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**'A Shakespearian View Of It':
Shakespeare in Canada, 1848-1891**

by
Jessica Schagerl

Thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
M.A. degree in English Literature

University of Ottawa
Ottawa, Canada

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Canada



A SHAKESPEARIAN VIEW OF IT

Prince Henry (Mr. MOWAT).—" . . . Thou shalt have the hanging of the chieftes, and so become a rare hauguan."

Sir John Falstaff (Mr. MCKELLAR).—"Well, Hd, well : and in some sort it jumps with my humor, as well as waiting in the Court."
Henry IV., Act I., Scene 2.

J.W. Bengough, *A Shakespearian View Of It*, Grip, 3 July 1875.

For V.A. and W.O.V.B.

Abstract

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Canada's comic press developed a complex and extensive pattern of verbal and visual satire drawing on the powerful resonances associated with the idea(l) of Shakespeare. These texts show that Shakespeare had already by the nineteenth century become a significant part of Canadian popular culture.

Chapter One investigates the extent to which Shakespeare was a part of popular culture by studying both reverential and confrontational appropriations of his works. Chapter Two takes as its starting point the admission by one of the anonymous writers for *Grip* that "one cannot help parodying Shakespeare" (27 May 1876, p. 2) and, from there, examines the way re-writings and political parodies interrogate, both implicitly and explicitly, received traditions and assumptions about Shakespeare. In translating Shakespeare into a "Canadian" voice, the occasional periodical pieces adopt the colonizing cultural capital of Shakespeare for Canada. The third chapter explores in close detail the use of Shakespeare in Canadian political caricature. Beyond merely choosing a Shakespearean theme, Canadian caricaturists (chief among them J. W. Bengough) use the reputation and knowledge of Shakespeare among the readers of comic periodicals to make pointed and reformist comments about the politicians and social problems of the day.

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The archival nature of this project necessitated the help of the able staff at the National Library of Canada, who did yeoman work reproducing clear images from the microfilms of the nineteenth-century periodicals, and the staff at the National Archives of Canada, especially Ann Goddard (Manuscript Division) and Eva Major-Marothy (Documentary Art and Photography). For permission to reproduce material held in their respective collections, I am grateful to both of these institutions.

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A Note on References

My principal source for the Shakespearean satire examined in this thesis is Canada's comic press between 1848-1891. Two of these nineteenth-century periodicals were published in Canada after the Union of the Canadas in February 1841 when Upper Canada (now Ontario) and Lower Canada (now Quebec) became the Province of Canada. The Dominion of Canada, established after Confederation in 1867, encompassed Canada West (Ontario) and Canada East (Quebec), the colony of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

<i>The Magic Lantern</i> (ML)	Montreal, 1 March 1848- 15 September 1848
<i>Punch in Canada</i> (PC)	Montreal and Toronto, 1 January 1849-27 April 1850
<i>Diogenes</i> (D)	Montreal, 13 November 1868- 4 February 1870
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<i>Canadian Illustrated News</i> (CIN)	Montreal, 30 October 1869- 29 December 1883
<i>Grip</i> (G)	Toronto, 24 May 1873- 29 December 1894
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<i>Sunbeams</i> (S)	Montreal, began 1889

Shakespearean references are cited from *The Riverside Shakespeare*, general editor G. Blakemore Evans (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974).

Introduction

“That large part of our popular opinion and judgement”:

Shakespeare in Nineteenth-Century Canada

More people have seen Shakspeare’s Dramas acted than now inhabit the British Islands; and millions, who have never entered a theatre, have yet read his works with infinite instruction and delight.

—Joseph Howe, “Shakspeare”

Tens of thousands of people talk Shakespeare who never read him, and hundreds of thousands think Shakespeare who do not talk him; I shall not attempt, Ladies and Gentlemen, any analysis of that large part of our popular opinion and judgement for which we are indebted to this illustrious author.

— Thomas D’Arcy McGee, “The Tercentenary of Shakespeare”

Lastly, THE SPRITE is a Canadian Sprite; but British in thought, British in feeling, and will endeavour to be British in expression. He is a lineal descendant of the *Sprites* of Shakspeare and Milton, and Burns and Moore, and he will not discredit his illustrious ancestry.

—*The Sprite* [Quebec], 7 June 1865, p. 3.¹

This thesis is primarily concerned with the Shakespearean borrowings and lendings shared by Canadian satirists from 1848, the date of the first Shakespearean cartoon published in Canada, to 1891, a year that marked both the end of John Wilson Bengough’s editorship of *Grip* and the death of Sir John A. Macdonald, his most visible satirical focus. The majority of the thesis will concentrate on the most sustained years of comic periodical publication, 1868 to 1891, with particular emphasis upon Bengough’s *Grip*, the longest-running comic periodical of the nineteenth century, hence the most substantial source of Shakespearean material. This work is not intended to be a comprehensive survey of Shakespeare in Canada in the second half of the nineteenth century, nor does it profess to be a complete overview of political satire during this

period in Canadian history. Rather, my intention is to provide an account of the range of appropriations offered within Canada, and in doing so, reflect some of the contemporary efforts to “reposition” (to use Thomas Cartelli’s word) Shakespeare — especially as a “Canadian”— without negating his British heritage.²

Writing an interdisciplinary study like this requires the establishment of certain strict boundaries. To restrict the thesis, I concentrate on Shakespeare’s various appropriations (as visual satire, political parody, “reverential” and negotiational uses) solely within the comic press of the nineteenth century. Because of their fairly widespread audience and ability to respond promptly to contemporary social and political issues, comic texts encapsulate the specifically Canadian use of Shakespeare by “[inscribing] continuity while permitting critical distance and change” (Hutcheon 102). These texts show that nineteenth-century Canadian parodies of Shakespearean works as well as the pictorial adaptation of Shakespearean iconographic traditions are used to express an acute awareness of social and political concerns. Negotiating between the literary authority of Shakespeare and political ridicule and commentary, these nineteenth-century appropriations suggest that Shakespeare is both conservative (the arbiter of social class and universal moral values) and revolutionary (a link between the radical aims of didactic social education and traditional British authority). Beyond Shakespeare’s ubiquity in Canadian political discourse, his name had acquired a life of its own and was increasingly central to the national cultural enterprise, which sought to (re)define Canada as a culturally independent nation through a definable literary and cultural community— premised in part on the knowledge and adaptation of Shakespeare.

Tracing the various uses and influences of Shakespeare in Canada is, to be sure, to follow a current trend in modern Shakespearean scholarship in which the presence of “Shakespeares”—in academe, theatre, popular culture—have pushed critics in the direction of understanding the representations of Shakespeare: as an iconic figure of literature, as a representation of British authority, as a site of post-colonial contestation and as evidence of textual and performative indeterminacy.³ One of the main aims of this study, therefore, is to begin to focus a comment offered by Edward Pechter in relation to textual and theatrical evidence: to look at not only “what ‘Shakespeare’ *is*” but rather “what ‘Shakespeare’ can be made to *do*” (17). Thus, each chapter is focused upon recovering contemporary discourses and interpretations from largely-forgotten nineteenth-century periodicals; for, as Stephen Greenblatt notes, many of these more obscure traces, “even the most tedious or trivial, contain some fragment of lost life” (1).

The sheer range of uses of Shakespeare shows that Shakespeare and his drama had, by the nineteenth century, become an integral part of Canadian culture. What emerges from even a cursory overview of the spectrum of specific references examined in this thesis is that Shakespearean allusions, quotations, adaptations, and appropriations serve as cultural capital for the specifically Canadian readers of nineteenth-century periodical texts. In their insistence on Shakespearean citation and iconography, these texts show that Shakespeare’s plays were used both to establish and challenge political and cultural authority. Although Canada was still in its infancy as a nation, and certainly the cultural apparatus (as we know it today) was not fully developed, it is somewhat simplistic to argue that early Canadians did not have a cultural view. Certainly, many of

them shared a literary view, shaped in part by the new Canadian universities, that privileged Anglo-British literature and social mores. References to Chaucer, Shakespeare, Jonson, Milton, Tennyson, Dickens—to name but a few of the more prominent citations in the texts I propose to examine—believe the still-common opinion that nineteenth-century Canada was culturally backward. Perhaps nineteenth-century Canadians did not take a cultural view in the broadest sense but, instead, took a literary view, “A Shakespearian View of It” (see the frontispiece).

The status of Shakespeare in broader nineteenth-century Canadian discourse finds witness in the speeches and writings of two of Canada’s well-known politicians: Joseph Howe and Thomas D’Arcy McGee. For Joseph Howe, a parliamentarian and statesman, “Shakespeare was dearer than all the Blue-books in the Parliamentary Library.”⁴ In 1864, in the course of an address to the Halifax Saint George’s Society in commemoration of the tercentenary of Shakespeare’s birth, Howe wondered that

This man founded no sect, sat on no throne, conducted no Government, led no army, upheaved no ancient dominion. How is it, then, that three hundred years after he has been dead and buried, in a Province of which he has never heard—which was a wilderness for two hundred years after he was born—how happens it that in a city not founded for a century and a half after he was in his grave, we are assembled to hold high festival on this man’s natal day? How does it occur that the highest in military rank and civil station comes here at the head of all that is distinguished by culture, and refinement, to do honor to the memory of Shakespeare? (Howe “Oration” 8).

Howe’s reference to the eternal glory of Shakespeare’s heritage—he at one point implies an affinity between Jesus Christ, Burns, and Shakespeare (4-5)—is paralleled by other nineteenth-century commentators. Thomas D’Arcy McGee, who supplies one of the epigraphs for this introduction, dedicated his series of lectures on Shakespeare, which

included one on the tercentenary of Shakespeare's birth in 1864, "to the memory of the greatest genius that ever used our speech as his vehicle of thought"(57). Like Howe, McGee offers a brief biography of Shakespeare, but he soon turns to praising his philosophy, religion, and politics, because, in his words, "to Shakespeare certainly more than to any other writer we have, the praise of a well-balanced mind belongs; for while Milton was often a fanatic, and Dryden a partisan, and Byron a cynic, this great genius ... looked straight out into all space, with a calm self-possession which strikes one with awe" ("Tercentenary" 57). Foreshadowing the concerns of this study, McGee concludes: "Now as to Shakespeare's influence on our ideas and our language—the last point on which I wish to touch—it is not easy to exaggerate its past extent, or its still growing increase" ("Tercentenary" 58). McGee's speech offers evidence that nineteenth-century Canadians saw Shakespeare as more than a self-contained literary text; to understand Shakespeare, then as now, necessitated the careful consideration of his far-reaching cultural impact. Shakespeare was not just the purview of the educated elite but dominated the popular sphere.

In nineteenth-century Canada, Shakespeare offered a shared and malleable language available for citation and glorification, distortion and ridicule. An abundance of Shakespearean allusions, in cartoons, sketches, intertextual adaptations, and parody, appeared in Canada's comic press in this period; these references are vital to an understanding of the way Shakespeare was used (or abused) in Canada in the nineteenth-century and will show how, before his firm entrenchment in academic circles, Shakespeare was already thoroughly cemented in popular culture.

The comic press in Canada was keenly aware of its function as both a popular political and satirical instrument. Because of their widespread audience and ability to respond promptly to local, contemporary concerns, the comic periodicals especially serve as a useful indicator of nineteenth-century Canadian consciousness. Influential, widely-read, and frequently reported, the comic press was itself frequently cited. The editor of *Grip*, John Wilson Bengough, could boast of his journal's popularity—"Not infrequently *Grip* was honoured by editorial reference in the *Globe* and other leading dailies, and by mention on the floor of Parliament" (Bengough "Recollections, Part Three", p.252)—a signal of the periodical's importance within the contemporary discourses. Indeed, one scholar is convinced that "Bengough's cartoons [the most well-known part of his journal], or mention of them, appeared so often in newspapers throughout the country, that it was virtually impossible for any journal-reading Canadian and certainly for any Ontarian ... not to have known Bengough" (Kutcher 42).

The study of periodical literature in Canada has been considerably facilitated by the publication of *Periodicals of Queen Victoria's Empire* in 1996. N. Merrill Distad's chapter on "Canada" succinctly provides a useful summary of the importance of the periodical press and of its early characteristics:

The development of a periodical press played a significant role [in the formation of Canada as a modern nation], for periodicals served as political tools: in the creation of a representative government in the provinces; in the establishment of a press free of political censorship; in the creation of a unified nation 'a mari usque ad mare'; in the creation of distinct cultures both local and national; in the promotion of innumerable other religious, commercial and special-interest causes. (Distad 62)

As the "first medium of national mass-communication," the broader Canadian periodical

press, including the specific comic periodicals used as the primary source of this thesis, encountered a number of “obstacles to commercial success”(Distad 63). These comic periodicals, though important and influential in their time, were ephemeral. British and American periodicals came into Canada throughout the nineteenth century; this competition, coupled with a smaller subscription base, often resulted in economic hardship for publishers; a fact manifested most obviously in the short publication span of all but two of the periodicals examined here.⁵

The diversity of Canadian appropriations of Shakespeare discussed in this thesis comes from some of the earliest Canadian comic periodicals; my selection is restricted to those which have been preserved and are available on microfilm. That they have survived even in often piecemeal fashion is perhaps also telling of their proliferation, for, according to *Grip*, the foremost comic periodical of the nineteenth-century:

Canada has had at least 20 comic journals in the course of her brief history, specimen copies of which we have collected. *Punch in Canada*, published about 30 years ago in Montreal, and afterwards in Toronto, was the most ambitious attempt. At present [1880] *Grip* is the only Canadian humorous journal printed in English. There are two in French, *Le Canard* and *le Vert Canard* [sic].⁶

If this count is to be believed, then Canada has lost a potentially invaluable record of the nineteenth century. That only the Canadian “comic journals” are noted is of particular import. Falling somewhere between the literary periodicals of the nineteenth-century (like *The Literary Garland*) and the newspapers (party organs, by and large, like George Brown’s *Globe* in Toronto), Canada’s comic press was neither wholly literary nor wholly political. It was, in fact, a mixture of the two, the result being a characteristic view of the times: generally biased (even while professing impartiality), cynical, openly parodic,

often libellous, abundantly intertextual, highly literate. As such, the comic press in Canada is a useful resource for tracking the flavour of the nineteenth century. The value of the comic press as a resource for social historians has recently been acknowledged by Carman Cumming, whose book is one of the few secondary sources touching on comic periodical culture in Canada. “In many ways,” Cumming notes, “they expose a world that [nineteenth-century Canadians] took for granted—though one that we have never seen—a world of revival meetings, omnibuses, and ox carts, a world of saloons and salons” (10, 19). Indeed, the nineteenth century is a completely different society from our own, where the minutiae of Shakespeare’s works served as popular culture and literary humour was taken for granted.



1. J.W. Bengough, *After Shakespeare* (1879)

My thesis begins with a study of the variety of appropriations in Canada before moving on to examine how (anonymous) satirists turned Shakespearean allusion against political figures and social problems—both in parody and caricature—while simultaneously authenticating their own Canadian voice through Shakespeare. The idea of translating Shakespeare into Canadian is not as far-fetched as it might sound; recent critics discuss the notion of Canadian in contemporary writings (see Hutcheon 1992); but, perhaps more tellingly for this study in particular, nineteenth-century commentators have already distinguished “Canadian”—especially Canadian humour—from its British and American companions. Rev. Principal Grant, a well-known figure in nineteenth-century Ontario, writes in his foreword to *A Caricature History of Canadian Politics: Events from the Union of 1841, as Illustrated by Cartoons from “Grip,” and various other sources* (1886), that “*Grip’s* humour is his own. It has a flavour of the soil. It is neither English nor American. It is Canadian” (8).

* * *

The discussion is divided into three chapters. The first examines the rich diversity of Shakespearean appropriations in Canada’s nineteenth-century comic press — responses which, characteristically, associate politics with drama, and begin centrally to relate Shakespearean texts to the contemporary political situation through citation and parody. Many late nineteenth-century writers put Shakespearean language to different uses in occasional verse, but they are also aware that using Shakespeare involves not only reviewing the past, but also reworking the Shakespearean voice in the Canadian context. In these texts, then, Shakespearean discourses offer interesting and radical possibilities of

subversion that move beyond purely repeating colonial discursive practices; instead, they offer what one critic has called “a privileged medium through which a self-consciously post-colonial society could both address and construct its differences from the society that had produced it” (Cartelli 30). Indeed, a unique Canadian interpretation of Shakespeare is best found in parodies and other reworkings, as the more recent example of Anne-Marie Macdonald’s *Goodnight Desdemona, Good Morning Juliet* suggests.

In nineteenth-century Canada, the fact that Shakespeare is appropriated at all indicates a process of transformation in which the original text is used to underwrite or interpret a Canadian context. But, although this thesis sometimes uses the work of post-colonial theorists, it does not imply that late nineteenth-century writers seek *only* a purely Canadian and therefore radically post-colonial rewriting of Shakespeare; rather, as Linda Hutcheon suggests:

Intertextual parody of canonical classics is one mode of reappropriating and reformulating — with significant changes — the dominant white, male, middle-class, European culture. It does not reject it, for it cannot. It signals its dependence by its *use* of the canon, but it asserts its rebellion through ironic *abuse* of it (Hutcheon 1989 12).

Making Shakespeare parodic does not mean trivializing either the issue or the Shakespearean source; rather, parodies and satire on the basis of Shakespearean texts show that nineteenth-century Canadian society was beginning to take full measure of Shakespeare’s subversive potential for Canadians.

Henry E. Jacobs and Claudia D. Johnson, compilers of *An Annotated Bibliography of Shakespearean Burlesques, Parodies, and Travesties* (1976), accurately note,

The range and amount of Shakespearean scholarship published in the last two hundred years are immense. Yet in spite of this enormous spectrum of critical work, very little attention has been shown the burlesques, parodies, and travesties of Shakespeare's plays which began to appear in the seventeenth century and which dominated the burlesque theatre of the nineteenth century in both England and America. Similarly, little study has been made of the hundreds of occasional verses which parody specific passages or specific scenes from Shakespeare (9).

Since then, several studies have discussed parodies and, more broadly, the satirical appropriation of Shakespeare: for the United States, Lawrence Levine's *Highbrow Lowbrow: The Emergence of a Cultural Hierarchy in America*, Thomas Cartelli's *Repositioning Shakespeare: National Formations, Postcolonial Appropriations* and Michael Bristol's *Shakespeare's America, America's Shakespeare*; for Great Britain, Michael Dobson's *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Authorship, 1660-1769*, Stanley Wells's *Nineteenth-Century Shakespearean Burlesques*, and Jonathan Bate's *Shakespearean Constitutions: Politics, Theatre, Criticism, 1730-1830*. Canadian scholarship about parodies of Shakespeare, however, is very limited. Falling midway between the British parodies intent on glorifying Shakespeare and Britain's imperial position—what Michael Dobson calls “Shakespeare's untrammelled imaginative power with Britain's contemporary aspirations to world dominion” (227)—and the aggressively republican American parodies, Canadian parodies of Shakespeare were published in comic periodicals, as their American and British counterparts, and have the same value. That is, as Jacobs and Johnson make clear, parodies can “indicate the popular response to Shakespeare, particularly in the nineteenth century” (9); they can also “reveal those aspects of the Shakespearean canon which held the attention of the audience contemporary to the parody [and show how] varying distortions of

Shakespeare's plays provide road maps to the prejudices and taste of the society which generated the parody" (10).

Shakespeare was indeed a widely available resource, common currency for nineteenth-century Canadians: my second chapter shows that as the Shakespearean idiom became increasingly widespread in larger political discourses, the parody of Shakespeare's words is frequently employed as a satiric tool with obviously didactic undertones. Usually the occasional travesty of select passages or scenes in Shakespearean parodies forms an immediate body of criticism which responds to contemporary concerns, whether it is an innocuous comment on the severe winter weather in Toronto ("Once more into the coats, dear friends"), or a politically motivated jab at liquor traffic rewritten as *Troilus and Cressida* with Troilus as "Liquor Traffic" and Agamemnon as "Total Abstinence."⁷ Political satire and parodies created from Shakespearean texts both furthered oppositional writing and adapted the British cultural apparatus as a means of legitimizing reformist politics.

Essential to the rhetorical strategies of satirists was the belief that Shakespeare could be employed for didactic purposes, a belief founded on the assumption, articulated best by Thomas D'Arcy McGee, that Shakespeare was the best measure of universal human nature. This belief in Shakespeare's primacy as an arbiter of human values implicitly justified his constant use as "[a standard] by which to put the contemporary under scrutiny" (Hutcheon *Parody* 57). Moreover, the notion that political figures such as John A. Macdonald and Joseph Howe were modern counterparts of Shakespearean figures such as Falstaff and Shallow encouraged the production of satire based on these

literary models or subjects, such as the parody “The New Adaptation” which features the characters “MacFalstaff” and “Pistol-Tupper,” or the print *Scene from the ‘Merry Wives of Windsor.’*

Visual satire, in the form of political caricature, is the subject of Chapter Three. Many nineteenth-century commentators felt, as Rev. Principal Grant did, that the value of caricature lay in its reduction of a political issue to that issue’s absurd essence, enabling “us to see, in true light, facts that might otherwise be hidden or misrepresented.”⁸ Not only are they impartial, argued the same reader in 1886, but caricatures provided a better—and more succinct—political education than most other printed sources, including those published by the government, because: “Every man should take an intelligent interest in the political life of his country. But from what quarter is he to get information? He cannot get Hansard; and even if he could life is too short to read the terrible volumes.”⁹ Of course, this claim for impartiality is patently untrue, as later commentators have noted¹⁰, but it is true that an effective cartoon “must command immediate understanding from the reader, producing a laugh, a nod of agreement, or at least a wry acceptance that the point is well made”; in order to do so “an instantly recognizable parable, symbols or myths already in the reader’s mind” must be used (Cumming 7). Cartoons unconsciously reveal viewpoints of the time, both the writer’s and more explicitly his society’s, since, in order to be effective, they must appeal to the common cultural capital of the readers and intersect with the political concerns most important to society.

Studies of Shakespeare in Canada are recent and few, and reactions to

Shakespeare (whether in parody, adaptation, or acknowledgement of influence) have attracted little detailed or thoughtful critical attention among scholars dealing with the reception of Shakespeare in Canada, perhaps owing to the relatively new interest in Shakespeare reception in former British colonies.¹¹ Much work has yet to be done, both by social historians and literary scholars. As an exploratory project, my work will, I hope, contribute to further research on Canada's appropriation of Shakespeare by offering (as Lisa Jardine eloquently surmises) "a fresh understanding of the rootedness of our present uncertainties, derived by some kind of engaging dialogue with the textual residue of history" (Jardine 1). The Shakespearean discourses in nineteenth-century Canada are more pervasive than critics have allowed, and this thesis is an attempt, in some measure, to draw critical and scholarly attention to a wealth of under-studied resources.



2. J. W. Bengough, *'Grip's' Perpetual Comedy* (1874)

Chapter One

“Idolatrous Fancy”

Appropriating Shakespeare in Nineteenth-Century Canada

“The following conversation, overheard in a summer hotel parlor [sic], took place between two children of twelve and eleven, who were comparing notes about books. After discussing some novels of the day, one little girl asked the other if she had ever read any of Shakespeare.

“Shakespeare!” exclaimed the other. “I never read one of his books in my life! Have you?”

“Well, not exactly his books, but some stories fixed up out of his books. They are splendid!”

“What are they? Tragedies?”

“Some of them are. ‘Hamlet’ is. I like ‘Hamlet’ *ever* so much”.

“What is it about?”

“Well, I can’t *exactly* tell you, but its something like this: A lady wanted to marry some one [sic], but she couldn’t, and had to marry some one [sic] else; and after a while Romeo went to a grave, and Juliet came too, and they killed each other. It’s splendid.”

“Splendid!”

—*The Jury*, “Hamlet”, vol. 1, no. 7 (December 1886), p. 9

...and being an absolute *Johannes factotum*, is in his owne conceit the onely Shake-scene in a countrie.

—Robert Greene on Shakespeare (1592)

Shakespeare casts a long shadow over nineteenth-century Canada. In citing Shakespeare and rewriting Shakespearean texts, the largely anonymous writers of the comic press insist that ideological, national, and literary practices are interconnected: Shakespeare *can* have a Canadian accent (see Loomba and Orkin 7). Although Shakespeare is invoked as a cultural authority through quotation and parody, nineteenth-century periodical writers do not approach him with disabling reverence, nor do they simply reject him, as the evident attention given to Shakespearean form and language testifies.

Shakespeare’s status in the written discourse of the nineteenth century is, as the performativity of the parodies will make clearer, inextricably bound up with his position in the theatre. The necessary, almost causal, link between the performance of

Shakespeare and his introduction into the broader discourses of nineteenth-century America has been explored with some finesse by Lawrence Levine. His book *Highbrow Lowbrow* seeks to dispel the twentieth-century notions about “Culture” which have determined that Shakespeare is ‘high’ culture, and that distortions of Shakespeare, for instance in parodies, are ‘low’ culture. As he notes, “The place of Shakespearean drama in the nineteenth-century American theatre should make it clear how difficult it is to draw arbitrary lines between popular and folk culture” (30). The Canadian theatre of the same time period shared with the American theatre not only actors, but also this perception of Shakespeare. In fact, although now “the ideological weight of Shakespeare’s legacy is nowhere felt more strongly than in the theatre, where his work is still widely seen as the measure of all dramatic art, the ultimate test for the would-be actor or director, the mark of audience sophistication, and the uncontested sign of ‘Culture’ itself”(Gilbert and Tompkins 20), Shakespeare was not seen by nineteenth-century Canadians as divorced from other forms of popular entertainment. This is one of the reasons why examining Shakespeare in the nineteenth-century Canadian comic periodicals has proven so rewarding: Shakespeare is, in the periodicals, simply another discourse, to be integrated into the larger cultural discourse of the time. In this chapter, and all subsequent chapters, I will often reproduce the passages in full: these parodies have not been previously examined and, because they are in now obscure nineteenth-century periodicals, they are not easily accessible to the modern critic. Because these parodies, like the texts they are derived from, are performative texts, their common trait is a self-reflexive preoccupation with theatricality that is evident, usually at first glance

(see the Appendix for further examples).

By adapting and testing critical attitudes to Shakespeare, the Canadian comic periodical dramatizes with particular wit and accuracy the conflict between established, distinctly British Shakespeare, and emergent traditions of nineteenth-century Canadian literature. In part, this may have to do with what Thomas Cartelli distinguishes as a key difference between adaptation and appropriation, postulating that “Most adaptations are interested merely in adjusting or accommodating the original work to the tastes and expectations of their own readership or audience” (Cartelli 15). He continues:

Since successful adaptations generally feed off the fame or prestige of their originals, they also may be said to exist in a consciously tributary relationship with the work they enlarge upon, reorient, and emulate. Although the acts of appropriation and adaptation are equally opportunistic, the former tend to serve social or political as opposed to primarily literary or commercial agendas (Cartelli 15).

Cartelli delineates several strategies of appropriation in his book and, of these, two are particularly useful for the study of Shakespeare in the periodicals of nineteenth-century Canada. The first, “confrontational appropriation,” “directly contests the ascribed meaning or prevailing function of a Shakespearean text in the interests of an opposing or alternative social or political agenda” (17); the second, “proprietary appropriation,” “involves the application and elaboration of an avowedly ‘friendly’ or reverential reading of the appropriated material” (18). The political parodies and caricatures of the second and third chapters broadly can be classified as “confrontational appropriations,” although I prefer the idea of “negotiation appropriations,” which would better stress their intertextuality and, as Thais Morgan argues, “free the literary text from psychological, sociological, and historical determinisms, opening it up to an apparently infinite play of

relationships with other texts, or semiosis” (Morgan 239). By destabilizing the original text and forcing it into a Canadian context, these appropriations do more than simply acknowledge influence: they manage “to inscribe continuity while permitting critical distance and change” (Hutcheon *Parody* 102).

While seemingly embracing Old World traditions and literary conventions, in actuality even the reverential Shakespearean citations serve as a destabilizing form, as multiple and potentially new subjects are given authority by Shakespeare. In this chapter, I will begin by examining some “proprietary appropriations” of Shakespeare in the nineteenth-century Canada, using the example of the comic periodical — in celebrations of his life and work, in descriptions of his theatrical *oeuvre*, and as a literary authority— and then move to a fuller discussion of the cross-cultural discourses of Canadian Shakespeare which mediate between the foreignness of Shakespeare and his familiarity. These further “negotiational appropriations”, as I want to call them, devise a ‘Shakespearean’ voice in order to work towards defining a ‘Canadian’ identity within British literary traditions and, in drawing a parallel between the contemporary and the Shakespearean, lend force to the critique of the present. Ultimately, the British ideals of literary (Shakespearean) heritage prove only partially adequate in the Canadian context, where innovation and interpretation are privileged over strict imitation and glorification.

* * *

Twentieth-century critics see the celebration of Shakespeare’s birthday as “a matter of course” (Whittaker 71), although *The Jester* notes with some disdain in the issue of 26 April 1878 that “[i]t is a subject for much regret that the Canadian nation

knows so little of Shakesperian literature, and as an illustration we have yet to see in any other Canadian journal the first allusion to the poet's natal day" (24). *The Jester* is, of course, misguided in its profession of originality. The celebration of Shakespeare (on his birthday and at other times) had been a subject of discussion, and ridicule, in the comic press specifically, since *The Magic Lantern* wrote in 1848— the lone issue extant — about "The Shakespeare Club of Montreal": "We feel sure all this [debating on trivial, over-intellectualized matters] was done in order to suit our peculiar taste for the ludicrous, for no jester, in the olden time, with his cap bells and bauble ever produced a greater degree of mirthfulness in his audience than did the worthies of the club on this occasion" (1 March 1848 [p. 6]). More generally, at least since the tercentenary of Shakespeare's birth in 1864, Canadians had been aware of Shakespeare's birthday, and that it coincidentally fell on St. George's Day, often scheduling events and speakers to celebrate the occasion. I have already cited Thomas D'Arcy McGee's speech "The Tercentenary of Shakespeare" in the course of my argument, and made reference to Joseph Howe's commemorative address. Howe's oration is perhaps the more exemplary in this context since he gestures at Shakespeare's wholesale importation and adaptation within the British colonies:

All over the Empire—in the great Provinces of the East — in the Australian colonies — at the Cape — in the West Indies — in the neighbouring Provinces of Canada and New Brunswick no less than in the Summer Isles, where, if Prospero's wand no longer waves, we have Moore's warrant and our own experience to assure us that Miranda's fascinations may yet be found; wherever British communities have been formed and British civilization has been fostered, will this day [Shakespeare's natal day] be honored, and the memory of this great man be "in their flowing cups freshly remembered" (Howe 10).

The Jester's attempt to memorialize the Bard, ostensibly where others did not, goes beyond remembering “this great man”: in extracting and conflating Shakespearean quotations, *The Jester's* lines for Shakespeare's birthday are characteristic of the seemingly contradictory processes whereby Shakespeare is held up as an authority, especially in moral and literary matters, and his works are constantly transformed for a multiplicity of different uses.

The Jester's “lines ... read by Mr. Niel [sic] Warner ... were compiled in honor of the greatest poet the world has ever known, and read as only a true disciple of Shakspere [sic] could read them” (84). Each line, apparently, is a quotation from Shakespeare's writings and “the whole form[s] an unconscious tribute to his inspired genius” (*J* 84). After a telling Latin epigraph from Cicero — *Naturâ ipsâ valere et mentis viribus excitari et quasi quodam divino spiritu afflari* [“To be strong by nature herself [is] both to be ‘stirred up’ of mind by men and as if inspired by some divine spirit”¹²] — the passage is:

Peace to this meeting,
 Joy and fair time, health and good wishes,
 Now, worthy friends, the cause why we are met,
 Is in celebration of the day that gave
 Immortal Shakspere to this favored isle; 5
 The most replenishèd sweet work of nature,
 Which from the prime creation e'er she framed.
 O thou divinest nature! how thyself thou blazon'st
 In this thy Son! form'd in thy prodigality,
 To hold thy mirror up and give the time 10
 Its very form and pressure: when he speaks
 Each aged ear plays truant at his tales,
 And younger hearings are quite ravishèd;
 So voluble is his discourse. Gentle
 As zephyr blowing underneath the violet, 15

Not waging its sweet head. Yet as rough,
 (His noble blood enchaff'd) as the rude wind,
 That by the top doth take the mountain pine
 And make him stoop to th' vale. 'Tis wonderful
 That an indivisible instinct should fame him 20
 To loyalty; unlearn'd; honor untaught;
 Civility not seen in other; knowledge
 That wildly grows in him, but yields a crop
 As if it had been sown. What a piece of work!
 How noble in faculty! Infinite in reason! 25
 A combination and a form indeed,
 Where every God did seem to set his seal.
 Heav'n has him now. Yet let our idolatrous fancy
 Still sanctify his relics; and this day
 Stand aye distinguish'd in the calendar 30
 To the last syllable of recorded time;
 For if we take him but for all in all
 We ne'er shall look upon his like again.

Shakespeare is, first and foremost, “immortal” (5), a reason to celebrate with “worthy friends” (3). The description of Shakespeare’s natural genius is developed at great length, perhaps drawing on the Renaissance commonplace, echoed in most dedicatory verse to Shakespeare that “a great poet is born, not made” (c.f. Ben Jonson’s “To the Memory of my Beloved, The Author, Mr. William Shakespeare,” l. 64). In fact, these lines, “Is in celebration of the day that gave/ Immortal Shakspere to this favored isle,” are the only ones with no discernable Shakespearean source; rather, their sentiment at least seems to stem from the traditions of eighteenth-century prologues to Shakespeare’s works, both printed and spoken. For instance, Lewis Theobald’s prologue to a revival of Hamlet in 1739, to raise money for Shakespeare’s statue in Westminster Abbey, uses the phrase “Immortal Shakespear!” (See Dobson 140). Shakespeare is “the most replenishèd sweet work of nature” (6), the son of Nature, capable of accurately reproducing nature

(like Hamlet, by holding a mirror up to nature). Instinctively, he is “Gentle/ as zephyr blowing underneath the violet”, yet “as rough ... as the rude wind” (11-14); his nobility and honour sprout “wildly,” a demonstration of his innate intelligence and gentility.

