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Destabilizing Shakespeare: Adaptations for Children, 1807-2007

Destabilizing Shakespeare:
Adaptations for Children, 1807-2007

Kate Harvey

A thesis submitted to the School of English at the University of Dublin, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2012

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SUMMARY

This thesis investigates the ways in which adaptations of Shakespeare for children respond to the notion of 'cultural literacy' across a range of media. Significant increases in the production of children's Shakespeares occurred in the periods between roughly 1880 and 1920, and 1980 and 2000. In addition to corresponding with recognized booms in children's publishing, each of these spikes is characterized by a shift in the dominant medium used. These phenomena are related to shifts in the ways in which young readers are addressed and, by extension, how they are perceived. Because of the cultural importance that continues to be attached to Shakespeare, it is clear that adaptations of Shakespeare for children can tell us a great deal about constructions of childhood at what are considered the high points of children's literature. The analysis of this thesis is therefore focused on texts produced during these periods.

This thesis begins with two texts first published in 1807, Charles and Mary Lamb's *Tales from Shakespear* and Henrietta and Thomas Bowdler's *The Family Shakespeare*. After locating the Lambs and the Bowdlers within the context of the birth of Bardolatry and contemporary constructions of childhood, I discuss how each of these texts uses its respective medium to render Shakespeare's plays compliant with the morality and values of the early nineteenth century. In comparing their respective modes of address and their attitudes toward their intended readers, I argue that the prose adaptation of the Lambs is in fact a more thorough expurgation than the Bowdlers' abridgement. I then discuss the continuing popularity of the Lambs at the end of the nineteenth century and their place within the growing industry of school editions of Shakespeare, looking in detail at F. J. Furnivall's 1901 scholarly edition of the Lambs' *Tales*, as well as discussing the influence of the Lambs on a range of late Victorian authors. The boom in children's publishing at the end of the nineteenth century was characterized both by the prevalence of illustration, which had become cheaper and easier to mass produce, and by the creation of distinct literatures for boys and girls. I structure my discussion of the former around the adaptations of Arthur Quiller-Couch, Thomas Carter, and Harrison S. Morris, and of the latter around those of E. Nesbit, Adelaide C. Gordon Sim, and Mary Macleod. I then connect these texts with Victorian Shakespeare productions, through an analysis of the relationship between illustration for children and theatrical *mise-en-scène* in this period.

In the second half of this thesis, I address in turn each of a range of media used to adapt Shakespeare for children in the late twentieth century: the picture book, the illustrated book, the graphic novel, and the animated cartoon. I discuss the relationship between text

and image in selected examples from each medium, and the implications of this relationship for how the implied reader is addressed. I begin with the picture book, comparing the texts of Marcia Williams with Bruce Coville's single-volume collaborations with a variety of illustrators. I then use the adaptations of Leon Garfield, illustrated by Michael Foreman, to demonstrate how the changes in the perception of the child reader affect the mode of address to that reader, noting that the relationship between Garfield's text and Foreman's illustrations is characterized by a mutual dependence that is not present in these earlier editions. I then use three graphic novel adaptations—Von's *Macbeth*, Ian Pollock's *King Lear*, and Oscar Zarate's *Othello*—to show how the graphic novel questions traditional distinctions between text and image. Each of these texts is characterized by an awareness of the interdependent relationship between the verbal and visual narratives, and by a degree of performative self-awareness not seen in their predecessors. This work concludes with a single series of adaptations, *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales*. The series is, I argue, a hugely significant milestone in the history of adapting Shakespeare for children. I discuss how the series replaces Shakespeare's words with visual metaphors, playing with the viewer's expectations of familiar characters and situations. I devote a section to each of the three animation techniques used in the series—cel, stop-motion, and stained glass—to demonstrate how the series self-consciously draws attention to its own processes and mechanisms in a manner that parallels Shakespeare's own use of metatheatre and destabilizes the division between adult and children's literature.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project would not have come together without the help and support of several individuals and groups.

First, thanks are due to my supervisor, Dr Amanda Piesse, both for the inception of the original idea of this project and for her invaluable assistance and encouragement to me to see it through to the bitter end.

I would also like to acknowledge the resources of the Trinity College Library, and in particular the always friendly and helpful staff in Early Printed Books.

I am grateful for the continued academic support of the School of English under Dr Darryl Jones and Professor Stephen Matterson before him. The administrative staff in the School—Brenda Brooks, Elaine Maddock, and Diane Sadler—are especially deserving of thanks.

Some of the findings of this thesis have been presented at conferences, both at home and abroad, and I am grateful to the Trinity Trust for financial assistance in travelling to these conferences and allowing me to share my research with the wider academic community.

My fellow postgraduates in the School of English have been immensely supportive throughout my time here, and the inhabitants of the Teaching Assistants' office in Foster Place—staff and postgraduate alike—have always been there to offer guidance in research and teaching, not to mention tea and biscuits. In particular, I would like to acknowledge Dara Downey, Darragh Greene, Edwina Keown, and Kate Roddy for the benefit of their experience when it came to the final putting-together and submission of this thesis, and Jane Carroll for proofreading the whole thing even though she was in bed with the flu.

On the technological side, I am indebted to Philip Keel Geheber, Cian Ó Rathaille, and Robert Shiels for help with scanning images and all other things computer-related, and to Jennifer Harwood-Smith and her cohorts at the Thesis Centre for helping with formatting and holding my hand through the printing and binding.

Numerous friends have been instrumental in seeing me through the highs and lows of completing a Ph. D, providing emotional support, encouragement, and some much-needed breaks from research, as well as bearing with me during my less sane moments. Many of them have been mentioned above, and I would like to extend additional thanks to Aoife Brown, James Campbell, Maria Clair, Colm Flynn, Ruairí Mac Unfraidh, Alan Power, Michelle Rodriguez, Jason Silverman, and Áine Whelan. Nat O'Connor and Juliette Saumande deserve special mention for their assistance at the beginning with the writing of my Ph. D proposal and at the end with preparing for the *viva voce*. I have also been

fortunate during my time at Trinity to be involved with the Early Modern Tavern Society, which continually reminded me of the frivolous side of academic research, and with the Dublin University Fencing Club, which provided a physical outlet when my brain was overworked.

Finally, and most importantly, thanks are due to my family, and especially to my parents Robert Harvey and Amy Shandell for their continued support both financial and emotional, and my brother Michael Harvey, who visited me two weeks before this thesis was submitted and was very understanding about my lack of hospitality. I would like to finish by apologizing to my mother for not being as passionate about science as she would have liked. I am very fortunate that her bewilderment at my interest in studying literature has manifested itself in admiration and support for my research, rather than disapproval or disappointment.

CONTENTS

Introduction: 'All Ages'.....1

1. Bowdlerization and Narrative Authority.....25

2. Social Education and Performative Texts.....69

3. Multiple Media and Postmodern Readers.....118

4. Visual Literacy and *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales*.....197

Conclusions.....267

Bibliography.....285

LIST OF IMAGES

1. Table of frequently-adapted plays for children.....15
2. 'Romeo and Juliet' (colour plate by Frances Brundage for E. Nesbit, 'Romeo and Juliet', in *The Children's Shakespeare*).....89
3. 'Titania and the Clown' (colour plate by Brundage for Nesbit, 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', in *The Children's Shakespeare*).....89
4. 'Choosing the Casket' (colour plate by Brundage for Nesbit, 'The Merchant of Venice', in *The Children's Shakespeare*).....97
5. 'Come now, a roundel' (illustration by Arthur Rackham for *A Midsummer Night's Dream*).....114
6. Still from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, dir. by Max Reinhardt.....114
7. The discovery of Duncan's body (illustration by Gary Kelley for Bruce Coville, *William Shakespeare's Macbeth*).....124
8. Romeo leaves Juliet (illustration by Dennis Nolan for Coville, *William Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet*).....124
9. Oberon and Puck (illustration by Nolan for Coville, *William Shakespeare's A Midsummer Night's Dream*).....126
10. Facing images of Oberon and Titania, and Puck and Lysander (illustrations by Nolan for *A Midsummer Night's Dream*).....126
11. Macbeth sees Banquo's ghost (illustrations by Kelley for *Macbeth*).....126
12. Banquo's ghost appears (Marcia Williams, *Mr. William Shakespeare's Plays*).....129
13. Coronation of Richard III (Marcia Williams, *Bravo, Mr. William Shakespeare!*).....129
14. Pyramus and Thisby (Williams, *Plays*).....129
15. Distracting children at *Hamlet* (Williams, *Plays*).....131
16. School trip to see *Julius Caesar* (Williams, *Plays*).....131
17. Bassanio wins Portia (Williams, *Bravo*).....133
18. Shylock is pardoned (Williams, *Bravo*).....133
19. The King of France 'seizes' Cordelia (Williams, *Bravo*).....135
20. Verona square (illustration by Nolan for *Romeo and Juliet*).....135
21. Expandable image of Juliet's balcony (illustrations by Nolan for *Romeo and Juliet*).....137
22. Marriage of Romeo and Juliet (illustration by Nolan for *Romeo and Juliet*).....139
23. Mercutio is wounded (illustration by Nolan for *Romeo and Juliet*).....139
24. Romeo and Tybalt fight (illustration by Nolan for *Romeo and Juliet*).....139
25. Witches' cauldron (illustration by Kelley for *Macbeth*).....141
26. First and second apparitions (illustration by Kelley for *Macbeth*).....141
27. Facing images of third apparition and procession of kings (illustrations by Kelley for *Macbeth*).....141
28. Macduff receives bad news (illustration by Kelley for *Macbeth*).....142
29. Macbeth and Macduff fight (illustration by Kelley for *Macbeth*).....144
30. Scotland under Macbeth (illustration by Kelley for *Macbeth*).....144
31. Scotland under Malcolm (illustration by Kelley for *Macbeth*).....144
32. Hamlet sees his father's ghost (illustration by Leonid Gore for Coville, *William Shakespeare's Hamlet*).....146
33. The court watches 'The Mousetrap' (illustration by Gore for *Hamlet*).....146
34. Ophelia's grave (illustration by Gore for *Hamlet*).....146
35. Death of Polonius (illustration by Gore for *Hamlet*).....147
36. Death of Hamlet (illustration by Gore for *Hamlet*).....147
37. Death of Claudius and Gertrude (illustration by Gore for *Hamlet*).....147
38. Ophelia's madness (illustration by Gore for *Hamlet*).....149

39. Death of Ophelia (illustration by Gore for *Hamlet*).....149
40. First page of *The Winter's Tale* (Williams, *Plays*).....151
41. Witches' cauldron (Williams, *Plays*).....153
42. 'Othello, the Moor of Venice' (colour plate by Michael Foreman for Leon Garfield, 'Othello', in *Shakespeare Stories*).....156
43. 'She awoke and smiled up at him' (colour plate by Foreman for 'Othello').....156
44. Black-and-white illustrations by Foreman for 'Othello'.....156
45. Othello (illustration by Foreman for 'Othello').....157
46. Cassio is wounded (illustration by Foreman for 'Othello').....157
47. Portia in disguise (illustration by Foreman for Garfield, 'The Merchant of Venice', in *Shakespeare Stories*).....162
48. Christopher Sly (illustration by Foreman for Garfield, 'The Taming of the Shrew', in *Shakespeare Stories*).....167
49. Ophelia (illustration by Foreman for Garfield, 'Hamlet', in *Shakespeare Stories*)...170
50. Angelo dreams about Isabella (illustration by Foreman for Garfield, 'Measure for Measure', in *Shakespeare Stories II*).....173
51. 'If it were done when 'tis done...' (Von, *Macbeth*, Graphic Library Shakespeare)....180
52. 'Edgar I nothing am' (Ian Pollock, *King Lear*, Graphic Library Shakespeare).....182
53. 'When the mind's free, the body's delicate' (Pollock, *King Lear*).....184
54. 'Two truths are told' (Von, *Macbeth*).....186
55. 'O thou side-piercing sight!' (Pollock, *King Lear*).....186
56. 'An untitled tyrant, bloody-sceptred' (Von, *Macbeth*).....188
57. 'To be or not to be' ('Hamlet', *Classics Illustrated* #99).....189
58. 'Tomorrow, and tomorrow, and tomorrow' (Von, *Macbeth*).....189
59. 'This fellow's of exceeding honesty' (Zarate, *Othello*).....191
60. 'This speech of yours hath moved me' (Pollock, *King Lear*).....193
61. 'What means this bloody knife?' (Pollock, *King Lear*).....194
62. Fairies watch *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Neil Gaiman (w) and Charles Vess (a), 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', *Sandman* #19).....196
63. 'I have had the bravest dream' (still from 'The Taming of the Shrew', dir. by Aida Ziablikova, *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales*, episode 2.2).....201
64. Sly is carried on a spit (still from 'The Taming of the Shrew', dir. by Ziablikova)...205
65. Olivia's portrait (stills from 'Twelfth Night', dir. by Mariya Muat, *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales*, episode 1.6).....205
66. Stills from end of 'Romeo and Juliet', dir. by Efim Gamburg, *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales*, episode 1.4.....205
67. Hastings's execution and Richard's coronation (stills from 'King Richard III', dir. by Natalya Orlova, *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales*, episode 2.1).....207
68. Richard spills his wine (stills from 'King Richard III', directed by Orlova).....208
69. Signs and portents (stills from 'Julius Caesar', dir. by Yuri Kulakov, *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales*, episode 2.4).....210
70. Establishing shots from 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', dir. by Robert Saakiants, *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales*, episode 1.1.....214
71. End of 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', dir. by Saakiants.....214
72. Capulet ball (stills from 'Romeo and Juliet', dir. by Gamburg).....218
73. Romeo and Juliet's wedding night (stills from 'Romeo and Juliet', dir. by Gamburg).....220
74. The Macduff family is murdered (stills from 'Macbeth', dir. by Nikolai Serebryakov, *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales*, episode 1.3).....222
75. Iago (stills from 'Othello', dir. by Serebryakov, *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales*, episode 2.6).....223

76. Murder of Desdemona (stills from 'Othello', dir. by Serebryakov).....225
77. Stories of the handkerchief and Barbary (stills from 'Othello', dir. by Serebryakov).....227
78. 'Willow' song (stills from 'Othello', dir. by Serebryakov).....228
79. Repeated Colossal poses (stills from 'Julius Caesar', dir. by Kulakov).....230
80. Roman crowd as water and fire (stills from 'Julius Caesar', dir. by Kulakov).....231
81. Reactions to Caesar's body (stills from 'Julius Caesar', dir. by Kulakov).....231
82. Hands and daggers (stills from 'Julius Caesar', dir. by Kulakov).....231
83. Transformations of the witches (stills from 'Macbeth', dir. by Serebryakov).....233
84. 'And take my milk for gall, you murd'ring ministers' (still from 'Macbeth', dir. by Serebryakov).....233
85. Oberon and Puck become 'invisible' (stills from 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', dir. by Saakiants).....235
86. Prospero and Caliban (still from 'The Tempest', dir. by Stanislav Sokolov, *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales*, episode 1.2).....238
87. Puppet show setting of 'The Taming of the Shrew', dir. by Zyablikova.....240
88. Sebastian, Olivia, and Viola (still from 'Twelfth Night', dir. by Muat).....242
89. Malvolio and Olivia (still from 'Twelfth Night', dir. by Muat).....242
90. Statue of Hermione (still from 'The Winter's Tale', dir. by Sokolov, *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales*, episode 2.5).....246
91. 'No delight to pass away the time' (still from 'King Richard III', dir. by Orlova).....250
92. 'A cockatrice hast thou hatched to the world' (still from 'King Richard III', dir. by Orlova).....250
93. 'Peace lives again' (still from 'King Richard III', dir. by Orlova).....250
94. Introduction and death of Ophelia (stills from 'Hamlet', dir. by Orlova, *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales*, episode 1.5).....252
95. Murder of the princes (stills from 'King Richard III', dir. by Orlova).....253
96. Laertes cautions Ophelia (stills from 'Hamlet', dir. by Orlova).....255
97. Ophelia's madness (stills from 'Hamlet', dir. by Orlova).....255
98. 'I shall obey' (still from 'Hamlet', dir. by Orlova).....257
99. 'Indeed, my lord, you made me believe so' (still from 'Hamlet', dir. by Orlova).....257
100. 'Will you be ruled by me?' (still from 'Hamlet', dir. by Orlova).....257
101. Hamlet's soliloquies (stills from 'Hamlet', dir. by Orlova).....259
102. 'Now is the winter of our discontent...' (stills from 'King Richard III', dir. by Orlova).....261
103. Richard accuses Hastings (still from 'King Richard III', dir. by Orlova).....263
104. 'Despair and die' (still from 'King Richard III', dir. by Orlova).....263
105. Battle of Bosworth Field (still from 'King Richard III', dir. by Orlova).....265
106. 'I have done the deed' (Von, *Macbeth*).....272
107. 'I have done the deed' (stills from 'Macbeth', dir. by Serebryakov).....275
108. 'I have done the deed' (Williams, *Plays*).....277

Introduction: 'All Ages'

Marcia Williams observes that the advertisement on the flyleaf of Leon Garfield's *Shakespeare Stories II* that the edition is for '[a]ll ages'[1] is 'very suitable, since it can refer to either epochs or the ages of the readers'.[2] Williams's observation calls to mind Ben Jonson's well-known assertion in the prefatory material of the first Shakespeare folio in 1623 that Shakespeare's work is 'not of an age, but for all time'.[3] The phrase 'all ages' therefore positions Garfield as the facilitator of Shakespeare's timeless appeal, while acknowledging that in order for this appeal to be maintained, the plays must adapt to suit their surroundings. Williams goes on to observe, '"All Ages" [*sic*] does not mean "all people." Just as continually reimagining Shakespeare so that he remains relevant to any particular generation is important, so is a choice of these reimaginings.'[4] This is a concern that children's Shakespeares share with adaptations of Shakespeare in performance, and one which recurs throughout this thesis; as Robert Shaughnessy notes, Shakespeare in the theatre 'is deeply vulnerable and inherently unstable; it is becoming increasingly clear that the perpetuation of the practice relies upon a strenuous, and nowadays perhaps strained, suspension of cultural disbelief'.[5] The paradoxical statement that Garfield's text is for 'all ages' therefore embodies one of the central concerns of adapting canonical authors for children, as it simultaneously attributes a degree of timelessness to the source text and acknowledges the need for the text to be revised in order to retain its appeal both in and for 'all ages'.

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[1] Leon Garfield, *Shakespeare Stories II*, illus. by Michael Foreman (London: Houghton Mifflin, 1994), flyleaf. Williams mistakenly quotes this as 'For All Ages'.

[2] Marcia Williams, 'Bravo, Mr. William Shakespeare!', in *Reimagining Shakespeare for Children and Young Adults*, ed. by Naomi J. Miller (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 29-38 (p. 33).

[3] Ben Jonson, 'To the Memory of my Beloved, the Author Master William Shakespeare, and What He Hath Left Us', in *William Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, ed. by Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), l. 43. All references to Shakespeare's plays and poems are to this edition unless otherwise noted.

[4] Marcia Williams, 'Bravo, Mr. William Shakespeare!', p. 33.

[5] Robert Shaughnessy, *The Shakespeare Effect: A History of Twentieth-Century Performance* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 7.

Like translation, every adaptation is also an act of creation; while it retains aspects of its source, it is also in a sense a renewal. Linda Hutcheon notes that part of the pleasure of adaptations 'comes simply from repetition with variation, from the comfort of ritual combined with the piquancy of surprise. Recognition and remembrance are part of the pleasure (and risk) of experiencing an adaptation; so too is change.'[6] Similarly, Julie Sanders argues that 'it is usually at the very point of infidelity that the most creative acts of adaptation and appropriation take place. [...] Adaptation studies are, then, not about making polarized value judgements, but about analysing process, ideology, and methodology'.[7] Both Hutcheon and Sanders reject what has been termed 'fidelity criticism', which judges adaptations solely in terms of 'degrees of proximity to the "original"'.[8] As Hutcheon puts it, 'Because adaptation is a form of repetition without replication, change is inevitable, even without any conscious updating or alteration of setting. And with change come corresponding modifications in the political valence and even meaning of stories.'[9] When Shakespeare's plays are adapted for children, as we shall see, these modifications inevitably reflect prevalent assumptions about cultural literacy. John Stephens and Robyn McCallum note that 'retellings of canonical literary texts have a double edge: they serve in the transmission of cultural values, but also shape those cultural values according to dominant metanarratives through processes of discursive and narrative selection and modification'.[10] As we shall see, adaptation for children is in many ways a special case, in that the implied reader is not necessarily familiar with the source text.[11]

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[6] Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 4.
[7] Julie Sanders, *Adaptation and Appropriation* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 20.
[8] Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, p. 7. In particular, Hutcheon cites J. Dudley Andrew, Geoffrey Wagner, and Michael Klein and Gillian Parker as examples of fidelity criticism (J. Dudley Andrew, *Concepts in Film Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984); Geoffrey Wagner, *The Novel and the Cinema* (Rutherford, NJ: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 1975); Michael Klein and Gillian Parker, eds, *The English Novel and the Movies* (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1981)).
[9] Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, p. xvi.
[10] John Stephens and Robyn McCallum, *Retelling Stories, Framing Cultures: Traditional Stories and Metanarratives in Children's Literature* (New York: Garland, 1998), p. 255.
[11] While it is agreed that the term 'original' is problematic in relation to adaptation, there is no consensus among critics as to an alternative term. Stephens and McCallum use the term 'pre-text', while Hutcheon prefers 'adapted text'. In this thesis, I follow Sanders in referring to Shakespeare's plays as 'source texts'.

Until the early twenty-first century, adaptations of Shakespeare for children have been overlooked in the academic fields of both Shakespeare studies and children's literature. Although Shakespeare scholarship has welcomed performance criticism and studies of Shakespearean afterlives, adaptation, and appropriation, only rarely do such studies acknowledge adaptations which are addressed specifically to a young audience. Meanwhile, criticism in the field of children's literature has tended to neglect adaptations of canonical 'adult' texts for children, with the exception of Stephens and McCallum's *Retelling Stories, Framing Cultures: Traditional Stories and Metanarratives in Children's Literature* (1998). Ruth Morse accurately describes the situation in 2004:

> Shakespeare for children is, if not exactly undiscovered country, certainly an outlying province in the cartography of Shakespeare scholarship [...] unlisted in Shakespeare bibliographies, ignored in Shakespeare Studies and, with the honorable exception of the Lambs, largely unknown even in the annals of children's literature. Children's Shakespeare is equally absent from the burgeoning field of children's literature.[12]

Although two recent collections of essays, *Reimagining Shakespeare for Children and Young Adults* (2003), edited by Naomi Miller, and *Shakespeare and Childhood* (2007), edited by Kate Chedgzoy, Susanne Greenhalgh, and Robert Shaughnessy, go some way toward addressing this, they represent a minority compared to the dozens of volumes devoted to Shakespeare on film and in performance.[13] Furthermore, as Erica Hateley notes, relatively

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[12] Ruth Morse, 'Children's Hours: Shakespeare, the Lambs, and French Education', in *Shifting the Scene: Shakespeare in European Culture*, ed. by Ladina Bezzola Lambert and Balz Engler (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004), pp. 193-204 (p. 194).

[13] Studies of Shakespearean afterlives include Jack J. Jorgens, *Shakespeare on Film* (London: Indiana University Press, 1977); J. C. Bulman and H. R. Coursen, eds, *Shakespeare on Television: An Anthology of Essays and Reviews* (London: University Press on New England, 1988); John Collick, *Shakespeare, Cinema, and Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989); Samuel Crow, *Shakespeare Observed: Studies on Performance on Stage and Screen* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1992); Anthony Davies and Stanley Wells, eds, *Shakespeare and the Moving Image: The Plays on Film and Television* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); H. R. Coursen, *Shakespeare in Production: Whose History?* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1996) and *Shakespeare Translated: Recent Derivatives on Film and TV* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2005); Lynda E. Boose and Richard Burt, eds, *Shakespeare, the Movie: Popularizing the Plays on Film, TV, and Video* (London: Routledge, 1997) and *Shakespeare, the Movie, II: Popularizing the Plays on Film, TV, Video, and DVD* (London: Routledge, 2003); Richard W. Schoch, *Shakespeare's Victorian Stage: Performing History in the Theatre of Charles Kean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Robert Shaughnessy, ed., *Shakespeare on Film* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998); Michael A. Anderegg, *Cinematic Shakespeare* (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004); Christy Desmet and Robert Sawyer, eds, *Shakespeare and Appropriation* (London: Routledge, 1999); Kenneth S. Rothwell, *A History of Shakespeare on Screen: A Century of Film and Television* (Cambidge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Mark Thornton Burnett and Ramona Wray, eds, *Shakespeare, Film, Fin de Siècle*,

few of the essays in these volumes are critical engagements with adaptations of Shakespeare for children specifically.[14] Janet Bottoms has written a number of articles addressing children's Shakespeares, but, I will argue later, she is more concerned with fidelity to a perceived 'original' than with considering adaptations as works in their own right. At the time of writing—November 2011—Hateley's *Shakespeare in Children's Literature: Gender and Cultural Capital* (2007) is the only full-length study of adaptations of Shakespeare for children. This thesis, then, is a necessary analysis of adaptations of Shakespeare for children that is grounded in the methodologies and terminologies of children's literature studies, while being informed by critical perceptions of Shakespearean afterlives and the emerging field of adaptation studies.

