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THE POWER OF SHAKESPEAREAN CULTURE:  
AN ANALYSIS OF SHAKESPEARE'S ROLE IN HEALNG ENGLAND DURING  
WORLD WAR I

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## ABSTRACT

The intent of this study is to examine English society's treatment of William Shakespeare during and after World War I. Although culture can never be concretely defined, an analysis of books, newspaper articles, and pamphlets produced during the war indicates society's dependence on Shakespeare.

With the literary movement Modernism, Shakespeare became a complex and often ambiguous figure of both a traditional past and an innovative present. Post-war writings like T.S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* (1922) and Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse* (1925) and *Mrs. Dalloway* (1927) demonstrate how Modernists used Shakespeare to create a phantom cultural crisis for reasons of self-preservation. Modernists argued that culture was dying and that they were the keepers of a dying literary tradition like Shakespeare.

Yet, during the war Shakespeare became an icon of national pride and spirit to the English people. With the tercentenary anniversary of his death coinciding with the war, the Shakespeare Tercentenary Committee was formed to inspire and to encourage English citizens to remain patriotic and support the war. An official Shakespeare Day was created with activities like writing contests and theatrical performances. As a result, an emphasis on Shakespeare reinforced old-fashioned ideals like honor and loyalty.

In addition, Shakespeare-themed sermons were delivered on an official Shakespeare Sunday, and these sermons were concerned with the notions of Christian warfare. The bishops delivering these sermons encouraged English society to support its country in the war as its soldiers were killing its metaphorical brothers. Shakespeare was used to express fears on the decaying state of morality on both national and international levels.

Conclusions are drawn that while the cultural elite fabricated a post-war cultural crisis, England used Shakespeare during the war to evoke support and also to question the moral state of society. Society's use of Shakespeare was diverse. Despite Modernists' fears, culture was very much alive during World War I.

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## INTRODUCTION

In 1916, the tercentenary anniversary of William Shakespeare's death coincided with World War I and English society deemed it a necessary occasion to celebrate. While the tradition of Shakespeare as an English national treasure has been longstanding, England's relationship with Shakespeare became more complex during World War I. The horrors and the trauma of the war left people lost and in need of guidance. Modernism, a literary reaction to the war, argued that in the aftermath of the war, culture was dying. Modernists believed that in this new post-war world, they were the sole guardians of cultural icons like Shakespeare. However, this dissertation argues that these Modernists' views are inaccurate. The World War I historians Jay Winter and Paul Fussell have engaged in a debate about English culture and England's reaction to the war. In *The Great War and Modern Memory*, Fussell believes that while society did rely on tradition, this dependence could not survive the horrors of the war. According to Fussell, Modernism was created as a reaction to this inability to survive. However, Winter emphasizes society's reliance on tradition through his examination of European mourning rituals in *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Winter argues that tradition helped society cope with the war. Within this debate, this dissertation argues that despite England's complex relationship with tradition and innovation, society relied on its past in order to heal and cope with its future.

Fussell argues that English society's desire for tradition and romance could not withstand the horrific events of the war; thus this inability resulted in the Modernist literary movement. It is irony, not tradition and romance, that dominated social responses to the Great War. He explains that 'every war constitutes an irony of situation because its means are melodramatically disproportionate to its presumed ends. In the Great War eight million people were destroyed because two persons, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his consort, had been shot.'<sup>1</sup> Indeed, Fussell traces the theme of irony through the analysis of soldiers' personal accounts, newspaper articles, and literature published during the war. He argues that the Great War differed from other wars; '...what makes experience in the Great War unique and

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<sup>1</sup> Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 7.

gives it special freight of irony is the ridiculous proximity of the trenches to home.’<sup>2</sup> This physical ‘ridiculous proximity’ helped contribute to a psychological unease as individuals anxiously waited for the war to end. According to Fussell, reminiscing about a ‘Golden-Age’ past was ineffective when the daily horrors of the war were just too real. Instead, in some ways, England regressed to life in the Dark Ages. Individuals could no longer rely on the written word, as soldiers’ letters were often censored. Even more unsettling is that ‘perhaps the first time in history that official policy produced events so shocking, bizarre, and stomach-turning that the events had to be tidied up for presentation to a highly literate mass population.’<sup>3</sup> Not only was society unsure of the exact happenings of the war, they were also unsure of when the war would end. ‘But the likelihood that peace would ever come again was often in serious doubt during the war. One did not have to be a lunatic or particularly despondent visionary to conceive quite seriously that the war would literally never end and would become the permanent condition of mankind.’<sup>4</sup> Society could no longer rely on tradition and old-fashioned values, and Fussell argues that modernism became a social response to the war.

By looking at the mourning rituals and methods of bereavement, Winter argues that people depended on tradition and ceremony in order to cope with the death and destruction that surrounded them. Despite technologically advanced weapons and the introduction of trench warfare, this progression in military tactics resulted in a psychological and emotional step back. Winter simply states, ‘The Great War, the most “modern” of wars triggered an avalanche of the “unmodern”.’<sup>5</sup> The ‘unmodern’ that Winter speaks of are society’s responses to death. With approximately 41.68% of British soldiers killed in battle, English society naturally became concerned with mourning. During World War I, grieving meant much more than just remembering and honouring a fallen soldier. The entire nation was suffering, and grieving became a national process that everyone experienced. Furthermore, ‘to remember was to affirm community, to assert its moral character, and to exclude from it those values, groups, or individuals that placed it under threat.’<sup>6</sup> To remember the deceased meant honouring a time passed, and Winter argues that much of English society wanted to

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<sup>2</sup> Fussell, *The Great War*, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Fussell, *The Great War*, p. 178.

<sup>4</sup> Fussell, *The Great War*, p. 71.

<sup>5</sup> Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 54.

remember their 'Golden-Age' past. By celebrating a glorious time, society effectively embraces England and gives its community a much-needed boost in patriotism. 'But the power of patriotic appeals derived from the fact that they were distilled from a set of what may be called "traditional values" – classical, romantic, or religious images and ideas widely disseminated in both elite and popular culture before and during the war. It is this set of values and the languages in which they were expressed which I call the "traditional" approach to imagining war.'<sup>7</sup>

By looking at the use of Shakespeare during the Great War, one can agree with Winter's ideas on traditionalism and England's reaction to the war. Fussell's beliefs do not necessarily encompass all the views of English society during World War I. Chapter One examines how the cultural elite used Shakespeare in their art for reasons of self-preservation. Modernists like T.S. Eliot and Virginia Woolf described a post-war England that was devoid of life and culture. The likes of Eliot and Woolf argued their positions as saviours of high culture like Shakespeare. However, Chapters Two and Three demonstrates that a cultural breakdown during World War I never even existed. Instead, English society sees a reliance on Shakespeare and their past, which allows them to emphasize the traditional values that Winter speaks of in *Sites of Memory, Site of Mourning*. As Shakespeare's works were celebrated in light of the Great War, he became a model citizen for England. English society saw him as a model of great loyalty and patriotism. While the Modernists argued that the war created a cultural breakdown, this dissertation demonstrates how the use of a cultural icon like Shakespeare created feelings of patriotism and kinship. Society emphasized these values in order to strengthen and stabilize their war-torn country.

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<sup>6</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory*, p. 80.

<sup>7</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory*, p. 3.

CHAPTER ONE  
SHAKESPEARE AND MODERNISM:  
THE 'CULTURAL CRISIS' OF POST-WAR ENGLAND

The elevation of William Shakespeare to England's national poet was a practice marked by the actor and playwright David Garrick in 1769. He organized the Jubilee Festival in honor of Shakespeare, and in his 'Ode upon Dedicating a Building and Erecting a Statue to Shakespeare,' he stated, 'England may justly boast the honor of producing the greatest dramatic poet in the world.'<sup>1</sup> Jumping ahead to the present, Shakespeare's popularity and reputation remain the same: 'Shakespeare has been as normatively constitutive of British national identity as the drinking of afternoon tea.'<sup>2</sup> It seems as if Shakespeare has always remained a part of English culture. However, despite such firm and enthusiastic support, Shakespeare's privileged status is, and always has been, continuously contested. Everything from his literary reputation to his writings, and even later adaptations, has been scrutinized. In retrospect, 'Shakespeare's reputation [has] undergone all the vicissitudes save neglect. He has been called everything from an upstart crow or a drunken barbarian to a king of men or a god of theater.'<sup>3</sup> As recent schools of literary criticism demonstrate, Shakespeare's reputation is always subject to the cultural and political changes in society. For example, Cultural Materialism argues that there is no neutral reading of Shakespeare; everyone is a product of his or her culture. As Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield indicate in the Foreword to *Political Shakespeare*, 'Cultural Materialism does not pretend to be politically neutral,' and its readings of Shakespeare show his fortunes to have been thoroughly politicized.<sup>4</sup> Everything about Shakespeare was, and continues to be, dissected and analyzed; there is never one accepted opinion.

England's relationship with Shakespeare became particularly complex during World War I. With the literary movement Modernism, Shakespeare became a prized figure of the traditional past, as well as a symbol of innovation as Modernist writers

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<sup>1</sup> David Garrick, 'Ode upon Dedicating a Building and Erecting a Statue to Shakespeare,' 10 December 2004, <<http://lion.chadwyck.co.uk>>.

<sup>2</sup> Michael Dobson, *The Making of a National Poet* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Harry Levin, *Shakespeare and the Revolution of the Times: Perspectives and Commentaries* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 238.

<sup>4</sup> Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield, foreword, *Political Shakespeare: [New] Essays in Cultural Materialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. viii.

struggled to find a place for him in the new literary world. Following the tumultuous period of World War I, the cultural elite used Shakespeare to pursue class warfare and to maintain some semblance of their previous 'Golden-Age' elitism. This chapter will specifically analyze T.S. Eliot and Virginia Woolf's uses of Shakespeare as a symbol of both tradition and innovation in their writings. Their literary works provide a social commentary on English society after the Great War. Despite surviving the war, these Modernists demonstrate the despondency of post-war society and Eliot and Woolf question the state of English culture. A great difference lies between the actual effects of the Great War and the effects as represented in Modernist literature. The likes of Eliot and Woolf are concerned with their analysis of the consequences of the war in terms of their own social aspects. This chapter aims to show how foolish it would be to let their views dominate any discussion of the literary culture of World War I England.

Modernism provided a means for literary society to deal with the aftershock of the Great War and, in some ways, to reconcile the present with a departure from a traditional past. With an estimated 772,000 British soldiers killed during the war, people were forced to rethink their 'mythologized, Golden-Age' view of life.<sup>5</sup> For the culturally elite, the Modernist movement was their literary reaction to this horrific number of deaths and the terrifying events of the war. In his definition of 'Modernism' M.H. Abrams explains that 'the catastrophe of the war had shaken faith in the moral basis, coherence, and durability of Western civilization and raised doubts about the adequacy of traditional literary modes to represent the harsh and dissonant realities of the postwar world.'<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, as people struggled to cope with their new world, they found themselves stuck in a 'waste land': a world filled with constant tragedy and consequent bereavement. In other words, post-World War I England was experienced as a world devoid of growth or life. The historian Jay Winter states that these feelings 'meant the end of the nineteenth-century bourgeois world, its smugness, its conviction in the inevitability of progress.'<sup>7</sup> The traditional past now seemed to represent a more peaceful and idyllic time, and it was felt that English society needed to accept that this paradise-like time was gone. As a result, literature concerning the war period attempts to provide society with guidelines for this new world.

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<sup>5</sup> J.M. Winter, *The Great War and the British People* (London: Macmillan, 1986), p. 68.

<sup>6</sup> M.H. Abrams, *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, 7<sup>th</sup> ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1999), p. 167.

<sup>7</sup> Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 201.

Modernists like T.S. Eliot and Virginia Woolf use literary artists like Shakespeare to discuss the breakdown of English society and its attempt to return to life, resulting in a unique combination of tradition and innovation. According to Winter, ‘Modernists didn’t obliterate traditions; they stretched, explored, and reconfigured them in ways that alarmed conventional artists, writers, and the public at large.’<sup>8</sup> This unique combination allows Eliot and Woolf to reconcile the past with an obviously different present and future. In *The Waste Land* (1922), Eliot’s characters are unable to reconcile their past with present, and as a result they wander through life without any direction. In Modernist style, Eliot himself then reconfigures Shakespeare to address another social change brought on by the war, namely the growing role of women in society. In reality, this power shift caused fear in many people, and *The Waste Land* sees this power corrupting women and changing them into unfeminine beings. As a Modernist writer, Eliot is both innovator and traditionalist, and this complex relationship emphasizes the confusion and a desire for unity felt by English society after the Great War.

Many elitists believed that only the well-educated individual can fully appreciate and enjoy a Shakespearean performance. When the English educational system changed and artists like Shakespeare became more accessible, the elite felt their social status was being threatened. In *The Intellectuals and the Masses*, John Carey ‘argues that Modernist literature and art can be seen as a hostile reaction to the unprecedentedly large reading public created by late nineteenth century reforms.’<sup>9</sup> This ‘hostile reaction’ can be seen as an act of social self-preservation and, as the literary historian Malcolm Bradbury believes, a necessary act:

... the standards for appreciation of high literature and art were sufficiently closely associated with the standards of those who were in a social elite in other ways, and who held social prestige, for cultural hierarchies to be almost as clearly marked as social hierarchies. No culture can exist without a social base; but in the modern world what we call ‘high culture’ has found difficulties in finding that social base – in being a culture at all. In this pattern, the high cultural segment has shifted to specialized minorities, to the intelligentsia, who are largely responsible for maintaining the cultural dialogue, the process of selecting and validating works, creating the climate of

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<sup>8</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, p. 3.

<sup>9</sup> John Carey, *The Intellectuals and the Masses: Pride and Prejudice among the Literary Intelligentsia: 1880-1939* (London: Faber & Faber, 1992), p. 1.

demanding ideas, and debating aesthetic issues and questions of standards and values.<sup>10</sup>

According to Bradbury, high culture is tied closely with the socially elite. Furthermore, waging class warfare is essential to high culture's survival. By constantly reinforcing its 'elitism,' it is ensuring its existence in society. The cultural elite post-World War I wanted to prevent this decay of English civilization and the decline of cultural icons like Shakespeare. The 'intelligentsia' potentially recognizes and understands that every aspect of Shakespeare's plays contains such complexities and intricacies of the human mind and spirit that each play can be analyzed on many different levels. Therefore, this textual and dramatic analysis caused the culturally elite 'to believe that such human conditions and situations were beyond the powers of most of the audience and touched only a "refined element" who understood the "subtleties of Shakespeare's art".'<sup>11</sup> Just as this stereotype elevates the elite class' role in culture, it simultaneously insinuates that the lower classes lack a sense of morality and are not well-educated, two stereotypes the lower classes fought against.

Eliot describes a war-torn nation so lost in feelings of despondency that despite the end of the war, its own people exist in a state of decay. In *The Waste Land*, each of Eliot's characters lives in their own personal waste lands: a place where they are clearly struggling to cope with a life of hopelessness and despair. Hugh Kenner, author of *The Invisible Poet: T.S. Eliot*, explains that the poem's themes of anguish and grief are deeply rooted within the trauma caused by World War I:

*The Waste Land* was drafted during a rest cure at Margate ("I can connect Nothing with nothing") and Lausanne ("In this decayed hole among the mountains") during the autumn of 1921 by a convalescent preoccupied partly with the ruin of post-war Europe, partly with his own health and conditions of his servitude to a bank in London, partly with a hardly exorable apprehension that two thousand years of European continuity had for the first time run dry.<sup>12</sup>

A retrospective Eliot describes England in despondent terms; one character states, 'I think we are in rats' alley / Where the dead men lost their bones.'<sup>13</sup> The image of 'dead men' in England is further emphasized when another character asks, 'Are you

<sup>10</sup> Malcolm Bradbury, *The Social Context of Modern English Literature* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971), p. 178.

<sup>11</sup> Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), p. 35.

<sup>12</sup> Hugh Kenner, *The Invisible Poet: T.S. Eliot* (London: Methuen, 1959), p. 125.

<sup>13</sup> T.S. Eliot, *The Waste Land* (1922; New York: Harcourt Brace, 1958), ll. 115-6.

alive, or not? Is there nothing in your head?’<sup>14</sup> According to Eliot, the spiritually dead are a result of the failed transition from a war-ridden country to a peaceful nation. In addition, Eliot writes of England’s difficulty in returning back to its peaceful and paradise-like state. The difficulty lies in successfully coping with the aftermath of the war; in keeping an optimistic attitude that England can return to a semblance of its pre-war state. Eliot describes London, the grand city of England in such a dismal manner:

Unreal City,  
Under the brown fog of a winter dawn,  
A crowd flowed over London Bridge, so many,  
I had not thought death had undone so many.<sup>15</sup>

Post-war London is covered by a dismal fog and Eliot’s narrator is surprised by the effect death has on society. Through these images of death and decay, Eliot demonstrates the difficulty in reconciling the past and the present and believing in a future. ‘[Eliot’s narrator] does not have the luxury of contemplating one consistent world’; he has, rather ‘the painful task of unifying (to a greater or less extent) jarring and incompatible ones.’<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, the literary critics Jewel Spears Brooker and Joseph Bentley explain that Eliot’s waste lands ‘are related...to failures of individuals to transcend their separate spheres and become complements in a comprehensive and mutually nourishing unity.’<sup>17</sup> Eliot expresses this failure through a rift in his character’s notion of time along with the reader’s notion of time. In the second section of Eliot’s poem, ‘A Game of Chess,’ Lil discusses her marital problems with a friend, and their conversation becomes interrupted in a staccato-like fashion as the bartender repeatedly announces that it is closing time: ‘HURRY UP PLEASE IT’S TIME.’ This disturbance suggests to the reader that people are not in synch with each other. Everyone lives in accordance with their own individual self, instead of society as a whole. They are ungoverned by the old standards such as the opening and closing of a public place. As a result, the reader senses the feelings of separation caused by the individual’s inability to accept his or her present circumstances. The individual seems to revert to the past, rather than move forward. Furthermore, if

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<sup>14</sup> Eliot, *The Waste Land*, l. 126.

<sup>15</sup> Eliot, *The Waste Land*, ll. 60-3.

<sup>16</sup> Jewel Spears Brooker and Joseph Bentley, *Reading The Waste Land: Modernism and the Limits of Interpretation* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1990), p. 46.

<sup>17</sup> Brooker and Bentley, *Reading The Waste Land*, p. 63.

individuals refuse to unite, then life remains directionless as social classes in England fail to unify.

Yet underneath the rhetoric of social unity we can perceive another difficulty in unifying English society; for reasons of self-preservation, the upper class was determined to remain exclusive. This rigid class-system existed well before World War I: 'before the war, as [George] Orwell noticed, the British exhibited the most conspicuous class system in Europe.'<sup>18</sup> As the members of the working class increased, the dominant social classes feared that they would lose their political and social power to the working class majority. In 1910, their fears threatened to become reality:

The Lords had vetoed a proposed 'Supertax' on high incomes and a tax on land; the second Liberal victory in 1910 took a bite out of the power of the aristocracy and the bank accounts of the upper classes. It also left the Liberal government dependent, for the first time, on the support from the Labour Party, which in turn depended upon the trade unions. Throughout 1910 those unions squeezed the economy with more strikes, more effective strikes, than ever before. The triumph of the mere masses loomed.<sup>19</sup>

The labor franchise expanded and affected other areas of English life, including the education system. In *The Intellectuals and the Masses*, Carey observes that:

In England, the educational legislation of the last decades of the nineteenth century, which introduced universal elementary education, was crucial. The difference between the nineteenth century mob and the twentieth century mass is literacy. For the first time, a huge literate public had come into being, and consequently every aspect of the production and dissemination of the printed text became subject to revolution.<sup>20</sup>

As more and more lower class individuals were educated, they naturally desired a greater role within society. As the working classes began to invade the political sphere, the culturally elite felt an even stronger need to hold on to their cultural realm. While these tensions were clearly longstanding, the specific dislocation of the war provided a screen upon which the Modernists could project their class animus with apocalyptic urgency. These feelings were reflected in their writing; Carey argues that 'the purpose of Modernist writing...was to exclude the newly educated (or "semi-

<sup>18</sup> Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 197.

<sup>19</sup> Gary Taylor, *Reinventing Shakespeare: A Cultural History from the Restoration to the Present* (New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989), p. 231.

<sup>20</sup> Carey, *The Intellectuals and the Masses*, p. 5.

educated”) readers, and so to preserve the intellectual’s seclusion from the “mass”.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, he explains:

The intellectuals could not, of course, actually prevent the masses from attaining literacy. But they could prevent them reading literature by making it too difficult for them to understand – and this is what they did. The early twentieth century saw a determined effort, on the part of the European intelligentsia, to exclude the masses from culture. In England this movement has become known as Modernism.<sup>22</sup>

Carey’s conclusions are deliberately provocative. But consider the evidence. In *The Waste Land*, Eliot makes numerous references to Shakespeare’s plays, Dante Alighieri’s *Inferno*, Richard Wagner’s operas, Leonardo DaVinci’s paintings, as well as numerous lines written in German, Italian, and Sanskrit. The last seven lines of the poem include references to Dante’s *Purgatorio*, *Pervigilium Veneris*, Gerard de Nerval’s *El Desdichado*, Thomas Kyd’s *Spanish Tragedy*, and *The Upanishads*. In addition, Eliot makes these references in their original languages of Italian, French, English, and Sanskrit. Only a very select group of well-educated individuals could understand Eliot’s allusions, thus emphasizing how ‘Real Literature, important literature, belonged to, and could only be preserved by a cultural elite.’<sup>23</sup> These feelings of inadequacy and class stereotypes hindered the social classes from unifying to improve the spirit of their country. While the culturally elite further emphasized its traditional literary outlook, it logically could further weaken the already waste land-like condition of post-World War I England.

While Eliot stresses the literary comprehension and consequent literary superiority of the culturally elite, he simultaneously demonstrates the popular Modernist belief that the lower class ultimately defaces ‘high culture’ like Shakespeare. As a result of the changing education system in England, the lower classes had ready access to literary greats like Shakespeare. The Modernists, in addition to displaying their disdain, argued that the culture of the masses was its own waste land. ‘To highbrows, looking across the gulf, it seemed that the masses were not merely degraded and threatening but also not fully alive. A common allegation is that they lacked souls.’<sup>24</sup> According to Eliot, even Shakespeare’s writings would

<sup>21</sup> Carey, *The Intellectual and the Masses*, p. 1.

<sup>22</sup> Carey, *The Intellectual and the Masses*, p. 16.

<sup>23</sup> Taylor, *Reinventing Shakespeare*, p. 245.

<sup>24</sup> Carey, *The Intellectuals and the Masses*, p. 10.

decay in this 'dead' land. Throughout *The Waste Land*, Eliot only mentions Shakespeare's name once, and it is in reference to this new 'popular' culture:

O O O that Shakespeherian Rag –  
It's so elegant  
So intelligent<sup>25</sup>

'This is adapted from Roy Samuel's song in the Broadway show, Ziegfeld's *Follies of 1912*; Eliot added the O's and the intrusive "he" in Shakespeare's name. He is intimating ragtime.'<sup>26</sup> By choosing an excerpt from a pre-war folly, Eliot demonstrates how silly it is for the lower class to attempt to adapt Shakespeare. However, according to the literary critic Terence Hawkes, while Eliot mocks the lower class's attempt to incorporate Shakespeare, he simultaneously demonstrates that Modernists alone can successfully complete the task. In his book *That Shakespeherian Rag*, Hawkes states:

The song's title uses the term 'Shakespearian.' Eliot's 'interpolation' of the extra syllable in 'Shakespeherian'; and his addition of the 'O's (which do not occur in the printed text), confirm and reinforce a 'tonal' dialogic dimension that obviously struck him as wholly appropriate (and indeed has turned out to be efficacious: line 128 of 'The Waste Land' has preserved the song's banality far more effectively than the performance of Mr Samuels).<sup>27</sup>

Eliot's added syllables distort the original rhythm of the song with its new 'dialogic dimension.' The argument is that the *Follies of 1912* songwriter Samuels changes Shakespeare into something completely different and banal. Shakespeare reincorporated into ragtime culture is anything but 'elegant' and 'intelligent.' Effectively, 'the masses' are devoid of any real culture. Eliot mocks the lower class' innovations to emphasize how Modernists are true keepers of tradition. However, his relationship with innovation and tradition becomes more complex as he alters Shakespeare to comment ambivalently on social changes.

Eliot alters Shakespearean heroines in order to address how the Great War redefined women's role in society. In 'The Game of Chess,' Eliot models his female characters after two Shakespearean heroines, *Hamlet's* Ophelia and *Antony and Cleopatra's* Cleopatra. In doing so, he illustrates the strength of women during

<sup>25</sup> Eliot, *The Waste Land*, lines 128-130.

<sup>26</sup> Frank Kermode, ed., *The Waste Land*, by T.S. Eliot (New York: Penguin Classics, 2003), p.101.

<sup>27</sup> Terence Hawkes, *That Shakespeherian Rag: Essays on a Critical Process* (London: Methuen, 1986), p. 81.

World War I. 'The only victors in World War I were women. When the army sucked hundreds of thousands of British men into the mud of France, women took their places in shops and factories, opening up professions previously closed to them.'<sup>28</sup> In addition, no literary female is more appropriate than a Shakespearean heroine because she is not written as one-dimensional wife/daughter character. Therefore, Eliot's reader understands the regal power of his Cleopatra, as he describes her luxurious surroundings:

The Chair she sat in, like a burnished throne,  
Glowed on the marble, where the glass  
Held up by standards wrought with fruited vines  
From which a golden Cupidon peeped out.<sup>29</sup>

Eliot further emphasizes the luxuriousness of his Cleopatra's settings, which stand out even more compared with the dark and minimalist descriptions in the rest of *The Waste Land*. Her mirror:

Doubled the flames of seven branched candelabra  
Reflecting light upon the table as  
The glitter of her jewels rose to meet it,  
From satin cases poured in rich profusion.<sup>30</sup>

Eliot's Cleopatra is not just a queen of a great empire, but the queen of 'a game of chess.' The Queen on the chessboard has the most power because she can move in any direction; she can conquer the board in any number of moves. On the other hand, the King can only move one space at a time. Similarly, Lil, Eliot's updated Ophelia, chats with her girlfriend in a bar and openly discusses her reproductive rights while her husband is away at war. At this time, women in the early 1900s were still stereotypically defined as the 'Angel[s] in the House.'<sup>31</sup> Sitting in a bar until closing time and discussing such socially taboo topics as abortion, Lil hardly fits this stereotype. In this setting, the female moves out of her domestic sphere and into a previously male-dominated territory. By using modernized Shakespearean heroines, in one sense the female gender becomes more powerful.

