularity for Lunalilo and assumes that he will be secure in his popularity, making it easier to rule, especially as The Friend deemed his ascension to the throne “republican” in nature, but also noted that this type of

advantage does not mean that Lunalilo could govern without anxiety, but that he could preside over the Hawaiian monarchical demise – a prophetic statement coming 20 years prior to the overthrow of Lili'uokalani (DiPasquale).

Lunalilo and Lili'uokalani: Contrasting Shakespearean Appropriations

The different appropriations of Shakespeare regarding Lunalilo and Lili'uokalani show the final element of the intertwining story of Shakespeare and the *ali'i nui*, showing different routes taken by these rulers taken in "travel[ing] from their local conditions to Shakespeare" (Orkin, *Local Shakespeares* 2). In each case, Shakespeare was a valuable foreign commodity in the Hawaiian context. For Lunalilo, this value involved a democratic persona, which appealed to American-Hawaiian observers. As a result, notions of being champions of freedom were reinforced. For Lili'uokalani, Shakespeare's work was used to challenge the familiar American self-image. Although the latter killed him, Lunalilo was "seriously hampered in the exercise of his duties by two handicaps – chronic alcoholism and pulmonary tuberculosis" (Korn et al. 305). However, the former (chronic alcoholism) did not prevent him from earning a reputation as a superb performer with personal magnetism. According to Daniel Edward Bandmann, Lunalilo was, "a man of excessive fun and merriment of soul, [who] hated intensely conventionality in manners." (Bandmann 279). For example, per Bandmann, when Kamehameha V was late for a banquet, Lunalilo "rose and said: 'Gentlemen, we will wait no longer for the

king; we will let the band play, "God Save the King"; and, if his majesty does not appear during that time, we will let the band play, "God d— the king"" (281).

According to A. Francis Judd, Lunalilo's Attorney-General, Lunalilo had been so notoriously irresponsible that his father kept him under guardianship even after coming of age, giving him a small allowance from his income. After Lunalilo received his allowance,

he invested it in drink and when intoxicated, rioted in low company.

Nothing pleased him more when in such a state, than to have about him a crowd, to whom he could quote Shakespeare . . . He was revered and loved by the Hawaiians, for he was the most democratic, loveable prince that could be imagined — a very 'Prince Hal'. (Judd 38)

Lady Jane Franklin also described Lunalilo in 1861, saying,

Prince William Lunalilo . . . is a young man of about 24 yrs of age of remarkable talent, good-looking, well-read & of very gentleman-like manners, understanding & speaking English better even than his own language, but with all this hopelessly given to drink, & lost to all the promise of his earlier years . . . This young prince was a great admirer of Shakespeare, & used when in a state of undue excitement to go about the city on horseback, gathering the people about him at the

corners of the streets & reciting passages from his plays. (Korn et al. 305–06)

While he was young, Lunalilo was known as “Prince Bill,” which suited him because he was joyous. His greatest loves were music and Shakespeare. While riding through the streets of Honolulu on his horse, he would greet everyone, regardless of race or class. His favorite Shakespearean cry was “My kingdom for a horse!,” which was quite appropriate because, at the time, he did not have a kingdom, but he did love his horse (Allen 76). Lunalilo portrayed Richard in *Richard III*, not as a tragic warrior-villain, but as a raucous young man, unwilling to exchange a kingdom for the pleasure of riding his horse. Under this portrayal, Richard has no cares in the world, nor does he care for having power or for the burdens of rule. As Lunalilo is “Prince Bill,” he portrayed the Bard as “Bill Shakespeare,” presenting a “stage magician, inventor of memorable lines, patron saint of toastmasters, [and] supremely middlebrow entertainer” (DiPasquale 18). The populist Shakespeare of Lunalilo anticipates the more radical Shakespearean appropriations, such as *Twelf Nite o Whateva!* by James Grant Benton and *Julius Caesar* by Troy Apostol.

Just over a year after taking the throne, Lunalilo died of tuberculosis and was succeeded by David Kalakaua¹²⁸ – a traditionalist. Although Kalakaua reigned from 1874 to 1891, it was disrupted by missionary party interference, which led to the 1887 Bayonet Constitution, reducing the monarchy’s power and restricting native Hawaiian

¹²⁸ This is the same man that Lunalilo defeated in the 1873 election.

voting rights (Kuykendall, “The Hawaiian Kingdom—Volume 3”). Kalakaua’s successor,¹²⁹ Lili’uokalani, was overthrown in 1893, leading to the events that allowed for the 1898 annexation by the United States, which led to the end of both the Hawaiian Monarchy and Hawaii’s independence. Lili’uokalani wrote a memoir, *Hawaii’s Story, by Hawaii’s Queen*, which was published about the same time as the annexation was signed into law by President McKinley. Within the book, she described the vision held by her predecessor of the monarchy of Hawaii, revealing her understanding as to her own role as the queen of Hawaii, allowing her to prepare the American audience for her beliefs regarding the future relationship between America and Hawaii:

If he [Kalakaua] believed in the divine right of kings, and the distinctions of hereditary nobility, it was not alone from the prejudices of birth and native custom, but because he was able to perceive that even the most enlightened nations of the earth have not as yet been able to replace them with a ruling class equally able, patriotic, or disinterested. I say this with all reverence for the form of government and the social order existing in the United States, whose workings have, for more than a century, excited the interest of the world . . . Kalakaua’s highest and most earnest desire was to be a true sovereign, the chief servant of a happy, prosperous, and progressive people . . .

¹²⁹ Also his sister.

He was rightly jealous of his prerogatives, because they were responsibilities which no civic body in his kingdom could safely undertake to administer. (Lili'uokalani 370–71)

In this passage, Lili'uokalani described her brother and herself. The emerging self-portrait from her book makes it clear that she holds the same beliefs as Kalakaua and that she will not let go of her identity of being the queen of Hawaii. The identity held by Lili'uokalani “is in many ways compatible with the idea of anointed monarchy that haunts the usurpers and tyrants of Shakespeare's history plays, the Shakespeare allusion Lili'uokalani employs in her book does not at first seem designed to bolster her monarchic authority” (DiPasquale 19). Instead, she quoted a *Measure for Measure* passage where there is protest against tyrannical rule and the American press is cast as the abusive overlord.

. . . [T]he native people of Hawaii are entirely faithful to their own chiefs, and are deeply attached to their own customs and mode of government; . . . they either do not understand, or bitterly oppose, the scheme of annexation. As a native Hawaiian, reared and educated in close intimacy with the present rulers of the Islands and their families, with exceptional opportunities for studying both native and foreign character, it is easy for me to detect the purpose of each line and word in the annexation treaty, and even to distinguish the man originating each portion of it. . . . I had prepared biographical sketches and

observations upon the mental structure and character of the most interested advocates of this measure. They have not refrained from circulating most vile and baseless slanders against me; and, as public men, they seemed to me open to public discussion. But my publishers have flatly declined to print this matter, as possibly it might be construed as libellous. . . . And just here let me say that I have felt much perplexity over the attitude of the American press, that great vehicle of information for the people, in respect of Hawaiian affairs. Shakespeare has said it is excellent to have a giant's strength, but it is tyrannous to use it like a giant. It is not merely that, with few exceptions, the press has seemed to favor the extinction of Hawaiian sovereignty, but that it has often treated me with coarse allusions and flippancy, and almost uniformly has commented upon me adversely, or has declined to publish letters from myself and friends conveying correct information upon matters which other correspondents had . . . misrepresented . . . Possibly the press was not conscious of how cruelly it was exerting its strength, and will try, I now trust, to repair the injury. (Lili'uokalani 369–71)

This critique of the American press is topical, where the emotional energy is based on the current events, but the point is described based on Shakespeare through the ventriloquizing of Isabella from *Measure to Measure*, who pled for the life of her

brother on the grounds that the draconian law has no precedent and that power can be abused:

So you must be the first that gives this sentence,
And he that suffers. O, it is excellent
To have a giant's strength, but it is tyrannous
To use it like a giant (Measure.II.ii.134-137)

As a result, the use of Isabella by Lili'uokalani carries a great deal of meaning. Bott et al. noted that the Shakespearean allusion selected by Lili'uokalani shows her superior understanding and command of English, but is not trying to show that she is familiar with lesser known works (150), especially as Lili'uokalani relies upon the popularity of the play, not the obscurity of the play.

The Shakespearean critique of the American press by Lili'uokalani is near the end of her book. The remaining nine paragraphs in the book are used to describe members of the American-Hawaiian annexation party, emphasizing the degree of privilege held by them and warning that becoming part of American politics may be dangerous for America because those within the party were not viewed as being ideal citizens for a democracy due to their overarching goal of retaining power (Lili'uokalani 371). By transitioning her arguments from political discourse to prophecy, Lili'uokalani complicated her *Measure for Measure* allusion because of the powerful sermon by Isabella to finalize the image of the tyrannical giant:

Could great men thunder
As Jove himself does, Jove would never be quiet,
For every pelting petty officer
Would use his heaven for thunder, nothing but thunder.
Merciful heaven,

Thou rather with thy sharp and sulphurous bolt
Split'st the unwedgeable and gnarled oak
Than the soft myrtle. But man, proud man,
Dressed in a little brief authority,
Most ignorant of what he's most assured,
His glassy essence, like an angry ape
Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven
As makes the angels weep (Measure.II.ii.139-151)

As Isabella speaks as a God-authorized prophet to refute the “proud man,”

Lili'uokalani views herself as a sacred trust holder with the compulsion to prophesy.

Finally, she appeals to the American public based on their shared Christian beliefs:

Oh, honest Americans, as Christians hear me for my down-trodden people! Their form of government is as dear to them as yours is precious to you. Quite as warmly as you love your country, so they love theirs. With all your goodly possessions, covering a territory so immense that there yet remain parts unexplored, possessing islands that, although near at hand, had to be neutral ground in time of war, do not covet the little vineyard of Naboth's, so far from your shores, lest the punishment of Ahab fall upon you, if not in your day, in that of your children, for "be not deceived, God is not mocked." The people to whom your fathers told of the living God, and taught to call "Father," and whom the sons now seek to despoil and destroy, are crying aloud to Him in their time of trouble; and He will keep His promise, and will listen to the voices of His Hawaiian children lamenting for their homes. It is for them that I would give the last drop of my blood; it is

for them that I would spend, nay, am spending, everything belonging to me. Will it be in vain? It is for the American people and their representatives in Congress to answer these questions. As they deal with me and my people, kindly, generously, and justly, so may the Great Ruler of all nations deal with the grand and glorious nation of the United States of America. (Lili'uokalani 373–74)

Queen Lili'uokalani delivered a biblical and Shakespearean message with allusions to *Measure to Measure*, a royal and Hawaiian appropriation that is dependent upon and illustrates the queen's Shakespearean knowledge, but also her authority as queen. Although her efforts did not stop the annexation of Hawaii, the impassioned prose does tap into the power of the Shakespearean text, allowing the English literary mana to be used to cast a shadow over the presence of America in the South Pacific.