There is no mention of a literary or theatrical value to Shakespeare’s works, save that the work of an individual revered in such terms must have a lasting value; and yet, somewhat unnervingly, these are Shakespeare’s own words, rearranged to laud himself.

Over half of the commemorative verses come from just two of Shakespeare’s plays, *Hamlet* (lines 10-11, 24-27, 32-33) and *Cymbeline* (lines 8-9, 14-24), but material also comes from *Henry V* (lines 1-2), *Richard III* (lines 3, 6-7, 9), *Love’s Labour’s Lost* (lines 12-14), *All’s Well that Ends Well* (lines 28-29), and *Macbeth* (lines 3, 29-31). The opening, “Peace to this meeting,/ Joy and fair time, health and good wishes”, is drawn from King Henry’s speech opening *Henry V* (Act 5, Scene 2), omitting half of the first line (“wherefore we are met!”) and the one line saluting the King and Queen of France (“Unto our brother France, and to our sister”). The second line of the address is a juxtaposition of the Shakespearean original, “Health and fair time of day; joy and good wishes” (*H5*, 5.2.3). Elsewhere in the address, Shakespeare’s lines are likewise juxtaposed or shortened, characteristically with material drawn from *Hamlet*, as with lines 10-11, which condense Hamlet’s advice to the players in order to show Shakespeare (not theatre) as a mirror of nature. Lines 24-25 make Hamlet’s lament to Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, “What a piece of work is a man, how noble in reason, how infinite in faculties, in form and moving, how express and admirable in action, how like an angel in apprehension, how like a god!” (*H*, 2.2. 303-307), into a series of exclamatory

statements: “What a piece of work! How noble in faculty! Infinite in Reason!” The material drawn from all the other plays is not amended so frequently, perhaps because, then as now, *Hamlet* is the best known of the Shakespearean tragedies and, already by the nineteenth century, has become common currency. For instance, the changes in the extended passage taken from Belarius in *Cymbeline*, lines 14-24, make logical sense: the address is about Shakespeare’s fame and the passage speaks of the glory of the princes. Thus, “his noble blood” replaces “their royal blood” at line 17, and the pronoun “him” replaces “them” at lines 20 and 23; line 20 is thus altered from “That an invisible instinct should frame them” to “That an indivisible instinct should fame him,” suggesting that Shakespeare’s fame is somehow tied to the unity of his works. Substantively, the passage is emended to stress the natural acquisition of learning, instead of royalty, by changing “To royalty unlearn’d” to “To loyalty; unlearn’d”, thereby using it as a noun instead of a verb (21), and by replacing “valour that wildly grows in them” with “knowledge that wildly grows in him” (22-23). Also, here is the echo of Samuel Johnson’s praise of Shakespeare as an untaught and unlettered genius, speaking with the voice of nature. Lines 12-14, taken from Rosalind in *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, are almost a direct quotation; “That” has been changed to “Each,” because it is no longer a descriptive subordinate clause, and “sweet and” has been omitted from “So voluble is his discourse” (14). So, too, the passages from *Macbeth* are virtually identical. The first, “Let this pernicious hour/ Stand aye accursed in the calendar,” is spoken by Macbeth immediately after seeing the witches in the fourth act (4.1.133-134), but is altered to reflect the happiness of the occasion of Shakespeare’s birth, not the premonitions of

destruction: “and this day/ Stand aye distinguish’d in the calendar” (29-30). The second passage is likewise taken from a description of tragedy, this time Macbeth’s words upon hearing from Seyton that his wife is dead.

Significantly, Shakespeare is glorified, as a kind of literary God, a mythic figure to be adulated, since, borrowing from Hamlet’s description of his father, “We shall ne’er look upon his like again” (33). Yet, while the man himself is revered (“Yet let our idolatrous fancy/ Still sanctify his relics”, quoting Helena from *All’s Well that Ends Well*), his works, that which made him famous in the first instance, are not so much mentioned as implied (“when he speaks/ Each aged ear plays truant at his tales/ And younger hearings are quite ravishèd). Thus, for Canadians, Shakespeare (the literary figure-head) can be separated from Shakespeare’s most evident production (his plays). As Dobson has made clear for Shakespeare’s recuperation in the Restoration, Shakespeare’s “characters and scenes belong to the theatre, not to any single proprietor, and can thus be combined and adapted at will” (Dobson 108), but this does not detract, in any way, from the attendant process of canonizing Shakespeare as a Canadian icon, a process which benefited enormously from the continual adaptation and revision of Shakespeare’s plays in works such as *The Jester’s* address to Shakespeare on his natal day, in poems and adaptations.

The Jester’s lines for Shakespeare’s birthday show the beginnings of Canadians adapting Shakespearean language to fit their environment. Thus, in the comic periodicals we see descriptions of Shakespeare productions— their merits, the quality of acting, the abusiveness of the patrons—discussed alongside parodic rewritings of famous

soliloquies, or Shakespearean riddles. This juxtaposition of the literary and the theatrical indicates that, as Levine argues, “Shakespeare [is] popular, first and foremost, because he was integrated into the culture and presented within its context” (36). The first indication that Shakespearean rhetoric in the periodicals and the larger discourse is inevitably swayed by the performance of his plays comes from “An Old Playgoer”, one of the regular contributors to *Diogenes*, who writes about “Miss Marriott as ‘Hamlet’ and ‘Lady Macbeth’”(D 28 May 1869, p. 24). “My dear Diogenes,” he writes, “Miss Marriott’s performance of the character of ‘Hamlet,’ presents two aspects to the critical spectator,—first as an assumption by an actress of an actor’s part, and second, as the embodiment of the poet’s creation.” “An Old Playgoer” feels that, as an actress playing a masculine role, “she successfully surmounted the difficulties of the undertaking.” Her interpretations, he writes, are “most intelligent and natural”, but her “reading” of the part was “monotonous, often ‘stagey,’ rarely colloquial, and altogether lacking the comedy element which the poet has thrown into the assumed madness of ‘Hamlet.’” More delighted with a performance of *Macbeth*, “An Old Playgoer” felt that it offers “unalloyed pleasure,” “full of vigor and intensity, and fairly entranced the audience.” But, his conclusion is perhaps the most revealing for a discussion of Shakespearean discourses in nineteenth-century Canada:

I was pleased to see a large attendance at each of these performances, and that her [Miss Marriott’s] acting was well-understood and appreciated. It is gratifying to find that legitimate drama is more popular in Montreal than sensation pieces or indecent burlesques, and that, notwithstanding the inadequate support against which Miss Marriott has had to contend, her engagement here will prove a fairly-successful one (24).

The appeal of Shakespeare as “legitimate” and the ability of Shakespeare to connect with audiences is crucial to an understanding of how Shakespeare both came to occupy such a central position in the culture of nineteenth-century Canada, and, importantly, of how Shakespeare could be appropriated within that society.¹³

In the first number of the second volume of *Diogenes* (May 1869), “The Cynic” (the editorial persona of the periodical) writes in his introduction:

Whatever it was, when DIOGENES looked round, he became aware of the presence of a stranger, who was standing in a pensive attitude near his chair. Astonishment being a feeling with which the Cynic has long since ceased to be acquainted, — the experience of 2,000 odd years having taught him that there are indeed more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in even his philosophy, — he merely wiped the glasses of his spectacles, and, adjusting them firmly on his nose, directed his piercing but benevolent gaze upon the unexpected guest (24).

Diogenes’s complex, well-integrated (and unmarked) appropriation of Shakespeare set the stage for subsequent, less integrated references which continue to invoke Shakespeare’s authority. If this reference in *Diogenes* is seamless, that of later journalists is not. Seldom is their Shakespearean appropriation couched within another discourse. Shakespearean titles, headings, and frivolous quotations are less interesting since they present lines from Shakespeare in isolation; however, they do demonstrate the currency of the literary reputation of Shakespeare in Canada in the second half of the nineteenth-century. Allusions to Shakespeare in this partial way nevertheless signal that Shakespeare is well enough understood that his words could be used out of context, simply because of their familiarity. Examples like “Words, Words, Words” from *Hamlet* for the Gossip column of *Diogenes* (13 November 1868, p. 8), or, from *Romeo and Juliet*, the title “What’s in a name?” for a list of candidates for the Montreal mayoralty listed in

The Jester (12 September 1878), or “Clubs, Bills and Partizans” as the epigraph for “An Essay on Clubs” in *Grip* (vol. 6, no. 14, p. 2) suggest that Shakespearean allusions were common enough to have become simply part of the vocabulary of the journalists and their readers. Likewise, the use of a Shakespearean epigraph often intimates a shared understanding of the plot and intricacies of the Shakespearean original, as when Benedick’s “It is certain I am loved of all women” from *Much Ado About Nothing* is used as part of a parody of the popular romance common in literary periodicals.

Not only turns of phrase and plots, but Shakespearean characters could be transplanted to Canada due to the readers’ common understanding of what is associated with a certain type of character. Simply to name individuals as characters from a play is to define them in Shakespearean terms. One of the reasons for Shakespeare’s continued appropriation in nineteenth-century Canada is that the House of Commons is traditionally figured as a stage with the politicians merely players (see *They Have Their Exits and Their Entrances*) and the members of the House are often defined as the ‘villain’ or the ‘hero.’ Thus, *Grip* notes in the issue of 30 May 1874 that it “should be the eye-witness and immortalizer of a profound drama” [the session at Parliament],” and continues, “[t]he first act in this drama last[ed] precisely six months—that being the allotted length of GRIP’s volumes—and ended with an imposing *tableau* representing ‘The Overthrown Administration.’ The fall made by Sir JOHN MACDONALD, who was playing Heavy Villain in the piece, would have done credit to Tom King’s *Othello*” (*Grip*, 30 May 1874, p. 2). *Grip* provides “Shakespearian Texts for Prominent Personages” suggested by “the opening of the Play House in Ottawa for the opening season 1874”, a reference both to

the opening of the Russell Theatre's season and the opening of the House of Commons (*Grip*, 28 March 1874, p. 2). Citing a selection of three should serve my purposes:

1

GRIP to the Governor-General —

“Your Honour's players

“Are come to make a pleasant comedy.”

“Taming of the Shrew.” (Induction.)

5

Hon. A. Mackenzie —

“Policy I hate! I'd as lief be a *Brownist* as a politician.”

“Twelfth Night.” Act III. Sc. 2.

(Note — the original *Brownists* were a sect of Puritans that arose in England during the reign of Elizabeth. Another sect of Puritans (or *Purists*), also called *Brownists*, arose in Canada in the reign of Victoria. Strange how history repeats itself!)

7

GRIP to Mr. Louis Riel, M.P. — (With every assurance of his unmitigated loathing and abhorrence.)

“Will all great Neptune's ocean wash the blood

“Of Scott clean from thy hand?”

Macbeth (slightly altered.) Act II. Sc 2.

“I would not have such a heart in my bosom for the

“Dignity of my whole body.”

Macbeth, Act IV. Sc 1.

Grip later provides “Shakespearean” passages for the Governor General — “To Lord Dufferin (*apropos* of the Supreme Court wigs:) We must not make a scarecrow of the Law — *Measure for Measure* (25 March 1876, p. 2); “Shakespearian Readings,” with appropriate commentary for political figures (19 April 1879, p. 3); and offers a list of the characters already taken for the “Grand Winter Carnival to be held in Montreal”. Among these, the Shakespearean characters are: Timon, the Tartar (Mr. Ed. B — e.[Blaine?]); and Othello (Sir R[ichard] C[artwright]) (*Grip*, 16 December 1882, vol. 20, no. 4, p. 4).

The comic periodicals themselves plead Shakespeare's authority on a regular basis. As Lisa Jardine notes, "[t]he appeal is to a consensus view of civilised human behaviour, and Shakespeare stands for that shared recognition" (Jardine 6). The idea that Shakespeare manifestly stands for a kind of shared, proper behaviour is apparent from the earliest comic periodicals; the lone issue of *The Magic Lantern*, in addition to describing the activities and frivolities of "The Shakespeare Club of Montreal," also proposes that "the Editor of the *Witness* has been challenged by Shakespeare's shadow and the challenge has been accepted", presumably because Shakespeare's (good) name has been libelled, or used for something not "right-minded" (*ML*, 1 March 1848, vol. 1, no. 1, p. [8]). From the ridiculous to the merely inconsequential, Shakespeare is cited as an authority by comic press writers trying to affirm the quality of both their popular fiction and their mode of publication in part by allying the works of the periodical journalists with the canonical inheritance of Shakespeare. Of the ridiculous variety, *Grip* writes that the kettle drum "can boast an ancient origin [since] we find in one of the plays of the celebrated SHAKESPEARE./ A drum, a drum!/ MACBETH doth come" (*Grip*, 30 October 1875, p. 2).

Shakespeare also plays a role in one of the more prolonged, but ultimately trivial, editorial disagreements of the comic press. Beginning in the 11 June 1869 issue of *Diogenes* with a letter from "Unit," the feud continues in *Diogenes*, *Grinchuckle*, and *Canada Scotsman* until 7 October 1869. Ostensibly concerning the proper form of an indefinite article before a vowel or a diphthong, the argument soon becomes one of intellectual superiority—with Shakespeare playing the defining role in each case, as the

editors cite his authority for each possible option they provide. We pick up the argument in its infancy, on 18 June 1869, with “The Cynic’s” response to “Unit”:

The Cynic’s correspondent is in error when he states that *an unit* is a new phrase. It is not. On the contrary, all words that begin with the semivowel ‘u’ are invariably, in old writers, preceded by *an* in preference to *a*; and this practice was universal down to a late period of English literature. In Shakspeare we find:

“The king shall drink to Hamlet’s better breath;
And in the cup *an union* shall he throw.”

In the issue of 2 July, “G” [Grinchuckle?] offers an emendment:

SIR,—

(...)

But (if you will permit me to say so) I think you do yourself injustice in citing Shakspeare as a follower of the ancient custom, which differs from your own view.

Your quotation is:—

“The king shall drink to Hamlet’s better breath;
And in the cup *an union* shall he throw.”

Euphony, which you so justly point out as the true guide, and which the prophetic mind of Shakspeare no doubt informed him must rule at last, would be much better observed by reading the passage thus:—

“The king shall drink to Hamlet’s better breath;
And in the cup *an onion* shall he throw.”

Whether the King was poking fun at Hamlet, or not, is not for me to determine; but the reading of the line that I suggest, plainly brings cause and effect together, and gets rid of that semi-vowel “u” which is so troubling to the indefinite article.

Continuing through the summer, with each editor becoming increasingly more openly hostile, Shakespeare concretely becomes the vocabulary for intellectual superiority, and the ultimate arbiter of the debates among the comic periodicals in Montreal. Thus, in the 7 October 1869 issue of *Grinchuckle*, one of the debates—well removed from its original guise as a phonological question—is reviewed in “A Comedy of Errors” (30):

The following “Curiosity of Literature” is extracted from the *Canada Scotsman*, of October 2nd [1869]: —

To the Editor of the Canada Scotsman:

SIR,—I am not given to hypercriticism, but pretentious ignorance is always offensive, and everybody seems inclined to have a fling at it. Your *confrère* DIOGENES, after quoting and misquoting the line “A fellow feeling makes one wondrous kind,” attributes it first to Shakspeare, and, in a subsequent number, to Garrick. Now, almost any schoolboy could tell him that its real author is Dr. Johnson. It is from an address *spoken* by Garrick on, I believe, his last appearance on the stage. Verily, if old DIOGENES has arisen from his tomb to make such a literary “Guy” of himself, he had better go back to it again.

PUCK

The facts are these: DIOGENES, with strange inaccuracy, attributed the line in question to Shakspeare! GRINCHUCKLE, in drawing attention to the *lapsus*, pointed out that the line was Garrick’s and DIOGENES subsequently adopted the correction, disingenuously alleging, at the same time that “the line had been attributed to half the authors in the English language.”

...

The line does *not* occur in this Prologue [*Prologue Spoken by Mr. Garrick at the Opening of the Theatre in Drury Lane, 1747*], but is found in a Prologue written by Garrick and also spoken by him at Drury Lane, on quitting the stage in 1776. On that occasion he played Don Felix in the *Wonder*, and the performance was for the benefit of the “Theatrical Fund.” This accounts for the words that he both wrote and then recited:

“Their cause I plead,—plead it in heart and mind,—
A fellow-feeling makes one wondrous kind.”

.....

P.S.—Those who are curious about these verbal trifles, will find the phrase “wondrous kind” in one of Helena’s speeches at the close of “All’s Well That Ends Well.”

Diogenes, although only published for fifteen months, has a wealth of further opinions authorized through the citation of Shakespeare. In “De Profundis”, as an example, *Diogenes* weighs in with the question: “In what language does a ghost talk?” Naturally, *Hamlet* and *Julius Caesar* provide the examples (“The ghosts did squeal and shriek about the streets”), leading “The Cynic” to conclude that “Shakspeare, who is supposed to have known almost everything, gives no definite answer to the question, but occasionally exhibits to us ghosts that produce inarticulate noises like rats, bats, or

monkeys” (20 November 1868, p. 12). Ghosts return as the subject of discussion in *The Dominion Illustrated*, where the editors have reprinted a portion of commentary from F. C. Burnand, the editor of *Punch*, which contradicts the notion that “Shakespeare held the Catholic doctrine of Purgatory”:

But, had he been from Purgatory, a hopefully expiating, sorrowfully loving, Catholic ghost, he would have said, “Pray for me, my son, remember me before the altar, have Masses said for the repose of my soul. Let me taste the consolation of ‘a place of refreshment, light, and peace.’ Warn your mother and uncle of the evil peril they stand in. Implore her, and him through her, to repent before it is too late.” Had Shakespeare clearly comprehended the true doctrine of Purgatory he could not have given us the ghost of a Catholic coming back to earth on a devilish errand (*DI*, 20 October 1888, vol. 1, no. 16, p. 255).

Printed in Montreal, it is clear that the editors of *The Dominion Illustrated* sought to capitalise on the cultural authority given to Shakespeare, and thus chose to introduce him into the debate between the Catholic (French) and the Protestant (English) population as a kind of moral touchstone.

Of course, glorifying the achievements and potential of Shakespeare for suitable behaviour meant that he became synonymous with unobjectionable good taste (for the rest of culture). Evidence for this comes in various forms, but one of the most telling is the increase throughout the nineteenth century of what I call “Shakespearean gossip”, information included in the literary and stage columns of most nineteenth-century periodicals. In these columns, for instance, interested readers could find out about Sarah Bernhardt’s next project, and wonder why “a statue of Shakespeare is to be erected in one of the most conspicuous and fashionable parts of Paris, but it is at the expense of an Englishman” (*The Dominion Illustrated*, 11 August and 18 August 1888, n.p). Questions

of interpretation and the production history of other nations are also discussed; in these instances, Shakespeare is clearly an arbiter and measure of culture between nations.¹⁴

Orest H.T. Rudzik, in an otherwise fragmentary and untenable argument about “Literary Norms and Translation” in Canada, argues that “the first chronological steps in achieving [acceptable norms of literary behaviour] had to be by way of import, acclimatization and eventual adaptation and reworking to fit a new geography and a new history” (23). There is no better way to refashion (to borrow Jonathan Bate’s apt phrase) or adapt Shakespeare within a comic context than by using his work in puns and riddles. Beyond the mere citation of Shakespearean quotation, nineteenth-century comic periodicals also draw attention to passages in Shakespearean works, often for comic effect. *Diogenes* offers “Note-lets on Shakspere”, a column seemingly designed to demonstrate the knowledge of the writers, and the variety of interpretation possible. Uncharacteristically, *Diogenes* notes the source of the quotation:

The following quotation forms an admirable *receipt for cooking a beef-steak*:
 “If it were done when ’tis done, then ’twere well
 “It were done quickly.”

Macbeth, Act I: Sc.7.

From the context, however, it appears that this refers to the *cooking of Duncan’s goose*.

— The use of the word *party* to denote *an individual* is happily not common in the Dominion of Canada. It is an odious vulgarism, most frequently heard in London, where it is employed by cabmen, omnibus cads, and the whole tribe of Cockneys. Nevertheless, they could (if they were aware of the fact) plead Shakespeare’s authority in justification of their practice:

Caliban.— Thou shalt be lord of it (the island) and I’ll serve thee.

Stephano.— How now shall this be compassed? Canst thou bring me to *the party*?

Caliban.— Yea, yea, my lord: I’ll lead *him* thee asleep,
 Where thou mayst knock a nail into his head.

The Tempest, Act III: Sc.2.

— The following passage seems to contain something very like a *bull*:

Lavinia, live: *outlive* thy father's days,
 And fame's *eternal* date, for virtue's praise!
Titus Andronicus, Act I: Sc.1.

More often, nineteenth-century Canadian comic periodical writers arrange and distort Shakespearean lines in order to make a joke. Some of these riddles are quite intellectual; others simply delightful verbal play. *The Jester* has perhaps the best "Shakspearean Charade"(15 March 1878, p. 40):

To form the first part of my hero's name Three great men shall give theirs: and first I'll call On him who sitteth next [to] the Empress Queen. Next, on the poet rare, who daintily And kindly sang of me, the Avon bard.	5
Then on that Western soldier will I call, Whose fame is bound up with the glittering spoons. The next installment of the chosen name Is everywhere; in heaven earth sea; In water or in fire. 'Tis musical:	10
It breathes soft, mediant, low down the scale. To syllable the end, I conjure up A baleful, crooked shadow on the wall, At which its owner glances with delight. Or else I hie to Gad's hill's empty room And fill the vacant chair; and near it place	15
The empty-headed but full-hearted swain, Who melancholy music did discourse On the nocturnal flute; and vainly bade Sorrow and grief depart. So, lo! you see The mystic syllables I'd have you read.	20

"Shakspearean Charades" seem to have been a recurring column in *The Jester*, since the column provides the answers of "Hotspur" and "Falstaff" to the charade printed in volume 1, no. 2 (now missing) and proposes to print the answer to the second charade in number 7 (also now lost). But witty word games are the exception; far greater numbers of Shakespeare-inspired riddles of questionable taste are included in the comic press.

For instance, in “The Worst Yet,”

Diogenes publishes the following riddle as a warning to young men, and to show to what depth of depravity the human mind can descend: —

Why is mercy like badly-made soup? Because, according to Shakespeare, the quality of mercy is not strained! (21 May 1869, p.12).

Grinchuckle’s “Aptly Quoted” is another example: “A young Shaksperian scholar, who had hashed mutton doled out to him six times a week at his boarding-house, pathetically remarked with Hamlet, “The time is out of joint” (*G* 4 November 1869, p. 40). *The Jury* is also a source of attempts at humour with a Shakespearean slant, often including comments such as “Happy Thoughts”: “When Hamlet said, “Seams madam? Nay, I know not seams,” he wasn’t talking poetry, but has just killed a sewing machine agent in the front hall” (10 March 1887, p. 4). Likewise, Shakespearean language is often revised, both for sustained parodies and for what Walter Hamilton calls “detached passages” (Hamilton 164) which take lines and sentiments and give them an absurd turn. A shortened version of Jaques’ “Seven Ages of Man” speech from *As You Like It* is a choice example: “Shakespeare’s “Seven Ages of Man” — Mess-age, Lugg-age, Saus-age, Ramp-age, Marri-age, Parent-age, Dot-age” (*Grip*, 4 October 1873, p. 4). In “Shakespeare Revised,” “Grip” notes “The man that hath no music in his soul / Should never sing, nor touch an instrument,” drawing on *Merchant of Venice* (*Grip*, 2 March 1889, vol. 32, no. 9, p. 136). Even the use of Shakespearean titles, previously given in isolation, proves to have a political impetus, since, as Hutcheon suggests “one of the more overt signs employed by a more traditional mocking parody [is] the use of a subtitle or revealing title” (Hutcheon *Parody* 19). Not only do these titles ally certain individuals

with Shakespearean characters, but they describe political events in Shakespearean terms, as a kind of shorthand. *Grip* offers a series of

Shakespearian titles explained poetically: *Much Ado about Nothing* — Imperial Federation; *A Comedy of Errors* — the North-West Land Policy; *As You Like It* — The Fishery Treaty; *The Tempest* — Provincial Right's Question; *Measure for Measure*, Retaliation; *Love's Labor's*¹⁵ [sic — note American spelling, *Grip* usually uses British/Canadian] *Lost* — Mr. Mowat's Exertions for Manitoba; *All's Well that Ends Well* — The Inauguration of Free Trade in Canada; *Taming of the Shrew* — Goldwin Smith trying to quiet the *Empire*; *A Midsummer Night's Dream* — The French Conquest of Canada; *Two Gentlemen of Verona* — Tom and Jerry (*Grip*, vol. 31, no. 810, 15 December 1888, p. 2).

Lawrence Levine argues that “Shakespearean phrases, aphorisms, ideas, and language helped shape American speech and became an integral part of the nineteenth-century imagination” (Levine 37-38); but, as I suggest earlier, the citation of Shakespeare is not the only sign that his works formed part of the cultural capital for Canadians. By highlighting the contemporaneity of Shakespeare and the applicability of various plays to Canada, these nineteenth-century examples show that twentieth-century commentators are not the only ones able “to update and resituate the Shakespearean text” (Salter 127). Indeed, in ‘borrowing’ from Shakespeare to parody or burlesque, nineteenth-century periodical writers prominently disseminated a specific view of Shakespeare: one that was determined to use Shakespeare within a Canadian perspective.

Using Shakespeare as a shared language and as a mark of cultural sophistication often signals more than just the theatrical; it also gives notice of the intellectual since cultural values were often disseminated and developed through study, a knowledge still marked by refined accomplishment and canonical book learning, instead of professional competence. The development of arts programs in the universities coincided with the

growing social and political discourse which drew on Shakespeare. For the purposes of this study, it will suffice to say that the development of English programmes at central Canadian universities necessarily contributed to the pervasiveness of Shakespearean discourses, especially in academia. However, this does not tell the full story, since before the development of an English programme with Shakespeare as its anchor — indeed, before many of the post-secondary institutions were even founded — the idea(l) of Shakespeare was kept bright by continual citation in the theatre, and in the press generally, as well as in some literary attempts specifically (see the conclusion for a range of other Shakespeare-influenced literature produced in Canada). Nevertheless, the introduction of a specifically literary course of study centring on an intimate knowledge of Shakespeare provided further options for adapting Shakespeare to contemporary social concerns. The notion of a canonical writer like Shakespeare being used to mock the pretensions of undergraduates is certainly nothing new (cf. The treatment of Milton's *Paradise Lost* in *The Splendid Shilling*). In "A Shakespearian Study" in *Grip* (4 November 1876), for example, the institutionalisation of Shakespeare in the curricula of Canadian schools serves as a starting point for a linguistic challenge to the meaning of Shakespeare's words; at the same time, however, the Shakespearean antecedents are given a Canadian slant, which serves to relocate the significance of Bardic language and authority to Canada. "A Shakespearian Study" consists of eleven questions "for a first class certificate" since "Shakespeare is now on the list of subjects" (*Grip*, vol. 7, no. 24, p. 5). Among the list of questions, which the reader is asked to keep secret, the last two are especially of note, since they accurately elucidate the larger concerns of this study,

namely by offering another “insight into the half-hidden cultural transactions through which great works of art are empowered” (Greenblatt 4). The tenth and eleventh questions of *Grip*’s “study” ask:

10 th. (a.) Was the noble Roman – Romin’ around after green corn when he cried, “Lend me your ears?” (b.) Give reasons why Niagara was not signified when Mark re-Mark-ed, “What a fall was there, my countrymen.”

11 th. “A station like the Herald-Mercury.” — *Hamlet, Act III, Scene IV*. Does this refer to the London *Herald* and the Guelph *Mercury*? If so, explain the word “Station” as these journals are not stationary but progressive (i.e. Union and Progress-ive). Does it mean to foretell a union of the above papers. The *Herald-Mercury* — like unto the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, The St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, or the London *Liberal-Advertiser*?

N.B. — The announcement in the *Globe* a few days since that McBeth is the Shakespearian subject, is a fraud, a delusion, a snare, an attempt to make political capital and detract public attention from the British Columbia business, and shows what frantic efforts are being made to keep the McKenzie government in power a few days longer. The attempt is a base plot to saddle Macbeth on the educational public just because he is a Scotchman and a distant relative of McKenzie.

(*Mail* please copy.)

Importantly, then, the continued appropriation of Shakespeare beyond the theatrical and educational milieu, and as more than a literary preoccupation, highlights Shakespeare’s continued presence in nineteenth-century Canada, and demonstrates the type of cross-cultural negotiation which contributes to Shakespeare’s continuing status. *Grip* would return to a satiric treatment of the literary presumption of the “members of the various literary and debating societies of this city [Toronto] and others” in “The Literary Light!” (*Grip*, 29 January 1887, p. 5). Drawing on the British literary heritage of Shakespeare and his ancestors, the third and final stanza of “A Literary Light!” serves as a helpful lense through which to consider Shakespeare’s continued influence and position in the culture of nineteenth-century Canada:

You must cite the Earl of Surrey,
 Leland, Cavendish and Murray,
 Roger Aschem, George Buchanan and his Psalms; 35
 And the “Fairie Queene” of Spenser,
 Than which nothing is intenser,
 Or more graceful in its very tender charms;
 You must launch out mighty hard
 On the great immortal bard, 40
 William Shakespeare, poet king of every age,
 And his human panoramas;
 That great legacy of dramas
 Bequeathed in trust unto the British stage;
 And everyone will say, 45
 If you only talk this way:
 Well! if that fellow’s read all the things he’s said as easily as
 ABC,
 Oh! what a very wonderfully literary light this literary light
 must be.

As the epitome of the literary master (“the great immortal bard”) and the focus of inherited literary tradition,—the first two stanzas discuss his lineage from the classics to Chaucer and Gower— Shakespeare provides the platform from which to hoist the snobbish with their own petard (to paraphrase *Hamlet*).¹⁶ Not yet did Canadians feel that “culture had become a serious and intricate endeavour that few could hope to master” (Levine 211). Instead, nineteenth-century Canadians see Shakespeare as common currency, and, more interestingly, as accessible, appropriate, and popular entertainment.

Thus, occasionally, Shakespeare is mere quotation, and is meant as an insult to demonstrate the passing knowledge, but lack of real skills, of the urban elite. *The Editor of the “Mail” as “Dr. Pangloss, LL.D & A.S.S.”* by John Wilson Bengough, editor and caricaturist of *Grip* (see chapter three), has two depictions of books of collected quotations and a conflated Shakespearean epigraph (presumably gleaned from the

volumes):

'I am nothing if not quotical' — Iago — Ahem! — 'The pen is mightier than the sword' — Bulwer — Ahem! — To 'Write me down an' — Ah! — Ahem! — Shakespeare!'



THE EDITOR OF THE "MAIL" AS "DR. PANGLOSS, LL.D & A.S.S."
 "I AM NOTHING IF NOT QUOTICAL" — IAGO — AHEM! — "THE PEN IS MIGHTIER THAN THE SWORD" — BULWER — AHEM! — TO
 "WRITE ME DOWN AN' — AH! — AH! — AH! — SHAKESPEARE!"

3. J. W. Bengough, *The Editor of the "Mail" as "Dr. Pangloss, LL.D & A.S.S."* (1883)

While literature is often cited in the captions of political cartoons and is a necessary part of parodic adaptations, books themselves are rarely included in engravings. As such, Bengough's cartoon, *The Editor of the "Mail" as "Dr. Pangloss, LL.D & A.S.S."*, offers evidence about the reading habits of the nineteenth-century urbanite, pictorial evidence which is complemented by the inventory of the *Catalogue of Books in the Library of Late Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald* and by later critical discussions. Macdonald's library

at the time of his death included John Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations* (London, 1869), *The Plays of William Shakespeare* (London, 1839), *The Dramatic Works and Poems of William Shakespeare* (2 vols., New York, 1834), *The Works of William Shakespeare* (a folio edition of *Knight's Imperial Shakespeare*, New York, n.d.), *The Complete Works of Shakespeare, with Historical and Analytical Introduction to Each Play, also Notes and a Life of the Poet* (New York, n.d), *The Dramatic Works of Shakespeare* (vols. I to XII, omitting X, London, 1813), and *A Complete Concordance to Shakespeare* (Boston, 1877) (*Catalogue of Books in Library of Late Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald* 756, 859-864).¹⁷ H. Pearson Gundy's *Book Publishing and Publishers in Canada Before 1900* shows, and the above brief list suggests, that most of the books imported into Canada were inexpensive American editions of popular British authors (14, see also Parker), since Canada's publishers and booksellers were hindered by the British copyright laws designed to protect the interests of British publishers (at the expense of developing a publishing industry which would foster Canadian literature). N. Merrill Distad notes that in copyright legislation,

the interests of mother country and colonist were at cross-purposes; British authors sought protection from cheap pirated reprints in colonial markets, while Canadians sought cheap books, particularly from American or domestic sources. In 1847 a temporary 'compromise' was reached with the passage of Britain's Foreign Reprints Act (10 & 11 Victoria, cap. 95), and its colonial analogues, which allowed the importation of cheap foreign (i.e. American) piracies, provided a special duty [12 ½ %] was collected to compensate British authors and publishers (Distad 64, n.4).