<sup>28</sup> Taylor, *Reinventing Shakespeare*, p. 259.

<sup>29</sup> Eliot, *The Waste Land*, ll. 77-80. The allusion, of course, is to Shakespeare's Cleopatra from *Antony and Cleopatra*, II.ii.230-245.

<sup>30</sup> Eliot, *The Waste Land*, ll. 82-5.

<sup>31</sup> During the early 1900s, suffragettes attempted to dispel this 'Angel in the House' stereotype.

But this power shift generated anxiety in many individuals, and these Shakespearean heroines are transformed into destructive and unrecognizable beings; Eliot's women are both victims of the war and potential threats to post-war England. Furthermore, Eliot's Ophelia and Cleopatra are debased forms of their Shakespearean counterparts. Eliot's innovations only emphasize the ambiguity of the Modernist's role as both innovator and traditionalist. His stress throughout is on the idea of metamorphosis, an idea of transformation that applies both to the role of women post-World War I, and to Eliot's debasement of his Shakespearean originals. Previously, Shakespeare's Cleopatra was so beautiful; her beauty 'beggared all description.'<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, 'pretty dimpled boys, like smiling Cupids' surrounded Shakespeare's Cleopatra.<sup>33</sup> However, Eliot's Cleopatra's newly acquired power takes its toll on her. Her golden Cupidon statue 'hid his eyes behind his wing' to avoid her haggard appearance.<sup>34</sup> Eliot compares her transformation to damaged female literary characters:

Above the antique mantel was displayed  
As though a window gave upon the sylvan scene  
The change of Philomel, by the barbarous king  
So rudely forced; yet there the nightingale  
Filled all the desert with inviolable voice  
And still she cried, and still the world pursues,  
'Jug Jug' to dirty ears.<sup>35</sup>

Philomel, from Ovid's *The Metamorphoses*, is raped by Tereus, her brother-in-law. Tereus then cuts off her tongue to prevent her from telling people what happened. However, she proves her resourcefulness by using the loom to tell her story. By comparing Cleopatra to Philomel, Eliot presents her as a victim, but at the same time her altered female state is a threat to post-war society because she represents a dramatic change. She may be weakened, but she can still survive. Similarly, Cleopatra's lavish setting is all that remains of her former regality. Now, her queenly elegance and sophistication no longer exist and instead her 'subjects' only hear her bird-like 'Jug Jug.' Eliot does not even fully describe her physical appearance, as if

<sup>32</sup> William Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), II.ii.205.

<sup>33</sup> Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, II.ii.209.

<sup>34</sup> Eliot, *The Waste Land*, l. 81.

<sup>35</sup> Eliot, *The Waste Land*, ll. 97-103.

he is the Cupidon too scared to look at her. Instead, his audience is told of her threatening Medusa-like appearance:

Under the firelight, under the brush, her hair  
Spread out in fiery points  
Glowed into words, then would be savagely still.<sup>36</sup>

Cleopatra is no longer praised for her beauty. Instead, she scares people away. Similarly, the consumption of abortion pills greatly damages Lil's appearance, even causing her teeth to fall out. Lil's friend urges her to improve her appearance before her husband Albert returns from the war.

Now Albert's coming back, make yourself a bit smart.  
He'll want to know what you done with that money  
he gave you  
To get yourself some teeth. He did, I was there.  
You have them all out, Lil, and get a nice set,  
He said, I swear, I can't bear to look at you.<sup>37</sup>

The once elegant Ophelia, daughter of the advisor to the king, is now diminished into a physically haggard woman crassly discussing her sex life in a bar. Her friend crudely advises Lil to change her appearance because her husband Albert, 'He's been in the army four years, he wants a good time, And if you don't give it to him, there's others will.'<sup>38</sup> The female figure, as represented in Eliot's work, changes so dramatically that she is not only unrecognizable; there is no desire to recognize her. It is unnatural and disturbing, much like the odors surrounding Eliot's Cleopatra:

strange and synthetic perfumes  
unguent, powdered, or liquid – troubled, confused  
and drowned the sense in odours.<sup>39</sup>

Those merely in her presence suffer as her scent overwhelms and eventually drowns them. These feelings of unnaturalness and unease seem indirectly to express how the war 'was...perceived as accelerating the destabilization of gender roles as women undertook "male" jobs.'<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, women war workers 'were called "parasites, blacklegs and limps," and "represented as vampires who deprived men of their

<sup>36</sup> Eliot, *The Waste Land*, ll. 108-10.

<sup>37</sup> Eliot, *The Waste Land*, ll. 142-46.

<sup>38</sup> Eliot, *The Waste Land*, ll. 148-49.

<sup>39</sup> Eliot, *The Waste Land*, ll. 87-9.

<sup>40</sup> Diana Wallace, *Sisters and Rivals in Women's Fiction, 1914 – 1939* (London: Macmillan, 2000), p. 20.

rightful jobs”.<sup>41</sup> The continuities seem clear. Eliot uses Cleopatra to demonstrate the social fear of a vampire-like woman. He attempts to appease these gender fears through Lil’s final words by using an exact Shakespearean quote. The last words Shakespeare’s Ophelia says before her suicide are, ‘Good night, ladies, good night, sweet ladies, good night, good night.’<sup>42</sup> In a style similar to the mad Ophelia, Eliot’s Lil exits saying:

Goonight Bill. Goonight Lou. Goonight May. Goonight.  
Ta ta. Goonight. Goonight.  
Good night, ladies, good night, sweet ladies, good night, good night.<sup>43</sup>

Although Lil starts saying her good-byes in an informal way, her last line returns to the traditional. Eliot signifies his desire to return to tradition, in both gender roles and culture. Despite his ambiguous relationship with tradition and innovation, Lil’s last Shakespearean words demonstrate Eliot’s desire for the past. The result of the change in the female sphere becomes too great, and ultimately ‘[describing women’s tragedies in terms of myth] places their humanness at the center of focus without placing them in a position to unify and rejuvenate the land. They merely suffer and merely die.’<sup>44</sup> Eliot demonstrates the paradoxical qualities of Modernism by using innovation to show how English society needs tradition to maintain its values and standards. Eliot uses innovation in *The Waste Land* to suggest that the only way to ‘unify and rejuvenate’ the past and present worlds is by drawing from the traditional, pre-war life.

Much of English society, along with the rest of the world, found it difficult to cope with the war and the great changes it brought. Society needed direction; people needed to understand why the war happened. Further difficulties lay in keeping an optimistic attitude and believing that England could return to even a semblance of its pre-war state. Understandably, much of society wanted to hold onto its traditions and other reminders of its more peaceful past. In *The Waste Land*, Eliot uses Shakespeare to point out the vast social changes that suggest a departure from ‘Golden-Age England.’ According to Jay Winter, Modernists ‘are the first in a long line of twentieth century romantics, who walk backwards into the future, struggling to

<sup>41</sup> Wallace, *Sisters and Rivals*, p. 22.

<sup>42</sup> Shakespeare, *Hamlet* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), IV.iii.72.

<sup>43</sup> Eliot, *The Waste Land*, ll. 170-2.

<sup>44</sup> Brooker and Bentley, *Reading The Waste Land*, p. 100.

understand the chaotic history of this century.’<sup>45</sup> As much as Eliot tries to accept innovation, he too cannot escape the desire for tradition. He stresses his elitism in an attempting to keep the ‘past’ tension between the upper and lower social classes. As much as he tries to move forward, his use of literary artists like Shakespeare suggests a desire to remain in the past. Fellow Modernist Virginia Woolf also ‘walks backwards into the future,’ yet she shows her audience that there is a future. The future, as Woolf demonstrates in *To the Lighthouse* (1925) and *Mrs. Dalloway* (1927), is not necessarily an improvement of the present.

Woolf incorporates Shakespeare’s dramas into her novels to express how the Great War signifies a break with the past, and how time becomes both an element of destruction and an element of healing for a grieving nation. She constantly explores these issues in her writings, including the novels *Mrs. Dalloway* and *To the Lighthouse*. Woolf imitates the human mind’s stream of consciousness. She uses Modernist literary techniques ‘to examine the nature and activity of [her characters]’ minds. So character becomes the anatomy of the inner mind.’<sup>46</sup> In exploring the human mind broken after the horrors of World War I, she also explores how literary artists like Shakespeare are broken. For example, *To the Lighthouse* ‘gives an impressionist rendering of the change and decay which their house on the island suffers in the years following: the war prevents the family from revisiting the place, Mrs Ramsay dies, Andrew Ramsay is killed in the war, Prue Ramsay dies in childbirth, all this is suggested parenthetically in the course of the account of the decay of the house.’<sup>47</sup> In these novels, the Great War forces culture into a state of change and decay, and people may be unable to revisit their past because of all these changes. Woolf accepts that life and culture have changed, but at the same time deplores the effects of the war because they represent a break with the past. Like Eliot, she is both innovator and traditionalist. As an innovator, Woolf adapts Shakespeare’s *The Winter’s Tale* and *Cymbeline* to demonstrate how post-war English society remains trapped in a grieving state. People are constantly preoccupied with thoughts and fears of death, rather than actively seeking to rebuild their lives. At the same time, Woolf’s characters learn that death is an essential part of Nature, and their fears are lessened. She also uses Shakespeare to question the state of culture and

<sup>45</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, p. 222.

<sup>46</sup> Sandra Kemp, introduction, *To the Lighthouse* by Virginia Woolf (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 13.

<sup>47</sup> David Daiches, ‘The Semi-Transparent Envelope’ in *Virginia Woolf: To the Lighthouse: A Casebook*, ed. Morris Beja (London: Macmillan, 1970), p. 90.

whether it can survive the war. By incorporating Shakespeare in *Mrs. Dalloway* and *To the Lighthouse*, Woolf, like the ambivalent Eliot, asks if society can fully recover from the aftermath of the war and become culturally productive again.

Shakespeare provides the characters of *Mrs. Dalloway* with an optimistic view of death, yet Woolf demonstrates post-war society's difficulties in moving away from their ideas of a 'Golden-Age' past. For much of the novel the reader is aware of Clarissa Dalloway's constant fear of and preoccupations with death. Indeed, even a trip to the local florist reminds her of death. In the shop window, she reads aloud a passage from *Cymbeline* which continues to haunt her for the rest of the novel:

But what was she dreaming as she looked into Hatchard's shop window?  
What was she trying to recover? What image of white dawn in the country, as  
she read in the book spread open:

Fear no more the heat o' the sun,  
Nor the furious winter's rages.

This late age of the world's experience had bred in them all, all men and  
women, a well of tears, Tears and sorrows; courage and endurance; a perfectly  
upright and stoical bearing.<sup>48</sup>

The war produced feelings of ambivalence and uncertainty within society. The trauma created 'a well of tears' in men and women like Clarissa and Septimus Smith. However, they were also being taught to be 'upright and stoical' during a time of such extreme sadness. These two lines from *Cymbeline* also present a similar ambivalence: Shakespeare's Guiderius and Arviragus advise one not to fear 'the heat o' the sun,' nor the fury of winter, because death provides an escape from the harsh aspects of life. However, accepting this thinking also means accepting the finality of death. Both Clarissa and the veteran Septimus Smith become conflicted and consumed with these issues and they find themselves truly unable to integrate with society. *Mrs. Dalloway* follows these two seemingly unrelated characters as they both try to cope with the aftermath of the war. Clarissa becomes obsessed with being the perfect hostess to her socially elite group, all the while preoccupied with the past and death. Meanwhile a shell-shocked Septimus struggles to connect emotionally with society after fighting in the war. Through the poet Septimus Smith, Woolf voices her fear that despite society's opinions, culture could be dead and a poet figure like Septimus could perhaps become outdated in modern society. Woolf uses these characters to demonstrate the difficulties in moving on from World War I. In *Cymbeline*, brothers

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<sup>48</sup> Virginia Woolf, *Mrs. Dalloway* (London: Hogarth, 1976), pp. 12-3.

Guiderius and Arviragus sing this song to their deceased friend Fidele, who is actually Imogen and is not dead, but in a deep slumber. Most importantly, a grieving Arviragus chooses a childhood song, 'though now our voices / Have got the mannish crack, sing him to the ground, / As once our mother; use like note and words.'<sup>49</sup>

Guiderius sings the first verse:

Fear no more the heat o' the sun,  
Nor the furious winter's rages;  
Thou thy worldly task hast done,  
Home art gone, and ta'en thy wages.  
Golden lads and girls all must,  
As chimney-sweepers, come to dust.<sup>50</sup>

Not only are they using the song to say good-bye to Fidele, the brothers bid farewell to their 'golden' childhood. Throughout the remaining verses, the two brothers remind each other and their audience that all things living must 'come to dust.' However, both Clarissa and Septimus struggle to accept that 'all must...come to dust.'

Imogen, in disguise as Fidele, wakes up from her death-like slumber only to discover the headless body of Cloten, who was disguised as Posthumus. She awakes, yet the first thing she sees is actually dead. She jumps to conclusions:

The drug he gave me, which he said was precious  
And cordial to me, have I not found it  
Murd'rous to th' senses? That confirms it home.  
This is Pisanio's deed, and Cloten. O,  
Give colour to my pale cheek with thy blood,  
That we the horrider may seem to those  
Which chance to find us. O my lord, my lord!<sup>51</sup>

Surrounded by death, Imogen wrongly suspects that Pisanio conspired with Cloten to murder Posthumus and to poison her. As deployed in *Mrs. Dalloway*, the reference is as ambivalent as it is resonant, evoking themes of betrayal, death, and the possibility of new life. The imagined betrayal suggests that society, in a way, is killing itself. Clarissa wonders, 'Are we a doomed race, chained to a sinking ship?'<sup>52</sup> Yet, for some individuals like Septimus, death may provide an escape; a final goodbye to the past and an acceptance of life's new surroundings. Throughout the novel, Septimus, a poet

<sup>49</sup> Shakespeare, *Cymbeline* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998) IV.ii.235-37.

<sup>50</sup> Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*, IV.ii.258-63.

<sup>51</sup> Shakespeare *Cymbeline*, IV.ii.326-32.

<sup>52</sup> Woolf, *Mrs. Dalloway*, p. 86.

with an appreciation for Shakespeare, cannot reconcile his pre-war self with his post-war self. He was a romantic; he 'was the first one to volunteer. He went to France to save an England which consisted almost entirely of Shakespeare's plays and Miss Isabel Pole in a green dress walking in a square.'<sup>53</sup> However, Woolf depicts this 'romance' as an illusion; an outdated, unrealistic view of life. A romantic poet like Septimus is doomed to extinction; his kind, according to Woolf, could not survive the trauma of World War I. After the war, his emotional self was in ruins; 'he could reason; he could read, Dante for example, quite easily...; his brain was perfect; it must be the fault of the world then – that he could not feel.'<sup>54</sup> Despite intensive therapy and his wife's constant care, he still decides to take his own life. Septimus, the shell-shocked victim of the war, finds himself at peace when he understands the relationship between life and death.

He was not afraid. At every moment Nature signified by some laughing hint like that gold spot which went round the wall – there, there, there – her determination to show, by brandishing her plumes. Shaking her tresses, flinging her mantle this way and that, beautifully, always beautifully, and standing close up to breath through her hallowed hands Shakespeare's words, her meaning.<sup>55</sup>

He sees the connection between Shakespeare's words and Nature's truths; to Septimus, Nature speaks Shakespeare's words. The only optimism and happiness that Septimus feels occurs when he realizes these truths. His suicide towards the end of the novel provides him with an escape from his inability to reconcile successfully the past and present. However, the incorporation of Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* forces Woolf's audience to consider whether Septimus dies in a deluded state, and whether his suicide was really the easy solution he was looking for. Upon learning about his death, Clarissa thinks, 'She felt somehow very like him – the young man who had killed himself. She felt glad that he had done it; thrown it away while they went on living.'<sup>56</sup> She sees his suicide as an act of courage. Yet the reference to *Cymbeline* suggests that the question of who lives and who dies is never so simple.

Woolf draws on Shakespeare's *Sonnets* to foreshadow the grief and emptiness that will consume the characters in *To the Lighthouse*, and on a larger scale, World

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<sup>53</sup> Woolf, *Mrs. Dalloway*, p. 95.

<sup>54</sup> Woolf, *Mrs. Dalloway*, p. 98.

<sup>55</sup> Woolf, *Mrs. Dalloway*, p. 154.

<sup>56</sup> Woolf, *Mrs. Dalloway*, p. 204.

War I society. The novel is divided into three parts: 'The Window,' 'Time Passes,' and 'The Lighthouse.' 'The Window' takes place before the war, with Mr. and Mrs. Ramsay, along with their eight children, spending a holiday in the Isle of Skye. Woolf's audience learns that Mrs. Ramsay is both a perfect hostess and devoted mother as she throws a party for friends and family. 'Time Passes' takes place during the Great War, and Mrs. Ramsay, Andrew and Prue Ramsay have passed away. In the aftermath, the Ramsay house in the Isle of Skye seems to be devoured by darkness and devastation. The final section occurs approximately ten years after the war, and focuses on the healing of the remaining characters. Woolf's characters and the environment become consumed with grief, and Woolf uses Shakespeare to emphasize the difficulty in recovering from the trauma of death. As with Septimus, the difference between the living and the dying is ultimately unclear.

In 'The Window,' Mr. Ramsay wonders:

If Shakespeare had never existed, he asked, would the world have differed much from what it is today? Does the progress of civilization depend upon great men? Is the lot of the average human being better now than in the time of the Pharaohs? Is the lot of the average human being, however, he asked himself, the criterion by which we judge the measure of civilization? Probably not.<sup>57</sup>

Mr. Ramsay wonders if emblems of the past like Shakespeare can play an important role in the future. Furthermore, she questions the importance of such tensions between the culturally elite and the lower class. Mr. Ramsay does not believe the average man is an accurate measure of civilization. During the last scene of 'The Window,' Mrs. Ramsay reads to her husband Shakespeare's 'Sonnet 98', which describes an idyllic, springtime atmosphere:

Yet nor the lays of birds nor the sweet smell  
Of different flowers in odour and in hue  
Could make me any summer's story tell,  
Or from their proud lap pluck them where they grew;  
Nor did I wonder at the lily's white,  
Nor praise the deep vermilion in the rose;  
They were but sweet, but figures of delight  
Drawn after you, you pattern of all those.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Woolf, *To the Lighthouse*, p. 64.

<sup>58</sup> Shakespeare, 'Sonnet 98', *Shakespeare's Sonnets* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), ll. 5-12.

In this description, nature is alive and full of beauty. While reading this part of the sonnet, Mrs. Ramsay cannot help but feel drawn to the vivacity of Shakespeare's words:

How satisfying! How restful! All the odds and ends of the day stuck to this magnet; her mind felt swept, felt clean. And then there it was, suddenly entirely shaped in her hands, beautiful and reasonable, clear and complete, the essence sucked out of life and held rounded here – the sonnet.<sup>59</sup>

However, the last two lines of the sonnet, which she reads aloud to her husband, depict a stark contrast to the previous lines: 'Yet seem'd it winter still, and, you away, / As with your shadow I with these did play.'<sup>60</sup> With the absence of his beloved, Shakespeare's narrator cannot fully appreciate the beauty of nature that surrounds him. Similarly, Woolf's characters initially become so haunted by death that they risk living a death-like existence.

Woolf adapts the structure of Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* in *To the Lighthouse*, to emphasize how World War I plagued English society into a paralytic, grieving state. The second section 'Time Passes,' draws from Act IV, scene i, of *The Winter's Tale*. *The Winter's Tale* begins with the jealous Leontes accusing his wife Hermione of adultery, and sentencing her to death. The fourth and fifth acts take place sixteen years later, undermining the idea of dramatic real time within the five dramatic acts. In order to justify this jump between Acts Three and Four, Shakespeare uses the personification of time. Time explains 'that I slide / O'er sixteen years' since the audience has seen King Leontes, Hermione, and Perdita at the end of Act Three.<sup>61</sup> The structure of *The Winter's Tale* serves as a model for 'Time Passes.' Furthermore, during this time there is a significant change in Leontes: 'The effects of his fond jealousies so grieving / That he shuts up himself.'<sup>62</sup> Woolf's Lily Briscoe suffers a fate similar to Leontes; post-World War I she finds herself grieving the deaths of her friends. Main characters like Mrs. Ramsay, Prue and Andrew Ramsay pass away. These tragic deaths are mentioned in short, bracketed sentences: '(Mr. Ramsay stumbling along a passage stretched his arms out one dark morning, but, Mrs. Ramsay, having died rather suddenly the night before, he stretched his arms out.

<sup>59</sup> Woolf, *To the Lighthouse*, p. 123.

<sup>60</sup> Woolf, *To the Lighthouse*, p. 123.

<sup>61</sup> Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), IV.i.5-6.

<sup>62</sup> Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, IV.i.18-9.

They remained empty.)<sup>63</sup> ‘(Prue Ramsay died that summer in some illness connected with childbirth, which was indeed a tragedy, people said. They said nobody deserved happiness more.)<sup>64</sup> ‘(A shell exploded. Twenty or thirty young men were blown up in France, among them Andrew Ramsay, whose death, mercifully, was instantaneous.)<sup>65</sup> These concise sentences only emphasize that it is not so much the actual deaths as the aftermath that consumes people. Furthermore, time seems to be the only thing moving forward. ‘Personal experience is reduced to a bare statement of fact, life and death are reduced to an item of news, the personal and the intimate detail are reduced to a matter of public knowledge and speculation, and in every way the world of subjective privilege is subjected to democratic objectivity.’<sup>66</sup> To emphasize this indifference, the rest of ‘Time Passes’ describes the continual grief that cripples individuals like Lily. Nature and time are indifferent, and Lily, along with the rest of society, lives life in a semi-comatose state. At the end of ‘Time Passes,’ Lily, Mrs. Beckwith and Mr. Carmichael stay at the Ramsay summer home.

The sigh of all that sea breaking in measure round the isles soothed them; the night wrapped them; nothing broke their sleep, until, the birds beginning and the dawn weaving their thin voices in to its whiteness, a cart grinding, a dog somewhere barking, the sun lifted the curtains, broke the veil on their eyes, and Lily Briscoe stirring in her sleep clutched at her blankets as a faller clutches at the turf on the edge of a cliff. Her eyes opened wide. Here she was again, she thought, sitting bolt upright in bed. Awake.<sup>67</sup>

All of nature, like the sea, the night, and the birds, still demonstrate signs of life. Lily, on the other hand, only finds solace when asleep, when her body and spirit are in an unconscious state. Despite Woolf’s optimistic image of the sun shining so bright it ‘broke the veil on their eyes,’ Lily is figuratively hanging on to life. Death and destruction covers post-World War I society so that its members can only find peace while sleeping. For many individuals, living becomes a passive action.

Yet despite this, Woolf presents post-war society with hope. Like Shakespeare’s *The Winter’s Tale*, art, as *To the Lighthouse* demonstrates, is an important part of society’s cultural heritage to survive the war. At first time merely passes, but the individuals learn it has the power to heal and revive. In *To the*

<sup>63</sup> Woolf, *To the Lighthouse*, p. 131.

<sup>64</sup> Woolf, *To the Lighthouse*, p. 134.

<sup>65</sup> Woolf, *To the Lighthouse*, p. 135.

<sup>66</sup> Roger Poole, “‘We All Put Up with You Virginia’: Irreceivable Wisdom about War’ in *Woolf and War: Fiction, Reality, Myth*, ed. Mark Hussey (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1991), p. 84.

<sup>67</sup> Woolf, *To the Lighthouse*, p. 142.

*Lighthouse*, Woolf shows how art can and will help society grieve and heal. In *The Winter's Tale*, Paulina pays tribute to Hermione by creating a life-size sculpture of her.

As she lived peerless,  
So her dead likeness I do well believe  
Excels whatever yet you looked upon,  
Or hand of man hath done; therefore I keep it  
Lonely, apart. But here it is; prepare  
To see the life as lively mocked, as ever  
Still sleep mocked death: behold, and say 'tis well.<sup>68</sup>

Art can survive tragedy and has the magical power to revive its victims. At first, *To the Lighthouse*'s pre-war Lily begins to paint a portrait of Mrs. Ramsay. During 'Time Passes,' there is no mention of Lily continuing or finishing up her painting. While English society is grieving, all art is at a standstill. This is almost the paradigmatic statement of the Modernist position on the effect of World War I on culture. In the third section of *To the Lighthouse*, Lily attempts to continue her painting, but finds it difficult. The explicit reference to Woolf's own art should be clear. 'Let it come, she thought, if it will come. For there are moments when one can neither think nor feel. And if one can neither think nor feel, she thought, where is one?'<sup>69</sup> Art will return as one learns how to feel again. Lily the artist does return. Woolf presents society with faith in the restoration of pre-war life through the return of art. Lily finally finishes the painting of Mrs. Ramsay in the third and final part of the novel.

Quickly, as if she were recalled by something over there, she turned to her canvas. There it was – her picture. Yes, with all its greens and blues, its lines running up and across, its attempt at something. It would be hung in attics, she thought, it would be destroyed. But what did that matter?<sup>70</sup>

The healing process for the artist, as Woolf demonstrates through Lily, is difficult, but not impossible. The modern artist's purpose is to create, even if the creation 'would be hung in attics.' For the first time since the war, Lily steps out of her waste land-like state, and actively produces something. Just as Shakespeare demonstrates with the magical resurrection of Hermione, art can bring people alive again. The creativity

<sup>68</sup> Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, V.iii.14-20.

<sup>69</sup> Woolf, *To the Lighthouse*, p. 180.

