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COMMUNITY AFFAIRS: REWRITING *THE TEMPEST* IN THE SERVICE OF ART AND CIVILISATION

Abstract

William Shakespeare's *The Tempest* comes across as an inviting and resourceful ground that has prompted a range of (re-)reading perspectives and creative appropriations. The reworking of the original plot, characters, motifs, themes and ideas originates in geographical, cultural, social and ideological spaces in order to supply an alternative and even contesting perspective to the established meanings. The play has been appropriated to serve a range of causes that match particular agendas. Percy MacKaye appropriated partially *The Tempest* to fashion a plot through which to educate the US citizens in the spirit of art while fostering a national identity spirit. His masque, *Caliban by the Yellow Sands*, was meant to celebrate Shakespeare's dramatic works and also to serve civilizing purposes and social ideals that would generate a sense of cultural and community belonging. In this way, MacKaye's creative reworking of *The Tempest* is a means to an end. Caliban is appropriated as a symbol of aspiring humanity going through traumatic periods of vicious destruction and extreme suffering and serves to amplify conflicting or oppositional relationships in order to better point out ideas about civilisation, socio-cultural community, the creative potential and role of art as a civilizing agency, democracy, freedom and anti-colonialism. Thus, this rewriting of Caliban should invite reflections on a number of levels – personal, public, cultural, racial, educational and socio-political – and may trigger awareness against inhumane and harmful ideologies, policies and practices.

Keywords: alternative reading, rewriting, creative appropriation, community, art, identity

The twentieth-century rewriting of William Shakespeare's *The Tempest* is more diversified in respect to theme, approach and literary genre than it was in the previous centuries and crosses over the geographical, cultural and socio-political frontiers of the Anglo-Saxon world.[1] From 1667 to 1900,

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[1]This is an informative list of research on the adaption, transformation and rewriting of *The Tempest*: Frederick W. Kilbourne. 1906. *Alterations and Adaptations of Shakespeare*. Boston: The Poet Lore Company; Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman (eds.). 2000. '*The Tempest' and Its Travels*. London: Reaktion Books; Christine Dymkowski (ed.). 2000. *The Tempest*. Cambridge University Press; Michael Dobson. 1992. *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship, 1660-1769*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; Gary Taylor. 1989. *Reinventing Shakespeare: A Cultural History from the Restoration to the Present*. London: The Hogarth Press; Jonathan Bate. 1989. *Shakespearean Constitutions: Politics, Theatre, Criticism 1730-1830.* Oxford: Clarendon Press; Jean I. Marsden. 1995. *The Re-Imagined Text: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Eighteenth Century Literary Theory*. The University Press of Kentucky; Christopher Spencer (ed.). 1965. *Five Restoration Adaptations of Shakespeare*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press; George C. Branam, 1956. *Eighteenth Century Adaptations of Shakespearean Tragedy*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press; Michael Dobson. 1991. ''Remember/First to Possess His Books': The Appropriation of *The Tempest*, 1700-1800'. *Shakespeare Survey*, 43; Mary M. Nilan. 1972. '*The Tempest* at the Turn of the Century: Cross-Currents in Production', *Shakespeare Survey*, vol. 25; Sandra Clark (ed.). 1997. *Shakespeare Made Fit: Restoration Adaptation of Shakespeare* (London: J. M. Dent/Everyman; Richard W. Schoch. 2002. *Not Shakespeare: Bardolatry and Burlesque in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge University Press; Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin. 1989. *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literature*. London and New York: Routledge; Chantal Zabus. 2002. *Tempests after Shakespeare*. New Yord: Palgrave; Cary M. Mazer. 1981. *Shakespeare Refashioned: Elizabethan Plays on Edwardian Stages*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press; Rob Nixon. 1987. 'Caribbean and African Appropriations of *The Tempest*. *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 13, No. 3, Spring; Marianne Novy (ed.). 1990. *Women's Re-Visions of Shakespeare*.

drama was the dominant genre through which authors adapted and transformed *The Tempest*, supplemented by a small number of prose narratives and poems.[2] The expansion of the novel in the eighteenth century may account in part for the genre diversification of *The Tempest* revisions in the twentieth century. From a thematic point of view, the pre-twentieth century transformations originate from engaging and challenging perspectives that are pre-eminently relevant to events and matters in the British Isles and, only marginally, Europe and elsewhere. Starting with the second half of the nineteenth century, the works that rewrite *The Tempest* depart, through novel artistic and socio-political approaches, from the previous adaptations and transformations of the play. This is mainly due to the fact that rewriting occurs in various geographical, cultural and linguistic sites, emerging from a range of intellectual, artistic, social and political motives to serve a number of causes – the most frequent and prominent ones being anti-colonialism, decolonisation and feminism.[3] This is to say that those who actively engage with the Shakespearean play seek to create flexible and distinct narratives through which to initiate freshly engaging dialogue that transcends the play's borders of meaning and brings new insights to the foreground in terms of reading and interpretation. This engagement, both creative and critical, generates an alternative, supplementary or even oppositional space to the original play. In this space the rewriters set up new identities for the inherited characters and forge new plots in which the Shakespearean ideas, symbolism, motifs and themes are refashioned.