The use of a Shakespeare determined by American and British editions, then, hints that Shakespeare was seen as having universal significance, an inherent value. But, the presupposition that Shakespeare could be accommodated and understood in a Canadian

context—even as this is a class and racially based supposition—at least gestures at the idea that Shakespeare must be socially defined in order to be culturally relevant.¹⁸

Grip's review of *The Works of William Shakespeare* (n.p., n.d.) is thus instructive, in that the reviewer has distinguished which elements conform to his society, but this is done with an ironic tone, perhaps implicitly meant to counter claims against the plays' sensationalist performance. Called "a very voluminous production," the reviewer notes that "the author is evidently a man of considerable ability and much of the language that he has put into the mouths of his leading *dramatis personae* displays no little insight into human nature" (*Grip*, 25 November 1882, p. 7). Curiously, considering the otherwise glorifying rhetoric surrounding Shakespeare, there are drawbacks. The reviewer continues

We regret, however, that Mr. Shakespeare should have pandered to so large an extent to the prevailing taste for the sensational and the extravagant. There is a good deal too much blood and thunder about his productions, especially "Hamlet," a piece in which the leading character is a tedious, prosy individual given to philosophizing, and which ends up in a perfect carnival of bloodshed; "Richard III.," where there are several murders in each act, and "Macbeth" [.]. "Othello," a drama founded on an Italian tradition representing a negro general as killing his white wife in a fit of jealousy, is repulsive to every right-minded person. In another respect these dramas are calculated to impart false views of life, and present a distorted conception of the times and manners they are intended to illustrate. The author persists in putting blank verse into the mouths of nearly all his characters. This, we submit, is not, to use his language, "holding a mirror up to nature," but the reverse. Nobody ever talked in the stilted, highfalutin fashion in which he makes his Henrys and Caesars, his Hamlets and Romeos converse (7-8).

The reviewer concludes, "The rant and sensationalism which he has introduced in order to tickle the vulgar taste, are in marked contrast with the genuine philosophy and sound morality to which he frequently gives expression" (8). The idea of sound morality,

holding a mirror up to nature, appeals to right-minded people — along with the almost anachronistic commentary — show that Shakespeare had already acquired a certain cachet of social influence; it is these moralizing, righteous elements seen in Shakespeare which are used to hold a mirror up to the nature of Canadian society. Thus, the review is not so much the review of an edition — note that there are no bibliographic details provided, nor even the name of its editor — as it is a statement of the proper use of Shakespeare for the particular society in which the work would be received.

Appropriation, argues Jean I. Marsden, “can be as simple as using the figure of Shakespeare in an advertisement or as complex as rewriting a play to support a political agenda” (Marsden 1); however, the necessary recognition of the potentially transformative nature of these early appropriations is unattainable within the narrow, imitative terms suggested by recent critics. It is not enough simply to argue, for example, as Carole Gerson does, that “Victorian Canada’s continual reaffirmation that its national literature should be patriotic and ameliorative, based on the models of Shakespeare and Scott, reflected the conviction of a colonial society that in cultural affairs, nationhood would be achieved only by transplanting the most admirable traditions of the Old World to the New” (154). Although the examples I have cited are proprietary forms of appropriation, as Cartelli explains them, the original intention of these appropriations is not only “pure imitation or emulation” (Kuester 18). While these early, and occasional, writers often focus on quoting Shakespeare as an authority or as a form of abridgement, then, later writers are most interested in the processes of identity construction and Canadian voice that these appropriations can reveal. “Grip” himself is aware of the

disjunction of using Shakespeare to determine Canada's history and progress— an idea that had circulated in Canada at least since Joseph Howe's *Oration* ("Shakespeare's national dramas are a valuable addition to the History of our country"). On at least two occasions, "Grip" seems to imply that Shakespearean antecedents might be false antecedents, and thereby obliquely suggests that 'Canadian' versions (even if they are shaped by Shakespearean rhetoric) should take precedence. In "Good Advice," for instance, "Grip" takes issue with the review of "a new *History of Canada*" printed in the *Hamilton Times* where the reviewer offers:

It is always well that the young people or a young nation should become thoroughly acquainted from their earliest childhood with the history of that nation; should learn its struggles for existence, its hopes and fears, its reverses and successes, and how it gradually came to the high position it did. This is a circumstance too often neglected and the neglecting of it too often makes the great Shakespeare speak falsely when he says:

"Show me a man with a heart so dead,
That never to himself has said,
This is my own, my native land"(5).

Given "Grip's" own tendency to transplant Shakespeare to Canada, one first wonders if this comment has more to do with partisan journalism than with the use of Shakespeare. However, on closer examination, "Grip's" concern has merit, beyond any potential internecine journalistic squabbling. In querying the "native land" of Shakespeare as the history of Canada, as the title of the book implies, "Grip" suggests, however implicitly, that it is time to move past looking at Britain as the native land of Canadians. Indeed, *Grip's* "Old Fudge's Lectures on Proverbs and Things" later tells us:

Ah, my dear William Seakspeare [sic], the 'uneasiness of the head' comes sometimes from other sources than the 'crown.' But enough; we cannot choose our ancestors; we must take them as they come or rather as they go, for all our ancestors have bid

‘farewell—a long farewell to all their greatness.’ (...) And also remember that the poet is only true as you give him a chance to interpret his own statement about ‘the evil living after men and the good being interred with their bones’ (*Grip*, 29 December 1888, vol. 31, no. 812, p. 8).

The use of Antony’s “Friends, romans, countrymen” speech is here significant, not the least because it asks for attention (“lend me your ears”). Thus, near the end of the period examined here, Shakespeare is still cited as an authority, as a way to command attention, but, importantly, the emphasis has shifted to what Shakespeare can tell us about ourselves as Canadians and what the dramatist and his plays can reveal for the larger political, social, and cultural discourses.

Grip’s “Studies in Shakespeare,” a column running over four issues in 1887, is a conspicuous example of nineteenth-century Canadians engaging in broader Shakespearean debates—in this case, with the authorship question—and relating Shakespeare’s plays to the political and social milieu of Canada. Written by “P. Quill” and “T. Stubbs,” “Studies in Shakespeare” has as its premise an offer “to turn [their] attention to two remarkable men who have recently been mixed up in a matter of personal dispute and endeavour to elucidate the question of identity which has caused the unpleasantness” (13 August 1887, p. 5). “The persons whose quarrel I have undertaken to settle,” writes “Quill,”

are Ignatius Donnelly and William Shakespeare. As William is considerably older than Ignatius, I will deal with him first as a matter of etiquette, proposing to give a short account of the gentleman himself, his life and times, and a critical analysis of his works, to which will be added notes not to be found in any commentator’s edition of the Bard of Avon” (5).

One month earlier, in July 1887, the *North American Review* had published Donnelly’s

“The Shakespeare Myth.” In his article, Donnelly contrasted the likelihood of Shakespeare actually authoring the plays of “Shakespeare,” with the possibility of Francis Bacon as the author. Donnelly compared Shakespeare, “the guzzling, beer-drinking, poaching, lying play-actor, of whom tradition does not record a single generous expression, or a single lovable act,” to Francis Bacon, held up as “the founder of the school of philosophy which has done so much to produce our modern advancement and civilization” and came to the inevitable conclusion that Shakespeare could not have written the plays of “Shakespeare” (cited in Levine 75). “Quill and Stubbs” immediately dismiss Donnelly’s theory in their discussion of “The Life and Times of Shakespeare”, the first installment of the “Studies in Shakespeare” (13 August 1887, vol. 29, no. 7, p. 5):

It was at the time when good Queen Bess tried to fill the throne (...) the arts of interviewing and telephoning were unknown; but in order to compensate for the unknown losses England was suffering from, William Shakespeare was born—Ignatius Donnelly says he was invented; but we say he was born—“*Poeta nacitur—non fit*”—that settles it. Donnelly says his name was Bacon—Donnelly’s name is *Ham* henceforth for saying so. Shakespeare himself says “Hang-hog” is the Latin for Bacon; but we say “Hang Donnelly.” Shakespeare was born specially on St. George’s Day, 1564. Donnelly says Bacon was Shakespeare, and he was born in 1561; but Donnelly doesn’t account for what the poet did during the three years difference. It is not asserted by any of Shakespeare’s biographers that he had the measles. We beg to supply the hitherto unknown fact. Shakespeare’s father, every one of the biographer’s [sic] kindly say, was in debt. As an answer to this, we assert that the whole world is in debt to Shakespeare—that clears his father, anyhow.

The second installment continues to ridicule Donnelly and his methodology: “Donnelly thinks he knows more; but we know better. He says he has got the key to a cipher; we say he had better lock himself up with it. ‘Let the doors be shut upon him, that he may play the fool nowhere but in’s own house.’—*Hamlet*” (*Grip*, vol. 29, no. 8, 20 August

1887, p. 4). “Quill and Stubbs” come to the conclusion that “Shakespeare wrote his plays, acted old man and pocketed a share of the profits” (4); they continue, “What [we] like about Shakespeare most is the fact that he didn’t leave any autobiography, or memoirs, or even a diary after him. He didn’t propose to open up his private life for public criticism. Also, he didn’t fool away his time trying to prove that Chaucer was Gower. There was none of the Ignatius Donnelly about him” (4). The real point of *Grip*’s “Studies in Shakespeare” is not to debate the merits of Shakespeare’s authorship, although it is clear which side the authors of the piece are on; but, instead to “proceed to the study of Shakespeare’s masterpieces,” not following “the hackneyed order of the plays, but adopt[ing] a go-as-you-plays method” and using “our newly discovered cipher, which is superior in every respect to Ignatius Donnelly’s”(4). This “cipher,” as “Quill and Stubbs” call it, allows them to detect “allusions to events and persons now before humanity, such as previous commentators have never dreamed of” (4), that is, allows them to read three of Shakespeare’s plays for their applicability to Canada.

I am most interested in the Canadian identity purposefully revealed in *Grip*’s appropriation of Shakespeare, “Studies in Shakespeare.” *The Tempest*, the first play examined, is, interestingly enough, not overtly used for its depiction of the colonist-imperial relationship, as it so often is today. Rather,

Of all the many remarkable allusions to the present day, there are some so pointedly aimed at this Canada of ours that I am convinced Shakespeare thought of Canada first and last in this comedy [sic, *The Tempest*]. The poet is always a prophet, though the profits of his works are always the publishers. The Sweet Swan of Avon projected his eye (being a seer) into the labyrinthine vista of the world’s tomorrow and beheld Canada as she is today (*Grip*, vol. 29, no. 7, 13 August 1887, p. 5).

anonymous writers like “Quill and Stubbs” are able to resituate Shakespeare and make him more immediately accessible in relation to local events. The second play studied in *Grip*’s “Studies in Shakespeare” makes this point immediately, switching the title from “Two Gentlemen of Verona” to “Two Gentleman of Toronto,” and comparing the ladies of Toronto with the beloveds in the play, although not to the extent of suggesting a rape at the end (*Grip*, vol. 29, no. 10, 3 September 1887, p. 5). Misogynistic attitudes aside, this segment of “Studies in Shakespeare,” is noteworthy for continuously mentioning, somewhat irreverently, a “25 cent bust of the immortal bard” as an aside (in parenthetical notation). “Stubbs” falls asleep under the bust; he breaks the bust beyond repair; they break for a meal of onions and herring “on the cover of a first folio of the Immortal Bard,” with “Stubbs” sitting on top of Shakespeare’s broken “cranium” (*Grip*, vol. 29, no. 10, 3 September 1887, p. 6). Shakespeare, then, is not simply approached with veneration, although he is seen as an icon, but is commonly understood as suitable material to help clarify specific local concerns.

Called “Studies in Shakespeare III. Merry Wives of Windsor (Ont.),” the fourth installment comes quickly to the point, drawing an immediate link between the Shakespearean and the Canadian; the play “is remarkable,” they write, “for some prophetic utterances regarding Toronto, Sir John A. Macdonald, the Scott Act, and other present nuisances:”

In Act 1, Scene 1, a very subtle reference is made to the working of the Temperance Party in Canada, which has never been noticed before. The passage is this:—“The council shall hear it; it is a riot.” Now our new reading is as follows:—“The council shall hear it; it is a rye hot;” clearly indicating that Shallow is about to lay an information against some one for unlicensed selling.

Some further passages are worth quoting at length because they make direct reference to one of the key themes developed in my third chapter: the allusive affinity expressed between Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir John Falstaff. “What could be more appropriate and satisfactory,” they ask, “than this description of the knight:—”

“Sir John, here is the heart of my purpose, you are a gentleman of excellent breeding, admirable discourse, of great admittance, authentic in your place and person, generally allowed for your many warlike, courtlike and learned preparations.”

Sir John—“O, sir.”

Ford—“Believe it, for you know it. There is money, spend it, spend it, spend it; spend all I have; only give me so much of your time in exchange of it.”

There is no doubt a reference to the Liberal leaders of to-day in the sentence, “Let us consult together against *this greasy knight*.” Unfortunately it only ends in consultation and the greasy knight is never caught. He is greasy enough to slip out of their traps.

“Many other allusions are made to Sir John throughout this play” note the pair; and in fact, “Quill and Stubbs” come to the conclusion that “Sir John Falstaff was a humourous forecast of Sir John A. Macdonald, Shakespeare only changing the name out of respect for the latter’s family” (*Grip*, 17 September 1887, p. 5), a reference to the Sir John Oldcastle controversy.

The range of appropriations culled from Canada’s nineteenth-century comic press seems to confirm one of Lawrence Levine’s conclusions, drawn from his examination of the extent of Shakespearean knowledge in nineteenth-century America, that “rigid cultural categories”—for example, between sacred and popular plays, or highbrow and lowbrow forms of culture—simply do not exist in the nineteenth century (Levine 232). The experience in Canada is much the same. What begins to emerge from even a cursory overview of the range of Shakespearean appropriations in nineteenth-century Canada is

that Shakespeare's plays ultimately are made to engage with Canadian "reality" in multiple ways: just as Shakespeare could be glorified in speeches on his natal day, cited as an authority for just about anything, and turned to for cultural capital, so too could he enjoy mass popularity and political sway. The Shakespearean view of Canadians is not solely confined to the enjoyment of a Shakespearean production in the theatre or to the quotation of apt lines and speeches. Rather, the negotiation with Shakespeare in the political parodies of the nineteenth century, which will receive more intensive study in the following chapter, conveys a double perspective on Shakespeare: an appreciation of Shakespeare yet a determination to rewrite portions of his plays to better suit the Canadian perspective.

Chapter Two

“One cannot help parodying SHAKESPEARE”:

Nineteenth-Century Canadian Political Parodies

A parody, a parody with a kind of miraculous gift to make it absurder than it was.
— Ben Jonson, *Every Man in His Humour*

You taught me language, and my profit on't
Is I know how to curse.
— Caliban, *The Tempest*, 1.2.366-367.

The number of reverential and confrontational Shakespearean appropriations is not the only sign that nineteenth-century Canada saw itself in Shakespearean terms. As chapter one demonstrated for a broad range of Shakespearean appropriations, references to Shakespeare show that comic writers are well-educated and often serious, even as they are aware of the continuing lesser status of their genre and avenue of publication. However, Shakespearean references are too pervasive to serve only self-legitimizing purposes. As Shakespearean idiom became increasingly widespread in the larger political discourses, the parody of Shakespeare's words also exploited Shakespeare's cultural afterlife in creative ways. Indeed, the increasing centrality of Shakespearean allusions to Canadian satires and parody provides corroborating evidence of the importance of Shakespeare as cultural capital in Canada. Since virtually all nineteenth-century readers agree on the necessity for Canada of adopting the British literary heritage, often the briefest allusion to a historical character or a conventional idea acquires significance simply by being affiliated with Shakespeare. The writers of the periodical press often rework Shakespearean language and plots in the service of moral

satire “to affront the moral sensibility of the reader and thereby arouse his moral indignation” (Vincent 56). Depending upon what they want to accomplish by the parody, they variously position Shakespearean language and authority. Drawing upon a shared Shakespearean vocabulary used to define culture throughout the nineteenth century—a vocabulary almost universally recognized by their audiences— these Canadian political parodies wink at tradition, articulate literary influence, and appropriate mainstream Shakespearean texts for reformist purposes.

Given the current theoretical confusion over the terms¹⁹ burlesque, parody, and travesty, I have chosen most often to use the term parody, which, since the work of Linda Hutcheon and Margaret Rose, has become the more accepted critical term. George Kitchin in his *Survey of Burlesque and Parody in English* (1931) predates the debate, yet comes to the same conclusion that “ ‘parodies’ [are] only those literary productions which formally imitate or quote, in detail, it may be, some text assumed as familiar or, secondly, present points of view, manners and customs, events, and personages, and which do so with apparent fidelity, but in reality caricaturing and perverting them with conscious, intentional, and obvious effect” (xxii). Nevertheless, as Jacobs and Johnson point out, “all three terms refer to works which *intentionally* set out to ridicule or to draw humor [sic] from more serious works” (10-11). Thus, even though a burlesque can be said to be “*loosely* modeled after the object of ridicule”, and parody, by contrast, “very *closely* modeled after the original, often following line for line, or word for word” (Jacobs and Johnson 11, their emphasis), for the purposes of this discussion I have grouped both humourous imitations of passages as well as longer (more properly called)

burlesques as “parodic appropriations.”

Parody is dependent upon a readership with a common knowledge of the cultural forms that are being parodied and a perception of the breaks that the present text makes with its predecessors. As such, it is premised almost by default, on a construction of a community of readers in which dominant narratives can be rewritten in order to assert that community’s values. In this chapter, I examine how nineteenth-century Canadian rewritings manipulate and give new meanings to Shakespeare. In other words, this chapter addresses the question of how and why Shakespeare is translated into “Canadian” in a post-colonial context. What are the political, social or cultural forces which animate and maintain Shakespeare’s presence in these specifically Canadian dialogues and debates? How does the critical practice of rewriting (and thereby reinterpreting) extend the claims of authority enacted and contested with the use of Shakespeare? On one level, written Shakespearean references simply confirm the literary range of Canadian periodical satirists. Just as important, these parodic appropriations often partially reconstruct the plays within a primarily subversive discourse designed to challenge the status quo and place Bardic cultural authority firmly behind highly politicized and controversial issues, such as nationalism and sovereignty and a host of specific social concerns.

Much of the effectiveness of satirical attacks through parody in the late nineteenth century depended on a shared Shakespearean vocabulary which could be used for specifically Canadian ends. Indeed, as Carole Gerson notes, “[the] less easily identifiable editors of and contributors to nineteenth-century Canada’s cultural

periodicals participated in the debates that characterized discussion of Canada's literary development throughout the last century and on into the next" (Gerson 11). Many of these anonymous writers provide adaptations that reimagine the basis of Shakespeare and shift the focus to one element which is applicable to the Canadian situation by "translating" Shakespeare into "Canadian." Linda Hutcheon defines "speaking Canadian" as necessarily ironic:

Obsessed with articulating its identity, Canada's voice is often a doubled one, that of the forked tongue of irony. Although usually seen as either a defensive or an offensive rhetorical weapon, irony (in the basic semantic sense of stating one thing and meaning another) is also a mode of "speech" (in any medium) which allows speakers to address and at the same time to confront any "official" discourse, that is to work *within* a dominant tradition, but also to challenge it, *without* being totally coopted by it (Hutcheon *Double Talking* 29, her emphasis).

Hutcheon suggests that irony — which she clearly sets out as "that contradictory, ambiguous 'Canadian' " (Hutcheon *Double Talking* 31) — "becomes a mode of addressing those cultures from within, while simultaneously signaling a position of difference and even opposition" (Hutcheon *Double Talking* 30). Hutcheon's discussion of "Canadian" — as "work[ing] *within* a dominant tradition, but also [challenging] it, *without* being totally coopted by it" — is thus therefore very close to the way this thesis regards parodies of Shakespeare functioning in nineteenth-century Canada. Although certain critics have rejected the idea that nineteenth-century Canada could produce an intentional parody (Kuester 17-18), Shakespearean political parodies of Canada's nineteenth-century comic press fulfill most of the requirements of parody as the concept is now understood (see Kuester, Rose, Hutcheon). That is, in keeping with Bakhtin's

theory of textual dialogism, these political parodies use Shakespearean discourse and introduce into that discourse a different semantic intention — one that “[takes] up literary structures from these preceding texts and [integrates] them into a new context or frame by repeating them with a difference and with a purpose [in order to] accommodate traditional structures to a new textual, social, and national environment” (Kuester 148). Martin Kuester’s concluding assessment of parody parallels his opening quotation of Samuel Johnson’s definition that parody “is a kind of writing, in which the words of an author or his thoughts are taken, and by slight change adapted to some new purpose” (Kuester 3; Hutcheon *Parody* 36). This rather open-ended definition of parody suits the nineteenth century well, since one of the main purposes of political parody on the basis of Shakespearean texts was to counter the traditional British view provided by them. These parodic appropriations seek, in a sustained way, to reproduce the form, and to a lesser degree, the language of the Shakespearean original, infusing Shakespeare with satiric and parodic intent for Canada, and adopting the colonizing cultural capital in order to control or influence politically controversial local or national issues.

Only when the public is keenly interested in the dramatic and literary world — as they are in the nineteenth century — could success attend the introduction of personal parody or caricature into Shakespearean plays. It would be of little amusement to present an elaborate parody or caricature to a reader who knew little of Shakespeare and cared less. As Walter Hamilton demonstrates in the second volume of his *Parodies of the Works of English and American Authors*, a volume first published in 1885 (reprint 1967), Shakespearean texts have a sustained history of parodic appropriation. He notes that

“[n]early every play written by Shakespeare has been burlesqued [and these parodies provide] fun for the laughter loving public” (Hamilton 144). After examining the familiarity Americans had with Shakespeare in the nineteenth century, Lawrence Levine comes to the same conclusion: “It is difficult to take familiarities with that which is not already familiar; one cannot parody that which is not well-known” (Levine 15-16).

Hamilton’s section on Shakespeare occupies sixty-two pages, by far the most substantial section, but largely includes only parodies from British sources of the same period.

Likewise, Jacobs and Johnson’s book deals with American and British examples drawn mainly from humorous magazines modelled after *Punch*; Levine’s book examines only at American culture (and is mainly drawn from playbills and speeches, not periodical culture). Even Richard Plant, whose “Chronology: Theatre in Ontario to 1914” in *Early Stages: Theatre in Ontario, 1800-1914* is so useful for the theatre of nineteenth-century Ontario, only includes four “playlets” drawn from the Shakespearean material in humorous periodicals (Plant entries for 7 October 1876, 7 December 1878, 18 January 1879, November 1882).

The comic press in Canada contributes to the British tradition of parody, which was also transplanted to the United States; but, in following the satirical leanings of its British and American counterparts, periodicals like *Grip* clearly shift the locus of parody to a Canadian context, using the heritage of Shakespeare to establish and question political and cultural authority. In the second volume of *Grip*, for instance, the paradoxical appropriation of Shakespeare, which promotes Shakespeare as it transplants him to Canada, is given expression:

“GRIP” respectfully calls the attention of MARY COWDEN CLARKE, CHARLES KNIGHT, REV. JOHN WEISS, and all other devoted students of the immortal WILL of Avon, to a new reading of one of the most admirable passages in the works of that dramatist, now first given to the literary world by the writer of a long communication in the Prescott *Telegraph*. Here it is:

A Quotation from Shakespeare occurs to me as apposite to wind up with —
 “He that steals my purse, steals trash,
 But he that steals my good name,
 Taketh that from me which enriches him not
 But leaves me poor indeed.”

The passage is significant for several reasons: first, “Grip” notes the almost inevitable problem facing those who presume to parody an author, who (already by 1874 when the comment in *Grip* was written) was enshrined as the national poet of Great Britain (and by implication, Canada). “[D]evoted students of the immortal Will of Avon,” even on this side of the Atlantic, might not necessarily appreciate the parodic treatment of “one of the most admirable passages in the works of that dramatist” (*Grip*, 7 March 1874, p. 5). More interestingly, after the revised passage, “Grip” observes

[there] will doubtless be those who prefer the old rendering, as most minds are exceedingly Conservative in such matters, but others will, without hesitation, adopt the new. As Canadians we have the deepest interest in watching the course of this suggestion amongst the *literati* of the world, for the author of it is a native of the soil.

Not only does “Grip” applaud the transformation of Shakespeare’s text, but he also relishes the change that has been proposed by a Canadian. Thus, as Lisa Jardine elegantly determines, “[t]he continuing presence (...) of the texts of Shakespeare’s plays — familiar, quotable— [lays] down a kind of cultural sediment which marks (...) everyday communal life in telling ways” (Jardine 3). Telling, indeed, since the cultural residue of Shakespearean texts is shaped into a specifically Canadian form, through revision and alteration, all the while maintaining the primacy of Shakespeare.

Lawrence Levine notes, in his study of the culture of nineteenth-century America, that “the human Shakespeare who existed for most of the nineteenth century could be parodied with pleasure and impunity” since his work was considered part of the fabric of society (Levine 74). Parodying Shakespeare, in the first instance, does not only mean parodying his works; it can also mean parodying the idea of Shakespeare. As Michael Dobson has so usefully surmised for the eighteenth century, “Shakespeare’s canonization as a stable figure of authority, ironically, profits enormously from [the] bewildering multiplicity of contingent appropriations” (Dobson 96), including the parody of the Bard himself. *Grip in Council*, a series of columns over six issues of *Grip*, is characteristic of the Canadian comic press using the idea of Shakespeare with as much impunity as it uses his works. The Council, a nineteenth-century panel discussion if you will, comprises “Grip, in the Chair, Barnaby Rudge [the ‘name’ of the editor, before Bengough openly admitted to the editorship], Patrick Smallwit, Q.C., William Spakequeer, Macgregor Slowcum, and Timothy Tonguegrass” (*Grip*, 14 March 1874, p. 2). These are the men of wit whose work graced the pages of *Grip*, and although two had names seemingly drawn from a city comedy or a Jonsonian humours comedy, only one has a truly recognizable name.

The use of the name “William Spakequeer” is hardly accidental in a comic periodical like *Grip*, where every opportunity is taken to distort names, figures, and quotations in the name of satire. It is clear that Shakespeare is the figure being parodied, not only because of the obvious play on the name, but also because the character uses customary Shakespearean language— for a nineteenth-century Canadian, the “queer”

part of “Spakequeer.” In the fourth installment, in fact, “Tonguegrass” calls the reader’s attention to this form of the language, explicitly determining its difference: “He says he’s nothing if not honest, but as you would be likely to word it, he doth too much protest” (*Grip*, vol. 2, no. 25, 16 May 1874). Elsewhere in the series, “Spakequeer” refers, almost as a cliché, to plays, and phrasing, demonstrating the commonality of such phrases for the audience of the periodical.

Thus, in the first installment, “Spakequeer’s” first comment is “Mean it! Yea, he did. But this is much ado about nothing ... To croak, ‘tis easy, but ‘tis useless, and being useless, had best be—” and subsequently, after trading a barb with Smallwit and Tonguegrass, “Methinks you were cut out for better things” (*Grip*, 14 March 1874, p. 5). The comments accurately foreshadow the type of verbal sparring proffered by “Spakequeer” throughout the rest of *Grip in Council*: a curious, not especially effective, mixture of titles cited as phrases and Shakespearean phraseology both used as a running commentary on the issues of the time. The third installment, then, puts forward the question of Louis Riel, at the time recently ousted from his seat in Parliament. “Spakequeer” asks, “Amnestied or not amnestied, that is the question? There will be much expenditure of red-tapeism in arriving at this simple fact, and the House will persist in not being “seized” of what is patent to everybody. Riel will take care that he is not seized either” (4 April 1874, p. 5). These examples confirm that *Grip*’s parodying of Shakespeare is a necessary ingredient in the mix of humour in the periodical; this language is identifiable enough that some nineteenth-century Canadians could invest their own words with Shakespearean accents and change the Shakespearean words in the

service of parody.

Much of the effectiveness of these parodic appropriations depends on the continuing survival of widely shared assumptions about politics, history, art, and literature. The historical and ideological competence of a specifically (white, middle- or upper-class, likely male) Canadian reader is necessary for an understanding of contemporary Canadian social institutions and concerns, such as furnish the subject matter for a column like *Grip in Council*; but it also implies one with the literary competence of a British reader—or, at the least, one educated like a British reader, who had assumed the same discursive codes, and could thus understand when Shakespearean English becomes ‘Spakespearean’ English. By targeting “imposed canonical traditions” (Gilbert and Tompkins 16) through rewriting the best-known soliloquies and speeches of the most famous of Shakespeare’s plays, Canadian periodical satirists could effectively destabilize the cultural and political authority of Shakespeare, and, by implication, Canada within the Victorian Empire. Chief among the famous soliloquies is “To be or not to be.” Thus, “An Old Playgoer” can sarcastically comment about a February 1879 production in Montreal, “He treated us first to ‘To be or not to be,’ which somebody behind, evidently *up* in his Shakespere said was from ‘Hamlet.’ The famous soliliquy was spoken in the usual style: very much up and still more down, and altogether very unlike the manner in which a sane mortal would utter his thoughts on any subject whatever [sic]” (*The Jester*, 14 February 1879, p. 274).

“No one passage from the plays of Shakespeare,” writes Walter Hamilton, “has been so frequently parodied, and imitated, as the celebrated soliloquy commencing “TO

BE, OR NOT TO BE” (Hamilton 146). Hamilton has reprinted fifty-four examples drawn from sources between 1780 and 1885; in the sample of Canadian periodicals which I examined for this thesis, there are seven rewritings of Hamlet’s most famous speech published between 1875 and 1887. Comments range from the innocuous descriptions of the weather

The winter comes apace. His driving wind,
His dreadful storms of furious snow and sleet,
His avalanche of ice y’ piled,
Warn me I should prepare
 (“To be or Not to Be,” *Grip*, 22 September 1877, p. 2)

or

“To go or not to go? Say, had I better
Languish in town right through the heated term,
Or buy a ticket from this horrid place,
And by departing, cool?
 (“Soliliquy,” *Grip*, 17 August 1878, p. 2)

to general comments about the theatre — “To play or not to play – that is the question./

Whether ’tis nobler in a Star to suffer/ The slips and blunders of impromptu players”

(“Hamlet’s Soliliquy,” 31 July 1875, p. 5) — and about trade and commerce

To sell; to ship; perchance to lose!
Aye, there’s the rub,
For when the goods are gone,
What charm can win them back
From slippery debtors?
 (“The Jobber’s Soliliquy”, *Jury*, 9 May 1887, vol. 2, no. 7, p. 11).

These parodies draw on the “familiar, quotable” Shakespeare in order better to elucidate their various, usually particularly Canadian, concerns. “Hamlet’s Soliloquy” in *Grip* (24 July 1880, p. 7) provides evidence that, occasionally, these parodies make specific

reference to an individual, usually within the context of having to make a difficult choice requiring introspection— like Hamlet’s indecision in the original. “Adapted to the Use of Mr. FRANK SHANLEY, on his Resolving to Resign his position in Toronto,” the fifteen line rewriting falls midway between the parodies mocking superficial concerns, and the longer, more clearly antagonistic parodic attempts which attempt to use the authority of Shakespeare to wrestle with moral and ethical dilemmas:

To go or not to go, that is the question—
 Whether it pays me best to still accept
 The jeers and rudeness of outrageous aldermen,
 Or by resigning end them. To quit, to “git,”
 To take the post New Brunswick railways offer, 5
 To be the Intercolonial’s grand Panjandrum,
 But will it pay—or is that railroad solvent?
 Aye, there’s the rub—well, I must mend my manners.
 Be not more proud than those who are my betters,
 Nor treat the lower class of those “blue noses” 10
 As I did these galoots at City Hall,
 As if they were mere slaves, unfit at that
 To carry offal to the ursine race.
 To make a change I’m not too old or young.
 And in my mouth must keep a civil tongue. 15

Linda Hutcheon’s “paradox of parody” (following Bakhtin’s formulation) is descriptive of the kind of parodic appropriations and negotiation undertaken in these revisions of Shakespeare:

Parody, especially of the reverential variety, becomes, then, a way to preserve continuity in discontinuity (...) [that is] the conservative impulse of parody. But its opposite the revolutionary drive (...) makes its appearance in the shape of the complexity which derives from the ‘double-voicing,’ from the parodic incorporation that leads to renewal through synthesis (Hutcheon *Parody* 75).

The paradoxical appropriation of Shakespeare in negotiational appropriations serves to

keep his plays and language in the mind of the Canadian reader while simultaneously providing an avenue for both humour and the development of a national consciousness, since “[a]ltering the stylistic hierarchies of standard English expression is one of the most politically useful modes of subverting its authority” (Gilbert and Tompkins 181). When satirists adopt the Shakespearean references and adapt them to the illustrations of contemporary social and political events, they find the references to Shakespeare lend what should have been an ephemeral opinion a degree of timelessness and generality. Longer parodic rewritings of the “To be or not to be” speech are exemplary in this regard, as they invoke Shakespeare against certain contemporary Canadian concerns, such as the fight against liquor traffic (“Soliloquy of Hamlet MacKenzie”), Sir John A. Macdonald’s possible federal intervention in the border dispute between Manitoba and Ontario (“Sir John Hamlet’s Soliloquy”), or the continued acceptance of inappropriate behaviour on the part of Prince Albert (“Albert Edward’s Soliloquy”). Thus, the specifically Canadian past is as much a part of defining difference as is the European past of Shakespeare.

“Soliloquy of Hamlet MacKenzie” buttresses the “To be or not to be” speech with Hamlet and Ophelia’s exchange of “sweet remembrances”(3.1.87-101). Tellingly, Ophelia is Canada (l. 34). Ophelia underscores the nation’s own fragile, embryonic national cultural psyche. Ophelia-Canada implores Hamlet MacKenzie to fulfill his promises and end liquor traffic:

Hamlet. To be, or not to be, that is the question.
 Whether ’twere better in the end to suffer
 The evil born of this outrageous traffic,

Or to take arms against this sea of troubles
 And, by opposing, end them? To dare, to do 5
 No more: — and by to do, we mean, to end
 The manufacture, and the thousand woes
 That drink is heir to. 'Tis a consummation
 Devoutly to be wished. To dare:—to do. —
 To do!—perchance to fail; aye, there's the rub! 10
 For in this death of drink, results may come
 When it hath shuffled off its mortal coil
 Must give us pause. We have respect
 Unto the revenue derived from its long life;
 But who can stand the whips and scorns of Truth, 15
 Her tale of wrong, of drink-born misery,
 Of every growing crime, the law's delay,
 The arrogance of the trade, and these petitions,
 That signatures of all and sundry bear,
 When he himself might their quietus make 20
 With Prohibition. Who would fardels bear
 To grunt and sweat beneath their speeches dry,
 But that the dread of something afterwards —
 A reconstructed tariff, from which source
 We needs must seek returns, puzzles the will, 25
 And makes us rather bear those ills we have
 Than fly to others that we know not of.
 Thus calculation cowards makes us all,
 And thus real ills that call for prohibition
 Are dwarf'd by unreal ghosts of what may be, 30
 And this great enterprise of pith and moment
 With this regard, its currents turn awry
 And lose the name of action. Soft, you, now!
 The fair OPHELIA: — Canada, in thy speeches
 Be all my faults remembered. 35

Ophelia. Good my lord,
 How does your honour for this many a day.