Previous studies of Shakespeare and children's literature have been characterized by a conspicuous lack of awareness both of changes in constructions of childhood in children's books, and of theoretical models for analyzing the various modes used to address the child reader. Barbara Wall provides a useful framework in *The Narrator's Voice* (1991),

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(Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000); Deborah Cartmell, *Interpreting Shakespeare on Screen* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000); Anthony Davies, *Filming Shakespeare's Plays: The Adaptations of Laurence Olivier, Orson Welles, Peter Brook and Akira Kurosawa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Grace Ioppolo, ed., *Shakespeare Performed: Essays in Honor of R. A. Foakes* (London: Associated University Presses, 2000); Marianne Novy, ed., *Transforming Shakespeare: Contemporary Women's Re-visions in Literature and Performance* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000); Daniel Rosenthal, *Shakespeare on Screen* (London: Hamlyn, 2000); Richard Burt, ed., *Shakespeare after Mass Media* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002); Richard Foulkes, *Performing Shakespeare in the Age of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Graham Holderness, *Visual Shakespeare: Essays in Film and Television* (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2002); Douglas Lanier, *Shakespeare and Modern Popular Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Courtney Lehmann, *Shakespeare Remains: Theater to Film, Early Modern to Postmodern* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002); Robert Shaughnessy, *The Shakespeare Effect: A History of Twentieth-Century Performance* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); Stanley Wells and Sarah Stanton, eds, *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare on Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univerity Press, 2002); Pascale Aebischer, Edwards J. Esche, and Nigel Wheale, eds, *Remaking Shakespeare: Performance across Media, Genres, and Cultures* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); W. B. Worthen, *Shakespeare and the Force of Modern Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Sarah Hatchuel, *Shakespeare: From Stage to Screen* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 2004); Adrian Poole, *Shakespeare and the Victorians* (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2004); Judith Buchanan, *Shakespeare on Film* (Harlow: Longman, 2005); Diana E. Henderson, *Collaborations with the Past: Reshaping Shakespeare across Time and Media* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006); Diana E. Henderson, ed., *A Concise Companion to Shakespeare on Screen* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006); Mark Thornton Burnett, *Filming Shakespeare in the Global Marketplace* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Thomas Cartelli, *New Wave Shakespeare on Screen* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007); Maurice Hindle, *Studying Shakespeare on Film* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Russell Jackson, *Shakespeare Films in the Making: Vision, Production and Reception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Russell Jackson, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare on Film* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Anthony R. Guneratne, *Shakespeare, Film Studies, and the Visual Cultures of Modernity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

[14] Erica Hateley, *Shakespeare in Children's Literature: Gender and Cultural Capital* (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 6-7.

distinguishing between the real author, implied author, and narrator on the one hand, and real reader, implied reader, and narratee on the other.[15] These are terms which I use throughout this thesis. Wall further suggests the terms *single*, *double*, and *dual address* to describe texts which address an implied audience of only children (single address), children and adults separately (double address), and children and adults together (dual address).[16] More recently, David Rudd has noted that Wall's model assumes 'that the child is a constant to which authors, over time, had to adapt; there is no notion of the child itself being constructed differently'.[17] Other studies have preferred the terms 'cross-writing' or 'crossover fiction' to describe the ways in which children's authors write to an implied dual audience of adults and children. Peter Hunt contends 'that it is *dual* address that is most characteristic of the twentieth century (rather than single address, as Wall suggests)',[18] and Mitzi Myers and U. C. Knoepflmacher likewise find 'a dialogic mix of older and younger voices' in 'texts too often read as univocal'.[19] Zohar Shavit takes this further, arguing that all writing for children is in fact addressed to a dual audience of children and adults since '[e]very book for children is first read by adults'.[20]

Hunt observes, 'Children's literature is, at least in part, about control, and the primary result of that is that it reflects first of all what society wishes itself to be seen as, and secondly, subconsciously and retrospectively, what it is actually like. The histories we construct reflect these overriding "truths".'[21] Furthermore, John Stephens has demonstrated the extent to which children's literature has been shaped by prevailing ideological positions

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[15] Barbara Wall, *The Narrator's Voice: The Dilemma of Children's Fiction* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), pp. 4-8.
[16] Wall, pp. 20-36.
[17] David Rudd, 'The Development of Children's Literature', in *The Routledge Companion to Children's Literature*, ed. by David Rudd (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 3-13 (p. 10).
[18] Peter Hunt, *Children's Literature* (London: Blackwell, 2001), p. 14.
[19] Mitzi Myers and U. C. Knoepflmacher, '"Cross-Writing" and the Reconceptualizing of Children's Literary Studies', *Children's Literature* 25 (1997), pp. vii-xvii (p. vii).
[20] Zohar Shavit, 'The Double Attribution of Texts for Children and How It Affects Writing for Children', in *Transcending Boundaries: Writing for a Dual Audience of Children and Adults*, ed. by Sandra L. Beckett (London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999), pp. 83-97 (p. 84). See also Shavit, *The Poetics of Children's Literature* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1986).
[21] Hunt, p. 2.

and constructions of 'the child',[22] and Peter Hollindale has coined the term 'childness' to be used in place of the more ideologically loaded 'childhood' or 'childishness'. Hollindale defines 'childness' as 'a composite made up of beliefs, values, experience, memories, expectations, approved and disapproved behaviours, observations, hopes and fears which collect and interact with each other to form ideal and empirical answers to the question "What is a child?"'.[23] Rather than being a 'fixed and permanent composite', 'childness [...] is extremely flexible, and is historically, socially and culturally determined'.[24] This is of particular relevance to this thesis since, as we shall see, adaptations of Shakespeare for children respond to these social and cultural constructions of 'childness'.

This is particularly evident when it comes to the visual side of adaptations of Shakespeare for children. The twentieth-century texts I discuss, which include graphic novel adaptations and *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales* as well as texts by Marcia Williams, Leon Garfield, and Bruce Coville, can be differentiated from their predecessors by their understanding of the importance of the visual to the uninitiated reader, and their insistence on producing texts that are grounded in performance, rather than reading. As publishers have become more sensitive to the importance of the visual dimension of children's books, they have produced increasingly sophisticated picture books that address children's visual literacy and thus require a distinct set of skills to read, and critical texts such as Perry Nodelman's *Words about Pictures* (1988), Jane Doonan's *Looking at Pictures in Picture Books* (1993), and Maria Nikolajeva and Carole Scott's *How Picturebooks Work* (2001) have been instrumental in providing a theoretical framework and vocabulary for

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[22] John Stephens, *Language and Ideology in Children's Fiction* (London: Longman, 1992).
[23] Peter Hollindale, *Signs of Childness in Children's Books* (Shroud: Thimble Press, 1997), p. 76. It is worth noting that Hollindale takes the word 'childness' from *The Winter's Tale* (Hollindale, p. 45). Polixenes says, 'He makes a July's day short as December, | And with his varying childness cures in me | Thoughts that would thick my blood' (*The Winter's Tale*, 1.2.170-72).
[24] Hollindale, pp. 76-77.

analysing visual texts, focusing primarily on the interaction between words and images.[25] Nodelman writes,

> Simply because they are two different modes of expression, the relationships of words and pictures are complex and demand much skill of viewers and readers. They depend not just on our understanding of visual competences and codes of signification, not even just on those codes and the equally complex codes of language and of narrative se of language, but also on intersecting relationships of both with each other. A text may amplify, distort, and even reverse the meanings of the pictures it accompanies.[26]

Nodelman further notes that a picture book illustration is distinct from other works of art in its capacity to carry narrative information in addition to artistic merit. Partially as a result of this sophisticated interplay between words and pictures, picture books paradoxically imply a viewer who is 'both very learned and very ingenuous'.[27] Doonan also finds that picture books imply a sophisticated visual reader and shows how a close reading of the composite elements of picture-book illustration (such as line, colour, layout, and perspective) reveals narrative information not necessarily apparent in the words alone. Nikolajeva and Scott, meanwhile, provide a useful breakdown of the different types of interaction between words and pictures. All three of these critical works inform my reading of picture-book adaptations in Chapter 3.

In the study of Shakespeare and of children's literature, then, children's Shakespeares have been critically overlooked, implicitly regarded as a less worthy object of pursuit: not quite Shakespeare and not quite children's literature. In the many monographs and collections of essays addressing Shakespearean afterlives, there is a patent lack of acknowledgement of the role played by Shakespeare in or as children's literature. Even in the field of Shakespeare and the visual arts, there has been surprisingly little attention paid to children's book illustration, an oversight which this thesis aims to rectify. Indeed, one of

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[25] Perry Nodelman, *Words About Pictures: The Narrative Art of Children's Picture Books* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1988); Jane Doonan, *Looking at Pictures in Picture Books* (Stroud: Thimble Press, 1993); Maria Nikolajeva and Carole Scott, *How Picturebooks Work* (London: Routledge, 2001).
[26] Nodelman, p. 20.
[27] Nodelman, p. 21.

my aims is to demonstrate the dependence of children's Shakespeares on contemporary performance practice, even during the time when Shakespeare was seen primarily as a literary rather than theatrical figure. Thomas Bowdler, for example, refers to theatrical abridgements for guidance,[28] while Charles Lamb's version of *King Lear* is in part a reaction against the continued prevalence of Nahum Tate's altered version on the London stage.[29] Victorian and Edwardian illustrations of Shakespearean scenes in children's versions, I argue in Chapter 2, are based on the *mise-en-scène* of Victorian theatre. Leon Garfield bases his texts on specific productions he has seen,[30] while Marcia Williams is indebted to the reconstructed Globe for the design of her picture books.[31] Meanwhile, *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales* references specific film versions of Shakespeare's plays, as we shall see in Chapter 4. When children's Shakespeares are seen in relation to the history of Shakespeare in performance, therefore, it becomes clear that those who adapt Shakespeare for children have been consistently influenced by specific performance traditions.

With the exception of Hateley, much of the work that has been done on children's Shakespeares is hampered by what Hutcheon terms the 'negative discourse of loss',[32] focusing on what has been cut from the source text. This tends to make the resulting analysis strangely personal, as commentators mourn the loss of their favourite speeches or scenes and worry that the children who read the adaptations will have a distorted view of the play as a result. Bottoms is particularly prone to this; for example, she singles out Leon Garfield's version of II.2 of *Richard II*, 'which,' she writes, 'I have chosen because I can still remember the impression it made upon me at the age of eleven'. [33] She unsurprisingly concludes that Garfield's version fails to live up to the original. My thesis is not primarily

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[28] Thomas Bowdler (1), 'Preface to the Third Edition', in *The Family Shakspeare*, 3rd edn, 8 vols (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1823), I, pp. vii-xiv.
[29] Charles Lamb, 'On the Tragedies of Shakespeare (1811)', in *Charles Lamb: Essays*, ed. by Rosalind Vallance and John Hampden (London: The Folio Society, 1963), pp. 20-37.
[30] Garfield, 'The Penny Whistle: The Problem of Writing Stories from Shakespeare', *Essays by Divers Hands* 46 (1990), 92-108.
[31] Marcia Williams, 'Bravo, Mr. William Shakespeare!', pp. 33-34.
[32] Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, p. 38.
[33] Janet Bottoms, 'Of *Tales* and *Tempests*', *Children's Literature in Education* 27 (1996), 73-86 (p. 76).

concerned with the distortion of a Shakespearean 'original', as Bottoms is, nor with the perpetuation of patriarchal notions of 'cultural capital', as Hateley is, but rather with the implications of the mode of address used to communicate with an implied child reader. While I do compare the interpretations offered in the adaptations to contemporary criticism of the plays, I am more interested in the ways in which the authors of these adaptations rework the plays for their intended audience than in evaluating what children should or should not read or what degree of adaptation is permissible in order for a text to remain identifiable as 'Shakespeare'.

Bottoms's anecdotal relationship with children's Shakespeares is an inappropriate basis for criticism not only because of its dependence on a personal, subjective response to Shakespeare's plays, but also because of her implicit assumptions that children's Shakespeares only have value in relation to the 'original' plays, and that an adaptation which makes cuts and alterations to the text is necessarily less sophisticated than its source. As Hutcheon notes, 'the morally loaded discourse of fidelity is based on the implied assumption that adapters aim simply to reproduce the adapted text'.[34] By contrast, Hutcheon argues,

> seen from the perspective of its *process of reception*, adaptation is a form of intertextuality: we experience adaptations (*as adaptations*) as palimpsests through our memory of other works that resonate through repetition with variation. [...] Therefore, an adaptation is a derivation that is not derivative—a work that is second without being secondary.[35]

Children's literature in the second half of the twentieth century has been dominated by texts which acknowledge a sophisticated readership that is both visually literate and metatextually and intertextually aware;[36] in other words, the implied reader of children's books is one who, in Sanders's words, is 'able to participate in the play of similarity and difference perceived between the original, source, or inspiration to appreciate fully the

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[34] Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, p. 7.
[35] Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, pp. 8-9.
[36] By this I mean that the implied reader of these texts is aware of both the self-consciousness of their construction and of their interplay with other texts.

reshaping or rewriting undertaken by the adaptive text.'[37] It is clear therefore that adapters of Shakespeare in this period have been influenced by postmodernism as the prevailing critical discourse in the second half of the twentieth century. In broad terms, they comply with Jean-François Lyotard's definition of *postmodernism* as 'an incredulity toward metanarratives',[38] in that in contrast to their predecessors, their retellings are characterized by indeterminacy, fragmentation, and narrative instability. Hutcheon's term 'historiographic metafiction' is also useful, and applicable to the late twentieth-century adaptations I discuss in that they are 'both intensely self-reflexive and yet paradoxically also lay claim to historical events and personages'.[39] Sandra Beckett and others have noted postmodernism's influence on late twentieth-century children's books:

> Contemporary children's literature has become a field of innovation and experimentation, challenging the conventions, codes, and norms that traditionally governed the genre. Strongly influenced by the aesthetics of modernism and postmodernism, children's literature now reflects the dominant trends in adult literature and sometimes even initiates them. A wide range of previously taboo subjects and complex narrative strategies—including polyfocalization, composite genres, deviations from chronological, linear narrative, fragmentation and gaps, absence of closure, intertextuality, irony, parody, metafiction—transgress the traditional demarcations separating children's from adult literature. Some children's books seem to be no less sophisticated or demanding of their reader than those apparently written and marketed for adults.[40]

While theoretical approaches to children's literature have welcomed the privileging of visual literacy and postmodern fragmentation and intertextuality that have become characteristic of writing for children, criticism of adaptations of 'adult' texts for children is still preoccupied with questions of fidelity and pedagogy, and my thesis suggests a variety of alternative methods by which these sophisticated texts can be analysed.

Children's Shakespeares are unique among adaptations and appropriations of Shakespeare in the way that they are sold and consumed, in that they tend to be marketed

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[37] Sanders, *Adaptation and Appropriation*, p. 45.
[38] Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, trans. by Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), p. xxiv.
[39] Linda Hutcheon, *A Poetics of Postmodernism* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1988), p. 5.
[40] Sandra Beckett, 'Introduction', in *Transcending Boundaries*, ed. by Beckett, pp. xi-xx (p. xvii).

not directly to children, but to parents, teachers, and school librarians as something that will be of value to their young charges. Stanley Wells refers to the Lambs' *Tales from Shakespear* as

> 'a classic', rather than 'a children's classic' because it is clear that the *Tales* (like *Alice*) is both read by adults and chosen by adults as a book suitable for children, not necessarily by children as a book that they are anxious to read for themselves. Indeed, its very title—unlike, say, *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory* or *Five on a Treasure Island*—requires knowledge, or information, along with cultural aspirations.[41]

An issue with which all adapters of Shakespeare contend is that of language. Although Shakespeare's language is frequently cited by these authors as evidence of Shakespeare's greatness, it is also the aspect of the plays most likely to disappear when they are rewritten for children, it being recognized that the language is potentially problematic for less advanced or less confident readers. As we shall see, children's Shakespeares are more often than not written in vernacular prose, thereby removing that aspect of the plays which Shakespeare's admirers claim is the best reason to read them.[42] In her introduction to the

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[41] Stanley Wells, 'Tales from Shakespeare', in *British Academy Shakespeare Lectures: 1980-89*, ed. by E. A. J. Honigmann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 185-212 (p. 191).

[42] Prose retellings include Jean-Baptiste Perrin's *Contes moraux amusans & instructifs, à l'usage de la jeunesse: tirés des tragédies de Shakespeare* (1783); Anon., *The History of Shylock the Jew, and Anthonio The Merchant, with that of Portia and the Three Caskets: Adapted to the Minds of Young Children* (1794); Anon., *The History of King Lear and his Three Daughters* (1794); Charles [and Mary] Lamb, *Tales from Shakespear* (1807); Elizabeth Wright Macauley, *Tales of the Drama* (1822); J. Willis, *Capulet and Montague; or, The Tragical Loves of Romeo and Juliet* (1823) and *The Lives and Tragical Deaths of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, and the Lovely Ophelia* (1823); A. S. Macfarland and Abby Sage, *Stories from Shakespeare* (1882); Mary Seymour, *Shakespeare's Stories Simply Told: Comedies* (1883) and *Shakespeare's Stories Simply Told: Tragedies and Histories* (1883); M. S. Townsend, *Stories from Shakespeare* (1889); Henrietta Christian Wright, *Children's Stories from English Literature from Taliesin to Shakespeare* (1889) and *Children's Stories from English Literature from Shakespeare to Tennyson* (1892); Adelaide C. Gordon Sim, *Phoebe's Shakespeare* (1894); E. Nesbit, *The Children's Shakespeare*, illus. by Francis Brundage, M. Bowly, and J. Willis Grey (1895) and *Beautiful Stories from Shakespeare for Children* (1907); Fay Adams Britton, *Fairy Tales from Shakespeare*, illus. by C. P. Wilson (1896); Arthur Quiller-Couch, *Historical Tales from Shakespeare* (1899); Mary Macleod, *The Shakespeare Story Book*, illus. by Gordon Browne (1902); Alice Spencer Hoffman, *Stories from Shakespeare's Plays for Children* (1904) and *The Children's Shakespeare*, illus. by Charles Folkard (1911); Jean Lang, *Stories from Shakespeare Told to the Children*, illus. by Norman M. Price (1905) and *More Stories from Shakespeare Told to the Children*, illus. by Norman M. Price (1910); Robert Hudson, *Tales from Shakespeare* (1907); Anon., *The Children's Shakespeare: Stories from As You Like It, The Merchant of Venice, A Midsummer Night's Dream, The Tempest* (1909); Thomas Carter, *Stories from Shakespeare Retold*, illus. by Gertrude Demain Hammond (1910) and *Shakespeare's Stories of the English Kings*, illus. by Gertrude Demain Hammond (1912); Constance and Mary Maud, *Shakespeare's Stories* (1913); Samuel Davis, *Shakespeare Retold for Little People*, illus. by Alice B. Woodward (1928); Anon., *Shakespeare Stories for Boys and Girls* (1933); John Buchan and others, *Six Stories from Shakespeare* (1934); Daphne Miller, *Stories from Shakespeare* (1934); Anon., *Stories from Great Writers: The Children's Shakespeare* (1935); C. M. Martin, *Stories from Shakespeare*, illus. by Mary Gordon (1935); G. B. Harrison, *New Tales from Shakespeare* (1938) and *More New Tales from Shakespeare* (1939); Jo Manton, *The Story of Titania and Oberon: From A Mid-summer Night's Dream by Shakespeare*, illus. by Phyllis Bray (1945); Richard Armour, *Twisted Tales from Shakespeare*, illus. by

second edition of *The Children's Shakespeare*, for example, Edith Nesbit recalls trying to introduce her daughters to Shakespeare by telling them the story of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*:

> 'It is a lovely story,' she said; 'but it doesn't look at all like that in the book.'
> 'It is only put differently,' I answered. 'You will understand when you grow up that the stories are the least part of Shakespeare.'
> 'But it's the stories we like,' said Rosamund.
> 'You see he did not write for children.'[43]

According to Nesbit, 'The stories are the least part of Shakespeare', but in most adaptations for children, it is story which is privileged. Deciding how much of Shakespeare's dialogue to retain, and the extent to which the surrounding prose should be updated, has been a frequent source of conflict in adaptations of Shakespeare for children. Coville writes of *Romeo and Juliet*,

> Many of the liveliest (and one of the most moving) scenes are those between Romeo and his friends, Mercutio and Benvolio. Shakespeare's rendition of their banter, along with the deep bonds of affection that underlie it, captures a reality that is of enormous importance to young people.[44]

Despite his claim that young people will relate to 'Shakespeare's rendition of their banter', Coville nevertheless updates the language of the dialogue. Charles and Mary Lamb not only retain Shakespeare's dialogue, but also note that 'diligent care has been taken to select such

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Campbell Grant (1957); Marchette Chute, *Stories from Shakespeare* (1960); Irene Buckman, *Twenty Tales from Shakespeare* (1963); Roger Lancelyn Green, *Tales from Shakespeare* (1964); Ian Serraillier, *The Enchanted Island: Stories from Shakespeare* (1964); Brian Heaton and Michael West, *Stories from Shakespeare: Written within the Vocabulary of New Reader 3* (1966); Nicholas Bentley, *Nicholas Bentley's Tales from Shakespeare* (1972); Bernard Miles, *Favourite Tales from Shakespeare*, illus. by Victor Ambrus (1976) and *Well-Loved Tales from Shakespeare*, illus. by Victor Ambrus (1986); Josephine Jones, *Stories from Shakespeare's Plays* (1980); Leon Garfield, *Shakespeare's Stories*, illus. by Michael Foreman (1985) and *Shakespeare's Stories II*, illus. Michael Foreman (1994); Beverley Birch, *Shakespeare's Stories*, (1988); Naomi Lewis, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, illus. by Sylvie Monti (1988); Katherine Mattock, *Stories from Shakespeare's Comedies* (1994); Meg Harris Williams, *Five Tales from Shakespeare* (1996); Terry Deary, *Top Ten Shakespeare Stories*, illus. by Michael Tickner (1999); Jennifer Mulherin and Abigail Frost, *The Best-Loved Plays of Shakespeare* (1999); Owens, L. L., *Tales of William Shakespeare*, illus. by S. Cornelison, Retold Timeless Classics (2000); Andrew Matthews, *The Orchard Book of Shakespeare Stories*, illus. by Angela Barrett (2001); Geraldine McCaughrean, *Stories from Shakespeare*, illus. by Anthony Maitland (2004); Tina Packer and others, *Tales from Shakespeare* (2004); Marianna Mayer, *William Shakespeare's The Tempest*, illus. by Lynn Bywaters (2005); Anna Claybourne, *Stories from Shakespeare*, illus. by Elena Temporin (2006).

[43] E[dith] Nesbit, 'Introduction', in *The Children's Shakespeare*, illus. by Frances Brundage et al, ed. by Edric Vredenburg, 2nd edn (London: Raphael Tuck & Sons, [1897]), pp. 5-6 (p. 5).

[44] Bruce Coville, *William Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet*, illus. by Dennis Nolan (New York: Dial Books, 1999), 2nd opening.

words as might least interrupt the effect of the beautiful English tongue in which he wrote: therefore, words introduced into our language since his time have been as far as possible avoided'.[45] Leon Garfield likewise believes that the prose surrounding Shakespeare's words 'should approximate to it, if not in quality, then at least in cadence and vocabulary'.[46] However, as Stephens and McCallum point out, 'because retellings do not, and cannot, also reproduce the discoursal mode of the source, they cannot *replicate* its significances, and always impose their own cultural suppositions in the process of retelling'.[47]

Although most of the texts I discuss claim to be introductions to Shakespeare, their authors are also aware that their adaptations will be read differently by the reader who is already familiar with the source material, and most of them consciously or unconsciously adopt a double address in terms of the way they address the initiated and uninitiated reader. When Wall distinguishes among single, double, and dual address in children's literature, she defines these terms in relation to the way children's books speak to adult and/or child readers.[48] However, in discussions of adaptation it is perhaps also useful to apply these terms to the implied reader's prior knowledge of the source text since, as Sanders observes, all adaptation arguably 'depends upon the audience's awareness of an explicit relationship to a source text':

> The desire to make the relationship with the source explicit links to the manner in which the responses to adaptations depend upon a complex invocation of ideas of similarity and difference. These ideas can only be mobilized by a reader or spectator alert to the intertextual relationship, and this in turn requires the deployment of well-known texts or sources.[49]

Throughout this thesis, I use the terms 'initiated reader' and 'uninitiated reader' to distinguish between these two addressees. These terms are not necessarily synonymous with 'adult' and 'child'. For the Bowdlers, for example, the uninitiated readership is

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[45] Charles and Mary Lamb, 'Preface', in *Tales from Shakespeare* (London: Penguin, 1995), pp. 5-7 (p. 5). References to the Lambs' adaptations are to this edition unless otherwise noted.
[46] Garfield, 'The Penny Whistle', p. 95.
[47] Stephens and McCallum, p. 4.
[48] Wall, pp. 4-8.
[49] Sanders, *Adaptation and Appropriation*, p. 22.

imagined to include adult women as well as children—Thomas Bowdler hopes his edition will be fit 'to be read aloud by a gentleman to a company of ladies'.[50] Although Victorian adaptations do tend to be addressed to a double audience of adults and children, the term 'girl' can often be applied to any unmarried female, regardless of her age.[51] In the preface to *The Girlhood of Shakespeare's Heroines* (1851), Mary Cowden Clarke predicts that the readers of her prequels will derive pleasure from reading 'such situations as should naturally lead up to, and account for, the known conclusion of their subsequent confirmed character and after-fate'.[52] Indeed, the adaptations I discuss are increasingly conscious of a double audience of Shakespeareans and non-Shakespeareans, perhaps even more than they are of adult and child readers. The many 'in jokes' in Marcia Williams's texts, for example, are addressed to the reader who knows the source play, who is not necessarily an adult. In fact, as we shall see, the ideal reader of Williams's texts is, arguably, a Shakespeare-loving child.

Susanne Greenhalgh observes that the Lambs were instrumental in the formation of a 'children's canon' of Shakespeare.[53] Although no study has yet been conducted on the relative popularity of the plays over time, over the course of my research I have found the most frequently adapted plays to have been *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Macbeth*, *The Tempest*, and *Hamlet*, closely followed by *The Merchant of Venice*, *King Lear*, and *Twelfth Night* (see Figure 1). However, it is interesting to note that among this set, different plays have been popular at different times, often reflecting their relative

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[50] T. Bowdler (I), 'Preface', *The Family Shakspeare*, ed. by Thomas Bowdler (I), 10 vols (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1818), I, pp. vii-xi (p. x).

[51] The readership of the *Girl's Own Paper*, for example, extended to unmarried women as old as forty—in 1888 the editors reported receiving entries to the magazine's Shakespeare essay competition from 'girls' between the ages of twelve and thirty-nine, with the majority submitted 'by girls between twenty and thirty' ('Our Prize Competition: Essay Writing on a Great English Author—My Favourite Heroine from Shakespeare', *Girl's Own Paper* IX, 10 March 1888, pp. 380-2 (p. 381)). The second prize winner, Annie Wilson Patterson, held a Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Dublin.

[52] Mary Cowden Clarke, 'Preface', in *The Girlhood of Shakespeare's Heroines: In a Series of Fifteen Tales*, 3 vols (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1851), I, 3-4 (p. 4).

[53] Susanne Greenhalgh, 'Reinventing Shakespearean Childhoods', in *Shakespeare and Childhood*, ed. by Kate Chedgzoy, Susanne Greenhalgh, and Robert Shaughnessy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 117-36 (p. 125).

1807-1857	1858-1907	1908-1957	1958-2007	Overall
1. *The Merchant of Venice*	1. *As You Like It*	1. *The Merchant of Venice*	1. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*	1. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*
1. *Romeo and Juliet*	1. *King Lear*	1. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*	2. *Macbeth*	1. *Romeo and Juliet*
1. *Twelfth Night*	1. *The Merchant of Venice*	3. *Hamlet*	2. *Romeo and Juliet*	3. *Macbeth*
1. *The Winter's Tale*	1. *The Tempest*	3. *King Lear*	4. *Hamlet*	4. *The Tempest*
5. *As You Like It*	5. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*	3. *Macbeth*	4. *The Tempest*	5. *Hamlet*
5. *Hamlet*	5. *Romeo and Juliet*	3. *The Tempest*	6. *Twelfth Night*	6. *The Merchant of Venice*
5. *Macbeth*	5. *The Winter's Tale*	7. *As You Like It*	7. *King Lear*	7. *King Lear*
5. *Much Ado About Nothing*	8. *Cymbeline*	7. *Julius Caesar*	8. *Julius Caesar*	7. *Twelfth Night*
5. *The Taming of the Shrew*	8. *Macbeth*	7. *Romeo and Juliet*	9. *As You Like It*	9. *As You Like It*
10. *All's Well that Ends Well**	8. *The Taming of the Shrew*	7. *The Taming of the Shrew*	10. *The Merchant of Venice**	10. *Julius Caesar*

1. Table of most frequently adapted plays for children, by half century (data taken from titles in Bibliography).

prominence on the stage. *The Merchant of Venice*, *King Lear*, and *As You Like It* top the list of frequently-adapted plays in the late nineteenth century, but are far less likely to appear in late twentieth-century editions. Adaptations of *Macbeth* and *Romeo and Juliet*, on the other hand, appear far more frequently in the twentieth century. *The Tempest* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* seem to be the most consistently popular, perhaps because they feature sprites, fairies, and magic, which provide fertile inspiration for illustrators. Adaptations of the history and Roman plays (with the exception of *Julius Caesar*) are less common, and typically appear in volumes dedicated exclusively to them, such as the editions produced by Arthur Quiller-Couch and Thomas Carter, discussed in Chapter 2. *Richard III*, *Henry V*, and *Richard II* are the most frequently adapted histories, and fans of Falstaff occasionally work *1 Henry IV* in as well. *King John*, immensely popular with the Victorians both onstage and in children's literature, has since fallen into relative obscurity in both media.