MOORE - a Pacific Island Othello

In *Moving Islands: Contemporary Performance and the Global Pacific*, (2021) Dr. Diana Looser explores some of the issues and tensions between the worlds of the American "Base " and the world of the "towns," in which the U.S. Military bases occupy space. Looser writes, "A theatrical glimpse of this Baseworld occurs in the Shakespearean adaptation *MOORE - a Pacific Island Othello* (2020) by Native Hawaiian playwright, filmmaker, and former U.S. Marine Kepano (Stephen) Richter. Set within the U.S. Marine Corps, the play addresses issues of race and American

imperialism in sites from the U.S. mainland to Hawai'i, Okinawa, and Korea" (Looser 334).

MOORE – a Pacific Island Othello is a retelling of Shakespeare's *Othello*, set in the Pacific Islands at the crossroads of Race, Language, and American Empire. Directed by Justina Taft Mattos at the University of Hawaii at Hilo's Performing Arts Center. The live-stream premiere of the production ran for 1 hour and 48 minutes at 2:00 PM HST. and was performed in English, Japanese, Korean, and 'Ōlelo Hawai'i on November 1st, 2020. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, there was no physical audience in the theater space. The entire production was filmed incorporating the state of Hawaii's COVID-19 safety protocols: masks, social distancing, and assigning "Ohana bubbles" to actors having physical contact with each other. With the impending 2020 presidential election, rising social unrest, and our present reckoning about systemic racism in the United States, we felt it was high time to revisit *Othello* and examine what the play means here and now in America on the 416th anniversary of the first recorded performance of Shakespeare's play. Dramaturgical Concept:

Multiracial / Multilingual Shakespeare as Political Intervention

One of the main research questions the MOORE Project seeks to explore is: How do multiracial / multilingual translations and adaptations of Shakespeare's plays affect the experiences of a diverse American audience? This was a question raised by Shakespearean scholar, Dr. Ayanna Thompson at the conference on Shakespeare and Social Justice in Cape Town, South Africa in 2019. During her presentation titled

“Shakespeare and Blackface” / “Shakespeare and Unfreedom,” Dr. Thompson points out many of the historic and structural factors surrounding Shakespeare’s Othello that makes the production a trap for actors of color, seeking to play a role that many believe represents the pinnacle of one’s acting career on the Shakespearean stage. Rather than experiencing this high point of inclusion into the Shakespearean tradition, however, the actor of color playing Othello begins to realize that they are actually more like the butt of a joke: duped by Iago, whom because of the structure of the play, the audience often sympathizes with, combined with the fact that Iago has more lines than anyone else and will naturally spend more one on one time with the usually white director, all contribute to the sense of alienation the actor of color playing the title role experiences throughout the rehearsal process and the run of the show. By embracing the structure of Shakespeare’s play, changing the genders of the characters, giving voice to multiple languages spoken in the dialogue, and basically inverting Othello and Desdemona’s roles, we have sought to change this paradigm of alienation, while at the same time, keeping all of Shakespeare’s dramatic beats intact.

The purpose of the MOORE Project is trifold: 1. To increase understanding of the ways Shakespeare has been translated, adapted, or appropriated to address the issues of race, language, and American imperialism in the Pacific. 2. To create a dialogue with students and educators across the United States around some of the most fraught and challenging subjects in America’s current political moment by hosting a live-stream performance of Shakespeare’s Othello (set in the Trump

presidential administration) two days before the 2020 presidential election. 3. To collect data and analyze the ways multiracial / multilingual Shakespearean adaptations are being received by a diverse sample of American audience members and how those adaptations affect audience understanding of Shakespeare's play.

Odysseus Returns

As a man of color in America and a former United States Marine, I had issues with Shakespeare's Othello that were gnawing at me, right out of the gate. I never really saw myself participating in a production of Othello. Maybe because when I first became involved with Shakespeare as a high school student, someone had told me that if I became good enough I might even get to play Othello someday and it kind of pissed me off. I was like, "What about Romeo?" Hell, I wanted to play Hamlet, not Othello. The racial aspect, however, was the second issue I had with the play. Even if race didn't exist in early modern England the way it does now, what really bothered me about Othello, especially after being in the military, was his temperament.

First of all, Othello was a general, mind you, with years of combat experience, having at least displayed enough grace under fire to be entrusted by the Venetian government to go and stop the Turkish fleet from sacking the city. For him to be manipulated so easily into murdering his wife, over what basically amounted to a Dear John letter? And even if Iago were telling the truth, the man's a General. I've known 18-year-old privates who received "Dear John," x-rated breakup-videos from

their wives that went beyond heartbreaking, but they somehow put it aside and got on with the mission. It kind of goes along with the territory of being on deployments and the collateral damage of Marine Corps life on relationships and family. (Why do you think the Vikings wore horns on their helmets?) So, I just couldn't see Othello getting duped and driven so easily to murder, plus once you stage Othello on American soil, everything in that soil clings to the play, just like dirt. All our history of racism and slavery marks it with meaning even if it isn't intended to. That's just how theater works. The same play staged in Selma Alabama, Scottsdale Arizona, and Sioux Falls North Dakota is going to mean three very different things.

So, we have to ask ourselves, what are we saying about black men in America if we have a black man get up on stage and murder his white wife in front of an audience? What kind of meaning are we creating just by staging something like that? There are many scholars and actors who believe Othello shouldn't be staged in America at all. I used to be among them. Then in 2016, I took part in a modern adaptation of Homer's Odyssey where the character of Odysseus was a homeless veteran returning from the war. Placing him in uniform and watching him slaughter everybody in the hall then climb atop the mountain of bodies, waving his pistol overhead in victory made several of us veterans in the audience extremely uncomfortable – not because of what Odysseus said, it was the Odyssey, we all knew the story. It was the new meaning the performance took on. By dressing him in the uniform, for those of us who'd worn it, made his actions our actions. As if to say

veterans are all a bunch of John J. Rambos, one bad dinner party away from a PTSD killing spree. But he didn't have to be. That's when I wanted to return to Othello and take him back to Hawaii. I wanted to rewrite both his story and my own. And if you want to change Othello's story then you have to start with Iago.

Karen Iago

Iago and Othello always seemed like a broken-up couple to me for some reason. Something was definitely going on there, at least beneath all those layers of sheets that needed to be pulled back: The kneeling scene, Iago's story about the raging tooth night with the leg and Cassio kissing all over him... I mean who was he really trying to make Othello jealous of? Then you have the rumors about Othello maybe getting it on with Iago's wife, which definitely sounded like another on-base episode of "The Westpac Wives." Add all of that to the ways in which American culture has turned our attention lately, when I reread the play, to me, Iago felt more like O's scorned ex-lover, who for some reason didn't get her way, so the night Othello decides to run off with someone else, Karen calls the cops on him and tells them that an older black man just kidnapped an underage white girl and if they don't do something quick he'll probably force himself on her. Then Karen tries to make it seem as if she wasn't the one who called the cops in the first place. It all smacked of the incident in Central Park and the "Karen" who called the cops on the birdwatcher earlier this year. Either way, if you take the opening scene of Othello at face value, in Shakespeare's text a scorned white person, who did not get what they wanted, decides

to call the authorities on a highly respected man of color that they are angry with, marking him as black and dangerous to spur the police into action and succeeds in getting him arrested:

“Even now, now, very now, an old black ram
Is tupping your white ewe. Arise, arise,
Awake the snorting citizens with the bell
Or else the devil will make a grandsire of you.
Arise, I say!!” (Othello I.I. 88 – 92)

Starting with this premise of a previous relationship between Othello and Iago (Lt. Karen Johanson) opened the door to a plethora of new motivations, possibilities, and questions to explore around the issues of sex and gender in a military workspace, fraternization between the enlisted and officer ranks, alcohol, conduct unbecoming, etc. It was all very exciting. And with Helicopter pilot Captain Cassiopea Martinez, a woman of color from the Philippines, being promoted instead of the combat-hardened (and white) Lt. Johanson, the conflicts and rivalries began to take on new meaning and lives of their own.

Besides, the United States has a very rich tradition (though seldom mentioned) of women taking on the lead male roles in the American Shakespearean productions. The irony of this reverse cross-dressing is that during Shakespeare’s time, women were not allowed to perform onstage and crossdressing men played all of the female characters. Yet during nineteenth-century America, the concepts of American

masculinity began to change. The gender roles of the romantic period that embraced characters like the brooding Hamlet or the womanly tears of Romeo back in Europe, were giving way to a more Jacksonian, frontiersman-like masculinity in America that would embody the aggressive spirit of manifest destiny and the swagger of the American west. The result was a deficit in male actors in the United States possessing the depth or range required for the more “womanly” emotions exhibited by some of Shakespeare’s most beloved Heroes. Actresses such as Charlotte Cushman however, the first native-born star of the American stage, stepped in to fill this gap. Cushman was most famous for her 1854 -1855 performances as Romeo opposite her sister Susan as Juliet on the London stage. Charlotte was an extremely popular actress in Europe as well as the United States. She played more than 30 masculine roles in her lifetime. From 1852 to 1870 Cushman lived in England and Italy, thereafter settling in the United States. Her other famous male roles included Hamlet and Cardinal Wolsey. It is in this proud, though often forgotten, American Shakespearean tradition of Charlotte Cushman that the character of Lt. Karen Johanson (our female Iago) is in direct conversation with.

When deciding how to translate Desdemona’s “Willow” song into the world of Desdemona Moore, I couldn’t help but think of Jack Clayton’s 1961 film “The Innocents.” This idea or narrative of the excluded child and the child that is continually silenced is a recurring theme in MOORE. Desdemona is constantly being removed from the world of the adults: in General Yoo’s office, in the briefing room in

Okinawa, she is never allowed to be privy to the world of the “adults” (the room where it happens) at least not until she finally forces her way into that fatal room of adult knowledge – the room where we meet our own death. It was this feeling of foreboding that led me back to Henry James’ *Turn of the Screw* and *The Innocents*. The opening sequence of Jack Clayton’s film has haunted me since I was a child. The little girl, Pamela Franklin, singing “O Willow Waly” with only the black background is as eerie and ghostly as it gets. As I began to research further, I learned of the connection between the song “O Willow Waly” and the Willow song Desdemona sings in Shakespeare’s *Othello*. Another reason I decided to incorporate the film itself into *MOORE* was that Deborah Kerr also haunts another film that is closely tied to American imperialism in the Pacific and the Hollywood orientalist gaze: “*The King and I*.” Below, I have included a short and very interesting documentary with insights and information about the making of the 1961 film “*The Innocents*,” a ghost story based on the Henry James novel “*The Turn Of The Screw*,” for more perspective. It is through this lens we can catch a glimpse of Desdemona Moore’s past and foresee her inevitable future.

<https://mooreworldpremiere.sites.ucsc.edu/2020/10/30/o-willow-waly-desdemonas-willow-the-innocents-and-henry-james/>

To measure the impact *MOORE - a Pacific Island Othello* had on its audience during the live streaming world premiere, audience members were encouraged to fill

out survey forms. As far as interpreting the data, I will not attempt to draw a conclusion as to why 55% of the people who completed the survey were college educated White women in their twenties, nor what that may say about Othello, my multilingual/multiracial adaptation of Othello, or about college educated White women in their twenties, other than the fact that 98% of the people who filled out a survey did say that watching the show enhanced their experience or understanding of Shakespeare's play. What I can do, however, is to demonstrate what the audience members said about themselves and about the performance, which may now be read against the historical context I have provided in the previous chapters.¹³⁰

¹³⁰ More audience reception data will begin to populate from Trinity College in Dublin, Ireland and the Shakespeare Institute in Stratford Upon Avon Winter 2022 during the "Global Shakespeares" classes and events taking place at both institutions.