Hamlet. I humbly thank you; well.

Ophelia. I have some promises of yours
 That I have longed long for fulfilment;
 I pray you, now fulfil them. 40

Hamlet. No, not I;
 I never gave you any.

Ophelia. My honoured lord, you know right well you did,
 And with them words of such sweet breath composed,
 As made them seem more sure; their meaning lost

situation, that is, to make the hypothetical actual.

The urge to reduce a complex issue to its essence is the motivating factor behind most parodies drawing on “To be or not to be.” In “Sir John Hamlet’s Soliloquy” the border dispute between Manitoba and Ontario and its possible reference to the Privy Council is given expression:

To do or not to do it---that’s the question!
 Whether ‘tis better to keep up the squabble
 Over the western boundary of Ontario,
 Or to take Mowat’s challenge and refer,
 And by referring, end it? Refer—Submit— 5
 No more; and by a reference to end
 The trouble at Rat Portage and the shock

Of rival constables—‘tis a consummation
 Devoutly to be wished. Refer, submit—
 Submit—perchance get left; ay; there’s the rub; 10
 For in that reference what defeat may come,
 Whe we have sent our case and argued it,
 Must give us pause: there’s the respect
 That makes procrastination seem so shrewd

.....
 Who would not seize the chance 21
 To prove his weight in constitutional law,
 But that the dread of something in the facts,
 Those stubborn things that Privy Councils love
 And dwell upon, puzzles the will 25
 And makes us rather stick to what we have
 Than join with Mowat in the reference!
 Thus policy makes cowards of us all,
 And thus the brag and bounce that I’ve indulged
 Is sicklied o’er with the pale cast of thought, 30
 And Boundary questions of great pith and moment
 With this regard are stuffed in pigeon holes,
 And lose the name of action.

(*Grip*, 5 January 1884)

One of the central projects of many late-nineteenth-century texts, then, is to

devise a ‘Shakespearean’ voice that can work to elucidate the Canadian situation. In like manner, Canadian Shakespearean discourses rework the parameters of colonial literary discourses in order to undermine them through the destabilisation of Shakespearean form and language. Parody, in these instances, fits into the desire to speak in a particularly Canadian voice within a culturally dominant Eurocentric tradition. Ultimately, in these instances, as with William McGill’s “Albert Edward’s Soliliquy” in *Grip*, the adaptation of the Shakespearean model is a way to challenge colonial conceptions and show that Canadians are not only engaged in “colonial adaptations” of “romantic metropolitan norms” (Rudzik 24), but are also able to revise and decentre Shakespeare in the quest for their own national identity:

To play or not to play, that is the question
 Whether ‘tis better patiently to bear
 The slings and arrows of the press and pulpit
 Till meek submission ends them, to enwrap
 My royal visage with the sackcloth cloak 5
 Of harsh repentance, vow to sin no more.
 And by such penance win the sovereign people
 To ratify my future sovereignty.
 Or shall I, stooping not to quiet them,
 Continue in my present course of life, 10
 Take arms against the puritanical mob
 Of howling pietists, scorn public scorn,
 Play a bold game my empire for the stake,
 Live as I list, nor care what people say,
 I doubt not were I thus to brave it out, 15
 There would still be apologists in scores
 To cloak my conduct with absurd excuse,
 And prove that England’s prince could do no wrong,
 Like LL.D in the *Week*, but would the country
 Endorse their mediaeval sentiments? 20
 Yet though I thereby missed the crown, what then?
 The loss were but a puppet royalty,
 A round of irksome, foolish ceremonies

Exchanged for free, Untrammelled way of life.
 The veriest clown that in sun smitten fields 25
 Sweat out his days, and at the village inn
 Squanders his hard-earned wage with brother-sots
 In hiccoughing debates on politics,
 Casting in ballot-box his one poor vote,
 Has freer life and truer manliness, 30
 Holds more real power in his rough, dirty fist
 Than I, though a sceptre waits my grasp.
 Then, though the shadow failed me if I gained
 The substance it would be a consummation
 Devoutly to be wished, a normal life 35
 Of work, perchance of want —ay, there's the rub!
 For in that nobler life what ills would come
 To one so ill prepared for useful task,
 So unequipped as I for sojourning
 Through a wide commonwealth within whose bourn 40
 No traveller's foot can find a royal road
 To any good. This thought must give me pause,
 And makes me rather choose to bear restraint
 Which grants free access to the exchequer,
 With leave to roll up debts for fools to pay, 45
 Than fly to freedom, making others free
 From settling bills I ought to foot myself.
 (William McGill, "Albert Edward's Soliliquy", *Grip*, 15 September 1891, p. 22)

In part, McGill implies, the articulation of a national identity is premised on an understanding of the British model but with a wry recognition that the simple imitation of this model is not enough: Canadians must begin to approach Shakespeare (and hence Britain) critically, that is, without the "mediaeval sentiments" (20) of colonists.

Linda Hutcheon and Margaret Rose, two of the foremost theorists of parody, agree that parody requires an act of critical reassessment on the part of the reader or viewer. Hutcheon explains that

in order for parody to be recognized and interpreted, there must be certain codes shared between encoder and decoder. (...) According to Dwight Macdonald: 'A peculiar combination of sophistication and provinciality is needed for a good parody,

the former for obvious reasons, the latter because the audience must be homogenous enough to get the point'. The potential for elitism in parody has frequently been pointed out, but little attention has been paid to the didactic value of parody in teaching or co-opting the art of the past by textual incorporation and ironic commentary (Hutcheon 27).

“In order to question either literary or social norms” —as the periodical caricaturists and satirists do using Shakespeare—“[one] has to be able to assume a certain cultural homogeneity” (Hutcheon 79). For the nineteenth-century periodical writer and his audience, Shakespeare can only be overturned by an engagement with the original language. Such an engagement critically revises the original and reinvests its Canadian revision with authority derived from the parody of Shakespeare: “adaptation and canonization, so far from being contradictory processes, were often reinforcing ones” (Dobson 5). The use of parody in nineteenth-century comic texts is meant to be strategic and occasional, then — a way of reconfiguring the Shakespeare that British tradition had endorsed. As *The Monthly Review* determined in 1841,

“[t]he language in which [the British American] speaks and thinks, is but a borrowed medium, a language in which have excelled the greatest masters that have ever ennobled an earthly tongue, and who must, in the rich excess of their brightness, outdazzle and outshine the highest efforts of a nation of imitators. (...) [B] ut till he performs the Herculean task of mounting higher than the starry names in the literary galaxy of England, the world at large will only accord him his fitting rank among the authors who spoke or sang in the language of Shakespeare and Milton” (cited in Gerson 39).

By speaking “in the language of Shakespeare”, the texts I will discuss below demonstrate that parody of Shakespeare offers one kind of counter-discourse which articulates tensions between the “British” original and its local “Canadian” manifestation.

The Mercantile Drama, printed in *Grip* (27 October 1877), offers a good example

of the tendency of nineteenth-century satirists to use Shakespearean form and language within the cultural and political matrix of the time. The “drama,” a dialogue of eleven speeches between “Sir Cheatibus Importus” and “Sir Gullibus Colonus,” uses common Shakespearean language (“prithee, ” “’twere”) as well as a direct reference to Shakespeare at line 33 to shift Shakespeare to the (losing) cause of the colonial consumer:

SIR CHEATIBUS IMPORTUS. — And do you see
 What things I bring for you. I here have brought
 Pure West of England cloths, and Scottish tweeds,
 As pure indeed as they; ’twere hard indeed to tell 5
 Which purest shoddy are. The outside see,
 Smooth, fine, and glossy to the touch it seems,
 As ever fabric held. The inside though,
 Why, marry, not exactly just the same,
 But rather different, Sir. It is composed 10
 Of a commodity of worn out coats,
 Of beggars rags, and ploughman’s corduroys,
 Refuse of hospitals — nay, anything
 That has a garment been; my devil, Sir,
 (An iron engine with right clever claws) 15
 Shall grind then into shreds, which deftly worked
 Within, concealed with better stuff without,
 Make up the cloths I bring. The look is good.
 The wearing tells the tale. But what of that?
 I find that they will sell.

SIR GULLIBUS COLONUS — Now bless my soul,
 My liver, my heart, and lungs! And this I buy! 20
 And wear! And prithee tell me this,
 May not diseases cling and lurk within
 These dismal relics which, in fresher guise,
 You do to me present?

SIR CHEATIBUS IMPORTUS. — They may and do.
 But what is that to me? That is the way 25
 I do my fortunes raise. Your cottons, why,
 Those you do buy of me, tear them across,
 And see the lime-cloud fly, or what appears
 Like lime; but good berytes is, in fact,

Or some cheap whitish earth, which by the ton,
I you for cotton sell. But never mind. 30

One washing takes it out, and then, you know.
As jolly SHAKESPEARE said, you safely may
Lay then the flattering unction to your soul,
You've *some* good cotton left. It is but thin, 35
You'll want to buy the sooner, which is grist
Unto my merry mill.

SIR GULLIBUS COLONUS — And do I live
To hear such statements made? Pray, do you sell
Me all such things as these?

SIR CHEATIBUS IMPORTUS. — Why should I not?
Quite good enough for any simple fool 40
Without the wit to make them for himself,
Are what I send to you. Why do you know
There's such a thing as iron, booby, Sir?

You have a few deposits of't, a few
Square thousand miles or so, the richest ore 45
That this round world contains. By VULCAN'S sledge
What I send is not so!

SIR GULLIBUS COLONUS — Nay, is it not?
What may it be? I lack enlightenment
Most strangely in the thing.

SIR CHEATIBUS IMPORTUS. — Well, if I must
Tell that to thee, the commonest of sense 50
If of it thou hadst ought, had told before.
Your stove plates, Sir, at which you warm your nose,
When northern winters howl, would last you quite
A span of thirty years, if *iron* were
Used in them, but the chunks of cinders, slag, 55
And rotten metal mixed, which now you make
From what I send you; well, the stove looks smooth,
But burns out, Sir, in five.

SIR GULLIBUS COLONUS — Now, it is true
That MRS. GULLIBUS but yesterday
A new one did demand, whereat myself 60
Gave answer much reflecting on her lack
Of housewife care, and tears did follow straight,
And dinner vile ensue.

SIR CHEATIBUS IMPORTUS. — Didst never look
At what thou callest nails, or even note
The grain of wheel, of boiler, or of tool, 65
From out my iron made? Why, solid ore,

Well wrought and tempered, Sir, should do you twice
The work, last twice the time.

SIR GULLIBUS COLONUS — I do begin,
As JONATHAN would say, to spy me through
The blanket, and to see some little light. 70
Some more unfold, good Sir.

SIR CHEATIBUS IMPORTUS. — I have made well
From your colonial trade. In gratitude,
Now that I need no more, for I retire
This coming spring, this counsel take from me:
Use the resources which your mighty land 75
Holds broad on every side. Make your own stuff,
Cease to import; 'tis all, but 'tis enough.

By critiquing British imperialism with pseudo-Shakespearean rhetoric, the anonymous satirist implies that just as Canadians can adopt the language, so too can they adopt the exigencies given in the rhetoric. The liberties taken with Shakespearean language and form have clear ends and intended implications. Shakespeare can thus be used to explore the relation between colonial acceptance of financial imperialism and cultural imperialism: by appropriating Shakespeare, the satirist makes clear that colonial acceptance of cultural imperialism is neither complete nor unquestioned, just as the glorification of Shakespeare does not necessarily constitute a reverence for either his language or form.

As a rhetorical method available to Canadian commentators, Shakespearean English is appropriately called upon in the adaptation “By Our Own Shakespeare,” “The Great Duel (Language)”, published in *Grip* (22 March 1890, pp. 4-5). Concerned specifically with the linguistic antagonism between French and English, and the proposed extension of French rights over the North-West Territory, the adaptation also suggests

minimal antagonism between Shakespearean English and modern English. English, in fact, is promoted with reference to the heritage of Shakespeare, while ignoring the legitimate claims of French-language ancestry. The setting is the House of Commons, and members of the House debate the proposition tendered by a French Member of Parliament to extend French rights to the North-West Territory; the proposal is vehemently opposed by many English Members, who see the extension of French rights as special privilege, and who feel, as Grip says in early 1891, that there should be “One official language, and that English [with] one Canadian flag” (25 April 1891, p. 2). The adaptation is too long to cite in full (see the full version in the appendix), but the first Act should provide ample example, to begin, of Shakespearean language used aggressively, and chauvinistically, to promote the Englishness of Canada²⁰:

McCarthy —It must not be in these new lands of ours—
 Bought with our money from th’ Adventurers—
 Bought with exchange of cattle and of corn
 From savage hosts, and from Metis with Scrip—
 Now peopled with our English race—that we 5
 Should place dissension, which in time shall grow
 A curse to them and us.

Lariviere— The gentlemen
 Grows in conceit. What business is’t of his?

Sir John— These weighty questions we had best consider—
 To-morrow. 10

Chapleau—And yet I do not like that word
 A “Curse.”

Laurier— ’T was no necessity for him
 Such words to use. And yet the Premier
 Is wise—I do confess that he is wise
 In all he does. We will consider of 15
 This thing at date that may be named hereafter.

[Exeunt omnes.]

Many of these political parodies respond promptly to contemporary issues by situating

themselves within the existing Shakespearean discourses. The noticeable increase in the number of references to Shakespeare's Henriad (*1 Henry IV*, *2 Henry IV*, *Henry V*, and the adjunct comedy *The Merry Wives of Windsor*) beginning in the 1870s was due to a combination of circumstances, the most memorable of which was the fall from power of John A. Macdonald's Conservative Party. In power for nearly twenty years, Macdonald's Tories were replaced by the Liberal government of Alexander Mackenzie in 1873, but returned to power in 1879, with a pledge to return Canada to the good economic times of the late 1860s and early 1870s, when westward expansion and the dream of a nation from coast to coast prompted a boom economy. As the discussion of political caricature will show, John A. Macdonald was frequently iconographically depicted as Sir John Falstaff; but it is not only in caricature that this affiliation is demonstrated.

At same time that *Falstaff and his Followers* was published, *Grip* also published a rewriting with parodic echoes of several scenes from the Henriad and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. As with many of the occasional nineteenth-century parodies, the characters' names are the first clue to understanding both the intertextual resonances and their possibility for inversion and distortion. In this instance, the list of *Dramatis Personae* (itself a hint that it is Shakespeare being parodied) reveals four characters whose names are a mixture of the Shakespearean and the contemporary political. "Sir John A. Falstaff" uses the familiar name of the character with the newly familiar form of Macdonald's name (he had been knighted); "Bardolph Dodds," "Nym Boultee," and "Pistol Macdougall" add recognizable new surnames to the Shakespearean originals. Drawing especially on the language which marks Falstaff, the text mocks contemporary

political figures in pseudo-Shakespearean and appropriated Shakespearean language.

Titled “New Play — Scene I”, the parody initially recalls Falstaff’s rant after Poins has

“remov’d [his] horse, and he frets like a gumm’d velvet” (*IH4* 2.2.1-2):

SIR JOHN. — Rogues, which of you
 Did base MACKENZIE mean, when he did say
 That he, who at my pic-nics followed me
 Closest, and shouted loudest — he, I say —
 Had begg’d of him, of base MACKENZIE begg’d 5
 Office, when Grits and Scandal me had floored?
 Had begg’d, and been refused. Which, I ask which?
 Varlets, which did the thing?

BARDOLPH DODDS. — Nay, thus I say,
 If that MACKENZIE meant me, Sir, why he 10
 Spite of his Prohibition, then was drunk,
 Drunk out of his five sentences. It was
 Not I, by shogs, not I!

NYM BOULTBEE. — No interest had I,
 That is the humour of it, not a jot. 15
 The *Mail* had none, and therefore I had none,
 That is the very plain-song: ’twas not I!

PISTOL MACDOUGALL. — Base is the slave
 That pays to what was asked in confidence
 No homage of regard; but blabs it out. 20
 O most egregious dog! Oh viper vile!
 I throw it in his teeth, and in his throat!
 I throw it in his most marvellous face!
 And in his hateful lungs, and in his maw!
 Now, by this hand, most horrible revenge — 25
 I’ll have! All inmost hell shall quake for this!

SIR JOHN. — Ye all shall tramp!
 I am belittled through the kingdom here,
 For holding with such knaves. Begone, away!
 I am sufficient to myself to-day. 30
 My star, now rising, shall forever wane,
 Ere I uphold such caitiffs in my train!

[*Scene closes.*]

“Sir John’s” use of “rogue,” “varlet,” and “knave” signals the appropriation of

Shakespearean form and language: in 2.2. of *1 Henry IV*; these insults are used six times,

mainly by Falstaff (e.g. “You lie, ye rogue” directed at Gadshill), but also directed to him (e.g. Hal’s “Out, ye rogue! 2.2.42). Certainly, “caitiff” declares a Shakespearean antecedent, since the OED lists Shakespeare as the source (from *Othello*, *Measure for Measure*). “Sir John’s” portion of the parody also shares an affinity with Falstaff’s drunken ramblings in 2.4. Here, the allusive parody exposes the unsettling homogeneity of texts and culture: Shakespeare’s four plays—all interrelated—become one “new play” drawing on multiple source texts.

As the visual satire of the third chapter will make clearer, the Macdonald-Falstaff identification took hold so well that occasional parodies in the comic press openly linked the two. On 21 December 1878, *Grip* published:

The New Adaptation
SIR JOHN MACDONALD as “*Falstaff*.”

MACFALSTAFF — (*To Canada*). — I am called to offices of state. Miss CANADA, say what thing thou wouldst most in the world, it is thine. Hark thee, lend me \$7, 000; it shall be quintiply repaid. Come to see me at Court. What, shall we not be brave? Marry, we shall.

TUPPER — (*As Pistol*). — A fico for the wordlings base I of Protection speak, and golded joys. Prithee, Miss CANADA, lend me also \$7, 000. I will repay thee. Gogswounds! I will! Death and basket-blades! I will most unutterably strike off the head of the base cottrel who squeaks I will not! Why, I am about to do thee such favours (what they are I know not, but I read them in a pamphlet) as that mighty Afric and great Ind shold [should] be poured into thy lap. Knowst not me! What reach me of thy pecuniaries — thou shalt have interest, coz, I am PISTOL, I! Wilt have the plnnder [plunder] of the Celestials? Shall I take ATRPOS by the ear; shall he not disgorge for thee? (*Roars*) I will-l-l hau-l-l him-m-m from the depths of his-s-s infernal-l-l pit-t-t. (*Softly*) Lend me the \$7, 000, chuck.

SCENE II.

PISTOL-TUPPER *in front of casement*. ENTER *gang of Speculators*.

FIRST SPECULATOR — (*Exhibits Manufacturers' Policy leak*). — Goot master

PISTOL, I do peg you will eat this leek.

PISTOL-TUPPER — (*Jumps up*). — Fire, Fiends, Death! Fury! What ho! Help! Sir JOHN! Sir JOHN. (*Knocks at casement*).

SIR JOHN — (*Within*). — Can't attend at present! Most important session — matters of State; be off! (*Heavy fall heard on bed*).

PISTOL-TUPPER. — The Great Sir JOHN
Lies ill of present and contagious hurt,
Leave this, besognios, vanish, scuttle, tramp,
Or I with ra-a-a-ge unquench-h-h-able shall-l-l-l —

2 ND SPECULATOR— (*Beats him*). — I pray you eat this.— (*Gives leek*).

PISTOL-TUPPER— (*Eats*). — All hell-l-l shall smoke for this!

3 RD SPECULATOR.— Eat well, I pray you; it is good for your green wound, and your ploody coxcomb.

PISTOL-TUPPER. — But I did swear
To put the National Policy in force,
Nor eat such stuff as ———

1 ST SPECULATOR — (*Beats him*). — Eat.

PISTOL-TUPPER. — Quiet thy cudgel; thou dost see I eat.

CANADA — (*Enters with her Parliamentary servants*). — These be two cogging impudent knaves who imposed themselves on me. Turn them out, and others who were with them likewise, I must have capable men.

As the above example shows, the engagement with and transformation of the literary text of Shakespeare's plays (through parody and adaptation) and the larger cultural text of "Shakespeare" show how profoundly, and often problematically, representations of Shakespeare are bound up with certain liberal visions of the nation. Although many features of this Canadian construction of Shakespeare (such as the particular associations of Shakespeare with moral leadership and distaste for arbitrary power) are not new, parodic allusions to Shakespeare allow nineteenth-century Canadians to redefine themselves without completely rejecting the cultural heritage of Shakespeare. While this attempt critically to revise Shakespeare through parody is not always successful, it facilitates the process of working within British conventions to undermine

them— after all, “one way of reacting against the coherent perspective and world-view of traditional monological texts is to parody them” (Kuester 13). In living up to the negative description of Canadians as “a nation of imitators,” Canadians also develop as simply “a nation”—a nation which was in a position implicitly to interrogate the imperialist hegemony of British literary thought through the “imitation with a critical difference” of Shakespeare (Hutcheon *Parody* 6, 36). As Gilbert and Tompkins suggest, “the subversion involved in these practices can free up a space for the colonial subject to renegotiate an identity that is not necessarily constituted by the coloniser’s perspective” (Gilbert and Tompkins 50), a perspective that is made all the clearer in an examination of Shakespearean caricature.

Chapter Three

Shakespearean Caricature, 1848-1894;

or, *The Merry Lives of Sir John A. Macdonald.*

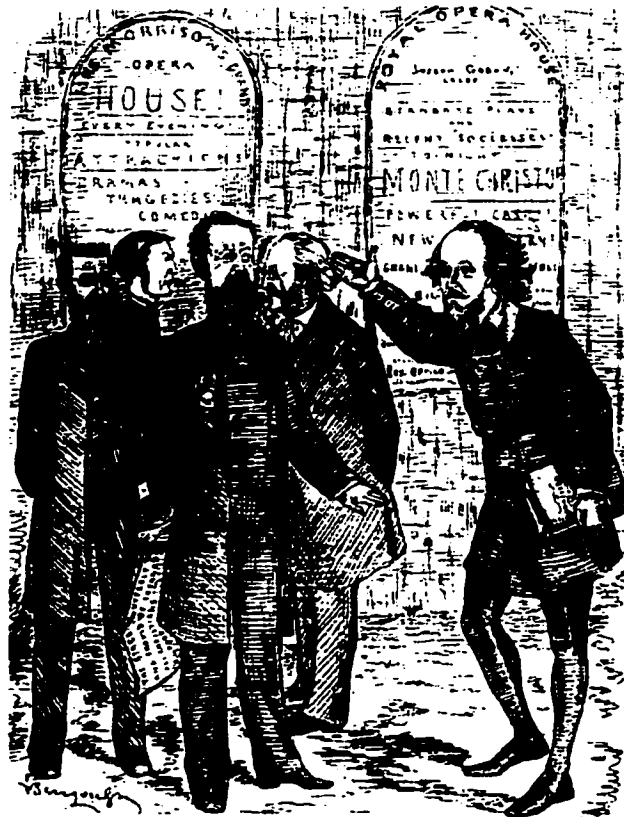
Now Mercury indue thee with leasing, for thou speak'st well of fools!

— Clown, *Twelfth Night*, I.V.97-98.

Each change of many-colour'd life he drew,

Exhausted worlds, and then imagined new:

— Samuel Johnson, *Prologue Spoken by Mr. Garrick at the Opening of the Theatre in Drury Lane, 1747.*



THE PULPIT AND THE STAGE.
SHAKESPEARE'S... THE PLAYERS WERE DESTROYED... USE THEM AFTER
YOUR OWN HONOUR AND DIGNITY... TAKE THEM IN... HANDLE

4. J.W. Bengough, *The Pulpit and Stage* (1876).

In 1876, Shakespeare made an appearance outside Mrs. Morrison's Grand Opera House and the Royal Opera House in Toronto. His appearance, though unique in Canada

at the time, was not unusual —Shakespeare had been making regular appearances at both theatres for some time by the 1870s— and what is unusual is not that he appeared, but why. *The Pulpit and Stage* (1876) has William Shakespeare standing outside the theatres in early modern dress, captioned with Hamlet’s advice to the players:

SHAKSPEARE. [sic] — * * “See the Players well bestowed. * * Use them After Your Own Honour and Dignity. * * Take them In.” — HAMLET.

The Pulpit and the Stage, as the title might suggest, evinces two opposing views of the theatre in nineteenth-century Canada: one view, represented by Shakespeare, shows the theatre’s capacity to instruct the population. Thus, Joseph Howe, for instance, claims that the plays provide “infinite instruction and delight” (Howe Oration 24). The other view stresses the opposite, emphasising, as in the cartoon, the potential for the theatre to be not only libellous and the cause of social disruption, but also a magnet drawing people away from the church— as the broadsheet announcement held by one of Shakespeare’s antagonists reads: “The stage is utterly bad and should be shunned by all Christians.” It is testimony to Shakespeare’s prominence as a visual icon that his depiction is intended to balance the four figures to the left of the image; it is further testimony to the status of Shakespeare in the three hundred and fifty years since his death that “so long as the theater [sic] was under attack on moral grounds, ... Shakespeare, because of his immense reputation ... could be used to make the theatre itself more legitimate” (Levine 45) . Thus, the image of Shakespeare serves a dual effect, in that it both implicitly authorizes theatrical production and damns the figures who seek to close the theatres.

This casual, passing reference to Shakespeare in Canada, made as a visually

recognizable caricature of the Droushout engraving from the First Folio (1623), represents Shakespeare holding his own tome, labelled “Shakspere.” Captioned with a quotation from *Hamlet*, this caricature may seem a less material indicator of Shakespeare’s position in the culture of nineteenth-century Canada than the print sources examined thus far. But, the allusion’s insistence on theatricality and social concerns suggests a nexus of literary and political motives in which Shakespearean discourses figured just as prominently as in the written discourse of the time. As Jonathan Bate, who has detailed British Shakespearean caricature in his book *Shakespearean Constitutions: Politics, Theatre, Criticism 1730-1830*, contends:

a study of the presence of Shakespeare in caricature in that period is the nearest equivalent to a study of his presence in television in our period; that is to say, it is a study in popular iconography (...) [and it] evinces not only the centrality of the plays to English culture, but also the process whereby they are forever being re-created, *appropriated* in the name of conflicting political and aesthetic ideologies (Bate 2).

Shakespearean references made a more vivid and lasting contribution to nineteenth-century Canadian discourse than has previously been recognized. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the surviving visual and verbal satire of the mid-nineteenth century, especially of the immediate post-Confederation period. Long before the creation of the Stratford Festival in 1953 — and, indeed, before Confederation in 1867 — parodies of and allusions to Shakespeare formed a significant aspect of English-speaking discourse in Canada. Shakespeare’s iconic status allowed the satirist, whether verbal or visual, to interpret complex social and political affairs in a pithy fashion, and facilitated the parody of the anglophile elite in Canada at the same time as it preserved British literary

traditions.

To study the visual in light of the verbal satire of the previous chapter illuminates both forms because, though one uses words and the other uses pictures, both verbal and visual satirists communicated with a shared iconographic and parodic vocabulary.²¹ Appropriating Shakespeare for different Canadian debates, the visual satire of the nineteenth-century Canadian comic periodical, as I will argue, reworks Shakespeare, both in caricature and parody, “in order to invest [him] with more local relevance” (Gilbert and Tompkins 16). Thus, as is the case with *The Pulpit and the Stage*, Canadian caricaturists in the second half of the nineteenth-century defined Shakespeare’s legacy in such a way as to claim it for liberal purposes which were foregrounded in an acknowledgement of the supremacy of the British heritage. The conception of Shakespeare as a liberal reformist ally for larger social questions, and as an antagonist of the policies of the Macdonald Conservatives, assumes that Shakespeare can simultaneously reflect ideological ties with the British past and can encapsulate oppositional political rhetoric. By relocating Bardic cultural authority to Canada through the visual medium of caricature, Shakespeare indeed serves as a telling indication of the growing cultural status of that most English of writers in the mid- to late-nineteenth century; in addition, naturally, the caricatures serve as a visual vehicle of social satire by means of the use of parody.

The genealogy of Shakespeare in Canadian political caricature begins with *Punch in Canada*, launched in Montreal on New Year’s Day 1849 by J.B. Walker, an eighteen-year-old designer and wood engraver who had come to Canada with his father in 1842

(Desbarats and Mosher 40). As the first comic journal to publish political cartoons on a regular basis in Canada, *Punch in Canada* thus reveals that Shakespeare is a feature of the particular political discourses represented in caricature within months of native caricatures first appearing in this country. In fact, although I only look at one here, Shakespeare is a common enough referent for the Canadian population to warrant inclusion in not one, but two political cartoons in the first year of *Punch in Canada's* publication.²² The first cartoon, titled *The Trappers*, depicts two men dressed in long pants and overcoats, carrying rifles and riding whips, and watching six beavers, one of whom has his front paw caught in the trap the men have presumably recently laid. The first trapper, sitting on a large hewn tree, speaks in (colonial) dialect: "Say, Bob, darned if we ain't ketched the old beaver right into the trap, and the others is a-crowding round like all creation"; the second trapper, who stands behind the first, responds "Well, keep him thar, boy, keep him thar:—I guess he don't quit this clearin jist yit. This is some, this game is:—Darned if it don't beat heuker!." Above the dialogue between the trappers, the artist has placed an epigraph from Shakespeare: "'I saw young Harry with his beaver', *etc*". "Harry" is in this case Henry Sherwood (the H.S. is etched on the butt of his rifle), while the second trapper represents Robert Baldwin; the trapped beaver is Lord Elgin, then Governor General and the man who first suggested the Union of the Canadas.

According to J. W. Bengough's *A Caricature History of Canadian Politics*, this cartoon "signals the triumph of Toronto in being at last made the Seat of Government" as both Baldwin and Sherwood "had urged the claims of their native city when the

Government was first removed from Kingston” (Bengough *A Caricature History* 56); but it is not so much the topic of the cartoon as much as the use of Shakespearean quotation that is of interest. The quotation is simply cited “Shakespeare”; there is no need to mention the exact citation since it is assumed that the ideal reader²³ would—as is the case with parody as well— “know the backgrounded work(s) well and would bring about a superimposition of texts by the mediation of that parodied work upon the act of viewing” (Hutcheon *Parody* 94). In using Shakespeare, the “[visual] satire emotionally and intellectually bonded the emerging society to the source of accepted human civility” (Vincent 58); however, as we shall see with any number of Shakespearean caricatures, the artist feels able to address a contemporary problem without especial regard to the original Shakespearean context, and almost entirely premises his use of Shakespeare on its applicability to a (post-)colonial context.



THE TRAPPERS

"I am using them with no degree of care."
 FROM THE "ALL THE WORLD IS A STAGE" SET BY THE GREAT SHAKESPEARE IN THE "PLAY OF THE
 POWER OF MAN" BY THE GREAT SHAKESPEARE IN THE "PLAY OF THE
 GREAT SHAKESPEARE IN THE "PLAY OF THE GREAT SHAKESPEARE IN THE
 THE GREAT SHAKESPEARE IN THE "PLAY OF THE GREAT SHAKESPEARE IN THE
 THE GREAT SHAKESPEARE IN THE "PLAY OF THE GREAT SHAKESPEARE IN THE

5. J.B. Walker, *The Trappers* (1849).

The passage, “I saw young Harry,” putatively comes from *Henry IV, Part 1* (4.1.105) but the passage has been shortened by one word: it should read “I saw young Harry with his beaver on” (my emphasis). Vernon’s description of Prince Harry’s majesty in *1 Henry IV*,

I saw young Harry with his beaver on,
His cuishes on his thighs, gallantly armed,
Rise from the ground like feathered Mercury,
And vaulted with such ease into his seat,
As if an angel dropped down from the clouds
(*1 Henry IV*, 4.1.105-109)

is thus disassociated from its Shakespearean original. By severing the quotation from its expected form, the satirist can develop the joke about animals (see Petti)—appropriately enough through a line given to Hotspur, himself closely affiliated with animals as a symptom of his chivalric excess.

Implicitly, then, *The Trappers* epitomizes the disjunction of Shakespearean language contrasted with the more common spoken dialect of “Canadians.” The use of the dialectic voice masked as a written one (“I guess he don’t quit this clearin jist yit”) is both mimetic and significant, since the epigraph, description, and caricature itself all serve to relocate the significance of the play to a specifically colonial Canadian setting. But it is not only through amendments to language that the cartoon assumes significance as social discourse. It is important to note that the dialect of the “Canadians” is actually more akin to nineteenth-century American dialogue (as represented, for instance, in the character of Sam Slick in Thomas Chandler Haliburton’s *The Clockmaker*, series 1, or in Mark Twain’s *Huckleberry Finn*). Adapting and twisting Shakespearean quotation in

this manner shows that Shakespeare stands for a kind of language and culture, rightly or wrongly, which derived its authority from Britain and was therefore the ideal to be attained by an educated population, whether in Canada or in Britain.

Shakespeare's noticeable presence before Confederation, in both caricature and citation, affirms that, in the range of literary and historical allusions, Shakespearean allusions were the most politically expedient, since they both served as legitimating authority and contained the necessary resonances to shape public opinion.