Douglas King and Laura Tosi have commented on the prevalence of plays that include magical or supernatural elements,[54] and in Chapter 2 I discuss the tendency to rewrite Shakespeare's comedies as narrative fairy tales under the assumption that this is the genre most suited to children. Perhaps more interesting though is Greenhalgh's observation that the most popular plays with children's authors are those which feature child or young adult protagonists, and 'deal in some way with young people encountering the demands of adulthood'.[55] Robert Shaughnessy, noting the lack of scholarly interest in Shakespeare's child figures, points out that 'the critical and imaginative tradition which has engaged most fully with the broadest spectrum of Shakespearean childhoods has been

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[54] Douglas King, 'Mediating the Supernatural in Adaptations of Shakespeare for Children: Three Unique Productions through Text and Illustration', in *Reimagining Shakespeare for Children and Young Adults*, ed. by Miller, pp. 129-37; Laura Tosi, '"I Could a Tale Unfold...": Adaptations of Shakespeare's Supernatural for Children, from the Lambs to Marcia Williams', *New Review of Children's Literature and Librarianship* 15 (2009), 128-47.

[55] Greenhalgh, 'Reinventing Shakespearean Childhoods', p. 126.

primarily addressed to young readers themselves'.[56] 'Childhood' here is a malleable definition, as youthful characters of unspecified age, such as Hamlet, Romeo, and Portia, are written as children or teenagers so that their stories can become coming-of-age tales with which the implied reader will identify. This is the case in Mary Cowden Clarke's *The Girlhood of Shakespeare's Heroines*: for Cowden Clarke, 'girlhood' includes a character's life up until the moment she steps onstage in Shakespeare's play. This means that characters like Hermione, Lady Macbeth, and Desdemona are considered 'girls' even after their marriage and, in Hermione's case, motherhood. Additionally, Miller and Bottoms have found that in children's versions of *The Tempest* and *King Lear*, respectively, the tendency has been to shift the focus from the father to the daughter, so that *The Tempest* becomes a story of a sorcerer's daughter growing up on an island and falling in love, and *Lear* of a young girl's relationship with her father and wicked elder sisters.[57] The emphasis on youthful characters is borne out in illustration, beginning with Nesbit's edition, in which all of Shakespeare's characters are figured as chubby, cherubic toddlers,[58] and carrying through to the illustrations of Ruth Sanderson and Dennis Nolan for Bruce Coville's retellings of *The Tempest* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, respectively, which give the young characters clothing and hairstyles appropriate to the teenage characters seen on television in the 1990s.

In the course of my preliminary research for this project, I found a significant increase in the production of children's Shakespeares in the period between roughly 1880 and 1920, and again between 1980 and 2000. In addition to corresponding with recognized

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[56] Robert Shaughnessy, 'Introduction', in *Shakespeare and Childhood*, ed. by Chedgzoy, Greenhalgh, and Shaughnessy, pp. 1-11 (p. 4).
[57] Naomi J. Miller, 'Play's the Thing: Agency in Children's Shakespeares,' in *Shakespeare and Childhood*, ed. by Chedgzoy, Greenhalgh, and Shaughnessy, pp. 153-68 (pp. 141-42); Bottoms, '"Look on Her, Look": The Apotheosis of Cordelia', *Shakespeare Survey* 55 (2002), 106-113.
[58] E[dith] Nesbit, *The Children's Shakespeare*, illus. by Francis Brundage, M. Bowly, and J. Willis Grey (London: Raphael Tuck and Sons Ltd, [1895]). Several examples are reproduced in Chapter 2.

booms in children's publishing,[59] each of these spikes is characterized by a shift in the dominant medium used. It is no great leap to assume that this phenomenon is related to shifts in the ways in which young readers are addressed and, by extension, how they are perceived. Additionally, the twentieth century seems to have seen a shift in motivation for adapting Shakespeare for children, from the moral and ethical concerns of the early nineteenth century toward modern questions of accessibility and emphasis on performance, and from stable, authoritative, narrative-driven interpretations of the source plays to multivocal forms which celebrate narrative and visual instability. This shift is reflected in the change in the medium chosen to present these texts, from authoritative prose to more graphic forms which resist unilateral interpretation. As it would be unrealistic to engage in a detailed analysis of each of the hundreds of published children's Shakespeares, my approach has been to focus on a sample of influential texts from each of three periods. The texts I have chosen are those which have been popular enough to be republished, and I have also tried to select texts which are representative of the variety of genres and media used to present Shakespeare to children over the years.

My thesis therefore begins with two texts first published in 1807, Charles and Mary Lamb's *Tales from Shakespear* and Henrietta Bowdler's *The Family Shakespeare* (expanded as *The Family Shakspeare* in 1818 by her brother Thomas).[60] It is not unusual for these two texts to be discussed in tandem,[61] as they are considered the first 'real' children's Shakespeares and are often used to elucidate two strands of late eighteenth-century pedagogical theory, with the Bowdlers representing Evangelical censorship and moral prudishness and the Lambs a Romanticism-inflected desire to stimulate the child's

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[59] See Kimberley Reynolds, *Children's Literature in the 1890s and the 1990s* (Plymouth: Northcote House, 1994); *Girls Only?: Gender and Popular Children's Fiction, 1880-1910* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990).

[60] Throughout this thesis, names of people and places in Shakespeare's plays are reproduced as they appear in the edition under discussion.

[61] Other studies that discuss the Lambs and the Bowdlers together include N. Miller, 'Play's the Thing'; Joseph Riehl, *Charles Lamb's Children's Literature* (Salzburg: Salzburg Studies in English Literature, 1990); S. Wells, 'Tales from Shakespeare'; Georgianna Ziegler, 'Introducing Shakespeare: The Earliest Versions for Children,' *Shakespeare* 2 (2006), 132-51.

imagination. However, in Chapter 1 I argue that these two texts are more alike in their aims than many critics admit. After locating the Lambs and the Bowdlers within the context of the birth of Bardolatry and contemporary constructions of childhood, I discuss how *Tales from Shakespear* and *The Family Shakespeare* use their respective media to render Shakespeare's plays compliant with the morality and values of the early nineteenth century. In comparing their respective modes of address and their attitudes toward their intended readers, I argue that the prose adaptation of the Lambs is in fact a more thorough expurgation than the Bowdlers' abridgement, and that it is therefore misleading to view them in opposition to each other.

Chapter 2 begins with a discussion of the continuing popularity of the Lambs at the end of the nineteenth century and their place within the growing industry of school editions of Shakespeare.[62] While the Lambs had intended their *Tales* to be useful guides to understanding Shakespeare's plays, in this period the *Tales* themselves became objects of study in their own right, and I look in detail at F. J. Furnivall's 1901 scholarly edition of the Lambs' *Tales*, as well as discussing the influence of the Lambs, in both form and content, on a range of late Victorian authors. As we shall see, the boom in children's publishing at the end of the nineteenth century was characterized both by the prevalence of illustration, which had become cheaper and easier to mass produce, and by the creation of distinct literatures for boys and girls. This resulted in the further narrowing of children's Shakespeares into collections of the history plays, modelled on adventure stories and marketed to boys, and of comedies and domestic tragedies, modelled on the fairy tale and marketed to girls. I structure my discussion of the former around Arthur Quiller-Couch's *Historical Tales from Shakespeare* (1899), Thomas Carter's *Shakespeare's Stories of the English Kings* (1912), and Harrison S. Morris's adaptations of those texts not retold by the Lambs (1894), and of the latter around E. Nesbit's *The Children's Shakespeare* (1895;

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[62] See Chapter 2, note 4 for a list of school editions produced at this time.

expanded in 1907 as *Beautiful Stories from Shakespeare for Children*), Adelaide C. Gordon Sim's *Phoebe's Shakespeare* (1894), and Mary Macleod's *The Shakespeare Story Book* (1902), as well as referring occasionally to Cowden Clarke's *The Girlhood of Shakespeare's Heroines* (1851). The chapter concludes by connecting these texts with Victorian Shakespeare productions, through an analysis of the relationship between illustration for children and theatrical *mise-en-scène* in this period.

The late twentieth-century texts I discuss in Chapter 3 are characterized by an awareness of the interdependent relationship between the verbal and visual narratives, and by a degree of performative self-awareness not seen in their predecessors. This chapter is structured around three distinct media used to adapt Shakespeare for children in the late twentieth century: the picture book, the illustrated book, and the graphic novel.[63] I discuss the relationship between text and image in selected examples from each medium, and the implications of this relationship for how the implied reader is addressed. I begin with the picture book, comparing Marcia Williams's *Mr. William Shakespeare's Plays* (1998) and *Bravo, Mr. William Shakespeare!* (2001) with Bruce Coville's single-volume collaborations (with a variety of illustrators) on adaptations of *The Tempest* (1994), *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1996), *Macbeth* (1997), *Romeo and Juliet* (1999), *Twelfth Night* (2003), *Hamlet* (2003), and *The Winter's Tale* (2007). I then use Leon Garfield and Michael Foreman's *Shakespeare Stories* (1985) and *Shakespeare Stories II* (1994) to demonstrate how the changes in the perception of the child reader affect the mode of address to that reader. While Garfield's prose adaptations are subject to the same problems as that of the Lambs, Garfield's constant shifts in perspective and self-conscious use of various forms of literary sleight of hand make for unstable texts that resist unilateral interpretation. Additionally, the relationship between Garfield's text and Foreman's illustrations is characterized by a mutual dependence that is not present in these earlier editions. Finally, I use three graphic

[63] Picture books, illustrated books, and graphic novels are distinguished by the relative prominence given to text and image. See Chapter 3, note 1 for more detailed definitions of these media.

novel adaptations of Shakespeare's plays published by Oval in the 1980s—Von's *Macbeth* (1982), Ian Pollock's *King Lear* (1984), and Oscar Zarate's *Othello* (1986)—to show how the graphic novel questions traditional distinctions between text and image, and discuss the tensions resulting from using what is arguably the most sophisticated medium discussed in this thesis to produce a supposedly simplified version of the source text.

Chapter 4 differs from the previous three in that it focuses on a single series of adaptations, *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales*. The series has been critically overlooked (the roughly 15,000 words that make up this chapter will be the longest sustained discussion of the *Animated Tales* to date), but it is, I argue, a hugely significant milestone in the history of adapting Shakespeare for children. In this chapter, I discuss how the series replaces Shakespeare's words with visual metaphors, playing with the viewer's expectations of familiar characters and situations. I devote a section to each of the three animation techniques used in the series—cel, stop-motion, and stained glass—to demonstrate how the series self-consciously draws attention to its own processes and mechanisms in a manner that parallels Shakespeare's own use of metatheatre and destabilizes the division between adult and children's literature.

In producing this thesis, it has become increasingly clear that I have barely scratched the surface in terms of possibilities for further avenues of academic enquiry, as I have focused on only a small selection of the range of Shakespeare-related material which has been produced with young people in mind. While I have restricted this study to narrative retellings of Shakespeare's plays, there is still wide scope for research on appropriations of Shakespeare for children in other genres and media. For example, in Chapter 2, I choose not to discuss Shakespeare's presence in the nineteenth-century children's periodicals,[64] nor do I mention the large number of young adult novels featuring

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[64] On Shakespeare in Victorian periodicals, see Kathryn Prince, 'Shakespeare in the Victorian Children's Periodicals,' in *Shakespeare and Childhood*, ed. by Chedgzoy, Greenhalgh, and Shaughnessy, pp. 153-68; *Shakespeare in the Victorian Periodicals* (London: Routledge, 1998).

Shakespeare as a character, which have been abundant since the beginning of the twentieth century, when they fell primarily into the genres of biography and romance,[65] and which now tend to appear in the genres of fantasy and historical fiction, as in Gary Blackwood's *Shakespeare Stealer* series (1998-2003), Susan Cooper's *King of Shadows* (1999), Terry Deary's *Lord of the Dreaming Globe* (1998), and Celia Rees's *The Fool's Girl* (2010), to name a few.[66] Additionally, I do not address allusions to Shakespeare in children's books, television, and film, such as Terry Pratchett's *Wyrd Sisters* (1988)[67] or the 'Monsterpiece Theatre' segments of PBS's *Sesame Street*.[68]

I would have liked to devote more attention to Shakespearean prequels, sequels, and revisions, including Mary Cowden Clarke's *The Girlhood of Shakespeare's Heroines* as well as more recent teen romances such as Lisa Klein's *Ophelia* (2006) and *Lady Macbeth's Daughter* (2010) and Lisa Fiedler's *Dating Hamlet* (2002).[69] These latter examples can of course also be linked to late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century attempts to produce filmed Shakespeares for the teen market, as in Baz Luhrmann's *Romeo + Juliet* (1996) and Michael Almereyda's *Hamlet* (2000), both of which have been amply addressed in discussions of Shakespeare on film.[70] There is, however, wide scope for research on

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[65] On Shakespeare as character in the early twentieth century, see Velma Bourgeois Richmond, *Shakespeare as Children's Literature: Edwardian Retellings in Words and Pictures* (London: McFarland & Co., 2008).

[66] Gary Blackwood, *The Shakespeare Stealer* (London: Puffin Books, 1998), *Shakespeare's Scribe* (London: Puffin Books, 2000), and *Shakespeare's Spy* (London: Puffin Books, 2003); Susan Cooper, *King of Shadows* (London: Bodley Head, 1999); Terry Deary, *Tudor Terror: The Lord of the Dreaming Globe* (London: Orion Children's Books, 1998); Celia Rees, *The Fool's Girl* (London: Bloomsbury, 2010). See also Kate Chedgzoy, 'Shakespeare in the Company of Boys', in *Shakespeare and Childhood*, ed. by Chedgzoy, Greenhalgh, and Shaughnessy, pp. 184-200.

[67] Terry Pratchett, *Wyrd Sisters* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1988).

[68] To date, these include 'The Taming of the Shoe' (1989), 'Monsters of Venice' (1991), 'Hamlet' (1993), and 'Much Ado About Nothing' (1993).

[69] Lisa Klein, *Ophelia* (London: Bloomsbury, 2006) and *Lady Macbeth's Daughter* (London: Bloomsbury, 2010); Lisa Fiedler, *Dating Hamlet* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 2003).

[70] *William Shakespeare's Romeo + Juliet*, dir. by Baz Luhrmann (Twentieth Century Fox, 1996); *Hamlet*, dir. by Michael Almereyda (Miramax, 2000). For discusions of these films, see Lynda E. Boose and Richard Burt, 'Totally Clueless? Shakespeare goes Hollywood in the 1990s', in *Shakespeare: The Movie*, ed. by Boose and Burt, pp. 8-22; Michael Anderegg, 'James Dean Meets the Pirate's Daughter: Passion and Parody in *William Shakespeare's Romeo + Juliet* and *Shakespeare in Love*', in *Shakespeare, the Movie II*, ed. by Boose and Burt, pp. 56-71; James N. Loehlin, '"These Violent Delights Have Violent Ends": Baz Luhrmann's Millenial Shakespeare', in *Shakespeare, Film, Fin de Siècle*, ed. by Burnett and Wray, pp. 121-37; Katherine Rowe, '"Remember Me": Technologies of memory in Michael Almereyda's *Hamlet*', in *Shakespeare, the Movie II*, ed. by Boose and Burt, pp. 37-55; Harry Keyishian, 'Shakespeare and Movie Genre: The Case of *Hamlet*', in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare on Film*, ed. by Jackson, pp. 72-84.

adaptations such as Gil Junger's *10 Things I Hate About You* (1999), Tim Blake Nelson's *O* (2001), and Andy Fickman's *She's the Man* (2006) (updated versions of *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Othello*, and *Twelfth Night*, respectively).[71] Additionally, there is a great deal of work to be done on Shakespeare in children's theatre, as well as programmes such as the Royal Shakespeare Company's 'Stand Up for Shakespeare' initiative, which promotes performance-based explorations of Shakespeare in the classroom. Additionally, there is wide scope for analysis of Shakespeare in newer media such as Youtube videos and other user-generated content.[72] These approaches could be the next logical step for children's Shakespeares if, as this thesis suggests, the adaptations of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries represent a move toward a reading experience that favours reader interaction.

As we shall see, the most common medium of adaptation has been that begun by the Lambs, into third person narrative prose, and as Howard Marchitello notes, this method is also the most self-effacing, 'an intensive labor that hides its own traces'.[73] As I will discuss in Chapter 1, in these adaptations the act of translation from the multiple, competing perspectives of theatrical representation to the authoritative voice of a third-person narrator allows the adaptor's interpretation of a play to take precedence and gives the authors of these adaptations a considerable amount of control over their young readers' response to the plays. Furthermore, as Bottoms observes, the 'process of turning a play—

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[71] *10 Things I Hate About You*, dir. by Gil Junger (Touchstone Pictures, 1999); *O*, dir. by Tim Blake Nelson (Lion's Gate Films, 2001); *She's the Man*, dir. by Andy Finkman (DreamWorks, 2006).

[72] A YouTube search for 'Hamlet' shortly before this thesis was submitted included videos as diverse as 'Hamlet in 60 Seconds', <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k8z4Eo_-si4>; a silent 'Hamlet in 3 Minutes' which uses animated speech bubbles <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dogMo-EdQQI&feature=related>; 'Cat Head Theatre', which features animated cats performing the play <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DbK1eCt97ag>; 'Anya Rose's Hamlet', >, in which a narrator summarizes the plat of the play punctuated by 'the candid comments of two young girls, ages five and nine' <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OzWM79iUBi8; 'Hamlet Prince of Denmark Cartoon', an animated prequel <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mLMwQP3KcxE&feature=related>; 'An Excerpt from the Tragedy of Hamlet', a stop-motion animation of III.4 starring *Star Wars* Lego figures <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x5sQBUCzruI&feature=related>; and the 'Best Lego Hamlet Video Ever' <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4RmdnMA_coU&feature=related>, as well as clips from episodes of *The Simpsons* and *South Park* [all accessed 13 November 2011].

[73] Howard Marchitello, 'Descending Shakespeare: Toward a Theory of Adaptation for Children', in *Reimagining Shakespeare for Children and Young Adults*, ed. by Miller, pp. 180-89 (p. 181).

even the mere text of a play—into narrative can never be a matter of simple translation since "story" works in a different way from drama'.[74] Although Chapter 2 notes the dominance of the Lamb model in retellings of Shakespeare for over 100 years, the adaptations discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, in the primarily visual media of the picture book, graphic novel, and animated cartoon, challenge the notion that an adaptation must present a single, authoritative interpretation in order to be understood by an unsophisticated audience. I will argue that these texts, which use Shakespeare's words as a starting point for complex visual responses to the plays, support a definition of 'fidelity' that goes beyond verbal accuracy.

[74] Bottoms, '"To Read Aright": Representations of Shakespeare for Children', *Children's Literature*, 32 (2004), 1-14 (p. 2).

Chapter 1: Bowdlerization and Narrative Authority

The year 1807 saw the publication of the first two commercially successful editions of Shakespeare for children. Charles and Mary Lamb's *Tales from Shakespear* is now recognised as the first real children's Shakespeare in English—that is, one written specifically for children, and with an aim to give pleasure as well as to instruct—while Henrietta Bowdler's *The Family Shakespeare* (expanded as *The Family Shakspeare* in 1818 with the help of her brother Thomas) is probably the most widely successful edition of Shakespeare with a specific moral agenda.[1] Although these two texts were intended for similar audiences, they are distinguished from each other in that *Tales from Shakespear* is a prose reworking of a selection of Shakespeare's plays, while *The Family Shakespeare* is essentially a censored play text—the Bowdlers, after all, gave their name to the verb *bowdlerize*, which was being used in a negative context as early as 1836.[2] The Lambs are therefore able to take greater liberties with the source plays than the Bowdlers, who are confined by their resolution not to add to Shakespeare's text.[3] Additionally, the Lambs' use of the prose form, the most common form of subsequent adaptations of Shakespeare for children, allows them a greater degree of control over readers' interpretation of their text than the dramatic structure of the Bowdlers' editions, as the Lambs can embellish and alter their source material through their narration, as we shall see later.

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[1] *The Family Shakespeare* was initially published anonymously in 1807 as a four-volume edition containing twenty expurgated plays. This anonymous edition has since been attributed to Henrietta Bowdler (Noel Perrin, *Dr. Bowdler's Legacy: A History of Expurgated Books in England and America* (London: Macmillan, 1970)). It is unclear how much of a role she had in the eight-volume 1818 edition, which included every play except *Pericles* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. Only Thomas Bowdler's name appears on the title page of this edition and its subsequent reprints, but portions of Henrietta's prefatory material to the 1807 edition are reproduced.

[2] 'Bowdlerize', *Oxford English Dictionary*, <http://dictionary.oed.com> [accessed 28 April 2009].

[3] The title page of Thomas Bowdler's 1818 edition proudly proclaims that 'nothing is added to the original text; but those words and expressions are omitted which cannot with propriety be read aloud in a family' (*The Family Shakspeare* (1818), I, t. p.).

Romantic Shakespeare and the Quintessential Child

Shakespeare for children was by no means unheard of before 1807. Georgianna Ziegler has found several eighteenth-century selections of excerpts, dating as early as 1726, including William Dodd's *The Beauties of Shakespear* (1752) and Marshall's *Mother Goose's Melody; or, Sonnets for the Cradle, Part Two: Containing the Lullabies of Shakespeare* (1781), while Jean-Baptiste Perrin had published a collection of Shakespeare stories in French in 1783.[4] In addition, there were anonymous small chapbook versions available of *King Lear* and *The Merchant of Venice* (both published in 1794), with their plots altered to include happy endings, with morals attached.[5] Ziegler concludes that

> the publication of the Bowdler *Family Shakespeare* and the Lambs' *Tales* took place in a context where the value of Shakespeare as a source of pleasure and instruction for children, particularly in the domestic pedagogical context, was already securely established.[6]

However, Ziegler goes on to cite the Lambs' *Tales* as the first version of Shakespeare with any 'literary merit' that was written specifically *to* children,[7] while Gary Taylor cites the beginning of the nineteenth century as the period in which Shakespeare was 'forcibly transformed into a children's author', beginning with the editions of the Lambs and the Bowdlers.[8] The *Tales* have never been out of print since their initial publication in 1807,[9] and as I will demonstrate, they have had an influence, direct or indirect, on virtually every subsequent adaptation of Shakespeare's plays for children.

In the discourse of Romanticism, Shakespeare and the idealized figure of the child are reified in similar terms, because of what is perceived as their 'holism and imaginative

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[4] [Jean-Baptiste] Perrin, *Contes moraux amusans & instructifs, à l'usage de la jeunesse: tirés des tragédies de Shakespeare* (London: Law, Robson, Cadel, and Elmsly, 1783). The fact that Perrin's text was published in London suggests that it was intended to be real by English children learning French rather than by French children.

[5] Anon., *The History of King Lear and His Three Daughters* (London: W. Moore, 1794); Anon., *The History of Shylock the Jew, and Anthonio the Merchant, with that of Portia and the Three Caskets: Adapted to the Minds of Young Children* (London: [n. pub.], 1794).

[6] Ziegler, 'Introducing Shakespeare', p. 132.

[7] Ziegler, 'Introducing Shakespeare', p. 146.

[8] Gary Taylor, *Reinventing Shakespeare: A Cultural History from the Restoration to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 207.

[9] See Bibliography.

synthesis"[10] and their connection with nature. Judith Plotz observes that the 'quintessential' child was likened to a 'solitary creative genius who in isolation from human society is able to form unitary visions of a world instinct with meaning',[11] so it is perhaps unsurprising that Shakespeare, whose works were also perceived as the products of 'uncultivated genius',[12] should come to be associated with the child's creative imagination. Additionally, the figure of the child, like Shakespeare, is aligned closely with nature; Samuel Taylor Coleridge praises Shakespeare's 'affectionate love of nature and natural objects, without which no man could have observed so steadily, or painted so truly and passionately, the very minutest beauties of the external world',[13] and when Jean-Baptiste Perrin refers to Shakespeare as the painter of nature,[14] he is at once apologizing for the latter's failure to follow the classical unities and recommending his retellings of Shakespeare's stories to an audience that was used to associating children with the natural world. In biographical accounts the child Shakespeare is frequently constructed as 'a unique embodiment of sublime Nature'.[15] In this way, Shakespeare would seem especially suited to the Romantic period's notion of childhood, and of children's literature, as he seems to embody those qualities which are recognized to be at the heart of the child's understanding. Coleridge asserts, 'We should address ourselves to those faculties in a child's mind, which are first awakened by nature, and consequently first admit of cultivation, that is to say, the memory and the imagination."[16] It is therefore easy to see why this is the period in which Shakespeare is first used as a vehicle for addressing 'those faculties': collections of excerpts for recitation, such as Dodd's edition, address the memory, while the plots and characters

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[10] Judith Plotz, *Romanticism and the Vocation of Childhood* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p. 15.
[11] Plotz, p. 18.
[12] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 'Fragment of Notes for Another Lecture', in *Coleridge on Shakespeare*, ed. by Terence Hawkes (London: Penguin, 1959), p. 75.
[13] Coleridge, 'On Shakespeare as a Poet', in *Coleridge on Shakespeare*, ed. by Hawkes, p. 63.
[14] 'Le peintre de la nature a suivi la nature, & jamais poëte ne l'a mieux connue' (J. Perrin, p. v).
[15] Greenhalgh, 'Reinventing Shakespearean Childhoods', p. 123.
[16] Coleridge, *Lectures 1818-1819 on Literature*, ed. by R. A. Foakes, 2 vols, The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), II, 192-3. Quoted in Plotz, p. 16.

that were the basis for adaptations like that of the Lambs were designed to appeal to the imagination.

The eighteenth century is frequently cited as the period in which the Shakespeare industry was born, as scholars, most notably Edmond Malone, strove to confirm the authenticity of the early printed texts and portraits of Shakespeare, and to interrogate the validity of the various biographical accounts of Shakespeare's life.[17] It is also the period of David Garrick's famous Shakespeare Jubilee in Stratford-Upon-Avon in 1769, a pilgrimage which Jonathan Bate claims 'marked the beginning of a new age of Bardolatry', as well as representing 'the summation of a hundred years in which Shakespeare's supremacy as the poet of the English people remained unquestioned'.[18] Shakespeare proved to be a crucial figure in the shaping of English national identity in the eighteenth century. Michael Dobson notes that 'the claim that Britannia rules the waves was first made at exactly the same time as the claim that Shakespeare rules world literature'.[19] According to Coleridge, 'Shakespeare possessed the chief if not all the requisites of a poet'.[20] As Shakespeare was celebrated as a poet, his plays became increasingly detached from the theatre, as critics insisted that his works were intended to be read rather than performed. Charles Lamb, for example, could not reconcile his image of Shakespeare the poet with the latter's theatrical associations. He writes of Sonnets 110 and 111:

> Who can read these instances of jealous self-watchfulness in our sweet Shakspeare, and dream of any congeniality between him and one that, by

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[17] Rowe's inaccurate 'Some Account of the Life &c. of William Shakspeare' (reprinted in *Eighteenth Century Essays on Shakespeare*, ed. by D. Nicol Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), pp. 1-22) was the standard Shakespeare biography for the first half of the eighteenth century, and it became common practice to include a short biography, usually based on Rowe's, in editions of Shakespeare's works. Dissatisfied with Rowe's version, Malone spent the last decade of his life researching his own *Life of Shakespeare*, which was finished after his death by James Boswell in time for publication with his 1821 variorum edition. For further discussion see Margreta De Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim: The Reproduction of Authenticity and the 1790 Apparatus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

[18] Jonathan Bate, *Shakespeare and the English Romantic Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 8.