In the twentieth century *The Tempest* triggered an impressive array of both fictional and non-fictional works because it has been subjected to new, alternative readings, i.e. re-readings. The fictional works are creative rewritings of the play's aspects, motifs, ideas, characters and symbolism, while the non-fictional ones are alternative (re-)readings of the play. They rework, within a new frame, the entire play or they single out from the original a motif, such as the relationship between art and nature, master and servant, father and daughter, the absent women, and/or one or more characters – most often Prospero, Caliban, Miranda, Ariel, Ferdinand, and Sycorax. The non-fictional works interpret and engage critically with *The Tempest*'s plot, characters, motifs, ideas and symbolism from positions that are relevant to certain cultural and geographical locations and to certain socio-political and gender perspectives. The fictional and non-fictional works engage with the play, as a cultural text, through commentary, criticism and creative responses – the last group writes back or in reply to the play. These works foreground concepts, motifs and meanings pertaining to their originating agendas that situate them in contesting and oppositional relations and stances to the play. The fictional works that recreate *The Tempest* reposition the play while recuperating a complex of social, cultural, and political events, motifs, and ideas. This type of active engagement – fictional and non-fictional – shows that *The Tempest* is an inviting and resourceful ground that develops and absorbs other geographical, social, cultural or ideological spaces but it is also drawn into other such spaces. Thus, the characters undergo identity changes, complex interconnections surface and intercultural exchanges occur.

Some transformations of *The Tempest*, including the one discussed hereinafter, focus on Caliban not so much by giving him more dramatic attention and space, but rather by emphasizing and amplifying his conflicting and oppositional relationship with Prospero in its different guises – artistic/cultural, social, political and racial – to the detriment of other relationships and matters. Caliban acquires prominent symbolic status and function to express ideas about civilization, the

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Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press; Diana Brydon. 1984. 'Re-Writing *The Tempest*', *World Literature Written in English*, Vol. 23, No. 1.

[2] Dramatic works that are adaptations and rewritings of *The Tempest*: *The Tempest, or The Enchanted Island*, (1667), by William Davenant and John Dryden; Thomas Shadwell's operatic version of the former (1674) and *The Mock Tempest; or The Enchanted Castle*, (1674), by Thomas Duffett. In addition, there are the stage versions and transformations by David Garrick (1756-1757, 1757-1758), J. P. Kemble (1789), Charles Macready (1838), Charles Kean (1857), as well the domestic editions of Shakespeare's works: Charles and Mary Lamb, *Tales from Shakespeare* (1807); Thomas Bowdler, *The Family Shakespeare, in Eight Volumes* (1818).

[3]Cf. Aimé Césaire. 1969. *UneTempête: D'apres "la Tempête" de Shakespeare.* Paris: Seuil, translated as *A Tempest. Based on Shakespeare's* The Tempest – *Adaptation for a Black Theatre* (Ubu Repertory Theatre Publications, 1985); David Wallace. 1977. *Do You Love Me Master?* Lusaka: National Educational Company of Zambia Ltd. For feminist rewriting of *The Tempest* see Marianne Novy (ed.). 1990. *Women's Re-Visions of Shakespeare*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press; Diana Brydon. 1984. 'Re-Writing *The Tempest*', *World Literature Written in English*, Vol. 23, No. 1; Chantal Zabus. 2002. *Tempests after Shakespeare*.

power and role of art, democracy, freedom, racial subjugation, anti-colonialism and decolonization. This is to say that the practice of creative appropriation leads to new texts.

Caliban has an extended role in Percy MacKaye's *Caliban by the Yellow Sands*, an American transformation[4] of *The Tempest* that "resembles Rénan's *Caliban* in presenting Shakespeare's savage and deformed slave as a symbol for the common people" (Cohn, 1976: 276). *Caliban by the Yellow Sands* is, in MacKaye's words, a "Community Masque" which was purposely written and performed to commemorate in America the Tercentenary of Shakespeare's Death in 1916 (MacKaye, 1916: XV).[5]The Celebration of the Shakespeare Tercentenary[6] in the USA is considered to have links with the debates concerning the nature of American national identity and democracy in the face of increasing immigration at the beginning of the 20th century. MacKaye explained that the "function of the Celebration" was "to help unite all classes and all beliefs in a great coöperative [sic] movement for civic expression through dramatic art" (MacKaye, 1916: XX). For the aims of his masque, MacKaye appropriated only partially Shakespeare's play by deriving from it four characters – Prospero, Miranda, Ariel, and Caliban – whom he re-imagined in a symbolic re-casting of a plot and conflict according to his own conception (MacKaye, 1916: XX). MacKaye devised his dramatic work to celebrate not only Shakespeare but also the art of the theatre at a time when, across the Atlantic, Europe was experiencing the destruction and suffering caused by World War I. In his masque, he opposes the creative power and civilizing force of art – for which reason he conceived of Prospero's art "as the art of Shakespeare in its universal scope" (MacKaye, 1916: XV) – to the destructive force of the war, which he identified as the primitive manifestation of Setebos. According to Mel Gordon, MacKaye's conception was such that through *Caliban* "America would find a substitute for war" (Gordon, 1976: 94). MacKaye developed his plot around Caliban, "that passionate child-curious part of us all [whether as individuals or as races], grovelling close to his aboriginal origins [sic]" (MacKaye, 1916: XV)[7], who seeks to learn the art of Prospero. The plot dealing with the education of Caliban "from a bestial creature to a potentially civilized individual" is "deliberately not fixed at any point in time" (Greene, 1989: 62).