Shakespearean rhetoric, as I have argued above (Chapters I and II), plays a role in the analysis and description of contemporary events in nineteenth-century Canada. Thus, in like if not greater fashion, so do the range of Shakespearean cartoons published in the Canadian comic press after Confederation. In the late 1860s, for instance, cartoons were a regular feature of *Diogenes*, a comic periodical from Montreal published likewise by J.B. Walker, and edited by George Murray, an Oxford graduate who subsequently immigrated to Canada (Desbarats and Mosher 43). The first cartoon in *Diogenes* corroborates both my broader assumption of the commonality of Shakespeare within the larger nineteenth century Canadian society, and my immediate synthetic claim, that Shakespeare was topically suited as a commentator on Canada.

Titled *It is Our Opening Day!*, the cartoon does not use Shakespeare for his political applicability to Canada, although, certainly, later cartoons have this as a guiding principle. Rather, the cartoon uses Shakespeare as he is used in print appropriations, that is, as a figure of national authority and cultural capital, familiar to all readers. Captioned with a quote from *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, that most familiar of plays in the

nineteenth century, the cartoon shows “Diogenes”, the “Punch” figure of this periodical, dressing oysters. The caption, necessarily, is from Act 2, scene 2 of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, “Why then the world’s mine oyster, which I with sword will open” (ll. 4-5).



6. It is Our Opening Day! (1868).

The anonymous caricaturist —“A.P.J” seems to be signed in the corner—in literally sketching Pistol’s comment neglects the figurative, and violent, undertone hinted at in the play. Yet, the caricature exploits the literary sensibilities of the reader, by presuming that, even when the quotation is out of context, readers will recall Shakespeare, and thereby associate the new periodical with the force of Shakespearean tradition.

Elsewhere in *Diogenes*, the caricaturist uses Shakespeare specifically as a kind of shorthand with the understanding that readers will recall the various passages from which

the caption is drawn. By way of illustration, in *Music Hath Charms to Soothe the Scottish Breast*, the anonymous caricaturist adapts Hamlet's "To be or Not to Be" with reference to an apparent debate over the type of music to be played in an unnamed, but likely Presbyterian, Montreal church. Rev. Dr. Irvine (I—E.) asks "The organ or not the organ—that is the question," and each of the other churchmen, Rev. Mr. Gordon and Elder William Brown, weigh in with their choice: bagpipes or the "feedle." Diogenes, building from the Shakespearean title, ventures, "why not go in for harmony, gentlemen—and have all three!" since, citing Shakespeare as an authority in such matters even as his words are altered, "Music hath charms to soothe the Scottish Breast."



7. 'Music Hath Charms to Soothe the' Scottish 'Breast' (1869)

Welcome!, published in *Diogenes* (8 October 1869) points to a common theme of the Canadian Shakespearean caricature: Shakespeare can be used to cultural advantage, as a cultural reference point that distinguishes Canadians from their American neighbours through the often implicit appeal “to an authority—to a named figure whose ethical insights, as expressed in his surviving texts, ought to be taken seriously by ‘right-minded people’ ” (Jardine 6). Unlike many American appropriations of Shakespeare (see Bristol and Cartelli), nineteenth-century Canadians still equate the force of British authority with Shakespeare, even if, as is the case especially with later caricatures, there is a “tendency of the parodist to make the most familiar and highly regarded art the object of his irreverence” (Jacobs and Johnson 9). Shakespeare becomes a truly Canadian discourse in the nineteenth century, though, only when Shakespeare’s quintessentially British heritage is turned to sustained political account.

In *Welcome!*, the post-colonial significance of the cartoon is not as fully developed as it will be by the late 1880s. In the figure, Prince Arthur (the second figure from the left) and an attendant are greeted in Montreal by three subjects, apparently bowing: Sir Georges E. Cartier, Diogenes, and W. Workman, the mayor of Montreal. The cartoon demonstrates the close, familial ties between Canada and Great Britain, and especially between the elite of Montreal and the British aristocracy, as evinced by the curiously complimentary caption:

DIO. (*loq.*)—YOUTH, THOU BEAR’ST THY FATHER’S FACE;
 KIND NATURE, RATHER CURIOUS THAN IN HASTE,
 HATH WELL COMPOSED THEE. THY FATHER’S MORAL PARTS
 MAY’ST THOU INHERIT TOO. WELCOME TO MONTREAL!
 —(“ALL’S WELL THAT ENDS WELL,”—*slightly altered*)



8. *Welcome!* (1869)

For these earliest depictions of Shakespeare in Canada, on one level, a stable and fixed Shakespeare, representing (at least for some segments of the audience) universal, unalterable values accommodates a powerful need for social and cultural stability; these depictions also reinforce a privileged cultural position evinced by the remarkable recognition of Shakespeare by the social and political elite of nineteenth-century Canada. In this context, it is significant that certain of Shakespeare's plays were becoming texts for the articulation of a patriotic identity in the life of the new nation. Through comic allusions to Shakespeare's linked dramas about the political maturation of Prince Harry

into King Henry V, Canadian caricaturists could imply a pedigree for the new nation, as well as overtly referring to issues of nationality and political stability. With the cultural authority of Shakespeare established, however, caricaturists are able to “refashion,” to use the words of Jonathan Bate, this heritage, continuing to do so with the satiric double focus (“respectful homage and ironically thumbed nose”) suggested by Hutcheon (33). Within this context, Shakespeare’s history plays serve as a template for reading Canadian politics, defining the Canadian legacy of the Bard in such a way as to claim it satirically for liberal and nationalist purposes explicitly directed against Macdonald.

In the political and theatrical climate of the 1870s, Shakespeare’s Bolingbroke and Falstaff plays were understood by caricaturists as an appropriate discourse for exploring contemporary politics, especially those with a controversial slant. Chapter One hinted that *The Merry Wives of Windsor* plays a formative role in the encounter between Shakespeare and Canada, because “it is remarkable for some prophetic utterances regarding Toronto, Sir John A. Macdonald, the Scott Act, and other present nuisances.” The cartoon *Scene from ‘The Merry Wives of Windsor*, originally published in *Canadian Illustrated News* (Montreal, 30 March 1872), provides a good illustration of the pervasiveness in the nineteenth-century of this now rarely seen play. *Scene from ‘The Merry Wives of Windsor’* shows Sir George E. Cartier, Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir Francis Hincks, and H.L. Langevin—all dressed in the “Renaissance” costumes that would have appeared onstage at the time—clustered in conversation. Joseph Howe, the figure at the right of the image, stands apart from the others. Although in later years Macdonald would assume the focus of Shakespearean cartoons, in this cartoon Cartier

(as Shallow) is given the Shakespearean caption: “I have lived four-score years and upwards; I never heard a man of his place, gravity, and learning, so wide of his own respect”. In this caricature, Shakespeare is used to suggest that Howe is indifferent to his own good reputation because of his behaviour and demeanor. As the French physician, Doctor Caius, Howe is ridiculed by the “native” English followers: Evans, Justice Shallow, Abraham Slender, and Master Page. Although only Shallow’s line is given in the epigraph, Page’s preceding comment is likewise applicable (and may even be more appropriate since it seems to necessitate a gesture like the one Cartier is directing toward Howe):

PAGE: Yonder is a most reverend gentleman, who, belike having received wrong by some person, is at most odds with his own gravity and patience that ever you saw.

SHALLOW: I have lived fourscore years and upward; I never heard a man of his place, gravity, and learning so wide of his own respect.

(*MWW* 3.1.44-49)



SCENE FROM 'THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR'

HOWE IS HERE REPRESENTED AS A MAN OF HIS PLACE, GRAVITY, AND LEARNING, WHO NEVER HEARD A MAN OF HIS PLACE, GRAVITY, AND LEARNING, SO WIDE OF HIS OWN RESPECT.

9. J.W. Bengough, Scene from 'The Merry Wives of Windsor' (1872)

The allusion to “the Wives of Windsor” is not merely a pun, for the suggestion of matrimonial affiliation between Canada and Great Britain (as the familial identification earlier) inevitably alludes to the annexation questions of the period around 1870: those tied to Great Britain are set apart from Joseph Howe who is holding a copy of his so-called “Annexation Speech,” wherein he proposed that Nova Scotia remove itself from Confederation. This led some to speculate about the possibility of Nova Scotia either joining in an economic union or simply joining the Republic to the South. Through the clustering of such diverse political figures in the print, the caricature also hints at an “unnatural” alliance and encourages the reader to recollect the disapproving comment by Master Ford on the intimacy and closeness of the wives in the next scene, “I think if your husbands were dead you two would marry” (3.2.10-12). Although his comment is quickly dismissed by Mistress Page, who says “Be sure of that—two other husbands,” the suggestion of political expediency (two widowed women living together), underscores the entire scene. Ultimately, Howe is rejecting the female, expressly colonial, role offered in the play where the woman is figured as a mercantilist prize: “She is a region in Guiana, all gold and bounty. I will be cheaters to them both, and they shall be exchequers to me. They shall be my East and West Indies and I will trade to them both” (*MWW* 1.3.59-62). But, since the honour of the wives proves ultimately “as firm as faith” (*MWW* 4.4.9), and the town is united against the outsider (Falstaff), Howe’s rejection of the female role is less a rejection of colonial status and more a rejection of Canadian community which could “laugh this sport o’er by a country fire, / Sir John and all” (*MWW* 5.5.218-219).

The astute reader, attuned “not only [to] the recognition of textualized traces of the literary and historical past but also the awareness of what has been done (...) to those traces” (Hutcheon 1989 8), will no doubt recognize the Shakespearean allusion and the relevance to the political controversy; and, further, they will note the irony of Howe’s position being ridiculed with reference to Shakespeare. As Levine surmises, Shakespeare fits into nineteenth-century society “so easily because he *seemed* to fit—because so many of his values and tastes were, or at least appeared to be, close to their own, and were presented through figures that seemed real and came to matter to the audience” (Levine 36). Chief among these was the Falstaffian figure of Canada’s first Prime Minister, Sir John A. Macdonald.

Before “P. Quill” and “T. Stubbs” could say with such assurance that “Sir John Falstaff was a humourous forecast of Sir John A. Macdonald,” caricatures, especially those drawn by J.W. Bengough, had already made this plain through the graphic depiction of Macdonald. By far the most memorable images of political struggles and partisan affiliations come from *Grip*, the satirical magazine published in Toronto, named for the raven in Dickens’s *Barnaby Rudge*, and edited and illustrated by John Wilson Bengough. It is Bengough’s vivid caricatures to which modern historians turn to catch a glimpse of Sir John A. Macdonald as his contemporaries would have seen him and to better understand the shifts in conventional thinking about the political quandaries of the time: tariff protection, the annexation movement, threats from the United States and the usefulness of opening the West to the railroad and settlement (see Granatstein, Waite, Cumming).

The creation of a special affinity between John A. Macdonald and Shakespeare's comic characters is nowhere more apparent than *Falstaff and His Followers*, first published in *Grip* (16 September 1876). Falstaff's popularity as a comedic scapegoat had, since Queen Elizabeth first anecdotally asked for another play with Falstaff in love,²⁴ been almost a given in theatrical circles on both sides of the Atlantic.



FALSTAFF AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

THE GREAT FALSTAFF, IN THE TETE A TETE WITH THE LADY OF THE TOWER.

10. J. W. Bengough, *Falstaff and his Followers* (1876)

parody “is not a matter of nostalgic imitation of past models; it is a stylistic confrontation, a modern recoding which establishes difference at the heart of similarity” (Hutcheon *Parody* 8). The corporeal image of Falstaff—who is asked by Hal, “How

In this image, iconography is deployed to create the intended meaning that Macdonald and Falstaff are now synonymous: coupled with the open secret that Macdonald had a tendency to over-indulge in drink, the impression that Macdonald has become the Canadian incarnation of Shakespeare's Falstaff is achieved by the way in which his image corresponds to descriptions of Falstaff in the play itself. But, as Linda Hutcheon suggests,

long is't ago, Jack, since thou sawest thine own knee?" (*IH4* 2.5.301), and who is ridiculed for his "three fingers in the ribs" (*IH4* 4.2. 66-67) — serves to stigmatize and penalize by levelling the subject to the level of the bodily and physical.

By particularizing the image of Falstaff so that it is readily identifiable with the Prime Minister, caricaturists adapt the emblematic figure to the political struggle against Macdonald. The implicit argument is that Macdonald is Falstaff—corrupt, a drunkard, lecherous and ill-suited to lead— "a predatory intruder from a more sophisticated world, a visitor who means to ingratiate himself and then bleed the environment that gives him temporary shelter" (Barton 132). The Macdonald-Falstaff identification took hold to the extent that Macdonald is almost always shown as requiring an immediate gratification of physical desires and, like Falstaff, wastefully and riotously living, as best exemplified by his rotund figure (*2H4*, 1.2.140-141).

In *Sir John Falstaff Looking for a Successor* (1890), the image of Falstaff alone with his monstrous girth (and incidentally the only figure facing the reader) lures the reader into the caricature and then the political point is made in the caption: "If I be not ashamed of my soldiers I am a soused gurnet" (quoting *IH4* 4.2.11). In this case, the inscription is more revealing than the illustration. The Shakespearean caption elaborates the image by implying that the "soldiers" to the left of the image (Tupper, Chapleau, Meredith, Langevin, and Thompson) are the masterless men enumerated in the middle of Falstaff's speech to Bardolph—men who represent Falstaff's abuse of authority and disrespect for his office:

If I be not ashamed of my soldiers, I am a soused gurnet. I have misused the King's

press damnably. I have got in exchange of one hundred and fifty soldiers three hundred and odd pounds. I pressed me none but good householders, yeomen's sons, enquire me out contracted bachelors, such as had been asked twice on the banns, such a commodity of warm slaves as had as lief hear the devil as a drum, such as fear the report of a caliver worse than a struck fowl or a hurt wild duck. I pressed me none but such toasts and butter, with hearts in their bellies no bigger than pins' heads, and they have brought out their services; and now my whole charge consists of ensigns, corporals, lieutenants, gentlemen of companies—slaves as ragged as Lazarus in the painted cloth, where the glutton's dogs licked his sores—and such as indeed were never soldiers but discarded unjust servingmen, younger sons to younger brothers, revolted tapsters, and ostlers trade-fallen, the cankers of a calm world (...)

(*IH4* 4.2.11-27)



11. J. W. Bengough, *Sir John Falstaff Looking for a Successor* (1890)

These are not “the good lads in Eastcheap,” who Prince Harry says he shall command “when [he] is King of England” (2.5.12-13); rather, this group of men, the possible

successors to “Sir John,” form a group widely considered anathema to social order and discipline, but are nonetheless pressed into the maintenance of the established order of the Conservative Party.

It is testimony to Shakespeare’s efficacy as a political weapon that the force of the allusion is often what is left unsaid. The reader is meant to remember her initial ambivalence—even distaste—for Hal’s rejection of Falstaff and his tavern life, but also to remember the play’s eventual outcome: the formation of a charismatic leader who guides the country. The caricature asks readers to see the pattern of history essentially repeating itself. Thus, although *1 Henry IV* and *2 Henry IV* are iconographically conflated for the purposes of many caricatures, readers are clearly meant to think of the Earl of Warwick’s assurance to the King that Prince Harry will reject his prodigal ways:

The Prince will in the perfectness of time
 Cast off his followers, and their memory
 Shall as a pattern or measure live
 By which grace must mete the lives of other,
 Timing past evils to advantages.

(*2H4* 4.3.74-78)

Representing Macdonald as Falstaff means that the examples have to be taken out of dramatic context, that the conflict of values between the life of a prince and the life of a prodigal (for instance, Falstaff’s cynical-wise advice to Prince Harry) must be disregarded. Since, ultimately, Falstaff does not undermine the order of the kingdom, this series of cartoons suggests that Canadians could, like Prince Harry, “cast off” Falstaff and “his followers,” and the Dominion would remain firm. The strongly implied similarities between the corrupt society (as represented in Shakespeare) and the equally

corrupt and unstable modern one are not lost on the reader, who can recognize the new possibilities, and who may likewise desire the ordered, coherent world vision at least suggested at the end of *1 Henry 4*. The implicit acknowledgement that the Dominion will survive (even with the influence of Falstaff/Macdonald)—a key idea for nineteenth-century Canadians (still regarded as possessing only an embryonic culture and, generally, as being politically vulnerable)—demonstrates the cultural stability shown by the use of Shakespeare. While Bengough acknowledges the textual and cultural authority of Shakespeare for the nascent Canadian culture, he challenges his contemporaries to understand the subversive potential of the Shakespearean reference and understand that Macdonald, just like Falstaff, could be set aside—that is, defeated.

Bengough's graphic satire takes critical positions on most political issues, and in this sense his cartoons articulate complex uses of Shakespeare. For Bengough, as well as for the many others of his class and gender, the new national identity of Canada was clearly tied to a Protestant ethos of reform and improvement; for, as Fraser Sutherland submits, "even humour [has] its moral applications" in Victorian Canada (Sutherland 16). Bengough articulates the politics and religious beliefs of many educated Central Canadians, and expresses an uneasy blend of nineteenth-century conservative radicalism and populism: a mistrust of foreigners, the Catholic faith, Puritanical Americans, nostalgia for a "simpler" existence devoid of alcohol, a resentment of the pragmatic, yet self-aggrandizing posture of politicians, but a paradoxical valuing of the civil service. For example, although he traditionally used Falstaff to signify Sir John A. Macdonald, as Bengough gained increasing prominence as a social reformer, his cartoons began to take

on a propagandistic air especially aimed at liquor traffic. Toward the 1890s, Bengough's cartoons on issues of social reform gained a measure of acknowledgement and respect. Contemporaries praised the utility of his didactic drawings, with the editor of the *Canadian Methodist Magazine* noting in 1902 that Bengough "uses his crayon as St. George used his spear—to transfix the dragon Vice" (cited in Kutcher vi).



12. J. W. Bengough, *Falstaff Dismissed* (1888).

Bengough employs the particular image of Falstaff because it best proves his point to the widest possible audience. Given that Falstaff was already made current as a symbol of the inefficacy and corruption of the government, his image could successfully be transformed into a condemnation of vices and follies, and used against the corruption

of secular and religious authorities. Of course, there were real social problems in nineteenth-century Canada which were grounds for anxiety on the part of social commentators. At the same time, in this anxiety is the corresponding fear of the uncontrollable, which the employment of Shakespeare sought in some way to mediate. Thus, in a cartoon such as *Falstaff Dismissed* (1888), the context becomes occasional as well as historical, making a political statement using Shakespeare that, at the same time, contends that Shakespeare could be used to prompt a course of action.

Bengough intimates that rejecting Falstaff and the vice of drinking will lead to a better society. Similarly, the implication of the political Falstaff cartoons is that the Canadian population should mimic Hal and reject the ways of Falstaff (John A. Macdonald and the Tories) in favour of “Shakespearean” nobility (Mackenzie and the Liberal Party). Further evidence that Shakespeare was used as a partisan political weapon against Macdonald may be gleaned from *Eating the Leek: or, ‘Henry V.’ as Lately Played in the Commons*, published in *Grip* (8 April 1876). The cartoon describes Alexander Mackenzie’s final retort to charges of nepotism in the awarding of contracts for the Canadian Pacific Railway. The caricaturist obviously feels that the reference to Shakespeare holds weight as an authorizing technique and as a means of confirming the truth of Mackenzie’s statements. Not only does Bengough graphically show the eating of the leek, he also provides a parodic abstract of the cartoon, entitled “Eating the Leek!”

(2):

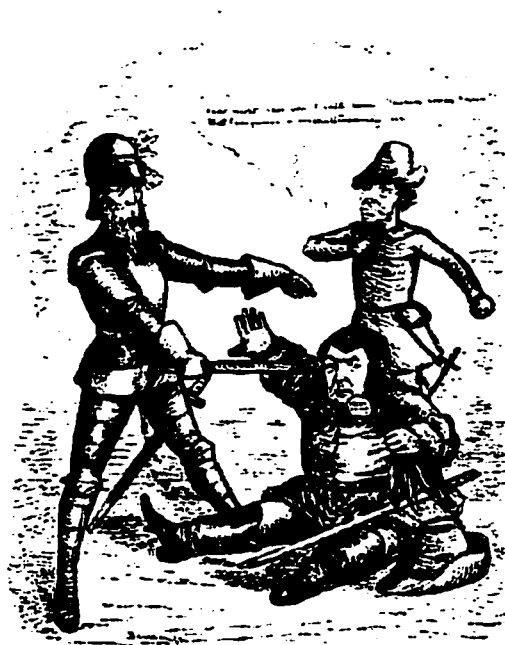
When swaggering *Ancient Pistol*,
 At the theatre last week,
 Was brought down on his haunches

And forced to eat the leek,
 The audience roared with laughter 5
 And cheered with might and main,
 But the unobliging actors
 Didn't play it o'er again.

However, in the Commons,
 Since then, there's haply been 10
 (In answer to the encore)
 A re-acting of the scene.

The *Dramatis Personae*
 You'll find in this week's plate.
 And for those who don't read Shakespeare 15
 GRIP would just elucidate:

No more will *Pistol* TUPPER
 Of *steel Rail* stenchies speak.
 For MAC'S stuffed club has felled him 20
 And he's had to eat the leek!



EATING THE LEEK;
 OR - HENRY V. AS LATELY PLAYED IN THE COMMONS
 (LITHO BY H. B. WOODS - 1876)

13. J. W. Bengough, *Eating the Leek; Or, "Henry V." As Lately Played in the Commons* (1876)

Contrary to what Bengough intended, for modern readers the use of the *Henriad* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* suggests something further, something which Bengough may not have intended or desired. The use of the *Henriad* also implies an awareness of the fact that, as in *Henry V*, what makes a leader effective does not necessarily make him morally appealing. Like Hal, as a “comic individualist” Falstaff-Macdonald is “healthily sceptical of the pretensions and promises of politicians” (Barton 133), and is unlike the idealistic Bengough, who sought moral improvement at most turns. By concentrating the force of the satirical attack on Falstaff, Bengough deflects attention away from the precise issue of moral leadership and the broader belief in the political system, and instead focuses his attention on individuals hampering the effective governance of the country. Raymond Morris, for one, claims that, in democratic regimes, cartoonists primarily “keep office holders honest, while interpreting the distant, complex, and unfamiliar in terms of the nearby, simple, and familiar” (Morris *Carnivalization* 130). Bengough and many of the anonymous satirists of the comic periodicals make use of Shakespeare with a specific, ideologically-motivated agenda in mind—one slanted to challenge the power of (Conservative) political figures through Shakespeare.

Allusions to the conduct of the ruling elite were especially resonant at times when questions of political patronage and nepotism occupied the political arena. Bengough’s *Grip*, while it professed impartiality and mocked Grit leaders as well as Tory, clearly had Liberal party sympathies: both Bengough and his sometime contributor and socialist pioneer T. Phillips Thompson (the grandfather of Pierre Berton), critiqued the excesses

of capitalism and expansion under Tory rule and demanded reform (see Cumming, especially chapter 2). Bengough, in a 1909 series for *The Westminster* called “Recollections of A Cartoonist,” himself came to the same conclusion:

“Though the paper was ostensibly independent in politics, and though I made a real effort to live up to this profession, it is possible—indeed, I suppose that it is inevitable,—that some bias in favor [sic] of Liberal principles must have been manifest, because all my own personal instincts were then, as they still are, in a democratic direction. I was not blind to the shortcomings of the Liberal party, however, and took a special pleasure in lampooning Liberals if they gave me a chance. But honestly, I do not think they gave me nearly so many openings as the Conservatives. The reason may possibly have been that the Tories were usually in office in the Dominion, and therefore were the people who were “doing things” open to criticism” (“Recollections of a Cartoonist”, part three, *The Westminster*, April 1909, p. 250).

Thus, as with the caricature reproduced at right, Bengough was fond of citing Shakespeare —throughout all eighteen years of his editorship—to authorize the immanent demise of the Conservative Party, and, especially, its leader, John A. Macdonald. The very act of mocking Tories —through Shakespeare—was meant to draw attention to their fraudulent status as leaders of the country— whether or not they currently held power.



OF COMFORT NO MAN SPEAK
GUESS TALK OF GRAVES, OF WORMS, AND EPITAPHS. —SHAKESPEARE

14. J. W. Bengough, Untitled, (1873)

As Eating the Leek; Or, "Henry V." As Lately Played in the Commons (1876)

illustrates, attacks on Macdonald were often coupled with attempts to enhance his opponents; ironically, Shakespeare was used both to ridicule and reinforce. *Rehearsing for the 23rd Instant* (1873), Grip's first Shakespearean cartoon, continues the trend of earlier comic periodicals of using Shakespeare's works ironically to undercut figures in power, while simultaneously elevating other figures through the positive association of Shakespeare. More than any other, this cartoon has been reprinted as a kind of visual sidebar to the historical discussion, precisely because it illustrates and attacks one of the most significant governmental policies of the later nineteenth-century: the Pacific Railroad, and the resulting Pacific Scandal.



15. J. W. Bengough, *Rehearsing for the 23rd Instant*, (1873).

After having been elected in 1872, John A. Macdonald was accused by the Liberal Opposition, led by Alexander Mackenzie, of patronage and bribery because a \$300,000 campaign contribution had been made by Sir Hugh Allan, head of a railway syndicate anxious to build the Pacific Line, to the Conservative Party. The uncharacteristically obstinate strength showed by “Hamlet” (Alexander MacKenzie) is a striking reminder of the contrast between the ideal represented in Shakespeare and the arbitrary power arguably shown by the Tories. Bengough later recalls that “the whole country was at once aflame with interest and excitement and an absorbing theme adapted to keep *Grip* going for many issues had thus been supplied at the right moment (...) The circulation increased rapidly and the permanent success of the publication was ensured” (cited in Desbarats and Mosher 46).²⁵ Bengough refers to the Pacific Scandal, but his comment about finding a theme to keep his journal going is equally applicable to the other source of the cartoon: Shakespeare. Indeed, as N. Merrill Distad suggests, “Bengough’s caricatures of Macdonald [most often in Shakespearean character] not only helped the circulation figures of *Grip* burgeon, they were a staple in the magazine until Macdonald’s death in office in 1891” (Distad 89). For it is in Bengough’s periodical especially, although not exclusively, that Shakespeare became politically educative and thus potentially subversive: in employing Shakespeare, visual satirists were able simultaneously to critique and mock the present political situation while seemingly legitimating Canada’s British heritage. The increasing centrality of Shakespearean allusions in nineteenth-century caricature provides strong evidence for a rise in the cultural status of Shakespeare and for evidence of increasing ties to Great Britain; yet, as the previous

chapters demonstrate, the glorification of Shakespeare attended his manipulation as a satirical tool.

“Satire is the genre which is most frequently invoked to categorize cartoons,” notes Raymond Morris, “because they share common features [such as] irony for the purposes of ridicule; both have a clearly identifiable target whose nakedness is exposed; and both aim to alter the conduct of their targets” (Morris *The Jester’s Mask* 50). For these engravings using Shakespeare to be rhetorically successful as satire, then, readers must also accept or at least recognize two related premises: that Shakespeare is appropriate to exploit for the purposes of political and social education; and that Shakespeare could serve as a moral arbiter and sympathetic witness of human nature. The belief that human nature is uniform throughout the ages and is best articulated by Shakespeare is an idea that was current in Canadian nineteenth-century thought. Thomas D’Arcy McGee, for instance, writes that “the wonderful knowledge of human nature which [Shakespeare’s works] display, are certain always to awaken human curiosity, to excite study and suggest criticism” (McGee “Political Morality” 42). Goldwin Smith, the nineteenth-century Canadian critic and writer—and later “continentalist”—holds that “the appeal of art lies in its ability to tap the shared universals of human experience [following] the sublime examples of Shakespeare and Scott” (cited in Gerson 74). The idea that Shakespeare’s dramas could be read or seen “with infinite instruction and delight” because Shakespeare “saw through mankind; and his vision has penetrated both through time and through space” permits Shakespearean characters to be used as exempla with whom contemporaries can be compared. This rhetoric also implies that

the present can become knowable, even foreseeable, when we apply lessons from the past (McGee “The Political Morality of Shakespeare’s Plays” 42). The idea that Shakespearean material was ripe for employment in social discourse is articulated through appropriations and parody, and also through caricature; in practice, the belief that Shakespeare defined human nature and universal values underlies the premise that Shakespeare could define the moral conscience of the readers. Shakespeare, therefore, is used throughout the nineteenth century to “catch the conscience” of society, often in the interests of an opposing agenda by “[recasting] the works of the past (...) in a modern work [with the resulting] satirical ridicule of contemporary customs or practices” (Hutcheon 11), much the same way that the sub-plots in Shakespearean drama work.²⁶

Interestingly, Raymond Morris, in his *The Jester's Mask: Canadian Editorial Cartoons about Dominant and Minority Groups, 1960-1979*, proposes that “the cartoonists who re-present [political life] as a set of comical ‘scenes’ use a cluster of conventions similar to that of the dramatist” (34). Using the “bonanza” that is Macdonald’s physiognomy,²⁷ Bengough in fact does portray “scenes” in his caricature *The Coming Attraction!* (1879): depicting Macdonald as a timid Hamlet confronting the ghost of a campaign promise to amend the National Policy; as an unsure Macbeth, dressed in a tartan kilt, with Alexander Mackenzie as Lady Macbeth offering to assume control of the situation (“Infirm of purpose! Give me the daggers!”); as a reclining Richard III in crown and mail, dismissing “courtiers” out of hand in order to appoint his own supporters, or favourites; as Wolsey in *Henry VIII*, looking after his own self-aggrandizement; and, lastly, as Iago, the epitome of a figure of poor counsel and

maliciousness, giving money to British Columbia in return for favours given. This cartoon, which is also evidence of the extent of knowledge about Shakespeare in nineteenth-century Canada, shows the variety of Shakespearean characters which were deemed appropriate allusive material within a Canadian context. Thus, when MacDonald is pictured in *The Coming Attraction!* as indecisive (Hamlet, Macbeth), arbitrary (Richard III) and a figure of suspect honesty (Wolsey, Iago), the reader is clearly meant to understand that each “scene” represented a version of the overreaching individual doomed to fall, and whose infamous life and end paralleled and predicted Macdonald’s.



16. J. W. Bengough, *The Coming Attraction* (1879).

As with many of Bengough's cartoons, an additional point is made in the background of the cartoon, reinforcing his argument by means of scattered secondary references. Hence, Bengough adds a "theatrical" reference in the lower left corner, in keeping with the *tableau* advertisement: "Owing to the expense of this engagement, prices will be raised all over this country." Sharing with Bengough common assumptions not only about Shakespeare but also about the theatre, a contemporary reader could justifiably suspect a reference to both the rising cost of attending the theatre and, more notably, to the increased taxation burden thought to be coming as a result of the Macdonald government's policies— policies obviously held by *Grip* to be poorly-reasoned and problematic for the nation. As *The Coming Attraction!* makes clear, Shakespeare's preeminence in the social discourse of Canada has much to do with his plays in performance, since the stage remained the main avenue for promoting Shakespeare within nineteenth century Canadian society (cf. "When swaggering *Ancient Pistol*, At the theatre last week"). For instance, the occasion of the print *A Political Midsummer Night's Dream* (1875) was a production of Shakespeare's play at Mrs. Morrison's Grand Opera House. *Grip*'s description of the cartoon clearly relates Shakespeare to the local Canadian context:

In common with the rest of Toronto, GRIP has received considerable delight from the representation of one of SHAKESPEARE'S most delightful plays at Mrs. MORRISON'S Grand Opera House (...) When GRIP went there he saw a large audience, who mostly looked pleased and laughed at the right things. (...) In the name of the Toronto public, at least, the intelligent portion thereof, he expresses his thanks to Mr.[sic?] Morrison for having produced the "Dream" in a manner only equalled by himself in the following sketch" (*Grip*, vol. 4, no. 6, 2 January 1875, p. 2).



17. J. W. Bengough, *A Political Midsummer Night's Dream* (1875)

In addition, although “GRIP congratulates Mr. WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE on having only inserted one political allusion in this drama,” the play serves as a source of political criticism (2).

A Political Midsummer Night's Dream invokes Shakespeare in the title and playfully uses the various subplots of the comedy to comment on Toronto's 1875 Mayoralty contest and the ongoing question of provincial representation. Significantly, the play, *A Political Midsummer Night's Dream*, is performed by incompetent

players—the “rude Mechanicals” are all local political figures—thereby making a mockery of the performance of most politicians of the time. “The Candidates” explicitly are advised, per Bottom, “dear actors, eat no onions nor garlic, for we are to utter sweet breath” (4.2. 42–43). With about as much finesse as the Shakespearean original, Wall separates Pyramus (Canada First, led by Goldwin Smith) and Thisby (apparently Oliver Mowat, representing the Independents). Moonshine, the euphemism for illegal alcohol, is held up for light, emblematising the prolonged prohibition battle. In the middle of the cartoon, Bottom announces “I am such a tender ass” while sitting among the “Political Fairies,” two of whom are Alexander Mackenzie (upper left) and Oliver Mowat (lower right).

Three weeks later, *Grip* published another complimentary cartoon also drawn from Shakespeare’s *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, titled, *Shakespeare in the City Elections* (1875). Like its immediate Shakespearean predecessor, this caricature parodies the well-known scene in which Bottom is transformed into an ass by Puck. In this case, however, “[t]he Tory Puck dispelling the dream of the Grit Bottom,” has placed Bottom in a “flowery bed of Grit confidence,” and removed the “transformed scalp”(4.1.64) giving him the majority of votes in Toronto. There is only one comment included in the cartoon, by Bottom, a distortion of Titania’s line: “Methought I had...” (4.1.77). The unspoken next lines of the quotation, the dialogue between Titania and Oberon, thus has intriguing possibilities for the Canadian situation:

Titania. My Oberon, what visions I have seen!
Methought I was enamor’d of an ass.
Oberon. There lies your love.

Titania. How came these things to pass?
O, how mine eyes do loathe his visage now!

Titania—the implied citizenry of Toronto—is represented at first in love with an ass whose sight she ultimately loathes: an appropriate comment on the previous cartoons' desire to elicit a Conservative reaction against the Liberal government.