[19] Michael Dobson, 'Bowdler and Britannia: Shakespeare and the National Libido', in *Shakespeare and Race*, ed. by Catherine M. S. Alexander and Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 112-23 (p. 116). The line in the song to which Dobson alludes is of course a command ('Britannia, rule the waves'), rather than a claim ('Britannia rules the waves').

[20] Coleridge, 'On Shakespeare as a Poet', p. 63.

> every tradition of him, appears to have been as mere a player as ever existed; to have his mind tainted with the lowest players' vices, envy and jealousy, and miserable cravings after applause; one who in the exercise of his profession was jealous even of the women-performers that stood in his way; a manager full of managerial tricks and stratagems and finesse: that any resemblance should be dreamed of between him and Shakspeare.[21]

The early nineteenth-century theatre was not considered to be a respectable form of entertainment for upper- and middle-class families. In a published sermon entitled 'Lawful Amusements', the Reverend George Burder warned Christians of the dangers of mingling with 'all the loose, debauched, depraved, and ungodly' characters one was likely to meet at the theatre.[22] Although Burder concedes that 'if your judgment is mature, your mind enlightened, and your principles fixed', then a trip to the theatre might safely be 'resorted to occasionally',[23] a response to Burder's sermon in the *Christian Observer* expresses a fear that the danger of going to the theatre extended beyond the individual:

> Let us apply this observation. You are a frequenter of the theatre, and you can attend it, as we will admit for the sake of argument, without prejudice to yourself. [...] [Y]ou are a husband, and a father, and to yourself the play-house is safe: but, have you no son, who is emboldened by your example to frequent the same place? Or, you are a mother: but have you no daughter, who by means of the theatre, is initiated into that kind of knowledge which it is the labour of a prudent parent to exclude from the mind, who thus learns to familiarize herself with the profane oath, and to guess the meaning of the licentious equivoque? Or, supposing even that you have no offspring of your own, has your example no general influence? Is this liberty of yours a stumbling-block to none of those that are weak?[24]

While Shakespeare was seen as an integral part of Britain's national character, seeing his plays performed in the theatre could apparently cause irreparable moral damage. The Bowdlers' *Family Shakespeare* and the Lambs' *Tales*, as well as earlier collections of Shakespearean extracts, in providing sanitized versions fit for family entertainment, were therefore providing a more respectable alternative to the theatre: as we shall see later, both the Lambs and the Bowdlers produced texts which were meant to be read aloud in

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[21] C. Lamb, 'On the Tragedies of Shakespeare (1811)' pp. 29-30.
[22] George Burder, 'Lawful Amusements; a Sermon, Preached at the Thursday Evening Lecture, Fetter-Lane, January 10, 1805', *Christian Observer*, 1805, pp. 235-8 (p. 235).
[23] Ibid.
[24] Anon., 'Review of Burder's "Sermon on Amusements"', *Christian Observer*, 1805, pp. 238-41 (p. 241).

domestic settings and contained by paternal or fraternal guidance. Additionally, it is important to remember that the 'Shakespeare' most commonly presented on the London stage at this time was mediated by Garrick, John Dryden, William Davenant, and others, in heavily revised, censored, and/or modernized versions; in most cases full text versions of the plays were not restored until the middle of the nineteenth century.[25]

The Romantics prized what they perceived to be Shakespeare's affinity to nature and to the imagination, just as they prized these qualities in childhood. Indeed, when detractors pointed out Shakespeare's failure to observe classical unities in his drama, the usual defence, employed by editors of Shakespeare from Nicholas Rowe (1709) to Samuel Johnson (1765), Edward Capell (1768), George Steevens (1773), and Edmond Malone (1790), and later taken up by Elizabeth Montagu,[26] was that Shakespeare was 'the poet of nature',[27] and thus did not have to be bound to such strictures. This is also the argument continually employed by Jean-Baptiste Perrin in defending his choice of Shakespeare as suitable

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[25] Dryden and Davenant's adaptation of *The Tempest* (1674), which added several characters including a girlfriend for Ariel and a wild sister for Miranda, was the version produced on the London stage until William Charles Macready's 1838 production, which restored Shakespeare's text. Dryden also rewrote *Troilus and Cressida* (1679) and *Antony and Cleopatra* (as *All for Love*, 1678), while Davenant produced his own adaptations of *Macbeth* (1664) and *Measure for Measure* (as *The Law Against Lovers*, 1662). Garrick's adaptation of *Macbeth* (1744, original text restored by Phelps in 1847) was based on Davenant's, and for the second half of the eighteenth century, Garrick's versions of *Macbeth*, *Romeo and Juliet* (1748, based on Thomas Otway's 1679 version, original text restored by Charlotte Cushman in 1845), *The Taming of the Shrew* (as *Catherine and Petruchio*, 1756, original text restored by Augustin Daly in 1887), *The Winter's Tale* (as *Florizel and Perdita*, 1756, original text restored by J. P. Kemble in 1811), *King Lear* (1756, based on Nahum Tate's 1681 adaptation, original text restored by Macready in 1838) and *Cymbeline* (1761) were the versions normally presented on the London stage. Other frequently-staged eighteenth-century Shakespeare adaptations include Sheridan's *Coriolanus; or, the Roman Matron* (1754-1817), Frederick Pillon's *All's Well that Ends Well* (1785, restored by Phelps in 1852, though Phelps still omitted the 'bed trick'), Cibber's *Richard III* (1700, restored by Irving in 1877), and Richard Cumberland's *Timon of Athens* (1771, restored by George Lamb in 1816). Notable changes include Tate's happy ending for *Lear*, an extra scene in the tomb for Romeo and Juliet between Juliet's revival and Romeo's death, and the removal of several characters: Margaret, Clarence, and Hastings from *Richard III*, the Porter from *Macbeth*, Lear's Fool and the King of France from *Lear*, and Helena from *All's Well that Ends Well* (the plot became primarily focused on Paroles). The above is collated from the entries on individual plays in *The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. by Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[26] *The Works of William Shakespear, in Six Volumes: Adorn'd with Cuts*, ed. by Nicholas Rowe, 6 vols (London: Jacob Tonson, 1709); *The Plays of William Shakespeare, in Eight Volumes, with the Corrections and Illustrations of Various Commentators*, ed. by Samuel Johnson, 8 vols (London: J. and R. Tonson, 1765); *Mr William Shakespeare his Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies*, ed. by Edward Capell, 10 vols (London: Dryden Leach, 1768); *The Plays of William Shakespeare*, ed. by Samuel Johnson and George Steevens, 10 vols (London: C. Bathurst, 1773); *The Plays and Poems of William Shakspeare*, ed. by Edmond Malone, 10 vols (London: J. Rivington and Sons, 1790); Elizabeth Montagu, *An Essay on the Writings and Genius of Shakespear: Compared with the Greek and French Dramatic Poets, with Some Remarks upon the Misrepresentations of Mons. De Voltaire* (Dublin: Potts, Sleater, Chamberlaine, Williams, and Colles, 1778).

[27] *Johnson's Preface to Shakespeare*, ed. by P. J. Smallwood (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1985), p. 4.

material for adaptation for children.[28] It is perhaps because of Shakespeare's equation with both nature and the imagination that writers of this period placed such a high value on those of his plays that feature supernatural elements, in particular *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Tempest*, in which they saw a connection between the magical world and the poet's imagination. It should be noted that this was the period in which the figure of Prospero in *The Tempest* began to be identified with Shakespeare.[29] Additionally, Darlene Ciraulo cites Thomas Hood's poem 'The Plea of the Midsummer Fairies' (1827) and Charles Lamb's 'The Defeat of Time; or A Tale of the Fairies' (1827), both of which present the fairies from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* as representative of Shakespeare's creative imagination.[30] At the end of Hood's poem, Shakespeare appears in person to thank the fairies:

> 'Twas they first school'd my young imagination
> To take its flights like any new-fledg'd bird,
> And show'd the span of winged meditation
> Stretch'd wider than things grossly seen or heard.[31]

Indeed, these two plays continue to be among those most frequently included in children's Shakespeares, because of this perceived affinity between children and fairies. Adelaide C. Gordon Sim's 1894 adaptation of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* opens,

> All the children, who I hope will read these stories and learn to love them, have, I am sure, heard of fairies, and have seen the green rings on the grass where they dance on moonlight nights; but I never knew a child who had seen a fairy or heard it speak. But Mr. William Shakespeare was a poet, and a poet is a person who *can* see fairies, and one lovely summer night, when he was lying under the trees on the soft moss in the woods, he heard and saw some wonderful things, and wrote them down and made this story.[32]

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[28] J. Perrin, passim.
[29] See for example Coleridge, 'Notes for a lecture on *The Tempest*, 1818' in *Coleridge on Shakespeare*, ed. by Hawkes, pp. 220-29. As Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan observe, 'If Prospero speaks for Shakespeare, and if, as the Romantics believed, poetry is personal expression, it followed that Prospero's feelings were Shakespeare's', and the resulting temptation to glean biographical details from the play continued well into the twentieth century ('Introduction', in *The Tempest*, ed. by Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan, Arden Shakespeare Third Series (London: Thomson Learning, 1999), pp. 1-138 (p. 88)).
[30] Darlene Ciraulo, 'Fairy Magic and the Female Imagination: Mary Lamb's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*', *Philological Quarterly*, 78 (1999), 439-53 (pp. 440-1).
[31] Thomas Hood, 'The Plea of the Midsummer Fairies', in *The Complete Poetical Works of Thomas Hood*, ed. by Jerrold Walter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1906), ll. 1027-30. Cited in Ciraulo, p. 441.
[32] Adelaide C. Gordon Sim, 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', in *Phoebe's Shakespeare* (London: Bickers & Son, 1894), pp. 14-33 (p. 14).

Bate notes that Theseus's 'shaping fantasies' speech in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*[33] was frequently cited as a 'proof text in discussions of the imagination' throughout the eighteenth century, citing the second edition of Richard Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* (1765) and Mark Akenside's *The Pleasures of the Imagination* (1744), both of which make use of Theseus' phrase '[t]he poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling'.[34] In addition, Darlene Ciraulo points out that many Romantic writers saw in the play 'a reflection of the creative process that takes root in the early childhood imagination'.[35]

The imagination was central to Romantic readings of both Shakespeare and childhood. Romantic discussions of the latter valorized the child's credulity and sense of wonder. However, running counter to the Romantic idealization of the child's imagination were those who believed that literature for children should have a practical, educational function. At the forefront of this group were Anna Letitia Barbauld and Sarah Trimmer, both of whom advocated, and wrote, realistic stories featuring average children, often in domestic settings, in order to teach specific lessons.[36] In an 1802 letter to Coleridge, Charles Lamb railed against the class of didactic writing for children that was currently popular:

> Mrs. Barbauld['s] stuff has banished all the old classics of the nursery; & the Shopman at Newbery's hardly deign'd to reach them off an old exploded corner of a shelf, when Mary ask'd for them. Mrs. B's & Mrs. Trimmer's nonsense lay in piles about. Knowledge insignificant & vapid as Mrs. B's books convey, it seems, must come to a child in the *shape of knowledge*, & his empty noddle must be turned with the conceit of his own powers, when he has learnt, that a Horse is an Animal, & Billy is better than a Horse, & such like: instead of that beautiful Interest in wild tales, which made the child a man, while all the time he suspected himself to be no bigger than a child. Science has succeeded to Poetry no less in the little walks of Children than with Men.—: Is there no possibility of averting this sore evil? Think what you would have been now, if instead of being fed with Tales and old wives fables in childhood, you had been crammed with Geography &

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[33] *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, V.1.2-22.
[34] Bate, p. 11. This line occurs at line 12 in the above speech.
[35] Ciraulo, p. 442.
[36] See [Anna Letitia] Barbauld, *Hymns in Prose for Children* (London: J. Johnson, 1781) and *Lessons for Children* (London: J. Johnson, 1795); and Sarah Trimmer, *Fabulous Histories: Designed for the Instruction of Children, Respecting Their Treatment of Animals* (London: T. Longman & Co., 1786).

> Natural History.? **Damn them.** I mean the cursed Barbauld Crew, those **Blights & Blasts** of all that is **Human** in man & child.[37]

Trimmer writes that the only works of fiction which could be safely placed in the hands of children were 'those exemplary tales which inculcate the duties of *childhood* and *youth* without working too powerfully upon the feelings of the mind, or giving false pictures of life and manners'.[38] The Lambs' *Tales* presumably fell into this second category of stories, those which feed the imagination, 'giving false pictures of life and manners'. Coleridge, on the other hand, wrote,

> Nothing should be more impressed on parents and tutors than to make children forget themselves; and books which only told how Master Billy and Miss Ann spoke and acted, were not only ridiculous but extremely hurtful; much better give them 'Jack the Giant-killer' or the seven Champions, or anything which, being beyond their own sphere of action, should not feed this self-pride.[39]

Fantastic stories such as fairy tales and fables were therefore necessary reading, in that they would stimulate the imagination, while to Coleridge, stories which only reproduced familiar settings in an attempt to impart moral values were in fact somewhat damaging. Coleridge sees realistic stories in mundane settings as harmful to children, as they encourage comparison with other children and thus 'feed' their 'self-pride'. By contrast, Maria and R. J. Edgeworth felt that it was 'improbable fictions'[40] that would have a harmful influence on children: 'Without the habit or reasoning, the best dispositions can give us no solid security for happiness, therefore we should early cultivate the reasoning faculty, instead of always appealing to the imagination.'[41]

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[37] *The Letters of Charles and Mary Anne Lamb*, ed. by Edwin W. Marrs, Jr, 3 vols (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976), II, 81-2.
[38] Trimmer, 'On the Care Which Is Requisite in the Choice of Books for Children (1803)', in *Children and Literature: Views and Reviews*, ed. by Virginia Haviland (London: Bodley Head, 1974), pp. 4-6 (p. 5).
[39] Coleridge, *Lectures 1818-1819 on Literature*, ed. by Foakes, I, 587. Quoted in Plotz, p. 17.
[40] Maria and R. J. Edgeworth, *Practical Education*, 2 vols (London: J. Johnson, 1798), I, 338. In particular, the Edgeworths reject adventure stories such as *Robinson Crusoe* and *Gulliver's Travels*, 'which amuse the imagination of children without acting upon their feelings' (I, 335). They dismiss fairy tales because 'we apprehend that these are not now much read' (ibid.).
[41] M. and R. J. Edgeworth, *Practical Education*, I, 329.

When considering the Lambs' *Tales*, it is important to remember that they were commissioned by William Godwin for his Juvenile Library series. As early as 1793, when Godwin wrote his *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice*, he stressed the importance of childhood instruction:

> children are a sort of raw material put into our hands, a ductile and yielding substance, which, if we do not ultimately mould in conformity to our wishes, it is because we throw away the power committed to us by the folly with which we are accustomed to exert it.[42]

Locke's influence can be clearly seen in this statement, which in itself is one with which the 'Barbauld crew' would be inclined to agree. In fact, it is for precisely this reason that Godwin's involvement in the children's market was perceived as a threat by those who did not want his radicalism passed on to their children. This is revealed in an 1813 government report on the Juvenile Library:

> it is evident there is an intention to have every work published for the Juvenile Library that can be required in the early instruction of children, and thus by degrees to give an opportunity for every principle professed by the infidels and republicans of these days to be introduced to their notice.[43]

Indeed, Trimmer's 'caution respecting those [books] which go under the name of *School Books*, viz. *Grammars, Dictionaries, Spelling Books, Exercise Books,* and *Books of Geography*, &c. &c. into some of which the leaven of false philosophy has found its way'[44] is probably a veiled reference to Godwin's collection, which includes, among other things, a *Dictionary* and a history series,[45] both of which have clearly been influenced by his politics. For example, his *History of England* relates Edward III's ambition to be a conqueror, defining *conqueror* as one who 'causes the death of thousands and reduces nations to

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[42] William Godwin, *An Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 36-7.
[43] Quoted in Pamela Clemit, 'Philosophical Anarchism in the Schoolroom: William Godwin's Juvenile Library, 1805-25', *Biblion* 9 (2000), 44-70 (pp. 45-6).
[44] Trimmer, 'On the Care Which Is Requisite in the Choice of Books for Children', p. 5.
[45] Edward Baldwin [William Godwin], *The History of England: For the Use of Schools and Young Persons* (London: Thomas Hodgkins, 1807); William Frederick Mylius and E. Baldwin [William Godwin], *Mylius's School Dictionary of the English Language: To Which is Prefixed a New Guide to the English Tongue* (London: [n. pub.], 1819).

slavery, that he may become famous and have songs made in his praise'.[46] Later, he states that '[i]n the dark and barbarous ages the lower people were slaves: there was such a thing as liberty in England and other European countries; but it was confined to the lords and holders of estates'.[47] Additionally, Godwin was a strong advocate for children's freedom of choice in their reading material. His sentiments are directly opposed to Trimmer's philosophy:

> children should not be permitted to make their own choice, or to read any books that may accidentally be thrown in their way, or offered to their perusal; but should be taught to consider it as a *duty*, to consult their parents in this momentous concern.[48]

Unlike Trimmer, Godwin believed that it was more important that children '[l]earn to think, to discriminate, to remember and enquire'[49] than that they derive moral instruction from what they read. Shakespeare therefore fit naturally into Godwin's agenda, as Godwin had described him as 'a writer by no means anxious about his moral'.[50]

The Lambs' *Tales from Shakespear* and the Bowdlers' *Family Shakespeare* have been taken as representative of these opposing views of children's literature. Ziegler, for example, claims that while the Lambs emphatically rejected Trimmer, the Bowdlers' editions grew directly out of her ideas.[51] Interestingly, both of these views were in part the product of the influential educational writings of John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau.[52] Locke wrote:

> Let us then suppose the Mind to be, as we say, white Paper, void of all Characters, without any *Ideas*; How comes it to be furnished? Whence comes it by that vast store, which all the busie and boundless Fancy of Man has painted on it, with an almost endless variety? Whence has it all the

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[46] Baldwin [Godwin], *The History of England*, p. 84.
[47] Baldwin [Godwin], *The History of England*, p. 90.
[48] Trimmer, 'On the Care Which Is Requisite in the Choice of Books for Children', p. 4.
[49] Godwin, *The Enquirer (1797)*, Reprints of Economic Classics (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1965), pp. 5-6. Quoted in Bottoms, '"Awakening the Mind"', p. 267.
[50] Godwin, *The Enquirer*, p. 138. Quoted in Bottoms, '"Awakening the Mind"', p. 275.
[51] Ziegler, 'Introducing Shakespeare', p. 147.
[52] John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Humane Understanding: In Four Books* (London: Tho. Basset, 1690) and *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (London: A. and J. Churchill, 1693); Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emilius and Sophia; or, A New System of Education*, [trans. by William Kenrick] (London: R. Griffiths, T. Becket, and P. A. de Hondt, 1762).

> materials of Reason and Knowledge? To this I answer, in one word, From *Experience*: In that, all our Knowledge is founded; and from that it ultimately derives it self.[53]

In particular, for those who accepted Locke's famous *tabula rasa* theory of childhood learning, the need for children to have an early exposure to the right reading material took on a new urgency in the late eighteenth century.[54] As Alan Richardson points out, the 'rationalist view of the mind as a text to be inscribed enables a vision of near-absolute control over the child-pupil on the part of the parent-teacher'.[55] However, divergent interpretations of Locke's writings in particular, as well as differing beliefs about which ideas posed the greatest threat to the child's impressionable mind, meant that opinion concerning appropriate reading material for children was far from unified.

The Lambs' *Tales* have traditionally been seen in accordance with the Romantic model of stimulation for the imagination,[56] alongside fairy tales and fables, as well as other retellings of classic stories which appeared in the Juvenile Library Series, such as Charles Lamb's *The Adventures of Ulysses* (1808)[57] and Lady Mountcashell's *Stories of Old Daniel* (1808),[58] as well as Godwin's own *Fables Ancient and Modern* (1805).[59] However, more recently, critics such as Felicity James, Jean Marsden, and Susan Wolfson have perceived in the Lambs a 'desire to control and direct the reading of Shakespeare'[60] along similar lines to

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[53] Locke, *An Essay Concerning Humane Understanding*, p. 37.

[54] For a fuller discussion of Locke's influence on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century educational writing, see Samuel E. Pickering, *John Locke and Children's Books in Eighteenth-Century England* (Knoxville: Tennessee University Press, 1981) and Alan Richardson, *Literature, Education, and Romanticism: Reading as Social Practice, 1780-1832* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[55] Richardson, p. 129.

[56] Joseph Riehl, for example, has praised Charles Lamb for providing 'an introduction to Shakespeare which would give his readers some taste of the purely literary delight which he had found in Shakespeare himself. He wished that his readers would join him in the freedom of literary experience, unfettered by those who would subordinate the delight of reading to logic or morality' (Riehl, p. 72).

[57] C. Lamb, *The Adventures of Ulysses* (London: Juvenile Library, 1808).

[58] Margaret Jane Moore [Countess of Mountcashell], *Stories of Old Daniel: Tales of Wonder and Delight* (London: Juvenile Library, 1808). The subtitle is interesting in itself because, as Bottoms notes, the edition was published 'at a time when "Tales of Instruction and Amusement" were ubiquitous' (Bottoms, '"Awakening the Mind"', p. 275).

[59] Godwin, *Fables Ancient and Modern: Adapted for the Use of Children* (London: Thomas Hodgkins, 1805).

[60] Felicity James, '"Wild Tales": Readings of Charles and Mary Lamb', *Shakespeare* 2 (2006), 152-67 (p. 153). See also Jean I. Marsden, 'Shakespeare for Girls: Mary Lamb and *Tales from Shakespeare*', *Children's Literature* 17 (1989), 47-63 and Susan J. Wolfson, 'Explaining to her Sisters: Mary Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare*', in *Women's Re-Visions of Shakespeare*, ed. by Marianne Novy (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1990), pp. 16-40.

the Bowdlers' *Family Shakespeare*. The Lambs not only omit much of the same material as the Bowdlers, but they also use their narrative to direct their readers toward specific interpretations of the plays. In the remainder of this chapter I will attempt to demonstrate that while there is indeed, as the above critics have suggested, an undercurrent of conservatism in the Lambs' supposedly 'wild' and imaginative tales, the Bowdlers' edition is in in some ways more faithful to its source material than critics have hitherto acknowledged. After discussing each of these editions individually, I will compare the alterations made to Shakespeare's plays in the two editions, arguing that Charles and Mary Lamb are not as far removed ideologically from Thomas and Henrietta Bowdler as has been previously assumed.

The Family Shakespeare: Fidelity vs Propriety

The Bowdlers and the Lambs were each, in their own way, concerned with rendering Shakespeare's plays compliant with early nineteenth-century morality. According to Lawrence Stone, the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were marked by the consolidation and strengthening of 'the closed domesticated nuclear family',[61] while the early nineteenth century saw a 'reassertion of patriarchal authority'.[62] The editions of the Lambs and the Bowdlers, therefore, were published at a time when the family unit was well-established. Emily Burden notes that although the Bowdlers' use of the word *family* indicates that their intended readership includes children, the only specific reference to a projected readership is to women, in the planned removal of 'whatever is unfit to be read aloud by a gentleman to a company of ladies'.[63] Burden observes that 'the Bowdlers were editing as if women and children's understandings of the world were the same and as if their knowledge about the public world outside the domestic sphere should be similarly

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[61] Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1977), p. 219.
[62] Stone, p. 667.
[63] T. Bowdler (1), 'Preface' (1818), p. x.

restricted'.[64] Noel Perrin notes that the Victorians, who saw the nineteenth century as the culmination of moral progress, would later justify bowdlerization as a reflection of moral progress in the real world.[65] In her *Essay on the Writings and Genius of Shakespear*, Elizabeth Montagu writes,

> there are delicacies of decorum in one age, unknown to another age; but whatever is immoral, is equally blameable in all ages; and every approach to obscenity is an offence for which wit alone cannot atone, nor the barbarity or the corruption of the times excuse.[66]

In order to justify altering Shakespeare, it was necessary for nineteenth-century authors to demonstrate that their age was morally superior to that in which Shakespeare wrote, the implication being that the texts they produced were what Shakespeare himself would have written, had he lived in an age as moral as their own.

Michael Dobson, in his discussion of Shakespeare's status in the eighteenth century, notes the 'double move of at once redeeming Shakespeare for sexual propriety and invoking him as a potential redeemer of the contemporary public'.[67] This is evident in the simultaneous creation of *The Family Shakespeare*, which sought to free Shakespeare's plays from impropriety, and of *Tales from Shakespear*, which claimed that they could serve as 'strengtheners of virtue'.[68] It was common practice for eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century critics to attribute those aspects of the plays of which they did not approve, such as explicit sexuality or 'low' comedy, to the need to satisfy the tastes of a less refined sixteenth-century audience. Thomas Hanmer, for example, in the preface to a 1744 edition of Shakespeare, cites the 'vicious taste of the age' in which 'the Stage, rude and unpolished' thrived, as an explanation for the ribaldry in Shakespeare's plays: 'though such trash is frequently interspersed in his writings, it would be unjust to cast it as an imputation upon

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[64] Emily Caroline Louise Burden, 'Pre-Victorian Prudery: *The Family Shakespeare* and the Birth of Bowdlerism' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Birmingham, 2007), p. 70.
[65] N. Perrin, p. 8.
[66] Montagu, p. 125. This particular passage from Montagu is quoted by both Henrietta and Thomas Bowdler in their prefatory material to the 1807 and 1818 editions, respectively.
[67] Dobson, p. 114.
[68] C. and M. Lamb, 'Preface', p. 7.

his taste and judgment and character as a Writer'.[69] Thomas Bowdler, too, insisted that Shakespeare could not be held responsible for what he perceived as additions made to satisfy the low tastes of his audience:

> the objectionable parts are so completely unconnected to the play, that one might almost be inclined to suppose, that Shakespeare, in the first instance, composed one of his beautiful dramas, and after it was finished, was compelled by the wretched taste of the age, to add something of a low and ludicrous nature.[70]

Hanmer also believed that the obscenity in the plays had been the result of improvisations by early actors which had somehow found their way into the printed quarto and folio texts. He argues that 'a great deal more of that low stuff which disgraces the works of this great Author, was foisted in by the Players after his death, to please the vulgar audiences by which they subsisted'.[71] Several years later, Coleridge would claim that 'the disgusting passage of the Porter' in *Macbeth* was 'an interpolation of the actors'.[72] In a marginal note to the porter's soliloquy at II.3, Coleridge wrote:

> This low porter soliloquy I believe written for the mob by some other hand, perhaps with Shakespeare's consent – and that, finding it take, he with the remaining ink of a pen otherwise employed just interpolated it with the sentence 'I'll devil-porter it no further' and what follows to 'bonfire'. Of the rest not one syllable has the ever-present being of Shakespeare.[73]

Just as Hanmer was anxious that the 'low stuff' would not be seen as 'an imputation upon his taste and judgment and character as a Writer', Coleridge invokes the figure of the 'ever-present being of Shakespeare' both to redeem key phrases which are considered worthy of the writer whom he elsewhere terms 'the great bard',[74] and to invalidate the authority of the passage as a whole. Even those phrases which Coleridge marks out as genuinely

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[69] Thomas Hamner, 'Preface to "The Works of Shakespear"', reprinted in *Eighteenth Century Essays on Shakespeare*, ed. by Smith, pp. 86-7.
[70] T. Bowdler (I), 'Preface to the Third Edition', pp. xii-xiii.
[71] Hamner, p. 86.
[72] Coleridge, 'Notes to a Lecture on *Macbeth*', reprinted in *Coleridge on Shakespeare*, ed. by Hawkes, p. 208. The porter sequence occurs in *Macbeth*, II.3.1-20.
[73] Coleridge, 'Manuscript Notes and Marginalia on *Macbeth*', reprinted in *Coleridge on Shakespeare*, ed. by Hawkes, p. 215.
[74] Coleridge, 'Manuscript Note on *The Winter's Tale*', reprinted in *Coleridge on Shakespeare*, ed. by Hawkes, p. 277

Shakespeare's are treated as an afterthought: not carefully composed by the genius, but hastily scribbled with 'the remaining ink of a pen otherwise employed'.