MacKaye did not treat Caliban as a comic character but envisaged him as "the protagonist of aspiring humanity, not simply its butt of shame and ridicule" (MacKaye, 1916: XVI). In other words, MacKaye viewed Caliban as part of humanity. Despite his "aboriginal origins", Caliban is drawn, albeit hesitantly "toward the serener plane of pity and love, reason and disciplined will, where Miranda and Prospero commune with Ariel and his Spirits" (MacKaye, 1916: XV). MacKaye developed the four characters transplanted from Shakespeare in accordance with his theme – "the slow education of mankind through the influence of cooperative art, that is, the art of the theatre in its full social scope" – and adapted the masque to "democratic expression and dedicated [it] to public service" (MacKaye, 1916: XVI). Although MacKaye takes dramatic licenses with Shakespeare's text, his "Masque aims to accord its theme with the art and spirit of Shakespeare" (MacKaye, 1916: XVI).

Caliban by the Yellow Sands is not MacKaye's first or last dramatic work pertaining to "the American pageant drama in general and the American masque in particular" (Brock and Welsh, 1972: 68). From a theoretical point of view, the American pageantry of the early twentieth century "combined artistry and social work in attempts to build community unity and identity" (Mehler, 2010: 11). MacKaye was writing within the tradition of an American dramatic form that "flourished during the reform era, especially from 1900 to 1920, and rapidly became an American institution" (Kahn, 2000: 262). Brock and Welsh consider MacKaye's theoretical and practical contribution to this dramatic genre in relation to Ben Jonson's work, stating that MacKaye viewed his masques as

[4]MacKaye's masque, written at the invitation of the New York Shakespeare Tercentenary Celebration Committee, is a re-imagination/re-creation of Shakespeare's *The Tempest* originating from Act I, Scene 2, more specifically from Prospero's declaration to Ariel, "It was mine art that set thee free".

[5]The masque premiered on May 24, 1916, in the Lewisohn stadium of the City College of New York and ran for ten nights. A year later it was produced in Harvard Stadium in Cambridge.

[6]For an article that sheds light on the Tercentenary's contribution to the crucial political debates of its time, see Monika Smialkowska, "A democratic art at a democratic price": The American Celebrations of the Shakespeare Tercentenary, 1916, *Transatlantica* [Online], 1 | 2010, Online since 27 September 2010, connection on 01 October 2016. URL: http://transatlantica.revues.org/4787.

[7]MacKaye, 'Preface', 2000: xv.

dramatic works of art that both reflect artistic and literary purposes and are adapted to democratic ideals and society (Brock and Welsh, 1972: 68). This is to say there emerged a "concept that art was integral to, and a basic element of, the democratic process" (Prevots, 1990: 1). In fact, most proponents of the community drama saw it play an important role in broader progressive social and political agendas of the time.

MacKaye was interested in the social/civic potential and role of the dramatic pageants as mass performances that can reach the people. In 1910, MacKaye stated his intent "to link public leisure with national ideals" and further argued that "pageants and masques could serve to celebrate the contributions of the many cultures that had arrived in America and at the same time unite these diverse components under the single ideal of liberty" (Mehler, 2010: 11). MacKaye's views signal the importance of promoting a national American identity instead of a local one. His masques, as means through which democracy can speak of and for the people, would produce a "civic-inspiring art" (Potter, 1996: 71) as they "would furnish individuals of all classes and trades the opportunity to work in and create a communal and democratic art, while 'uplifting' the moral and social values of the community" (Gordon, 1976: 95). One of the aims of his masques, *Caliban* included, was to transform the American community by breaking down social and cultural barriers so as "to create a solidarity transcending conflicting class and ethnic interests" (Kahn, 2000: 263). In other words, MacKaye claimed that the masque, as a community drama, promoted a "celebration of cultural pluralism" providing "an environment for [...] several cultures to interact and intermix in a positive manner" (Mehler, 2010: 15). Thus, with its blend of pageantry, poetry and dance, *Caliban* was meant to involve New York's several races, religions and economic layers on a large and elaborate scale (Kahn, 2000: 256).