18. J. W. Bengough, *Shakespeare in the City Elections* (1875)

Tellingly, in both of these *A Midsummer Night's Dream* caricatures, the caricaturist has drawn on the two senses of dream developed in the play: wish fulfillment and futile fantasy. What once was anticipated (control of Toronto) becomes, in the end,

just another construct of Puck's to be removed at the will of Oberon as the vagaries of Fortune's wheel. In the end, disorder is passed off as dream, and like the fairies, disorder is dismissed in Puck's epilogue:

If we shadows have offended,
Think but this, and all is mended,
That you have but slumb' red here
While these visions did appear.
And this weak and idle theme,
No more yielding but a dream.

(*MND*, 5.1.423-427).

Bengough returns to mocking allusions drawn from Shakespearean comedies like *A Midsummer Night's Dream* on a number of occasions: each new instance of Macdonald, for instance, being seen drunk in public provided him with the chance to return to associations which pictured Macdonald as unable to perform his office in the dignified ("Shakespearean") manner expected. Claims to natural valour—or, rather, the lack of natural valour, and, correspondingly, the inability to make the proper moral decision—recall the lion image central to the *Henriad*. Like Falstaff, who reveals his cowardly behaviour while suggesting the (il)legitimacy of the current King and heir, by saying:

Why, thou knowest I am as valiant as Hercules; but beware instinct. The lion will not touch the true prince — instinct is a great matter. I was now a coward on instinct. I shall think the better of myself and thee during my life — I for a valiant lion, and thou for a true prince,

(*1H4* 2.5.248-253)

Macdonald is figured as "not a real lion."

**You ladies, you, whose gentle hearts do fear . . .
 When lion rough in wildest rage doth roar, (at picnics, etc.)
 Then know that I, one 'John the Trickster' am
 A lion's fell nor else no lion's dam.**

If, as Kitchin suggests, *Pyramus and Thisbe* is meant as a parody of an actual play (63), then what we have is a parody of a parody of a Shakespeare play. Macdonald, as Snug, is thus an intentional footnote to a parody of Shakespeare.

Scene from the (Farmer's) 'Midsummer Night's Dream' (1879), however, exhibits that all disorder cannot simply be passed off as a dream or as the theatrical stylings of amateur players. This cartoon is coupled with another attack on Macdonald's position as Prime Minister, this time for neglecting to protect farmers from competition by employing the same tariffs as for manufacturers. But the quotation accompanying the engraving implies more than just a failure to adequately protect the Canadian market from cheap American grain. The quotation, spoken by Demetrius, is: "I love thee not; therefore pursue me not! * * * I'll run from thee, and hide me in the brakes, and leave thee to the mercy of wild beasts." The quotation follows the original in Act 2, Scene 1 exactly, omitting thirty-eight lines between Demetrius's lines. Tellingly, the caricaturist has noted his adaptation: the lines are clearly chosen to draw attention to this section of the play and to heighten the applicability of the Shakespearean allusion. What the caricaturist has omitted, but would almost certainly be in the minds of readers, is Helena's desperate attempts to have Demetrius stay with her. She does not accept his outright rejection ("Hence, get thee gone, and follow me no more"), and pines after him, calling herself a "spaniel," begging to be used "but as your spaniel; spurn me, strike me,/"

Neglect me, lose me; only give me leave, /Unworthy as I am, to follow you” (2.1. 202-207). Miss Agriculture’s desperation, then, is of the pitiable variety; she is left alone in the woods: in the background four wolves hover over a carcass and a huge lion crouches in the right of the image.



15. J. W. Bengough, *Scene from the (Farmer's) 'Midsummer Night's Dream'* (1879)

Although Shakespeare’s histories and comedies formed the most obvious and sustained source for political comment, other popular plays also served as allusive material. *Hamlet* is the source of a corresponding number of caricatures, perhaps expectedly when one recalls the ubiquity of references to *Hamlet* in the parodic

appropriations. After *Rehearsing for the 23rd Instant*, Bengough returns to *Hamlet* with *The Cloud Above the Local Horizon*, a cartoon of Hamlet and Polonius's exchange in Act

3, Scene 2 of the play:

Polonius. My lord, the Queen would speak with you,
and presently.

Hamlet. Do you see yonder cloud that's almost in
shape of a camel?

Pol. By th'mass and 'tis, like a camel indeed.

Ham. Or like a whale.

Pol. Very like a whale.



THE CLOUD ABOVE THE LOCAL HORIZON.

AS SEEN BY "HAMLET" MACDOUGALL-CAMERON.

MOWAT: "YES, IT'S VERY LIKE A WHALE!"

21. J. W. Bengough, *The Cloud Above the Local Horizon* (1875)

"Hamlet," the two-headed MacDougall-Cameron Opposition, and Polonius, the bumbling courtier Oliver Mowat (the Premier of Ontario at the time), both watch the sun rise on the age of reform. Just as Hamlet has Polonius confirm his statements ("It is back'd like a weasel"), so, too, does the cartoon tender that Mowat will mimic the suggestions

offered by “Hamlet” (“Conservative Ontario Reaction, Defeat of the Mowat Administration, Accession to Power of the MacDougall-Cameron Alliance”).

The Cloud Above the Local Horizon is the exception, however, because most caricatures employing *Hamlet* have Hamlet bear the weight of the satirical attack. Interestingly, only *The Cloud Above the Local Horizon* ridicules Polonius as pedantic figure. In other instances, Hamlet is the figure of focus and although he is generally not mocked, his image is deployed most often as a method by which to instigate a course of action. The appropriation of Hamlet in caricatures is indicative of a desire on the part of nineteenth-century comic commentators to draw attention to an injustice or inequity. For instance, Bengough’s *A Scene from “Hamlet”* has Miss Ontario playing the role of Gertrude (called the Queen), Mr. Mowat as Hamlet, and Mr. Blake as the Ghost. Here, federal and provincial politics are one, with the Ghost of federal politics (Blake) appearing to prompt the course of provincial action. Explicitly interrogating the choice made by Miss Ontario, the cartoon implicitly suggests a knowing Gertrude, albeit one who has made a grievous error.



22. J. W. Bengough, *A Scene from Hamlet* (1879)

Representative of the lack of choice in late nineteenth-century Canadian politics, Bengough's cartoon encapsulates the partisan divisions of the dailies, a division most apparent in the treatment of several key issues, including the treatment of the aboriginal population in Canada, over the course of the later nineteenth century. Exemplary of Shakespeare's use as a moral touchstone is *A Scene From Ham (not) Let* (1886). Once more, Macdonald as Hamlet is the focus of the cartoon. Hamlet is recoiling in terror from the Ghost. The Ghost (of the Editor of the *Mail*) accuses:

But that I am forbid to tell the secrets in the *Daily Mail*, I could a tale unfold of Indian wrongs, whose lightest word would harrow up thy soul; of crimes by white men—servants of thine own—that in their devilish blackness do eclipse the horrors of *Pall Mall*! *** But this eternal blazon must not be to Governmental ears!

—*Shakespeare (adapted)*

The suggestive uses of Shakespeare as a symbolic icon in these graphic examples bears witness to the idea that Shakespeare is continually reinterpreted in Canadian history.

Although the partisan and highly occasional nature of many of these Shakespearean graphic satires during the later nineteenth



A SCENE FROM HAM (NOT) LET.
I am forbid to tell the secrets in the *Daily Mail*, I could a tale unfold of Indian wrongs, whose lightest word would harrow up thy soul—these in their devilish blackness do eclipse the horrors of *Pall Mall*. But this et

century makes them unfamiliar today, their contribution cannot be overlooked if we are to understand and appreciate the eclectic nature of Shakespearean rhetoric in Canada. Turning

Shakespearean plays to political account through graphic satire was one way for Canadians to naturalize Shakespeare and be able to celebrate Shakespeare as a familiar Canadian genius. Visual satire, in the form of political cartoons, and the concomitant written parodic adaptations of the following chapter, suggest a broader trend of using Shakespeare's subversive comic potential within Canadian public discourse. To read these cartoons as texts, then, is not simply to add to the resources of cultural studies and Shakespearean trivia, but to explore the network of Shakespearean terms and allusions that shaped politics, individuals, as well as social and cultural discourses in nineteenth-century Canada.



24. J. W. Bengough, *I'll Rant as Well as Thou* (1891)

Conclusion

“Pointedly Aimed at this Canada of Ours”

Shakespeare as Social Text

Among the many previously unexamined satires castigating the behaviour of Sir John A. Macdonald, Canada’s first Prime Minister and the dominant political figure of the early Confederation period, one of the less literary describes him as, “But cool and unembarrassed quite, and plucky as old “Pam,” | Sir John awaits the coming strife,— and doesn’t care a d—n”.²⁷ When Sir John A. Macdonald died in 1891, a little piece of Shakespeare in Canada died as well. For so long, the Prime Minister had been envisioned as a Shakespearean figure: as Falstaff, as Pistol, as Macbeth, Wolsey, Iago, King Richard III, Bottom, Snug. It is significant, then, that Shakespeare was once again called on at the hour of Macdonald’s death to both celebrate his life and qualify the comments of his political foes. *Grip*, characteristically, tempered comments about the late Prime Minister with Shakespearean quotation, maintaining Shakespeare in the Canadian political sphere: “Shakespeare has said ‘the evil that men do lives after them,’ and this is strikingly true in such a case as that of Sir John A. Macdonald, in which the ‘evil’ happens to be in living laws upon the statute book” (*Grip*, 13 June 1891, vol. 36, no. 25, p. 390). *Punch*, the British predecessor and competitor of *Grip*, also calls on Shakespeare in its memorial to “Old To-Morrow”:

“Punch” sympathizes with Canadian sorrow
For him known lovingly as “Old To-Morrow.”
Hail to “the Chieftain!” He lies mute to-day
But Fame still speaks for him, and shall for aye.
“To-morrow—and to-morrow!” Shakespeare sighs.
So runs the round of time! Man lives and dies.

But death comes not with mere surcease of breath
 To such as him. "The road to dusty death"
 Not "all his yesterdays" have lighted. Nay!
 Canada's "Old To-morrow" lives to-day
 In unforgetting hearts, and nothing fears
 The long to-morrow of the coming years.
 (From *Punch*, reprinted in *Grip*, vol. 37, no. 2, 11 July 1891, p. 24)

Two posthumous comments about Sir John A. Macdonald: two different views of Shakespeare in nineteenth-century Canada. From the critical to the benevolent, Shakespeare, indeed, seems "pointedly aimed at this Canada of ours" (*Grip*, vol. 29, no. 7, 13 August 1887, pp. 4-5).

Like Lawrence Levine, "I was surprised, and fascinated by the notion that [Shakespeare's] plays might have been popular culture in the nineteenth century" (Levine 4). My examination of the early appropriation and humorous transformation of the British cultural apparatus exemplified by Shakespeare suggests that nineteenth-century Canadians were trying, at least, to move beyond facile imitation and inferior colonial status. Carole Gerson would have us believe that "the formidable task facing early Canadian authors [was] to enter the 'tradition of Shakespeare and Milton'" (Gerson 39)—but, as the comic writers in *Grip* and elsewhere demonstrate, the way around such an inferiority complex in the face of the longer, more sustained British tradition was to use this tradition in a humorous and politicized context. "Rather than having to make allowances for poor imitations written in a culturally underdeveloped colony" (Kuester 149), Shakespeare is made to fit the parodic agenda of the comic press.

This thesis has only touched on some of the more interesting, largely humorous,

appropriations of Shakespeare in nineteenth century Canada; in much the same vein, it would be possible to examine newspapers, especially for their editorial commentary and cartoons. Sometimes, the caricaturists of the comic press moved on to newspapers. For example, John Wilson Bengough, the most prolific of the Canadian caricaturists (and the one who most frequently drew on Shakespearean references), after severing his connection with *Grip*, moved to *The Montreal Star* and served as their cartoonist until his death in 1923 (Desbarats and Mosher 51). Shakespeare also figured in other periodicals: in November 1882, for example, an anonymous parody of Shakespeare features in *Acta Victoriana*” (Plant 329).

Beyond the scope of the present study, one could further examine the attempt to use Shakespeare as a form of literary self-authorization by early Canadian novelists. For example, Charles Heavyside’s *The Advocate* (1865) offers an early Canadian example of Shakespearean dialogue imported into a Canadian setting. Rarely studied—the most recent “article” is a reproduction of his portrait from *Canadian Illustrated News* (Campbell)—Heavyside’s work is conducive to an intertextual reading which would more fully “[situate] the locus of textual meaning within the history of discourse itself [and articulate the] prior discourse [through which] any text derives meaning and significance” (Hutcheon 1989 7). The opening paragraph gives an indication of the nature of the intertextual “borrowings” and their possibility for a critical reading:

On a bright day during the month of September, of the year 1800, two persons were in earnest conversation in a lawyer’s office in the city of Montreal. One of them was the most distinguished advocate of that place; a man of some three score years, and of a commanding yet wild and singular aspect. His companion was a well-dressed female of middle age, and comely, though mournful countenance. Some disagreeable topic seemed

to have just ruffled both of their tempers, for her face was moist with tears, and darkened with an expression of disappointment. His own was slightly marked with annoyance, and, suddenly ceasing to arrange some folded law papers that he held in his hands, and had gathered up from the table at which he was standing, he exclaimed in tones of mingled surprise and asperity: "Still at the old song! still harping, harping, harping! Peace, no more of it. Heaven would be insufferable with but one hymn, hell thrice horrible with but one howl, earth uninhabitable with but one evil. Oh, variety, what a charm hast thou!" (Heavysege 3-4).

Heavysege's work is a good example of dialogue (to borrow Bakhtin's idea) between Shakespearean texts and Canadian contexts, between British antecedent and postcolonial manifestation. Some recent critics hold that as "[a] recent immigrant awed by the great tradition of English literature, Heavysege overcompensated for his dislocation in Canada by modelling his novel on the greatest writer of all [Shakespeare]" (Gerson 39-40) and that he was "striving hard for excellence in style which [he] knew was above [him]" (Klinck 161-2).

As Shakespeare broadly serves as a moral touchstone, underpinning societal views on authority, so his *The Tempest* (which Heavysege draws on here) serves as a cultural touchstone for (post-) colonialist responses to Shakespeare. Recent post-colonial theorists, as well as Shakespeare scholars more generally, suggest that *The Tempest*, especially, fits neatly into post-colonial discourses of hybridity and appropriation (see Loomba and Orkin, Walder, Bryden, Childs). Heavysege's Canadian Caliban, who "spent most of his time in idleness and debauchery; by night frequenting the abodes of vice and infamy, and by day, haunting the doors and corridors of the court-house, in the latter always instinctively seeking to avoid a rencontre with his sullen and offended parent," (Heavysege 11) invites more extended treatment.

Charles Heavysege is one of a handful of nineteenth-century male writers to use the

heritage of Shakespeare within the Canadian milieu. In addition to *The Advocate*, Heavysage's most famous work, *Saul and Selected Poems*, draws on Shakespearean antecedents, if not a Shakespearean theme. Described in Carl F. Klinck's standard survey history, *Literary History of Canada: Canadian Literature in English*, as a "Shakespeare-like closet drama of 135 scenes based on the biblical account of King Saul" (Klinck in Klinck 163), *Saul and Selected Poems* was recognized in the nineteenth century in a review for the *North British Review* as having "like most of Shakespeare's plays ... the appearance of being strangely chaotic" (cited in Djwa, intro to *Saul* xi). Similarly, John Hunter-Duvar, "a student of Renaissance history and literature and a collector of rare books (...), composed closet dramas" (Cogswell in Klinck 128). In one of only two attempts published, *De Roberval*, Hunter-Duvar "tried to present the picture of a strong man marred by pride, to parade his details of Renaissance life in Europe, and to pay a graceful tribute to Sir John A. Macdonald, to whom the book in which the play appears is dedicated" (Cogswell in Klinck 128-9). Given that Macdonald was often mocked in Shakespearean terms (as Falstaff especially), a sympathetic Shakespearean-influenced treatment is appealing, if only as a counter to the strength of Bengough's representation.

Two other male writers working in the 1870s deserve special mention. Daniel Wilson, a prominent member of Toronto's literary and cultural scene, a scholar noted for his work on Scottish archeology, and later President of the University of Toronto, published *Caliban, the Missing Link*, a book which linked ethnography and Shakespeare in what Klinck calls "poetic anthropology" (Klinck in Klinck 168). Ostensibly offering a "commentary on 'the Tempest' and 'Midsummer night's dream'[sic]" (Wilson [1]), *Caliban, the Missing Link*

was received, at the time, as a description of “imaginative evidence for evolution”:

In *Caliban*, Shakespeare had anticipated the missing link in the Darwinian evolutionary chain: ‘The not wholly irrational brute, the animal approximating in form and attributes as nearly to man as the lower animal may be supposed to do while still remaining a brute, has actually been conceived for us ... in one of the most original creations of the Shakespearean drama’ (cited in Griffiths 44–45).

Today, Wilson’s social Darwinist analogy leaves something to be desired, but it is a useful indicator of how Shakespeare could also be bound up with contemporary discourses on race, as well as showing the “looser processes of association in which prejudice and simplification distort popular perceptions” (Griffiths 45). Less problematically, James DeMille, a writer who has recently been subject to a measure of critical commentary (chiefly for his *A Strange Manuscript Found in A Copper Cylinder*) (see the special issue of *Canadian Literature* 145 [Summer 1995]; Monk, Gerson 1995, Kilgour) and who had a reputation as “a brilliant and ambitious scholar” (Cogswell in Klinck 126), wrote at least two books drawing on Shakespeare for inspiration and authority. His *The Elements of Rhetoric* (1873) employs Shakespearean models as guides to effective speech and persuasive rhetoric and his *A Comedy of Terrors* uses Shakespeare — not the least for the title — within the conventions of “popular melodramatic novels” (Cogswell in Klinck 126).

Shakespeare is also called upon, in a sense, for his lack of creative genius. When John MacPherson LeMoine was accused of plagiarism in 1878, William Kirby (author of *The Golden Dog (Le Chien d'Or). A Legend of Quebec*) defended him by arguing:

[E]very writer who is worth reading (...) take[s] things that are brute matter, common property, like unappointed land, and by our work give them value, beauty, life, and they become a right & an inheritance. As well dispute Shakespear [sic] a title to his plays, because they are a new fusion of old stories refined & recast in his immortal mind! (Cited

in Gerson 114).

Shakespeare is used throughout the nineteenth century as a legal defence against charges of plagiarism and also to deflect charges of libel: both merit further intensive study to determine if, and how, Shakespeare fit into legal discourses as well as political and socio-cultural ones.

I have touched on the Shakespearean rhetoric (and pseudo-Shakespearean rhetoric) of the political parodies in Canadian comic periodicals like *Grip*. But, beyond the comic and satirical focus of these journals lies a range of periodicals devoted to literature and the arts in Canada. Even well-studied journals such as *The Literary Garland* and *The Week* contain references and articles to Shakespeare which have yet to be examined, articles like “Shakespearean Studies” in *Belford’s Monthly Magazine* (1877) and Daniel Wilson’s “Anne Hathaway— A Dialogue” in *Canadian Monthly* (CIHM 33874). Since these periodicals devoted a large amount of editorial comment to the burgeoning field of Canadian literature, it would be interesting to see how the commentary on Shakespeare intersects with the commentary on fostering a national culture. Are the comic periodicals radically different in their use/abuse of the canon? Or, do the more mainstream periodicals echo their satirical counterparts by engaging with Shakespeare to further a cultural agenda?

The nineteenth-century parodic appropriations of Shakespeare assume an almost perfect knowledge of even the more obscure Shakespearean plays (like *King John*). More research should be undertaken to better determine who read Shakespeare in nineteenth-century Canada. Is this audience shared by the theatre? Is it a homogenous audience? What happens with the increase in non-British immigration into Canada? As an adjunct to these

questions, who was writing about Shakespeare in nineteenth-century Canada? *Grip* mentions Mary Cowden Clarke, Charles Knight, and Rev. John Weiss: all were well-known figures in the Canadian literary community. But, who are the anonymous satirists whose work graces the pages of comic journals under the pen names of “An Old Playgoer” (he shows up in *Punch*, as well), “Iago,” “Touchstone,” “MacDuff,” “Our Own Shakespeare?” Why do so many writers use Shakespearean epigraphs, some pointedly, if not to suggest something else to their audiences? In the end, it matters less who these individuals are, than that their choice of name and material reflects something of their society, a society which understands Shakespearean references well enough to distort them, a society which knows its Prime Minister as Shakespearean characters, a society which was clearly accustomed to Shakespearean discourses: a Canadian society, in other words, that took “A Shakespearean View of It”.

Thomas Cartelli, Michael Bristol, and Lawrence Levine show that the American culture of the nineteenth century was likewise defined in Shakespearean terms. Levine, for instance, notes that James Fenimore Cooper, the American writer, “called Shakespeare ‘the great author of America’ and insisted that Americans had ‘just as good a right’ as Englishmen to claim Shakespeare as their countryman” (Levine 20). As Thomas Cartelli concludes, Shakespeare serves “as an unusually charged medium of textual exchange” (Cartelli 23) between Britain and her former colonies of America and Canada. Unlike the “expressly anti-colonial positioning of much U.S. writing of the post-independence period, some of which took direct aim against Shakespeare” (Cartelli 7), nineteenth-century Canadian commentators did not reject Shakespeare. Both Canada and the United States

engage in an influential dialogue which places Shakespeare in the public sphere and allows Shakespeare to be a key part of the intellectual traffic in ideas between the elite of the neighbouring countries. *Grip* commonly reprints (often without attribution) articles or poems from American comic periodicals that draw on Shakespeare. For instance, in “R.S.V.P” (subtitled “A Modest Poet seeks Information”), George Washington Me writes in *Puck* (reprinted in *Grip*):

Hath Shakespere e'er been known as “Shake”
 To neighbours fresh and gally? 10
 Did Emerson e'er hear himself
 Alluded to as “Wally?”

I ask this question feelingly,
 Because my friends, b'gosh!
 Whene'er they chance to speak of me, 15
 Abbreviate me “Wash!”

“*Grip's*” reply deflates the humour of the original, but it also highlights common personae of Canadian figures:

Dear Poet, don't allow this thing
 Your soaring soul to vex;
 The Poet Moyer of Berlin
 Is known as “Peter X.”

And other high and mighty men 5
 (By those with whom they're chummy)
 Are shortened down—the Prince of Wales
 Is commonly called “Tummy.”

Then Gladstone's known as G.O.M.,
 Macdougall's “Wandering Willie,” 10
 And Bell, the famous Alderman,
 Is always called “King Billy.”
 (In *Grip*, 12 December 1891, p. 232)

Shakespeare is often used in order to align the countries against one another. This is certainly the case in Canada, where Shakespeare, for instance, is used as a defence against American expansionism and cultural imperialism (see *The Great Mouthing and Ranting Contest*); but does Shakespeare serve a similar function in nineteenth-century America? A shared visual and print culture that drew on Shakespearean motifs (in periodicals like *Grip*, *Harper's*, and *Puck*) and the multiplication of printed (and sometimes pirated) editions of Shakespeare's plays ensured that Shakespeare's influence in both countries extended well beyond the theatre, at least for a time in the nineteenth century.

Levine concludes his chapter on "William Shakespeare in America" on a somewhat depressing note by arguing that "during the final decades of the nineteenth century (...) Shakespeare was being divorced from the broader world of everyday culture" (Levine 33). My discussion of Shakespeare in Canada only extends to 1891, the year when J.W. Bengough left *Grip*, but I did find some evidence in the comic periodicals to support the claim that Shakespeare was moving away from the popular culture of the periodicals to the realm of "polite" society. In fact, literary societies in nineteenth-century Canada also play a key role in domesticating Shakespeare for the Canadian public and in making him more accessible, if perhaps more refined. It is not my intention to suggest a study of the rise of these clubs—the subject has been explored adequately by Carole Gerson in *A Purer Taste: The Writing and Reading of Fiction in Nineteenth-Century Canada* (see especially 5-6) and is mentioned, at least, in the collection *Early Stages: Theatre in Ontario, 1800-1914* edited by Ann Saddlemeier— rather, to note how the discussion of Shakespeare helped to further the literary clout of these societies and chart, at least in the pre-Confederation era, the

reception of Shakespeare in Canada. In addition, Shakespeare is used as part of a cultural agenda by the literary societies and the drama guilds, who ostensibly met to discuss literature. Shakespeare is still used for political ends, certainly—his appropriation by the Ottawa Drama League in a 1916 play *Master Will of Stratford* in the cause of women's suffrage is testimony to that—but, increasingly as the twentieth century approached, Shakespearean rhetoric was evolving into something different. As Shakespeare became wholly adopted by Canadian universities, he became less acceptable in popular culture. Perhaps it is not until the late twentieth century, with our awareness of the anxiety of influence (to borrow Harold Bloom's famous phrase), that Shakespeare has become, again, part of popular accessible culture.



THE POLITICAL DRAMA.

**MACBETH—TAKE ANY FORM BUT THAT! HENCE,
HORRIBLE SHADOW, UNREAL MOCKERY, HENCE!**

25. J. W. Bengough, *The Political Drama* (1879)

I have included the occasional verse adapting specific Shakespearean passages or scenes and the caricatures drawing on Shakespeare which appeared in the comic periodicals of English Canada between 1848-1891 (the full listing of periodicals consulted appears in "A Note on References"). In addition, I have included prose parodies when they are significantly Shakespearean in language or allusion. Following the usual format of annotated bibliographies and compendiums (see Jacobs and Johnson, Hamilton), I begin with parodic appropriations from *Anthony and Cleopatra* and move through the plays in alphabetical order, ending with *The Winter's Tale*. Where there is more than one obvious source, the material is listed under *Collections*. References to Shakespeare, but not to his plays, are catalogued under *Shakespeare*. Within each discrete section, the material is listed chronologically. An alphabetical listing appears in the Bibliography. I have not altered the parodies: racial prejudice, religious intolerance, gender insensitivity, and biased viewpoints have all been reproduced.

Anthony and Cleopatra



CLEOPATRA IN AMERICA.

MISS DAVENPORT (*to her stage-manager*)—"What's the meaning of this, Jenkins?"

STAGE MANAGER—"Well, you see, Fanny, the asp has got away, and I thought you could do the suicide act with this well enough till we can catch another snake."

Anon., *Cleopatra in America*, *Grip*, 14 March 1891, p. 167.

As You Like It

SHAKESPEAREAN

Dude—Hast ever been to Rideau Hall, friend?

Gent—No—I have never been invited thither.

Dude—Then surely thou art d—d.

Gent—What! For not going to Rideau Hall?

Dude—Yea, truly! For if thou hast never been to Rideau Hall thou hast never seen good manners; and if thou hast never seen good manners, thy manners are wicked. and wickedness is sin, and sin is d——n. Truly thou art in a parlous state, friend. —*As You Like It*.

Anon., *Grip*, 5 February 1887, p. 6.

Hamlet

Ghost—Holmes—Hamlet.

ARGUMENT—The Hon. B. BLAKE having attended a political meeting in West Durham at the late Dominion election, retires to rest at a country tavern, having inadvertently joined a supper party where there were bad wine and bad oysters—sleep-deserts his eyelids and suddenly, as the clock strikes 12, the ghost of THOMAS SCOTT appears in the middle of the room. BLAKE starts from the bed with terror-stricken countenance and—

BLAKE—(Loq:) Angels and Ministers of State defend us!
 Be thou a spirit of health, or goblin damn'd,
 Be thy intents wicked or political?
 Thou com'st in such a questionable shape
 That I will speak: I'll call thee THOMAS SCOTT,
 Friend, countrymen, volunteer: O answer!
 Keep me not lingering in suspense but tell
 Why thy bleached bones which I have rattled
 From every stump in fair Ontario
 Have burst their cements, why the coffin
 Wherein (O infamy!) we know thou wast
 Incased alive hath oped its wooden jaws
 To cast thee up again? what may this mean,
 That thou, dead corpse, again in earthly garb
 Revisit'st thus the glimpses of the moon,
 Making night horrible; and me a politician
 So horribly to shake my disposition
 With thought beyond the reaches of my soul?
 Say, why is this? Wherefore? What should I do?

GHOST— I am SCOTT'S spirit,
 Doomed for a certain time to walk the night—
 That SCOTT whom thou hast used from time to time
 For purposes of thine own, political.
 Thou know'st the secrets of my prison-house;
 That tale should harrow up thy soul, and freeze
 Thy blood! my murderer LIZEL thou hast denounced
 And for his head five thousand dollars offered.
 But this eternal blazon must not be—
 If thou would'st ever THOMAS SCOTT revenge.

BLAKE—Oh Ghost be not too hard! with wings as swift
 As meditation or the thoughts of love
 I'll sweep to thy revenge.

GHOST— I find thee apt.
 But thou wast apt before and it is hard
 To trust these politicians, tricksters they're called
 In realms of fire from whence I upwards come.
 If thou hast nature in thee bear it not;
 But haste and let not CACCHON'S taunts and jibes
 Deter thee from thine own true proper course.
 Adieu! adieu! O BLAKE, remember me.

Exit.

BLAKE falls back on the bed exhausted, just then the landlord enters to see what the row is about and is in time to hear the following:—

BLAKE—(Loq:) He's gone, alas poor Ghost! remember thee?
 Ay, thou poor ghost, if it should suit my plans—
 For 'tis my crowd that party should be first
 And ghosts and country come in afterwards.
 At all events I'll go. O cursed spite
 That ever I was born to set it right!

Hamlet's Soliloquy.

As it might have been delivered, by Mr. FECHTER at the Royal on Monday evening.

To play or not to play—that is the question.
 Whether 'tis nobler in a Star to suffer
 The slips and blunders of impromptu players,
 Or to take arms against the Public's wishes,
 And by opposing end them? To act—to play,
 No more; and by a play to say we end
 The uproar, and the cries 'Go on! go on!'
 That I am hearing. 'Tis a consummation
 Devoutly to be wished. To act—to play,—
 To play! perchance to fail, ay, there's the rub;
 For in that tragedy what 'muffs' may come,
 When we have shuffled off this right reserve,
 Must give us pause: There's the respect
 That makes a Star's delay of so long life;
 For who would bear the gallery's whoops and scorns,
 The parquette's wrongs, the box's contumely,
 The pangs of humbled fame, the lengthy waits,
 The prompter's interference, and the snubs
 That patient merit of the unposted takes,
 When he himself might his quietus make
 With a drop curtain?

Thus duns do spoil the best of tragedies;
 And thus the native hue of London fame
 Is sicklied o'er with local scratch support,
 And plays announced in great and staring type,
 With this regard then currents turn awry,
 And lose the name of action!

To Be or Not to Be.

The winter comes apace. His driving wind,
 His dreadful storms of furious snow and sleet,
 His avalanche of solid ice y'piled,
 Warn me I should prepare. The question is—
 The question dread, and great, and vast and large,—
 O'ershadowing in my mind all other things—
 Wherefore I think not whether this SIR JOHN
 Or that MACKENZIE rule, or whether those
 Great armies which each others' bowels-tear
 Below the Balkans grim, continuous strive,
 Or pleasant peace appear; nor cogitate
 If Eighteen Eighty One shall end the world,
 (As SHIPTON'S part-fulfilled word declares),
 Or if it still roll on. What I do weigh,
 Think, ponder, calculate, contrive, and plan,
 Is of a question paramount to all
 That sways the common soul. 'Tis this, but this :
 Shall I those dollars twenty-eight obtain,
 My tailor asketh for a new great coat—
 (Dollars which may be coming; but from whence
 Is in the future hid) or shall I make
 Him furbish up the old? This is the point—
 The vital, living question of the day.
 To which all others pale. What hangs thereon
 Is more than worlds can say.

To go or not to go? Say, had I better
Languish in town right through the heated term,
Or buy a ticket from this horrid place,
And by departing, cool? ~~To leave, to go,~~
No more, and by the act, to say we end
The dust choke, and the thousand horrid smells
That here are nature—'tis a consummation
Devoutly to be wished. To go and sleep.
To sleep, in some farm house, ay, there's the rub,
For in that sleeping place what bugs may come,
When we have bargained with the farming chap,
Must make us all to pause. There's the respect,
That makes calamity in lodging house,
And makes us form a solid resolution
To mind whereat we bide.

Soliloquy of the Hon. Wm. MacHamlet.
(*Shakespeare.*)

While such powerful legislators as Mr. Rufus Stephenson, Mr. Rochester, Mr. Haggart and Mr. T. White sit cheek-by-jowl with the Cabinet Ministers, Mr. Macdougall is kept at arms' length.—*Hamilton Times.*

Now I am alone.

O, what a rogue and peasant slave am I!
Is it not monstrous that this Mr. PHIPPS,
But in a fiction, in a dream of office,
Could force his soul so to his own conceit,
That at his letters all the Cabinet paled,
Globe in his hand, distraction in's aspect,
A caustic pen, and his whole function sitting
With forms to his chagrin? And all for nothing!
For Policy!
What's Policy to him, or he to Policy
That he should weep for it? What would he do
Had he the motive and the passion
That I have? He would upset the Government,
And cleave the general ear with horrid speech,
Make mad the burkers of the great N.P.,
Confound the Cabinet and amaze indeed
The very faculties of eyes and ears!
Yet I,
A dull and wandering politician peak,
Like JOHN A's slave, unpregnant of my cause,
And can say nothing; no, not for myself
Upon whose services and most dear hopes
A dam'd defeat was made. Am I a coward?
Who calls me villain? gives me a back seat,
Shoves me aside and snickers in my face?
Tweaks me by the nose? gives ROBINSON and WHITE
And STEPHENSON my place? Who does me this?
Ha!
Why, I should take it, for it cannot be
But I am pigeon livered, and lack gall
To make oppression bitter; or, ere this,
I should fatted all the vulture Grits
With JOHN A's scandals; shiftless, tricky villain,
Remorseless, treacherous, heartless, scheming villain!
O, vengeance!

Why, what an ass am I. This is most brave,
That I, a statesman known as *practical*,
Prompted to my revenge by everything,
Must take this slight, and swallow down my wrath,
And 'fore the gathered wisdom of the land
Be sat upon!
Fie upon it! foh! About, my brain. I have heard
That guilty creatures, who have done sly tricks,
Have by a pamphlet setting forth their sins
Been struck so to the soul that presently
They've done the handsome to the writer on't:
I'll write a pamphlet! That's the very way
I'll catch again the conscience of JOHN A !