In each of these cases, there is a clear desire to absolve Shakespeare from blame for those passages which could not be reconciled with late eighteenth-century morality. Indeed, Noel Perrin cites this as a reason for the initial success of William Henry Ireland's forgeries in the 1790s.[75] The 'original' manuscripts of *King Lear* and *Hamlet* that Ireland had 'discovered' were partially expurgated along lines similar to the Bowdlers' editions. In his confession, Ireland wrote:

> Many persons having said, that if the original manuscript of one of his printed plays should be found, it would prove whether he wrote all the ribaldry attributed to him in the first quarto's [*sic*].—That lead [*sic*] me to write over in the old hand the Tragedy of King *Lear*, and make alterations where I thought the lines beneath him [...]. By such alterations the world supposed that all the ribaldry in his other plays was not written by himself but foistered [*sic*] in by the players and printers, herein it cannot be said I injured the reputation of *Shakspear*, on the contrary, the world thought him a much more pure and even writer than before.[76]

Ireland's forgeries were accepted as genuine for so long because they allowed for the possibility that the objectionable material in Shakespeare's plays was not really written by Shakespeare, but inserted by early actors or printers. If the obscenities were not Shakespeare's invention, it followed that the removal of the offending passages would bring the plays closer to what their author had originally intended. Indeed, Thomas Bowdler proudly quotes a reviewer of *The Family Shakspeare* who observed:

> it has in general been found easy to extirpate the offensive expressions of our great poet, without any injury to the context, or any visible scar, or blank in the composition. They turn out, not to be so much cankers in the flowers, as weeds that have sprung up by their side: not flaws in the metal, but impurities that have gathered on its surface, and that, so far from being missed on their removal, the work generally appears more natural and harmonious without them.[77]

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[75] N. Perrin, pp. 95-7.
[76] William Henry Ireland, *An Authentic Account of the Shakspearian Manuscripts, &c.* (London, 1796), pp. 18-19.
[77] Anon., 'Bowdler's *Family Shakespeare*', in *The Edinburgh Review* 71 (1821), 52-54 (p. 53). Quoted in T. Bowdler (1), 'Preface to the Third Edition', p. x. The image of weeds springing up alongside flowers in a garden is interesting as the Lambs use similar imagery in expressing their hope that the 'wild poetic garden' of Shakespeare's language will fuel the child's imagination (C. and M. Lamb, 'Preface', p. 6).

Like Ireland, Bowdler is figured as doing a service to Shakespeare by freeing his works from 'weeds' or 'impurities'.

According to Noel Perrin, Thomas Bowdler was much more respectful of Shakespeare's text in 1818 than his sister Henrietta had been in 1807, restoring many lines that she had cut.[78] However, many of Henrietta's cuts are for aesthetic purposes, and, as Burden has observed, Henrietta also removes innocuous lines that have been made nonsensical or redundant by her other cuts.[79] By contrast, Thomas's determination to preserve as many of Shakespeare's words as possible leads him to retain such lines. For example, while Henrietta omits the entirety of the above-mentioned porter's soliloquy from her expurgated *Macbeth*, Thomas refuses to make any unnecessary excisions to Shakespeare's words, with the result that in his version, the porter has the following lines:

> Here's a knocking, indeed! [*Knocking*.] Knock, knock, knock: Who's there? Come in time; have napkins enough about you. [*Knocking*.] Knock, knock: Who's there? [*Knocking*.] Knock, knock: Never at quiet! What are you? [*Knocking*.] Anon, anon; I pray you remember the porter.[80]

Thomas also makes an effort to preserve the metre of expurgated lines. In *Titus Andronicus*, for example, Lavinia's 'Tis present death I beg, and one thing more | That womanhood denies my tongue to tell. | O, keep me from their worse-than-killing lust'[81] is emended to 'Tis death I beg; O, keep me from what's worse!'.[82] In addition to the necessary removal of explicit sexual references, the Bowdlers omitted what they perceived as blasphemous speech. In both Henrietta's and Thomas's editions, references to 'God' are systematically emended to 'Heaven'. Burden notes that the Bowdlers' expurgation on the religious level was both more thorough and more consistent than their treatment of obscene language or sexual euphemisms.[83] In some cases, this is because the removal of

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[78] N. Perrin, p. 81.
[79] Burden, p. 113.
[80] *Macbeth*, in *The Family Shakspeare* (1818), IV, 163-148 (p. 191). Bowdler also cuts short the porter's dialogue with Macduff, having Macbeth enter after 'Faith, sir, we were carousing till the second cock' (*Macbeth*, II.3.23).
[81] *Titus Andronicus*, II.3.173-75.
[82] *Titus Andronicus*, in *The Family Shakspeare* (1818), IX, 123-208 (p. 151).
[83] Burden, pp. 108-10.

certain lines would be detrimental to the overall sense of the scenes in question. For example, Lavinia's rape in *Titus Andronicus* is still described in detail, and although some of the more graphic imagery is removed from Chiron, Demetrius, and Tamora's taunting of her, Bowdler retains enough to make their intentions clear:

> *Dem.* Stay, madam, here is more belongs to her;
> First, thrash the corn, then after burn the straw:
> This minion stood upon her chastity,
> Upon her nuptial vow, her loyalty,
> And with that painted hope braves your mightiness:
> And shall she carry this unto her grave?
> *Chi.* Drag hence her husband to some secret hole,
> And make his dead trunk pillow to our lust.
> *Tam.* Let not this wasp outlive, us both to sting.[84]

Bowdler removes Chiron's 'An if she do I would I were an eunuch' and Tamora's 'But when ye have the honey ye desire', [85] but retains the more graphic 'thrash the corn, then after burn the straw' and 'make his dead trunk pillow to our lust', retaining Shakespeare's characterization and overall tone at the expense of delicacy. Similarly, while the character of Doll Tearsheet is removed entirely from Thomas's *2 Henry IV*, Mistress Overdone in *Measure for Measure* and the Courtesan in *The Comedy of Errors* are allowed to remain, presumably because of their importance to the plots of each play. The reviewer of the *Family Shakspeare* for the *Monthly Review* seems to have noticed inconsistencies in the actual expurgation as well:

> The critical or religious and moral ideas of the editor seem also to be subject to some vicissitudes; for he expunges in one place as coarse, or as unholy, or as indelicate, words which in another he allows to stand, without any apparent reason for the alteration in his opinions.[86]

Burden has found that the expurgation of such euphemisms as *ring*, *case*, and *lock* for 'vagina' is particularly inconsistent throughout the edition, and it is not clear whether this

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[84] *Titus Andronicus*, in *The Family Shakspeare* (1818), p. 151.
[85] *Titus Andronicus*, II.3.128, 131.
[86] Anon., '*The Family Shakspeare*', *The Monthly Review*, April 1820, pp. 432-33 (p. 433).

is the result of Bowdler's own ignorance or his belief that his intended audience (women and children) would not pick up on the more obscure references.[87]

Noel Perrin outlines a distinct set of circumstances which contribute to bowdlerization, which he distinguishes from both censorship and abridgement:

> In order for [bowdlerization] to exist, there need to be two conflicting desires on the part of the editor. He must want to preserve as much as possible of the text he is editing—ideally, all of it—and at the same time he must feel that there are words (or ideas) in the text so embarrassing or so pernicious that they can't be kept. His desire to keep the whole text, were that possible, separates the bowdlerizer from the abridger, the digest editor, and the extract maker, whose first principle is that any piece of writing is better shorter. His willingness to tamper at all separates him from the scholar, whose first principle is that the text is sacred.[88]

The Family Shakespeare is marked by this tension between the Bowdlers' twin desires to preserve Shakespeare's words and to shield vulnerable readers (women and children) from the less delicate words and expressions that they find in the plays. In his 1778 *Preface to Shakespeare*, Samuel Johnson also seems to feel the need to reconcile Shakespeare's genius with his seeming lack of morality:

> He sacrifices virtue to convenience, and is so much more careful to please than to instruct, that he seems to write without any moral purpose. [...] This fault the barbarity of his age cannot extenuate; for it is always a writer's duty to make the world better, and justice is a virtue independent on time or place.[89]

As mentioned above, this tension can be seen in the subtitle to the 1818 edition of *The Family Shakspeare*: 'in which nothing is added to the original text; but those words and expressions are omitted which cannot with propriety be read aloud in a family'.[90] Thomas Bowdler's reverence for Shakespeare's work is evident in his determination to include every play in the canon,[91] where his sister had only included twenty in her edition: *The Tempest*,

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[87] Burden, pp. 108-10.
[88] N. Perrin, p. xi.
[89] *Johnson's Preface to Shakespeare*, ed. by Smallwood, p. 15.
[90] *The Family Shakspeare* (1818), I, t. p.
[91] At this time, there were doubts as to the authorship of *Pericles* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, and they were therefore not generally accepted as part of the Shakespeare canon. Edmund Malone was the first major editor of Shakespeare to include *Pericles*, in his 1780 edition, believing that Shakespeare had been responsible for making revisions to another playwright's work (Anthony Davies, 'Pericles', in *The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare*, ed.

A Midsummer Night's Dream, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *As You Like It*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Twelfth Night*, *The Winter's Tale*, *King John*, *Richard II*, *1* and *2 Henry IV*, *Henry V*, *Richard III*, *Henry VIII*, *Julius Caesar*, *Macbeth*, *Cymbeline*, *King Lear*, *Hamlet*, and *Othello*. In the preface to the 1807 *Family Shakespeare*, Henrietta admits that she has selected the 'most unexceptionable' plays for her edition, rejecting those from which it would prove more difficult 'to remove every thing that could give just offence to the religious and virtuous mind'.[92] She omits *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *1*, *2*, and *3 Henry VI*, *Titus Andronicus*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Measure for Measure*, *Timon of Athens*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *All's Well that Ends Well*, and *Coriolanus*.

Thomas Bowdler admits to having some difficulty reconciling his desire to provide innocuous family reading material with his desire to preserve the spirit of *Measure for Measure*, both parts of *Henry IV*, and *Othello* in particular, adding special prefaces to these plays outlining his difficulties:

> I have indeed endeavoured, as cautiously as possible, to remove the objectionable speeches, without injuring the characters; but wantonness of expression and action, are very closely connected with Falstaff; and the infuriate passions of rage, jealousy, and revenge, which torture the breast of Othello, are like 'Macbeth's "distempered cause,"' incapable of being *completely* buckled within the belt of rule.[93]

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by Dobson and Wells, pp. 342-44 (p. 344)). The Bowdlers based their editions on George Steevens's posthumously published variorum edition (T. Bowdler (I), 'Preface' (1818), p. xviii). Steevens includes *Pericles* but asserts that the surviving quarto text 'must have been printed by means of a copy "far as Deucalion" off from the manuscript which had received Shakespeare's revisal and improvement' (George Steevens, 'Note to *Pericles*', in *The Plays of William Shakspeare*, ed. by George Steevens et al, 21 vols (London: [Reed], 1803), XXI, 147-53 (p. 153)). Shakespeare's contribution to *The Two Noble Kinsmen* was not recognised until the twentieth century; Steevens writes off the existence of Shakespeare's name on the title page of the 1634 quarto as the result of the greed of the 'canting bookseller', a position which Lois Potter notes is based 'on the mistaken assumption that Shakespeare's name would have been a better advertisement for a play than Fletcher's on its own' ('Introduction', in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, ed. by Lois Potter, Arden Shakespere Third Series (London: Methuen Drama, 1997), pp. 1-129 (p. 19); see also Steevens, *Supplement to the Edition of Shakspeare's Plays Published in 1778 by Samuel Johnson and George Steevens*, 2 vols (London: [n. pub], 1780), II, 169n).

[92] [H. Bowdler], 'Preface', *The Family Shakespeare*, 4 vols (Bath: Richard Cruttwell, 1807), I, pp. v-xi (p. vii).

[93] T. Bowdler (I), 'Preface to the Third Edition', p. xiv. Bowdler here paraphrases a speech by Caithness in the fifth act of *Macbeth*: 'Some say he's mad, others that lesser hate him | Do call it valiant fury; but for certain | He cannot buckle his distempered cause | Within the belt of rule' (*Macbeth*, V.2.13-16).

In his special Preface to *Othello*, Thomas Bowdler again reveals his inclination to preserve the spirit of Shakespeare's play, in opposition to his overall aims for his edition:

> The arguments which are urged, and the facts which are adduced as proofs of adultery, are necessarily of such a nature as cannot be expressed in terms of perfect delicacy [...]. Yet I believe there is no person who would wish to aggravate the guilt of Othello, by leaving out any of those circumstances which give an appearance of truth to the suggestions of Iago.[94]

Although Bowdler would rather not expose his readers to the less 'delicate' passages of *Othello*, his primary concern here is for characterizations of Othello and Iago that are true to the Shakespearean original. He therefore recommends 'the transferring of it [*Othello*] from the parlour to the cabinet', rather than further expurgation, if 'it shall still be thought that this inimitable tragedy is not sufficiently correct for family reading'.[95] It is not clear here whether Bowdler is using *cabinet* to refer to a cupboard or to a private room or study, but the connotations are nevertheless clear: the cabinet is a space of restricted access, as opposed to the parlour, a space of family gathering. In other words, Bowdler would rather impressionable readers not have access to *Othello* at all than read an expurgation which gives an unfair impression of Othello's character.

Bowdler's cuts seem less extreme when they are viewed alongside the heavily cut acting versions which were being performed in the London theatres in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The *Christian Observer* review cites this fact as proof of the immorality of Shakespeare's plays: 'in the prompt-books of the theatres the plays of Shakespeare are considerably shortened and modified. The managers, indeed, know well that to exhibit Shakespeare in his original form is to disgrace him'.[96] Later, Thomas Bowdler would use contemporary theatre practice to defend his work against those who opposed any meddling with Shakespeare's words:

> This objection proceeds principally from those persons who have confined their study of Shakespeare to the closet, and have not learned in the

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[94] T. Bowdler (I), 'Preface to *Othello*', in *The Family Shakspeare* (1818), X, 241-3 (p. 241).
[95] T. Bowdler (I), 'Preface to *Othello*', pp. 242-3.
[96] Anon., 'Review of the Family Shakespeare', *Christian Observer*, May, 1808, pp. 326-34 (p. 331).

> theatre, with how much safety it is possible to make the necessary alterations. They have not learned, or they have forgot, that except in one, or at most in two instances, the plays of our author are never presented to the public without being corrected, and more or less cleared of indecency; yet, *Macbeth* and *Othello*, *Lear*, *Hamlet*, and *As You Like It*, continue to exhibit the superior genius of the first of dramatic poets. [...] I have attempted to do for the library what the manager does for the stage.[97]

Bowdler's invocation of theatrical practice is an apparent contradiction to his stated intentions. As discussed above, *The Family Shakspeare* was presented as an alternative to live theatre, yet Bowdler not only uses the theatre to defend his edition, but in his first edition of 1818, he even prints John Philip Kemble's theatrical version of *Measure for Measure*, finding himself unable 'to render this play, sufficiently correct for family-reading'.[98] When he attempts his own expurgation for subsequent editions, he makes many of the same cuts as Kemble had. He also fails to acknowledge that many of the cuts made for the theatrical texts were motivated by practical or artistic concerns rather than with an eye to removing indecency, as Bowdler's were.[99] Additionally, as we have seen, the arguments against going to the theatre had as much to do with the people one would meet there as with the actual content of the performance.

Despite negative reviews of both the 1807 and 1818 editions,[100] Thomas Bowdler claimed that *The Family Shakspeare* had been 'censured by those only who do not appear to have made any enquiry into the merits or demerits of the performance, but condemn every attempt at removing indecency from Shakespeare'.[101] However, a review of the 1807 edition in the *Christian Observer* felt that Henrietta's expurgation had not been thorough

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[97] T. Bowdler (I), 'Preface to the Third Edition', pp. viii-ix.
[98] Thomas Bowdler (I), 'Preface to the Following Theatrical Copy of *Measure for Measure*', in *The Family Shakspeare* (1818), II, 1-3 (p. 3).
[99] Noel Perrin has compared Bowdler's cuts for *Romeo and Juliet* with those of David Garrick and found that while Garrick had made similar cuts to Bowdler's of Juliet's more sexually suggestive lines, the former retains bawdy lines spoken by other characters in the play. Perrin therefore concludes that Garrick's alterations were made on artistic, rather than moral grounds (N. Perrin, p. 91).
[100] A writer for *Blackwood's Magazine* referred to *The Family Shakspeare* as 'that piece of prudery in pasteboard', and accused Bowdler of 'rendering other people's works unreadable' (Anon., 'On the Lives of Actors', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, February 1821, pp. 508-14 (pp. 512-13)). See also Anon., '*The Family Shakespeare*', *British Critic*, October 1807, pp. 441-42 and Anon., '*The Family Shakspeare*', *The Monthly Review*, April 1820, pp. 432-33.
[101] T. Bowdler (I), 'Preface to the Third Edition', p. vii.

enough, finding that '"many vulgar," and many far worse than vulgar, expressions, are to be found' in *The Family Shakespeare*.[102] Over seventy years later, Lewis Carroll would echo these sentiments. He writes,

> Neither Bowdler's, Chamber's, Brandram's, nor Cundell's 'Boudoir' Shakespeare seems to me to meet the want: they are not sufficiently 'expurgated.' Bowdler's is the most extraordinary of all: looking through it, I am filled with a deep sense of wonder, considering what he has left in, that he should have cut anything out![103]

The *Christian Observer* reviewer suggests that a sufficiently expurgated edition of Shakespeare was neither possible nor desirable, stating that 'no professed excellence of intention in forming a scheme can provide for success in its execution':[104]

> Shakespeare is dangerous to those whose imagination and passions are not curbed and made tractable by principle; and who, it is supposed, have an intellectual relish for the comic vivacity, and high-wrought pathos, of the poet. Hence a taste for the drama is particularly injurious, if awakened at that crisis of the moral man when we traverse the middle region between boyhood and maturity. [...] It is scarcely possible for a young person of fervid genius to read Shakespeare without a dangerous elevation of fancy.[105]

Others accused Bowdler of finding indecency where there was none. The *Monthly Review* felt that

> the editor has sometimes shewn the truth of the old saw, that the *nicest* person has the *nastiest* ideas, and has omitted many phrases as containing indelicacies which we cannot see, and of the guilt of which our bard, we think, is entirely innocent.[106]

Although the Bowdlers are traditionally seen as exemplars of blue-stocking prudery, their editions differ from the position of their contemporaries in that characterization and narrative coherence is privileged above delicacy.

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[102] Anon., 'Review of the Family Shakespeare', p. 331.
[103] Lewis Carroll, *Sylvie and Bruno* (London: [n. pub], 1890), p. xv. Cf. R. Carruthers and W. Chambers, eds, *Chamber's [sic] Household Edition of the Dramatic Works of William Shakespeare*, 10 vols (London: W. & R. Chambers, 1861-63); S. Brandram, ed., *Shakespeare: Certain Selected Plays Abridged for the Use of the Young* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1881); H[enry] Cundell, ed., *The Boudoir Shakespeare: Carefully Prepared for Reading Aloud*, 3 vols (London: Sampson Low & Co., 1876).
[104] Anon., 'Review of the Family Shakespeare', p. 329.
[105] Anon., 'Review of the Family Shakespeare', pp. 327-8.
[106] Anon., '*The Family Shakspeare*', p. 433.

Containing Shakespeare through Prose: Charles and Mary Lamb

Like the Bowdlers, the Lambs betray a 'desire to control and direct the child reader's experience of Shakespeare.[107] In some respects, the Lambs take the Bowdlers' expurgation even further: not only are the morally questionable aspects of the plays altered or omitted altogether, but those aspects which are in line with early nineteenth-century morality are both emphasized and valorized, as the prose form makes it more possible to extract morals while suppressing characters or situations which are not in line with the authors' sense of propriety. This manifests itself in the emphasis of the moral virtues of certain characters while playing down or simply rewriting more difficult passages. Romantic criticism of Shakespeare tended to be primarily character-centred,[108] and it is therefore unsurprising that in the *Tales*, characters are made into moral examples, with the 'good' characters praised and formed into role models, and the 'bad' characters condemned outright. The language of the *Tales* serves to reinforce the extremes of good and evil, as the majority of characters are attached to an adjective such as 'good', 'noble', 'gentle', or 'faithful' on the one hand, and 'bad', 'wicked', 'unworthy', or 'naughty' on the other. For example, in Charles Lamb's 'Macbeth', 'the wicked suggestions of the witches' are contrasted with 'the warnings of the good Banquo',[109] while in Mary Lamb's 'The Tempest', we are told that Prospero has 'released many good spirits' who had refused to execute the 'wicked commands' of Sycorax, and that '[t]hese gentle spirits were ever after obedient to the will of Prospero'.[110] Charles's introduction to Hamlet and Claudius in his 'Hamlet, Prince of Denmark' is an example of a

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[107] James, p. 153.

[108] William Hazlitt quotes A. W. Schlegel as stating, 'Never, perhaps, was there so comprehensive a talent for the delineation of character as Shakespear's' (William Hazlitt, *Characters of Shakespear's Plays* (London: C. H. Reynell, 1817), p. ix). Coleridge also praised Shakespeare's ability 'to develop all the minutiae of the human heart' in his characters (*Coleridge on Shakespeare: The Texts of the Lectures of 1811-12*, ed. by Foakes, p. 78), and much of his Shakespeare criticism was given over to character studies of Shakespeare's tragic heroes. See also Schlegel, *A Course of Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature*, 2 vols, trans. by John Black (London: [n. pub.], 1815); Anna Jameson, *Shakespeare's Heroines: Characteristics of Women, Moral, Poetical, and Historical* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1832).

[109] [C. Lamb], 'Macbeth', in *Tales from Shakespeare*, pp. 144-55 (p. 145). In a letter to Wordsworth dated 29 January 1807, Charles Lamb confirms that he is responsible for the adaptations of *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, *Timon of Athens*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, and *Othello*, while Mary adapted the remaining fourteen *Tales* and wrote most of the preface (*The Letters of Charles and Mary Anne Lamb*, ed. by Marrs, II, 256).

[110] [M. Lamb], 'The Tempest', in *Tales from Shakespeare*, pp. 11-22 (p. 11).

case in which the sympathetic characters are made more virtuous, while the villains are made more evil by contrast. Claudius is 'as contemptible in outward appearance, as he was base and unworthy in disposition', while Hamlet is 'of a nice sense of honour, and a most exquisite practiser of propriety himself'.[111] Similarly, in 'King Lear', Charles makes a moral example out of the figure of Kent:

> True love and fidelity are no more to be estranged by *ill*, than falsehood and hollow-heartedness can be conciliated by *good usage*. This eminently appears in the instance of the good Earl of Kent, who, though, banished by Lear, and his life made forfeit if he were found in Britain, chose to stay and abide all consequences, as long as there was a chance of his being useful to the king his master. See to what mean shifts and disguises poor loyalty is forced to submit sometimes; yet it counts nothing base or unworthy, so as it can do service where it owes an obligation![112]

While Kent is presented as an example of the virtues of 'true love and fidelity', Edmund is presented as absolute evil:

> [Edmund] by his treacheries had succeeded in disinheriting his brother Edgar, the lawful heir, from his earldom, and by his wicked practices was now earl himself; a wicked man, and a fit object for the love of such wicked creatures as Goneril and Regan.[113]

Charles's liberal use of the word 'wicked' reinforces the opposition between Edmund, Goneril and Regan on the one hand, and the 'good' characters such as Kent, Edgar, and Cordelia on the other. In addition, alterations are made to characters' actions, and their thoughts are often elaborated, in order to make them fit more easily into a moral extreme. Macbeth, for example, undergoes a sudden transformation from extreme good to extreme evil, with no indication of any intermediate stages. He is initially presented as a victim of the machinations of the 'bad, ambitious' Lady Macbeth,[114] but after his second meeting with the witches, 'from this time the thoughts of Macbeth were all bloody and dreadful'.[115] The character of Emilia in *Othello* is actually split into two characters in Charles's version:

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[111] [C. Lamb], 'Hamlet, Prince of Denmark', in *Tales from Shakespeare*, pp. 264-80 (p. 264).
[112] [C. Lamb], 'King Lear', in *Tales from Shakespeare*, pp. 127-43 (pp. 132-33). Coleridge called Kent 'the nearest to perfect goodness of all Shakespeare's characters' ('Table Talk (1833)', reprinted in *Coleridge on Shakespeare*, ed. by Hawkes, p. 203).
[113] [C. Lamb], 'King Lear', p. 141.
[114] [C. Lamb], 'Macbeth', p. 145.
[115] [C. Lamb], 'Macbeth', p. 152.

Iago's wife, who steals the handkerchief from Desdemona, and Desdemona's sympathetic 'attendant', who lays her wedding sheets on the bed.[116] Presumably because he cannot reconcile Emilia's theft with her otherwise sympathetic portrayal, Lamb avoids any moral ambiguity that might obscure the lessons of the play by making her into two characters, one complicit with Iago and the other with Desdemona.

In *Tales from Shakespear*, as Joseph Riehl has noted, the existence of a third person omniscient narrator 'implies the sort of authoritative moral vision which we associate with the novel'.[117] In the Preface to *Tales from Shakespear*, the Lambs note that they have avoided the use of dialogue wherever possible, in an attempt to give the *Tales* 'the regular form of a connected story',[118] and much of the dialogue of the plays is therefore absorbed into the narrative. The effect of this is that the reader is not presented with the variety of intersecting viewpoints that a theatre audience is given, but must instead have what Bottoms refers to as a 'narrator-intermediary'[119] to interpret for them, frequently 'giving narratorial validity to the perspective of one character'.[120] This causes a certain amount of awkwardness in situations where the dramatic impact on stage is a direct result of the limited perspective of the characters in contrast to the privileged situation of the audience, such as the comedy arising from mistaken identity in plays such as *The Comedy of Errors* or *Twelfth Night*. In her retelling of *Cymbeline*, Mary Lamb's prose becomes increasingly convoluted as she tries to explain the circumstances surrounding the vial from which Imogen will eventually drink:

> The queen, who hated Pisanio because he was a friend to Imogen and Posthumus, gave him this phial, which she supposed contained poison, she having ordered her physician to give her some poison, to try its effects (as she said) upon animals; but the physician, knowing her malicious disposition, would not trust her with real poison, but gave her a drug which would do no other mischief than causing a person to sleep with

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[116] [C. Lamb], 'Othello', in *Tales from Shakespeare*, pp. 281-95 (p. 293).
[117] Riehl, p. 78.
[118] C. and M. Lamb, 'Preface', p. 5.
[119] Bottoms, 'Familiar Shakespeare', in *Where Texts and Children Meet*, ed. by Eve Bearne and Victor Watson (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 11-25 (p. 13).
[120] Bottoms, '"To Read Aright"', p. 6.