<sup>70</sup> Woolf, *To the Lighthouse*, pp. 191-92.

and production helps Lily heal. In some ways, adapting to their new environment will transport them back to the traditional arts. Their innovation leads them back to their past.

Symbolically, the past returns and shapes the present. Mrs Ramsay comes back into Lily Briscoe's picture, as she had been part of the original design ten years before, and out of this meeting of two very different personalities across the years the final insight results. Across the water at the same moment Mr Ramsay, by his praise of James's handling of the boat, is exorcising the ghost of James's early resentment, also ten years old, and all the threads of the story are finally coming together. It is a masterly piece of construction.<sup>71</sup>

Lily's painting demonstrates that although the past is gone, it still remains an influence on the present.

According to the Modernists, post-war English society had difficulty coping with life in the aftermath of the Great War. Modernist works like *The Waste Land*, *To the Lighthouse* and *Mrs. Dalloway* all depict post-war life as decaying and depressing. However, these works attempt to reconcile the past and the present through the use of Shakespeare, England's national treasure. As a result, in their writings, these Modernists express an often complex and ambivalent relationship with Shakespeare. By incorporating Shakespeare into their new style, he becomes a complex figure of both tradition and innovation. In *The Waste Land*, Eliot uses a debased form of Shakespeare to illustrate how society lives in its own land of hopelessness and despair. He also expresses the threat the post-war female poses to the culturally elite. This is just another change that threatens the status of the superior male. As much as Eliot stresses these changes, he seemingly emphasizes the importance of tradition. Similarly, Woolf incorporates Shakespeare into her innovative style, and she shows us how the traditional past is broken after the war. For characters like Septimus Smith, this also means a mind broken by the Great War. Her characters are stuck in a standstill – time passes as they are consumed by grief. Through the suicide of the poet/soldier Septimus, Woolf expresses her opinions on the notion that culture is dead. For both Woolf and Eliot, their characters are so plagued by thoughts of death and the war that their grief consumes them. Modernists believed that there was a huge cultural break after the war, that people were living a death-like existence rather than producing art.

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<sup>71</sup> Daiches, 'The Semi-Transparent Envelope', p. 102.

While Modernists like Eliot and Woolf define themselves as keepers of a dying literary tradition, there was no actual great break in cultural tradition during the Great War. The following chapters will demonstrate how Shakespeare became an icon of national pride and spirit during a time of psychological and spiritual crisis. Although Modernists tried to claim Shakespeare for their own purposes, their portrayal of culture during World War I proves inaccurate because Shakespeare was embraced by all classes and social groups. While the majority of English society could not recite from *The Upanishads* like Eliot or define themselves as a tragic poet like Woolf's Septimus, much evidence demonstrates the influence of Shakespeare in the lower classes, amongst schoolchildren, soldiers, and even on radical branches of spiritualism. Yet the Modernists' use of Shakespeare as a figure who can focus their ambivalence about issues of literary tradition and innovation necessarily refashions the period of the Great War as a cultural desert, as a 'waste land' awaiting rejuvenation or a period of death ambiguously related to the possibility of new life. As Chapters Two and Three will demonstrate, the Modernists' use of Shakespeare as a way of focusing issues about their own literary identity, of pursuing class warfare by other means, and the effect this had on the representation of cultural life during wartime, were profoundly misleading.

CHAPTER TWO  
SHAKESPEARE THE PATRIOT:  
THE EMPHASIS ON ENGLISH PRIDE AND A NATIONAL LEGACY

Amidst a fierce and barbaric war,  
At each heroic deed,  
Thy glorious 'Sonnets' more and more  
And matchless plays we read.

Surely the world would happier be,  
Oh Shakespeare, wert thou here  
Balm to the wounded, salve so free.  
If thou wert only near.<sup>1</sup>

In 1916, Gerald Jaggard, an eleven year-old schoolboy, submitted 'Shakespeare's Power' to a local writing competition honoring the tercentenary anniversary of Shakespeare's death. This contest encouraged children to imitate the Elizabethan writing style and popular Shakespearean themes. Specifically, the purpose of the contest was 'to stimulate thought and study upon the works of Shakespeare in the Tercentenary Anniversary of his death.'<sup>2</sup> One child from each grade level in the Manchester area was chosen for the *Songs and Recitations* publication, resulting in fourteen printed poems. These schoolchildren wrote about Shakespeare's writing abilities, his English heritage, and his fame. One could only imagine the difficulty in imitating Shakespeare's writing style. It is a daunting task for even the most accomplished poet, let alone a young school child. However, it was not necessarily the imagery or descriptive language that this contest looked for in a winning entry. Sir Walter Raleigh, a Shakespeare scholar and the author of a collection of essays called *England and the War*, pointed out during the war that, 'anyone who reads and understands [Shakespeare] understands England.'<sup>3</sup> What this writing competition encouraged were these supposedly innate feelings of patriotism. In addition, this competition implied a greater purpose: to inspire and encourage all English citizens to become more patriotic and supportive of the war. Although the contest did not require its entrants to mention the war, Jaggard makes an immediate

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<sup>1</sup> Gerald Jaggard, 'Shakespeare's Power' in *Songs and Recitations: In Commemoration of the Shakespeare Tercentenary* (Manchester: The Tercentenary Committee, 1916), p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Shakespearean students and pupils in Manchester schools, *Songs and Recitations*, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Walter Raleigh, *Shakespeare and England*, 1918, *Authorama*, 1 Nov. 2004, <<http://www.authorama.com/england-and-the-war-8.html>>.

connection between Shakespeare and the current war in his opening line, ‘amidst a fierce and barbaric war.’<sup>4</sup> Further national support is demonstrated through the use of the phrase ‘heroic deed,’ which however contrasts with the previous phrase ‘fierce and barbaric.’ With this contrast, Jaggard seemingly glorifies his fellow countrymen’s fighting, yet there may be an ambivalence there too. Furthermore, not only do heroes exist in such a savage atmosphere, Shakespeare’s sonnets and dramas serve as a ‘balm to the wounded.’<sup>5</sup> Jaggard believes that Shakespeare can heal the broken spirit of his war-torn country. According to this eleven year-old, Shakespeare can provide World War I England with the remedy for its emotional troubles; the remedy could be found in both his writing and his national legacy. The organizers of this competition, the Shakespeare Tercentenary Committee, emphasized this by informing their readers that Gerald and Aubrey Jaggard, two of the published winners, were students at Shakespeare’s own alma mater in Stratford-Upon-Avon. In addition, the audience was told that the Jaggard twins were ‘lineal descendents of William Jaggard, the printer and publisher of Shakespeare’s plays.’<sup>6</sup> This ancestral fact is not a mere piece of trivia; it attempts to create a legacy joining two seemingly insignificant individuals and a great literary tradition. The young Jaggard manages to display three important themes of wartime writing: the use of old-fashioned language, the re-fashioning of a more patriotic, English Shakespeare, and the desire for a sense of authenticity amidst all the social and cultural changes brought on by the Great War.

This contest was sponsored by the Shakespeare Tercentenary Committee, an official board that included many prestigious and important members. According to *The Shakespeare Day Pamphlet*, the official patrons of the committee were Their Majesties the King and the Queen of England.<sup>7</sup> In addition, the Prime Minister, H.H. Asquith, served as Honorary President and the Mayor of London, Sir Charles C. Wakefield, served as Honorary Treasurer. By serving as honorary members on the committee, the government demonstrated their support in the Tercentenary Committee’s public mission to remind society of its ‘national treasure’ and therefore encourage feelings of patriotism. Understandably, patriotism was high on the national agenda during World War I. The Reverend Percy Dearmer, in his 1915 paper

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<sup>4</sup> Jaggard, ‘Shakespeare’s Power’, l. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Jaggard, ‘Shakespeare’s Power’, l. 7.

<sup>6</sup> The Tercentenary Committee, *Songs and Recitations*, p. 31.

<sup>7</sup> *The Shakespeare Day Pamphlet* (London: The Tercentenary Committee, 1916), p. 3.

'Patriotism', stated that 'patriotism is the salt against rottenness, a glorious spur to high endeavour; it recovers the half-obliterated virtue of loyalty, calls every man to service, and ennobles great and small alike.'<sup>8</sup> If individuals banded together through their patriotism, then a nation could become more stable and stronger. With this end in mind, the committee then carefully chose the dates of the celebration and an appropriate agenda to commemorate Shakespeare. The members felt that celebrations:

could not really include 23 April, the day of Shakespeare's birth and death (and, and significantly for many, St George's Day), because, in 1916, it coincided with Easter Sunday. Officially suggesting a parallel between Christ and Shakespeare would have been taking things too far. Therefore the celebrations concentrated on the first week of May. On four days great institutions did homage to Shakespeare, on Sunday the Church, on Monday politics, on Tuesday the arts, on Wednesday education.<sup>9</sup>

By devoting four days to honoring the playwright during World War I, English society is reminded of why it should be proud to be English. In addition, the nostalgic reliance on an older tradition from Elizabethan times suggests that World War I English men and women 'looked at their own pasts as one might look across a great chasm to a remote, peaceful place on the other side.'<sup>10</sup> Along these lines, the Tercentenary Committee chose to print *The Shakespeare Day Pamphlet* in an elaborate, Renaissance-like style.<sup>11</sup> Everything associated with this celebration seems designed to evoke a sense of English tradition and history, reassure English society of its great heritage and encourage national pride.

In the previous chapter, literature by the Modernists T.S. Eliot and Virginia Woolf was analyzed to demonstrate how they deployed references to Shakespeare and his Elizabethan dramas in their innovative writing styles. In order to preserve their elitist status, the modernists waged an imaginary war against the lower classes. Chapter One demonstrated how Shakespeare's role in this tension between the 'intellectual' and the growing 'masses.' As much modernists like Eliot and Woolf wanted to hold onto the past, they also altered it to adapt to their new style. However, Chapter Two will aim to show how the average English individual defied Modernist thinking by showing they were capable of understanding and adapting Shakespeare to

<sup>8</sup> Reverend Percy Dearmer, 'Patriotism', *Papers for Wartime No. 13* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1915), p. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Balz Engler, 'Shakespeare in the Trenches', *Shakespeare Survey* 44 (1991), p. 105.

<sup>10</sup> Samuel Hynes, *A War Imagined* (London: The Bodley Head, 1990), ix.

<sup>11</sup> See Appendix 1 for *The Shakespeare Day Pamphlet*.

their own purposes. This chapter will examine how Shakespeare offers England the ultimate ideals and characteristics of his nation. He has the capability to boost spirits and enthusiasm because he reminds his fellow countrymen of what they are fighting for. Not only does he help define and develop national character, but he is used to manipulate the public. War-torn England finds the answers to some of her questions in Shakespeare's language and his themes.

When England celebrated Shakespeare Day on 3 May 1916, it became the culmination of her efforts to revive patriotism and heroism. The official creation of a national Shakespeare Day meant that people could focus on a 'national treasure' and this concentration would momentarily shift some attention away from the Great War. *The Shakespeare Day Pamphlet* stated its objective:

It is hoped that Shakespeare Day may be made the occasion for gifts to the Schools of some Permanent Memorials of the Tercentenary. Possibly the Schools themselves may wish in some such way to commemorate this year's Observance. Tercentenary Memorials might well take the form of a Shakespeare Portrait, the addition to the school library of Shakespeare Reference Books, the making of a Shakespeare Garden containing plants and flowers mentioned in his works, the setting up in the school playground or playing-fields of a Shakespeare Seat, or the planting of a Shakespeare Commemoration Tree in the school grounds. Wherever practicable, a small descriptive tablet should be attached recording the occasion. In cases where funds permit there might be added to the school prize-list Shakespeare Prizes to be awarded, annually if possible, for knowledge of Shakespeare. The Shakespeare Prizes, in addition to the gift of books, might suitably in certain cases enable the prize-winners to visit Stratford-on-Avon during the Shakespeare Week.<sup>12</sup>

Furthermore, the 'programme suggested by the schools sub-committee and issued with the approval of the Shakespeare Tercentenary Committee' began with the reading of 'Let Us Now Praise Famous Men' from *Ecclesiasticus XLIV*.<sup>13</sup> The importance of national legacy and lineage is emphasized in this passage:

Let us now praise famous men, and our fathers that begat us.  
The Lord hath wrought great glory by them through his great power  
from the beginning.  
[...]  
All these were honoured in their generations, and were the glory of  
their times.

<sup>12</sup> *The Shakespeare Day Pamphlet*, p. 30.

<sup>13</sup> *The Shakespeare Day Pamphlet*, p. 6.

There be of them, that have left a name behind them, that their praises might be reported.

And some there be, which have no memorial: who are perished, as though they had never been; and are become as though they have never been born; and their children after them.

But these were merciful men, whose righteousness hath not been forgotten.

With their seed shall continually remain a good inheritance, and their children are within the covenant.

Their seed standeth fast, and their children for their sakes.

Their seed shall remain for ever, and their glory shall not be blotted out.

Their bodies are buried in peace; but their name liveth for evermore.

The people will tell of their wisdom, and the congregation will shew forth their praise.<sup>14</sup>

This was then to be followed by the singing of a Shakespearean song, a discourse on Shakespeare, the singing of another song, the recitation of a Shakespearean scene or passage, the singing of another song, concluding with 'God Save the King'.<sup>15</sup>

These 'Shakespeare Songs', taken from *King Henry VIII*, *The Tempest*, *As You Like It*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Cymbeline*, and *Twelfth Night*, are not necessarily patriotic passages. Rather they are eight excerpts selected from history plays, romances, comedies and tragedies. What they have in common is their melodious lines, making the passages easy to sing. For example, the first song listed in the pamphlet is 'Orpheus with his Lute', taken from *King Henry VIII*:

Orpheus with his lute made trees,  
And the mountain tops that freeze,  
Bow themselves when he did sing:  
To his music plants and flowers  
Ever sprung; as sun and showers  
There had made a lasting spring.  
Every thing that heard him play,  
Even the billows of the sea,  
Hung their heads and then lay by.  
In sweet music is such art,  
Killing care and grief of heart  
Fall asleep, or hearing, die.<sup>16</sup>

One is implicitly encouraged to imagine Shakespeare as an Orpheus-like figure, allowing individuals an escape through his music. Although this could be appropriate for a grieving English society, an Orpheus-like figure is potentially incongruous in the

<sup>14</sup> *The Shakespeare Day Pamphlet*, p. 11.

<sup>15</sup> *The Shakespeare Day Pamphlet*, p. 6.

<sup>16</sup> *The Shakespeare Day Pamphlet*, p. 26.

context of the tragedies and horrors of World War I. The presentation of these eight Shakespeare songs transforms them into secular hymns, with *The Shakespeare Day Pamphlet* serving as a hymn book. It seems that any passage can boost wartime spirits and provide guidance as long as it is written by Shakespeare. The Norwich Public Library Committee explained that ‘the time is out of joint for a commemoration on such a comprehensive scale as would be fitting in peace time, but the occasion will be celebrated throughout the country in a simple and dignified manner, consonant with the present condition, and with the full approval of Their Majesties the King and Queen.’<sup>17</sup> While some individuals may have felt that Shakespeare Day should not be celebrated during war time, others felt that Shakespeare Day could further anchor society with Shakespeare’s patriotism and honourable values. After all, in his study of World War I England’s transformation to a disillusioned state, Samuel Hynes notes that a ‘loss of momentum is evident in the arts in England: creative energies seem to sink to a low point in 1916 that one might call... “a dead spot” at the centre of the war.’<sup>18</sup> By pouring a united effort into Shakespeare Day, the tercentenary anniversary of Shakespeare’s death, the committee felt they could boost war spirits by stressing how patriotic England’s national treasure was. 3 May 1916 was treated like a national holiday; according to *The Shakespeare Day Pamphlet*, ‘for the purpose of observing Shakespeare Day, the necessary departures from the time-tables of Public Elementary Schools in England and Wales may be made during the Observance.’<sup>19</sup> Apparently, this holiday was worthy and educational enough for English children to take a day off from school. In 1916, Shakespeare became more than England’s national poet. He became her hero, teacher, and an upholder of old-fashioned values and ideals.

But Germany also celebrated Shakespeare Day, thus further encouraging England in her efforts to hold onto the playwright. ‘In April 1916 the tercentenary of Shakespeare’s death was celebrated both in England and Germany, although the two countries had been at war for almost two years.’<sup>20</sup> Germany’s Shakespeare Day celebration comprised ‘a cycle of Shakespeare plays that [Max Reinhardt] had first

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<sup>17</sup> *Shakespeare Number: City and County of Norwich Public Library* (Norwich: Library Committee, March 1916).

<sup>18</sup> Hynes, *A War Imagined*, p. 101.

<sup>19</sup> *The Shakespeare Day Pamphlet*, p. 6.

<sup>20</sup> Engler, ‘Shakespeare in the Trenches’, p. 105.

put on in 1914.<sup>21</sup> Balz Engler explains that Shakespeare Day ‘illustrates how Shakespeare’s international reputation survived under pressure, how conflicting views of him were defined by the political situation, and how these views, in turn, shaped the meaning of Shakespeare’s texts, and affected the history of literary studies after the war.’<sup>22</sup> However, the English made clear their feelings of ownership even before the war. In 1900 the Shakespearean scholar Sidney Lee explained:

The cosmopolitan might argue that Shakespeare was the property of the world. The Germans treated Shakespeare as one of themselves, and the only complaint that they had been known of late years to make of him was that he had the bad taste to be born an Englishman. In France, too, the elder Dumas gave pointed expression to his faith in Shakespeare’s preeminence in the pantheon not of a single nation, but of the universe. Dumas set Shakespeare next to God in the cosmic system, saying “After God, Shakespeare has created most.” If assertion of the fact that Shakespeare was an Englishman were a weakness to English flesh, it was a weakness beneficial to the Englishman’s mental health to yield to.<sup>23</sup>

Although Lee places this debate in a positive light, many English were still quick to claim that Shakespeare’s birthplace made him exclusively English property. Reinforcing this idea became even more important during World War I. In the same contest that was designed to encourage appreciation of Shakespeare, even the young school children knew to comment on Shakespeare’s nationality. For example, the young amateur poet Doris Sheridan wrote:

So we, true, noble Britishers,  
Will ever loyal be  
To all thy works, oh, Shakespeare!  
And to thee! To thee!<sup>24</sup>

In Sheridan’s poem, English children actively claim their national treasure and express their eternal loyalty. Similarly, another student writes, ‘though foes our Shakespeare claim, / He is of England fame; / His birth was here.’<sup>25</sup> By actively ‘claiming’ Shakespeare, they are actively claiming a national heritage. Lee states, ‘Personally, Shakespeare had homely ambitions. Bacon bequeathed his name and

<sup>21</sup> Engler, ‘Shakespeare in the Trenches’, p. 107.

<sup>22</sup> Engler, ‘Shakespeare in the Trenches’, p. 105.

<sup>23</sup> Sidney Lee, *Shakespeare and True Patriotism* (Royal Institution of Great Britain, 11 May 1900), pp. 1-2.

<sup>24</sup> Doris Sheridan, *Songs and Recitations*, p. 28.

<sup>25</sup> *Songs and Recitations*, p. 29.

memory to foreign nations. Shakespeare made no testamentary disposition of his name and memory, and by his default, his name and memory were the heritage of the English-speaking race, his next of kin.'<sup>26</sup> As far as Lee is concerned, Shakespeare wrote his plays for his fellow men. He had no dreams or aspirations of being a famous artist; he wrote in hopes of selling his plays and subsequently earning a living. He addressed social and political matters that concerned his country at the time. By reiterating his nationality, English society attempts to boost morale and pride in the country. In a more romantic sense, they are reminding their fellow countrymen of what they have to fight for. English society makes Shakespeare a model of English values and traditions, just as he was seen in the eighteenth century, another era of international conflict: 'eminently patriotic, identified at once with virtuous family life, vigorous trade, and British glory.'<sup>27</sup>

A revival of Shakespeare and his Elizabethan writing style attempts to boost morale and reshape England's values and traditions during the unstable and chaotic war period. As time went on, this need became even more urgent. In his early days as a soldier, Private Stephen Graham described the English military ideals in his memoir, *A Private in Arms*, as 'hero-worship and comradeship, pride in one's nation and equal pride in one's regiment, ideals as triumphant as the colours themselves, living interest and enthusiasm in all ranks.'<sup>28</sup> However, this romanticized thinking gradually diminished as the reality of the war sunk in. Looking back in 1919, Graham admitted that 'the army's grievances make of it rather a collection of warring and grumbling individuals than a warm glowing unity.'<sup>29</sup> One might detect a similar deflation at home. The historian Samuel Hynes generalizes about how these expectations of 'warm glowing unity' were fading:

By 1916 it was clear that none of these expectations were being fulfilled: the war was not going to be short, and showed no signs of being heroic; England had neither been unified nor restored by it, and the idealism that expected such good effects was becoming harder to sustain. The war spirit was running down; only the momentum of the war itself continued undiminished.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Lee, *Shakespeare and True Patriotism*, p. 2.

<sup>27</sup> Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, adaptation and, authorship, 1660 – 1769* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), p. 187.

<sup>28</sup> Stephen Graham, *A Private in Arms* (London: Macmillan, 1919), p. 124.

<sup>29</sup> Graham, *A Private in Arms*, pp. 125-6.

<sup>30</sup> Hynes, *A War Imagined*, p. 101.

England felt that her people desperately needed a boost in morale and pride. One method used to bring back 'the war spirit' was to re-emphasize the romantic and old-fashioned values that were imagined to have existed before the war. Similarly, wartime pamphlets relied on this kind of figurative language to encourage Shakespearean appreciation and boost patriotism and morale. They often quoted wartime passages taken from his history plays. For example, *The Shakespeare Day Pamphlet* cites this particular passage from *Richard II*. Here, the dying John of Gaunt mourns the loss of a golden, mythical England:

This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,  
 This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,  
 This other Eden, demi-paradise,  
 This fortress, built by Nature for herself,  
 Against infection, and the hand of war;  
 This happy breed of men, this little world,  
 This precious stone set in the silver sea,  
 Which serves it in the office of a wall,  
 Or as a moat defensive to a house,  
 Against the envy of less happier lands;  
 This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England.<sup>31</sup>

John of Gaunt's speech reminds the English citizens of the old-fashioned glory and image of England. By choosing this speech, the Shakespeare Tercentenary Committee plainly hoped that it would encourage their citizens to fight and protect John of Gaunt and Shakespeare's vision of their 'demi-paradise.' Furthermore, such language and description reminds Englishmen what they are fighting to protect; 'this blessed plot, this earth, this realm.'<sup>32</sup> However, Gaunt simultaneously mourns this vision of a paradise lost: patriotism sits in balance with nostalgia and insecurity. English society during World War I also felt this loss and hopelessness. The explanatory note to the collection *Papers of Wartime* stated, 'Great Britain is engaged in a war from which, as we believe, there was offered to our nation, no honourable way of escape.'<sup>33</sup> Reverend Richard Roberts, the author of the essay 'Are We Worth Fighting For?' voices the doubts and fears of his fellow Englishmen:

One of the deepest questions which the war raises for us as people is: Have we still a mission in the world? Are we worth fighting for? Is it worthwhile to preserve the independence and integrity of these islands and of the British

<sup>31</sup> William Shakespeare, *Richard II*, II.i.40-50 quoted in *The Shakespeare Day Pamphlet*, p. 14.

<sup>32</sup> Shakespeare, *Richard II*, II.i.50.

<sup>33</sup> Explanatory note, *Papers for Wartime*, p. 1.

Empire? Those who have been dominating German thought upon world-problems, affect to believe, and have not hesitated to preach, that we are a decadent people. According to these men, our day is done, our vitality is exhausted, and it is inevitable that, in the process of history, we should sink into an inferior place in the hierarchy of nations. Is there any truth in this? Is there any danger that such a thing may happen? If there is, how are we to prevent it?<sup>34</sup>

Roberts cannot even be sure of England's existence after the war and feels his country's survival is being threatened. The Tercentenary Committee's republication of John of Gaunt's speech aims to remind England of her strength and glory. As John of Gaunt reminisces about an already lost Golden-Age England, he still conjures up feelings of nostalgia. Shakespeare offers modern England peace and glory through the dream of the old Elizabethan national image, but we might wonder how conscious the committee were of just how ambivalent the effect of the passage is.

The Shakespearean literary tradition not only encouraged and reminded English society of traditional values and ideas, but the element of high diction became another way of evading the present. High diction is defined by Paul Fussell as 'an essentially feudal language,' in which 'the readers had been accustomed to associate with the quiet action of personal control and Christian self-abnegation ("sacrifice"), as well as with more violent actions of aggression and defence.'<sup>35</sup> This combination is why high diction was able to offer so much. Individuals struggled to reconcile the brutality of the war with their ideals and morals. For example, Fussell cites two different words, 'gallant' and 'staunch' to describe two different kinds of bravery: 'earnestly brave' and 'stolidly brave.'<sup>36</sup> This high diction contains an expanded vocabulary for heroism and war that previously diminished as modern language further developed and changed. Fussell includes this list in *The Great War and Modern Memory*:

A horse is a	<i>steed, or charger</i>
The enemy is	<i>the foe, or the host</i>
Danger is	<i>peril</i>
To conquer is to	<i>vanquish</i>
To attack is to	<i>assail</i>
To be earnestly brave is to be	<i>gallant</i>
To be cheerfully brave is to be	<i>plucky</i>

<sup>34</sup> Reverend Richard Roberts, 'Are We Worth Fighting For?', *Papers for Wartime No.2* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 3.

<sup>35</sup> Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 21.

<sup>36</sup> Fussell, *The Great War*, p. 22.