However, the concept of community that MacKaye attempts to establish through *Caliban* is, to some extent, fraught with a number of ideological issues that have to do with the ethnic or national composition of the audience and the dramatic content or structure of the masque itself. Potter, Cartelli, and Kahn offer readings of *Caliban* that examine how MacKaye tries to deal with broader social issues such as immigration and Americanisation, i.e. the forging of a social and cultural American identity. In particular, *Caliban* explores the social conflicts manifest in the early twentieth century American society, namely the problem of integrating the immigrants into the American society (cf. Potter, 1996: 71-79; Cartelli, 1999: 63-64; Kahn, 2000: 256-266). Cartelli notes that MacKaye's themes:

> as they emerge from the published text of the masque […], articulate his responsiveness to the anxieties of others of his class and caste regarding how best to "Americanize" the newly arrived masses of immigrants and introduce them to the standards and obligations of Anglo-Saxon culture (Cartelli, 1999: 63).

The "Americanization" of the immigrants implied the creation of an American national consciousness at cultural and social levels, and MacKaye uses Shakespeare and his work to educate the immigrants in the spirit and tradition of Anglo-American culture which may have relied on a concept of an Anglo-American Protestant core. Cartelli comments that MacKaye uses the living heritage of Shakespeare to sustain and support the native American drama because he envisioned that Shakespeare's work, with its deep roots into the English tradition and language, can be a "formative source or power" for an emerging American drama (Cartelli, 1999: 64-65). Kahn observes that MacKaye's attempt to make Shakespeare "the poet who speaks to all Americans" presents a "cultural dissonance" because Shakespeare was pre-eminently England's literary asset and icon that, at this "cultural moment", becomes the switch point between two separate and distinct countries – England and America – sharing a certain cultural and linguistic legacy (Kahn, 2000: 258). As Kahn further argues, the "cultural dissonance" involved the question of "what transformed an immigrant into an American" – a dual question that raised philosophical and social issues dating back to the beginnings of the American republic (Kahn, 2000: 258). The ideological ambivalence of the question of Americanness lies in the opposition between the "set of universal principles" that the founding fathers envisioned as "the basis of nationhood and citizenship" and a later theory of an American identity based upon a sense of "a certain ethnic pride" in which a belief in the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon culture was a predominant element (Kahn, 2000: 258-262; Vaughan and Vaughan, 1991: 114). The

opposition becomes obvious as long as the immigrants from a non-Anglo-Saxon background were expected to learn English and adopt the American culture as their own.

In the light of these points of view, MacKaye's declared aim of fostering a community feeling through *Caliban* may come across as problematic because he exposes the non-English speaking or non-Anglo-American cultural background segment of his (New York) audience to a staging of the English-speaking tradition represented by Shakespeare. MacKaye's artistic choice most likely meant to bring Shakespeare to a mass audience beyond the artistic traditions and conventions of the commercial theatre. Actually, MacKaye was not fond of the commercial theatre tradition and looked favourably on contemporary texts that follow the "civic ideal of Greek tradition," in which theatre is "the chief force of civilization and religion" (MacKaye, 1911: 122-128). The structure and the text of the play reveal that MacKaye makes: "Shakespeare encompass the historical diversity of theatrical art through the ages" (Kahn, 2000: 266). In other words, Shakespeare is both English and universal – a comprehensive dramatist for all seasons and cultural tastes. However, *Caliban* is likely to have posed problems of understanding even for spectators/readers with some (English) literary background.

The action of the masque, whose eminently performative and visual aspects MacKaye stressed in his "Preface" to the text, takes place in three acts structured on three symbolic planes: in the cave of Setebos, in the mind of Prospero, and on the ground circle of "the Yellow Sands" (MacKaye 1916: XXIX). The acts, each with its own theme, are introduced by mime interludes reminiscent of three periods of theatre: Antiquity, Middle Ages and Elizabethan England.[8] The acts are interwoven with nine inner scenes – eight of them from a number of Shakespeare's plays – and a Morality play. The characters of the masque proper – the speaking persons – include Ariel, Sycorax, Caliban, Prospero, Miranda, Lust, Death, War, Caligula (impersonated by Lust), One in Gray (impersonated by Death), and Another One in Gray (impersonated by Caliban) (MacKaye, 1916: XXXI).[9] It is worth noting that Michael Peter Mehler makes a useful comment regarding the spatiality of the masque. Drawing on theories of space (Soja, 1989: 120-122; Lefebvre, 1991: 14-38), Mehler notes that *Caliban* displays "separate spaces that reflected oppositional cultures" and contrasts "civilized protagonists with savage antagonists that [...] [are] conquered by force or benevolent reform" and aspire to the privileged space which the protagonist controls (Mehler, 2010: 25). The plot follows Caliban as the figure of Everyman tempted by Lust, Death and War but eventually saved by Prospero, Ariel and Miranda. It is an example of a journey from savagery to civilisation in which the enlightened characters manage to remain above the savage ones. Charles H. Shattuck rightly comments that MacKaye's rather unsophisticated transposition of the Shakespearean characters actually stripped them "of their Shakespearean habiliments – their poetry and their magic – and reduc[ed] them to counters in a banal allegory of Good mastering Evil" (Shattuck, 1987: 307).