> every appearance of death for a few hours. This mixture, which Pisanio thought a choice cordial, he gave to Imogen, desiring her, if she found herself ill upon the road, to take it.[121]

In each of these cases, the audience's understanding of the situation is derived from knowing which characters possess which pieces of information, knowledge which is easy to *show* onstage, but considerably more difficult to relate through narrative.

The Lambs are able to exercise control over Shakespeare's texts through their narration, elaborating, explaining, and interpreting that which is left vague or ambiguous in the source plays. Through this narrative commentary, they succeed in creating a moral universe, governed by divine justice, and as a consequence each of the *Tales* is made to fit in to the scheme of virtue rewarded and vice punished. The moral homilies which conclude several of the *Tales* evoke the form of eighteenth-century fairy tales for children, such as Charles Perrault's *Contes du temps passé* (1697), which enjoyed its first English translation during the Lambs' lifetimes, as *The Histories of Passed Times* (1785).[122] Perrault ends each of his stories with a '*morale*' in verse, drawing the reader's attention to the lessons that are to be drawn from the preceding story. For example, Perrault's 'The Fairy', concludes with the following moral:

> *Civil behaviour costs indeed some pains,*
> *Requires of complaisance some little share;*
> *But soon or late its due reward it gains,*
> *And meets it often when we're not aware.*[123]

Similarly, in Mary Lamb's version of *The Winter's Tale*, we are told that Antigonus's death by bear is 'a just punishment on him for obeying the wicked order of Leontes',[124] and the

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[121] [M. Lamb], 'Cymbeline', in *Tales from Shakespeare*, pp. 112-26 (p. 117).

[122] Charles Perrault, *Tales of Passed Times by Mother Goose with Morals*, trans. by R[obert] S[amber] (London: T. Boosey, 1796). The Lambs' use of the fairy tale form can also be seen in the first sentence of 'The Tempest': 'There was a certain island on the sea, the only inhabitants of which were an old man, whose name was Prospero, and his daughter Miranda, a very beautiful young lady' ([M. Lamb], 'The Tempest', p. 11). It is no accident that this sentence, with its 'Once upon a time' quality, also serves as an opening to the *Tales* as a whole, setting the tone for the remainder of the collection.

[123] Perrault, 'The Fairy', in *Tales of Passed Times*, pp. 14-20 (p. 20). In 'The Fairy', a young girl is kind to an old woman she meets, who turns out to be a fairy, and gives the girl the gift of diamonds pouring out of her mouth whenever she speaks. Her wicked, selfish sister is rude to the same fairy and is cursed with toads coming out of her mouth instead. The good sister's gift attracts a handsome prince, whom she marries, while the wicked sister, finding herself despised by everyone she meets, 'went to a corner of a wood and there died' (p. 20).

story ends with a moral worthy of Perrault: 'Thus have we seen the patient virtues of the long-suffering Hermione rewarded. That excellent lady lived many years with her Leontes and her Perdita, the happiest of mothers and of queens.'[125] Mary's version of *Pericles* points its moral even more forcefully:

> Thus have we seen in Pericles, his queen, and daughter, a famous example of virtue assailed by calamity (through the sufferance of Heaven, to teach patience and constancy to men), under the same guidance becoming finally successful, and triumphing over chance and change. In Helicanus we have beheld a notable pattern of truth, of faith, and loyalty, who, when he might have succeeded to a throne, chose rather to recall the rightful owner to his possession, than to become great by another's wrong. In the worthy Cerimon, who restored Thaisa to life, we are instructed how goodness directed by knowledge, in bestowing benefits upon mankind, approached the nature of the gods. It only remains to be told, that Dionysia, the wicked wife of Cleon, met with an end proportionable to her deserts [...] the gods seeming well pleased, that so foul a murder, though but intentional, and never carried into act, should be punished in a way befitting its enormity.[126]

Here there is a clear need to make a moral example out of each of the major characters. In addition, the *Tales* display an implicit faith in law and authority. It is interesting to note that while Dionysia's crime, 'though but intentional', is 'punished in a way befitting its enormity', in 'Cymbeline', we are told that 'the treacherous Iachimo, in consideration of his villainy having missed its final aim, was dismissed without punishment'.[127] Both Dionysia and Iachimo are guilty of planning crimes that do not come to fruition, but one is punished and the other absolved. Yet in the moral world of the *Tales*, both are presented as receiving their just deserts.

Marsden observes that the Lambs 'use moral commentary in the same way that they use the happy resolution of love stories, as a means to effect closure, particularly when adapting plays whose endings were dark or difficult'.[128] This is especially apparent in plays

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[124] [M. Lamb], 'The Winter's Tale', in *Tales from Shakespeare*, pp. 37-49 (p. 41).
[125] [M. Lamb], 'The Winter's Tale', p. 49.
[126] [M. Lamb], 'Pericles, Prince of Tyre', in *Tales from Shakespeare*, pp. 296-313 (p. 313). The inclusion of *Pericles* in *Tales from Shakespeare* is unusual in that in the eighteenth century many critics and editors doubted its authorship (see note 91 above).
[127] [M. Lamb], 'Cymbeline', p. 126.
[128] Marsden, 'Shakespeare for Girls', pp. 58-9.

which elide generic distinctions, such as those which have traditionally been dubbed 'problem plays'.[129] The endings of these plays are moulded so that they fit more neatly into their designated genre. It is for this reason that the Lambs' versions of plays such as *Measure for Measure* and *All's Well that Ends Well* have unequivocally happy endings, so that they comply with the structure of the comedy. This includes smoothing over the details of the 'bed tricks' in both of these plays, as we shall see later. Those characters who are deemed to be deserving are rewarded with marriage, and there is nothing strained about the happiness of Helena and Bertram, Isabel and the duke, or Angelo and Mariana. The fact that Helena and Bertram are allowed to live happily ever after is in contrast to contemporary critical discussions of *All's Well that Ends Well*, which alternately condemned Bertram's callousness or Helena's duplicity in forcing the marriage and bed trick. Samuel Johnson, for example, writes:

> I cannot reconcile my heart to Bertram; a man noble without generosity and young without truth; who marries Helena as a coward and leaves her as a profligate: when she is dead by his unkindness, sneaks home to a second marriage, is accused by a woman whom he has wronged, defends himself by falsehood and is dismissed to happiness.[130]

Coleridge, on the other hand, sympathizes with Bertram, but has trouble reconciling Helena's actions with her sympathetic portrayal. He writes:

> Bertram had surely good reason to look upon the king's forcing him to marry Helena as a very tyrannical act. Indeed, it must be confessed that her character is not very delicate, and it required all Shakespeare's consummate skill to interest us for her; and he does so chiefly by the operation of the other characters – the Countess, Lafeu, etc. We get to like Helena from their praising and commending her so much.[131]

The Lambs, therefore, in choosing not only to include the play in their adaptations, but also to redeem both Helena and Bertram and reward them with happiness in marriage, do

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[129] The term 'problem plays' was coined by F. S. Boas in 1896 to refer to *All's Well that Ends Well*, *Measure for Measure*, and *Troilus and Cressida* (see F. S. Boas, *Shakspere and his Predecessors* (London: J. Murray, 1896).
[130] Samuel Johnson, note to *All's Well that Ends Well*, reprinted in *Samuel Johnson on Shakespeare*, ed. by H. R. Woudhuysen (London: Penguin, 1989), p. 191.
[131] Coleridge, 'Table Talk (1833)', p. 277.

so in contrast to contemporary scholarship on the play. In Mary Lamb's version, Helena becomes 'the beloved wife of her dear Bertram',[132] while in Isabel's case,

> the friendly offices, while hid under the disguise of a humble friar, which the noble duke had done for her, made her with grateful joy accept the honour he offered her; and when she became duchess of Vienna, the excellent example of the virtuous Isabel worked such a complete reformation among the young ladies of that city, that from that time none ever fell into the transgression of Juliet, the repentant wife of the reformed Claudio.[133]

Isabel is given a voice where she remains silent in the source text, and she is figured as reforming not just Juliet, but every woman in Vienna. Mary Lamb also offers an interpretation of Antonio's silence at the conclusion of *The Tempest*: 'These kind words which Prospero spoke, meaning to comfort his brother, so filled Antonio with shame and remorse, that he wept and was unable to speak'.[134]

The Lambs manipulate their sources to fit more convincingly into their given genre, so that their comedies become more comic and their tragedies more tragic. This is apparent in Charles Lamb's 'King Lear', the play with perhaps the most notorious example of posthumous meddling, in the theatrical version rewritten by Nahum Tate in 1681[135] and later adapted by David Garrick in 1756.[136] In Tate's version, Cordelia survives and marries Edgar, and the two reign as king and queen of England with the blessings of Lear, Gloucester, and Kent, who also survive. However, despite the efforts of the Lambs to eliminate the more problematic aspects of the comedies, the tragic ending of *Lear* is retained, in a departure from the version which was usual on the London stage at the time.

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[132] [M. Lamb], 'All's Well that Ends Well', in *Tales from Shakespeare*, pp. 156-69 (p. 169).
[133] [M. Lamb], 'Measure for Measure', in *Tales from Shakespeare*, pp. 198-213 (p. 213).
[134] [M. Lamb], 'The Tempest', pp. 21-2. The 'kind words' which Prospero speaks are a version of the lines spoken by Gonzalo in *The Tempest*, 'Was Milan thrust from Milan, that his issue | Should become kings of Naples?' (*The Tempest*, V.1.208-09). In Lamb's version, Prospero says 'that a wise over-ruling Providence had permitted that he should be driven from his poor dukedom of Milan, that his daughter might inherit the crown of Naples' (p. 21).
[135] Nahum Tate, *The History of King Lear, Acted at the Duke's Theatre: Reviv'd with Alterations* (London: E. Flesher, 1681).
[136] Reprinted in *The Plays of David Garrick*. ed. by Harry William Pedicord and Frederick Louis Bergmann (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980-2).

Charles Lamb had railed against the altered version in his essay, 'On the Tragedies of Shakespeare':

> Tate has put his hook in the nostrils of this Leviathan, for Garrick and his followers, the showmen of the scene, to draw the mighty beast about more easily. A happy ending! as if the living martyrdom that Lear had gone through, the flaying of his feelings alive, did not make a fair dismissal from the stage of life the only decorous thing for him. [...] As if the childish pleasure of getting his gilt robes and sceptre again could tempt him to act over again his misused station, as if at his years, and with his experience, anything was left but to die.[137]

In light of these sentiments, it is not surprising that he should choose to retain the tragic ending in his own adaptation, even though it would seem to contradict what Marsden sees as 'the *Tales*' insistence on poetic justice within the structure of the plot', which implies 'that virtue will be rewarded at some level'.[138] From the outset, Cordelia is marked out as an exemplar of virtuous behaviour, in explicit contrast to her sisters. As in the other *Tales*, in Charles Lamb's 'King Lear', the reader is left in no doubt as to which are the virtuous characters, and which the 'wicked'. However, although the 'wicked daughters', Goneril and Regan, fall prey to 'the justice of Heaven',[139] Lamb has trouble reconciling the tragedy of Cordelia's death in terms of the moral framework of divine justice and virtue rewarded which the Lambs have created. Lamb attempts to justify Cordelia's death by contrasting it with that of her sisters:

> While the eyes of all men were upon this event, admiring the justice displayed in their deserved deaths, the same eyes were suddenly taken off from this sight to admire at the mysterious ways of the same power in the melancholy fate of the young and virtuous daughter, the Lady Cordelia, whose good deeds did seem to deserve a more fortunate conclusion: but it is an awful truth, that innocence and piety are not always successful in this world. The forces which Goneril and Regan had sent out under the command of the bad Earl of Gloucester were victorious, and Cordelia, by the practices of the wicked earl, who did not like that any should stand between him and the throne, ended her life in prison. Thus, Heaven took this innocent lady to itself in her young years, after showing her to the world an illustrious example of filial duty.[140]

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[137] C. Lamb, 'On the Tragedies of Shakespeare', pp. 32-33.
[138] Marsden, 'Shakespeare for Girls', p. 60.
[139] [C. Lamb], 'King Lear', p. 142.
[140] Ibid.

The only way Lamb finds to reconcile the death of Cordelia to the *Tales*' framework of divine justice is to make a martyr out of her, implying that she exists merely to provide the world with 'an illustrious example of filial duty', and to teach the lesson that 'innocence and piety are not always successful in *this* world', but that they will find a reward in Heaven.

It has been noted that in *Tales from Shakespear*, the plots of the plays that involve romantic love are foregrounded, partially as a result of cutting the 'low' comedy scenes.[141] For example, the omission of Paroles from Mary Lamb's 'All's Well that Ends Well' places the focus primarily on the Helena and Bertram plot.[142] Similarly, in her hands *The Tempest* goes from a many-layered story with multiple interwoven plot threads to one which deals almost exclusively with the romance between Ferdinand and Miranda, with the implication that Prospero's reinstatement as Duke of Milan is a function of this romance. Furthermore, as we have seen, the emphasis on the lovers in Mary Lamb's 'A Midsummer Night's Dream' represents a departure from the interpretation of Romantic critics who focused mainly on the fairies and read the play 'as an allegory of the imagination';[143] in Lamb's version, in contrast to contemporary critical trends, 'the supernatural element ultimately provides the backdrop against which the romantic plot untangles itself'.[144] The foregrounding of the love plots at the expense of the low comedy was perhaps a reason for the marketing of the second edition of the *Tales* in 1809 as a suitable present for young women. Although the Lambs, in the preface to their first edition, allude to the particular use that 'young ladies' will have for their stories, 'boys being generally permitted the use of their fathers' libraries at a much earlier age than girls are',[145] in 1809 it was specifically targeted toward adolescent

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[141] See for example Marsden, 'Shakespeare for Girls', p. 52.
[142] This decision is the reverse of that which was usual on the London stage in the eighteenth century, in which the play was reworked as a star vehicle for the actor playing Paroles, with Helena's part shortened or deleted (see note 25 above).
[143] Ciraulo, p. 450.
[144] Ciraulo, p. 445.
[145] C. and M. Lamb, 'Preface', p. 6.

girls: the preface to the second edition recommends the *Tales* not only as stories for 'mere children', but also as 'an acceptable and improving present to young ladies advancing to the state of womanhood'.[146] In light of this targeting of a female audience, it is perhaps unsurprising that the female protagonists in the *Tales* are presented as positive role models. In recent years, feminist critics have been divided over whether these representations confirm or question gender divisions, particularly in the adaptations written by Mary Lamb.[147] For example, 'the ardent mind of Helena' in 'All's Well that Ends Well'[148] and the sound reasoning of Hermia in 'A Midsummer Night's Dream'[149] are presented positively, but so are Portia's 'meek and wife-like grace' in 'The Merchant of Venice'[150] and Katharine's transformation into 'the most obedient and duteous wife in Padua' in 'The Taming of the Shrew'.[151] Furthermore, when Shakespeare's women behave unconventionally, Lamb formulates elaborate excuses for their impropriety. For example, her version of *Much Ado About Nothing* opens with a description of the differences between the temperaments of Beatrice and Hero, lightly reproaching Beatrice for being 'so flippant with her tongue', which 'did not become a well-bred lady'.[152] Similarly, in 'Twelfth Night, or What You Will', Olivia's love for 'Cesario' excuses her forgetting 'the maidenly reserve which is the chief ornament of a lady's character'.[153]

The allowances made for Olivia in 'Twelfth Night' are extended further in situations involving ambiguous sexuality or the crossing of gender lines, particularly when it comes to

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[146] 'Advertisement', in Charles [and Mary] Lamb, *Tales from Shakespear*, 2nd edn (London: [T. Hodgkins], 1809), p. iii.

[147] For Marsden, the 'female characters are presented as positive role models [...]. [T]heir characters establish standards for proper behavior in composite speeches and descriptions portraying a feminine ideal' (Marsden, 'Shakespeare for Girls', p. 55), while Ciraulo sees in Mary's emphasis on positive attributes such as intelligence and resourcefulness an encouragement to young women 'to exercise their wit' (Ciraulo, p. 447). For Wolfson, on the other hand, the contrasting portrayals of the female protagonists in Mary Lamb's plays, which 'alternatively resist and reinscribe conventionality', are indicative of 'Lamb's own indecisiveness about the construction of women's roles, both social and theatrical' (Wolfson, pp. 18-23).

[148] [M. Lamb], 'All's Well that Ends Well', p. 165.

[149] [M. Lamb], 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', in *Tales from Shakespeare*, pp. 24-36 (pp. 24-25).

[150] [M. Lamb], 'The Merchant of Venice', in *Tales from Shakespeare*, pp. 97-111 (p. 102).

[151] [M. Lamb], 'The Taming of the Shrew', in *Tales from Shakespeare*, pp. 170-81 (p. 181).

[152] [M. Lamb], 'Much Ado About Nothing', in *Tales from Shakespeare*, pp. 50-63 (p. 51).

[153] [M. Lamb], 'Twelfth Night, or What You Will', in *Tales from Shakespeare*, pp. 214-28 (p. 220).

cross-dressing. In an 1806 letter to Wordsworth, Charles Lamb writes that Mary 'complains of having to set forth too many female characters in boy's [*sic*] clothes. She begins to think Shakespear must have wanted Imagination'.[154] For Wolfson, this comment reveals less about Shakespeare's imagination than it does about Lamb's uneasiness at the blurring of gender distinctions.[155] Lamb's solution is to emphasize the feminine features of those female characters who disguise themselves as men, often through repeated use of the word 'pretty'. When Orlando meets Rosalind disguised as 'Ganymede' in 'As You Like It', he is 'much pleased with the graceful air of this pretty shepherd-youth',[156] while in 'The Merchant of Venice', Portia enters the courtroom 'prettily disguised by her counsellor's robes and her large wig'.[157] In addition, Lamb never lets the reader forget that these disguised women are still women underneath. In her retelling of *Cymbeline*, when Imogen arrives at the home of Bellarius, she is 'with weariness and hunger almost dying; for it is not merely putting on a man's apparel that will enable a young lady, tenderly brought up, to bear the fatigue of wandering about lonely forests like a man'.[158] Later, she 'delight[s]' the men 'with her neat housewifery'.[159] Furthermore, as we saw with Beatrice and other examples of unconventional female behaviour, Lamb feels the need to make excuses for the impropriety of Shakespeare's cross-dressers. Her explanation of Viola's actions in 'Twelfth Night' are typical: 'It was a strange fancy in a young lady to put on male attire, and pass for a boy; but the forlorn and unprotected state of Viola, who was young and of uncommon beauty, alone, and in a foreign land, must plead her excuse."[160] Similarly, in Lamb's 'The Two Gentlemen of Verona', Julia fears Proteus' reaction to 'the imprudent step she had taken"[161] in disguising herself to pursue him. It is worth noting that while all of the other

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[154] *The Letters of Charles and Mary Anne Lamb*, ed. by Marrs, II, 233.
[155] Wolfson, p. 23.
[156] [M. Lamb], 'As You Like It', in *Tales from Shakespeare*, pp. 64-81 (p. 74).
[157] [M. Lamb], 'The Merchant of Venice', p. 103.
[158] [M. Lamb], 'Cymbeline', p. 118.
[159] [M. Lamb], 'Cymbeline', p. 119.
[160] [M. Lamb], 'Twelfth Night, or What You Will', p. 215.
[161] [M. Lamb], 'The Two Gentlemen of Verona', in *Tales from Shakespeare*, pp. 82-96 (p. 90).

women who dress as men continue to be referred to by their real names in the narration, Rosalind is called 'Ganymede' from the moment she dons her 'manly garb',[162] perhaps because, as Lamb has Orlando note, 'Ganymede' 'had none of the dignified deportment of that noble lady; for Ganymede assumed the forward manners often seen in youths when they are between boys and men'.[163]

The Lambs suppress instances where the paternal authority of the father and/or ruler is questioned. In particular, scenes depicting a daughter going against her father's wishes are neutralized and the father's authority reinstated. In Mary Lamb's version of *The Tempest*, Miranda's disobedience is acceptable because Prospero has 'by his magic art caused his daughter to fall in love so suddenly'; therefore he is 'not angry that she showed her love by forgetting to obey his commands'.[164] Prospero's authority is presented as almost godlike: it is impossible for Miranda to disobey him, for it is he who controls her actions. Lamb also incorporates Prospero's recital of his back story into the narration, so that what is onstage shown to be one character's version of events now has the stamp of authority of the omniscient narrator who, as Bottoms notes, is aligned 'unquestioningly with Prospero'.[165] Even Lear's more irrational moments are in Charles Lamb's version tempered with the reverence that is due to him as a father and monarch. When Goneril complains about the behaviour of Lear's knights, Lamb assures the reader that 'the hundred knights were all men of choice behaviour and sobriety of manners, skilled in all particulars of duty, and not given to rioting or feasting, as she said'.[166] This is presumably to avoid giving any justification to the actions of the 'unnatural hags', Goneril and Regan.[167] Conversely, Lamb elaborates on Cordelia's motivation in the opening scene:

> Cordelia, who in earnest loved her old father even almost as extravagantly as her sisters pretended to do, would have plainly told him so at any other

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[162] [M. Lamb], 'As You Like It', p. 69.
[163] [M. Lamb], 'As You Like It', p. 74.
[164] [M. Lamb], 'The Tempest', p. 18.
[165] Bottoms, 'Of *Tales* and *Tempests*', p. 82.
[166] [C. Lamb], 'King Lear', p. 134.
[167] [C. Lamb], 'King Lear', p. 137; *The Tragedy of King Lear*, II.2.452.

> time, in more daughter-like and loving terms, and without these qualifications, which did indeed sound a little ungracious; but after the crafty flattering speeches of her sisters, which she had seen draw such extravagant rewards, she thought the handsomest thing she could do was to love and be silent. This put her affection out of suspicion of mercenary ends, and showed that she loved, but not for gain; and that her professions, the less ostentatious they were, had so much the more of truth and sincerity than her sisters.[168]

Because Lamb's narrator, like Lear, believes that Cordelia's statements are 'a little ungracious', he reassures the reader that she does indeed love her father 'almost as extravagantly as her sisters pretended to do', to ensure that Cordelia cannot be accused of anything less than perfect filial duty.

Translation vs Expurgation

To compare the projects of the Lambs and the Bowdlers, it is necessary to address the differences in the authors' stated intentions, and the extent to which they are realized. For example, it is clear that the Bowdlers and the Lambs envision slightly different audiences. In their preface, the Lambs discuss their own shortcomings and difficulties in adapting Shakespeare, encouraging interested readers to consult the superior Shakespeare originals:

> When time and leave of judicious friends shall put them into their hands, they will discover in such of them as are here abridged (not to mention almost as many more, which are left untouched) many surprising events and turns of fortune, which for their infinite variety could not be contained in this little book [...]. What these Tales shall have been to the *young* readers, that and much more it is the writers' wish that the true Plays of Shakespeare may prove to them in older years.[169]

The Lambs clearly saw their project as a means to arouse the interest of young readers and to foster an appreciation for Shakespeare that would increase when they progressed to the 'true Plays of Shakespeare'. This can also be seen in certain of the *Tales* themselves, in which the Lambs give small hints, or 'teasers' of what is to come when their readers

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[168] [C. Lamb], 'King Lear', p. 129.
[169] C. and M. Lamb, 'Preface', p. 7.

graduate to the 'real' Shakespeare. For example, although most of the Gloucester plot is omitted from Charles Lamb's version of *King Lear*, at the conclusion of the story, Lamb gives a brief summary of the conclusion of the subplot:

> How the judgment of Heaven overtook the bad Earl of Gloucester, whose treasons were discovered, and himself slain in single combat with his brother, the lawful earl; and how Goneril's husband, the Duke of Albany, who was innocent of the death of Cordelia, and had never encouraged his lady in her wicked proceedings against her father, ascended the throne of Britain after the death of Lear, is needless here to narrate; Lear and his Three Daughters being dead, whose adventures alone concern our story.[170]

Edmund is only included in Lamb's retelling because of his role in the story of 'Lear and his Three Daughters'; Lamb alludes to his duel with Edgar, as well as to the character of Albany, in order to whet his readers' appetites, in the hope of encouraging them to read the full play in order to get the rest of the story. In an otherwise positive review of the *Tales*, the *Anti-Jacobin Review* takes issue with the Lambs' stated intentions:

> we certainly object to the language of the preface, where girls are told, that there are parts in Shakespeare *improper* for them to read at one age, though they may be allowed to read them at another. This only serves as a stimulus to juvenile curiosity, which requires a *bridle* rather than a *spur*.[171]

These remarks echo the review of *The Family Shakespeare* that appeared in the *Christian Observer*, cited above, which raises doubts as to the value of exposing women and children to Shakespeare at all.

Although both texts were ostensibly marketed toward a domestic audience, and particularly with women and children in mind, *The Family Shakespeare* sought to fulfil a function different from *Tales from Shakespear* within this domestic setting. It is clear that the Bowdlers saw their *Family Shakespeare* as a replacement for the 'original' texts of the plays, in which they found 'much that is vulgar, and much that is indelicate'.[172] They intended that their edition would become standard, as can be seen in the 1825 memoir of

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[170] [C. Lamb], 'King Lear', pp. 142-3. In Lamb's version, the following scenes involving Gloucester and his sons are omitted: II.1.; III.5.; III.7.; IV.1; IV.5. Meanwhile, condensed versions of I.1, II.2., III.3., III.4., III.6., and most of Act V are presented, with the characters of Gloucester, Edmund, and Edgar removed, although in the scenes which involve Edgar in disguise (III.4. and III.6.), he is present as 'a poor Bedlam beggar' (p. 139).
[171] Anon., 'Tales from Shakspeare; Designed for the Use of Young Persons', *Anti-Jacobin Review* 105 (1807), p. 298.
[172] [H. Bowdler], 'Preface', p. vi.

Thomas Bowdler's life, written by his nephew, also called Thomas, in which the latter predicts that

> the Family Shakspeare will be the edition which will lie on the table of every drawing-room; and the name of the editor will be remembered, as of one who has perhaps contributed more than any other individual to promote the innocent and rational enjoyment of well-educated families.[173]

This statement is particularly ironic given the actual legacy of the name Bowdler. It is clear though that the Bowdlers' aim was to supplant previous popular editions of Shakespeare's plays,[174] rather than supplement them, and it is a plausible conjecture that there were some in the nineteenth century who only knew Shakespeare through the Bowdlers' editions. Unlike the Lambs, who saw their *Tales* as an intermediate stage from which readers would eventually graduate to an understanding of 'the true Plays of Shakespeare', the Bowdlers hoped that their edition would *become* the default household edition of Shakespeare to be read and understood in its own right.