Conclusions

Shakespeare's influence can be felt all across the entire United States of America – from American presidents to American brands. In fact, the fascination held by Americans with William Shakespeare is older than the republic itself, evidenced by the Folger Library having the earliest documented New World Shakespeare folio listed on a blank page of Major Edward Dale's 1673 translation of *Juvenal*. When the colonists rebelled against British rule, culminating in the Revolutionary War, both sides appropriated *Hamlet* for their own purposes. During the American Civil War, both sides performed Shakespearean plays between battles, where one of the most noteworthy people in the Civil War scenery – John Wilkes Booth – performed Shakespeare, interestingly, as Brutus in *Julius Caesar*. After Booth's assassination of Lincoln, the death of the president was announced using *Macbeth* quotations. Both men – Lincoln and Booth – admired *Macbeth*, where the former wrote that no play was as magnificent as *Macbeth* and the latter quoted the play in the last words of his diary.

Immigrants in America put their own touches on Shakespeare through adaptations, but African-American actors, such as Paul Robeson and Ira Aldridge, had to begin their careers in Europe before they were able to take stage, successfully, in America. Silent films used Shakespeare's plays with the first full-length feature being *Richard III* in 1912. When the reels were changed, Frederick Warde often read

parts of the play. Later, musical takes on Shakespeare were created, such as *Kiss Me Kate* and *West Side Story*.

Thus, a long love affair has existed between Shakespeare and America. While early American writers sought to find a form and style for a uniquely American literary voice, in a way, there was already a national literature through Shakespeare's work, which was already popular by the Revolutionary War. By welding together diverse populations into one nation, leading to a merger of conflicting beliefs, periods of triumph, and periods of despair, a universal experience was developed through Shakespeare's plays.

At the time Francis Drake was sailing around South America, Martin Frobisher was seeking a northwest passage across North America, John Hawkins was discovering the West Indies, William Shakespeare was growing up, content in a world where the British empire was becoming established in lands across the world. Around the time of the war between the English and the Spanish, Shakespeare left Stratford-upon-Avon for London and would have seen ships sailing down the Thames for the New World. Equally popular to theater-going were travel journals and stories were in abundance from the New World. Faced with these influences, Shakespeare's works continually referenced the new discoveries.

The first documented Shakespearean play in America occurred in New York City of *Romeo and Juliet* in 1730. Although Shakespeare's works were in the literary collections of early colonists, they were not performance scripts. The primary cause

of this was the Puritan and Quaker religious beliefs prohibited acting. However, after the first *Romeo and Juliet* performance in New York City, more followed in Philadelphia and Charleston. Popular adaptations at this time also included *Othello* and *Richard III*.

The London Company of Comedians landed in Virginia in 1751 after the ban of actor immigration. The first production hosted was *The Merchant of Venice*, catering to mixed audiences of settlers and Native Americans. Later productions by this company were *Romeo and Juliet*, *Richard III*, *King Lear*, *Hamlet*, and *Othello*. By 1754, the company was touring prosperous cities, such as Annapolis, Williamsburg, and Fredericksburg. In 1758, after their return from Jamaica, they performed *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Cymbeline*, and *Macbeth*. George Washington was an avid attendee of the theater and even saw one of the company's Williamsburg performances. After the end of the Revolutionary War, Washington spent most of his time on his Mount Vernon home restoration. However, in 1787, he was part of the Philadelphia Constitutional Convention, where he attended the theater much more frequently. During his presidency, Washington encouraged theater attendance. Despite the colonists' increasingly animosity towards anything having to do with England, Shakespeare was beloved.

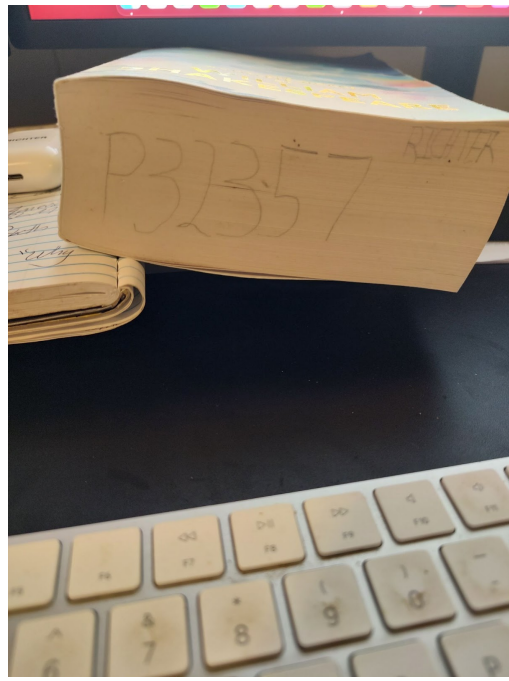
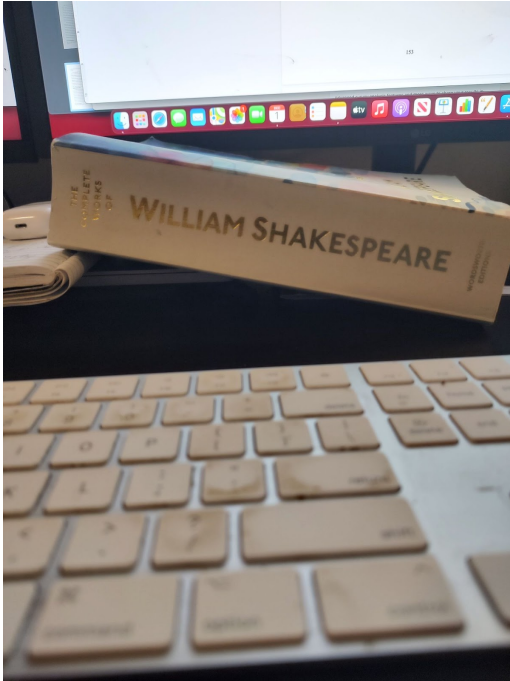
During the 19th century, travelling performance companies spread Shakespeare's plays across America, enabling the entire public to see most of the plays, not just those in prosperous cities. Throughout the century, Shakespeare

became a unifying force because his works were a constant, even as the nation and citizenry grew. No other writer had been assimilated so quickly.

The growth has since continued, where Shakespeare's works are performed regularly and adapted to meet various goals, as in the use of Shakespeare's words in Hawai'i to resist annexation. In other cases, Shakespeare's work has been used to put words to the feelings, inequalities, and hardships Americans have faced, leading to a deeper understanding of these moments. Whether in the north, south, or in the South Pacific, Shakespeare has been used to highlight how the American empire was formed and how those imperial impulses may have changed over time yet continue to this day.

Looking at that paperback edition of the *Wordsworth Complete Works of William Shakespeare* now, I can still see the number written on the spine after all the time and distance we have traveled together, marking Shakespeare's works as much as Shakespeare's works have marked my experience. And as the number written on the spine implies, just like the American legacy of colonialism, slavery, women's suffrage, the civil rights movement, and an ever increasing demographic shift towards a majority minority in a country founded and made stronger by immigrants, the legacy and of plays of William Shakespeare are part of the American story too and belong not to a privileged few, but to each and every one of us.

Aloha nui loa.



MOORE: Audience Reception Data (Sample Size)

MOORE - World Premiere Streaming Event 11.01.2020.

URL:

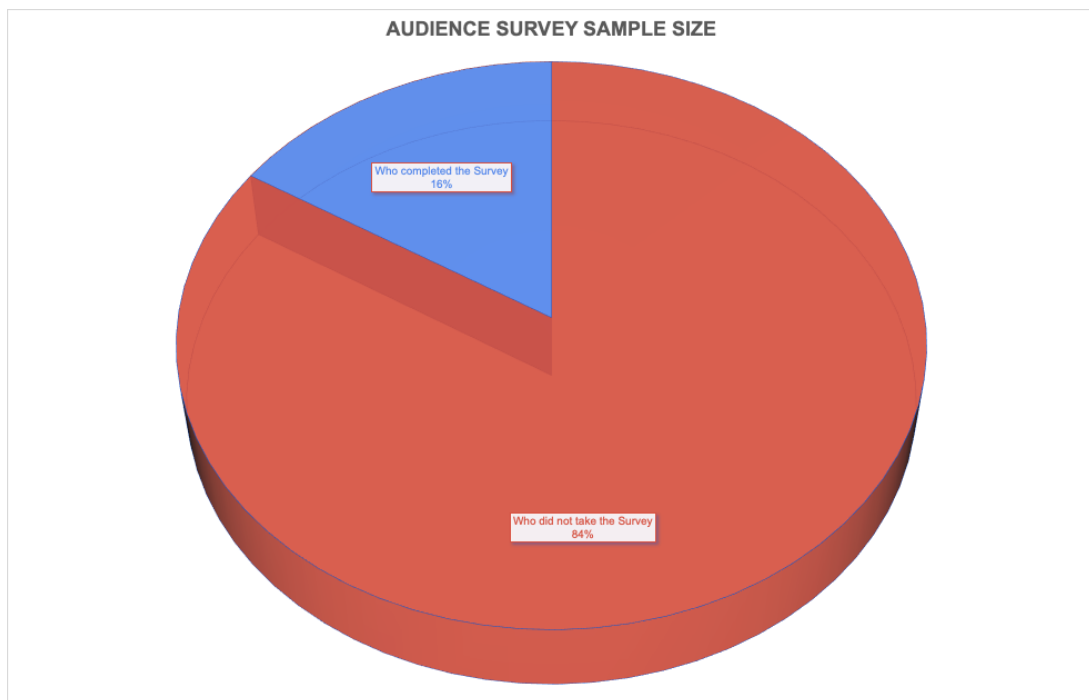
<https://mooreworldpremiere.sites.ucsc.edu/2020/10/20/moore-world-premiere-streaming-event/>

<https://sites.google.com/ucsc.edu/mooreaudiencesurvey>

1,825 Viewers, 293 Completed Surveys. Viewing Audience Members:

Who did not take the Survey	1527
Who completed the Survey	293 16%

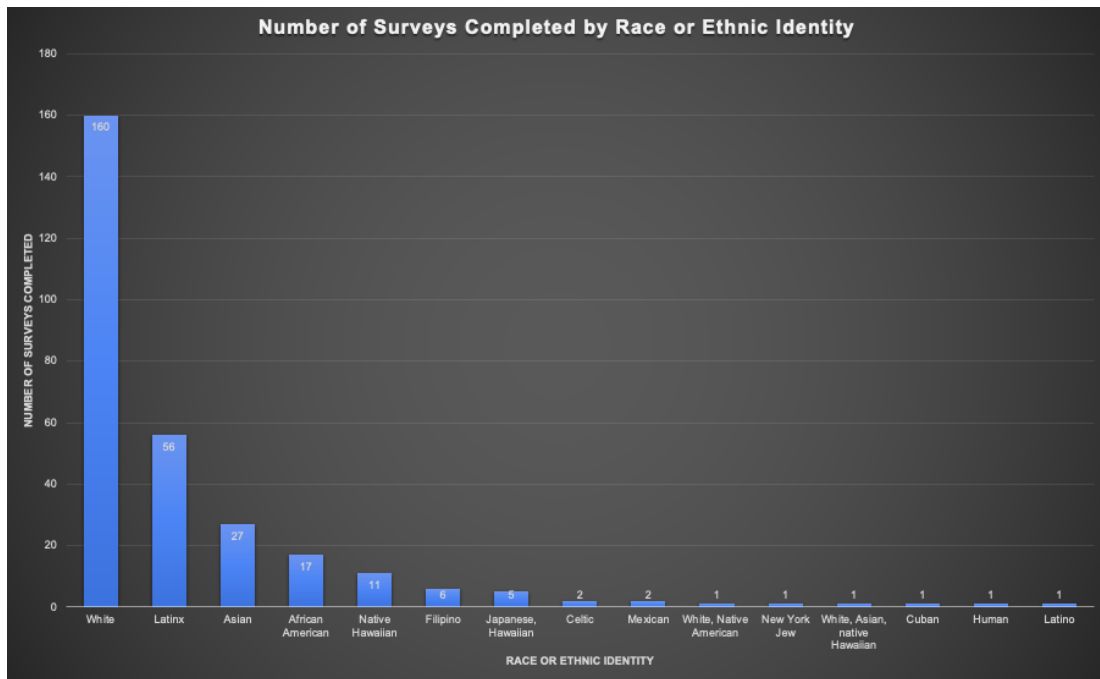
Chart #1



Audience Surveys By Race Or Ethnic Identity

1,825 Viewers, 293 Responses.

Chart #2



White 160

Latinx 56

Asian 27

African American 17

Native Hawaiian 11

Filipino 6

Japanese, Hawaiian 5

Celtic 2

Mexican 2

White, Native American 1

New York Jew 1

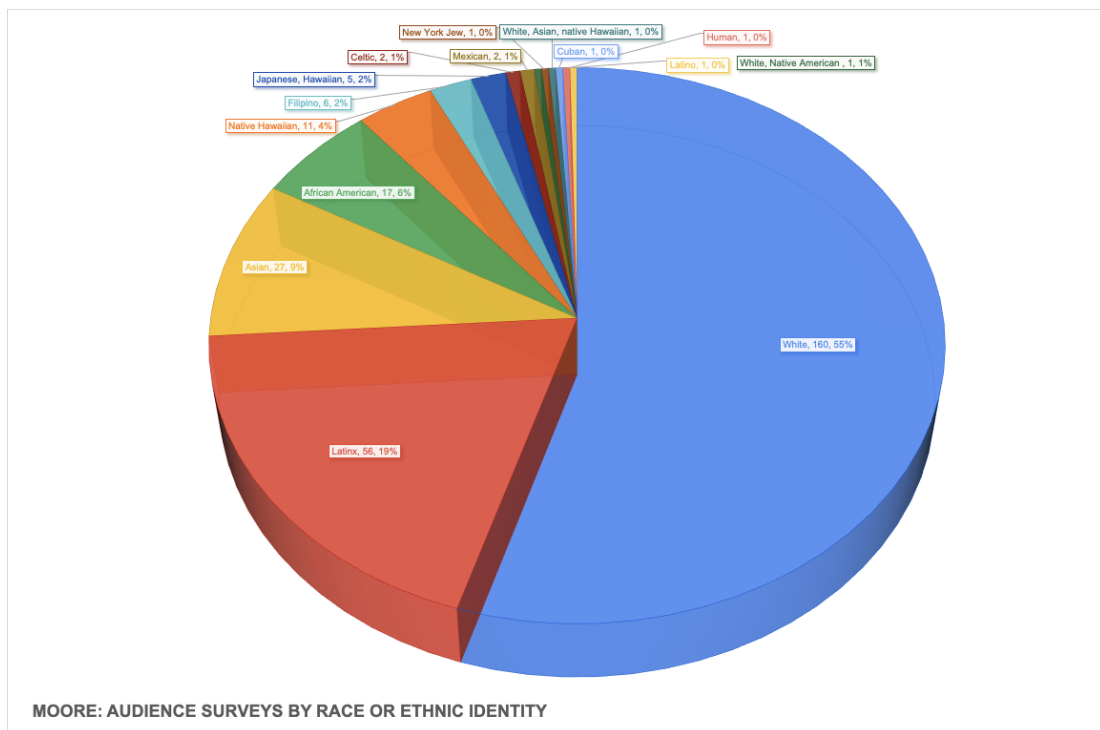
White, Asian, native Hawaiian 1

Cuban 1

Human 1

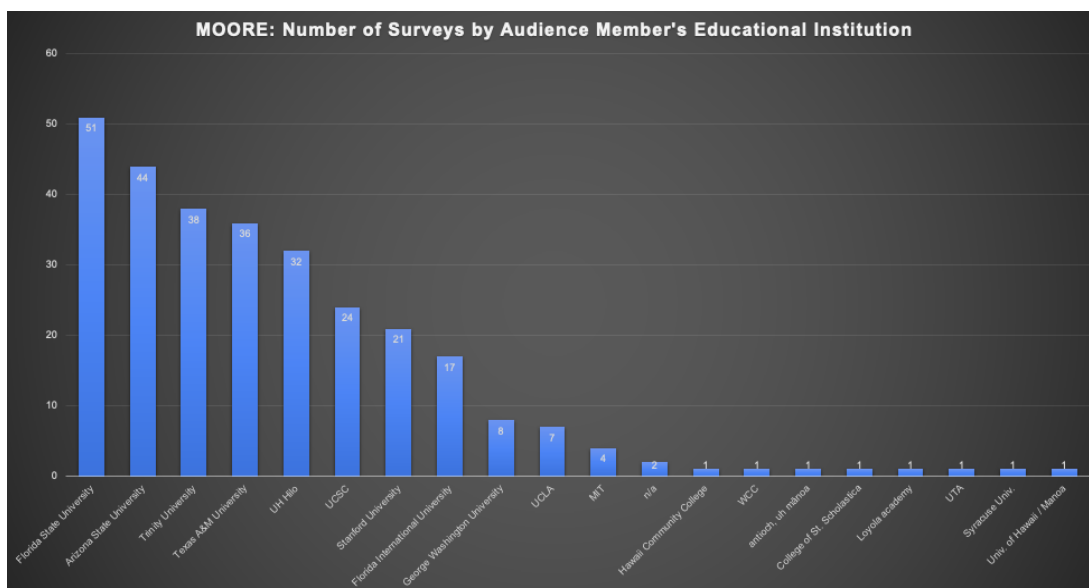
Latino 1

Chart #3



AUDIENCE MEMBER'S EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION:

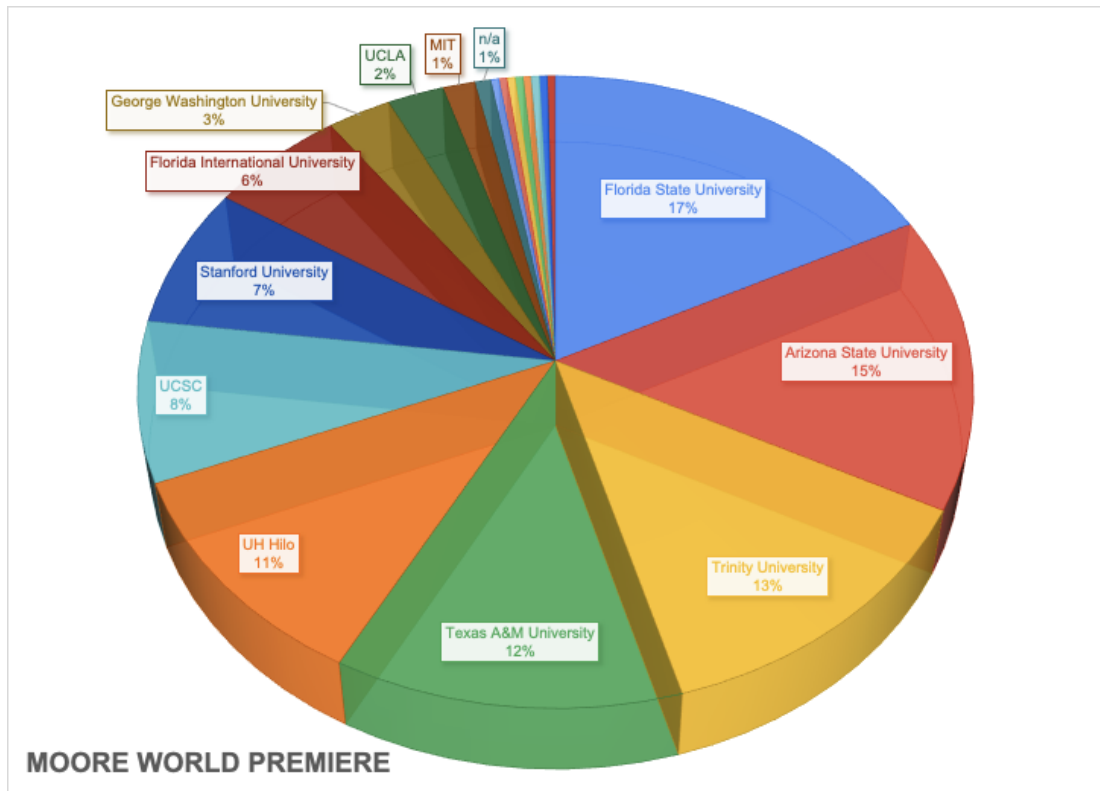
Chart #4



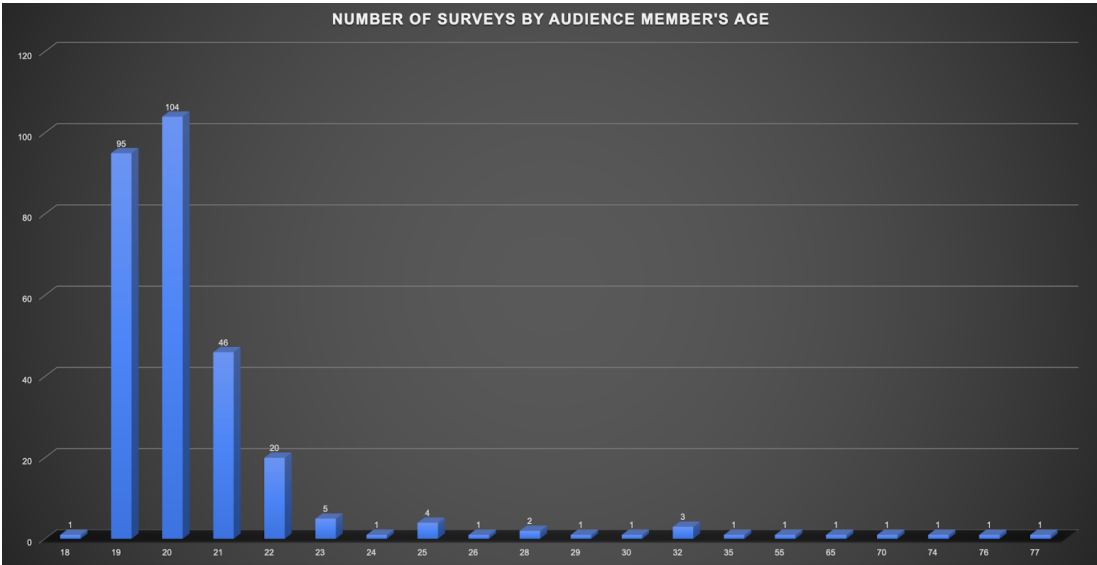
Florida State University	51
Arizona State University	44
Trinity University	38
Texas A&M University	36
UH Hilo	32
UCSC	24
Stanford University	21
Florida International University	17
George Washington University	8
UCLA	7
MIT	4
n/a	2
Hawaii Community College	1
WCC	1
Antioch, UH Mānoa	1
College of St. Scholastica	1
Loyola academy	1