To be stolidly brave is to be	<i>staunch</i>
Bravery considered after the fact is	<i>valor</i>
The dead on the battle field are	<i>the fallen</i>
To be nobly enthusiastic is to be	<i>ardent</i>
To be unpretentiously enthusiastic is to be	<i>keen</i>
The front is	<i>the field</i>
Obedient soldiers are	<i>the brave</i>
Warfare is	<i>strife</i>
Actions are	<i>deeds</i>
To die is to	<i>perish</i>
To show cowardice is to	<i>swerve</i>
The draft-notice is	<i>the summons</i>
To enlist is to	<i>join the colors</i>
Cowardice results in	<i>dishonour</i>
Not to complain is to be	<i>manly</i>
To move quickly is to be	<i>swift</i>
Nothing is	<i>naught</i>
Nothing but is	<i>naught, save</i>
To win is to	<i>conquer</i>
One's chest is one's	<i>breast</i>
Sleep is	<i>slumber</i>
The objective of an attack is	<i>the goal</i>
A soldier is a	<i>warrior</i>
One's death is one's	<i>fate</i>
The sky is	<i>the heavens</i>
Things that glow or shine are	<i>radiant</i>
The army as a whole is	<i>the legion</i>
What is contemptible is	<i>base</i>
The legs and arms of young men are	<i>limbs</i>
Dead bodies constitute	<i>ashes, or dust</i>
The blood of young men is	<i>"the red/Sweet wine of youth"</i>
	-Rupert Brooke. <sup>37</sup>

Shakespeare could be made to fit into this paradigm, although the effect is again a complex one. While Shakespeare uses words and phrases from the sixteenth century, plays like *Richard II* and *Henry V* are set in the Middle Ages. Therefore, Shakespeare essentially creates his own 'medieval' surroundings and language. By deploying similar high diction in the early twentieth-century, the likes of the Tercentenary Committee complexly recreate a pseudo-medievalism. Through language, they recreate Shakespeare's medieval England, which is a world Shakespeare himself recreated. On a more basic level, with this re-creation, the committee is able to express and emphasize important select values and traditions. *The Shakespeare Day Pamphlet* cites a passage from *Richard II* to demonstrate how closely feudal language

<sup>37</sup> Fussell, *The Great War*, pp. 21-2.

and the English spirit are connected. Upon hearing that exile is his punishment, Thomas Mowbray asks, ‘what is thy sentence, then, but speechless death, / which robs my tongue from breathing native breath?’<sup>38</sup> By reprinting this specific passage, Englishmen during the Great War were reminded not only of Shakespeare’s contributions to his nation, but also the ‘high’ diction in itself implies how fortunate they are to be Englishmen.

High diction takes this idea of English pride one step further: the use of such feudal language glorifies the Great War and boasts of the soldier’s heroics, rather than focusing on the destruction and death. English soldiers would therefore become England’s heroes, fighting in the Great War to uphold the national honour, stability, and pride. In 1918, an 8<sup>th</sup> Division soldier described his love of England: ‘Ours is a nation whose spirit cannot be broken. To read some of the deeds accomplished by our boys makes one proud to be an Englishman.’<sup>39</sup> Similarly, another soldier wrote in openly literary terms, ‘I used to dream of the romance of war, its wild strange poetry crept into my soul; I used to think that the glory of going back to the beautiful adventure was worth any price. And to do all this with no hope of payment, but as a volunteer, just for the beautiful poetry of it all.’<sup>40</sup> This notion of ‘glory’ and ‘beautiful poetry’ strictly contrasts with the death and destruction constantly surrounding these soldiers. Therefore, the poetic language of Shakespeare and his Elizabethan counterparts could provide twentieth-century Englishmen with a sense of hope and justice. Yet, the soldier’s use of the past tense suggests a yearning to return to that kind of ideal thinking. Clearly, the present has shattered ‘the dream of the romance of war.’ Hynes believes this is an organic part of the Great War: ‘It is the nature of war to diminish every value except war itself and the values war requires: patriotism, discipline, obedience, endurance. Other values, which in time of peace would be thought civilized – freedom of thought, tolerance, a broad and generous receptiveness to culture – these would be devalued because they are unwarlike.’<sup>41</sup> In Shakespeare’s *Henry V*, Welshman Captain Fluellen tells King Harry about the battle at Agincourt, specifically his ancestors’ relationship with the French territory. ‘Your grandfather of famous memory, an’t please your majesty and your great-uncle Edward

<sup>38</sup> Shakespeare, *Richard II*, I.iii.170-171 as quoted in *The Shakespeare Day Pamphlet*, p. 19.

<sup>39</sup> John Terraine, *Impacts of War: 1914 & 1918* (London: Hutchinson, 1970), p. 174.

<sup>40</sup> John Laffin, ed., *Letters from the Front* (London: J.M. Dent, 1973), p. 89.

<sup>41</sup> Hynes, *A War Imagined*, p. 57.

the Black Prince of Wales, as I have read in the chronicles, fought a most brave battle here in France.’<sup>42</sup> By focusing on the glory and ignoring the actual ghastly details involved in a battle, Captain Fluellen quickly rallies the King’s war spirit. Specifically, he persuades King Harry he is fighting because of his family legacy, more than because it is the right thing to do. The values and heroics of the war, rather than the logistics and statistics, are emphasized. Through Shakespeare and his language, Englishmen were able to boast of their past acts of heroism, and encourage their current soldiers to do the same as their own ancestors did even if its very ‘pastness’ sometimes threatened to undo that patriotic dream.

In addition to the re-emphasis on traditional values, the importance of English heritage, often demonstrated by Shakespeare, was also re-emphasized to illustrate how war heroes and fighting for honour were an ingrained part of the Englishman, whether at home or on the battlefield. *Henry V*’s King Henry rallies his soldiers’ spirits and boosts their morale with this speech, which was republished in *The Shakespeare Day Pamphlet*:

On, on, you noblest English!  
Whose blood is fet from fathers of war-proof.  
Fathers that like so many Alexanders  
Have in these parts from morn till even fought,  
And sheath’d their swords for lack of argument.  
Dishonour not your mothers; now attest,  
That those, whom you call’d fathers, did beget you.  
Be copy now to men of grosser blood,  
And teach them how to war.<sup>43</sup>

Each Englishman is connected through a literary and martial tradition to heritage and all individuals should be proud of their English nationality. According to King Henry’s speech, being a noble and honourable soldier is the Englishman’s birthright and tradition. Therefore, to the ordinary soldier, fighting in World War I now seems like a legacy to uphold. Even the young Ivy Birch, of School XI, expressed this idea in her winning entry:

He wrote of warriors old,  
Of men both bad and bold,

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<sup>42</sup> Shakespeare, *Henry V*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), IV.vii.90-93.

<sup>43</sup> Shakespeare, *Henry V*, III.i.17-25.

Of flowers and trees that grow  
Beneath the sun's bright glow.<sup>44</sup>

According to Birch, a soldier's actions are as organic a part of England as nature herself. Furthermore, these warriors Shakespeare wrote about continue to teach Englishmen lessons; Professor Israel Gollancz, writing in 1916, observed that Englishmen 'owe to themselves the high duty of gratefully recalling...some of the lessons he has left us, and especially at the present time, how it behoves us as patriots to strive to play our part in war as in peace, and how best to maintain our faith in the ultimate triumph of a noble humanity.'<sup>45</sup> These lessons of 'noble humanity' are displayed on the home front as well. Whether they are on the battlefield or at home, the English literary heritage allows each English citizen to become a hero.

While Shakespeare's Elizabethan language unites both soldier and civilian by reminding them of their heritage, it also encourages and inspires all men to be better Englishmen. By constantly emphasizing the great fame that Shakespeare achieved for his nation, the idea seems to be that English soldiers fighting in the war and civilians supporting them from the home front can believe that one day their acts of heroism will make them national treasures as well. He is such an important figure of patriotism because 'Shakespeare's boundless love of country is no mere poetic fervour; it is solidly based on his belief that English ideals make for righteousness, for freedom, for the recognition of human rights and liberties.'<sup>46</sup> Yet the uses of Shakespeare during the war were diverse. On 19 January 1917, the Shakespeare scholar and pacifist Sidney Lee emphasized these sentiments at the opening of the Shakespeare Exhibition at the Grafton Galleries in London. He urged his audience to donate money to the Red Cross Society to aid the victims of the war.

By rendering all active aid we can to the British Red Cross Society, and by demonstrating our appreciation of Shakespeare's mighty achievement, which conspicuously confirms our national credit, we are making for a single goal. In one way we are alleviating, as far as is humanely possible, present griefs and anxieties; in the other way we are fostering confidence in our future by riveting attention on the noble assurances of our past.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Ivy Birch, *School XI Poem, Songs and Recitations*, p. 30.

<sup>45</sup> Israel Gollancz, 'Notes on Shakespeare the Patriot' quoted in *The Shakespeare Day Pamphlet*, p. 11.

<sup>46</sup> Gollancz, *Notes on Shakespeare*, p. 21.

<sup>47</sup> Lee, 'Shakespeare and the Red Cross', Opening of the Shakespeare Exhibition, Grafton Galleries, London, 19 Jan. 1917.

Here, Lee obviously connects aiding the British Red Cross Society with Shakespeare. St. George's Cross, as depicted on the English flag, is also the symbol of the British Red Cross. Shakespeare was born on 23 April 1564, which is also St. George's Day. Also, Shakespeare is conventionally thought to have died on this day. Given the context, this symbolism in the speech only strengthens the relationship between England and Shakespeare and the war. Lee in effect asks his audience to donate money because that he is confident that Shakespeare would. Once again, Shakespeare becomes the ultimate poster figure for English patriotism. Furthermore, it becomes clear that one's reward is an everlasting fame similar to Shakespeare's. As one of the schoolchildren puts it:

All the world doth homage owe  
To thee, whom England has to show;  
Thy memory will not fade away,  
Thy name will remain for every day.<sup>48</sup>

Birch combines literary art and the military elegy together. Although she is describing Shakespeare, her words could also be praising any Englishman fighting in World War I. The line leading to a language of wartime 'remembrance' seems clear. Similarly, her peer Marcus Konigsberg writes of Shakespeare's lavish fame:

Thou who hast begot such fame  
As to make the land of thy birth  
Bless the sound of thy name  
  
In every country and clime  
Honour is paid to thee;  
Thy name has stood through time.<sup>49</sup>

By fulfilling their national duties, every Englishman has the opportunity to become as important as Shakespeare. Shakespeare not only revives such poetic imitation, but he also revives patriotism and heroism within England.

The poems printed in *Songs and Recitations* were, in a sense, propaganda, as they glorified the Englishman and condemned the enemy. The historian Gary Messinger states that, 'In most cases we assign the term "propaganda" a more sinister definition as the presentation of information in an emotionally appealing manner for a

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<sup>48</sup> Ivy Birch, *Songs and Recitations*, p. 30.

<sup>49</sup> Marcus Konigsberg, *Songs and Recitations*, p. 28.

purpose that is not candidly announced, and in support of a point of view we would probably debate if we were presented with all the available facts that might bear upon the opinion and were invited to scrutinise the evidence prudently.’<sup>50</sup> All ambivalence aside, due to his privileged status, where Shakespeare was involved, propaganda was subtle, but effective. The effect of the campaign was to transform him from Shakespeare the Poet into Shakespeare the Patriot. His love of England is clearly expressed in his history plays, and he offers his countrymen the opportunity to interpret the current war through these plays. One might even conjecture that this interpretation allows his audience to view the war as a performance. Although soldiers often attended theatrical performances for many reasons, for some it was in an attempt to escape from reality. This was also the case on the home front. This sense of slight removal is further created when soldiers and civilians see their fellow countrymen and enemies as various Shakespearean characters. This is how the persuasion works: to see one’s self as King Henry and the enemy as a literalized Iago can greatly alter one’s opinions. On one level Shakespeare boosts English morale, and on another level he is responsible for persuading them to believe that fighting in the war is the right thing.

Through his multi-faceted characters, Shakespeare provided English society the opportunity to view the war in terms of his dramas, permitting a sense of removal from the raw emotions generated by the war. The reliance on antiquated literary traditions also provided Englishmen with a sense of comfort as it offered them the chance to view the unfamiliar and frightening experiences of World War I in familiar terms. First, civilians and soldiers described the occurrences of the war in Shakespearean terms; they often quoted passages from the Second Tetralogy that dealt with themes of leadership, honor, and death. Much comfort could be gained from this method; after all, if Shakespeare could write such timeless and appropriate lines in the late 1500s then perhaps the events of the Great War and its consequent emotions were not new. Furthermore, the audience could slightly remove themselves from the current situation if they compared the war to a Shakespeare play and the people to dramatic characters. By using characters like

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<sup>50</sup> Gary S. Messinger, *British Propaganda and the State in the First World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), p. 9.

*Henry V*'s King Henry and *Othello*'s Iago, it became easy to distinguish the hero from the enemy.

From daily life in the trenches to the horrors the soldiers witnessed, many individuals used the written words of Shakespeare to describe their experiences. The English Private Stephen Graham refers to his Regimental Sergeant Major as 'a perfect Malvolio.'<sup>51</sup> From that point onwards, he is only referred to as Malvolio. Graham does not describe his Regimental Sergeant Major in great detail; presumably anyone familiar with *Twelfth Night* would understand what kind of man he is. Graham also uses Shakespeare to describe fellow soldiers' experiences:

We also have in the room B--, a well-known musical composer, rather an angel, and certainly of a very charming personality and a temperament unsuited to army life. The training was knocking all music out of him, his hands were like a navy's, and when he had to go to Queen's Hall to hear one of his pieces performed, he had a nightmare with his fingers worse than that of Lady Macbeth.<sup>52</sup>

With this Lady Macbeth comparison, one can imagine exactly how this composer felt. The daily life in the trenches clearly takes its toll on individuals, and the war clearly destroys B--'s artistic talents, just as Lady Macbeth is destroyed in the curse of Shakespeare's play. Although not a soldier, Raleigh believes that 'The wit of our trenches in this war, especially perhaps among the Cockney and South Country regiments, is pure Shakespeare. Falstaff would find himself at home there, and would recognize a brother in Old Bill.'<sup>53</sup> By referring to Falstaff and the moniker 'Old Bill,' Raleigh attempts to lighten what was plainly a grim situation. Furthermore, relating the Great War to a Shakespeare play implies that an end is in sight. For many, it seemed that there was no foreseeable end to the war. Other examples are less positive. For example, Shakespeare's Gloucester says to King Lear, 'O, let me kiss that hand!'<sup>54</sup> King Lear replies, 'Let me wipe it first, it smells of mortality.'<sup>55</sup> Fussell refers to a soldier's account: 'Lieutenant Bernard Pitt recalls this as a way of indicating the smell of corpses in the ruins of a French village, which is, he says,

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<sup>51</sup> Graham, *A Private in the Guards*, p. 98.

<sup>52</sup> Graham, *A Private in the Guards*, p. 38.

<sup>53</sup> Raleigh, *Shakespeare and England*.

<sup>54</sup> Shakespeare, *King Lear*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), IV.v.128.

<sup>55</sup> Shakespeare, *King Lear*, IV.v.129.

“merely a heap of bricks and stones, and it reeks to heaven of mortality”.<sup>56</sup> Pitt feels disgust at the deaths and the actions of his fellow humans. Perhaps one can gain comfort in the repetition of another man’s words to describe one’s emotions. Writers continue to use Shakespeare in this manner, even after the war. Jay Winter, writing in the twentieth century, observes that ‘many war memoirs in fictional form return to these nightmarish images. They invite us to ask with Kent in *King Lear* “Is this the promised end?” Much war literature posed that question’<sup>57</sup> – then he seems to be consciously placing himself in this tradition. Winter explains this apocalyptic tone: ‘The Great War was, in cultural terms, the last nineteenth-century war, in that it provoked an outpouring of literature touching on an ancient set of beliefs about revelation, divine justice, and the nature of catastrophe.’<sup>58</sup>

Shakespeare’s literary accomplishments become England’s accomplishments; therefore Englishmen use his virtues and vices to define England’s national character. The Shakespearean scholar Walter Raleigh produced a series of papers during the Great War, all concerning Shakespeare and England’s virtues and vices. He published *Might is Right* (1914), *The Faith of England* (1917), and *Shakespeare and England* (1918). In these works, Raleigh discussed the current state of England in relationship with Shakespeare. Frank Harris, the author of *The Man Shakespeare and his Tragic Life-Story* published in 1909, claimed that other biographers, ‘being without a guide, having no clear idea of Shakespeare’s character, the critics created him in their own image, and, whenever they were in doubt, idealized him according to the national type.’<sup>59</sup> Each biographer seemingly believes that he is writing the most accurate version of Shakespeare’s life and has the most insight into his mind. But this reflects the people’s current ideas on national identity at the time, and they believe with almost comic consistency that Shakespeare possesses these characteristics. Furthermore, writing about Shakespeare attempts to bring the writer that much closer to a secure sense of national identity. If one could understand England’s national poet enough to write about him in such a personal manner, then that individual is also capable of understanding the nation’s identity. With the changing atmosphere that World War I created, a national identity and national icon could also bring security.

<sup>56</sup> Fussell, *The Great War*, p. 166.

<sup>57</sup> Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 203.

<sup>58</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory*, p. 178.

<sup>59</sup> Frank Harris, *The Man Shakespeare and his Tragic Life-Story* (London: Chiswick Press, 1909), p. xi.

For example, Raleigh describes England's national character as being filled with many contradictions; an Englishman 'is seldom quite content to be himself; often his thoughts are troubled by something better. He suffers from the divided mind; and earns the reputation of a hypocrite.'<sup>60</sup> Later on in his speech, Raleigh makes one of numerous direct comparisons:

The ideals of [Shakespeare's] heart were not political... The laws that are imposed upon the intricate relations of men in society were a weariness to him; and in this he is thoroughly English. The Englishman has always been an objector, and he has a right to object, though it may very well be held that he is too fond of larding his objection with the plea of conscience.<sup>61</sup>

According to Raleigh, Shakespeare does not care about politics or social structures. When his personal ideals clash with those imposed by government and society, he objects. In this sense, Shakespeare becomes the representative Englishman. In Raleigh's speech, as well as with numerous other individuals, Shakespeare's virtues and vices become England's own. Writers and speech-givers are always insistent on both the merits and their flaws, making their national character more humble and human. He becomes a positive icon for his current countrymen to focus on.

Influential men like Raleigh used Shakespeare to describe England's national character, and by reaffirming England's virtues, Raleigh reassures his audience that it is their moral obligation to fight this war. Raleigh uses *The Tempest* and other Shakespeare plays to emphasize the English virtue of kindness, displayed even during the time of war. He chooses the scene in *The Tempest* where Trinculo and Stephano are wandering on the island and they run into the savage-looking Caliban. Trinculo wonders:

What have we here, a man or a fish? Dead or alive? – A fish, he smells like a fish; a very ancient and fish-like smell; a kind of not-of-the-newest poor-john. A strange fish! Were I in England now, as once I was, and had but this fish painted, not a holiday-fool there but would give a piece of silver. There would this monster make a man.<sup>62</sup>

Although Trinculo and Stephano have the chance to harm Caliban, they decide against it. Stephano states, 'If I can recover him and keep him tame, I will not take

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<sup>60</sup> Raleigh, *Shakespeare and England*.

<sup>61</sup> Raleigh, *Shakespeare and England*.

<sup>62</sup> Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), II.ii.18-24.

too much for him.’<sup>63</sup> Raleigh implies that this scene is indicative of an Englishmen’s natural sympathy for all humans:

In this scene from *The Tempest*, everything is English except the names. The incident has been repeated many times in the last four years. ‘This is Bill,’ one private said, introducing a German soldier to his company. ‘He’s my prisoner. I wounded him, and I took him, and where I go he goes. Come on, Bill, old man.’ The Germans have known many failures since they began the War, but one failure is more tragic than the rest. They love to be impressive, to produce a panic of apprehension and a thrill of reverence in their enemy; and they have completely failed to impress the ordinary British private. He remains incurably humorous, and so little moved to passion that his daily offices of kindness are hardly interrupted.<sup>64</sup>

However, a closer reading finds the English soldier’s ownership of ‘Bill’ is anything but kind. Raleigh simultaneously elevates the English soldier while he condemns the German soldier. If Trinculo and Stephano were German, Raleigh believes that they would not think twice about harming Caliban. However, this is only a mere stereotype and generalisation, and Trinculo and Stephano are scarcely examples of Shakespeare’s finest men. Nevertheless, by emphasizing the contrast, Raleigh attempts to reassure his audience that they, as a nation, are fighting for the right cause. Raleigh’s citation of *The Tempest* becomes a popular example, as other men use Shakespearean characters to emphasize the positive qualities of being English.

If Trinculo and Stephano supposedly display England’s kindness, then Shakespeare’s King Henry from *Henry V* becomes the ultimate representation of patriotism; he is Shakespeare’s creation of supreme pride and love for England and her people. According to Sidney Lee, writing before the war, Shakespeare offers twentieth-century English society the ideal leader of the nation. Lee states, ‘Alone in Shakespeare’s gallery of English monarchs does Henry’s portrait evoke at once a joyous sense of satisfaction in the high potentialities of human character and a sense of pride among Englishmen that a man of his mettle is of English race.’<sup>65</sup> Similarly, Gollancz calls him ‘[Shakespeare’s] ideal Patriot Englishman’ and the actual play as ‘a trumpet call to all.’<sup>66</sup> Moreover, only a true Englishman could have written such characters as King Henry. Gollancz explains King Henry’s devotion and dedication

<sup>63</sup> Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, II.ii.75-76.

<sup>64</sup> Raleigh, *Shakespeare and England*.

<sup>65</sup> Lee, *Shakespeare’s King Henry V: An Account and an Estimate* (London: William Clowes, 1908), p. 6.

<sup>66</sup> Gollancz, *The Shakespeare Day Pamphlet*, p. 15.

to his people: 'While his humblest subject is at rest, he is wakeful, anxious only for the welfare of his realm, the well-being of his folk, the honour of the English name.'<sup>67</sup> He is just as concerned with the socially lowest Englishmen as he is with an English nobleman. For example, in order to rally the spirits of his soldiers, he specifically targets the farmers:

And you, good yeomen,  
Whose limbs were made in England, show us here  
The mettle of your pasture; let us swear  
That you are worth your breeding – which I doubt not,  
For there is none of you so mean and base  
That hath not noble lustre in your eyes.  
I see you stand like greyhounds in the slips,  
Straining upon the start. The game's afoot.  
Follow your spirit, and upon this charge  
Cry, 'God for Harry! England and Saint George!'<sup>68</sup>

It is this kind of speech that the likes of the Tercentenary Committee liked to imagine rallying the spirits of the fictitious English soldiers and the current ones fighting in the Great War. However, according to this speech, what makes a man 'worth your breeding' is his ability to fight for his country, not his ability to think about and question his country's actions. Men like Raleigh and Gollancz are urging them to trust and support the actions of England, rather than question the country's motives and actions. Their writings and their incorporation of Shakespeare becomes a subtle form of persuasion.

However, Shakespeare's famously ambiguous writings demonstrate how these men are using him as a propagandist instrument; English ideas on virtues and vices are being manipulated through his writings. 'Of the numerous lessons to be drawn from the experience of the First World War, one of the most significant was that public opinion could no longer be ignored as a determining factor in the formulation of government policies. The war served to increase the level of popular interest and participation in the affairs of state to such an extent that there could be no turning back to pre-1914 conditions.'<sup>69</sup> Raleigh's propagandist speech becomes more problematic when he states, 'There is a certain coldness about the upright and humane Englishman which repels and intimidates any trivial human being who approaches

<sup>67</sup> Gollancz, *The Shakespeare Day Pamphlet*, p. 16.

<sup>68</sup> Shakespeare, *Henry V*, III.i.25-34.

him. Most men would forgo their claim to justice for the chance of being liked.’<sup>70</sup> Is the Englishman ‘upright’ and ‘humane’? Is he merely acting upon his superiority? Raleigh tries to squash this notion when he states that, ‘The Englishman is seldom quite content to be himself; often his thoughts are troubled by something better. He suffers from the divided mind; and earns the reputation of a hypocrite. But the simpler nature that indulges itself and believes in itself has an even heavier price to pay.’ According to Raleigh, English character is unfairly perceived as hypocritical because of ‘the divided mind.’ Raleigh subtly tells his audience that the Englishman is such an honourable and virtuous man that even his vices are not real. Altering the definition of hypocrisy becomes an example of war propaganda; Raleigh attempts to convince the nation that Englishmen are superior. Raleigh makes it clear that an Englishman is not like ‘most men.’ He uses what Shakespeare has to offer in his plays in order to convince the the Englishmen of their ‘superiority.’

The propaganda continues, this time with the Germans as *Othello*’s Iago, a cold and calculating villain, becoming the image for the current wartime enemy. Of all the numerous villains that Shakespeare created in his plays, Raleigh deems Iago the worst simply because:

[Shakespeare’s] worst villains are all theorists, who cheat and murder by the book of arithmetic. They are men of principle, and are ready to expound their principle and to defend it in argument. They follow it without remorse or mitigation, wherever it leads them. It is Iago’s logic that makes him so terrible; his mind is as cold as a snake and as hard as a surgeon’s knife. The Italian Renaissance did produce some such men; the modern German imitation is a grosser and feebler thing, brutality trying to emulate the glitter and flourish of refined cruelty.<sup>71</sup>

According to Raleigh, Iago is brilliant, but what makes him so evil and cruel is that his intelligence is directed towards malicious and brutal acts. He attempts to convince his countrymen that all Germans want to be Iago-like in character. Furthermore, in his speech, the suggestively titled *Might is Right*, he states:

The Germans have a magnificent war-machine which rolls on its way,  
crushing all that it touches. We shall break it if we can. If we fail, the German

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<sup>69</sup> M.L. Sanders and Philip M. Taylor, *British Propaganda during the First World War, 1914-1918* (London: Macmillan Press, 1982), p. 1.

<sup>70</sup> Raleigh, *The Faith of England*, 22 Mar. 1917, *Authorama*, 16 Apr. 2005, <<http://www.authorama.com/england-and-the-war-5.html>>.

<sup>71</sup> Raleigh, *Shakespeare and England*.

nation is at the beginning, not the end, of its troubles. With the making of peace, even an armed peace, the war-machine has served its turn; some other instrument of government must then be invented.<sup>72</sup>

Yet the title *Might is Right* tells his audience that Raleigh believes in the basic brutality of fighting. However, he glosses over this sentiment to emphasize how the welfare of the world is England's responsibility. Through the wicked character Iago and the propagandist use of his character, Raleigh uses Shakespeare to provide twentieth-century Englishmen the ultimate understanding of why they must fight in the war.