The masque begins some time prior to the action of *The Tempest* when Caliban is still king of the island. In the "Prologue", Ariel, fettered in the tiger-jaws of the idol Setebos, is the prisoner of Sycorax. Caliban fancies himself a god because he interprets his gesture of picking up an eelworm out of the mud as a creative action. Teased by Caliban for his imprisonment, Ariel describes to Caliban his vision of the coming of Prospero[10], "one from the heart of the world", and Miranda – a maid, "a child, all wonder" that comes before him:

> He bears
> A star-wrought staff and hooded cloak of blue,
> And on his right hand bursts the sun, and on

[8]The first interlude, Antiquity, consists of an Egyptian symbolic ritual worshipping the god Osiris, the second chorus of Sophocles's *Antigone*, and a Roman farcical comedy. The second interlude consists of episodes of the dramatic art of Europe in the Middle Ages as follows: pantomime of *Doctor Faust*, the French entitled *The Field of the Cloth of Gold*, and finally a fusion of Italian and Spanish groups performing *Commedia dell' Arte*. The third interlude is folk festivals of Elizabethan England.

[9]MacKaye, "Preface", 2000: xxxi. MacKaye divided his *Dramatis Personae* into four groups according to the moments of the work: the masque proper, the scenes from Shakespeare's plays, the interludes, and the epilogue.

[10]The description of Prospero's coming echoes the coming of Jesus Christ in the New Testament: Prospero is a Messiah-like figure who comes to set Ariel free from the dark power of Setebos, whilst Ariel resembles the figure of John the Baptist.

> His left, the moon; and these he makes his masks
> Of joy and sorrow. (MacKaye, 1916: 9)

Caliban tries to persuade Ariel to join Lust, Death and War, the priests of Setebos, in praising the half-tiger and half-toad idol of his father. Whereas Shakespeare's Setebos is an unseen god that Sycorax worshipped, MacKaye's Setebos is Caliban's father with a physical onstage presence – "the evocation of all that is barbarian and inimical to western civilization" (Kahn, 2000: 266). The three priests perform rites of worship in the face of which Ariel feels powerless – "Death has closed/ My sight in darkness" (MacKaye, 1916: 13) – and prays for deliverance. At this point Miranda enters the cave and comforts Ariel by saying that Prospero, yet invisible, commands the isle with his great art. Caliban starts sniffing and peering at Miranda to whom he brags, in a language reminiscent of Robert Browning's *Caliban upon Setebos*, that he is god of the isle and master of Ariel:

> Am seed of Setebos:
> Am Caliban: the world is all mine isle:
> Kill what I please, and play with what I please. (MacKaye, 1916: 16)

Captivated by Miranda, Caliban desires her but his gross manner of courtship as well as his increasingly overt sexual attraction to her give her serious reasons to fear for her safety, more so when Sycorax incites Caliban to mate with Miranda at the altar of Setebos. Kahn points out that the dramatic action of the masque overtly emphasizes "Caliban's primitive, unbridled sexuality, partly through the character and partly through an allegorical overplot involving Setebos" (Kahn, 2000: 267). Miranda's honour is yet again conveniently saved as Prospero enters the scene on "a glowing, winged throne", with a scroll in one hand and "a miraculous staff" (MacKaye, 1916: 23) in the other, and brings calmness and light to the cave.[11] Although Sycorax lies dead by the altar, Prospero knows that in the struggle to rule the world his art is matched against the will of Setebos and, should he fail to prevail over Setebos, Miranda will not be safe. To achieve his end Prospero enlists Ariel's help. As soon as Prospero frees Ariel from the tiger-jaws of the idol, he charges the spirit with the education of Caliban because Miranda's freedom and honour depend on taming the beast:

> Prospero. Never
> Till this immortal Caliban shall rise
> To Lordly reason, can Miranda hold
> Her maiden gladness undismayed. (MacKaye, 1916: 26)

William Green comments that "the allegorical nature of the masque" rests on its portrayal of "the struggles between the powers of Darkness represented by Setebos, Sycorax, and Caliban and those of Light, represented by Prospero, Miranda, and Ariel" (Green, 1989: 63). By the power of his art Prospero wants to turn the cave of Setebos into a temple dedicated to Miranda and a theatre for his own art. At the close of the "Prologue" Prospero invites Ariel onto the Yellow Sands – Prospero's magic isles, the world itself (MacKaye, 1916: XVI) – to behold a pageant of his art in a succession of dramatic episodes beginning with the Antiquity. Prospero's art is "a world/ Snatched from the womb of History, to survive/ Its mortal mother in imagination" (MacKaye, 1916: 31). Meanwhile, the priests of Setebos, Lust, Death, and War, who are reminiscent of Antonio and Sebastian, conspire with Caliban against Prospero and Ariel.