It is illuminating that in the projects of both the Lambs and the Bowdlers, reading or listening to the text is envisioned as replacing theatrical performance. Charles Lamb had asserted that 'the plays of Shakespeare are less calculated for performance on a stage, than those of almost any other dramatist whatsoever',[175] and in this sense it is not surprising that the Lambs avoid the use of dialogue and alter the narrative structure of the plays, seeking to detach the stories from their theatrical origins and bring them closer to the style and structure of the novel. Charles complains that Hamlet's 'solitary musings' between 'himself and his moral sense' must in the theatre be 'represented by a gesticulating actor, who comes and mouths them out before an audience, making four hundred people his confidants at once'.[176] However, Bottoms points to a further reason why Lamb, and indeed

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[173] Thomas Bowdler (II), *Memoir of the Life of John Bowdler: To which Is Added, Some Account of the Late Thomas Bowdler, Esq., Editor of the Family Shakspeare* (London: Longman & Co., 1825), p. 321.
[174] Neither Henrietta nor Thomas had scholarly aspirations for their editions. Henrietta avoids explanatory notes, since her edition 'is chiefly intended for family reading, or for those whose hearts will be too much interested by the Play to wish for such an interruption' ('Preface', p. viii), and her brother follows this practice.
[175] C. Lamb, 'On the Tragedies of Shakespeare', p. 23.
[176] C. Lamb, 'On the Tragedies of Shakespeare', p. 24.

later adapters of Shakespeare for children, might seek to underplay the performative aspects of the plays: 'The more detached from the theatre Shakespeare became, the easier it was to make him both safe and instructive."[177] Both *Tales from Shakespear* and *The Family Shakespeare* offered families a way to enjoy Shakespeare without exposing their children to the morally dubious world of the theatre.

In place of theatrical performance, the Bowdlers privilege an experience of the plays that takes place entirely in the domestic setting. In his preface to the 1818 edition of *The Family Shakspeare*, Thomas Bowdler writes, 'I can hardly imagine a more pleasing occupation for a winter's evening in the country, than for a father to read one of Shakspeare's plays to his family circle."[178] In the 1825 edition, he adds the following note:

> My first idea of the Family Shakspeare arose from the recollection of my father's custom of reading in this manner to his family. [...] In the perfection of reading few men were equal to my father [...] and such were his good taste, his delicacy, and his prompt discretion, that his family listened with delight to Lear, Hamlet, and Othello, without knowing that those matchless tragedies contained words and expressions improper to be pronounced; and without having any reason to suspect that any parts of the plays had been omitted by the circumspect and judicious reader.[179]

Bowdler expresses his hope that *The Family Shakspeare* will serve as a text from which fathers less capable than his can read to their families. The Lambs, too, envision a domestic setting for their *Tales*, one which is far removed from the theatre. However, instead of a male head of the household reading to his wife and children, the Lambs encourage older brothers to assist their younger sisters in understanding the stories, and to read to them passages from the originals, 'carefully selecting what is proper for a young sister's ear'.[180] In both cases, the family reading circle is structured around a hierarchy of gender, as the authority of the older, male figure is privileged. Just as the Bowdlers eliminate 'whatever is

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[177] Bottoms, 'Familiar Shakespeare', p. 13.
[178] T. Bowdler (1), 'Preface' (1818), p. x.
[179] T. Bowdler (1), 'Preface to the First Edition', *The Family Shakspeare*, 4th edn, 10 vols (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1825), 1, p. xviiin.
[180] C. and M. Lamb, 'Preface', p. 6.

unfit to be read aloud by a gentleman to a company of ladies',[181] the Lambs request that young boys only read aloud 'what is proper for a young sister's ear'. It seems that both the Lambs and the Bowdlers were concerned with the effect of the plays on a lady's modest sensibility.

It is also significant that neither the Lambs nor the Bowdlers have any reservations as to the value of exposing children to Shakespeare, as the prefaces to their respective editions indicate. Thomas Bowdler declares, 'That Shakspeare is the first of dramatic writers will be denied by few, and I doubt whether it will be denied by any who have really studied his works',[182] and hopes that from his edition,

> the pupil may derive instruction as well as pleasure; may improve his moral principles while he refines his taste; and, without incurring the danger of being hurt with any indelicacy of expression, may learn in the fate of Macbeth, that even a kingdom is dearly purchased, if virtue be the price of the acquisition.[183]

The Lambs conclude their Preface with their hope that the plays of Shakespeare will prove

> enrichers of the fancy, strengtheners of virtue, a withdrawing from all selfish and mercenary thoughts, a lesson of all sweet and honourable thoughts and actions, to teach courtesy, benignity, generosity, humanity: for of examples, teaching these virtues, his pages are full.[184]

Though they express their ambitions for their respective works in different terms, the authors in both cases see Shakespeare as necessary reading for children, and both the Lambs and the Bowdlers also felt it was necessary for children to draw the 'correct' conclusions from what they read.

In the Lambs' *Tales*, overtly sexual situations such as the 'bed tricks' in *Measure for Measure* and *All's Well that Ends Well* are handled with care: Helena charms Bertram with 'the simple graces of her lively conversation',[185] and there is no mention of a child in Bertram's conditions for their reconciliation. In 'Cymbeline', Imogen's mole is tactfully

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[181] T. Bowdler (I), 'Preface' (1818), p. x.
[182] T. Bowdler (I), 'Preface' (1818), p. vii.
[183] T. Bowdler (I), 'Preface' (1818), p. xi.
[184] C. and M. Lamb, 'Preface', p. 7.
[185] [M. Lamb, 'All's Well that Ends Well', p. 166.

moved from her breast to her neck, and in 'Measure for Measure', Mariana is the wife, rather than the fiancée, of Angelo, and it is for this reason that 'to bring them thus together is no sin'.[186] Although the Lambs intend that children will move on to the plays themselves when they are older, the *Tales* serve to direct them toward the desired interpretation of the plays. In some cases, the result is a form of literary criticism, with the Lambs pointing out connections that a less sophisticated reader might not be expected to make, as in the case of Juliet's reaction to hearing that Romeo has killed Tybalt, in Charles Lamb's 'Romeo and Juliet':

> She called him a beautiful tyrant, a fiend angelical, a ravenous dove, a lamb with a wolf's nature, a serpent-heart his with a flowering face, and other like contradictory names, which denoted the struggles in her mind between her love and her resentment: but in the end love got the mastery.[187]

Paraphrasing Juliet's actual lines, Lamb draws attention to the sets of oppositions within them, and connects them to the 'struggles' in Juliet's mind, gently directing the reader toward an interpretation of the speech. In other cases, the Lambs impose specific readings on a text through additions, excisions, and alterations, which reveal more about the Lambs' own prejudices than they do about the plays themselves. In Charles Lamb's 'Hamlet', for example, the narrator excuses Hamlet's behaviour to Ophelia by explaining that 'the melancholy which he fell into latterly had made him neglect her, and from the time he conceived the project of counterfeiting madness, he affected to treat her with unkindness, and a sort of rudeness'.[188]

In their reluctance to add to their source text, therefore, the Bowdlers actually treat Shakespeare's plays with a greater degree of reverence, and produce an edition that is far more faithful, than do the Lambs. This becomes clear when we compare their respective treatments of *Measure for Measure*. This play provides a useful example of the tensions

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[186] [M. Lamb], 'Measure for Measure', p. 207; cf. *Measure for Measure* IV.1.70-1.
[187] [C. Lamb], 'Romeo and Juliet', in *Tales from Shakespeare*, pp. 245-63 (p. 253).
[188] [M. Lamb], 'Measure for Measure', p. 269.

inherent in adapting Shakespeare for children which, as we shall see, continue to be problematic for later adapters. For both the Bowdlers and the Lambs, the character of Isabella was a paragon of virtue and chastity, and therefore the perfect female role model. The authors are therefore reluctant to ignore the play entirely (and in the case of the *Family Shakspeare* this is not possible as every play is included). Thomas Bowdler's sentiments are typical:

> This comedy contains scenes which are truly worthy of the first of dramatic poets. Isabella pleading with Angelo on behalf of mercy to her brother, and afterwards insisting that his life must not be purchased by the sacrifice of her chastity, is an object of such interest, as to make the reader desirous of overlooking the many great defects which are to be found in other parts of this play.[189]

Isabella is a character too virtuous to resist; however, as the actual plot of the play is dependent on sexual situations, the authors faced considerable difficulties in making it appropriate for their generation's children. Mary Lamb avoids any explicit mention of sex by first stating that Claudio 'had seduced a young lady from her parents',[190] and for the remainder of the tale using 'Claudio's crime' as a euphemism for sex. Angelo therefore forms 'thoughts of dishonourable love, such as Claudio's crime had been',[191] and asks Isabel to 'transgress even as Juliet had done with Claudio'.[192] Lamb garners sympathy for Juliet and Claudio through emphasis on the innate virtue of their friends, such as Isabel, the duke, and Mariana, as well as on their own guilty consciences and repentance. In addition, Lamb redeems Angelo, assuring the reader of his repentance: 'Angelo remembered, when dressed in a little brief authority, how hard his heart had been, and felt how sweet is mercy."[193] The idea that Angelo could be redeemed morally would not have found favour with the Lambs' contemporaries. Samuel Johnson had written, 'Angelo's crimes were such,

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[189] T. Bowdler (1), 'Preface to the Following Theatre Copy of *Measure for Measure*', p. 1. This view of Isabella, while popular with moral thinkers, was by no means universal. Coleridge, for example, found her 'unamiable', and called *Measure for Measure* 'a hateful work' ('Table Talk, 1827', reprinted in *Coleridge on Shakespeare*, ed. by Hawkes, p. 274).
[190] [M. Lamb], 'Measure for Measure', p. 199.
[191] [M. Lamb], 'Measure for Measure', p. 202.
[192] [M. Lamb], 'Measure for Measure', p. 203.
[193] [M. Lamb], 'Measure for Measure', p. 213. Cf. *Measure for Measure*, V.1.473-6.

as most sufficiently justify punishment [...]; and I believe every reader feels some indignation when he finds him spared."[194] Similarly, Coleridge felt that Angelo's 'cruelty, with lust and damnable baseness, cannot be forgiven, because we cannot conceive them as being *morally* repented of'.[195] However, Lamb's Angelo does 'morally repent', and his redemption produces an unequivocally happy ending in which all of the virtuous characters are rewarded. Such an ending is necessary: if Isabel is to be held up as an ideal of female virtue, it must be clear that such virtue is rewarded. Furthermore, if Angelo is to be included in this happy ending, his virtue must be demonstrated through repentance and redemption.

Lamb's narration smoothes over those aspects of the play which would later cause Thomas Bowdler the most trouble. Bowdler sums up the 'faults' he finds in the play as follows:

> The wickedness of Angelo is so atrocious, that I recollect only one instance of a similar kind being recorded in history [...]. The best characters act too much upon a system of duplicity and falsehood; and the Duke, in the fifth act, trifles cruelly with the feelings of Isabella, allowing her to suppose her brother to be dead, much longer than the story of the play required. Lucio is inconstant as well as profligate. [...] Lastly, the indecent expressions with which many of the scenes abound, are so interwoven with the story, that it is extremely difficult to separate the one from the other.[196]

Bowdler's *Measure for Measure* makes similar cuts to Mary Lamb's. Like Lamb, he plays down the exact circumstances of Claudio's imprisonment by omitting lines which allude directly to his crime: his expurgation places the focus more firmly on Isabella's virtue than on Claudio's vices. Predictably, he makes extensive cuts to the scenes involving Mistress Overdone, Pompey, and Froth, removing all references to their professions (although Overdone's name still provides a clue). However, Bowdler also privileges continuity of plot over decency, and several of the lines of these characters, which in another context would

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[194] *Selections from Johnson on Shakespeare*, ed. by Bertram H. Bronson and Jean M. O'Meara (London: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 88.
[195] 'Manuscript notes on *Measure for Measure*', reprinted in *Coleridge on Shakespeare*, ed. by Hawkes, p. 273.
[196] T. Bowdler (1), 'Preface to *Measure for Measure*', *The Family Shakspeare* (1823), 1, 329-31 (pp. 330-31). Bowdler does not elaborate further on this 'similar' atrocity.

be cut, are retained to keep the plot intact. By contrast, none of these characters appears in Lamb's version. The Lambs remove 'low' comic characters from every play they adapt, while the only character that Bowdler removes completely is Doll Tearsheet in *2 Henry IV*, and this seems primarily to be a product of his reverence for Elizabeth Montagu since, as we have seen, he retains other bawds and prostitutes.[197] The fact that such 'low' characters appear at all in Bowdler's edition indicates that Lamb's expurgation is the more thorough one. They are able to use the narrative form to control the child's experience of Shakespeare, using narrative commentary to mould the plays into improving texts for children. The multiple, competing perspectives of theatrical representation become a single, authoritative voice in the translation to third person prose. This enables the Lambs not only to extract lessons and draw morals from the plays, but also to avoid discussion of political or social issues by simply suppressing the voices of characters whose point of view could cause problems for the moral scheme of the *Tales*. Because the third person omniscient narration invests the *Tales* with a certain amount of authority, the conclusions that are drawn have the appearance of universal truths.

[197] In his preface to the two parts of *Henry IV*, Bowdler praises Montagu's 'good principles, judicious argument, and refined taste' at length before quoting her assertion that '[e]very scene in which Doll Tearsheet appears, is indecent, and therefore not only indefensible, but inexcusable' and stating that '[a]fter the foregoing quotation, my readers will not be surprised if the name of the last mentioned person is not to be found in the following plays' (T. Bowdler (I), 'Preface of the Editor to *The Two Parts of Henry IV*', *The Family Shakspeare* (1818), V, 96-97 (pp. 96-7).

Chapter 2: Social Education and Performative Texts

The turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries can in many ways be seen as a transitional period in the history of adapting Shakespeare for children. On the one hand, the period is marked by the continued dominance of the Lambs, seen in the large number of illustrated and annotated editions of their *Tales* and in the aping of their narrative structure and style in the adaptations of their successors.[1] It is also the period in which children's Shakespeares began to be overtly connected with education, as Shakespeare had pride of place on the new curriculum in Great Britain, and the Lambs' *Tales*, along with other adaptations that followed their model, were consciously promoted as study aides. On the other hand, there is an implicit recognition of Shakespeare's plays as *theatrical* scripts on the part of the adapters I discuss in this chapter. Their strategies for incorporating a sense of the theatricality of the plays into the narrative, along with the increasing penchant for illustration in nineteenth-century children's books, in many ways anticipate the approach of the later twentieth-century adaptations which will be discussed in Chapter 3.

National Heritage and the National Poet

The proliferation of children's editions of Shakespeare at the end of the nineteenth century was in many ways a response to the Education Acts of 1870 and 1880. The study of English literature in secondary schools grew rapidly in the wake of these Acts, leading eventually to the creation of the English Association in 1906, which sought to promote the study of English in schools and universities and published a series of pamphlets to advise school boards on the teaching of the subject. Shakespeare enjoyed pride of place in the English Association's recommended curriculum: the second pamphlet published by the Association was entitled 'The Teaching of Shakespeare in Secondary Schools' (1907), and he is the only dramatist to be recommended for study at all four of the Association's recognised learning

[1] For a list of prose narrations in the style of the Lambs, see Introduction, note 42.

'stages'.[2] In his 1918 lecture 'The Teaching of English in the New Continuation Schools', it is reported that John Dover Wilson 'advocated going straight to Shakespeare', though he warned that '[b]oredom must be avoided at all costs; the students should leave school with happy memories of our greatest poet'.[3] That publishers recognized Shakespeare's privileged status in the wake of the Acts can be seen by the sheer number of school editions of Shakespeare's plays published around this time.[4] In his introduction to an 1899 edition of the Lambs' *Tales*, Andrew Lang complains about the teaching of Shakespeare in schools:

> Canon Ainger says: 'More and more is a knowledge of Shakspeare coming to be regarded as a necessary part of an Englishman's education.' Alas, it is not Shakspeare, but the notes of Editors that are now a necessary part, not of an Englishman's education, but of an English boy's 'cram,' for the purposes of examiners. [...] To be perfectly sick of Shakspeare, or rather of pedantries about Shakspeare, seems a natural result of modern education.[5]

Lang's comments provide a clue for the way Shakespeare was being taught in schools in the wake of the educational reforms, in spite of the English Association's condemnation of 'over-annotated editions with elaborate introductions, against which there is a wholesome

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[2] The English Association recommends *Julius Caesar*, *King Henry V*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* for study at Stage I (age 12-13 ½); *Twelfth Night*, *As You Like It*, *Richard III*, and *Macbeth* at Stage II (age 13 ½-15); *Henry IV, Parts I and II*, *The Tempest*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *Richard II*, and *Hamlet* for Stage III (age 15-16 ½); and *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, *Coriolanus*, and *The Winter's Tale* for Stage IV (age 16 ½-18). Contemporaries of Shakespeare such as Marlowe and Jonson are not recommended for study until Stage III (English Association, *English Literature in Schools: A List of Authors and Works for Successive Stages of Study*, English Association Pamphlets, 21 (London: The English Association, 1913)).

[3] J. Dover Wilson, 'The Teaching of English in the New Continuation Schools', in *The Teaching of English in Schools*, ed. by Edith J. Morley, English Association Pamphlets, 43 (London: English Association, 1919), pp. 30-32 (p. 31).

[4] School editions include Henry Norman Hudson, ed., *Plays of Shakespeare Selected and Prepared for Use in Schools, Clubs, Classes, and Families*, 3 vols (Boston: [n. pub.], 1872); C. H. Wykes, ed., *The Shakespeare Reader: Being Extracts from the Plays of Shakespeare* (London: Blackie and Son, 1879) and *Scenes from Shakespeare: Arranged for School Reading* (London: Blackie and Son, 1910); H. C. Bowen, ed., *The Shakespeare Reading Book: Being a Selection of Plays Abridged for the Use of Schools and Public Readings* (London: Cassell and Co., 1881); S. Brandram, ed., *Shakespeare: Certain Selected Plays Abridged for the Use of the Young* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1881) and *Selections from Shakespeare Suitable for Recitation* (London: Routledge, 1893); Charlotte Yonge, ed., *Shakespeare's Plays for Schools* (London: National Society's Depository, 1883-5); A. F. Miles, ed., *The Shakespeare Reciter* (London: Aldine, 1886); John and Evelyn Millard, eds, *Shakespeare for Recitation: Selections from the Plays, Arranged for the Use of Schools* (London: Sonnenschein and Co., 1894); Mary A. Woods, ed., *Scenes from Shakespeare for Use in Schools* (London: Macmillan & Co, 1898).

[5] Andrew Lang, 'Introduction', in Charles and Mary Lamb, *Tales from Shakspeare*, illus. by Robert Anning Bell (London: S. T. Freemantle, 1899), pp. vii-xxiv (pp. xii-xiii). The quotation is from Alfred Ainger, 'Introduction', in *Tales from Shakspeare*, ed. by Alfred Ainger (London: Macmillan and Co., 1879), pp. v-xiii (p. xiii).

reaction at the present time'.[6] Lang goes on to praise 'Lamb's delightful abstinence from "the learning of the subject"',[7] indicating an important distinction in this period between editions which were produced for educational purposes and those which had entertainment as the primary goal. The result of this is that late nineteenth-century children's editions of Shakespeare resemble either textbooks or collections of fairy tales. Into the former category fall students' editions of the Lambs' *Tales*, such as that edited by F.J. Furnivall in 1901, which included lengthy introductions, annotations, and historical details,[8] and the editions of Shakespeare's history plays produced by Arthur Quiller-Couch (1899) and Thomas Carter (1912), as well as those adapted by Harrison S. Morris in his 1893 continuation of the Lambs' *Tales*. As we shall see, these texts bore a close resemblance to contemporary history textbooks. Running parallel to these were the editions of Adelaide C. Gordon Sim (1894), E. Nesbit (1895), Fay Adams Britton (1896), Mary Macleod (1902), Constance and Mary Maud (1913) and several others, which followed the formula of the Lambs' *Tales* and which thematically and structurally resembled the nineteenth-century fairy tale, just as Mary Lamb had drawn on Perrault's *Contes moraux*, discussed in the previous chapter.[9] This can be seen in the titles of some of these editions, such as Macleod's *Shakespeare Story Book* and Britton's *Fairy Tales from Shakespeare*. Nesbit opens her edition with a fireside domestic scene in which her daughters are struggling through the text of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. In frustration, one of them says, 'you said it was a fairy tale, and we've read three pages, and there's nothing about fairies, not even a dwarf, or

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[6] English Association, *English Papers in Examinations for Pupils of School Age in England and Wales*, English Association Pamphlets, 37 (London: English Association, 1917), p.8. See also *English Literature in Schools: A List of Authors and Works for Successive Stages of Study* (1913).

[7] Lang, p. xxiv.

[8] See also *The Lamb Shakespeare for Young People: Based on Charles Lamb*, ed. by Israel Gollancz, illus. by Helen Stratton (London: Alexander Moring, 1904); Anon., *The Children's Shakespeare: Scenes from the Play, with Introductory Readings from Charles and Mary Lamb's 'Tales from Shakespeare'* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1910); *Tales from Shakespeare: Edited for the Use of Schools*, ed. by Edwin Ginn (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1915).

[9] On nineteenth-century fairy tales, see Jack Zipes, *When Dreams Came True: Classical Fairy Tales and their Tradition* (London: Routledge, 1999); Colin N. Manlove, *The Fantasy Literature of England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999).

a fairy god-mother'.[10] Nesbit instead tells them the story herself, after which her daughters convince her to retell more of Shakespeare's plays in prose form. The idea of *The Children's Shakespeare* originating in this scene of a family telling tales around a fire recalls the oral origins of many fairy and folk tales. This affinity with the fairy tale genre carries on through the stories themselves. For example, Nesbit conflates the three casket scenes in *The Merchant of Venice* into one, making that play's affinity with the fairy tale even more pronounced as each of Portia's three suitors attempts the test in succession.[11] Additionally, Nesbit's description of the fairies in her 'A Midsummer Night's Dream' is indebted to contemporary depictions of fairies:

> [The wood] was full of fairies, as most woods are, if one only had the eyes to see them, and in this wood on this night were the King and Queen of the fairies, Oberon and Titania. Now fairies are very wise people, but now and then they can be quite as foolish as mortal folk. Oberon and Titania, who might have been as happy as the days were long, had thrown away all their joy in a foolish quarrel. They never met without saying disagreeable things to each other, and scolded each other so dreadfully that all their little fairy followers, for fear, would creep into acorn cups and hide.[12]

The image of the fairies 'creeping into acorn cups' in particular calls to mind Cicely Mary Barker's *Flower Fairies* series, the first book of which was published in 1923.[13] Sim's version, meanwhile, draws on folkloric traditions of mischievous fairies:

> Fairies have tempers, like other people, and if good beautiful fairies get cross and passionate, and give way to bad feelings, they grow by degrees into wicked fairies, and lose their looks and get hump-backed, and wrinkled and ugly; and then they leave off doing kind things, and amuse themselves by spoiling christening parties, and giving children horrid presents, and changing handsome young princes into beasts and princesses into cats, and altogether making themselves very troublesome to everyone.[14]

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[10] Nesbit, 'Introduction' (1897), p. 5.
[11] Nesbit, 'The Merchant of Venice', in *Beautiful Stories from Shakespeare for Children* (London: Hertel, Jenkins & Co., 1907), pp. 183-93 (pp. 186-89). References to Nesbit's adaptations are to this edition unless otherwise noted. On the fairy-tale structure of this plot strand, see Catherine Belsey, *Why Shakespeare?* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), especially pp. 149-70. On the casket sequence Belsey notes, 'Things in the popular narrative tradition commonly come in threes [...]. By the time we reach the moment of selection, Bassanio's success in choosing one of the three caskets seems a foregone conclusion. As the third of Portia's suitors to risk the consequences, the poor man competes with princes; in accordance with the conventions of fairy tale, all he has to do is make the most unassuming choice.' (p. 151).
[12] Nesbit, 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', in *Beautiful Stories from Shakespeare for Children*, pp. 19-32 (p. 21).
[13] Cicely Mary Barker, *Flower Fairies of the Spring* (London: Blackie & Son, 1923).
[14] Sim, 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', p. 14.

This description has more in common with contemporary fairy stories for children than it does with Shakespeare's play: there are clear allusions here to several well-known fairy tales, including 'Rumplestiltskin' ('spoiling christening parties') 'Sleeping Beauty' ('giving children horrid presents'), and 'Beauty and the Beast' and 'The Frog Prince' ('changing handsome young princes into beasts'). Meanwhile, Laura Tosi notes that in the hands of Victorian and Edwardian adapters, *King Lear*'s King of France often becomes an archetypal Prince Charming who comes to Cordelia's rescue.[15]

Virtually every author producing a children's edition of Shakespeare at this time acknowledges a debt to the Lambs, praising them in terms almost as reverential as those normally reserved for Shakespeare himself. Furnivall writes, 'Where Mary Lamb has altered Shakspere in small points [...] I have let the changes stand. The Lambs' work has become a classic, and many folk will think any addition to it an impertinence'.[16] Furnivall implies that while it was acceptable for the Lambs to alter their source material to suit their audience, altering their adaptation is unacceptable. Nesbit too bases the structure of her retellings on the Lambs' *Tales*: 'Even with the recollection of Lamb's tales to help me I found it hard to tell the "Midsummer Night's Dream" in words that these little ones could understand'.[17] Nesbit's acknowledgement of the Lambs' influence on her text is not surprising in light of the fact that she adapts the same twenty plays that the Lambs had narrated, even *Timon of Athens* (an unusual choice even for the Lambs). Sidney Lee, in his introduction to the 1911 edition of Mary Macleod's *Shakespeare Story-book* expresses more explicitly what he sees as the deficiencies of the Lambs' edition:

> Frequently in Mary Lamb's work pertinent intricacies of plot are blurred by a silent omission of details, knowledge of which is essential to a complete understanding of the Shakespearean theme. [...] Elsewhere in the

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[15] Laura Tosi, '*King Lear* for Children: From Drama to Narrative', paper presented at World Shakespeare Congress, Prague, 22 July 2011.
[16] F. J. Furnivall, 'General Introduction', in Mary and Charles Lamb, *Tales from Shakespeare*, ed. by F. J. Furnivall, illus. by Harold Copping, 2 vols (London: Raphael Tuck & Sons, 1901), I, pp. vii-xiii (p. xiii).
[17] Nesbit, 'Introduction' (1897), p. 6.