For T.S. Eliot and Virginia Woolf, writing after the event, the First World War seemed to represent a cultural breakdown. Everything seemed to be in a state of decay. Post-war, they felt, literary traditions had to be reconstructed. Shakespeare was a key to their attempts to reconstruct and revive. However, a close look at the actual use of Shakespeare during the war suggests something different. It is true that the products of the Shakespeare Tercentenary Committee are not on the same literary level as *The Waste Land* or *To the Lighthouse*, and that some of the uses of Shakespeare were simply propagandistic. The efforts of Shakespeare Week defy Modernism's beliefs that culture was dying. During the war, we see how English society relied upon, even depended on, Shakespearean culture. For the Tercentenary Committee just as much for the Modernists, literary tradition was an entirely live issue.

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<sup>72</sup> Raleigh, *Might is Right*, Oct. 1914, *Authorama*, 20 Apr. 2005, <<http://www.authorama.com/england-and-the-war-3.html>>.

CHAPTER THREE  
THE SHAKESPEAREAN CURE:  
THE EMPHASIS ON KINSHIP IN BOTH RELIGION AND SPIRITUALITY  
DURING WORLD WAR I

On 2 May 1916, as part of its account of the Shakespeare Day celebrations, *The Times* reported that ‘The Archbishop of Canterbury said he recognized the debt of the Church – using that misused word in its widest sense – to the world’s greatest poet.’<sup>1</sup> The Shakespeare Tercentenary Committee had acknowledged the ‘debt of the Church’ by declaring 30 April 1916, Shakespeare Sunday. In honor of Shakespeare, churches all over England delivered sermons regarding Shakespeare and celebrating his contributions to mankind. In Stratford-Upon-Avon, Shakespeare’s birthplace, two sermons were delivered that day.<sup>2</sup> In conjunction with Shakespeare Sunday, schoolchildren in London began their day with ‘a special form of prayer, followed by the reading of “Let us now praise fellow men”.’<sup>3</sup> In light of the Great War, many of these sermons emphasized how Shakespeare exemplified honor and humanity. For example, Bishop Boyd Carpenter (Sub-Dean) delivered a sermon at Westminster Abbey, opening with Psalm Cxv., v. 16: ‘The heavens are the heavens of the Lord: But the earth hath He given to the children of men.’<sup>4</sup> *The Times* reported that the rest of Bishop Boyd Carpenter’s sermon discussed how:

the progress of men on earth could be measured by ages and was subject to God’s blessing. But great men were the free gift of God and were subject to no human conditions. Recalling all the conditions of the time and the world into which he was born, Shakespeare could only be accepted as a free gift from God. No human soul ever received the gifts of the earth in a more joyous spirit. But he did not forget the serious things of life, and with great capacity for the joys of life his heart responded to every pang of sorrow. What moved his heart most keenly was not the mystery of things, such as ill-fortune and fate of which men complain. What drew out his resentment was not the unexplained mysteries of existence but the wickedness of man, the cruel wrongs man did to man. His voice was heard to-day in this crisis of war and battle so dark that day from the disaster in the East. They might hear the patriot Shakespeare crying to us to be worthy of the mettle of our pastures.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Shakespeare: The Debt of the Church’, *The Times*, 2 May 1916, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Shakespeare Days at Stratford’, *The Times*, 26 April 1916, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> ‘Shakespeare in Four Styles: School Celebrations’, *The Times*, 4 May 1916, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> ‘Shakespeare Week: Service at the Abbey’, *The Times*, 1 May 1916, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> ‘Shakespeare Week: Service at the Abbey’.

In this sermon, the Bishop depicts a Shakespeare who is practically saintly; he is ‘the free gift from God’ and ‘is subject to no human conditions.’ Despite being given a divine talent for writing, Shakespeare was not concerned with fame or glory because he ‘received the gifts of the earth’ in such a ‘joyous spirit.’ Furthermore, according to Bishop Boyd Carpenter, what elevates Shakespeare is his ‘resentment’ of ‘the wickedness of man’; a sentiment apropos in light of the war. If Shakespeare was alive during World War I, he would be interested in the cruelties of the war, not necessarily the politics of it. In fact, this particular sermon does not include any mention of political thought nor does it try to reassure its audience of its reasons for fighting. Bishop Boyd Carpenter does not ask his audience to question the war; in fact, he only encourages his listeners ‘to be worthy.’ The Shakespeare Tercentenary Committee felt that honouring Shakespeare in such a religious light would boost public morale, although it prudently suggested that ‘officially suggesting a parallel between Christ and Shakespeare would have meant taking things too far.’<sup>6</sup> The Bishop of Birmingham echoed the thoughts of Bishop Boyd Carpenter, and *The Times* reported that while ‘lecturing at the Birmingham Repertory Theatre yesterday, [he] said religion in its highest views was to be found in Shakespeare’s writings. To Shakespeare patriotism and religion were inseparable.’<sup>7</sup> Being a proud Englishman also meant being a religious man. The sermons delivered on Shakespeare Sunday emphasized the importance of English pride and faith. However, Shakespeare Sunday during World War I was not the first instance that the Church celebrated Shakespeare’s contributions to both the arts and mankind. *The Times* mentions a Shakespeare Sunday on 26 April 1914, where members of the Shakespeare Club and ‘distinguished’ members visited the Collegiate Church of Holy Trinity in Stratford, where the poet is buried.<sup>8</sup> At this particular ceremony, Shakespeare’s ability to feel the sorrows of mankind was celebrated. The Dean of Durham stated that ‘again and again in Shakespeare [the Englishmen] might catch the sob of deep feeling for the hardships of the humble in a world full of inequality and oppression.’<sup>9</sup> Although Shakespeare Sunday in 1916 did not necessarily preach new ideas, it did attempt to

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<sup>6</sup> Balz Engler, ‘Shakespeare in the Trenches’, *Shakespeare Survey* 44 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 105.

<sup>7</sup> Bishop of Birmingham quoted in ‘Shakespeare Days at Stratford’, *The Times*. 26 April 1916, p. 9.

<sup>8</sup> ‘Shakespeare Sunday’, *The Times*. 27 April 1914, p. 7.

<sup>9</sup> ‘Shakespeare Sunday’.

reinforce traditional ideas for the English people. Through England's love of Shakespeare, its people were constantly reminded to be patriotic and religious.

Although these Shakespeare Sunday sermons are seemingly straightforward and even repetitive, underlying these sermons are the Church's fears about the Christian propriety of warfare. Just as individuals tried to understand why the Great War was happening, the Church attempted to find answers as well. Professor A.G. Hogg, the author of the paper 'Christianity and Force,' wrote, 'If we understood Christ's teaching aright, I believe that we should hate war and a good many other things with a more perfect hatred, and yet at the same time feel it a Christian duty to support our country whole-heartedly in the present struggle.'<sup>10</sup> The sermons' continual emphasis on English pride and support during a time of such death and destruction only reinforces our sense of these strongly conflicting feelings. In fact, the series *Papers for War Time* lists the following reason first as its basis of publication: 'That Great Britain was in August morally bound to declare war and is no less bound to carry the war to a decisive issue.'<sup>11</sup> However, the second reason listed contradicts the first: 'That the war is none the less an outcome and a revelation of the un-Christian principles which have dominated the life of Western Christendom and of which both the Church and the nations have need to repent.'<sup>12</sup> W.H. Moberly, author of 'Christian Conduct in War Time,' wrote, 'It is a Christian duty to "think no evil"; not to condemn our neighbor on less than complete evidence; and, if we must blame, not to adopt a judging attitude, but to think with sorrow rather than condemnation of others' sins, remembering that we ourselves are sinful men and women.'<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, Moberly states, 'Whatever, then, we may think of German diplomacy, it is our Christian duty to avoid launching moral accusations against the whole German people.'<sup>14</sup> Individuals like Hogg and Moberly directly questioned the ethics of World War I. The Church, in a much more roundabout way, also expressed such doubts through the sermons' emphasis on Shakespeare as the ultimate saint-like and patriotic Englishman.

The Archbishop of Canterbury takes this image one step further. In his sermon, Shakespeare was a quasi-divine figure who used his writing to deliver a

<sup>10</sup> A.G. Hogg, M.A., 'Christianity and Force' in *Papers for War Time No. 15* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1915), p. 3.

<sup>11</sup> 'Basis for Publication,' *Papers for War Time*, p. 2.

<sup>12</sup> 'Basis for Publication,' p. 2.

<sup>13</sup> W.H. Moberly, M.A., 'Christian Conduct in War Time' in *Papers for War Time No. 8*, p. 4.

<sup>14</sup> Moberly, 'Christian Conduct in War Time', p. 6.

message to the world. On Shakespeare Sunday, the Archbishop of Canterbury first acknowledged the Church's 'debt' to Shakespeare. *The Times* reported the following sermon:

Those who believed in the deliberate fashioning of the tapestry of human history deemed it to be not by chance that the unique genius of the foremost of Englishmen should have found his opportunity at the greatest formative hour in the evolution of human literature – some would say, of all human thought. Whatever else the Renaissance meant, whatever else it did, in things secular or sacred, it at least liberated new currents of thought, and charged them with new forces for word and action. Shakespeare was born into a new world, or, should he say, into the old world, the thinking, throbbing world of Greece and Rome, awaked from the sleep of long centuries, brought out into daylight, and equipped with whatever the Middle Ages had contributed of disciplined thought, of religious art, of romantic chivalry. Thus equipped the new generation – Shakespeare's generation – found itself with the open Bible for the first time in its hands, and with the printing press standing ready for those who had a message to deliver and knew how to give it to mankind. The hour came, and the man – the man who could take the facts of human life, and with unshackled freedom and incomparable freshness set them before the modern world in such fashion as to reveal a new dignity in human history, now beauty in human sorrow and human sympathy, and a new range and uplift – how we felt it just now – in patriotism, and in love of country, of freedom, and of honour. Could a greater service than that have been rendered to those whose special task it was to help to throw upon the tangled locking web of man's life the radiance of the Christian message? He thought not, and therefore he rejoiced to add his word of tribute to the greatest of our fellow-countrymen.<sup>15</sup>

The Archbishop of Canterbury likens Shakespeare's poetry and plays to the Bible. With the help of printing press, Shakespeare could deliver his message to a countless number of individuals. But, while the Archbishop speaks of 'the radiance of the Christian message,' his audience is never told exactly what this message is. This vacancy seems crucial. Like the sermons of the Bishop of Birmingham and the Bishop of Westminster Abbey, this sermon does not address the actual politics of the war, nor does it even mention the war. This vagueness suggests the complexity of the situation: the sermon reminds Englishmen to remain loyal and patriotic, but by never mentioning the war the sermon cannot condemn or justify it. According to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Shakespeare would reaffirm the Englishmen of their values in 'patriotism, and in love of country, of freedom, and of honor.' The Bishop of London believed that during World War I 'the sense of human brotherhood is

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<sup>15</sup> 'Shakespeare: The Debt of the Church', p. 6.

dulled and extinguished.’<sup>16</sup> As we shall see, a study of other religiously-themed Shakespearean material from this period suggests that in relation to the Great War, these Shakespeare Sunday sermons are concerned with the bonds of kinship and the moral consequences of destroying these ties. English society was encouraged to be proud of its country at a time its citizens were killing its metaphorical brothers.

A more general survey of religious faiths during World War I demonstrates that while some chose to rely on the Church, it did not have a monopoly on spiritual comfort. At the extremes of ‘religious’ opinion, others looked towards spiritualism for comfort and guidance. While spiritualism existed before the Great War, its community grew as more and more individuals struggled to exist in their seemingly unnatural and changing worlds on both the home front and the war front. People ‘continued their pre-war search for psychical experiences or embarked on spiritual quests of a kind they had undertaken time and time again in the pre-war period.’<sup>17</sup> According to the historian Jay Winter, there was a ‘community of European spiritualists, whose number grew during the war and because of the war, and whose beliefs and practices carried much of the Victorian temperament into the war period and beyond.’<sup>18</sup> He defines spiritualism as follows:

The attitudes of people who see apocalyptic, divine, angelic, or saintly presences in daily life, and do so at the margins of or outside the confines of the traditional churches. The best way to understand spiritualism is as a family of men and women who were prepared to go beyond conventional materialism or theology and did so in societies, séances, and a host of publications.<sup>19</sup>

Spiritualism, by definition, is not a real religion. Its followers often have unconventional ideas about death and the afterlife. One of spiritualism’s most famous followers in this period was Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, author of the Sherlock Holmes novels, who promoted spiritualism after his son, brother, and brother-in-law died

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<sup>16</sup> Bishop of London, ‘The Church and the War’, *Oxford Pamphlets 1914-1915* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1915), p. 3.

<sup>17</sup> Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 55.

<sup>18</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory*, p. 54.

<sup>19</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory*, p. 54.

fighting. ‘During the war Conan Doyle became interested in spirit photography and attended séances during which he was able to reach his son.’<sup>20</sup> Winter notes that ‘during and after the Great War, interest in the paranormal and the after-life naturally deepened. It was inevitably and inextricably tied up with the need to communicate with the fallen.’<sup>21</sup> Spiritualist activities involving such communication included: séances, automatic writing, and psychic photography, where human spirits were captured on film. On the war front, spiritualism took the form of rituals, superstitions, prophecies, and legends. ‘Whatever doctrine taught, soldiers believed in the supernatural. Many had little difficulty in accepting the incongruous and the uncanny as part of everyday life.’<sup>22</sup> However, Winter points out that ‘it is not that most soldiers were avowed spiritualists. It is rather that the bizarre and unnatural world in which they fought was the perfect environment for the spread of tales of the supernatural.’<sup>23</sup> Ultimately, Winter attributes spiritualism’s growing popularity during World War I to its purpose ‘to deepen and not transform older languages of loss and consolation.’<sup>24</sup> As we shall see, Shakespeare figures have just as much as in the officially sanctioned Shakespeare Sunday sermons. In both cases, ‘a complex traditional vocabulary of mourning derived from classical, romantic, or religious forms flourished [during the war] because it helped mediate bereavement.’<sup>25</sup>

Chapter Two examined how English society disproves Modernism’s belief of a cultural breakdown during World War I. The Shakespeare Tercentenary Committee created a Shakespeare Week where the churches, schools, government, and the arts, honored their national treasure. During this week, these institutions used Shakespeare and his works to emphasize the importance of English pride and their heritage. Through Shakespeare’s writings, English patriots remind their fellow countrymen what they are fighting for. Not only does he help define and develop the English character, but he is also subtly used to manipulate the public. Individuals like Raleigh manipulate Shakespeare’s writings to fit their own political, and oftentimes propagandist, agenda. Some of English society finds the answers to some of its political questions in Shakespeare’s descriptive language and political themes.

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<sup>20</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory*, p. 58.

<sup>21</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory*, pp. 57-8.

<sup>22</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory*, p. 64.

<sup>23</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory*, p. 67.

<sup>24</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory*, p. 76.

<sup>25</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory*, p. 223.

Chapter Three is broader in spectrum as it will analyze how Shakespeare is used to express fears about the decaying state of morality on both a national and international level. These fears reached an international level as society attempted to cope with the consequences of killing other human beings. 'A nation is made up of men and women, and it cannot be Christian to other nations unless they in their thoughts and words are Christian to other nations. It is wrong thinking that causes war, and the thinking is done not by an abstract nation but by the men and women who compose it.'<sup>26</sup> This chapter analyzes a broad spectrum of these religious and spiritual reactions such as the Shakespeare Sunday sermons in England and the less conventional reactions of the American Lincoln Phifer. Despite the different beliefs, backgrounds, and geographies of these individuals, they all express similar doubts. Internationally, nations alike were concerned with the moral state of the world as its people engaged in warfare with their metaphorical brothers.

Because of the growing numbers of fatalities and injuries, many individuals believed that the moral health of English society was in decline. According to the Bishop of London, in his piece 'The Church and the War', the war meant that English society's 'moral and religious convictions [found] here a searching and inevitable test.'<sup>27</sup> Indeed, with an approximate ten million soldiers dead, 21 million wounded, and 7.7 million missing or imprisoned, it is understandable that society would question their ethics and principles.<sup>28</sup> The sermons delivered on Shakespeare Sunday tried to prevent this kind of questioning and doubt. According to Winter, the Great War also resulted in feelings of unity and kinship amongst the English people: 'the search for the fate of soldiers, and the effort to comfort the bereaved, created a kind of kinship bond between families in wartime and those who set about helping them.'<sup>29</sup> While the war destroyed families, new families were created through the 'bond of moral obligation to help and support one another.'<sup>30</sup> Echoing the sermons' themes of humanity and philanthropy, the English writer Stephen S. Hales used Shakespeare to demonstrate and emphasize that humans could be naturally good and help one another, especially in times of war. In 1916 he published *Shakespeare's Religion*, a thirty-one page pamphlet in which he analyzed the playwright's works for clues to his religious

<sup>26</sup> A. Clutton-Brock, 'The Cure for War' in *Papers for War Time No. 18* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1915), p. 16.

<sup>27</sup> Bishop of London, 'The Church and the War', p. 3.

<sup>28</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory*, p. 30.

<sup>29</sup> Bishop of London, 'The Church and the War', p. 3.

<sup>30</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory*, p. 30.

position. Such textual analysis provides Hales with clues because, 'It would then be true to say that all Shakespeare's characters, by their speeches and actions, as arranged by the author, are the embodied expression of all his (written) thoughts about life.'<sup>31</sup> With this method he is able to conclude that while Shakespeare was not a devout Christian, he was '*spiritually a Catholic*.'<sup>32</sup> Hales explains his reasoning:

A Catholic, modified, it is true, but not stultified, by two potent influences: (a) his *patriotism*, which induced submission to the English Government rather than to that of Rome (in the same spirit that impelled good Catholics to fight against the Spanish Armada); and (b) his study of the Scriptures, which enlightened his religious thought, widened its outlook, and extended the application of it, without destroying the Catholic mould which shaped its most natural expression for himself, as in all likelihood it had shaped the piety of his Mother.<sup>33</sup>

In addition to his unwavering patriotism and his study of the Scriptures, Hales sees Shakespeare as more of an upholder of such religion because of the realistic manner he depicts his characters. Hales uses these Shakespearean truths to explain that despite the war, human beings are still capable of goodness. First, Hales uses Shakespearean characters to demonstrate how one's reaction to the War reveals one's moral status. By keeping faith and remaining patriotic, the Englishman does everything he can to support his brothers fighting in the war. Next, Hales explains how the glorification of the war and the emphasis on patriotism creates stronger ties of kinship amongst English citizens. Finally, like Bishop Boyd Carpenter and the Bishop of Birmingham, Hales uses Shakespeare to express the individual's innate code of ethics and honor. Men like Hales used Shakespeare to defend man's internal goodness and kindness, thus providing their fellow men with moral consolation.

Through textual analysis of Shakespeare's dramas, Hales assures his readers that while Shakespeare had knowledge of many religions, he ultimately depicts people as he saw them in nature. In his pamphlet, Hales creates a list of twenty-nine 'truths about the nature of Shakespeare's mind.'<sup>34</sup> Somewhat contradicting his views on Shakespeare's own religion, he states his second truth:

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<sup>31</sup> Stephen S. Hales, *Shakespeare's Religion* (Stratford-on-Avon: William Jaggard Shakespeare Press, 1916), p. 16.

<sup>32</sup> Hales, *Shakespeare's Religion*, p. 28.

<sup>33</sup> Hales, *Shakespeare's Religion*, p. 28.

<sup>34</sup> Hales, *Shakespeare's Religion*, p. 18.

That Shakespeare held in rigid seclusion all preconceived theories of Catholic, Protestant, Anglican, Puritan, Sceptic, and Philosopher, as to *how man ought to act*, but concentrated the whole force of his genius to discover and then report in matchless drama, and with exquisite poetry, *how man does act, and the results produced by his actions*.<sup>35</sup>

He wanted to depict men as they existed in reality. Indeed, this may sound Machiavellian. *The Prince* states:

But my intention being to write something of use to those who understand, it appears to me more proper to go to the real truth of the matter than its imagination; and many have imagined republics and principalities which have never been seen or known to exist in reality; for how we live is so far removed from how we ought to live, that he who abandons what is done for what ought to be done, will rather learn to bring about his own ruin than his preservation.<sup>36</sup>

However, according to Hales, this does not mean that men are devoid of morals. 'We can conceive and accept simultaneously as one person the man that Hamlet knew and the Hamlet that Shakespeare drew.'<sup>37</sup> Hales' eighth truth clarifies this as he explains why Shakespeare's plays were written:

first and foremost, to amuse and interest his patrons, and in doing so to record shining examples of valour and virtue, and at the same time to chasten and correct the criminal, the fanatic, and the fool, and withal to do these things in a clear spirit of humanity.<sup>38</sup>

Throughout these twenty-nine truths, Hales emphasizes the importance of kinship to Shakespeare. Like the Shakespeare Sunday sermons, Hales observes that Shakespeare's great gift to humanity is his love for mankind. In his conclusion, Hales states:

If a divine mission could possibly be attributed to Shakespeare, if that incalculable and beautiful power, which we call the genius of Shakespeare, had one sole purpose to fulfil, surely that mission and that power were given to restore to Englishmen the sense of brotherhood and good-will, in an age when "religious" leaders and teachers seemed to have forgotten the very name of "humanity."<sup>39</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Hales, *Shakespeare's Religion*, p. 19.

<sup>36</sup> Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince* (London: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 68.

<sup>37</sup> Hales, *Shakespeare's Religion*, p. 13.

<sup>38</sup> Hales, *Shakespeare's Religion*, p. 20.

<sup>39</sup> Hales, *Shakespeare's Religion*, pp. 29-30.

Hales determines that Shakespeare is a spiritual man whose depiction of men echoes the strong bonds of brotherhood, love, and kindness found in real life. For Hales, Shakespeare reminds English society of the importance of ‘brotherhood and goodwill.’

While for the Modernists, the Great War brought spiritual deterioration, Hales explains that Shakespeare demonstrates how it is the people’s reactions to the war that prove their spiritual goodness. While World War I caused many individuals to question the state of humanity, Hales believes the average English citizen does everything in his power to help his ‘brothers.’ In fact, Hales believes that the only religious group Shakespeare disliked were the Puritans who ultimately rebelled against the monarchy:

There was, however, one man in his world, and only one so far as I know, in whose ‘heart’ Shakespeare could not ‘sit’ – of whom the ‘highly sensitised photographic plate’ of his own mind refused to take an imprint – to whom the mirror of his creative mind was never held – and, indeed, a man whom he quite failed to understand – I mean the non-conforming and rebellious Puritan. That type has ever been adverse to the artistic and the Catholic mind.<sup>40</sup>

Shakespeare’s inability to comprehend the Puritan’s mind only emphasizes the importance of patriotism and a love for humanity. According to Hales, Shakespeare’s plays and poetry have a timeless appeal because the reactions of the characters teach Shakespeare’s audience lessons in morality. Hales uses *King Lear* and Cordelia as examples: ‘Lear acts with a distinct purpose in his mind, *partially* expressed by his uttered words. Cordelia likewise. Neither of them *expects* the terrible results that actually follow....’<sup>41</sup> This discussion of *King Lear* is careful to emphasize how Lear and Cordelia’s strong love for each other reunites them before Lear dies. Hales uses Shakespeare to demonstrate how strong the bonds of kinship are even in spite of such disasters. For *King Lear* and Cordelia, it is their strong love for each other that helps them survive, and Hales implicitly states that it is the same for victims of the war. Some seventy-odd years later, Winter explains:

The search for the fate of soldiers, and the effort to comfort the bereaved, created a kind of kinship bond between families in wartime and those who set about helping them. Everyone in mourning for a soldier was a victim of war, and to see the ways they were helped (and the ways they helped each other)

<sup>40</sup> Hales, *Shakespeare’s Religion*, p. 17.

<sup>41</sup> Hales, *Shakespeare’s Religion*, p. 14.

enables us to approach the importance of kinship- familial or socially defined – in the process of coming to terms with bereavement in wartime.<sup>42</sup>

Victims of the war shared a unique bond as individuals attempted to cope, as a group, with the trauma of the war. Hales implies that if Shakespeare were alive, he would be concerned with strengthening the bonds of brotherhood rather than the actual politics of the war. He states:

But Shakespeare's mind was too broad, too little inclined either to support or to confound extreme opinions in theology or any other subject, and too desirous to establish a union of hearts, and by some touch of nature make the whole world kin, to concentrate his attention upon doctrines and dogmas which seem to do little else than divide men from one another and make of 'sweet religion a rhapsody of words!'<sup>43</sup>

Hales uses Shakespeare as a role model for English society *because* he did not care for the hindrance of politics or established religion.

Not only does Shakespeare emphasize the strong bonds of kinship, but he also demonstrates a code of morality that comes from within, and not necessarily from the Bible. Furthermore, Shakespeare becomes a representative of true religion when he depicts characters as he finds them in real life:

in creating 'characters' which so variously and faithfully exhibit the passions and motives of mankind, good or evil, or good and evil mingled, as indeed, they mostly are in men, tracing with such force and precision the baneful effects of vice and the sad effects of a weak neutrality of will, Shakespeare has contributed indirectly, and none the less assuredly for its indirectness, a powerful support to the teaching and purpose of true religion. His moral appeal to the intelligence and conscience comes with freshness and additional strength to each new generation, because it is not identified with any passing fashion of thought, but is based on the fundamental instincts of the soul.<sup>44</sup>

For Hales, reading Shakespeare's dramas can be just as important and valuable as reading the Bible because his dramas depict individuals as a mixture of good and evil, thus demonstrating to his readers 'the fundamental instincts of the soul.' His audience can learn from the realistic portrayal of the characters' reactions to the events happening in the drama. Therefore, Hales can only express his appreciation for Shakespeare:

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<sup>42</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory*, p. 30.

<sup>43</sup> Hales, *Shakespeare's Religion*, p. 18.S

<sup>44</sup> Hales, *Shakespeare's Religion*, p. 23.

it would seem much more natural in a critic of Shakespeare, to express profound gratitude in the discovery of that plentitude of truth and beauty which he has so freely poured into stage plays: truth and beauty of such a nature that every man, irrespective of creed and opinion, may delight in and profit by them. One has only to place Shakespeare's writings by the side of any other, or all, of the dramatists of his day, to see the special munificence of his legacy to mankind, both in the gaieties and gravities of life.<sup>45</sup>

Shakespeare writes of life's joys and sorrows, and gives his characters a wide variety of reactions to what life brings them. He indicates that organized religion is not necessarily the only source of truth and place of learning. Hales believes that Shakespeare's true religion is just as important in teaching lessons of humanity amidst tragedy.