The themes of the three acts are, in order, lust, death, and war. In each act Caliban watches scenes from a number of Shakespearean plays conjured by Prospero and Ariel. The scenes complement and exemplify the themes, influencing Caliban's thoughts and actions. He is easily tempted and therefore shifts his allegiance as apprentice between Prospero and Setebos and their corresponding arts. This is to say that Caliban yields to his narrow-minded, egocentric desires "losing his way along the path to enlightenment set out for him by Miranda, Ariel, and Prospero" (Mehler,

[11]Cartelli, 68, notes that "Prospero's grand entrance onstage, in a style that doubly echoes Christ's harrowing of hell and Moses's destruction of the idols at the base of Mt. Sinai, is preceded by that of Miranda, who advances as an overdetermined embodiment of grace, innocence, and beauty".

2010: 116). In each act Caliban fails to understand and learn the meaning and value of Prospero's art – which can set Caliban free from Setebos – and every time he manages to get possession of Prospero's magical staff for his own use disorder follows, consequently affecting Miranda's safety as Prospero predicted in the "Prologue". At various stages in the play, Caliban shows his inability to control power, or his misuse of it, with disastrous effects. His repeated falling back into his savagery and his slow progress toward a civilised condition portray a symbolic contest between enlightenment and savagery.

In act one, at the end of the scene from *Julius Caesar*, Caliban grabs the magical staff and shouts aloud "Awake, Romans, awake!", echoing Brutus in Shakespeare's play. Next, he cries that his art "shaketh the throne of Prospero", invokes Setebos, and calls upon the Roman emperor Caligula, the scene turning into mingled riot and orgy – "a sordid saturnalia, from the midst of which the masked form of Caligula rises dominant in splendor" (MacKaye, 1916: 68-69). A colossal burning cross appears from darkness before Caligula manages to place a crown upon the head of Miranda whose imminent rape by Caligula is prevented by the symbolic intervention of Christ. Kahn comments on a possible correspondent between "[t]his configuration of rape forestalled by the power of Christ" and D. W. Griffith's landmark silent film *The Birth of A Nation* released in 1915:

> The pathbreaking film "builds to its sustained climax from two attempted rapes of white women by black men," assaults that produce the famous "rides to the rescue" by the Ku Klux Klan. These rides anticipate the spectacular rescues of Miranda, first by Prospero and then symbolically by the intervention of a Christian God. (2000: 267)

The following inner stage shows Saint Agnes holding a white lamb and then a shepherd – Prospero himself – orders Caligula, in fact Lust, to remove his mask and return to Setebos. The symbolism of this scene, with its allegorical Christian triumph, speaks for itself. It is played out in the contrast between lust and purity impersonated by historical or mythical characters that stand for, on the one hand, different types of lust, i.e., sexual lust and lust for power; and, on the other hand, purity and self-control. The antagonism of the act culminates with the Roman figures of Caligula and, respectively, Saint Agnes. Caligula's appearance as Lust is not random as the Roman Emperor, known for his extravagance, eccentricity, depravity and cruelty, is remembered as a despot and was rumoured to have engaged in incestuous relationships with his sisters and to have set up a brothel at the palace.[12] On the other hand, St Agnes, the patron saint of young girls, chastity and rape survivors, was a member of the Roman nobility, raised in a Christian family, who suffered martyrdom at the age of thirteen on January 21, 304, because she refused to marry the prefect Sempronius' son.[13] The contrast between lust and purity is also a contrast between two historical/chronological stances of the Roman Empire, the pagan and the Christian. Such scenes allow interpretations that take into consideration the audience's response and their civic spirit and collective memory. For Cartelli, "MacKaye clearly expects his audience to construe Caliban's overstimulated imagination as primitive and pornographic" (Cartelli, 1999: 69); while Potter attaches to the scene troubling concerns of unresolved social and political issues reading this scene of mingled riot and orgy as "a horrifying American image for this period of unpunished lynchers" (Potter, 1996: 76). Mehler considers that Caliban's thinking and behaviour carry "long-established racial and ethnic prejudice" and such "stereotypical images of cultural others" may have attracted more the audience's focus than MacKaye's intended idealist principle and positivist message, namely social education and human development (Mehler, 2010: 116-117).

In act two, Death tries to persuade Caliban to restore the temple of Setebos, tempting Caliban with a "gray" [sic] cloak that will assist him in snaring Miranda into bondage. However, when Death is ready to place the cloak upon Caliban, the latter recoils from the freezing touch of Death and cries aloud: "Prospero! I will serve thee" (MacKaye, 1916: 82). Prospero responds to Caliban's cry and, to encourage him, produces the ghost scene from *Hamlet*, at the end of which Caliban forgetfully

[12]See http://www.history.com/topics/ancient-history/caligula, accessed 9 May 2005, and http://ancientrome.wikia.com/wiki/Caligula, accessed 29 May 2006.