Anon., *Grip*, 22 February 1879, p. 5.



HAMLET BLAKE'S PACIFIC RAILWAY POLICY.—
HAMLET.—I'll go no further!

J. W. Bengough, *Hamlet Blake's Pacific Railway Policy*, *Grip*, 10 April 1880, p. 8



Shakesperean Studies:

No. 1. HAMLET.

Ham.—"The times are out of joint, O, cursed
spite,
That ever I were born to set them
right!"



THE SPIRIT OF WIGGINS HAUNTING THE FINANCE DEPARTMENT.
HAMLET TO THE "FINLAND MEN, GENTLEMEN" (TO GRACE AND TO THE FOLLOW THERE):

J. W. Bengough, *The Spirit of Wiggins Haunting the Finance Department*, Grip, 7 April 1883, p. 8



SIR JOHN HAMLET'S SOLILOQUY.

To do or not to do it— that's the question!
 Whether 'tis better to keep up the squabble
 Over the western boundary of Ontario,
 Or to take Mowat's challenge and refer,
 And by referring, end it? Refer—Submit—
 No more; and by a reference to end
 The trouble at Hat Portage and the shock
 Of rival constables—'tis a consummation
 Devoutly to be wished. Refer, submit—
 Submit—perchance get left; ay; there's the rub;
 For in that reference what defeat may come,
 When we have sent our case and argued it,
 Must give us pause: there's the respect
 That makes procrastination seem so shrewd;
 For who would ask poor Meredith to bear
 The people's scorn, the *Globe's* rank contumely,
 The pangs of self-contempt, the *Mail's* sweet gush,
 The vanishing of office, and the spurns
 That twisting leaders of the electors take,
 If he but knew that he could win the case
 When he referred it? Who would not seize the chance
 To prove his weight in constitutional law,
 But that the dread of something in the facts,
 Those stubborn things that Privy Councils love
 And dwell upon, puzzles the will
 And makes us rather stick to what we have
 Than join with Mowat in the reference!
 Thus policy makes cowards of us all,
 And thus the brag and bounce that I've indulged
 Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought,
 And Boundary questions of great pith and moment
 Which should have been stuffed in pigeon-holes,
 And left to rot in the limbo of action.

GRIP'S SHAKESPEREAN GALLERY.—NO. 5.



"LOOK HERE, UPON THIS PICTURE, AND ON THIS!"

—Hamlet. Act III, Scene 4.

J. W. Bengough, *Look Here, Upon this Picture, and On This!*, Grip, 18 July 1885, p. 8



HA
HAMLET'S SOLILOQUY.

Oh, that this too, too solid flesh would melt,
Thaw and resolve itself into a dew!

Hamlet's Soliloquy, The Jury, December 1886, p. 12.



I AM THY FATHER'S "SPIRIT."—*Hamlet.*

Anon., *I am thy Father's "Spirit."* *The Jury*, 5 April 1887, p. 4.

THE JOBBER'S SOLILOQUY.

To sell or not to sell ;
That is the question—
Whether it is better to ship the goods
And take the risk of doubtful payment,
Or to make sure of what is in possession,
And, by declining, hold them.
To sell; to ship; perchance to lose!
Aye, there's the rub,
For, when the goods are gone,
What charm can win them back
From slippery debtors?
Will bills be paid when due,
Or will the time stretch out till crack of doom?
What of assignments, what of relatives,
What of the uncles, aunts and mothers-in-law,
With claims for borrowed money?
What of exemptions, homesteads and the compromise
That coolly offers ten cents on the dollar;
And of the lawyer's fees,
That eat up even this poor pittance?



THE GREAT PRESIDENTIAL MOUTHING AND
RANTING CONTEST.

"HAMLET" (CLEVELAND) — "Come, show me what thou'lt do:
Woo't weep? Woo't fight? Woo't fast?
Woo't tear thyself?
Woo't drink up eisel? Eat a crocodile?
I'll do't! Dost thou come here to whine?
To outface me by leaping in her grave?
Nay, an thou'lt mouth,
I'll rant as well as thou!" — *Shakespeare.*



TO BEE OR NOT TO BEE?

How doth the little busy bee
 Improve each shining hour,
 And gather honey all the day
 From every opening flower?

If you would really like to know
 Go to Clarke's College, Guelph.
 He'll teach you how the busy bee
 Can make you piles of pelf.



J. W. Bengough, *Thus Bad Begins, But Worse Remains Behind!*, Grip, 18 July 1891, p. 33.

Henry IV, Part I



J. W. Bengough, *Valiant John Falstaff Norquay!*, *Grip*, 4 November 1882, p. 8.



WILL JOHN FALSTAFF NORQUAY PROVE EQUAL TO THE OCCASION?

J. W. Bengough, *Will John Falstaff Norquay Prove Equal to the Occasion?*, Grip, 11 November 1882, p. 8.

Henry IV, Part II

A COMEDY IN ONE ACT

SCENE—*An Extensive Prairie*

Enter KING MACDOUGALL and PROVENCHER, an Attendant, both mounted and muffled.

King. Would I could find my kingdom! Two long weeks
Have I been jolting on this bony hack;
Each muscle of my royal person craves
If but one moment's respite.

Prov. May it please—

King. It does not; never has royalty been brought
So near the verge of utter degradation.
I have a realm,—at least they told me so,—
But where on earth it is I know not.
You have my crown all right, Provencher.

Prov. May't please your Majesty, 'tis in
The bandbox.

King. And my sceptre?

Prov. Oui.

King. So far so good; but 'twould rejoice my soul
To set my eyes upon a single subject:
For—in your private ear,—my trusty friend,
I sometimes fear my sovereignty—

(Enter Indians in full equipment of feather and paint.)

Indian Chief. Come, now, you ragamuffins, pull up smart,
I have sworn, by every shrunken scalp
That dangles at my girdle, no pale face
Shall leave this trail in these my hunting grounds.
I'm the great Scallawag, and here am chief.
Now, who are you?

King. The King—

Prov. (Aside) Stop! That will never do.
He looks a rascal; please your Majesty,
The Knave, and not the King is the best card to play.

King. I can dissemble. Mighty Scallawag!
Your Honour,—Highness,—Excellency,—or
Whate'er you are,—speaks to no pale-face;
I am a chief like you—chief of the Ottawas.
Chief. The plague you are! Then take a pipe, my boy;
We'll puff the peace-cloud. Still I have my doubts

About you! Come, give the Ottawa war-whoop.

King. Hear, hear! Question! Ecoutez! Divide!

Chief. I thought so; now, you shameless rascal,
Begone! For, if in half an hour, by my Geneva,
You are in sight—

(The King here sticks his heels into his steed, and scampers off the stage, exclaiming:---

Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown;
Far worse the fools that goes in search of one.)

Anon., *Grinchuckle*, 25 November 1869, p. 66.

Henry V



THE MODERN PISTOL.

"Base is the slave that pays!"—*Punch*.

Henry VI, Part III

Scene at Ottawa.

SIR JOHN. TUPPER

SIR JOHN—Well this is jolly. Come, TUPPER; do be sociable. Draw up to the fire. This port is splendid.

TUPPER—That port's no safe harbour for you, SIR JOHN.

SIR JOHN—Nonsense. After winning such a victory, can't a fellow enjoy himself? \$7 000 a year! Only think of it!

TUPPER—Come, come. Can we keep it? We didn't win the victory. You know who got us our majority and how you wouldn't give him anything.

SIR JOHN—Rascal wouldn't take anything but a hand in managing—told me so. Now, *you* know the fix we're in; what things we've got to do. Could I let a fellow like that, who won't budge an inch from his cussed path of honour, in to see all our tricks?

TUPPER—Well, if we had to do anything tough to please someone who might tell tales (and there's plenty I suppose he'd have resigned.

SIR JOHN—That minute. No, no. But don't you suppose he won't hit us hard, for he will. Don't care. May take Ontario from us; don't care. Run the Administration in spite of Ontario many years in my time, TUPPER, my boy. Do it again.

TUPPER—Don't know. Mind SHAKESPEARE:

"Many a battle have I won in France,
When that the enemy hath been five to one."

But he couldn't do it in England, and you can't run Canada as you used to. Where you will stick, SIR JOHN, is here. There are clever fellows—smarter than any of our crowd—starting up here and there, fellows willing to spendtime and money for the good of their country, hang'em. Will TILLEY get us any cash?

SIR JOHN—TILLEY? Wait till he gets it! Long time to wait, my boy.

TUPPER—Then why—

SIR JOHN—Why send him? A blind my boy. It was part of our discarded friend's policy. I sat behind him and listened to a speech he put it in—didn't tell the plan for getting it—know he had one. Never mind—sent TILLEY—tell folks have to take English opinion—get word back lend us money if we give up Protection—N.P.knocked on head

then—no more bother. Or if not, gain time—get a session over—king may die, ass may die. I may die. Hooray! Take some more wine.

TUPPER—I suppose we're safe for a year, anyway?

SIR JOHN—(*drinks*) —Look here, old fellow. If I don't know National Policy, I know a thing or two anyway. There's a Conservative house (*drinks*) , coming here, (*drinks*) Conshervative Howsh, I shay, Conshervative Howsh. Comsh to shport Shir JOHNS MACDONALDSH. Shposh I bringsh in Billish compellingsh all Canadiansh (except Howsh) to get allsh their backs teethsh drawnsh, shposh Howsh not shport me?

TUPPER—No, they wouldn't.

SIR JOHN—Conservativish Howsh! They wouldsh; they wouldsh (*PITCHES TUPPER OUT AND GOES TO SLEEP ON THE SOFA*).

Anon., *Grip*, 7 December 1878, p. 2.

Henry VIII

SHAKESPEARE ON THE TICHBORNE TRIAL.

THE FALL OF CARDINAL WOLSEY- ORTON-CASTRO-TICHBORNE.

(Slightly altered from " Henry VIII." — SCENE: At the Door Of the Penitentiary.)

Norfolk (and all other respectable folk) — And so, we'll leave you to
your meditations
How to live better. * * * * *

So fare you well, my little good big butcher.

Arthur — So, farewell to the little good you bears me.

Farewell, a long farewell to all my swearing ! 5

This the state of Claimants : To-day they puts forth
The tender leaves of hope ; to-morrow is sworn in,
And bears newspaper honours thick upon 'em;
The third day comes a stop — a counter trial;
And, when they thinks — good easy men — full surely 10
The thing'll come out square — is proved a fraud,
And then they falls, like I do. I have ventured,
Like little wanton boys that swim on bladders,
This many months past in a sea of lying;
But far beyond my depth: my high blown pride 15
Has busted under me, and now has left me
Weary and sick with swearing, to the mercy
Of turnkeys, that must forever watch me.
Vain pomp and glory of this world, I hate ye!
I feel I've been a donkey; O, how wretched 20
Is that poor man that trusts to his appearance!
There is, betwixt that wealth we would aspire to —
That fine estate at Tichborne, and then ruin,
More lies and law yers' questions their enough:
And when he falls, he falls like Lucifer, 25
Never to hope again.



THE FALL OF CARDINAL WOLSEY NORQUAY.

Nor.—"HAD I, BUT SERVED MY PROVINCE WITH HALF THE ZEAL,
I HAVE SERVED JOHN A., I WOULD NOT NOW BE LEFT!"—*Shakspeare*
(amended).



Julius Caesar

Mark Brown's Oration Over the Body of his Friend Treaty.

Friends!—Townsmen! Countrymen!—lend me your ears!
 I came to bury Treaty—not to praise him:
 The evil-treaties do lives after them.
 My Treaty didn't do none! He is dead
 Before he had the chance. The noble JOHNNY
 Hath said my Treaty was injurious.
 When he said so, he told a grievous lie,
 And grievous mischief hath been done by it.
 Here—under leave of JOHNNY and the rest
 (JOHNNY is not an honorable man)—
 Came I to speak of Treaty's funeral.
 He did appear most fair and just to me,
 Though JOHNNY says he was injurious
 (But JOHNNY's a dishonorable man).
 My Treaty would have brought much money here,
 And cash had all our farmers' coffers filled:
 Did this in Treaty seem injurious?
 When that the poor wished work, my Treaty would
 Have sent them to the States to get it there.
 Did this in Treaty seem injurious?
 You all did love him once—till '64.
 Why don't you cry? He's dead! He comes no more!
 O judgment, thou art fled Conservatives!
 And Grits have lost their reason! Bear with me!
 My reputation went when Treaty died,
 And neither now is coming back to me.



ET TU, BEATY!!

[Memorable words of Julius Caesar Macdonald.]

J. W. Bengough, *Et tu, Beaty!*, *Grip*, 28 July 1883, p. 4.



YOU'RE ANOTHER!

TOM: What, eating another orange already? I declare Jack, you're always stuffing
 JACK: No more than you. I'd like to know many eggs you eat at breakfast
 morning?
 TOM: "Et tu, brute!"



"TO WHAT BASE USES!"

[A doctor in the States has discovered a process of preserving dead bodies by compression.—*News-Item*.]

"Imperial Caesar dead and turned to clay
Might stop a hole to keep the wind away."
So Shakespeare wrote—but by this doctor's plan,
A widow who'd compressed her former man
Might use him now in solid chunks to drub
The flying figure of her second hub.

Anon., *To What Base Uses*, *Grip*, 2 February 1889, p. 72.

King John



THE SALARY GRAB.

CHRISTIAN. (*Mus Cicula*).

Hast thou not spoke like thunder on my side? Hast sworn my soldier? Huddling me depend upon thy stars, thy fortune, and thy strength? And dost thou now fall over to my foes? Thou wear a lion's hide: Doff it for shame, and hang a calf's skin on those recreant limbs!

— *Shakespeare.*

J.W. Bengough, *The Salary Grab, Grip*, 25 July 1885, p. 5.



THE MANITOBA BARONS DEMANDING THE MAGNA CHARTA FROM KING JOHN.

J. W. Bengough, *The Manitoba Barons Demanding the Magna Charta from King John*,
Grip, 14 May 1887, p. 12.



SCENE FROM "KING JOHN A."

King John.—"I here deliver up into your hand the circle of my glory."

—Shakespeare.

J. W. Bengough, *Scene from "King John A.," Grip*, 2 February 1889, p. 61.

Love's Labour's Lost

LOVE'S LABOR LOST

"Madam, may I kiss these beautiful children?" inquired Uncle Dick Oglesby, as he leaned over the front gate.

"Certainly, sir, there is no possible objection."

"They are lovely darlings," said Uncle Dick, after he had finished the eleventh. I have seldom seen more beautiful babies. Are they yours, marm?"

The lady blushed deeply.

"Of course they are, the sweet little treasures! From whom else, marm, could they have inherited those limpid eyes, those rosy cheeks, those profuse curls, those comely figures and those musical voices!"

The lady continued blushing.

"By the way, marm," said Uncle Dick, "may I bother you to tell your estimable husband that Richard J. Oglesby, Republican candidate for Governor, called upon him this evening!"

"Alas, good sir," quoted the lady, "I have no husband!"

"But these children, madam—you surely are not a widow!"

"I feared you were mistaken, sir, when you first came up. These are not my children. This is an orphan asylum!"

Anon., *Grip*, 30 August 1884, p. 6.

The Merchant Of Venice

The Lay of the Merchant, not of Venice.

The drain, the drain, oh, the horrible drain!
 How truly we wish it were over in Spain,
 A remedy would some kind Christian devise,
 In sympathy list to our sorrows and sighs.
 Behind a mud-rampart we all are confined,
 To the freaks of misfortune must fain be resigned.

The drain, the drain, oh, the savoury drain!
 Anathemas direr than Eden on Cain
 Most freely are poured out on every side,
 Of commerce and traffic that stops the tide.
 This beautiful Spring, that's decked not with flowers,
 But is copiously deluged with drenching showers.

The drain, the drain, oh, the foul-smelling drain!
 An antidote would there but prove to our bane,
 That poisons the air, that as crystal is clear,
 In this season so balmy, the Spring of the year.
 The profits from out of our pockets that sweeps,
 That touches our feelings till ev'ry one weeps.

The drain, the drain, oh, the wide-yawning drain!
 Its volumes of filth would well-nurture the grain,
 Provided it only be carried away,
 Nor left there to crumble beneath the hot ray.
 In a white blinding cloud in the hot summer noon,
 When the bats in the archway somould'ring croon.

The drain, the drain, oh, that troublesome drain!
 A volume along thy dark cavernous lane
 Is rushing away with a torrents speed,
 Like a wild moustang or a frantic steed.
 To lose itself then in the calm, still Bay,
 And return through the water-works pipes the next day.



THE SYNDICATE "SHYLOCK."

J. W. Bengough, *The Syndicate Shylock*, *Grip*, 19 February 1881, p. 12.



THE MODERN "SHYLOCK" CLAIMING HIS "POUND OF FLESH."
 SHYLOCK FAASER.—My demands upon my head! I crave the law, the penalty, and forfeit of my life.

Anon. *The Modern 'Shylock' claiming his 'Pound of Flesh,'* *The Jury*, 17 May 1888, pp. 6-7.

Macbeth



TWO O'CLOCK IN THE MORNING.

**THIS IS NOT THE SLEEP-WALKING SCENE FROM "MACBETH";
IT IS A FEMALE PEDESTRIAN MAKING UP LOST TIME.**

J. W. Bengough, *Two O'Clock in the Morning*, *Grip*, 29 March 1879, p. 8.



"MACBETH" MACKENZIE.

"What hands are here? Ha! — Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this clean from my hands?" Sec. 2, Act II.

J. W. Bengough, *Macbeth Mackenzie*, Grip, 8 January 1881, p. 12



MACBETH HATH MURDERED THE MANITOBA CHARTERS

MACBETH:—I HAVE DONE THE DEED, 'TIS DONE!

J. W. Bengough, *Macbeth hath Murdered the Manitoba Charters*, *Grip*, 21
January 1882, p. 3.

GRIP'S SHAKESPEREAN GALLERY.—NO. 4.—



"COME ON, MACDUFF!"

—Macbeth.

J. W. Bengough, *Come On, MacDuff*. *Grip*, 11 July 1885, p. 8.



RE-VENGE! RE-E-E-VENGE!!

(Scene at the Grand Opera House.)

J. W. Bengough, *Re-Venge! Re-e-e-venge!!!*, *Grip*, 3 April 1886, p. 1.



"MACBETH" AT QUEBEC.
 MACBETH. (First appearance since his return from Europe) . MR. MERCIER.
 LADY MACBETH, THE CASTOR INFLUENCE.



WHEN THE HOUSE MEETS.

LANGVIG-MACRETH—"Take any form for the and these ten wives shall never trouble! Hence! horrible shadow, hence!"

L. Côté [J. W. Bengough], *When the House Meets*, *Grip*, 21 March 1891, p. 221.

A Midsummer Night's Dream

IMPROVED BY "GRIP."

(The Hon. GEORGE BROWN has been induced, at a considerable loss, to undertake the part of Bottom on this occasion. M. C. CAMERON, Q. C., at considerable gain, undertakes that of Puck.)

Bottom asleep on a bank. Enter Puck.

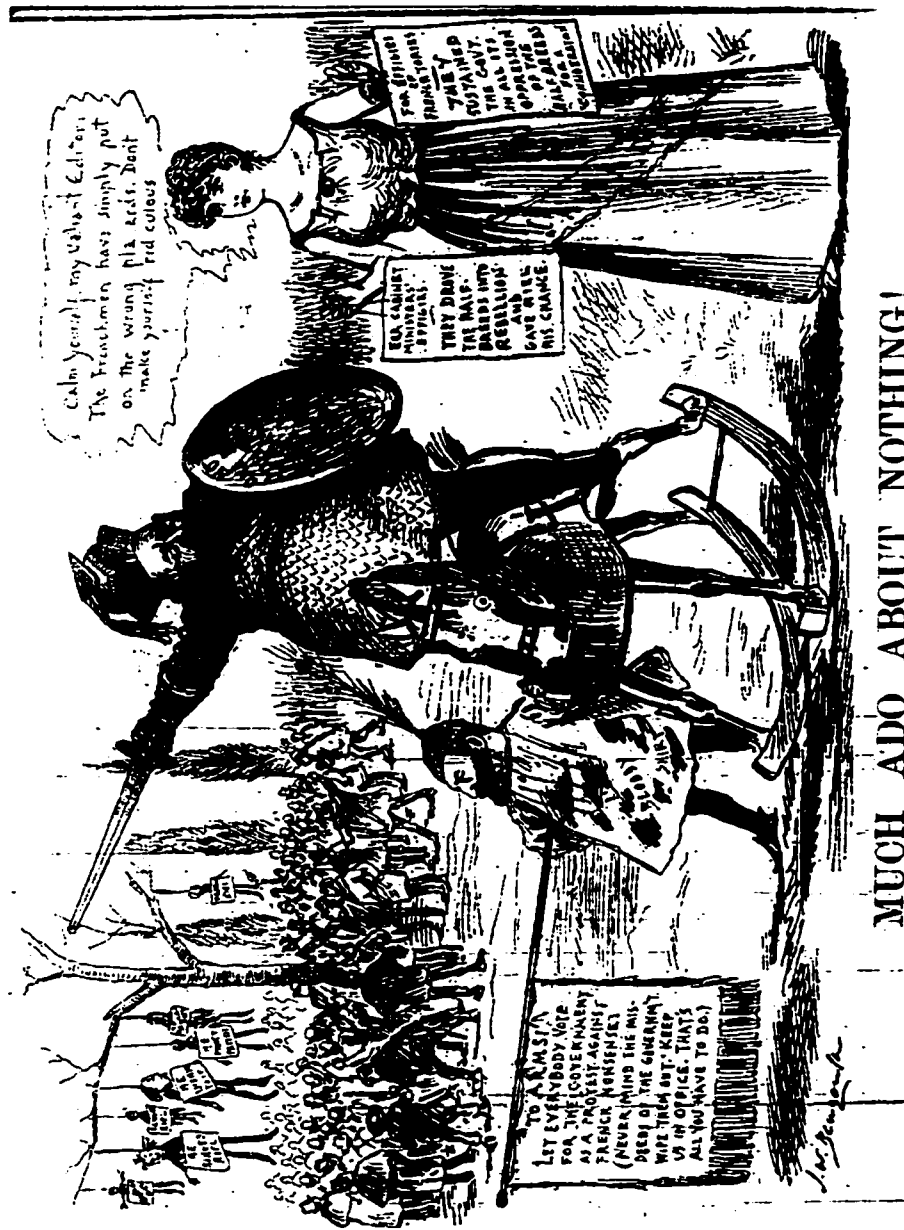
*Puck—(Takes ass's head off Bottom).—*When thou awak'st, with thine own fool's eyes peep.

*Bottom—(Awaking).—*When my cue comes, call me, and I will answer; my next is "Rise, Sir GEORGE!" Hey, ho!—THOMSON, the railway mender! CROOKS, the loan-linker! O'DONOHUE! God's my life!—stolen hence, and left me asleep! I have had a most rare vision of place and power.—I have had a dream of ruling this land—past the wit of man to say what harm I did; man is but an ass, if he go about to expound how much. Methought I was, what was't?—amb-ass-ador?—whatever I was, there was an ass in't. Methought I was, and methought I had a treaty to make; but man is but a patched fool, if he will offer to say what good it was. The eye of man hath not heard, the ear of man hath not seen, man's hand is not able to taste, his tongue to conceive, nor his heart to report, what my dream was—how I did arrogant—how I did play 'Ereles; how I did tear MACDONALD;—how I did make all split. I will get my NICHOLAS to write an editorial of this dream, and it shall be called BROWN'S Dream, because it hath no reality, and I shall sing it in the latter end of the *Globe*, before the Canadians; peradventure, to make it the more gracious, I shall sing it when I am leaving them.

*Puck—Thou sing!—*thou shalt soon ring small. *I will sing. (Sings.)*

Tell me, where is falsehood-bred,
In the heart or in the head?
See him wake; and some of you—
Are you not just waking too?
Know you now what dupes you be?
Now each subterfuge you see!
Read the sheets of purity—
Read the lies they told of me—
Read them but for six weeks past—
How each moment was my last;
How "quite safe the East End looks;"
'Most "unanimous for CROOKS."'
How my meetings were but small;
"Boys!"—"Electors!"—none at all;"
"Needn't mention MARTINEZ C."'
"Quite as good as beaten, ha!"
Read them still, they will you tell
MOWAT'S sure of place as well.
Mind not. To the House with me,
Talk, though you shall see. *(Exit.)*

Much Ado About Nothing



MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING!

J. W. Bengough, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *Grip*, 5 December 1885, p. 5.

Othello



OTHELLO BROWN'S APOLOGY.

REPRODUCED BY THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES.

J. W. Bengough, *Othello Brown's Apology*, *Grip*, 27 February 1875, p. 8



OTHELLO (BLAKE) AND IAGO (BROWN)

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY ASTOR LENOX TILDEN FOUNDATION 1895

J.W. Bengough, *Othello (Blake) and Iago (Brown)*, *Grip*, 23 October 1880, p. 8.



HELLO— "O, now, for ever
Farewell the tranquil mind! farewell content!
Farewell the plumed troops, and the big wars
That make ambition virtue! O, farewell!"
[Exit Othello with Desdemona.]



OTHELLO—
"Arise, black vengeance, from thy hollow cell!
Yield up, O love, thy crown and heart's throne
To tyrannous hate! Swell, bosom, with thy fraught,
For 'tis of aspics' tongues!"



HELLO— "Villain!
Be sure of it; give me the overboard
Or, by the worth of man's eternal soul,
Thou had'st been better have been born a dog
Than answer my wak'd wrath!"



OTHELLO—
"What noise in this? Not dead? Not yet quite dead?
I that am cruel yet am merciful,
I would not have thee linger in thy pain—
So, so."

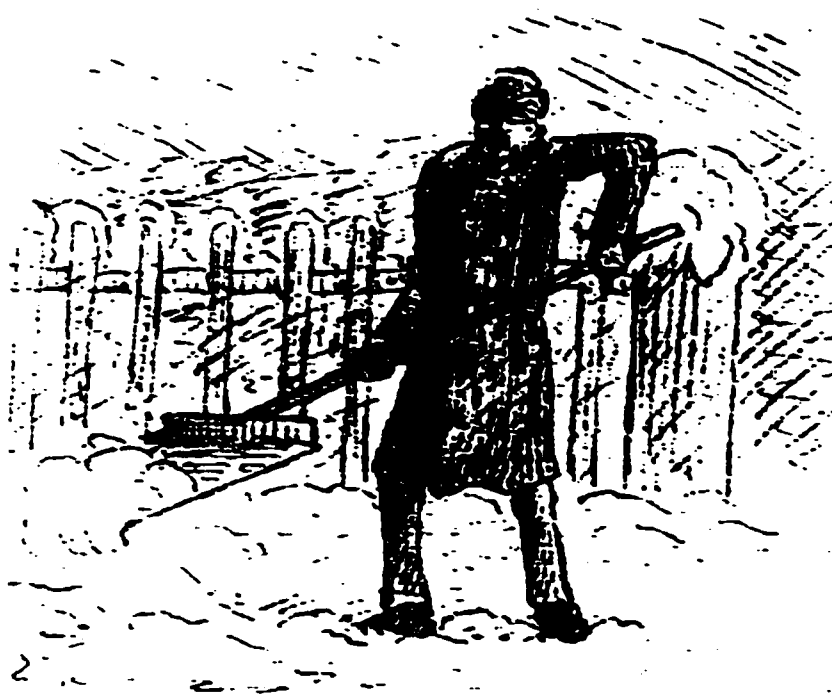
Richard III



OFF WITH HIS HEAD!

"RICHARD III," SLAYED BY HIS ENEMY—THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

J. W. Bengough, *Off With His Head!*, *Grip*, 6 May 1876, p. 3.



'NOW IS THE WINTER OF OUR DISCONTENT.'

Shakespeare.

J. W. Bengough, *Now is the Winter of our Discontent*, *Grip*, 8 November 1879, p. 8.

The Ottawa Tragedy
(Richard III., Act 1, Sec. 3.—Shakespeare.)

KING RICHARD III The St. Paul Syndicate.

RICHARD. — But, sirs, be sudden of the execution,
Withal obdurate.

1ST MURD. - Tut, tut, my lord, we will not stand to prate,
Talkers are not good doers; be assured,
We go to use our hands and not our tongues!

RICHARD. — Your eyes drop mill stones when fool's eyes drop tears;
I like you lads; — about your business straight;
Go; go; despatch.

1ST MURD. - We will, my noble lord!

Anon., *Grip*, 15 January 1881, p. 4.



J. W. Bengough

"WAS EVER WOMAN IN SUCH HUMOR WOODED?"

GLOSTER. - - SIR JOHN.

ANNE. - - THE ORANGE ORDER.

[Lady Anne is following the Corse of the O'Brien Motion, cruelly murdered by Gloster.]

LADY ANNE. - " Vouchsafe, diffus'd infection of a man;
For these known evils but to give me leave
By circumstance, to curse thy cursed self."

GLOSTER. - " Fairer than tongue can name thee, let me have
Some patient leisure to excuse myself."

[In the original, the Queen forgives, accepts and
marries him. Will history repeat itself?]

J. W. Bengough, *Was Ever Woman in Such Humor Wooed, Grip*, 25 May 1889, p. 321.

Romeo and Juliet

SCENES FROM SHAKSPERE

In Small Doses and Easy Rhymes, for Little Children.

No. 1.

ROMEO AND JULIET. — GARDEN SCENE.

The sky was cloudy— the evening was moist*
 When JULIET and ROMEO kept their first tryst, —
 Young ROMEO, clearing the fence at a bound,
 Found himself on his enemy, Capulet's ground;
 No fear did he feel though but 'gan to look round
 For shelter— but shelter was not to be found.
 Then came down the rain, and our hero, poor fellow,
 Found out pretty soon that he'd brought no umbrella,
 And there did he wait from a quarter past seven
 Till he heard all the clocks in the house strike eleven,
 And saw by the lights that were glimmering o'erhead
 That the Capulets all were a-going to bed.

The rain now had ceased, and the sky had cleared off,
 And ROMEO ventured to give a slight cough,
 A *very* slight cough, but 'twas ne'ertheless heard,
 For a form soon appeared, and with the voice of a bird,
 Asked, "Is that you, my ROMEO, bravest and best?
 Come, jump on that stump, and let JULIET rest
 Her poor wearied head on that new satin vest
 No! waistcoat, I mean— it so often has pressed."

Then ROMEO gave a hop, skip and a jump,
 And gracefully lighted on top of the stump,
 Stretched his arms out and clasped the fair girl to his heart,
 Who quickly sprung back with a cry and a start,
 Saying "ROMEO, —darling,—oh! where have you been?
 I declare, foolish boy, that you're wet to the skin."
 Then said ROMEO "Dearest, 'twas waiting for you,
 And the damp on my waistcoat is nothing but dew."
 "Dew," says JULIET, "Why it's been raining in torrents
 And," —"Never mind that, —but about Friar LAWRENCE,
 We can trust him, I know—he's the safest of men, —
 Will you promise me, dear, to be ready at ten?"
 Said ROMEO, "Say, only that you'll come,
 And I'll bid you good night, and then run away home."
 "I'll come," said the maiden, —"Now do as you're bid,

And get away home. —”

ROMEO turns to depart and is just preparing to jump over the wall —the gates being locked—when turning to take a last look at his mistress, she perceives her still seated in the balcony, with her cheek resting on her hand, and gazing out into the darkness where ROMEO is standing. The sight proves too much for him, and draws forth the following short soliloquy—among the most beautiful passages in the play: —

“Would that I were a kid,
 How soon I’d get killed and made into a glove
 To fit the hand of the girl that I love!
 Then I’d touch her soft cheek, and I’d wipe her dear nose,
 And I’d go about her wherever she goes!”
 Then heaving a sigh, this true hearted young lover
 Placed his hands on the wall—gave a spring—and was over!

* * * * *

He met some policemen, but easily dodged
 Them, and finally got to the house where he lodged.

Here the scene must close. It is useless following him to his room. We would only see him take his clothes off, put on his night gown with a dressing gown over it, fill a glass of whiskey and water, drink it off, fill another, smoke his pipe, finish his second glass of whiskey, and get into bed, where he slept sound without dreaming once of JULIET the whole night through.

**Moist*. We have heard this word so often pronounced to rhyme with “tryst,” that we trust we are not asking too much of our readers to give it its necessary pronunciation this time, viz., “*mist*.”

GRIP'S SHAKESPEREAN GALLERY.—NO. 3.



"A GENTLEMAN, NURSE, THAT LOVES TO HEAR HIMSELF TALK."

—*Romeo and Juliet*, Act III., Scene 4.

J. W. Bengough, *A Gentleman, Nurse, That Loves To Hear himself Talk*, *Grip*, 4
July 1885, p. 8.

Troilus and Cressida

A NEW READING

When CRESSID, 'neath the walls of Troy,
 Kept tryst with Priam's blue-eyed boy,
 Conceive his deep but silent joy, —
 A joy to keen to let him speak; —
 But when to Tro-i-lus's love 5
 The mind did false and recreant prove,
 And shewed that she'd bad taste enough
 To jilt him for a low-born Greek—
 Did TROILUS go off and pine 10
 His life away, and weep and whine?
 Not much! That wasn't in his line!
 He only got a little muzzy,
 Dropped half a tear, said "well-a-day!"
 Then filled his pipe—a common clay, —
 And puffed, and puffed, and puffed away 15
 All recollection of the hussy!

*. * One WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, (one of us,) whose works, though very frequently bought, are seldom read now-a-days, has made the loves of TROILUS and CRESSIDA the subject of a play. In this play TROILUS is made to feel the loss of CRESSIDA more keenly, and to wreak his vengeance on the favoured Greek, whom he slays in single combat. This is, however, a mere poetic license, evidently introduced for stage effect. The correct version of the story is that given in the above lines.

Diogenes, 8 January 1869, p. 81.