In his attempt to give 'true religion' more significance, Hales argues that it is the attitudes of organized religions that can hinder English society's ability to heal during these times of war. He writes:

If it is to be urged – as, indeed, it has been urged by Christian critics – that Shakespeare's attempt to grapple with the problem of evil was both gratuitous and ineffective, I would respectfully reply that Shakespeare attempted not to controvert or oppose the solution propounded by Christianity, but to study the problem from a purely human point of view.<sup>46</sup>

According to Hales, it does not matter what religion one belongs to; everyone is capable of caring for their fellow man. For Hales, humans are naturally inclined to being good. He explains:

[Shakespeare] pondered deeply the situation of man, as a being for whom the struggle between good and evil was an inherent necessity;...he regarded nature as 'keeping the ring' for both forces, with an apparent indifference as to the result, but in the issue is mysteriously found to be on the side of goodness; and that eventually she trips up the wrong-doer and throws him aside.<sup>47</sup>

By reassuring his audience of the goodness of mankind, he provides them with comfort that the right side will win. It is nature, not the Bible, that tells him this. Throughout *Shakespeare's Religion*, Hales tacitly expresses his disapproval of the often restricting opinions and attitudes of organized religions. He states:

In our day, as in Shakespeare's, the human need is still the same: -

<sup>45</sup> Hales, *Shakespeare's Religion*, p. 22.

<sup>46</sup> Hales, *Shakespeare's Religion*, p. 28.

<sup>47</sup> Hales, *Shakespeare's Religion*, p. 26.

Churches and sects, strike down  
 Each mean partition wall!  
 Let love each harsher feeling drown  
 For men are brothers all.<sup>48</sup>

Unlike true religion, organized religion is what separates men, which can be more harmful during wartime. Organized religions should not separate individuals because human beings are equal in their ties of kinship. The soldier and writer Wellesley Tudor-Pole stated in 1915 that, 'selfish individualism, in face of the tremendous issues before the country, is giving place to a broader view in which each becomes a vital part of the whole, one of a great brotherhood striving to save humanity from the common foe.'<sup>49</sup> On the same note, Hales ends his piece by stating, 'if a man love not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God, Whom he hath not seen?'<sup>50</sup> For Hales, Shakespeare demonstrates that any man is able to love a stranger simply because of the true religion one possesses, which is not necessarily the same as an organized religion like Christianity. 'Of the two ideal attitudes of the soul, expounded by Christ, in his revision of the older religion of Judaism – love to God and love to man – Shakespeare deliberately restricted his attention to the second ideal only.'<sup>51</sup> During World War I, it is man's love for one another that can provide him hope and comfort.

There is no doubt that 'whatever may be the case in regard to religion, we may assert quite confidently that the war will bring about great changes in Theology.'<sup>52</sup> The one great change Hales would support is the realization that one's morals and judgments are not necessarily dependent on religion alone. Instead, Hales emphasizes man's internal goodness and one's capability of being good, and he demonstrates this through examples of Shakespearean characters like King Lear and Cordelia. Like the Bible, Shakespearean dramas demonstrate how important the bonds of kinship and love are during times of crisis. In the end, Hales aims to provide society with some relief and comfort in knowing that despite the horrific events of the war, man is still capable of goodness. On a more universal scale, every human being is naturally inclined to act towards the goodwill of his fellow men. Despite his twenty-nine

<sup>48</sup> Hales, *Shakespeare's Religion*, p. 30.

<sup>49</sup> Wellesley Tudor-Pole, *The Great War: Some Deeper Issues* (London: G.Bell, 1915), p. 15-16.

<sup>50</sup> Hales, *Shakespeare's Religion*, p. 30.

<sup>51</sup> Hales, *Shakespeare's Religion*, p. 29.

<sup>52</sup> W.B. Selbie, 'The War and Theology', *Oxford Pamphlets: 1914 – 1915* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1915), p. 3.

Shakespearean revelations, Hales humbly proposes that his final page – a chronological list of Shakespeare’s dramas – is ‘the most valuable page of the pamphlet.’<sup>53</sup>

The emotional devastation created by World War I allowed many individuals to rely on a more esoteric form of spiritualism, which soon became a popular method of dealing with the increasing death toll. Perhaps significantly, Winter defines spiritualism as ‘a *family* of men and women who were prepared to go beyond conventional materialism or theology and did so in societies, séances, and a host of publications.’<sup>54</sup> In line with spiritualist beliefs, life continued even after the death of the physical body. As the philosopher Rudolf Steiner stated, ‘All Occult Science must spring from two thoughts – thoughts which take root in every human being. [...] First, that there is behind the visible an invisible world, hidden *to begin with* from the senses and from the kind of thinking that is fettered to the senses. And secondly, that by the due development of forces slumbering within him it is possible for man to penetrate into this hidden world.’<sup>55</sup> There were numerous ways to communicate with the dead most often with the help of mediums. Throughout World War I, people claimed to speak with deceased family, friends, and even English icons like Shakespeare. Lincoln Phifer was an American who claimed that Shakespeare possessed his body and together in 1916 they wrote *Hamlet in Heaven*, a five-act sequel to *Hamlet*. This kind of spiritual communication is called ‘automatic writing.’ Phifer explained that this unique opportunity came through prayer, ‘only after I repeatedly asked that literature by Shakespeare might be given through my hand.’<sup>56</sup> For Phifer, automatic writing is responsible for many important literary works: ‘The Bible speaks many times of “the word of the Lord (that) came by the hand of Moses.”’<sup>57</sup> Not only does Phifer position himself in a tradition beginning with Moses, but he further attempts to persuade his readers by stating, ‘What I do claim is that there is enough data suggesting such continuous existence and even communication between the two states of life, to warrant a serious effort to put that communion on a mechanical, scientific basis.’<sup>58</sup> In addition, Phifer claims that Shakespeare himself

<sup>53</sup> Hales, foreword, *Shakespeare’s Religion*.

<sup>54</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory*, p. 54. [My italics.]

<sup>55</sup> Rudolf Steiner, *Occult Science – An Outline*, trans. George and Mary Adams, (London: Rudolf Steiner, 1969), p. 31.

<sup>56</sup> Phifer, preface, *Hamlet in Heaven*, p. 1.

<sup>57</sup> Phifer, preface, *Hamlet in Heaven*, p. 3.

<sup>58</sup> Phifer, preface, *Hamlet in Heaven*, p. 8.

was a recipient of automatic writing. In 'Sonnet 86', Shakespeare writes, 'Was it his spirit, by spirits taught me to write / above the moral pitch, that struck me dead?'<sup>59</sup> As a result, Phifer believes 'that he knew all about [automatic writing], even though he, very properly, felt he was not inferior himself to any "affable familiar ghost."<sup>60</sup> Phifer claimed that Shakespeare used him in order to teach his earthly beings about the afterlife. First, Shakespeare tells them to see human life in relation to this 'to the world of stars' and to erase all pettiness.<sup>61</sup> Then, he tells them that in Heaven they must overcome their earthly deeds; specifically feelings of vengeance as demonstrated by both Hamlet and his father. Finally, he shows how vengeance is punished in Heaven, and forgiveness, even amongst enemies, is rewarded. Through spiritualism and the work of mediums, Shakespeare explains to the twentieth-century about life after death and the importance of forgiveness.

This five-act sequel to Shakespeare's *Hamlet* explores basic Spiritualist ideas on life after death, the importance of forgiveness, and the evolution of the spirit. Phifer describes the automatic writing for this sequel: 'This particular play was written during the latter half of September, and first half of October, 1915, at intervals, as I was "called" from work to do the writing.'<sup>62</sup> His friend, Dr. A. E. Adams, 'a Shakespearian student and reader,' claims that the play 'is fully equal to anything Shakespeare ever wrote. The style is very much like that of the master of English literature.'<sup>63</sup> In the first and second acts of the play, the main *Hamlet* characters wake up in separate hospital wards in Heaven. All of them are completely unaware that their lives on earth have ended and still have memory of their earthly deeds. For example, Hamlet Senior remembers his desire to avenge his death and Ophelia still remembers Hamlet's betrayal. While lying on his hospital bed, a nurse tells Claudius that the most important thing he can do is to forgive and 'heal thy soul.'<sup>64</sup> Meanwhile, Hamlet Senior is punished for continuing to seek vengeance for his earthly murder. It is here that the readers learn the importance of forgiveness, especially in the afterlife. Once the brothers Hamlet Senior and Claudius learn this lesson and genuinely give up their desire for revenge, they achieve internal peace. With his newfound knowledge,

<sup>59</sup> Phifer, preface, *Hamlet in Heaven*, p. 1.

<sup>60</sup> Phifer, preface, *Hamlet in Heaven*, p. 1.

<sup>61</sup> Rudolf Steiner, *Between Death and Rebirth*, trans. E.H. Goddard and D.S. Osmond, (London: Rudolf Steiner, 1912), p. 68.

<sup>62</sup> Phifer, *Hamlet in Heaven*, p. 4.

<sup>63</sup> Phifer, *Hamlet in Heaven*, p. 6.

<sup>64</sup> Phifer, *Hamlet in Heaven*, p. 25.

Hamlet Senior learns to help others heal their own souls and begin their spiritual metamorphosis. Finally, in the last act, the readers learn that ‘most men begin great; but they change their greatness for material things.’<sup>65</sup> The characters of *Hamlet in Heaven*, along with Phifer’s readers, realize that a greater life exists beyond life on earth.

During World War I, various mediums claimed that Shakespeare spoke to them with a message about the importance of human nobility and how one must rise above human sins and desires because human life on earth is only a small part of the picture. Winter describes spiritualism as ‘one of the most disturbing and powerful means by which the living “saw” the dead of the Great War, and used their “return” to help survivors cope with their loss and their trauma.’<sup>66</sup> Unsurprisingly, people claimed to communicate with Shakespeare. To many spiritualists like Phifer, Shakespeare became a powerful figure to help others cope with and understand life after death. The Shakespearean authority Samuel Schoenbaum describes one example:

To one, more privileged than most, Shakespeare spoke directly and in his own person. The recipient of the Word was, not surprisingly, a medium: Mrs. Sarah Taylor Shatford of New York City, who impressed many of the people she met in hotel parlors or the park or in cafeterias with her ability to lead them into the light and solace of spirit communion; they gave her testimonials (some she printed) of spook visits. Her first contact with Shakespeare came in December 1916, when she took down in the space of an hour before breakfast three poems written down through the Ouija Board on themes of war, peace, and God’s love. A few days later she heard Shakespeare’s voice, and dispensed with the Board. On 22 May 1917 he revealed his purposes: ‘I was told by the One who speaks for Him, that if I came back and undid my wrong, helped men to rise from their wicked impassioned selves to look to Him instead, to incite nobility of aim and the love of God instead of enflaming the lusts of the craven for the flesh, that when I had fulfilled this errand, and came again to His presence, my opportunity to rise would be bestowed, and I should rise and be forgiven at last.’<sup>67</sup>

Shakespeare’s spirit came to Shatford to pass on a message concerning war, peace, and God’s love. ‘Shakespeare’ explains to Shatford that in order to personally achieve redemption, he must help the mortals realize the importance of nobility and divine love. After all, ‘in war it is the duty of all soldiers to kill men, but this duty is

<sup>65</sup> Phifer, *Hamlet in Heaven*, p. 71.

<sup>66</sup> Winter, *Sites of Memory*, p. 54.

<sup>67</sup> Samuel Schoenbaum, *Shakespeare’s Lives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 682.

incompatible with the requirements of Christianity.’<sup>68</sup> It may be striking that there seem to be more instances of specifically Shakespearean spiritualist activity outside England during the period of the War than there were in it, particularly given that there was an existing tradition of occult readings of his work.<sup>69</sup> One might speculate that the attempted close association between Shakespeare and the nation at war discouraged such activities, or even their publicization.

But it is striking how Phifer’s play manages to echo so many of the themes we have seen at work in the Shakespeare Day sermons and in Hales’ book, and how the use of *Hamlet* emphasizes the theme of brotherhood in particular. *Hamlet in Heaven*’s Hamlet learns of the new harmony that exists in Heaven. His nurse, a guardian angel-type figure, explains to him:

We are not mixed, but of one race at last.  
And this is more than a philosophy.  
‘Tis fact that means the progress of the world.  
First came the making of the world; now comes,  
In proper order, true development.<sup>70</sup>

According to Shakespeare, what seems important on Earth is not necessarily of equal importance in Heaven. Individuals in Heaven are attempting to live in greater harmony, but are only able to once they understand they as individuals are only a small part in a greater plan. Hamlet and Horatio enter the workshop of the gods, where they realize the sheer size of nature’s work and Horatio states, ‘Here is business to exceed the earth.’<sup>71</sup> According to spiritualism, humans on earth are merely a product, not *the* only product that nature creates. Spiritualism urges its followers to understand that human beings on earth are part of a greater picture. Although World War I resulted in thousands of deaths, spiritualism taught its survivors that there was more to life than just that experienced on earth.

The spiritualist ideas in *Hamlet in Heaven* provided individuals a chance to cope with their role in death by stating that everyone in Heaven suffers from their deeds but learns the importance of forgiveness. Steiner explains the spiritualist theory on life after death as ‘...liberation from everything that is significant on Earth, for the

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<sup>68</sup> Christophe Nyrop, *Is War Civilization?*, trans. H.G. Wright, (London: William Heinemann, 1917), p. 220.

<sup>69</sup> See Appendix 2 on Clelia.

<sup>70</sup> Phifer, *Hamlet in Heaven*, pp. 76-7.

<sup>71</sup> Phifer, *Hamlet in Heaven*, p. 83.

soul beings to realise the great cosmic significance of universal space. In living through all this the soul emancipates itself entirely from the element of personality.'<sup>72</sup> *Hamlet in Heaven* attempts to deal with these issues and in following spiritualism, Shakespeare tells his audience that forgiveness is a necessity in Heaven. King Hamlet asks:

I've often wondered how a murderer  
 Would meet his victim in the spirit world,  
 And what would be the feelings of the two  
 And what each one would say.<sup>73</sup>

In Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, King Hamlet never directly faces his murderer, and his ghost asks Hamlet to avenge his death. However, in *Hamlet in Heaven*, the brothers Claudius and King Hamlet face and confront each other. Tudor-Pole, who claimed to be clairvoyant, said that in his visions, 'The way is undoubtedly being made simpler and less tragic for those who are giving up their lives for a great ideal.'<sup>74</sup>

Phifer/Shakespeare poetically addresses many soldiers' questions about the consequences of their actions. King Hamlet tells Claudius:

Claudius, I thought  
 I would destroy thee, getting so revenge  
 For my destruction. When I learned that soul  
 Is indestructible save by itself,  
 I planned to cause thee pain, to cripple thee.  
 But now I see thou hast thy own self maimed,  
 And art in pain from it, my soul is filled  
 With the first joy that it has known since death,  
 And so thou art in torment, I'm content  
 To be near, moving not a hand, but chuckling in spirit at thy agony.<sup>75</sup>

Although King Hamlet wanted to 'destroy' Claudius, he realizes that it such feelings are futile because Claudius is 'self maimed.' As a result, King Hamlet abandons his plans of revenge and is left 'chuckling in spirit at [Claudius'] agony.' Comfort can be gained from realizing that everyone on Heaven has committed sins and is suffering. Once King Hamlet lets go of these feelings of bitterness and hatred and learns to forgive, he states, 'And on me creeps / A peace like rest when one hath been in

<sup>72</sup> Steiner, *Between Death and Rebirth*, p. 181.

<sup>73</sup> Phifer, *Hamlet in Heaven*, p. 38.

<sup>74</sup> Tudor-Pole, *The Great War*, p. 94.

<sup>75</sup> Phifer, *Hamlet in Heaven*, p. 40.

pain.’<sup>76</sup> Similarly, Claudius exclaims, ‘And there’s a glimmering of light for me.’<sup>77</sup> For Phifer, forgiveness is especially important in helping individuals move away from their earthly troubles and realize they are part of a greater universal plan.

According to *Hamlet in Heaven*, the afterlife is not a place where sinners are punished and saints are rewarded. It is a place where vengeance is punished and forgiveness is rewarded. Furthermore, one cannot avoid suffering because it is essential to the universal spiritual metamorphosis. Similarly, King Hamlet advises his son:

By righteous thoughts open your eyes to good,  
And then by noble deeds grow ‘round you flowers  
To beautify the scars that now are wounds  
And hide them ever from your opened eyes.  
So shall you make the state of hell a Heaven  
And in your spirits find companionship  
Instead of rancor.<sup>78</sup>

He does not ask Hamlet to forget about his sins and his enemies; rather he asks him to ‘beautify’ and ‘hide’ them and make ‘the state of hell a Heaven.’ In this context, forgiveness is more of a conscious decision, than a passive act. While spiritualism encourages individuals to focus on the greater picture, according to Phifer’s *Hamlet in Heaven*, one must focus on oneself first and rid oneself of all earthly sins and his past.

While the validity of the messages received by Lincoln Phifer and Sarah Taylor Shatford might well be questioned, the messages Shakespeare gave them provided much comfort to a few believing individuals affected by death during World War I. (Although Phifer genuinely seems to believe that he automatically wrote Shakespeare’s play, it is difficult to say that *Hamlet in Heaven* displays the same kind of figurative language Shakespeare was renowned for.) Whether he was real or not, to some individuals, these mediums provided hope that life continued even after death on Earth. As Tudor-Pole advises his audience: ‘As we read the casualty lists and endeavor to console those who have lost friends and relatives, let us try to turn their thoughts, and the thought of the world, away from the belief in death to the understanding that in God’s Universe *there is no death*.’<sup>79</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Phifer, *Hamlet in Heaven*, p 45.

<sup>77</sup> Phifer, *Hamlet in Heaven*, p. 45.

<sup>78</sup> Phifer, *Hamlet in Heaven*, pp. 43-4.

<sup>79</sup> Tudor-Pole, *The Great War*, p. 15.

From the Church of England to the scholarly Hales to the automatic writing of Phifer, Shakespeare manages to play an important role within these diverse religious groups. Despite their differences in theories, Shakespeare during World War I seemingly provides the world with answers about the afterlife, thus providing society with comfort. Although the Shakespeare Sunday sermons seem simplistic and repetitive, they question the ideals of Christian warfare. At the same time, men like Hales use Shakespeare to demonstrate man's own innate code of morality. Despite the spiritual devastation surrounding them, Shakespeare seems to demonstrate that one's capability to be kind is not necessarily dependent on religion alone. Instead of the action, it is the *reaction* of the individual during times of war that demonstrates human caring and kinship. Finally, through the help of mediums, Shakespeare is able to demonstrate that human life is just a small part of Nature; life continues to exist in Heaven. Through the drama *Hamlet in Heaven*, society is shown a Heaven where earthly needs no longer matter; the importance of forgiveness and the present is emphasized. Regardless of their religious affiliations, universally, those fighting in the Great War experienced a need for spiritual comfort and answers. From the far-out to the formal to the scientific, from English to American, it sometimes seems as if what binds them together is Shakespeare and his ability to provide relief and answers to a war-torn nation in desperate need of help.

## CONCLUSION

In culmination of the Shakespeare Tercentenary Committee's celebration, several official world leaders acknowledged their appreciation for England's national poet. On 2 May 1916, *The Times* reported the following event:

At a meeting held in honour of the memory of Shakespeare at the Mansion House yesterday the following message was read from the King and Queen acknowledging a copy of "A Book of Homage to Shakespeare": -

Their Majesties have graciously commanded that their thanks be sent to you for this illustrious record of reverence to him to whose memory the whole civilized world is now doing honour.

The following telegram from the President of the United States was read by the American Ambassador: -

I join with all lovers of great literature in unqualified admiration of the great genius who spoke the human spirit in fuller measure and more authentic tones than any other man of any race or age. – Woodrow Wilson.<sup>1</sup>

Despite the ongoing war, these world leaders still felt it necessary to acknowledge their appreciation of Shakespeare. In fact, as Chapters Two and Three demonstrate, Shakespeare was so widely celebrated in efforts to instill feelings of patriotism and pride. In addition, the King and Queen of England and American President Woodrow Wilson were not the only leaders to publicly express their love for Shakespeare during World War I.

The Duke of Alba expressed the heartiest greetings of the Royal Spanish Academy, who, he said, desired, through him not only to pay homage to the genius and universality of Shakespeare, but also to express its gratification at the proposed foundation in the metropolis of the British empire of a chair of Spanish language and literature, to be associated with the great name of Cervantes. The Academy, in order to mark its appreciation of English cordiality, had instituted a prize to be given to the best work on the theme of 'Shakespeare in Spain.'<sup>2</sup>

Spain's writing contest is similar to the Shakespeare Tercentenary Committee's aforementioned Manchester school contest. This foreign appreciation of an English national treasure suggests an international desire to strengthen bonds between nations. Indeed, *The Times* also notes that Mr. August Brunius 'said that in Sweden

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<sup>1</sup> 'Shakespeare: Tributes from Many Nations: Mansion House Meeting', *The Times*. 2 May 1916, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> 'Shakespeare: Tributes from Many Nations: Shakespeare in Spain', *The Times*. 2 May 1916, p. 6.

Shakespeare had become flesh of their flesh.’<sup>3</sup> Hohavnes Khan, ‘who was Persian Ambassador at Berlin at the outbreak of war and has translated Shakespeare into Armenian’ stated that ‘after Europe now came the turn of Asian to join in admiration of Shakespeare.’<sup>4</sup> The Mansion House meeting also included representatives from Australia, Canada, and South Africa: ‘Mr. A. Fisher, the High Commissioner for Australia, said that if we could clear away the mist that surrounded our decision and indecision at this time and speak the language and the thoughts of Shakespeare’s days we should make all well meaning men and women happy and make tyrants afraid.’ ‘Sir G. Perley, on behalf of Canada, said Shakespeare had a miraculous knowledge of human nature, which was shown in many ways.’ Finally, Mr. W.P. Schreiner, the High Commissioner of the Union of South Africa, said it was a splendid fact that in the throes of a convulsion which was causing the whole world to reel and totter the nation of Shakespeare stood firm and smiling.’<sup>5</sup> From England to America to Europe and to Asia, it seems that every country partook in this celebration. The emphasis of this meeting at the Mansion House was as much on the appreciation of Shakespeare as it was nations banding together in time of the war. In fact, *The Times* cited that, ‘Owing to the outbreak of war this homage to Shakespeare, which might have been a celebration of international amity, could not now wear that guise. Nevertheless, the response has been world-wide.’<sup>6</sup> Nations all over the world responded in their accord, thus demonstrating the international effort to support and admire this English national icon during the Great War.

Modernists like T.S. Eliot and Virginia Woolf described a post-cultural breakdown in England. They argued their elitist stance as the preservers of cultural icons like Shakespeare. In contrast, Chapters Two and Three demonstrate how the Modernists created this notion of a cultural breakdown. If anything, individuals from all different groups used their national poet to encourage feelings of togetherness and brotherhood. People from all different social groups and backgrounds participated in this national celebration. Everyone from schoolchildren to soldiers to bishops was influenced by Shakespeare in some way during the Great War. Despite the trauma and horrors of the Great War, Shakespeare helped bring people together. Although Shakespeare is surely not the only example of this, he exemplified the ideal English

<sup>3</sup> ‘Shakespeare: Tributes from Many Nations: Shakespeare in Spain’.

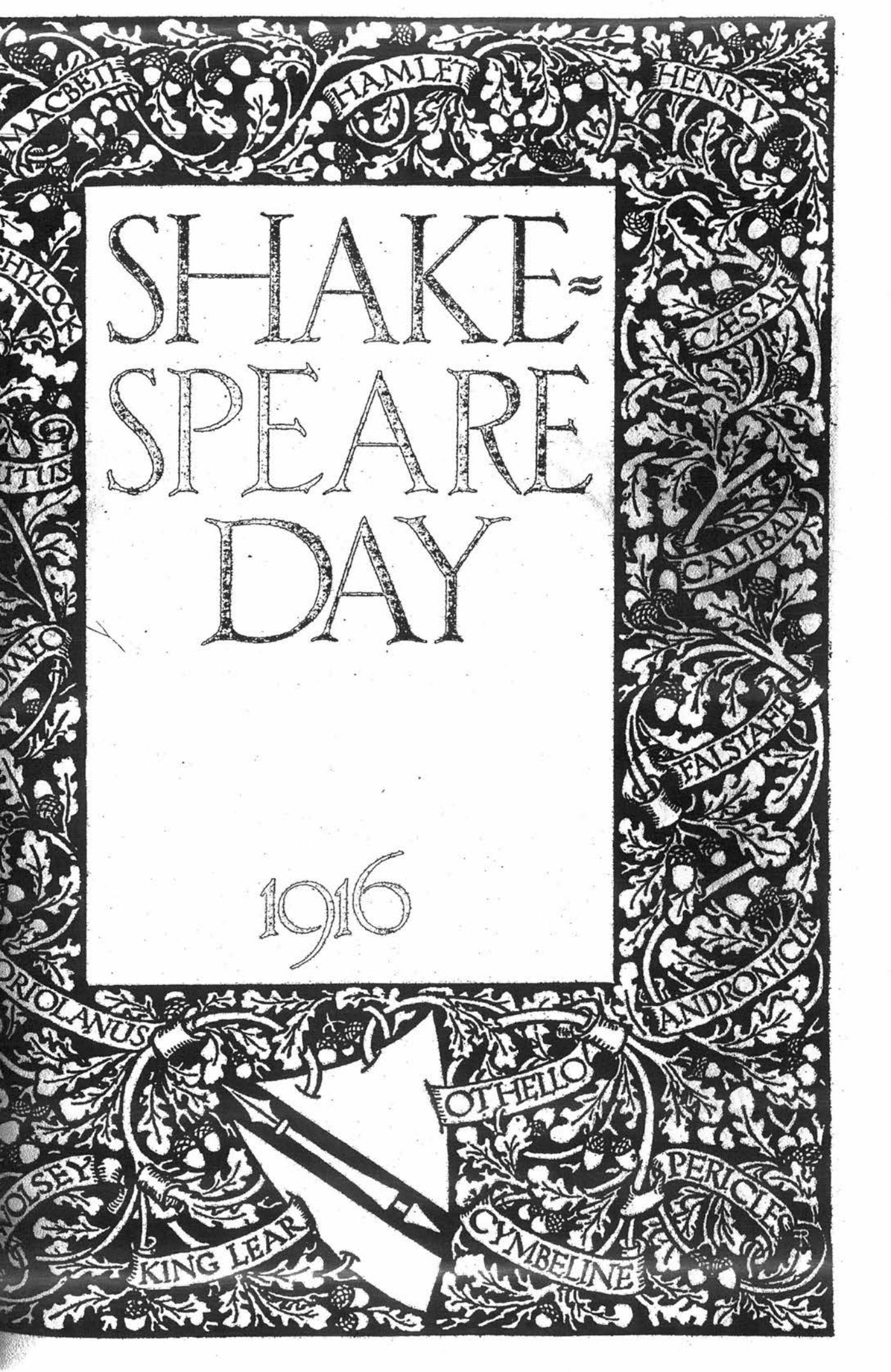
<sup>4</sup> ‘Shakespeare: Tributes from Many Nations: Shakespeare in Spain.’