[13]See http://www.catholic.org/saints/saint.php?saint_id=106, accessed 29 May 2006, and http://www.passionistnuns.org/Saints/StAgnes/index.htm, accessed 29 May 2006.

follows Death after asking Prospero for the wonder scroll to bear it against Death and free his father's spirit. Eventually, Death prevails and, after taking Prospero's scroll from Caliban, asks his followers to take Miranda to Setebos.

In act three a remorseful Caliban appeals to Miranda to release him from Death's power saying he is ready to forgo Death's gray cloak. Moved by Caliban's repentant attitude, Miranda appeals to a reluctant Prospero on Caliban's behalf. Ariel conjures a "dream of fairy laughter" with scenes from *Henry IV* and *Merry Wives of Windsor*. Caliban feels that Prospero mocks him since the former saw similarities between him and Falstaff, but in fact Caliban was supposed to recognize the impropriety of his lustful desire for Miranda. Consequently, he becomes enraged with the last pageant and is incited by War to possess Miranda who comes in to show Caliban another vision – Henry V's speech to his soldiers by the walls of Harfleur – so that he may learn the meaning of honour and thus "[may] recognize an image of yourself/ And so recoil to reason and to love" (MacKaye, 1916: 136). As soon as the scene ends, Caliban snatches from Ariel the hood of Prospero and shouts: "Ho, God for Caliban and Setebos!/War, War for Prospero's throne! Miranda's shrine" (MacKaye, 1916: 139). The masque nears its climax when Prospero, whose unhooded features reveal likeness to Shakespeare's, makes his way to the throne where Caliban confronts him with a martial attitude proclaiming the fall of Prospero's art. In the clash between the priests and powers of Setebos and the spirits of Ariel, War takes Miranda, Prospero and Ariel captive. Caliban, wearing Prospero's hood and raising his staff, exults because he now considers himself the master-artist who wields the world. However, Prospero cautions Caliban that although he possesses the magic hood and staff he does not possess the will for creation – "Thy will and War/ May break, but cannot build the world" – because only Prospero/Shakespeare's art immortal "builds the beauty of the world" (MacKaye, 1916:141).

In the "Epilogue", the Spirit of Time announces the supremacy and endurance of art in the face of destructive forces: "So, out of War up looms unconquered Art" (MacKaye, 1916: 143). In the pageant of the great theatres of the world that follows, "the modest figure of Shakespeare, at first unemphasized," emerges from the group of the Elizabethan dramatists, approaches Prospero and the two figures exchange places (MacKaye, 1916: 145). Coming out of the darkness, Caliban approaches Shakespeare, accompanied by Ariel and Miranda, and pleads for more visions as he admits to his inability to create and yearns to be an artist of Shakespeare's art. Caliban is now not only reconciled with Prospero/Shakespeare, but also submits to the power of his craft. Miranda seconds Caliban's plea to which the figure of Shakespeare replies with Prospero's "Our revels are now ended" speech.

MacKaye's "Preface" is self-explanatory about his intentions in producing this masque which is both a pro-art and an anti-war manifesto. *Caliban by the Yellow Sands* emerges from a rather reductive reading of *The Tempest* that MacKaye envisioned as "a master narrative concerned with the central role art and the artist play in the eternal struggle of mind and matter, spirit and body, civility and savagism" (Cartelli, 1999: 68). Art is the medium through which humankind can be educated and the means to bring races or individuals together in community and fellowship. Humankind can share in the common inheritance and tradition of art that comes down to the present from the past. The raging Great War in 1916 Europe may be one of the reasons why the masque considers the cultural tradition and legacy of Antiquity and Western Europe. However, as far as MacKaye's aim to foster a feeling of community goes, Kahn and Cartelli maintain that this was not properly achieved in at least two ways. On the one hand, African-Americans did not support or participate in the masque of *Caliban* (cf. Potter, 1996: 74; Cartelli, 1999: 73-74; Kahn, 2000: 269) and, on the other hand, MacKaye produces Shakespearean drama as the culmination of "the historical diversity of theatrical art through the ages" for a culturally and ethnically diverse audience living in an Anglo-Saxon America that, at that historical moment, required them "to adopt English tradition as the foundation of American culture" (Kahn, 2000: 271). Cartelli similarly points out the "contradictions between the democratic claims advanced on behalf of the masque and the largely anti-democratic bias of its themes and organization", and adds that MacKaye's masque "eschews specific social and political references, apart from those made to the Great War in the preface which are reprised in the triumph of Setebos at the end of Act III" (Cartelli, 1999: 72-74). Depicted as Everyman, MacKaye's Caliban does not dismiss, let alone curse, Prospero's art in the way that Shakespeare's Caliban rejects Prospero's language. It is true, though, that in both plays Prospero educates Caliban more for his and Miranda's benefit rather than for the benefit of Caliban himself. Kahn maintains that in MacKaye's masque the real point of the education of Caliban "isn't so much to assure Miranda's purity as to interpellate