The Winter's Tale



WINTER'S TALE.

AUTOLYCUS,
CLOWN.

(A General Parody)

MR. W. L. MACKENZIE,
MR. BALDWIN.

AUTOLYCUS. I see this is the time that the unjust man doth thrive. Sure the gods do this year connive at us, that we may do anything extempore. (Sings.)

1837.
The Indians were dead on Calvary Hill—
Walk high; the shillons behind the rail;
It was I thought my pleasure to die;
For the red, black, and I received the mail.

1838.
The bearpaw is moving in the snow—
With me, the reason, as how they could,
and the head that hangs from the gallows tree—
High only on the other side of the sea.

1840.
But now the bark are few and long—
A Navigation for the day;
And our gashers may be some more or less—
All in a row, as they lie.

CLOWN.—He seems to be of great authority; close with him, give him gold.

From *Le Cigare*, &c.



THE CANADIAN AUTOLYCUS.

Scene OTTAWA. *Time*. A FORTNIGHT HENCE.

Autolycus—*SIR G. E. C.—F. K. Bart. (log.)*—“Whether it like me or no, I am a courtier. See st thou not the air of the Court in these enfoldings? Hath not my gait in it the measure of the Court? Receives not thy nose Court odor from me? Reflect I not on thy baseness Court contempt. • • • I am courtier cap-a-pè; and one that will either push on or pluck back thy business there.”—*The Winter Tale*—Act IV. Scene III.

Anon., *The Canadian Autolycus*, *Diogenes*, 2 April 1869, p. 3.

Collections

Scene from the Tragedy of Brownibus;
OR, DICTATORIAL INSANITY,

(As now performed with small success at the Globe Theatre.)

SCENE 1.—DYMONDIBUS: *Enter to him BROWNIBUS in disorder.*

- BROWNIBUS.—DYMONDIBUS, I charge thee on thy life—
 Thy *Globite* life—(which quick shall find its end
 If thou dar'st disobey)—that *Liberal* fiend
 Which here hath stalked from London, mention not.
 Write it not—speak it not! Its very name 5
 Harrows my soul! All breakfastless I come,
 For Lady BROWNIBUS, a moment past,
 My porridge handing, kindly called the same
 A *liberal* allowance! It I dashed
 Through my big window;—she all fainting lies. 10
 How I came here I know not. Order FLOOD
 That he boom this through all my corridors: —
 Who frameth but his lips that dreadful sound
 To mutter—banished from my presence be,
 Never to see me more! 15
- DYMONDIBUS.—Most gracious sir, retract the dreadful word;
 This is the greatest; —Reciprocity
 No blunder were to this. That journal, sir,
 (Without thy leave, hell shall not force the name
 From my firm-holding throat)—it is, great sir, 20
 Aid—solace—help. In our extremity,
 Upon the Tory ranks such charge it made
 That e'en the *Sun* (a prodigy unknown
 To warring JOSHUA) not alone stood still,
 But shrank to half its size. Sir, we do pipe— 25
 Toronto will not dance: the more we call,
 The more they will not come, as FLOOD did say,
 Grieving, unto me; but the *Liberal* shall—
 Great sir, forgive me!
- BROWNIBUS.—(*seizing him by the ear.*) Most abject knave, 30
 Was it for this I brought thee, and half-way,
 (As GOLDWIN did remark,) with saltiest brine
 Of broad Atlantic waves, thy principles

Did wash from out thee? Know, that nameless sheet
 Comes here to tell the truth. The crack of doom 35
 Were not more fatal. I have published now
 Globes long enough—my editorials all
 Have fallen into the weak, the vapid leaf,
 And that which should accompany its age,
 As office—bonuses—advertisements— 40
 I may not look to have!

Releases DYMONDIBUS; gradually changes from the awful to the mournful, speaks the last lines in most plaintive and most cracked pathos, and weeps inconsolably. DYMONDIBUS in the rear is rubbing his ear, rolling his eyes hideously, and shaking his fist at BROWNIBUS. Scene closes.

Short Drama

ACTORS.—SIR JOHN A.; Mr. MACKENZIE.

MACKENZIE (*solus*)—Hoo dith it come.
 Ma braw majority slips fast awa—
 As fa' the summer leaves? See whaur they gang—
 Ontarios baith; and Nova Scotia noo
 Slips off my tethering haun. Here comes SIR Jone,
 Full frae a hunner picnics.

(Enter Sir John.)

Fallow, stay!

Eetenerating traimp, what do ye here?
 Peddle ye chairters? Ken ye no I bear
 The pooer to apprehend and pit in waird,
 A' vagrants sic as ye?
 SIR JOHN (*jovially*)—Teetotalers
 Can no reverses bear. My grieving Sir,
 See how I thrive. Despite your power and place,
 Your cringing placemen and bought newspapers,
 The country throngs my way. Alone I stand,
 Alone I do it; I. Where now are your shets,
 That bragg'd my powers decayed? Where be they now?
 Where is the *Globe*—the *Advertiser* pack—
 That played out did me call? If dead I be,
 How do I flourish thus?

MACKENZIE—The deevil helps,
 Or ye dune ere this. Why, I hae got
 Ye're chiefest henchman noo; CARTWREET is mine,
 An diz adveeze in a'. What mair could ye,
 Do noo that what I do? He steer't ye're coorse,
 And hauds the helm for me. I rin the wark
 Wi nae apprenticeship, and sae I still
 Keepit the foreman on. Why suld na we
 Still keep oor credit gude?

SIR JOHN —(*falls into a chair in an agony of laughter*)
 Of all the jokes! My steersman! Ha! Ha! Ha!
 Advised me! Ha! Ha! Ha! Well, I've no chance
 Of being premier more, for I shall die
 Of laughter now and here.

MACKENZIE—He tell't me sae. If that he were na, he
 Is ane maist perjured loon!

SIR JOHN—If I had had a place
 Where he could ever talk and no one list.

Could send dispatches everywhere in haste,
 And do no harm with them; could puff and blow
 And strut and stamp, and smooth his whiskers out,
 But never influence a single jot
 One single measure—I, for instance,
 O'er other fools he held, that very place
 Had quick installed him in. None such there was,
 Nor could he, and he left. Where e'er he goes
 Ill luck goes fast abreast. Good day, friend MAC,
 "My steersman," as you think he was, has run
 Your fine Administration on some rocks,
 She'll never sail from more. *(Exit)*

MACKENZIE—*(rings bell furiously: pompous footman enters)---*
 Gang!—stay!—Whaur's Maister CARTWREET? Rin, sir, flee!
 Fetch me the poker quick!

FOOTMAN—Sir! Poker? Bless my soul, sir! Yes, sir, yes!
 In the Finance Department. *(Rushes Off)*

MACKENZIE—On second thochts,
 I micht be hangit. Na: I'll gang without,
 And poond the wretch tae dust! *(Exit, clenching his fists)*

Anon., *Grip*, 7 October 1876, p. 2

A lawyer, too, is reason we should not
 Grant to him this unreasonable thing.
 And for that he is known to all of us
 To be a busy man and much engaged
 In divers other matters of great weight;— 15
 Therefore we should not grant him this request.
 Besides he is an ignorant man;
 He has not studied the *Regina Leader*;
 Like birds, he gathers up his food upon
 The wing. He is a hero in his own 20
 Conceit, —a very sorry hero he;—
 Therefore should we not grant his request.
 O'Brien—The reasons just recited by my friend,
 Who now sat down, I leave to his own kind
 To feed their minds upon. They are not food
 For men. But briefly this I do assert,—
 That all the West, and all the Western Press
 Do back McCarthy up,—reason I think,
 That I should favor this thing that he asks.

White—Not I! And these my reasons,—musty tomes
 A century old; and which herefter will
 Be printed in the *Montreal Gazette*.

Beausoleil—*Chers Messieurs, J'ai l'honneur de proposer*
Que tout cela a été établi
Seulement dans l'intérêt bien entendu
Du Nord-Ouest. N'est-ce pas? Cela va sans dire.
Vive l'harmonie, mes Messieurs; Vive Québec!

Denison—*Vive* nothing; or if anything must "*Vive*,"
 Why, I say, let it be our noble Queen,
 Her Majesty, God bless her! In the West
 I've traveled, and have never heard a word
 Of French there spoken. If I had, I do
 Confess, I should have understood it not.
 They do not want it there. Besides, I guess
 McCarthy knows full well what he's about;—
 Therefore should be supported.

Mulock—In ancient days Ahasuerus, king,
 To six score seven of his provinces,
 Did seven and six score royal letters send,
 In six score seven different lingoes writ.

It is an ancient good example for us.

Dawson—Hear! Hear!

Langevin—We'll have our language; let who will say nay.
Fanatics all, I dare you!

Mills—If there be
Of forces, as there needs be, a number
Which at a given time, upon a body
Act, —there can be not a doubt, I think,
That forward would such body be impelled
In the direction, as you all must see,
Of the resultant of those forces. So
I cannot now support McCarthy's motion.

Charlton—From where Atlantic beats, unto the shores
Of far Pacific; and from Panama
To where the midnight sun looks down upon
The changeless fields of ice on Arctic coasts,—
The Anglo-Saxon still extends his sway.
Purpose divine this destiny has given,
That he must ever stretch his journey on.
The continent is his; a fairer world
God hath not given to man, nor shall not give.
Let him take up the trust—it is no cross—
And taking fear not.

Blake—No; 'tis I that fear;
And therefore I propose the following:—
(*Reads.*) *Whereas*, this House has now bowed the knee to Baal
for some years, and it is evident that great trouble will arise if
we try to break the yoke;—and both parties are undoubtedly
united in this feeling;
And *whereas*, the North-West must learn that this House intends
to let it know who runs it;
Therefore be it *resolved*: That we will make no change to the
existing institutions in the North-West until the Greek Kalends.

McNeill—A noble Roman truly; such indeed—
Nor more nor less than—he has always been.

Sutherland—And noble certainly I conceive he is.

Laurier—This whole thing is another Tory job,
 Put up by the Arch-Sorcerer himself.
 And this McCarthy—in tolerance
 Rivalled by none—protests himself to be
 A follower of his old chieftain still.
 And this is but a precursor to the dawn
 Of such a day as means black night to us.
 But I do dare that honorable man—
 If he to honor still pretends a claim—
 To say within the hearing of his peers
 What he to hinds on his own dunghill said.

Sir John— In this you do me wrong—great wrong—nor me
 Alone, but to my friends, who have been friends
 To thee and to thy friends these many years.
 And, lo! in history wilt thou find it writ,
 And in the days that are, alas, no more.
 But one thing pleases me: it is that Blake,
 Whom I these many years have loved,
 Has no proposed a most judicious course,
 A resolution that for statesmanship
 Proves him a non-pareil. And I suggest
 That would he kindly modify some words
 Of that which he has writ, and so not make
 The meaning quite so very, very plain,
 And I, or Thompson, might confer with him,
 We might solve this at length.

Blake—I will, dear heart.

Sir John— Much thanks.

Cockburn—Sirs, I have traveled much abroad
 In Switzerland, with knapsack, schnapps and guides,
 And I do hope this question solved will be.

Sproule—I do support McCarthy.

Wright—Not so I.

Landry—Leave not this question to the West to settle.

McCarthy—Well said.

Landry— Nor let us settle it ourselves.

Weldon—Certain provisions in the Constitution,
Which ancient days have handed down to us;
Certain enactments, guarantees and gages,
Which we in good faith entered into once,—
Preclude from any right consideration
Certain of matters touched upon. The rest
I do concede. These let us grant.

Dessaint— *Monsieur*
Quichotte cherchait toujours à protéger
Les faibles et les opprimés; Monsieur
McCarthy cherche à les persécuter
Quelle difference!

Chapleau— Great difference truly. In
My native province never did I see
Minorities oppressed. There demagogues
Have neither sway nor audience. Not so here.
But these attempts shall cease. Our ancient tongue
We shall preserve and cherish.

Cartwright— Snakes may change
Their skins, and certain animals their spots;
But shall a hoary sinner turn his way?
My pious friend who sits across the floor
Is at his ancient wily tricks again.
And even I must give reluctantly—
Timeo Danaos—him my support.

McCarthy—You scowl at me. On every side I see
Glances of rage and hate. Well, not the fiends
From hell unloosed shall turn me from my course.
Come, I defy you all. Answer me this:
Who first imposed upon a virgin soil
A monster birth? And who by trickery foul
Deceived this House and his own countrymen?
You! Sage of Bothwell.

Mills—! You dare not say—

McCarthy— Dare! I repeat, repeat a thousand times.

THE MODERN SHAKSPEARE.

“Andromeda! But yestere’ en I were a very Nimrod, and did the mountain trout engage in artful angle.”

“Oh fickle one! why giv’st thyself to that which doth thy tongue so tang with fable that e’ en thy tales erotic can nevermore wear guise of truth?”

“Nay, and thou wrong’st me gentle one! Here is a being so with truth entwined that e’ en with rod and reel he can commingle and thereafter find his nature vacuous of guile.”

“Tush thee, thou boy! This angler’s faculty doth like vapor win its victims—by absorption, sweet my lord, and witless of its poison thou would’st outdo Munchasen in thy tales and swear to it that scripture and St. Paul thy sponsors were.”

“But had’st thou seen, sweet maid?”

“With lens of fishermen, Henrico, of course I would thy captures magnify.”

“Nay, an’ would not on this sacred morn with fiction hoyden. I will concede thee, dame, that there be those who hie them to the salty deep and with plebian cod and mackerel so engage them that they be forced to antidote the same with liquid potions that do distort their speech and give inventive semblance to their tales. But whose loftier nature woos him to the bounding brook, where coy and crafty comes the cunning trout, and every pulse of sylvan breath doth whisper holy promptings, and dip the very soul in truth’s own fountain, he cannot, an: he would, prevaricate.”

“So good my lord? Then give me this, thy finny narrative.”

“Andromeda! I cannot yet the tale entire give, because as yet the tail ungarnered is. But I do swear me that when first me bait I dipped, a monster trout did batten on the same, and straightway did seek to harvest him. Yard after yard thereof did I in patience reap, and still in Ledger-like continuance me captive came. An hour test his longitude, and, when I left the task to other hands, the monster had o’ertaxed the afternoon to tell his length, and yet were dorsal parts invisible.”

“And thou, Henrico, dost endorse all this?”

“Aye, captious one, I do indeed!”

“Then have I ne’er met truth before, Henrico?”

—*Yonkers Gazette*

Anon., *Grip*, 14 June 1884, p.6.

THE "WORLD'S WARNING."
A COMEDY.

FIRST FARMER.—Tell ye what it is, its no use raisin' anything these days—What's the use o' toilin' an' moilin' day out an' day in, an' can't raise enough to pay off the interest on yer mortgage. My missis talks o' goin' into the city and keepin' a boardin' 'ouse.

SECOND FARMER.—Deed aye—a body's juist atween the deil an' the deep sea. Gin a body cud only get a decent price for what dae raise, but ye see its just the auld law o' supply an' demand. Its demand we want—mair demand.

THIRD FARMER.—Thru for yez! Sure its only the bit an' the sup we can get for all our slavin'—an' its betther we'd be on the ould sod entirely. Whisper, cudn't we be afther arganizin' a plan uv Campaign so as compil the devils to pay a daysent price for their praities an' their whate.

[Enter Erastus Wiman and Butterworth.]

WIMAN.—Friends—Canadians—countrymen, lend me your ears,
As I have lent you mine for some time past,
Listening unto your plaints of poverty
In that for your good produce you've no market.
No market means no money, and no money
Means nary purchase when you go to town.
As thrives the farmer so the country thrives,
And as I wish to see my country thrive
(For 'tis my country still, though I like you
Found prices for my values far too small,
So lit on likelier soil.) I come to you
Showing you where a market wide awaits you—
A market wider than the world e'er saw.
Millions of hungry Yanks to eat your produce;
Millions of dollars to pay you therefor.
They in return just ask to send their products
By reciprocity into your markets,
Arts, manufactures, which will also help
In that 'twill stimulate fresh competition,
Resulting in cheap goods for the consumer.

[Enter "World."]

WORLD.—Don't believe him—he is stuffing you.
Wiman and Butterworth mean annexation,
And annexation means, this glorious Canada
Will be no more than just an added star
Upon their impudent flag, an' extra stripe
On Uncle Sam's long lanky pantaloons.

You stick to John A. and his big N.P.,
And if you *do* but barely get a living,
Anything's better than to list to Wiman.
Oh he's a cute one! oh! His plans are deep!
That man intends one day to own New York,
And so wants to live cheaply, saving much
Toward that end—by cheapening his living
By introduction of Canadian butter,
Eggs, bread and vegetables, and dear knows what.
Now don't you do it! *he* don't care for you,
Not one red cent—he wants to ruin our trades,
And flood our markets with cheap Yankee goods,
So when he owns New York he'll buy up Canada
For an old song. You hold on to your wheat,
Or sell it even for five cents a bushel,
Rather than trade it for a Yankee dollar.
A Yankee dollar is like devil's gold,
'Twill turn to worthless copper in your pockets.
Grub, toil, and starve, let the farm go for the mortgage,
Think not of old age, you may never see it,
But never, never, never try to buy
Freedom from debt, or ease, or comfort,
Through means of Wiman's Reciprocity.

Anon., *Grip*, 11 June 1887, p. 4.

Shakespeare



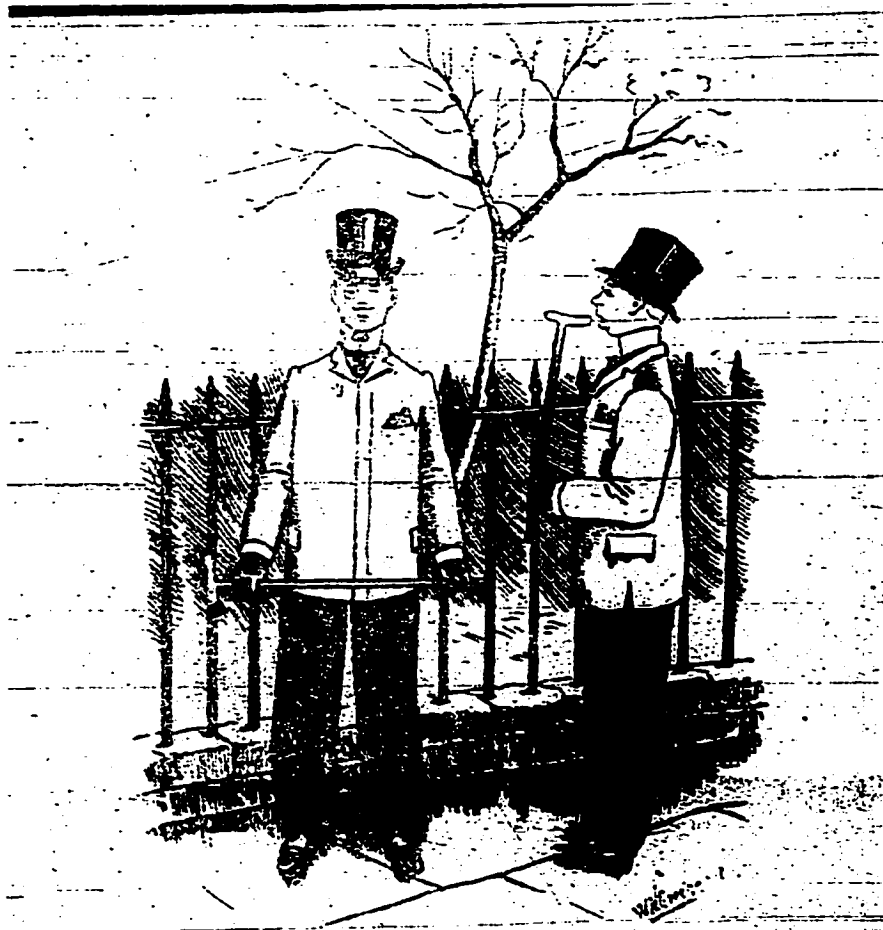
A poor complaining creature, whose heart is stony, whose
 soul is a dreadful dump, whose mind is oppress'd,
 whose music with her silver tongue
 With speedy help doth lend redress.
 Shakespeare



Anon., *A Shaksperian Savage*, *Grip*, 19 April 1890, p. 273.



Anon., *Shakspear Preparing A Play for the Stage*, *Grip*, 17 May 1890, p. 335.



FAWNCY!

DOODLES—"What charactaw do you mean to wewpewesent at the fawncy dwess ball to-night?"

FOODLES—"Thought I'd wig up as 'Shakespeare.' What do you pwopose to be?"

DOODLES—"Something hewoic, doncherknow, I mean to impersonate 'Richard the Lion-Heart,' bah jove!"

Endnotes

Introduction

“That large part of our popular opinion and judgement:”

Shakespeare in Nineteenth-Century Canada

1. Joseph Howe, *Shakspeare. Oration delivered by the Honorable Joseph Howe, at the Request of the Saint George's Society, at the Temperance Hall, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 23rd April, 1864*. Halifax, N.S.: “Citizen” Printing and Publishing Office, 1864. [Mic.F. CC-4 no. 37015]; Thomas D’Arcy McGee, “The Tercentenary of Shakespeare”, in *1825–D’Arcy McGee–1925: A Collection of Speeches and Addresses*, Ed. Charles Murphy, Toronto: Macmillan, 1937, pp. 54-59; *The Sprite*, Quebec: G.E. Desbarats for C.E. Holiwell, [1865].
2. Investing Shakespeare with such cultural and historical significance requires a wry recognition of the cultural factors shaping my own readings—readings which, I am aware, participate actively in describing Shakespeare as cultural icon and perpetuating longstanding beliefs about his canonicity and importance to (Anglo-American) culture. The status of Shakespeare in Canadian curricula and in other areas of Canadian culture has yet to be examined and provides a fruitful area for further research.
3. See, for example, Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship, 1660-1769*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994; Edward Pechter, *What Was Shakespeare? Renaissance Plays and Changing Critical Practice*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995; Jonathan Bate, *Shakespearean Constitutions: Politics, Theatre, Criticism 1730-1830*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989; Jean Marsden, Ed., *The Appropriation of Shakespeare: Post-Renaissance Reconstructions of the Works and the Myth*, New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1991; Laurie E. Maguire and Thomas L. Berger, Eds., *Textual Formations and Reformations*, Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1998.
4. J.W. Bengough, *A Caricature History of Canadian Politics.: Events from the Union of 1841, as Illustrated by Cartoons from “Grip,” and various other sources. with an introduction by Rev. Principal Grant, D.D..* Toronto: Grip Printing and Publishing Co., 1886, p. 7.
5. Editorial conflict and rivalries were common in this culture, as the example of *Grinchuckle* and *Diogenes* demonstrates. The two periodicals competed for nineteen issues and both eventually folded within twenty days of each other. (See further chapter three for how Shakespeare participated in this rivalry). Similarly, Montreal’s *The Jester* was created as a Tory-leaning counter to *Grip*, in part to mitigate against the influence of *Grip*’s Toronto-based Liberal views (Cumming 43).

6. *Grip*, 28 February 1880, p. 2, vol. 14, no. 15, p. 2. *Le Vert Canard* should be *Le Vrai Canard*. If *Grip*'s estimate of twenty humorous journals is correct, then over half of these journals have disappeared.

7. *Troilus and Cressida According to William Shakespeare*, published in *Grip*, 30 December 1882, vol. 20, no. 6, pp. 2-3.

8. J.W. Bengough, *A Caricature History of Canadian Politics.: Events from the Union of 1841, as Illustrated by Cartoons from "Grip," and various other sources.* with an introduction by Rev. Principal Grant, D.D.. Toronto: Grip Printing and Publishing Co., 1886, p. 7.

9. J.W. Bengough, *A Caricature History of Canadian Politics.: Events from the Union of 1841, as Illustrated by Cartoons from "Grip," and various other sources.* with an introduction by Rev. Principal Grant, D.D.. Toronto: Grip Printing and Publishing Co., 1886, p. 7.

10. See Stanley Paul Kutcher, *John Wilson Bengough: Artist of Righteousness*, MA Thesis, McMaster University, 1975; Dennis Edward Blake, *J.W. Bengough and Grip: The Canadian Editorial Cartoon Comes of Age*, M.A. Thesis, Wilfred Laurier University, 1985; and Carman Cumming, *Sketches from a Young Country: The Images of Grip Magazine*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.

11. Most work which has investigated nineteenth-century Canada has tended to focus on theatre history. See Yashdip Singh Bains, "Theatre and Society in Early Nineteenth-Century Toronto", *NCTR*, Vol. 3 (Autumn 1975): 83-95; Robertson Davies, "The Nineteenth-Century Repertoire", in Ann Saddlemeier, Ed. *Early Stages: Theatre in Ontario, 1800-1914*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990, pp. 90-122; Murray D. Edwards, *A Stage in Our Past: English-language Theatre in Eastern Canada from the 1790's to 1914*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968; Mary Elizabeth Smith, "Shakespeare in Atlantic Canada During the Nineteenth Century", *Theatre History in Canada*, vol. 3 (1982): 126-136 Existing studies of Shakespeare in local settings are few, and for the most part focused on history and chronology. See John Ripley, "Shakespeare on the Montreal Stage, 1805-1826", *Theatre History in Canada*, vol. 3 (Spring 1982): 3-20; Sheila Roberts, *Shakespeare in Vancouver, 1889-1918*, Vancouver: Vancouver Historical Society, 1971. The essays in Ania Loomba and Martin Orkin, Eds., *Post-Colonial Shakespeares*, London and New York: Routledge, 1998 are testament to the recent critical engagement with notions of hybridity, appropriation, and post-coloniality as they relate to Shakespeare.

Chapter 1

“Idoltrous Fancy”:

Appropriating Shakespeare for Nineteenth-Century Canada

12. My thanks to Phillip Donnelly for the translation.
13. “An Old Playgoer” also appears in *The Jester* of 14 February 1879, again describing a production of *Macbeth*, this time with Mr. Linde (the renowned tragedian of the nineteenth century) in the title role. Less impressed with this production, “An Old Playgoer” reveals that he and his party were “weary” of the production, and that “Mr. Linde has talent and a fine voice—particularly for shouting; but why he should rob us of our quarters and bore us with phenomenal recitals of ‘Macbeth’ puzzles me not a little” (274). *Grip* likewise offers a running column called “From Our Box” where he discusses the productions he has seen in Toronto and offers suggestions, sometimes to the actors, but more frequently to the audience. For instance, the issue of 27 March 1875 (vol. 4, no. 18) reminds women not to wear overly large or elaborate hats to the theatre and chastises men who leave to quench their “thirst” in the middle of the play (2); the issue of 1 April 1876 (vol. 6, no. 19) notes that “altogether *King Henry V.* as it is now played is as magnificent and delightful a drama as we have ever seen” (2). *Grip* eventually extends to parodying the theatre itself, with columns like “Grip’s Original Double ‘Hamlet’ Company”, which proposed “the most stupendous and daring enterprise ever put upon any stage!” (See *Grip*, 13 January 1883, vol. 20, no. 8, p. 2).
14. See *The Dominion Illustrated*, vol. 1, no. 14, n.p., under the title “Red and Blue Pencils” where the editor writes, “It will surprise most of my readers to learn that Shakespeare is played as much in Germany and Austria as he is in either Britain, the United States or Canada. From 1881-87,—six years—thirty-one of his works were given in the former countries, 5082 times, or a mean of 726 times a year. The names of the plays are worth recording. Hamlet was played 646 times; Othello, 618; The Taming of the Shrew, 511; The Merchant of Venice, 507; Romeo and Juliet, 410; Winter’s Tale, 342; Midsummer’s Night’s Dream, 330; Much Ado About Nothing, 256; Julius Caesar, 253; As You Like It, 234; Richard III, 226; King Lear, 220. Much as the Germans admire, so little do the French appreciate the greatest of playwrights (...).”
15. Note the American spelling. *Grip* usually uses British/ Canadian spelling (*colour*, not *color*); this may be an oblique indication of the proliferation of American editions of British texts.
16. The full quote, said by Hamlet right before he drags Polonius’s dead body out of his mother’s chamber, is “For ‘tis sport to have the engineer/ Hoist with his own petar, an’t shall go hard/ But I will delve one yard below their mines/ And blow them at the moon”(3.4. 206-209).
17. *Catalogue of Books in Library of Late Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, to be sold by Public Auction at Earnscliffe, Ottawa, ON 28 MAY NEXT AT 4 30 and 8 PM. For*

further particulars apply to W.H. LEWIS, Auctioneer, OTTAWA, n.p. :Ottawa [assumed], [1891, assumed], catalogue numbers 756, 859-864.

18. Volumes of Shakespeare, as material objects, also have a place in the humour of the comic periodicals. The 21 September 1889 issue of *Grip* (vol. 33, no. 12, p. 180) has "A Misleading Announcement":

He entered a second-hand bookstore on Yonge street and with an expression of lively curiosity on his face and approximated the salesman.

"I observed, as I was passing," he began, "a sign in your window stating, 'Old Books Rebound.' Now, is that a fact?"

"Certainly, sir," said the salesman.

"Permit me to take exception to the statement. I cannot believe that age imparts any appreciable degree of resilience to printed volumes. In fact, I am prepared to demonstrate by actual experiment that it does not."

So saying he reached for a volume of Shakespeare considerably the worse for wear and whanged it down with considerable violence upon the floor. He followed it up with a couple of blue-books and an old copy of Caesar's Commentaries. "Now, you see, old books don't rebound worth a cent. Always stick to facts."

And he was gone before the flabbergasted salesman could think of any swear words which seemed in any degree adequate to the occasion.

Chapter Two

"One cannot help parodying SHAKESPEARE:"

Nineteenth-Century Canadian Parodies of Shakespeare

19. See pages 54-100 of Margaret Rose's *Parody: Ancient, Modern, Post-Modern* for a discussion of the changing nature of these critical terms.

20. Unfortunately, from a modern point of view, the intense nationalism expressed in *Grip* and elsewhere, especially in the late 1880s and 1890s (after the thrill of Confederation was replaced with the mundane necessity of governing a vast and heterogenous population), often trespasses into the less-appealing realm of the racially-prejudiced and simply narrow-minded. For instance, facing "The Great Duel (Language)" is a twelve line 'poem' called "A Potent Reason" ("Well, to my laundryman, Wo Fee./ That fine Canadian girl is married./ Married a Chinaman? Of course 'twas love of gold caused that disaster?/ Oh no, a flower did the trick. A flower? Why yes, a *Chinese ast-er*"). I am inclined, like many social historians, to record the even-repugnant descriptions, since, as Carman Cumming notes "we have to know as much as possible of where we have been if we are to see our present and future with any clarity" (Cumming 25).

Chapter Three

Shakespearean Caricature, 1848-1891; or, The Merry Lives of Sir John A. Macdonald.

21. According to Carman Cumming, common themes and imagery guided these artists for they all employed symbols recognizable to a literate audience: “the stern and hefty Grecian woman who represented Britannia (or Columbia or Miss Canada); the classical images of Trojan horses and assassinated Caesars; the well known religious characters from the Bible or from Milton or Bunyan”; newer images from the operettas of Gilbert and Sullivan; common racial and gender stereotypes (8). This inventory of the dominant cultural and literary allusions by Carman Cumming neglects to mention that Shakespeare is employed at least as frequently as references to classical literature and certainly more often than Milton. As a point of reference, explicit Miltonic allusions figure in two cartoons from *Grip*.

22. In addition to the infant domestic caricature scene, represented by periodicals such as *Punch in Canada* (1 January 1849 -27 April 1850), *Diogenes* (13 November 1868-21 January 1870), *Canadian Illustrated News* (30 October 1869- 29 December 1883), *The Dominion Illustrated* (1888-1890), and, lastly, *Grip* (24 May 1873- 29 December 1894), there was a large amount of caricature work coming into Canada in this period, primarily from Great Britain and also from American periodicals like *Harper's Bazaar*. It should come as no surprise that the British cultural heritage exemplified by Shakespeare was appropriated in Canada's comic press: after all, the comic press itself directly borrowed, indirectly adopted and often blatantly stole the format, editorial persona and mandate of the British humorous periodicals of the time. Certain of the appropriations are obvious, like the titles *Punch in Canada*, *The Canadian Punch*, *Punch*, or *the Northern Light* and *The Stadacona Punch*, and others, like the jester figures of *Punch in Canada*, *Diogenes* (“The Cynic”) and *Grip's* Raven, clearly owe a debt to “Mr. Punch”.

23. Raymond Morris uses the terms “skimmer” and glancer” in his more sociological work on cartoons, chiefly because it conveys the “almost instantaneous manner in which readers seek to ‘get the point’ of a cartoon (Morris *Carnivalization* 4).

24. Anne Barton notes that Charles Gildon reported in 1710 that Queen Elizabeth I commissioned a comedy about Falstaff in love (Barton 131).

25. The extent to which visual satire could play an important role in the political dialogue of the time is clearly shown by the popularity and reception of *Grip*. In addition to the regular publication of his periodical—with extra issues at the holidays—Bengough published volumes of collected caricatures, primarily his own work from *Grip*. It is the second of these volumes, *A Caricature History of Canadian Politics* published in 1886, which provides clear evidence of the appropriation of Shakespeare and the extent of appeal of caricature. Cutting across the partisan divisions of the time, but very clearly evidence of a homogenous male, political elite, the list of subscribers to Bengough's

presentation folio of *A Caricature History of Canadian Politics* includes John A. Macdonald and is dedicated to a former Governor-General.

26. Bengough would later recall in his *Recollections of a Cartoonist* (Part Three) that nearly all of Canada's nineteenth-century politicians "had faces that lent themselves readily to portrayal" (251). "Sir John," writes Bengough, "was certainly a bonanza. I remember the covetous look and tone with which Gillam, the noted artist of New York *Judge* once said to me that American cartoonists would give anything to have a figure like Sir John in the national politics of the United States" (251-2).

Conclusion

"Pointedly Aimed at this Canada of Ours": Shakespeare as Social Text.

27. "The Meeting of the Magi, 11th April, 1872" [Mic.F. CC-4 No 52108, ephemera from the Toronto Public Library], A2r, ll. 9-10.

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