UTA	1
Syracuse Univ.	1
Univ. of Hawaii/Manoa	1

Chart #5



Number of Responses By Audience Member's Age:
Chart #6



Viewing Audience Member's:

AGE SURVEYS

18	1
19	95
20	104
21	46
22	20
23	5
24	1
25	4
26	1
28	2
29	1
30	1

32	3
35	1
55	1
65	1
70	1
74	1
76	1
77	1

Responses By Gender, Education Level, and Languages Spoken:

Chart #7

May I ask what gender you identify with?
288 responses

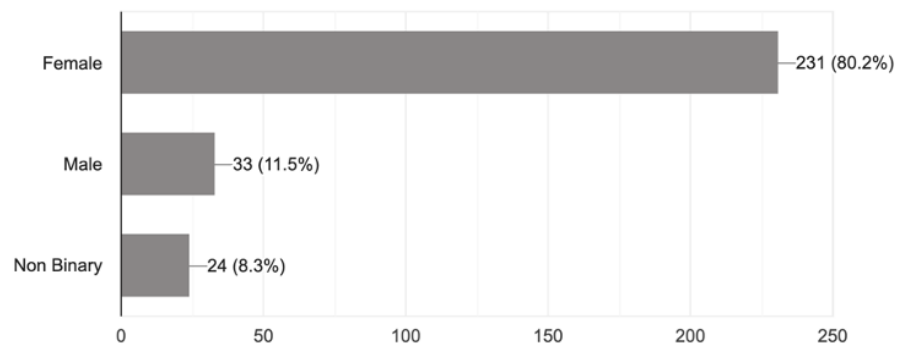


Chart #8

Education level

285 responses

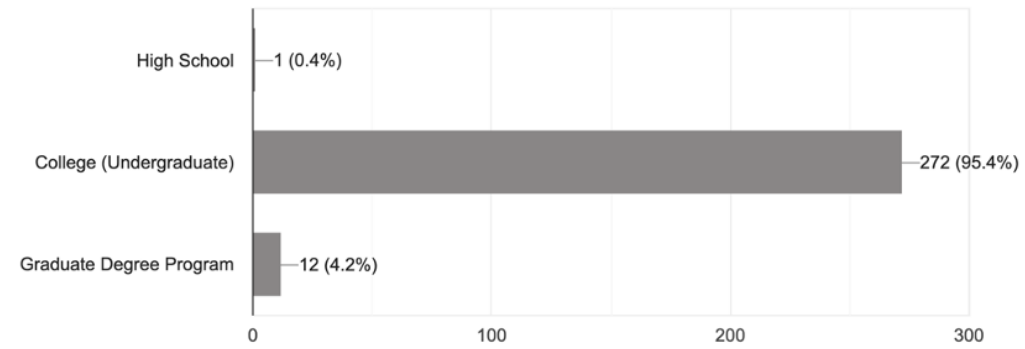
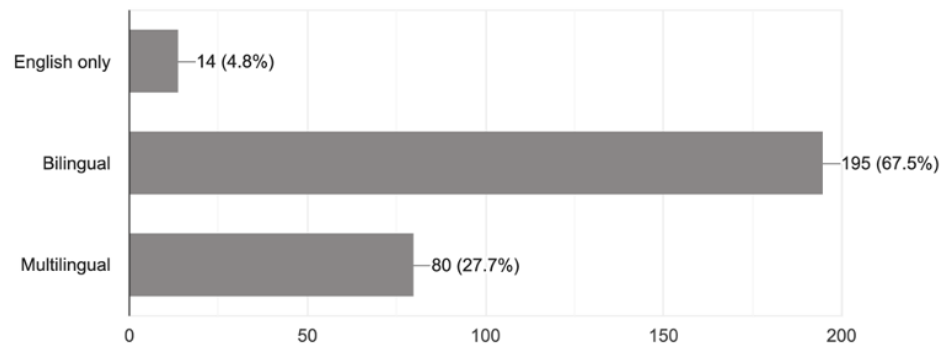


Chart # 9

Languages Spoken

289 responses



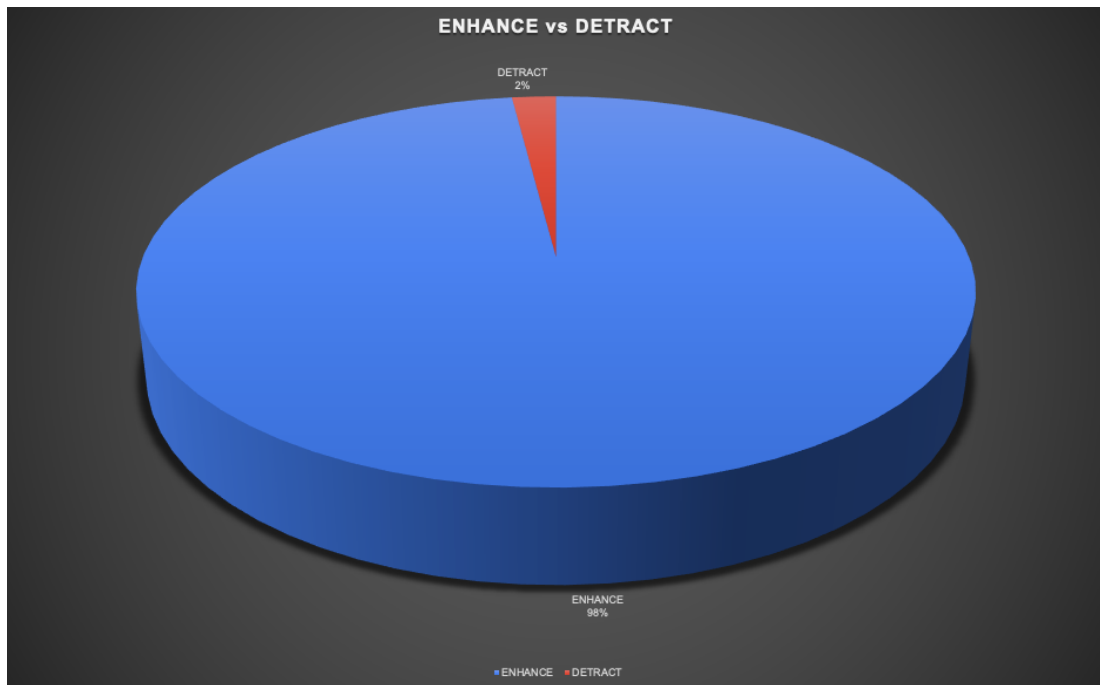
"Did your viewing of this multiracial/multilingual Shakespearian adaptation enhance or detract from your experience or your understanding of Othello?"

Chart #10

ENHANCE DETRACT

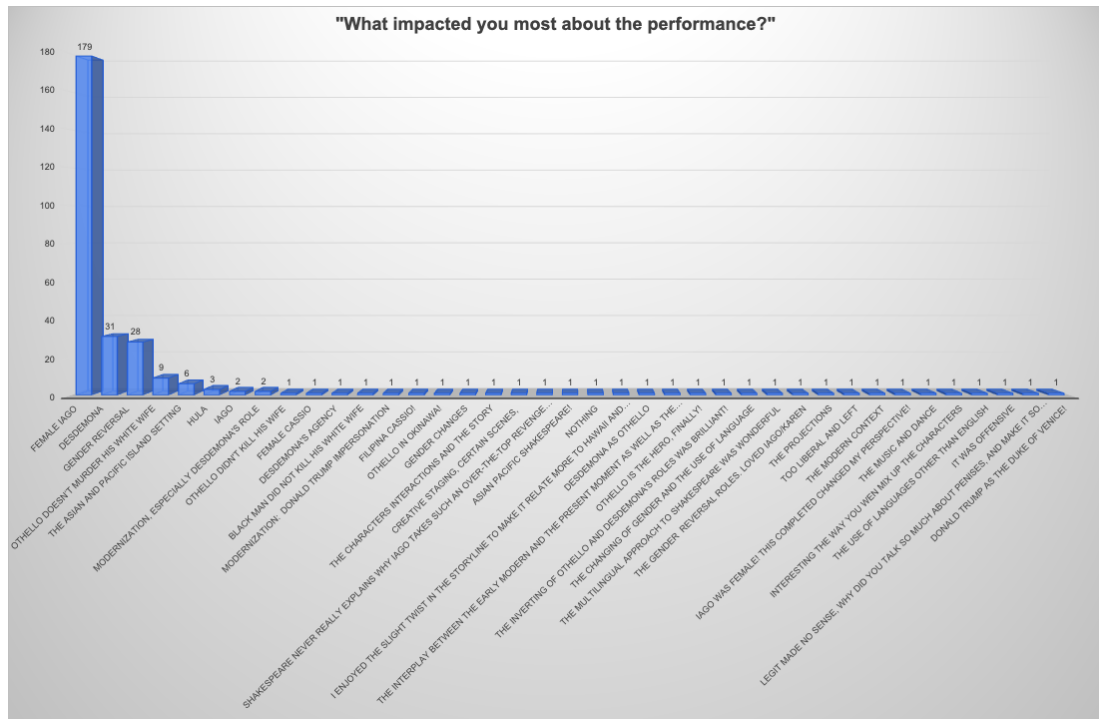
292

6



"What Impacted You Most About The Performance?"