<sup>5</sup> ‘Shakespeare: Tributes from Many Nations: A Grateful Observance’, *The Times*. 2 May 1916, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> ‘Shakespeare: Tributes from Many Nations: A Grateful Observance.’

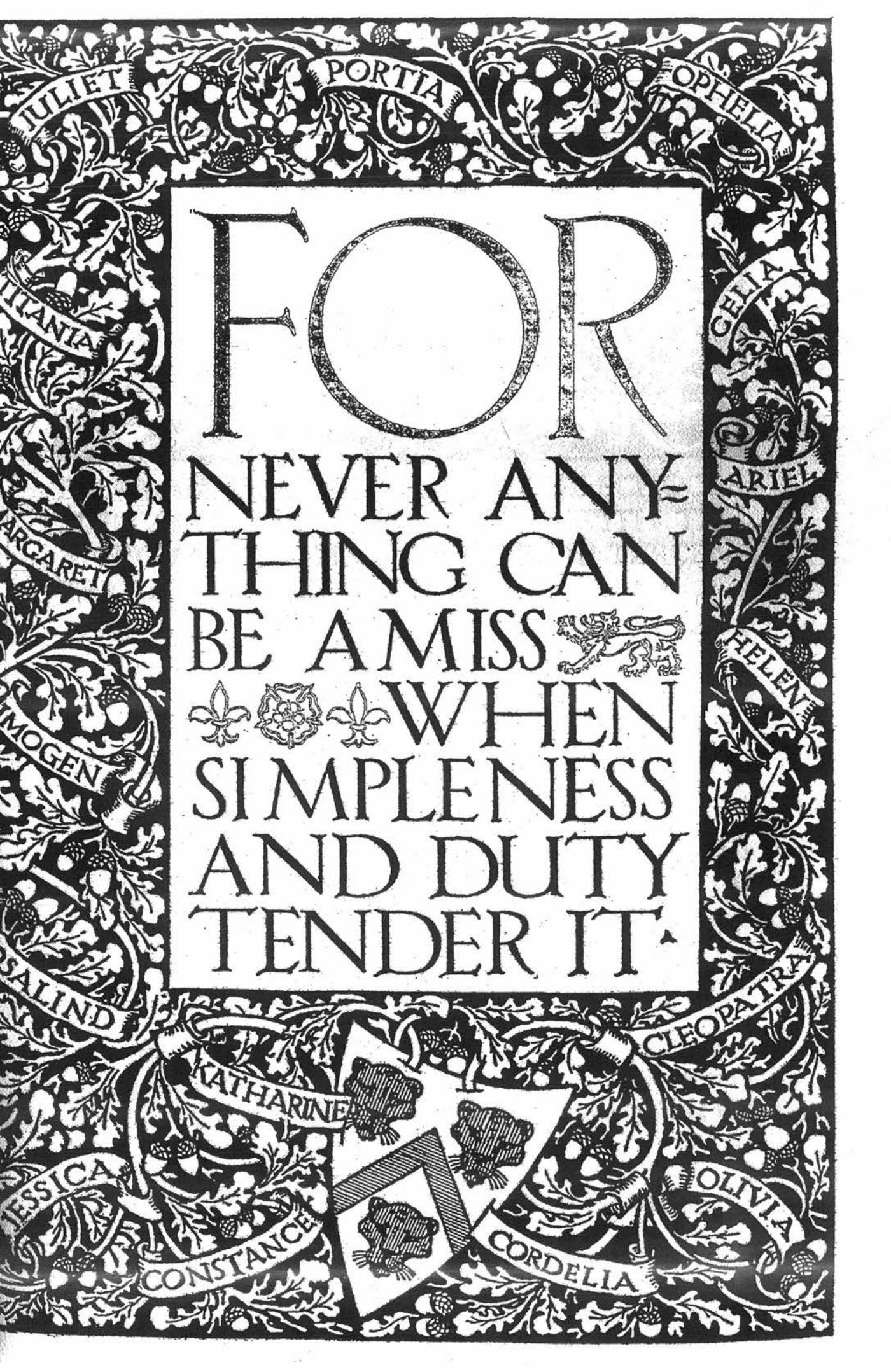
citizen. He created plays and poetry that became an important contribution to English culture. In his art, he demonstrated a great love for his country which, in turn, made him a national treasure. His pride for his country and the legacy he left behind made him into an exemplary figure during the Great War. During the Great War, English society used Shakespeare to keep culture alive.

APPENDIX 1:  
*The Shakespeare Day Pamphlet*  
London: The Tercentenary Committee, 1916

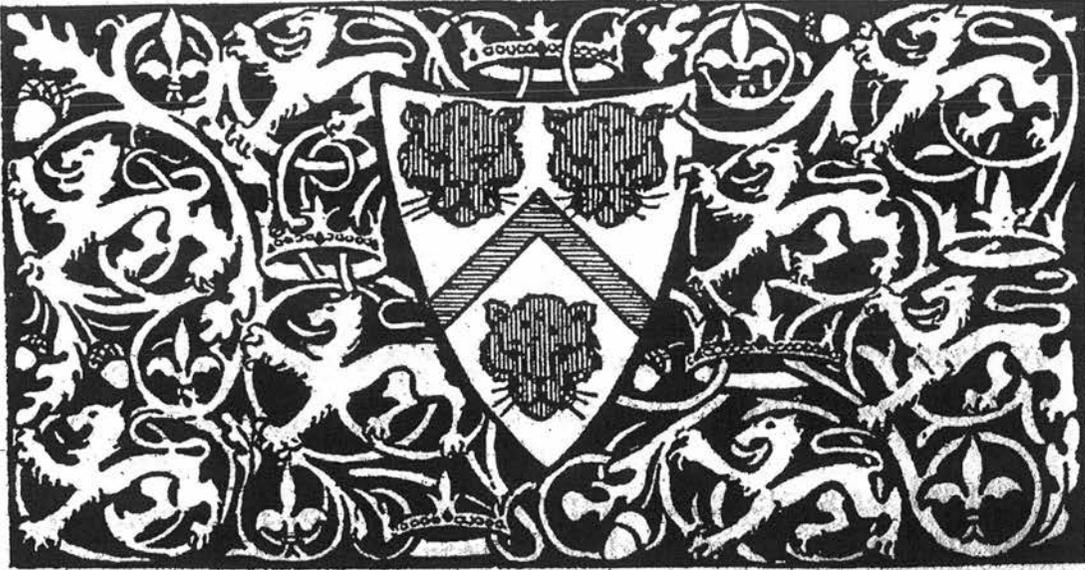
The border is a dense, intricate black and white pattern. It features a central white rectangular area containing the title and year. The border itself is filled with various motifs, including floral designs, ribbons, and small figures. Numerous names from Shakespeare's works are integrated into the design, often written on ribbons or banners. The names include Macbeth, Hamlet, Henry V, Caliban, Falstaff, Andronicus, Othello, Cymbeline, Pericles, King Lear, and Coriolanus. The overall style is reminiscent of early 20th-century decorative arts or book design.

SHAKE  
SPEARE  
DAY

1916



FOR  
NEVER ANY  
THING CAN  
BE A MISS   
 WHEN  
SIMPLENESS  
AND DUTY  
TENDER IT



PROGRAMME SUGGESTED BY THE SCHOOLS  
SUB-COMMITTEE AND ISSUED WITH THE  
APPROVAL OF THE SHAKESPEARE TERCEN-  
TENARY COMMITTEE.

READING (FROM ECCLESIASTICUS XLIV)	I
SINGING OF A SHAKESPEARE SONG.	II
DISCOURSE ON SHAKESPEARE.	III
ANOTHER SHAKESPEARE SONG.	IV
SCENES OR PASSAGES FROM SHAKESPEARE.	V
ANOTHER SHAKESPEARE SONG	VI
"GOD SAVE THE KING."	VII

For the purpose of observing Shakespeare Day, the necessary departures from the time-tables of Public Elementary Schools in England and Wales may be made during the Observance. The general sanction of the Board of Education for this has been obtained, and application to His Majesty's Inspector of Schools is not necessary.

## LET US NOW PRAISE FAMOUS MEN.



LET us now praise famous men,  
and our fathers that begat us.

¶ The Lord hath wrought great  
glory by them through his great  
power from the beginning.

¶ Such as did bear rule in their  
kingdoms, men renowned for  
their power, giving counsel by  
their understanding, and declar-

ing prophecies:

¶ Leaders of the people by their counsels, and by their  
knowledge of learning meet for the people, wise and elo-  
quent in their instructions: [writing:

¶ Such as found out musical tunes, and recited verses in

¶ Rich men furnished with ability, living peaceably in  
their habitations:

¶ All these were honoured in their generations, and were  
the glory of their times.

¶ There be of them, that have left a name behind them,  
that their praises might be reported.

¶ And some there be, which have no memorial: who are  
perished, as though they had never been; and are become  
as though they had never been born; and their children  
after them.

¶ But these were merciful men, whose righteousness hath  
not been forgotten.

¶ With their seed shall continually remain a good inheri-  
tance, and their children are within the covenant.

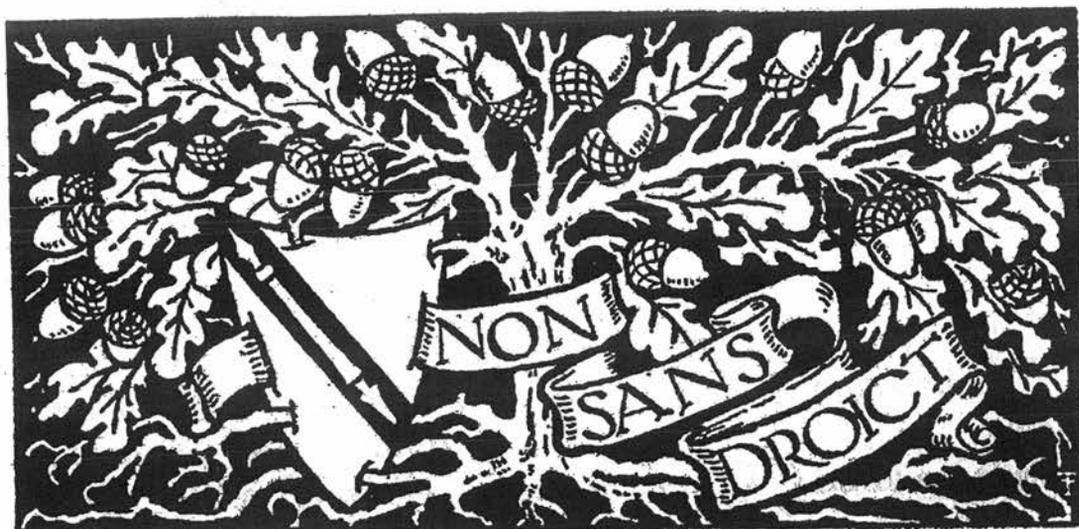
¶ Their seed standeth fast, and their children for their  
sakes.

¶ Their seed shall remain for ever, and their glory shall  
not be blotted out.

¶ Their bodies are buried in peace; but their name liveth  
for evermore.

¶ The people will tell of their wisdom, and the congre-  
gation will shew forth their praise.

Ecclesiasticus xlv.



## BRIEF ANNALS OF SHAKESPEARE.



**I**N April 22 or 23, 1564, William Shakespeare, son of John Shakespeare and Mary Arden, was born at Stratford-on-Avon.

**H**e was sent to the Grammar School at Stratford, when he was about seven years of age, and left at about thirteen, owing to his father's waning fortunes.

**I**n 1582: In this year he married Anne Hathaway, daughter of Richard Hathaway, "husbandman," of Shottery, near Stratford.

**I**n 1585-7, Shakespeare went to London; probably found employment at "The Theatre," Shoreditch, built in 1576 by the father of the great actor Richard Burbage.

**I**n 1588-92: Was making a reputation as an actor and as a reviser of other men's plays; the plays of "Henry VI" and "Titus Andronicus" grew out of such collaboration.

**B**y 1592 so successful that he brought upon himself the ill-will of the older dramatist, Robert Greene; but in the same year was commended for "uprightness of dealing."

**I**n 1593 he published his poem of "Venus and Adonis," and in 1594 his "Lucrece," both dedicated to the Earl of Southampton. Both poems were printed by Richard Field,

a Stratford man, who had come to London in 1579 to be apprenticed to a printer.

☪ In 1598 he was compared, as poet and dramatist, with the greatest poets and dramatists of antiquity; and by this year he had become famous for at least six comedies and six tragedies, including "Love's Labour's Lost," "The Comedy of Errors," "Two Gentlemen of Verona," "A Midsummer Night's Dream," "Romeo and Juliet," "The Merchant of Venice," "King John," "Richard II," "Richard III," and "Henry IV."

☪ 1599: "The Globe" ("this wooden O") built on the Bankside, from the materials of "The Theatre." This year he produced at the "Globe" his patriotic play, "Henry V."

☪ 1601: In this year took place the conspiracy of the Earl of Essex, which ended in the execution of the Earl, and the imprisonment of Shakespeare's friend the Earl of Southampton till the accession of King James I.

☪ 1603: On March 24 of this year died Queen Elizabeth, Spenser's "Gloriana," the ideal embodiment of England's glory during her great reign. Shakespeare and his plays won her admiration. The poet paid courtly compliment to Queen Elizabeth in his early play of "A Midsummer Night's Dream," in the gracious lines—

"And the imperial votaress passed on,  
In maiden meditation, fancy-free."

☪ In 1603 an incorrect edition of "Hamlet" was published, without his permission.

☪ In 1604 he issued a true and correct copy of the play.

☪ By this date he had also written "The Merry Wives of Windsor," "All's Well that Ends Well," "The Taming of the Shrew," "As You Like It," "Much Ado About Nothing," "Twelfth Night," "Julius Caesar," "Measure for Measure," "Troilus and Cressida," and "Othello."

☪ King James I showed favour to Shakespeare; the play of "Macbeth" was probably completed about 1606, and "King Lear" soon after. Shakespeare's share in the play of "Pericles" belongs to about this year.

☉ In 1608-9 he wrote "Timon of Athens," "Antony and Cleopatra" and "Coriolanus."

☉ In 1609 "Shakespeare's Sonnets" first published, evidently without permission.

☉ 1610-11: "Cymbeline," "The Winter's Tale," and "The Tempest" completed the perfect round of his life-work. These, the latest of his plays, show the poet full of gentle humanity, serenity of thought, and loftiness of teaching. "The Tempest" may well be considered his farewell to dramatic art.

☉ In 1611 Shakespeare left London to spend the rest of his life at Stratford-on-Avon; fourteen years before this date he had purchased "the manor house" of Stratford, called "New Place"; and there he now resided.

☉ In 1613 the Globe Theatre was burned down during a performance of the play of "Henry VIII," partly Shakespeare's, containing some of his latest writing; no doubt many of his play-books were destroyed in the fire.

☉ In 1616, on April 23 (corresponding to May 3, New Style), Shakespeare died; he was laid to rest on April 25 in the chancel of Stratford Church.

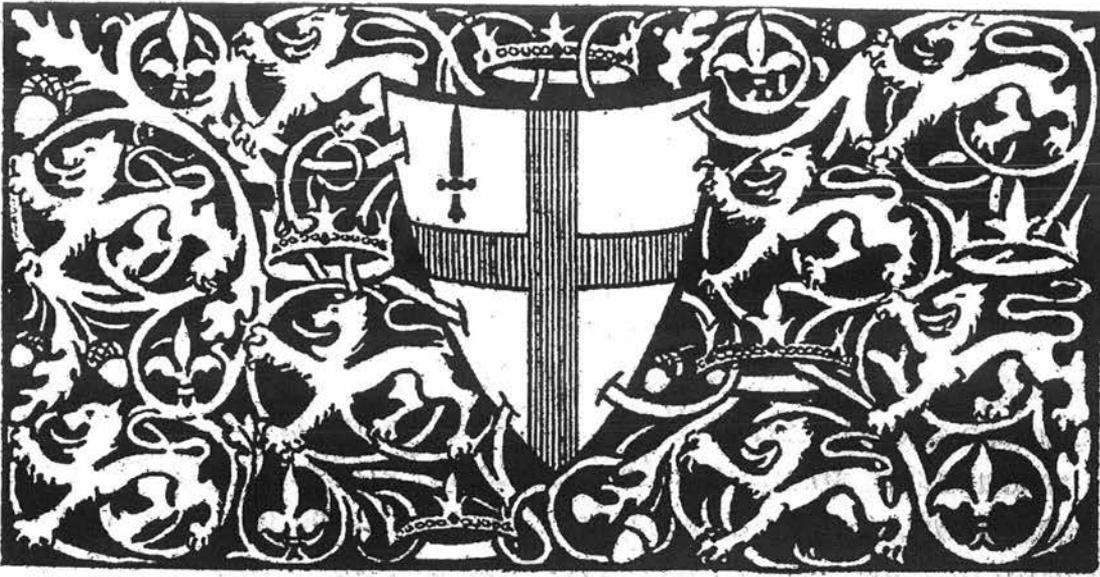
☉ 1623: This year, under the editorship of Shakespeare's fellow-actors and good friends, John Heminge and Henry Condell, appeared the "First Folio," containing Shakespeare's plays, half their number hitherto unprinted; prefixed to the volume were Ben Jonson's noble lines "to the memory of my beloved, the author, Mr. William Shakespeare, and what he has left us."

☉ 1616-1916: During three centuries Shakespeare's fame has grown until his sovereignty has become well-nigh universal—England's most cherished possession, shared and adored by all the world.

☉ 1662: About this year the Reverend John Ward, vicar of Stratford-on-Avon, wrote as follows in his diary:—

"Remember to peruse Shakespeare's plays and to be versed in them, that I may not be ignorant in this matter."

I. G.



NOTES ON SHAKESPEARE THE PATRIOT.  
BY PROFESSOR I. GOLLANCZ, LITT. D.



It were well if every year a Shakespeare Day were observed, when those who speak the speech of Shakespeare might reverently pay homage to his memory, and be reminded of all that he stands for on the roll of British fame and of the universal recognition of his exalted genius.

While all the world acclaims him, those who are privileged to be his fellow-countrymen owe to themselves the high duty of gratefully recalling, on this occasion of the Tercentenary of his death, some of the lessons he has left us, and, especially at the present time, how it behoves us as patriots to strive to play our part in war as in peace, and how best to maintain our faith in the ultimate triumph of a noble humanity.

The story of his life, so far as the facts are known, gives us the impression of a man who, while conscious of his genius, did his work with gentle grace and modesty. Happily, he was destined so to use his gifts as to reach all classes of his countrymen—lords, gallants, scholars, and unlettered groundlings.

**C**A mighty band of heralds, his forerunners in dramatic art, had prepared the way for the coming of the Master Poet who was to glorify the new-born Elizabethan drama. His was the power to please and enrapture, and to instil into men's hearts his manifold observations on the myriad problems of life and eternity.

**C**Were we able rightly to understand Shakespeare's life and work, we should find therein a life-drama even greater than any of his greatest plays. What text-books describe as so many "periods" in the development of his mind and art are really so many acts of this Shakespeare drama, having as prologue the early years of his life, during which he was being prepared, by strange ways perchance, for his life-work, and as epilogue this noble farewell, when, as Prospero, he had mastered nature's secrets, and had learnt life's true wisdom:—

"This rough magic  
I here abjure; and, when I have requir'd  
Some heavenly music (which even now I do)  
To work mine end upon their senses that  
This airy charm is for, I'll break my staff,  
Bury it certain fathoms in the earth,  
And, deeper than did ever plummet sound,  
I'll drown my book."<sup>1</sup>

**C**But it was not only at the end of his life-work that Shakespeare taught the lessons of wisdom. In his earliest plays we may perceive how his soul was already assured that the hope of humanity rested on something above mere knowledge, and above the faults and errors of life:

"Sit, Jessica; look, how the floor of heaven  
Is thick inlaid with patines of bright gold.  
There's not the smallest orb which thou behold'st,  
But in his motion like an angel sings,  
Still quiring to the young-ey'd cherubins;  
Such harmony is in immortal souls;

<sup>1</sup>"The Tempest," V, i, 50-57.

But whilst this muddy vesture of decay  
Doth grossly close it in, we cannot hear it.”<sup>1</sup>

Very early, too, in the progress of his art he taught how hatred, dividing families, and castes, and nations, and those of different religions—too often causeless hatred—brings retribution as a divinely appointed law, the sacrifice, by way of atonement, of what is most cherished and beloved:—

“O! mickle is the powerful grace that lies  
In herbs, plants, stones, and their true qualities:  
For nought so vile that on the earth doth live,  
But to the earth some special good doth give;  
Nor aught so good, but, strain'd from that fair use,  
Revolts from true birth, stumbling on abuse:  
Virtue itself turns vice, being misapplied,  
And vice sometime's by action dignified.  
Within the infant rind of this weak flower  
Poison hath residence, and medicine power;  
For this, being smelt, with that part cheers each  
Being tasted, slays all senses with the heart. [part;  
Two such opposed kings encamp them still  
In man as well as herbs,—grace, and rude will;  
And where the worser is predominant,  
Full soon the canker death eats up that plant.”<sup>2</sup>

To Shakespeare all the world was as a stage; and on that stage the greatest actors were the famous men of history. Shakespeare's interest was first and foremost in the causes and effects that had led up to the England of his own day. Something that may be described as almost an epic is the range of plays from “King John” to “King Henry VIII,” the former closing with the never-to-be-forgotten words:—

“This England never did, nor never shall,  
Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror,

<sup>1</sup> “The Merchant of Venice,” V, i, 58-65.

<sup>2</sup> “Romeo and Juliet,” II, iii, 15-30.

But when it first did help to wound itself. . .  
 Come the three corners of the world in arms,  
 And we shall shock them. Naught shall make us  
 rue,  
 If England to itself do rest but true.”<sup>1</sup>

The latter play, “Henry VIII,” gives us the sweet dream of peace, when

“Every man shall eat in safety  
 Under his own vine what he plants; and sing  
 The merry songs of peace to all his neighbours;  
 God shall be truly known.”<sup>2</sup>

Love of England, the very soil of England, and all that makes it so endeared, was expressed by many Elizabethan poets, but no words ever uttered in praise of England excel the fervour of Shakespeare’s imperishable words from the lips of dying John of Gaunt:—

“This royal throne of kings, this scepter’d isle,  
 This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,  
 This other Eden, demi-paradise,  
 This fortress, built by Nature for herself,  
 Against infection, and the hand of war;  
 This happy breed of men, this little world,  
 This precious stone set in the silver sea,  
 Which serves it in the office of a wall,  
 Or as a moat defensive to a house,  
 Against the envy of less happier lands;  
 This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this  
 England.”<sup>3</sup>

Shakespeare’s praise of this blessed island, so favoured by nature, is heard again in one of his latest plays, when the Queen, otherwise so unlike the noble Imogen, urges

<sup>1</sup> “King John,” V, vii, 113-118.

<sup>2</sup> “Henry VIII,” V, iv, 32-35.

<sup>3</sup> “Richard II,” II, i, 40-50.

the British monarch to bestir himself and be brave, and not yield to unjust demands:—

“Remember, sir, my liege,  
The kings your ancestors, together with  
The natural bravery of your isle, which stands  
As Neptune’s park, ribbed and paled in  
With rocks unscalable, and roaring waters;  
With sands that will not bear your enemies’ boats,  
But suck them up to the topmast. A kind of conquest  
Caesar made here; but made not here his brag  
Of ‘Came, and saw, and overcame.’”<sup>1</sup>

But it is in the play of “Henry V” that Shakespeare gives us, in the person of the King, his ideal Patriot-Englishman, and the play rings out to-day as a trumpet-call to all:—

“Oh! England, model to thy inward greatness,  
Like little body with a mighty heart,  
What mightst thou do, that honour would thee do,  
Were all thy children kind and natural!” . . .

“Follow, follow!

Grapple your minds to sternage of this navy,  
And leave your England, as dead midnight still,  
Guarded with grandsires, babies, and old women,  
Either past, or not arriv’d to, pith and puissance:  
For who is he, whose chin is but enrich’d  
With one appearing hair, that will not follow  
These cull’d and choice-drawn cavaliers to France?”<sup>2</sup>

These words the poet utters by the Chorus of the play; but he speaks even more directly through the Patriot-King, for whom kingship does not mean

“The balm, the sceptre and the ball,  
The sword, the mace, the crown imperial,

<sup>1</sup>“Cymbeline,” III, i, 16-24.

<sup>2</sup>“Henry V,” II, III, Ch.