Caliban, the cultural – and racial – Other, into Anglo-American culture. That is accomplished by making him a spectator of Shakespeare rather than the playwright's rival" (Kahn, 2000: 268). Whereas Shakespeare's Caliban perceives Prospero's language as a burden and a means to his own enslavement, MacKaye's Caliban is fascinated by Prospero's art that he wants to replicate, but he lacks the desire or will for real creation. Caliban's rather childish fascination with Prospero's art and his destructive impulses once he seizes the instruments to produce art, distinguish him from Herbert Beerbohm Tree's sensitive and possibly noble Caliban. If MacKaye's Caliban succeeds, albeit temporarily, in seizing Prospero's magic staff in order to establish himself as a creator of art, Shakespeare's Caliban unsuccessfully plans and leads an insurgency against Prospero's life through which he seeks to rid himself of his master. In both cases, however, Caliban fails to practically overthrow or overcome Prospero, let alone master his art. Mehler invites one to view *Caliban by the Yellow Sands* as "a national pageant with the universal theme of human development", which is unique among the American pageant movement owing to its allegorical framework that brings together community formation and national unity. He also draws one's attention to reading the masque as a cultural document only in relation "to early twentieth-century American understanding of race and culture" (Mehler, 2010: 118).

In the twentieth century rewrites of *The Tempest*, the figure of Caliban is appropriated for socio-political and cultural causes. Thus, his identity acquires polyvalent traits through the interconnections achieved by rewriting. He is less of a beast-like, undefined being with primitive appearance, thinking and conduct and more of an indigenous native with distinct human(e) traits who climbs the evolutionary scale to self-determination and emancipation. Caliban symbolizes those who feel or are usurped, dislocated and enslaved by, for instance, imperialism and colonization in particular or other inappropriate ideological practices at large. Thus, the Prospero-Caliban relationship has been turned into an archetype of anti-colonialism in a number of geographical and cultural contexts. With Caliban's rise to eminence, he becomes more reflective and mindfully assertive on a range of levels – personal, linguistic, cultural, ethnical, educational, social and political – and serves to raise awareness against inhumane and harmful ideologies, policies and practices.

In *Caliban by the Yellow Sands*, Prospero endeavours to teach Caliban his art, but Caliban fails to understand or to "conjure" art and thus falls short of becoming a counterpart rival creator to Prospero. Caliban's desire to learn means that he yields to Prospero/Shakespeare – learning is a process of submission to the master. In the masque, the pupil manages to overcome the master but only by seizing the magical staff, not by the power of his artistic craft. The act of creation can be liberating and yet frustrating in the sense it requires the repressions of one's primitive impulses. In the "Prologue" and "Epilogue" – the frames of the masque – the cultural and political authority of Prospero/Shakespeare contain Caliban's cultural or political virtual threat. Outside MacKaye's masque, Caliban is tamed or rather forced into submission because he lacks the ability and will to create; in Shakespeare he lacks the knowledge. MacKaye's Caliban is victorious within the fictive world of the work, but is eventually restrained outside the fictive plot. The practice of rewriting establishes a dialogic relationship between a master text – quite often a culturally known text – and its ensuing transformations. The interconnections that arise out of alternative, active (re-)readings of the original work lead to the development of new meanings and provide new insights. The rewrites emerge and exist as distinct creations that stand on their own in relation to the text they draw on as they bring to the foreground alternative readings and interpretations. This type of engagement, which takes place at different levels and is triggered by geographical, cultural, social and ideological perspectives that aim to challenge the already established viewpoints and meanings, involves refashioning the original plot, characters, symbolism, motifs, ideas and themes, facilitating intercultural relationships between texts.

Caliban by the Yellow Sands falls within the category of rewrites "intended for a particular historical moment and specific socio-political purposes" and "not only does it comment on the contemporary situation, but also intervenes in it, proposing solutions to current problems" (Śmiałkowska, 2007: 17). It is possible to sense an ideological ambivalence in the way MacKaye, on the one hand, appropriated *The Tempest*, envisaged and staged *Caliban by the Yellow Sands* and, on the other hand, the context in which his masque was used, for what purpose and what meanings one could draw out of it. The ambivalence may arise from "the play's representations of history and its uses of Shakespeare and the Shakespearean canon" (Śmiałkowska, 2007: 18), the temporal and spatial

dimensions of the play, the promotion of an allegedly better culture and civilisation – typified by Shakespeare – in order to educate and integrate the ignorant or immigrant masses and the alternative representations of Shakespeare – a significant cultural icon – as prominent creator and surprisingly weak figure.

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