Chart #11



"Female Iago"	179
"Desdemona"	31
"Gender Reversal"	28
"Othello doesn't murder his white wife"	9
"The Asian and Pacific Island setting"	6
"Hula"	3
"Iago"	2
"Modernization, especially Desdemona's role"	2
"Othello didn't kill his wife"	1
"Female Cassio"	1
"Desdemona's agency"	1
"Black man did not kill his white wife"	1
"Modernization: Donald Trump impersonation"	1
"Filipina Cassio!"	1
"Othello in Okinawa!"	1
"Gender changes"	1
"The characters interactions and the story"	1
"Creative staging, certain scenes"	1

“Shakespeare never really explains why Iago takes such an over-the-top revenge against Othello. Maybe he craves Desdemona? Nope. Besides, his wife would know if he did. Maybe he's a racist? Well, yes. But is that really a motive to work up elaborate plots for? Just kill him and make it look like an accident. He says it's because he was passed over for promotion. But . . . sorry, Soldier. When you signed up, you knew you were putting your life in other men's hands. Get used to it. But if Iago can be a woman, her motivation is clear. Setting the drama in today's armed services, the gender twist is plausible, and so is sexual jealousy. Amp'd up on adrenaline for a dangerous military mission, she gleefully, metaphorically (and even literally) fires every gun in her arsenal in pursuit of her own mission: I had him; nobody else is gonna have him; and if he won't come back to me, he's dead meat. "Othello" has long been my least-favorite Shakespeare play. I avoid going to see it, because I feel compelled to shout "Don't listen to Iago!" at everyone else on stage. You have done me a great service (pardon the pun), with your "film noir" take. You have made Shakespeare's perplexing setup -- at last! -- "work" for me.” 1

“Asian Pacific Shakespeare!” 1

“Nothing” 1

“I enjoyed the slight twist in the storyline to make it relate more to Hawaii and Hawaiian culture. Despite being evil, I liked Karen's character and how easily she could twist peoples worlds to suit her personal agenda. Just seeing how everybody trusted her was shocking since as the audience we knew her real intentions. I also really liked how the characters broke the fourth wall several times to speak or hint things to the viewers.” 1

“Desdemona as Othello” 1

“The interplay between the early modern and the present moment as well as the inversion of Othello and Desdemona's characters” 1

“Othello is the hero, FINALLY!” 1

“The inverting of Othello and Desdemona's roles was brilliant!” 1

“The changing of gender and the use of language” 1

“The multilingual approach to Shakespeare was wonderful” 1

“The gender reversal roles. loved Iago/Karen” 1

“The projections” 1

“Too Liberal and Left” 1

“The modern context” 1

“Iago was female! this completed changed my perspective!” 1

“The Music and dance” 1

“Interesting the way you wen mix up the characters” 1

“The use of languages other than English” 1

“It was offensive” 1

“Legit made no sense, why did you talk so much about penises, and make it so unnecessarily sexual? why was Iago the main character? Why was Trump in it? This play did not even resemble the play that Othello is meant to be there were only like 2 scenes that were actually out of the original play” 1

“Donald Trump as the Duke of Venice!” 1

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Appendix A: Source Text Quality Assessment

Borrowing from the medical field, specifically from Downs and Black, who are known for their research quality assessment tool. This tool is used within various fields of study to determine the level of quality and utility of a given source material, and one of the most beneficial elements is its adaptability across various disciplines (Downs and Black). In order to determine the quality of the research sources, questions are answered regarding the text with either a *yes* or *no* response. Scoring is completed with each *yes* response being valued as one point and each *no* response being valued as no points. The total number of *yes* responses determines the quality score. Due to the broadness of the present study, the only limitation on source inclusion will be the text's importance or contribution to the study and, in particular, the chapter of interest. The following questions are to be answered for each source from Chapters 1 through 4.

1. Is the source related to the chapter in which it will appear?
2. Is the source reputable?
3. Is the purpose of the source clear?
4. Is the organization of the source logical?
5. Are there clear conclusions offered within the source?
6. Is there sufficient evidence to support the claims within the source?

As expected, having a score of 6 would mean the source is of high quality. However, for simplicity, there are only two groups for this particular study – moderate (a score of 1 to 3) and high (a score of 4 to 6).

Appendix B: Completed Quality Assessment Matrix

The completed quality assessment matrix is shown in the following table. The first column shows the chapter(s) in which the source appeared. The second column shows the reference for the source. The next six columns show the responses in relation to the quality assessment tool and the final column shows the sum of responses, providing the total quality score.

		Quality Assessment Scores are: Moderate (M, 1 to 3) or High (H, 4 to 6)							
Chapter	Source	1	2	3	4	5	6	Sum	Score
4	Adler, Jacob, editor. "Introduction." <i>The Journal of Prince Alexander Liholiho: The Voyages Made to the United States, England and France in 1849-1850</i> , University of Hawaii Press for the Hawaiian Historical Society, 1967.	1	0	0	1	0	1	3	M
4	Allen, Helena G. <i>The Betrayal of Liliuokalani, Last Queen of Hawaii, 1838-1917</i> . Arthur H Clark, 1982.	1	1	0	0	1	1	4	H
1	Anderegg, Michael. <i>Lincoln and Shakespeare</i> . University Press of Kansas, 2015.	1	1	0	1	0	1	4	H
3	Anzaldúa, Gloria. <i>Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza</i> . 1987.	1	1	0	0	1	0	3	M
2	Appiah, Kwame Anthony. "The Conservation of 'Race.'" <i>Black American Literature Forum</i> , vol. 23, no. 1, JSTOR, 1989, pp. 37–60.	1	1	1	1	1	0	5	H

2	Aronson, Arnold. "Shakespeare in Virginia, 1751-1863." <i>Shakespeare in the South: Essays on Performance</i> , Univ. Press of Mississippi, 1983, pp. 21–45.	1	1	1	0	0	1	4	H
4	Askman, Douglas V. "Remembering Lili'uokalani: Coverage of the Death of the Last Queen of Hawai'i by Hawai'i's English-Language Establishment Press and American Newspapers." <i>Hawaiian Journal of History</i> , vol. 49, no. 1, University of Hawai'i Press, 2015, pp. 91–118.	1	1	1	1	1	0	5	H
2	Ball, Edward. "Retracing Slavery's Trail of Tears." <i>Smithsonian Magazine Online</i> , 2015.	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	M
4	Bandmann, Daniel Edward. <i>An Actor's Tour; Or, Seventy Thousand Miles with Shakespeare</i> . Brentano, 1885.	1	0	0	1	1	0	3	M
1	Barroll, Leeds. <i>Shakespeare Studies</i> . Fairleigh Dickinson Univ Press, 1998.	1	1	0	0	1	1	4	H
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1	Bennett, Alma J. "Melodramatic Formations: American Theatre and Society, 1820-1870 by Bruce McConachie (Book Review)." <i>Journal of Popular Culture</i> , vol. 27, no. 4, Bowling Green State University., 1994, p. 212.	1	1	0	0	0	1	3	M

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1	Bersani, Leo. "Incomparable America." <i>The Culture of Redemption</i> , Harvard University Press, 2013, pp. 136–54.	1	1	1	1	0	0	4	H
4	Bingham, Hiram. <i>Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands</i> . 1848.	1	1	1	1	0	0	4	H
1	Bloom, Allan. <i>Shakespeare on Love and Friendship</i> . University of Chicago Press, 2000.	1	1	0	0	1	1	4	H
3	Boffone, Trevor, and Carla Della Gatta. <i>Shakespeare and Latinidad</i> . Edinburgh University Press, 2021.	1	1	0	1	1	0	4	H
1	Boose, Lynda E., and Richard Burt. <i>Shakespeare, the Movie: Popularizing the Plays on Film, Tv and Video</i> . Routledge, 2005.	1	0	0	1	1	0	3	M
1	Booth, John Wilkes. <i>Right Or Wrong, God Judge Me: The Writings of John Wilkes Booth</i> . University of Illinois Press, 1997.	1	0	0	1	0	1	3	M
4	Booth, Marlene. <i>Pidgin: The Voice of Hawai'i</i> . New Day Films, 2015.	1	1	0	0	1	0	3	M
4	Bott, Robin L., et al. "'I Know What Is Due to Me': Self-Fashioning and Legitimization in Queen Liliuokalani's Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen." <i>CAMBRIDGE STUDIES IN NINETEENTH CENTURY LITERATURE AND CULTURE</i> , vol. 10, Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 140 – 158.	1	1	1	0	0	1	4	H
1	Bowen, Catherine Drinker. <i>John Adams and the American Revolution</i> . 1950.	1	1	1	1	1	1	6	H

1	Burt, Richard, and Lynda E. Boose. <i>Shakespeare, The Movie II: Popularizing the Plays on Film, TV, Video and DVD</i> . Routledge, 2004.	1	0	0	1	0	1	3	M
4	Cahill, Emmett. "Lunalilo." <i>The Shipmans of East Hawaii</i> , University of Hawaii Press, 2021, pp. 122–27.	1	1	0	1	1	0	4	H
1, 2	Cantor, Paul A. <i>Shakespeare: Hamlet</i> . Cambridge University Press, 2004.	1	0	0	1	0	1	3	M
1	Carlson, Andrew I. <i>How Othello Became Black: A Cultural History of Shakespeare's Moor in New York City</i> . University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2011.	1	1	0	0	1	0	3	M
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4	Carr, John. <i>Caledonian Sketches, Or, A Tour Through Scotland in 1807: To Which Is Prefixed an Explanatory Address to the Public Upon a Recent Trial</i> . London printed. Philadelphia reprinted by James Humphreys, and sold by him, 1809.	1	1	1	0	0	1	4	H
4	Carroll, Dennis, and Elsa Carroll. "Hawaiian Pidgin Theatre." <i>Educational Theatre Journal</i> , vol. 28, no. 1, JSTOR, 1976, pp. 57–68.	1	1	1	0	1	1	5	H
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3	Chavez, Leo. <i>The Latino Threat</i> . Stanford University Press, 2020.	1	1	0	0	1	1	4	H

4	Clarke, Asia Booth. <i>The Elder and the Younger Booth</i> . JR Osgood, 1881.	1	0	0	1	0	1	3	M
1	Clinton, Bill. <i>Shakespeare in America: An Anthology from the Revolution to Now (LOA# 251)</i> . Library of America, 2014.	1	1	0	0	1	1	4	H
2	Contarini, Cardinal Gasparo. <i>The Commonwealth and Government of Venice</i> . Translated by Lewes Lewkanor, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1969.	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	M
2	Davis, David Brion, and John T. Noonan. "Slavery and Human Progress." <i>Ethics</i> , vol. 96, no. 2, 1986.	1	0	0	1	1	0	3	M
4	Daws, Gavan. <i>Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands</i> . University of Hawaii Press, 1968.	1	1	1	1	0	0	4	H
3	Della Gatta, Carla. "From West Side Story to Hamlet, Prince of Cuba: Shakespeare and Latinidad in the United States." <i>Shakespeare Studies</i> , vol. 44, Associated University Presses, 2016, p. 151.	1	1	1	1	1	1	6	H
2	Dickey, Christopher. <i>Our Man in Charleston: Britain's Secret Agent in the Civil War South</i> . Broadway Books, 2016.	1	1	0	0	1	1	4	H
1	Dickson, Andrew. <i>Worlds Elsewhere: Journeys Around Shakespeare's Globe</i> . Henry Holt and Company, 2016.	1	0	0	1	0	1	3	M
4	DiPasquale, Theresa M. "Shakespeare and the Ali'i Nui." <i>Borrowers and Lenders: The Journal of Shakespeare and Appropriation</i> , vol. 8, no. 2, 2013.	1	1	1	0	1	0	4	H
1, 4	Dobson, Michael. <i>Shakespeare and Amateur Performance: A Cultural History</i> . Cambridge University Press, 2011.	1	0	0	1	0	1	3	M