The inter-tissued robe of gold and pearl,  
 The farced title running 'fore the king,  
 The throne he sits on, nor the tide of pomp  
 That beats upon the high shore of this world."<sup>1</sup>

These external signs of sovereignty do not weigh with England's king. While his humblest subject is at rest, he is wakeful, anxious only for the welfare of his realm, the well-being of his folk, the honour of the English name:—

“If we are mark'd to die, we are enow  
 To do our country loss; and if to live,  
 The fewer men, the greater share of honour.  
 God's will! I pray thee, wish not one man more.  
 By Jove, I am not covetous for gold;  
 Nor care I who doth feed upon my cost;  
 It yearns me not if men my garments wear;  
 Such outward things dwell not in my desires;  
 But if it be a sin to covet honour,  
 I am the most offending soul alive.  
 No, 'faith, my coz, wish not a man from England:  
 God's peace! I would not lose so great an honour,  
 As one man more, methinks, would share from me,  
 For the best hope I have. O! do not wish one more;  
 Rather proclaim it, Westmoreland, through my host,  
 That he, which hath no stomach to this fight,  
 Let him depart, his passport shall be made,  
 And crowns for convoy put into his purse:  
 We would not die in that man's company,  
 That fears his fellowship to die with us,  
 This day is call'd the feast of Crispian:  
 He that outlives this day, and comes safe home,  
 Will stand a tip-toe when this day is nam'd,  
 And rouse him at the name of Crispian.  
 He that shall live this day, and see old age,  
 Will yearly on the vigil feast his neighbours,

<sup>1</sup>“Henry V,” IV, i, 259-64.

And say—To-morrow is Saint Crispian :  
 Then will he strip his sleeve, and show his scars.  
 Old men forget; yet all shall be forgot,  
 But he'll remember with advantages,  
 What feats he did that day. Then shall our names,  
 Familiar in his mouth as household words,—  
 Harry the King, Bedford and Exeter,  
 Warwick and Talbot, Salisbury and Gloster,—  
 Be in their flowing cups freshly remember'd.  
 This story shall the good man teach his son,  
 And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,  
 From this day to the ending of the world,  
 But we in it shall be remembered;  
 We few, we happy few, we band of brothers:  
 For he to-day that sheds his blood with me  
 Shall be my brother; be he ne'er so vile,  
 This day shall gentle his condition;  
 And gentlemen in England, now a-bed,  
 Shall think themselves accurs'd, they were not here,  
 And hold their manhoods cheap, whiles any speaks  
 That fought with us upon Saint Crispin's day."<sup>1</sup>

¶ The King knows the true worth of his Englishmen.  
 Whatever their differences among themselves in times of  
 peace, he sees them united with one common purpose,  
 noble and brave, in the sight of the common foe:—

“On, on, you noblest English!  
 Whose blood is fet from fathers of war-proof.  
 Fathers, that, like so many Alexanders,  
 Have in these parts from morn till even fought,  
 And sheath'd their swords for lack of argument.  
 Dishonour not your mothers; now attest,  
 That those, whom you call'd fathers, did beget you.  
 Be copy now to men of grosser blood,  
 And teach them how to war.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>“Henry V,” IV, iii, 20-66.   <sup>2</sup>Ibid., III, i, 17-25.

¶ And here is the King's own battle-prayer:—

“O God of battles! steel my soldiers' hearts;  
Possess them not with fear; take from them now  
The sense of reckoning, if the opposed numbers  
Pluck their hearts from them.”<sup>1</sup>

In the hour of victory he is not arrogant or self-assertive:

“Praised be God, and not our strength, for it!”<sup>2</sup>

“O God! thy arm was here;  
And not to us, but to thy arm alone,  
Ascribe we all! . . . Take it, God,  
For it is none but thine.”<sup>3</sup>

¶ As a patriot Shakespeare cared no less for the speech of his native land than for its cherished history and its very soil. No English writer has known so well the richness of the English language, which indeed owes much to his moulding of it. Many a word and phrase was used by him for the first time, and the wealth of his vocabulary may be somewhat understood when it is remembered that it comprises some twenty thousand words, while Milton in his poetry used about eight thousand. Of course this great difference is due to the wider range of Shakespeare's subjects. It was, however, in no easy way that he gained this mastery of English diction. In one of his earliest plays we see him studying with deep interest the various styles of speech and writing—and even spelling—affected by men and women of his time, and he was himself attracted by some of the mannerisms which by slow degrees he gave up. In this he resembled the charming character of Biron, in the play referred to (“*Love's Labour's Lost*”), who, wooing the lady Rosaline makes the following avowal:—

“O! never will I trust to speeches penn'd,  
Nor to the motion of a school-boy's tongue;

<sup>1</sup>“*Henry V.*,” IV, i, 287-90.

<sup>2</sup>“*Henry V.*,” IV, vii, 90.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, IV, viii, 205.

Nor never come in visor to my friend;  
 Nor woo in rhyme, like a blind harper's song;  
 Taffata phrases, silken terms precise,  
 Three-pil'd hyperboles, spruce affectation,  
 Figures pedantical: these summer-flies  
 Have blown me full of maggot ostentation.  
 I do forswear them; and I here protest,  
 By this white glove (how white the hand, God knows)  
 Henceforth my wooing mind shall be express'd  
 In russet yeas, and honest kersey noes:  
 And, to begin,—wench, so God help me, la!  
 My love to thee is sound, sans crack or flaw."

And Rosaline rebukes him with "Sans sans, I pray you."

"Yet I have a trick," says Biron,

"Of the old rage: bear with me, I am sick;  
 I'll leave it by degrees."<sup>1</sup>

When Thomas Mowbray, Duke of York, is banished by Richard II, "never to return," almost the first thought that comes to him is that, exiled from his native land, he is also exiled, as it were, from his native speech:—

"The language I have learn'd these forty years,  
 My native English, now I must forgo;  
 And now my tongue's use is to me no more  
 Than an unstringed viol, or a harp;  
 Or, like a cunning instrument cas'd up,  
 Or, being open, put into his hands  
 That knows no touch to tune the harmony.  
 Within my mouth you have engaol'd my tongue,  
 Doubly portcullis'd, with my teeth and lips:  
 And dull, unfeeling, barren ignorance  
 Is made my gaoler to attend on me. . .  
 What is thy sentence, then, but speechless death,  
 Which robs my tongue from breathing native  
 breath?"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Love's Labour's Lost," V, ii, 402.

<sup>2</sup> "Richard II," I, iii, 159.

“This precious stone set in the silver sea.” The island-strength and the island-glory of Britain made Shakespeare realise what England’s “brave fleet” meant for its welfare and security. One can hear the music of the sea re-echoed in Shakespeare’s verse; but as patriot he well understood the practical responsibilities demanded by our sea-girt condition, and he attempted to bring vividly to the minds of the stay-at-homes some idea at least of the British navy—the “fleet majestic” :—

“Suppose, that you have seen  
The well-appointed king at Hampton pier  
Embark his royalty; and his brave fleet  
With silken streamers the young Phoebus fanning.  
Play with your fancies, and in them behold  
Upon the hempen tackle ship-boys climbing;  
Hear the shrill whistle, which doth order give  
To sounds confus’d; behold the threaden sails,  
Borne with the invisible and creeping wind,  
Draw the huge bottoms through the furrow’d sea,  
Breasting the lofty surge. O! do but think,  
You stand upon the rivage, and behold  
A city on the inconstant billows dancing;  
For so appears this fleet majestic,  
Holding due course to Harfleur. Follow, follow!  
Grapple your minds to sternage of this navy,  
And leave your England, as dead midnight still.”<sup>1</sup>

And what of those aboard, who leave their “Albion’s wished coast,” perhaps never again to look upon it? Here are some words spoken by the otherwise hateful Margaret, queen of Henry VI. :—

“As far as I could ken thy chalky cliffs,  
When from the shore the tempest beat us back,

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<sup>1</sup>“Henry V,” III, Chorus, 3-19.

I stood upon the hatches in the storm;  
 And when the dusky sky began to rob  
 My earnest-gaping sight of thy land's view,  
 I took a costly jewel from my neck,—  
 A heart it was, bound in with diamonds,—  
 And threw it towards thy land. The sea receiv'd it,  
 And so I wish'd thy body might my heart:  
 And even with this I lost fair England's view,  
 And bid mine eyes be packing with my heart,  
 And call'd them blind and dusky spectacles,  
 For losing ken of Albion's wished coast."<sup>1</sup>

☉ The parting patriot leaves his native land even as friend takes farewell from friend, the vessel moving onwards:—

“So long  
 “As he could make me with this eye or ear  
 Distinguish him from others, he did keep  
 The deck, with glove, or hat, or handkerchief  
 Still waving, as the fits and stirs of his mind  
 Could best express how slow his soul sailed on,  
 How swift his ship.”<sup>2</sup>

☉ Shakespeare's boundless love of country is no mere poetic fervour; it is solidly based upon his belief that English ideals make for righteousness, for freedom, for the recognition of human rights and liberties. In the famous panegyric to “this demi-paradise”—“this land of such dear souls, this dear, dear land”—he boldly claimed that England is “dear for her reputation through the world”; and throughout his plays there is this pride in the English name:—

“Boast of this I can,  
 Though banish'd, yet a true-born Englishman.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>“2 Henry VI.,” III, ii, 101-13.

<sup>2</sup>“Cymbeline,” I, iv, 8-14.      <sup>3</sup>“Richard II.,” I, iii, 309.

Some of our most cherished maxims derived from Shakespeare come to mind when one recalls these ideals:—

“O! it is excellent  
To have a giant’s strength, but it is tyrannous  
To use it like a giant.”<sup>1</sup>

Or again— “To thine own self be true;  
And it must follow, as the night the day,  
Thou canst not then be false to any man.”<sup>2</sup>

Or this—  
“Good name in man and woman, dear my lord,  
Is the immediate jewel of their souls:  
Who steals my purse steals trash; ’tis something,  
nothing;  
’Twas mine, ’tis his, and has been slave to thousands;  
But he that filches from me my good name,  
Robs me of that which not enriches him,  
And makes me poor indeed.”<sup>3</sup>

Or this—  
“He who the sword of heaven will bear  
Should be as holy as severe.”<sup>4</sup>

But perhaps the whole duty of a patriot is best summed up in these few words:—

“Be just and fear not.  
Let all the ends thou aim’st at be thy country’s,  
Thy God’s and truth’s!”<sup>5</sup>

And the best that can be said of any man, often well applied to Shakespeare himself, is summed up in these words, a tribute to one of his noblest characters:—

“Nature might stand up,  
And say to all the world, ‘This was a man!’”<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “Measure for Measure,” II, ii, 106-8.

<sup>2</sup> “Hamlet,” I, iii, 80-3.      <sup>3</sup> “Othello,” III, iii, 156.

<sup>4</sup> “Measure for Measure,” III, ii, 276.

<sup>5</sup> “Henry VIII,” III, ii, 446.      <sup>6</sup> “Julius Caesar,” V, v, 75.

Three hundred years ago Shakespeare the patriot entered into his immortality. The many may not then have understood even dimly the splendour of his genius, but there were some who, like his friend and fellow poet, Ben Jonson, "loved the man, and do honour his memory, on this side idolatry." Do not listen to the ignorant, who, by a strange perversity of the human mind, are easily led astray by false notions. Those who knew Shakespeare "loved the man"—almost idolised him. And this is what one would expect. Fortunately we have the record of his fellows, of others besides Ben Jonson, who knew him as he was, and who when he had passed away were "careful to show their gratitude." After his death they set about to collect together the precious heritage he had left behind, and they gathered into one great volume, what is known as the First Folio, all those plays, half of them never before printed, that have become the wonder and admiration of the whole world, and that have crowned England with so much glory and honour. John Heminge and Henry Condell, who did this able office "without ambition of self-profit or fame," should be gratefully remembered. They, friends and fellows of Shakespeare, had but one object—"onely to keepe the memory of so worthie a Friend and Fellow alive as was our Shakespeare."

And when the Book—this First Folio—appeared in 1623, prefixed to it were ever-memorable lines by the man who loved Shakespeare "this side idolatry," prophetic lines fervently to be recalled at this time of stress and strain, when national consciousness is quickened as never before in our island-story:—

"Triumph, my Britain, thou hast one to show  
To whom all scenes in Europe homage owe:  
He was not of an age, but for all time!"



“WHAT A PIECE OF WORK IS MAN!  
HOW NOBLE IN REASON! HOW  
INFINITE IN FACULTY! IN FORM  
AND MOVING, HOW EXPRESS &  
ADMIRABLE! IN ACTION, HOW  
LIKE AN ANGEL! IN APPREHENSION, HOW  
LIKE A GOD! THE BEAUTY OF THE WORLD!  
THE PARAGON OF ANIMALS.”

TO OVER THE LASS.



**I** was a lover and his lass,  
With a hey, and a ho, and a hey nonino,  
That o'er the green corn-field did pass  
In the spring time, the only pretty ring time,  
When birds do sing, hey ding a ding, ding;  
Sweet lovers love the spring.  
Between the acres of the rye,  
With a hey, and a ho, and a hey nonino,  
These pretty country folks would lie,  
In spring time, etc.

#### ORPHEUS WITH HIS LUTE.

**O**RPHEUS with his lute made trees,  
And the mountain tops that freeze,  
Bow themselves when he did sing;  
To his music plants and flowers  
Ever sprung; as sun and showers  
There had made a lasting spring.



Every thing that heard him play,  
Even the billows of the sea,  
Hung their heads and then lay by.  
In sweet music is such art,  
Killing care and grief of heart  
Fall asleep, or hearing, die.

"King Henry VIII," iii, 1.

#### WHERE THE BEE SUCKS.

**W**HERE the bee sucks, there suck I;  
In a cowslip's bell I lie;  
There I couch when owls do cry.  
On the bat's back I do fly



After summer, merrily:  
Merrily, merrily, shall I live now,  
Under the blossom that hangs on the bough.

"The Tempest," v, 1.

This carol they began that hour,  
With a hey, and a ho, and a hey nonino,  
How that a life was but a flower  
In spring time, etc.  
And therefore take the present time,  
With a hey, and a ho, and a hey nonino;  
For love is crowned with the prime,  
In spring time, etc.

"As You Like It," v, 3.

#### FULL FATHOM FIVE.

**F**ULL fathom five thy father lies;  
Of his bones are coral made,  
Those are pearls that were his eyes:  
Nothing of him that doth fade  
But doth suffer a sea-change  
Into something rich and strange.  
Sea-nymphs hourly ring his knell:  
Ding-dong.



"The Tempest," i, 2.

#### WHO IS SILVIA?

**W**HO is Silvia? what is she,  
That all our swains commend her?  
Holy, fair, and wise is she;  
The heaven such grace did lend her,  
That she might admired be.

*Is she kind as she is fair?*

For beauty lives with kindness,  
Love doth to her eyes repair,  
To help him of his blindness,  
And, being help'd, inhabits there.  
Then to Silvia let us sing,  
That Silvia is excelling;  
She excels each mortal thing  
Upon the dull earth dwelling:  
To her let us garlands bring.

“The Two Gentlemen of Verona,” iv, 1.

**HARK! HARK! THE LARK.**

ARK! hark! the lark at heaven's gate sings,  
And Phoebus' gins arise,  
His steeds to water at those springs  
On chalic'd flowers that lies;

And winking Mary-buds begin  
To ope their golden eyes:  
With everything that pretty is,  
My lady sweet, arise:  
Arise, arise!

“Cymbeline,” ii, 3.

**O MISTRESS MINE.**

istress mine, where are you roaming?  
O, stay and hear; your true lover's coming,  
That can sing both high and low:  
Trip no further, pretty sweeting:

Journeys end in lovers meeting,  
Every wise man's son doth know.  
What is love? 'tis not hereafter;  
Present mirth hath present laughter;  
What's to come is still unsure:  
In delay there lies no plenty;  
Then come kiss me, sweet and twenty,  
Youth's a stuff will not endure.

“Twelfth Night,” ii, 3.

**COME UNTO THESE YELLOW SANDS.**

OME unto these yellow sands,  
And then take hands;  
Court'sied when you have, and kiss'd,  
(The wild waves whistle,)

Foot it featly here and there;  
And, sweet sprites, the burden bear.  
Hark, hark!  
The watch-dogs bark;  
Hark, hark! I hear  
The strain of strutting chanticleer  
Cry Cock-a-doodle-doo.

“The Tempest,” i, 2.

**GOD SAVE THE KING.**

GOD save our gracious King,  
Long live our noble King,  
God save the King!  
Send him victorious,  
Happy and glorious,  
Long to reign over us,  
God save the King!

Thy choicest gifts in store  
On him be pleased to pour,  
Long may he reign!  
May he defend our laws,  
And ever give us cause  
To sing with heart and voice  
God save the King!



It is hoped that Shakespeare Day may be made the occasion for gifts to the Schools of some Permanent Memorials of the Tercentenary. Possibly the Schools themselves may wish in some such way to commemorate this year's Observance. Tercentenary Memorials might well take the form of a Shakespeare Portrait, the addition to the school library of Shakespeare Reference Books, the making of a Shakespeare Garden containing plants and flowers mentioned in his works, the setting up in the school playground or playing-fields of a Shakespeare Seat, or the planting of a Shakespeare Commemoration Tree in the school grounds. Wherever practicable, a small descriptive tablet should be attached recording the occasion. In cases where funds permit there might be added to the school prize-list Shakespeare Prizes to be awarded, annually if possible, for knowledge of Shakespeare. The Shakespeare Prizes, in addition to the gift of books, might suitably in certain cases enable the prize-winners to visit Stratford-on-Avon during the Shakespeare Week.

## APPENDIX TWO: SHAKESPEARE AND MENTAL OPTICS

Mental Optics is defined as ‘the Science of Types, a science known to Shakespeare and magnificently applied by him, but forgotten apparently by this specifically scientific age.’<sup>1</sup> Charles Downing, writing under the pseudonym, Clelia, wrote *The Long Desiderated Knowledge of the Life and Personality of Shakespeare* (1892), which discussed the relationship between Shakespeare and Mental Optics. Although not much is known about Clelia, she was evidently a devout follower of Shakespeare and Mental Optics; she also authored *God in Shakespeare: Evolution of the Ideal in the Poet’s Works* (1890) and *Great Pan Lives* (1892). Mental Optics analyzes abstract ideas and categorizes them into certain types. ‘A type is an object or an image representative of an abstract idea and class.’<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, ‘this scientific justification is also artistic, for Mental Optics is applied in Art and is a part of Art. Religion and Art together rise, flourish and fade with the science of Mental Optics.’<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, followers believe that Shakespeare is akin to God because of the Truth he represents and they trace his character evolution to prove this. In addition, Clelia uses Mental Optics and Shakespeare to explain an individual’s evolution from the world to the spirit, the conversion of the spirit to the world, and finally the reconciliation between the earthly and spiritual worlds. First, the individual learns the important roles religion and Truth play during the conversion of the spirit from earth to Heaven. Then, Clelia uses Shakespearean characters to demonstrate their own moral evolutions, demonstrating to her audience how anyone is capable of such growth. Finally, Mental Optics deems Shakespeare as a Messiah-like figure, showing society how to progress the state of their souls.

While the process of moral evolution for a human being is difficult and lonely, Mental Optics emphasizes how one will eventually achieve Truth and live in the Ideal. Clelia describes the struggle for one’s soul to convert from the earthly world and the spiritual world. First, the individual generally spends a period of his life in a somewhat gloomy existence, trying to fulfill a spiritual void in his life. Once some

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<sup>1</sup> Clelia, *The Long Desiderated Knowledge of the Life and Personality of Shakespeare* (London: Luzac, 1892), p. viii.

<sup>2</sup> Clelia, *The Long Desiderated Knowledge*, p. 9.

sort of spirituality is achieved, the individual usually faces a time of inactivity as he struggles to reconcile both the spiritual and earthly worlds. Finally, a revelation of some sort is achieved when the individual realizes the Truth. When Clelia and other followers of Mental Optics speak of Truth, they refer to all things divine; 'It is said that God is Truth.'<sup>4</sup> According to Clelia's table 'Evolution of the (Moral) Ideal in Shakespeare,' for three centuries, 'the Truth sways human conduct as Primitive Christianity. However, soon enough, the Church becomes worldly, the throne of Truth is usurped by Self-interest, and Truth with the Ideal banished.' A little while later, 'Truth and Ideal banished from the world find refuge in the stormy sea of life in solitary places.' Finally, 'During the Middle Ages, from A.D. 300 – 1500, the Spirit lives apart with the Ideal, subduing the Body, while the world is governed by Self-interest. The moral law of Nature at last judges the erring world by the tempest and convulsions of the Reformation.'<sup>5</sup> Clelia traces the lives of Shakespeare and his fiction characters Prospero and Leontes in a similar manner. By doing this, she shows her audience the general pattern of the moral evolution of the human being and how one can live a life of Truth and Ideal.

Clelia uses Shakespearean characters to demonstrate the scientific process of moral evolution, thus encouraging her readers to follow this 'map.' Mental Optics dissects and categorizes abstract ideals into specific types, and so Clelia attempts to do the same with Shakespeare's dramatic characters. Clelia believes that Shakespeare's characters are representative of the moral evolutions of individuals, as described by Mental Optics. She describes the evolutions of characters like Prospero, Leontes, and Cymbeline to be:

Shakespeare's types, with exceptions, are similarly doubly representative, and the mazy involution of these 'demi-puppets' represents at once the moral evolution of Shakespeare and the world, an artistic feat rendered possible by the fact that both these evolutions are evolutions of the Ideal, or that the conflict of ideas, passions, principles in the mind, and the conflict of classes in the world is the same conflict under two aspects, subjective and objective, and tends generally to one end, the realization of the Ideal.<sup>6</sup>

According to Clelia and Mental Optics, the Ideal is a set of religious and spiritual Truths. The realization of the Ideal can only occur once the individual learns that

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<sup>3</sup> Clelia, *The Long Desiderated Knowledge*, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Clelia, *The Long Desiderated Knowledge*, p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> *Evolution of the (Moral) Ideal in Shakespeare*, chart (London: Luzac, 1892).

<sup>6</sup> Clelia, *The Long Desiderated Knowledge*, p. 21.

there is much more to life than what is necessarily presented. *The Tempest's* Prospero, upon 'arriving at this place of contemplation...enters in the kingdom of Heaven, and lives with the Ideal.'<sup>7</sup> His conversion from the world to the spirit is closely linked with Shakespeare's because his journey of self-healing while on the island signifies his 'representing Christ come to judge the world at the Reformation, represents also Shakespeare himself judging the world in his plays at the same period, Shakespeare and Christ, therefore, in one, judging the world.'<sup>8</sup> Mental Optics believes that Shakespeare wrote about his own spiritual conversion through the character of Prospero to demonstrate the scientific process to his readers.

Not only does Shakespeare succeed in living with the Ideal, but Mental Optics followers elevate him to a Messiah-like status because of his writings on moral evolution. Clelia describes his journey of evolution as:

[Shakespeare] concludes there must be Justice in the world as well as Love; that Justice is, in fact, and should be of two kinds, spiritual and temporal. His duty then becomes clear; it is to expose the world's vices upon the stage, and denounce them with all the valour of his tongue, so coming to the aid of temporal justice; judging the world from the stage, as an officer of state judges it from the bench.<sup>9</sup>

According to the Mental Optics, once Shakespeare realizes the Ideal and embraces ideas on Justice and Love, he sees his purpose in life. His dramas become more than just sources of entertainment; they provide their audiences with important lessons in life. It is these lessons that he incorporates into his plays that allow the Mental Optics followers to elevate Shakespeare to a Messiah-like status. 'In Mental Optics, under Religion, a Messiah was defined as a man who identifies himself with Truth, and imagines himself victorious with it in the end.'<sup>10</sup> Not only does Mental Optics believe that Shakespeare is victorious, but that 'Our poet's conception is that he *is* Christ leading Christianity to its eternal victory and end.'<sup>11</sup>

Prospero is Shakespeare, Truth (the moral law) and Nature in one, or Shakespeare at one with Truth and Nature. He represents also the Spirit of Wisdom in the world, and the whole class of truly wise, spiritually minded men, both contemporary and successive. He is a perfect type, and in respect of Nature a subjective type of the objective.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Evolution of the (Moral) Ideal in Shakespeare.

<sup>8</sup> Clelia, *The Long Desiderated Knowledge*, p. 29.

<sup>9</sup> Evolution of the (Moral) Ideal in Shakespeare.

<sup>10</sup> Clelia, *The Long Desiderated Knowledge*, p. 30.

<sup>11</sup> Clelia, *The Long Desiderated Knowledge*, p. 30.

<sup>12</sup> Clelia, *The Long Desiderated Knowledge*, p. 22.

Shakespeare, in creating Prospero, creates a character reflective of his life in harmony with the Ideal and Truth. 'For Prospero, in addition to representing Christ come to judge the world at the Reformation, represents also Shakespeare himself judging the world in his plays at the same period, Shakespeare and Christ, therefore, in one, judging the world.'<sup>13</sup> Similarly, *The Winter's Tale's* Leontes is described in similar fashion: 'Shakespeare, the Spirit, the Idealistic class. A generic type of the class in respect of its faults.'<sup>14</sup> Again, Clelia portrays Cymbeline from *Cymbeline* as 'Shakespeare, the Spirit, the idealistic class.'<sup>15</sup>

Mental Optics combines science and religion and uses the end result to provide spiritual comfort to their audiences. Clelia concludes her essay with much enthusiasm and vigor:

Shakespeare, retrospectively Messiah, prospectively Pan, self-identified with Christ come to judge the world, self-identified with Beauty (All Nature, Supreme Reason), perfect type of All, perfect spirit of our era, alighted upon its threshold, looking before and after, reconciling the World and the Spirit, the Ideal and the Practical, Hellenism and Hebraism, Religion and Science, and combining Art, Science, and Virtue, in perfect Religion the full synthesis of life!<sup>16</sup>

For Clelia and other Mental Optics followers, Shakespeare is the ultimate culmination of all the different facets of life: art, science, and virtue.

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<sup>13</sup> Clelia, *The Long Desiderated Knowledge*, p. 29.

<sup>14</sup> Clelia, *The Long Desiderated Knowledge*, p. 24.

<sup>15</sup> Clelia, *The Long Desiderated Knowledge*, p. 25.

<sup>16</sup> Clelia, *The Long Desiderated Knowledge*, p. 33.

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