2	Donne, John. "The First Anniversarie: An Anatomy of the World." <i>The Complete Poetry of John Donne</i> , Anchor Books, 1967, pp. 270–86.	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	M
2	Dormon, J. <i>The Theater in the Antebellum South, 1815-1861</i> . 1967.	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	M
1	Dunlap, William. <i>A History of the American Theatre from Its Origins to 1832</i> . University of Illinois Press, 2010.	1	0	1	1	0	1	4	H
1	Dunn, Esther Cloudman. <i>Shakespeare in America</i> . New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939.	1	0	0	1	0	1	3	M
1	Elandt, Ewa. <i>Puritan and Quaker Opposition to Performances of Shakespeare in the Early American Theatre</i> . Adam Mickiewicz University, 1983.	1	1	0	0	1	0	3	M
4	Ellis, William. <i>Narrative of a Tour Through Hawaii: Or Owhyhee; with Observations on the Natural of the Sandwich Islands, and Remarks on the Manners, Customs, Traditions, History, and Language of the Inhabitants</i> . H. Fisher, son, and P. Jackson, 1828.	1	1	0	1	0	0	3	M
1	Emerson, Pamela. "Reading Shakespeare at 22 University Square." <i>Belfast: The Emerging City</i> , vol. 1914, 1850, pp. 77–104.	1	1	1	1	0	0	4	H
3	Espinosa, Ruben. "Stranger Shakespeare." <i>Shakespeare Quarterly</i> , vol. 67, no. 1, Oxford University Press, 2016, pp. 51–67.	1	0	0	1	0	1	3	M
1	Fanon, Frantz. <i>The Wretched of the Earth</i> . Grove/Atlantic, Inc., 2007.	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	M
1	Frey, Charles. "Teaching Shakespeare in America."	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	M

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4	Fuchs, Miriam. “The Diaries of Queen Lili’uokalani.” <i>Profession</i> , JSTOR, 1995, pp. 38–40.	1	0	0	1	1	0	3	M
1	Gounaridou, Kiki. <i>Staging Nationalism: Essays on Theatre and National Identity</i> . McFarland & Co Inc Pub, 2005.	1	1	1	0	0	1	4	H
1	Grant, Stephen H. <i>Collecting Shakespeare: The Story of Henry and Emily Folger</i> . JHU Press, 2014.	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	M
2	Greenblatt, Stephen. <i>Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare</i> . University of Chicago Press, 2012.	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	M
1	Greenblatt, Stephen. “Tyrant: Shakespeare on Politics (Vol 123, Pg 8, 2018).” <i>NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW</i> , vol. 123, no. 27, NEW YORK TIMES 620 8TH AVE, NEW YORK, NY 10018 USA, 2018, pp. 6–6.	1	1	1	1	1	1	6	H
3	Habib, Imtiaz. <i>Black Lives in the English Archives, 1500–1677: Imprints of the Invisible</i> . Routledge, 2017.	1	1	1	1	1	1	6	H
3	Hall, Kim F. “‘These Bastard Signs of Fair’: Literary Whiteness in Shakespeare’s Sonnets.” <i>Post-Colonial Shakespeares</i> , Routledge, 2003, pp. 76–95.	1	1	0	0	1	1	4	H
1	Hall, Stuart. <i>Cultural Identity and Diaspora</i> . Routledge, 2020.	1	0	0	0	1	1	3	M
1	Haraszti, Zoltan. <i>John Adams and the Prophets of Progress</i> . Harvard University Press, 2013.	1	1	0	1	1	0	4	H

4	Harfst, Richard H. "Cause or Condition: Explanations of the Hawaiian Cultural Revolution." <i>The Journal of the Polynesian Society</i> , vol. 81, no. 4, JSTOR, 1972, pp. 437–71.	1	1	0	1	1	1	5	H
2	Harrison, William. <i>The Description of England: The Classic Contemporary Account of Tudor Social Life</i> . Edited by Georges Edelen, Courier Corporation, 1994.	1	1	1	1	0	0	4	H
4	Harth, Phillip. "Dryden in 1678-1681: The Literary and Historical Perspectives." <i>The Scriblerian and the Kit-Cats</i> , vol. 21, no. 1, Dept. of English, Temple University, 1988, p. 18.	1	1	0	0	1	1	4	H
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4	Hokama, Rhema. "Shakespeare in Hawai 'i: Puritans, Missionaries, and Language Trouble in James Grant Benton's Twelf Nite O Wateva!, A Hawaiian Pidgin Translation of Twelfth Night." <i>Multicultural Shakespeare: Translation, Appropriation and Performance</i> , vol. 18, no. 1, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2018, pp. 57–77.	1	0	0	0	1	1	3	M
3	Holland, Peter. "Performing Shakespeare for the Web Community." <i>Shakespeare in Hollywood, Asia, and Cyberspace</i> , West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2009, pp. 252–62.	1	0	0	1	1	0	3	M
2	Hoole, W. Stanley. "Shakespeare on the Ante-Bellum Charleston	1	1	0	0	1	0	3	M

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4	Hopkins, Manley. <i>Hawaii: The Past, Present, and Future of Its Island-Kingdom: An Historical Account of the Sandwich Islands (Polynesia)</i> . Longmans, Green, and Company, 1866.	1	1	1	0	0	1	4	H
1	Howe, Susanne. <i>Wilhelm Meister and His English Kinsmen</i> . Columbia University Press, 1930.	1	0	0	0	1	1	3	M
4	Hoyt, Helen P. “Theatre in Hawaii—1778-1840.” <i>Sixty-Ninth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society</i> , 1961, pp. 7–19.	1	0	0	1	1	0	3	M
4	Hughes, Judith R. <i>Demise of the English Standard School System in Hawai’i</i> . Honolulu, Hawaiian Historical Society, 1993.	1	1	0	0	1	1	4	H
3	Hurowitz, Noah. <i>El Chapo: The Untold Story of the World’s Most Infamous Drug Lord</i> . Simon and Schuster, 2021.	1	0	1	1	0	1	4	H
4	Johnston, Paul F. “A Million Pounds of Sandalwood: The History of Cleopatra’s Barge in Hawaii.” <i>The American Neptune</i> , 2002.	1	1	0	0	1	0	3	M
4	Johnstone, Christian Isobel. <i>Clan-Albin: A National Tale [1815]</i> . Edited by Andrew Monnickendam, Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 2003.	1	0	0	1	1	0	3	M
4	Judd, A. Francis. <i>Sketch of Lunalilo’s Life</i> . 1936, pp. 36–43.	1	1	1	1	0	0	4	H
4	Kamehameha IV. <i>The Journal of Prince Alexander Liholiho: The Voyages Made to the United States, England and France in 1849-1850</i> . University of Hawaii	1	1	1	0	0	0	3	M

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4	Kanahele, George S. <i>Emma: Hawaii's Remarkable Queen</i> . University of Hawaii Press, 1999.	1	1	1	0	0	0	3	M
4	Kashay, Jennifer Fish. "Competing Imperialisms and Hawaiian Authority: The Cannonading of Lāāhaināā in 1827." <i>Pacific Historical Review</i> , vol. 77, no. 3, University of California Press USA, 2008, pp. 369–90.	1	1	1	1	0	0	4	H
4	Keane, Webb. <i>Christian Moderns</i> . University of California Press, 2007.	1	1	1	1	0	0	4	H
1	Keller, James R., and Leslie Stratyner. <i>Almost Shakespeare: Reinventing His Works for Cinema and Television</i> . McFarland, 2004.	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	M
1	Kinsley, Elisabeth H. <i>Here in This Island We Arrived: Shakespeare and Belonging in Immigrant New York</i> . Penn State Press, 2019.	1	1	1	0	1	0	4	H
2	Kolin, Philip C. <i>Othello: New Critical Essays</i> . Routledge, 2013.	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	M
2	Kolin, Philip C. <i>Shakespeare in the South: Essays on Performance</i> . Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1983.	1	0	0	1	0	1	3	M
4	Korn, Alfons L., et al. <i>The Victorian Visitors: An Account of the Hawaiian Kingdom, 1861-1866, Including the Journal Letters of Sophia Cracroft; Extracts from the Journals of Lady Franklin, and Diaries and Letters of Queen Emma of Hawaii</i> . University of Hawaii Press, 1958.	1	1	1	1	0	0	4	H

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4	Kuykendall, Ralph S. "Lunalilo, the People's King." <i>The Hawaiian Kingdom—Volume 2</i> , University of Hawaii Press, 2021, pp. 239–62.	1	0	0	0	1	1	3	M
4	Kuykendall, Ralph S. "The Hawaiian Kingdom—Volume 3." <i>The Hawaiian Kingdom—Volume 3</i> , University of Hawaii Press, 2021.	1	1	1	0	0	1	4	H
2	Lamming, George. <i>In the Castle of My Skin</i> . University of Michigan Press, 1991.	1	1	0	0	1	1	4	H
1	Lev, Peter, and James Michael Welsh. <i>The Literature/Film Reader: Issues of Adaptation</i> . Scarecrow Press, 2007.	1	1	0	1	0	0	3	M
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1	Lewis, Peter B. "Wittgenstein, Tolstoy, and Shakespeare." <i>Philosophy and Literature</i> , vol. 29, no. 2, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005, pp. 241–55.	1	1	1	1	0	0	4	H
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4	Lippi-Green, Rosina. "Accent, Standard Language Ideology, and Discriminatory Pretext in the Courts." <i>Language in Society</i> , vol.	1	0	0	1	1	0	3	M

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2	Loomba, Ania. “Shakespeare and Cultural Difference.” <i>Alternative Shakespeares</i> , Routledge, 2003, pp. 177–204.	1	0	0	1	0	1	3	M
3	Loomba, Ania, and Martin Orkin. <i>Post-Colonial Shakespeares</i> . Routledge, 2013.	1	1	1	0	0	1	4	H
2	Lower, Charles B. “Othello as Black on Southern Stages, Then and Now.” <i>Shakespeare in the South: Essays on Performance</i> , U of Mississippi, 1983, pp. 199–228.	1	0	0	1	0	1	3	M
4	Mathison, Gilbert Farquhar. <i>Narrative of a Visit to Brazil, Chile, Peru, and the Sandwich Islands</i> . BoD–Books on Demand, 2017.	1	1	1	1	0	0	4	H
1	Mays, Andrea. <i>The Millionaire and the Bard: Henry Folger’s Obsessive Hunt for Shakespeare’s First Folio</i> . Simon and Schuster, 2015.	1	0	0	1	1	0	3	M
1, 2	McAllister, Marvin Edward. <i>White People Do Not Know How to Behave at Entertainments Designed for Ladies & Gentlemen of Colour: William Brown’s African & American Theater</i> . Univ of North Carolina Press, 2003.	1	0	0	1	0	1	3	M
2	Menzer, Paul. <i>Shakespeare in the Theatre: The American Shakespeare Center</i> . Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017.	1	1	1	0	0	1	4	H

3	Modenessi, Alfredo Michel. <i>'Meaning by Shakespeare' South of the Border</i> . Routledge, 2007.	1	1	1	0	0	0	3	M
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1	Moghaddam, Fathali M. "What Has Shakespeare Got to Do with It?" <i>Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology</i> , vol. 27, no. 2, Educational Publishing Foundation, 2021, p. 101.	1	1	0	0	1	1	4	H
4	Morris, Aldyth. <i>Lili 'uokalani</i> . University of Hawaii Press, 1993.	1	1	0	0	1	1	4	H
4	Moses, Montrose Jonas. <i>Famous Actor-Families in America</i> . TY Crowell, 1906.	1	1	0	0	1	1	4	H
2	Mouffe, Chantal. "Radical Democracy: Modern or Postmodern?" <i>Social Text</i> , edited by Paul Holdengräber, no. 21, JSTOR, 1989, pp. 31–45.	1	0	1	1	0	1	4	H
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4	North, Thomas, and R. H. Carr. <i>Plutarch's Lives of Coriolanus</i> ,	1	0	0	1	0	1	3	M

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3	Ocampo-Guzman, Antonio. "My Own Private Shakespeare; or, Am I Deluding Myself?" <i>Colorblind Shakespeare: New Perspectives on Race and Performance</i> , New York: Routledge, 2006, pp. 125–36.	1	1	0	0	1	0	3	M
3	Orgel, Stephen. "Imagining Shakespeare." <i>Imagining Shakespeare</i> , Springer, 2003, pp. 1–37.	1	0	0	1	1	0	3	M
4	Orkin, Martin. <i>Local Shakespeares: Proximations and Power</i> . Routledge, 2007.	1	0	0	1	0	1	3	M
2	Orkin, Martin. "Othello and the "Plain Face" Of Racism." <i>Shakespeare Quarterly</i> , vol. 38, no. 2, JSTOR, 1987, pp. 166–88.	1	1	1	1	0	0	4	H
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2	Pocock, John GA. "The Machiavellian Moment Revisited: A Study in History and Ideology." <i>The Journal of Modern History</i> , vol. 53, no. 1, The University of Chicago Press, 1981, pp. 49–72.	1	1	1	0	0	1	4	H
2	Prager, Carolyn. "The Problem of Slavery in The Custom of the Country." <i>Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900</i> , vol. 28, no. 2, JSTOR, 1988, pp. 301–17.	1	1	1	1	1	1	6	H
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4	Reinecke, John E. “‘Pidgin English’ in Hawaii: A Local Study in the Sociology of Language.” <i>American Journal of Sociology</i> , vol. 43, no. 5, University of Chicago Press, 1938, pp. 778–89.	1	1	0	0	1	1	4	H
1	Rippy, Marguerite. “Black Cast Conjures White Genius: Unraveling the Mystique of Orson Welles’s ‘Voodoo’ Macbeth.” <i>Weyward Macbeth</i> , Springer, 2010, pp. 83–90.	1	1	0	1	1	1	5	H
3	Rollins, Mikael. <i>Psychopathy and Narcoterrorism: A Comparative Historical Analysis of Pablo Escobar and “El Chapo” Guzman</i> . California Baptist University, 2017.	1	0	0	0	1	1	3	M
3	Roth, Wendy. <i>Race Migrations</i> . Stanford University Press, 2020.	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	M
4	Sahlins, Marshall. “Cosmologies of Capitalism: The Trans-Pacific Sector of ‘The World System.’” <i>Culture/Power/History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory</i> , Princeton University Press Princeton, NJ, 1994, pp. 412–55.	1	1	0	0	1	0	3	M
4	Sahlins, Marshall. <i>Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom</i> . University of Michigan Press, 2009.	1	1	0	0	1	0	3	M
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2	Shakespeare, William. <i>The Works of Shakespeare: The Tragedy of Hamlet</i> . Methuen and C., 1899.	1	1	1	1	0	0	4	H
3, 4	Shakespeare, William, et al. <i>The Norton Shakespeare</i> . WW Norton & Company Incorporated, 2008.	1	1	1	0	1	0	4	H
2	Skinner, Quentin. <i>The Republican Ideal of Political Liberty</i> . 1990.	1	0	0	1	0	1	3	M
1	Shandler, Donald David. <i>American Shakespeare Festival Theatres: A Sense of Occasion</i> . The Ohio State University, 1972.	1	1	1	0	0	1	4	H
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1	Shinagel, Michael. "Shakespeare After All/Will in the World: How Shakespeare Became Shakespeare/The Art of Shakespeare's Sonnets." <i>Harvard Review</i> , no. 28, Harvard Review, 2005, p. 175.	1	1	1	1	0	0	4	H
2	Slights, Camille Wells. "Slaves and Subjects in Othello." <i>Shakespeare Quarterly</i> , vol. 48, no. 4, JSTOR, 1997, pp. 377–90.	1	1	1	0	0	1	4	H
3	Smith, Ian. "Othello's Black Handkerchief." <i>Shakespeare Quarterly</i> , vol. 64, no. 1, Oxford University Press, 2013, pp. 1–25.	1	0	0	1	1	0	3	M
2	Snow, Edward A. "Sexual Anxiety and the Male Order of Things in Othello." <i>English Literary Renaissance</i> , vol. 10, no. 3, The University of Chicago	1	1	1	1	0	0	4	H

	Press Chicago, 1980, pp. 384–412.								
1	Sollors, Werner. <i>Interracialism: Black-White Intermarriage in American History, Literature, and Law</i> . Oxford University Press, 2000.	1	1	0	0	1	1	4	H
4	Spencer, Christopher, editor. <i>Five Restoration Adaptations of Shakespeare</i> . University of Illinois Press, 1965.	1	1	1	0	0	0	3	M
1	Stovall, Floyd. “Whitman, Shakespeare, and the Baconians.” <i>Philological Quarterly</i> , vol. 31, University of Iowa., 1952, p. 27.	1	1	1	1	0	1	5	H
2	Sturgess, Kim C. <i>Shakespeare and the American Nation</i> . Cambridge University Press, 2004.	1	1	1	1	0	0	4	H
3	Suárez-Orozco, Carola, and Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco. <i>Children of Immigration</i> . Harvard University Press, 2009.	1	1	1	1	0	0	4	H
2	Taylor, Charles. <i>Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity</i> . Cambridge, 2005.	1	1	1	1	0	1	5	H
2	Taylor, Diana. <i>The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas</i> . Duke University Press, 2003.	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	M
1	Teague, Frances. <i>Shakespeare and the American Popular Stage</i> . Cambridge University Press, 2006.	1	1	1	1	0	0	4	H
2	Thaiss, Christopher J. “Summer Shakespeare in Philadelphia.” <i>Shakespeare Quarterly</i> , vol. 30, no. 2, Oxford University Press, 1979, pp. 191–92.	1	1	1	0	0	1	4	H
4	The Friend. <i>The Friend</i> , 1873.	1	1	1	1	0	0	4	H
3	Thompson, Ayanna. <i>Passing Strange: Shakespeare, Race, and</i>	1	0	1	1	0	1	4	H

	<i>Contemporary America</i> . Oxford University Press, 2011.								
4	Thrum, John. “Reminiscences of the Stage in Honolulu [1882].” <i>Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1906</i> , 1905, pp. 93–104.	1	1	1	1	0	1	5	H
3	Turchi, Laura B., and Ann C. Christensen. “Teaching Shakespeare.” <i>English Journal</i> , vol. 108, no. 2, National Council of Teachers of English, 2018, pp. 111–14.	1	0	0	0	1	1	3	M
1	Twain, Mark. <i>Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians: And Other Unfinished Stories</i> . Univ of California Press, 2011.	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	M
4	Twain, Mark. <i>Mark Twain’s Letters from Hawaii</i> . University of Hawaii Press, 1975.	1	0	0	1	1	0	3	M
1	Valiunus, Algis. “America’s Shakespeare.” <i>National Affairs</i> , 2017, https://www.nationalaffairs.com/publications/detail/americas-shakespeare .	1	0	0	0	1	1	3	M
2	Vaughan, Virginia Mason. <i>Othello: A Contextual History</i> . Cambridge University Press, 1996.	1	0	0	1	1	0	3	M
2	Vignaux, Michèle. “A Southern Shakespeare?” <i>Transatlantica. Revue d’études Américaines. American Studies Journal</i> , no. 1, Association française d’études américaines (AFEA), 2010.	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	M
2	Walvin, James. <i>Black and White: The Negro and English Society, 1555-1945</i> . Allen Lane, 1973.	1	1	1	0	0	1	4	H
2	Whitman, Walt. <i>Complete Prose Works</i> . D. McKay, 1891.	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	M
4	Yokota, Thomas. “The ‘Pidgin Problem’: Attitudes about Hawai’i	1	1	1	1	0	0	4	H

	Creole.” <i>Educational Perspectives</i> , vol. 41, ERIC, 2008, pp. 22–29.								
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MOORE - a Pacific Island Othello Complete Text

Below, please find the complete text for *MOORE - a Pacific Island Othello* with links to the performance video and production's website:

📄 Moore (a Pacific Island Othello)_5_6_2020.pdf

<https://globalshakespeares.mit.edu/moore-taft-mattos-justina-2020/#video=moore-taft-mattos-justina-2020>

<https://mooreworldpremiere.sites.ucsc.edu/>

Publication and Scholarship on *MOORE - a Pacific Island Othello*:

Arden Shakespeare *Lockdown Shakespeare: New Evolutions in Performance and Adaptation*. "Shakespeare in the United States Armed Forces - *MOORE - a Pacific Island Othello*" by Benjamin Broadribb, Bloomsbury 2022

Moving Islands: Contemporary Performance and the Global Pacific "MOORE a Pacific Island Othello" by Dianne Looser, University of Michigan Press (September 30, 2021)

MOORE - a Pacific Island Othello awarded "Commendation for Meritorious Work" at the 53rd annual Kennedy Center American College Theater Festival, February 2021

MOORE - a Pacific Island Othello inducted into the MIT Global Shakespeare Project, February 2021



Marqués - a Narco Macbeth Complete Text

Below, please find the complete text for *Marqués - a Narco Macbeth* with links to the performance video and production's website:

📄 Marqués Danny Shakes (1).pdf

<https://marques.sites.ucsc.edu/contact/timeline/>

Publication and Scholarship on *Marqués - a Narco Macbeth*:

Marqués - a Narco Macbeth (complete script) published in *The Bard in the Borderlands: An Anthology of Shakespeare Appropriations en la Frontera*, ACMRS Press 2022

Literature Compass Jan 2022, "Seeing Shakespeare: Narco Narratives and Neocolonial Appropriations of Macbeth in the U.S.–Mexico Borderlands," Santos, 2022. Click [here](#) for link to article.

Shakespeare and Latinidad, "Staging Shakespeare for Latinx Identity and Mexican Subjectivity: *Marqués: A Narco Macbeth*" by Dr. Carla Della Gatta, Edinburgh University Press 2021. Click [here](#) for link to chapter.

Shakespeare, Volume 17, Issue 1, Routledge (2021) "Shakespeare, Race and Nation," guest-edited by Farah Karim-Cooper and Eoin Price. "Review of Stephen Richter and Mónica Andrade's *Marqués: A Narco Macbeth*. University of California, Santa Cruz," by Dr. Kathryn Vomero Santos (Trinity University). Click [here](#) for link to article.