> comedies, and even in Charles Lamb's own work on the tragedies, Shakespeare's text is at times misinterpreted. Consequently, however fascinating in themselves the narratives of the Lambs may prove to young readers, Lamb's Tales offer them a very fragmentary knowledge of the scope of Shakespeare's plots.[18]

Authors such as Harrison S. Morris, Arthur Quiller-Couch, and Thomas Carter, all of whom were attempting to supplement the *Tales* by adapting those plays that the Lambs did not, begin from the assumption that no children's edition can equal that of the Lambs, although they remain unspecific about what precisely is to be valued in the Lambs. The authors insist that they are attempting to supplement rather than supersede the *Tales*. Morris is particularly self-deprecating, assuring the reader that it is his intent

> to supplement the uncompleted work of Charles and Mary Lamb, not with tales the equal of their own in grace, wisdom, or critical penetration, but with such as at least may be accepted as a help to that part of Shakspeare, and no unimportant part it is, left untouched by the original authors.[19]

Likewise, Carter and Quiller-Couch each acknowledge the pre-eminence of the Lambs, apologize lest they be seen as trying to imitate them, and give the excuse that they are merely narrating those plays which the Lambs did not. Carter writes, 'It is inevitable, in retelling the stories of Shakespeare's English Kings, that we should recall the names of Charles and Mary Lamb.'[20] Acknowledging their status as a 'classic', he reminds the reader that the histories 'were not included in the *Tales*, hence there is opportunity for an endeavour to provide a prose version of this attractive section of the great plays'.[21] Quiller-Couch similarly asserts, 'although I have taken a title very like theirs [the Lambs'], my

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[18] Sidney Lee, 'Introduction', in Mary Macleod, *The Shakespeare Story-book*, 4th edn (London: Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., 1911), pp. v-xi (pp. vii-viii).
[19] Harrison S. Morris, 'Preface', in Charles and Mary Lamb and Harrison S. Morris, *Tales from Shakespeare: With a Continuation by Harrison S. Morris*, 4 vols (London: J. M. Dent & Co., [1894]), I, 3-5 (p. 4).
[20] Thomas Carter, 'Preface', in *Shakespeare's Stories of the English Kings*, illus. by Gertrude Demain Hammond (London: G. G. Harrap & Co., 1912), pp. v-vi (p. v).
[21] Ibid. Although Carter claims that this edition should not be seen as an attempt to supplant the Lambs because it includes only the history plays, Carter had published just two years previously an edition of Shakespeare's comedies and tragedies retold for children, which featured several of the same plays as the Lambs' *Tales* (Thomas Carter, *Stories from Shakespeare Retold*, illus. by Gertrude Demain Hammond (London: G. G. Harrap & Co., 1910)).

attempt has not been to round off or tag a conclusion to their inimitable work',[22] though he is less modest than Morris or Carter about the value of his edition:

> whereas they had only to rehearse the plot of *The Merchant of Venice*, for instance, and the result was a pretty and, for their readers, a novel tale, if I contented myself with doing this to the historical plays I should be telling children little more than they already know from their text-books.[23]

Quiller-Couch implies that his work is more worthy than that of the Lambs because it has been more difficult to produce. At the same time, he insists that his is a different kind of history from the one that his readers are likely to get out of textbooks, which raises questions about the nature of history and its place in education.

Richard Schoch links the Victorian treatment of Shakespeare's English history plays with a 'desire to recover (or construct) the medieval past as a unifying moment of national origins'.[24] Children's versions of these plays combine the imperative for children to read and understand Shakespeare with that of learning about their country's 'national origins'. Charlotte M. Yonge writes that 'historical tales' are 'of great assistance in making it evident that the actors in history are not mere names with dates attached [...] but that they have been flesh and blood beings like ourselves'.[25] In these texts, Shakespeare, rather than his sources, is held up as the foremost authority on medieval English history: national history, as told by England's National Poet. After introducing the baby Elizabeth at the end of his 'King Henry the Eighth' and quoting Thomas Cranmer's final prophetic speech from Shakespeare's play in its entirety,[26] Carter ends his edition with a final pronouncement on the legacy of Shakespeare's histories:

> Thus with stately word of prophetic insight were the spacious days of great Elizabeth ushered in, and the curtain falls upon the magnificent series of

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[22] Arthur Quiller-Couch, 'Preface', in *Historical Tales from Shakespeare*, 2nd edn (London: Edward Arnold, 1910), pp. iii-vi (p. iii). References to Quiller-Couch's adaptations are to this edition unless otherwise noted.
[23] Quiller-Couch, 'Preface', p. iv.
[24] Schoch, *Shakespeare's Victorian Stage: Performing History in the Theatre of Charles Kean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 115.
[25] Charlotte M. Yonge, *What Books to Lend and What to Give* (London: National Society's Depository, [n. d.]), p. 55.
[26] *All Is True* [*Henry VIII*], V.4.14-62.

> historical plays which the kingly genius of Shakespeare has presented as a precious heritage to Britain's sons and daughters.[27]

The editions of Carter and Quiller-Couch serve a double purpose: to foster a love of Shakespeare and a sense of pride in their nation's history and international status at a time when the future of Britain's international position was becoming increasingly insecure. Zara Steiner and Keith Neilson note that the Boer War 'provoked fears that imperial links would be further weakened and that Britain lacked the strength to maintain them'; as a result, '[c]ontemporaries viewed their international position with apprehension but with some pride'.[28] Furnivall describes Shakespeare as 'the pride of England, the bond between her and all the nations who speak and understand her tongue',[29] implying that Shakespeare could serve England's imperial interests abroad as well as at home. This conception of the unifying power of Shakespeare recurs in Quiller-Couch's retelling of *Henry V*, which uses the comparatively diverse *British* (as opposed to English) army in the play to highlight the perceived unity of the contemporary British Empire:

> But the ranks were not made up of Englishmen only. Scotsmen, Irishmen, Welshmen had taken service with Henry as common soldiers and petty officers, and the shouts and calls of command under the walls of Harfleur made up a babel of dialects comic enough for those who listened to it, but more than merely amusing to us who know of what this was the beginning; how men of these races have since fought side by side, or back to back, with what traditions of glory and with what splendid results.[30]

Imperialism was a common theme in late Victorian boys' fiction, and Patrick Dunae notes that toward the end of the century adventure stories for boys became increasingly 'insular and xenophobic'[31] after the disappointment of the Boer War and subsequent anxieties over German military power and fears of invasion:

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[27] Carter, 'King Henry the Eighth', in *Shakespeare's Stories of the English Kings*, pp. 262-83 (p. 283).
[28] Zara S. Steiner and Keith Neilson, *Britain and the Origins of the First World War*, 2nd edn (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 5, 25.
[29] F. J. Furnivall, 'When Shakespeare Was a Boy', in E[dith] Nesbit and F. J. Furnivall, *Children's Stories from Shakespeare*, ed. by Edric Vredenburg, illus. by John Henry Bacon, Harold Copping, and Arthur A. Dixon (London: Raphael Tuck and Sons, 1912), pp. 7-11 (p. 7).
[30] Quiller-Couch, 'King Henry the Fifth', in *Historical Tales from Shakespeare*, pp. 183-213 (p. 194).
[31] Patrick A. Dunae, 'Boys' Literature and the Idea of Empire, 1870-1914', *Victorian Studies* 24 (1980), 105-21 (p. 120).

> Vigilance was the key word in boys' literature during the years which immediately preceded the Great War, and readers must have realised that they were being exhorted to prepare for the defence of Great Britain [...]. Adventure stories provided boys not only with escapist fiction, but also with a sense of history and an awareness of their imperial heritage.[32]

Thus the need for young Britons to know and appreciate their country's history (or a version of it) took on an even greater importance around the turn of the century. In his version of *Henry VIII*, Thomas Carter uses the sixteenth-century Spanish and Portuguese colonization of the Americas to remind his readers of Britain's naval prowess in the nineteenth century:

> In 1492 Spanish and Portuguese sailors had opened the way to a new world across the seas, and the marvellous portals of colonial Empire were being flung open to the most enterprising spirits of the kingdoms of Europe. France and Spain were the first to take advantage of the opportunities presented to them. England had yet to learn that her greatest power and mightiest rule were to lie upon the seas and beyond them.[33]

Editions of Shakespeare's histories for children are examples of what Reynolds identifies as a 'tendency in boys' fiction of the 1880s and 1890s to recreate the glories of England's past and to see them as the fruits of heroic deeds by men of action'.[34] A prime example of this is the Battle of Agincourt in Carter's *Henry V*. He describes the preparations of both armies with a degree of attention to historical detail not present in Shakespeare's play, down to the number of archers and lancers on each side.[35] Like Quiller-Couch, he reprints Henry's St Crispin's Day speech[36] in full before moving on to the battle itself:

> The eloquent words of King Henry aroused the enthusiasm of his soldiers to full height and with a loud shot the bowmen ran some paces forward and poured a thick flight of arrows into the front lines of the French knights. [...] With hoarse cries of "God for England" and "Harry," the archers flung aside their bows and seized sword, axe, mace, or bill, and bursting like a torrent from behind the barricade, they dashed upon their enemies. It was a struggle of unexampled fierceness. [...] Victory sat upon the helmets of the English that day, and a terrible destruction overwhelmed their enemies.[37]

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[32] Dunae, pp. 120-21.
[33] Carter, 'King Henry the Eighth', p. 264.
[34] Reynolds *Girls Only?*, p. 58.
[35] Carter, 'King Henry the Fifth', in *Shakespeare's Stories of the English Kings*, pp. 174-206 (pp. 191-92).
[36] *Henry V*, IV.3.18-67.
[37] Carter, 'King Henry the Fifth', p. 201.

Passages such as this are designed to demonstrate to the reader the thrill of battle and the glory of fighting for one's country, in the hope that he will be prepared to do the same one day.[38]

Shakespeare was frequently invoked in this period as an authority on English history,[39] and young readers of these editions are encouraged to turn to his plays for historical information, even though the authors acknowledge that Shakespeare's plays themselves present inaccurate and highly biased accounts of the historical periods they narrate.[40] This creates a tension, present in each of these editions, between the desire to present an accurate account of English history on the one hand, and a faithful retelling of Shakespeare's plots on the other. Even Nesbit, whose edition makes no claims to historical accuracy, feels a need to distinguish between the historical Macbeth and Shakespeare's character:

> When a person is asked to tell the story of Macbeth, he can tell two stories. One is of a man called Macbeth who came to the throne of Scotland by a crime in the year of our Lord 1039, and reigned justly and well, on the whole, for fifteen years or more. This story is part of Scottish history. The other story is from a place called Imagination; it is gloomy and wonderful, and you shall hear it.[41]

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[38] *Henry V* has frequently been popular during times of war or national crisis, a trend that continues to this day. It is no coincidence, for example, that the two most prominent film versions of the play, those of Laurence Olivier and Kenneth Branagh, were released during the Second World War and just after the Falklands War, respectively (*Henry V*, dir. by Laurence Olivier (Two Cities Films, 1944); *Henry V*, dir. by Kenneth Branagh (MGM, 1989)). Olivier's film opens with a dedication to 'the Commandos and Airborne Troops of Great Britain, the spirit of whose ancestors it has been humbly attempted to recapture in some ensuing scenes', and Smith reports that in 1944-45 'many schools hired cinemas to show it to their pupils *en masse*' (Emma Smith, 'Introduction', in *King Henry V*, ed. by Emma Smith, Shakespeare in Production (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 1-79 (p. 53)).

[39] The perception that Shakespeare's plays could be an adequate replacement for history books was a common one in the Victorian period. In 1858 *The Era* observed, 'Many students [of] history, and amongst others the great Duke of Marlborough, have admitted that their knowledge of our own annals was derived principally from a study of those celebrated plays; and so generally truthful is Shakspere in his dramatic transformations, that he has seldom led those who have trusted to his guidance into a chronological or personal error of any importance.' (Anon., 'Royal Princess's Revival of *King John*', *The Era*, 24 October 1858, p. 11. Quoted in Schoch, p. 10.)

[40] For the relationship of Shakespeare's texts to their historical sources, see Geoffrey Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare* (London: Routledge, 1957); Peter Saccio, *Shakespeare's English Kings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977); Phyllis Rackin, *Stages of History: Shakespeare's English Chronicles* (London: Routledge, 1991).

[41] Nesbit, 'Macbeth', in *Beautiful Stories from Shakespeare for Children*, pp. 153-67 (p. 153).

Cowden Clarke likewise notes that in writing 'The Thane's Daughter', her prequel to *Macbeth*, 'names and facts have been used; but with as little regard for their strict place in history, as was paid by the poet himself, who took the story from the old chronicles, and modelled it after his own fashion'.[42] Quiller-Couch excuses historical inaccuracy on the grounds of character and narrative continuity, insisting that Shakespeare was attempting to tell

> a story of men's motives and feelings, as well as of the actual events they gave rise to or were derived from. [...] The tale's the thing; else what becomes of Faulconbridge, Falstaff, Fluellen? In general, therefore, I have made it my rule to follow Shakespeare so long as he tells his story with fairness and justice.[43]

Both Quiller-Couch and Carter devote a great deal of space to Falstaff, despite his tangential relationship to the historical events that the *Henry IV* plays narrate.[44] Faulconbridge (more widely known as the 'Bastard'), who is given only a passing reference in Holinshed's *Chronicles*, is central to the plot of Shakespeare's *King John* and was considered the play's protagonist at the time Quiller-Couch was writing.[45] Quiller-Couch therefore highlights one of the key issues in adapting Shakespeare's history plays: the impossibility of remaining faithful to Shakespeare without compromising the historical value of the edition. So while knowledge of both Shakespeare and English history is necessary to an Englishman's education, the two subjects are acknowledged not to be as complementary as they initially appear.

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[42] Cowden Clarke, 'Preface' (1851), p. 3.
[43] Quiller-Couch, 'Preface', p. v.
[44] It is probable that the character of Falstaff was called 'Sir John Oldcastle' when *1 Henry IV* was first performed. The historical Oldcastle 'had served the young Prince Henry in his Welsh command', but otherwise bears little resemblance to Shakespeare's character, which seems to have been derived primarily from the Oldcastle character in the anonymous *Famous Victories of Henry V*, published in 1598 though entered in the Stationers' Register in 1594 and probably performed in the late 1580s (David Scott Kastan, 'Introduction', in *King Henry IV Part 1*, ed. by David Scott Kastan, Arden Shakespeare Third Series (London: A & C Black, 2002), pp. 1-131 (pp. 51-62). See also Appendix 1, 'The Sources of *1 Henry IV*', pp. 339-44.
[45] The character is given the speech prefix '*Bast.*' in the first folio and most modern editors have followed this. For an account of the role of the Bastard in the play's critical and stage history, see Julia C. Van de Water, 'The Bastard in *King John*', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 11 (1960), 137-46; Eugene Waith, '*King John* and the Drama of History', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 29 (1978), 192-211.

As much as Quiller-Couch admires Shakespeare's fictional Faulconbridge, Falstaff, and Fluellen, he cannot bring himself to reproduce Shakespeare's characterization of Joan of Arc at a time when she was being considered for sainthood.[46] He writes:

> It would be a great pleasure to believe that Shakespeare was always fair and just; to be convinced (with the illustrious poet who allows me to dedicate my book to him) that Shakespeare had no hand in the slanderous portrait of Joan of Arc sent down to us under his name. But, convinced or not, no writer with a conscience could repeat that portrait for the children in whom are bound our hopes of a better England than we shall see.[47]

Carter does not allude to Shakespeare's portrayal of Joan, but is clear that he is likewise dissatisfied with it; he describes her as 'a holy maid, a prophetess' who 'carried herself with more dignity than a queen and was full of the mysterious power which is born of spiritual fervour and strong faith in God'.[48] For these authors, Joan's religious devotion is more important than either national loyalties or faithfulness to Shakespeare. Carter also attempts to ensure that his readers will not come away from his book with an unfair image of the historical Richard III:

> As a King of England it is unfortunate for Richard that the portrait which will live for ever in the eyes of men is that one which was drawn by the dramatist rather than that which lies buried in the dusty histories of the records of England, but it can be said with fairness that the public records of his reign exhibit the historical King Richard in a very different light.[49]

However, as with Nesbit's 'Macbeth', for Carter this is an instance where the less accurate, but more interesting fictional character is preferable to the historical figure on whom he is based.[50] He states that it is 'with the sinister figure of Richard as drawn by the dramatist

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[46] Joan of Arc was beatified in 1909 by Pope Pius X and canonized as a saint by Pope Benedict XV in 1920 (Herbert Thurston, 'St. Joan of Arc', in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. by Kevin Knight (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910), VIII, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/08409c.htm> [accessed 17/5/10]).

[47] Quiller-Couch, 'Preface', p. v. The 'illustrious poet' to whom the edition is dedicated in Algernon Charles Swinburne, 'who with the nearest claim among living men to approach Shakespeare confidently has with the best right set them the example of reverent and humble study' (p. v).

[48] Carter, 'King Henry the Sixth', in *Shakespeare's Stories of the English Kings*, pp. 207-38 (pp. 213-15).

[49] Carter, 'King Richard the Third', in *Shakespeare's Stories of the English Kings*, pp. 239-59 (p. 241).

[50] This is in keeping with Shakespeare's manufacturing of a constructed and problematized metatheatrical figure in Richard III, as opposed to a historical one (see E. Pearlman, 'The Invention of Richard of Gloucester', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 43 (1992), 410-29; Ian Frederick Moulton, '"A Monster Great Deformed": The Unruly Masculinity of Richard III', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 47 (1996), 251-68).

that the play of Richard III. has to do',[51] and proceeds to paint the picture of the man who 'showed himself to be something almost beyond humanity, as a protagonist of Evil against Good'.[52] Carter's meticulously researched historical adaptation here provokes a meditation on character and genre, as Carter identifies Shakespeare's Richard as the successor to the Vice of the morality play, rather than as a historical figure.[53] It is worth noting that discussions of genre and period were also coming to the fore in scholarly discussions of Shakespeare, in the wake of A. C. Bradley's *Shakespearean Tragedy* (1904). In 1908 the English Association instructed teachers that in the highest forms,

> [a]ttention should be drawn to the special characteristics of Shakespeare's comedies, histories, and tragedies, to the change in his outlook and temper, in his style and versification; and some introduction may be given to Shakespearian criticism and bibliography.[54]

The English Association specifically recommends Bradley's work as a classroom companion to Shakespeare's tragedies,[55] and it is therefore unsurprising that Carter chooses to present the character of Richard in terms of his dramatic origins.

The relationship between Shakespeare and history in late Victorian children's literature is complex: on the one hand, the adaptations of Carter and Quiller-Couch present Shakespeare's plays as accurate accounts of the lives they portray, and draw attention to instances where Shakespeare alters historical fact. On the other hand, it is clear that children's history books borrow from Shakespeare's plays. Take for example Lady Callcott's *Little Arthur's History of England* (1877), which Lang describes as aiding children's historical studies in the same way that the Lambs' *Tales* are intended to aid their

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[51] Ibid.
[52] Carter, 'King Richard the Third', p. 240.
[53] Shakespeare has Richard explicitly align himself with 'the formal Vice, Iniquity' (*Richard III*, III.1.82), and James R. Siemon notes that this represents a departure from '[t]he "historical" or "tragical" Richard of the sources and analogues' (James R. Siemon, 'Introduction', in *King Richard III*, ed. by James R. Siemon, Arden Shakespeare Third Series (London: Methuen Drama, 2009), pp. 1-123 (p. 42)).
[54] English Association, *The Teaching of Shakespeare in Schools*, English Association Pamphlets, 7 (London: English Association, 1908), p. 5.
[55] 'Tragedy, as seen in Shakespeare and Marlowe, may be studied, and both illuminated by the reading of Dr. Bradley's *Shakespearian Tragedy*' (G. H. Bracken, 'The Teaching of Literature to Pupils above the Age of Fourteen', in *The Teaching of English in Schools*, pp. 24-7 (p. 26)).

understanding of Shakespeare.[56] Callcott purports to present her young readers with a balanced view of history; however, she also incorporates popular Shakespearean set pieces, such as Arthur's pleas to Hubert in *King John* and the description of the murder of the sleeping princes in of *Richard III*, both of which are illustrated.[57] Additionally, in *Little Arthur's England*, the reigns of Henry VI and Edward IV take up three chapters, which are divided at the same points in the narrative as are Shakespeare's three *Henry VI* plays. That Shakespeare's histories are on her mind is clear in her description of the Battle of Agincourt, in which she promises her readers, 'One day, when you are older, you will read a most delightful play written by the poet Shakspeare about this battle, and some other parts of King Henry the Fifth's life.'[58] Charlotte Yonge, in her *Stories of English History for the Little Ones*, contrasts the English and French camps on the eve of Agincourt in a passage that seems to be adapted directly from Shakespeare:

> At night, however, the English had solemn prayers, and made themselves ready, and the king walked from tent to tent to see that each man was in his place; while, on the other hand, the French were feasting and revelling, and settling what they would do to the English when they had made them prisoners.[59]

In each of these instances, however, it is unclear whether historians for children are borrowing directly from Shakespeare, or merely drawing on the same national myths.[60] In this sense, Quiller-Couch's statement that to recount the plots of Shakespeare's history plays would tell readers 'little more than they already know from their text-books' is true, in that contemporary textbooks borrowed heavily from Shakespeare.

Each of these adapters is conscious of being part of the education process. Quiller-Couch states that his intention is 'not to extract pleasant and profitable stories, as one

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[56] Lang 'Introduction', pp. xxiii-xxiv.
[57] Lady [Maria] Callcott, *Little Arthur's History of England* (London: John Murray, 1877), pp. 73, 127. Cf. *King John*, IV.1; *Richard III*, IV.3.1-21.
[58] Callcott, p. 113.
[59] Charlotte M. Yonge, *Stories of English History for the Little Ones* (London: Marcus Ward & Co., [n.d.]), p. 103. Cf. *Henry V*, IV.1-2.
[60] For example, the scene between Arthur and Hubert also appears in the anonymous play *The Troublesome Raigne of Iohn King of England* (London: Sampson Clarke, 1591).

might (and as the Lambs did) from the masterpieces of Shakespeare's invention, but [...] to persuade my young audience that history (in spite of their natural distrust) is by no means a dull business'.[61] Carter attempts to weave the lessons of history into his narrative by making a connection between past and present, as he does here at the beginning of his 'King Henry the Sixth':

> As a new generation presses forward to the study of problems which present themselves, new factors demand an answer, and adjustments have to be made. Kingdoms and peoples cannot stand still, and from the ranks of the greatest number, that is, the common people, new forces are constantly emerging which require a careful study and handling on the part of kings and nobles. It was so in England at the time of the death of King Henry V., it is so in the England of today.[62]

He also weaves historical commentary into his retellings of the plays, as when he explains why '[i]n many ways the times were favourable to the action of a strong usurper' in the opening paragraphs of his 'Richard II'.[63] Carter's goal is not only to narrate Shakespeare's stories to his readers, but also to provide them with a complete account of the English monarchy, from Cymbeline to Elizabeth:

> Beginning with the period before the Roman invader came to our shores, and passing through the times of Plantagenet and Tudor to the opening days of Elizabeth, Shakespeare has presented in his wonderful series an almost complete view of the great figures of English history, indicating with a sure touch the movements, crises, and turning-points of our national development.[64]

Although *Cymbeline* is not normally regarded as a history play, Carter uses it to give an account of life in pre-Roman Britain.[65] Carter also addresses those reigns which Shakespeare does not, in order to bridge the gaps between his *Stories*. So, for example, his 'King Henry the Eighth' opens with an account of the reign of Henry VII and the events in the reign of Henry VIII which occur before the action of the play.[66] Similarly, the beginning of his 'Richard II' attempts to account for the monarchy between Henry III, who is crowned

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[61] Quiller-Couch, 'Preface', pp. iii-iv.
[62] Carter, 'King Henry the Sixth'', p. 209.
[63] Carter, 'King Richard the Second', in *Shakespeare's Stories of the English Kings*, pp. 83-115 (p. 84).
[64] Carter, 'Preface' (1912), p. v.
[65] Carter, 'Cymbeline', in *Shakespeare's Stories of the English Kings*, pp. 11-48 (pp. 11-13).
[66] Carter, 'King Henry the Eighth', pp. 262-65.

at the end of Shakespeare's *King John*, and Richard.[67] It is clear that each of these texts both recognizes and responds to the aims of late nineteenth-century educational reforms, and that 'cultural literacy' here means something different from what it did to the Lambs and the Bowdlers. In the English Association literature discussed above, the ability to read and understand Shakespeare is tied to a sense of national identity, and it is on this level that young readers are addressed in adaptations of Shakespeare for children at this time.

In addition to the overt educational aims of contemporary adaptations, several new editions of the Lambs' *Tales* were promoted as study guides or classroom aides. Perhaps the most ambitious of these editions is that of F. J. Furnivall, published in 1901. Furnivall was a prolific editor of Shakespeare's plays, and his edition of the Lambs is a scholarly one, complete with introductions, footnotes, and a biography of Shakespeare. Furnivall provides an extensive introduction to each of Shakespeare's comedies and tragedies, including those not adapted by the Lambs.[68] He also includes historical and biographical details for his young scholars, not only on Shakespeare, but also on the Lambs. In addition to describing the early life and later careers of the siblings, he reprints in full the account in the *Morning Chronicle* of 'the inquest on old Mrs. Lamb' in September 1796.[69] He excludes the English history plays, but summarizes the plots of those comedies and tragedies not adapted by the Lambs. The tales are rearranged, first according to genre, and then in conjectural order of composition:

> Another point of interest in the study of Shakspere had not come to the front in the Lambs' time as it has done since; and that is, the growth of Shakspere's mind, and the change in the subjects which interested him and in the plots on which he founded his plays. [...] Mixed up as the tales of the Plays are in the Lambs' edition, no chance is given of perceiving this change, this progress, in Shakspere's mind and art.[70]

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[67] Carter, 'King Richard the Second', pp. 83-84.
[68] Furnivall omits *Titus Andronicus*, claiming that it was 'only retouched by Shakspere' and that even if he had written it, it 'is a story too repulsive to be told in a book for boys and girls' (Furnivall, 'General Introduction', p. xiin).
[69] Furnivall, 'General Introduction', pp. vii-viiin. On 22 September 1796, Mary Lamb stabbed her mother in the heart in a fit of insanity.
[70] Furnivall, 'General Introduction', pp. xi-xii.

Furnivall makes a point of basing his edition on the most recent scholarship, in this case on Edward Dowden's identification of four 'periods' of Shakespeare's writing career.[71] In assuming that the arrangement of the Lambs' *Tales* is random, Furnivall ignores the artistic merits of their organization, discussed in the previous chapter. Because he writes for future students of Shakespeare, rather than for young readers who might enjoy the plays on the level of plot, as the Lambs did, Furnivall assumes that they will prefer the new arrangement. He also makes it clear when he believes that certain passages were not written by Shakespeare, as in *Timon of Athens* and *Pericles*. In the case of the latter, he follows an established critical tradition of attributing only the last three acts to Shakespeare,[72] though his only reason seems to be his perception of the artistic inferiority of the first two acts: 'after you've read the poor stuff of the first two acts, and the Chorus to the third, you recognise a change, and know at once that you are in Shakspere,—and Shakspere in full power'.[73] Mary Lamb omits the sequence in which Pericles discovers that Antiochus has committed incest with his daughter,[74] merely alluding to 'a discovery which the prince had made of a shocking deed which the emperor had done in secret'.[75] Similarly, Nesbit's version of the play begins, 'Pericles, the Prince of Tyre, was unfortunate enough to

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[71] Edward Dowden, *Shakespeare: A Critical Study of His Mind and Art* (London: Henry S. King, 1875). The English Association, while discouraging teaching from highly annotated editions such as Furnivall's, also states that the teacher of Shakespeare 'must map out "periods"' in Shakespeare's career (*The Teaching of Shakespeare in Schools*, p. 1).

[72] In 1738 George Lillo adapted the last three acts of *Pericles* into a short drama called *Marina*, claiming that the 'mean scenes' of the first two acts were 'unequal' to Shakespeare's genius (George Lillo, *Marina: A Play, of Three Acts, Taken from Pericles, Prince of Tyre* (London: [n.pub.], 1738). Quoted in S. Wellwood, *Marina: A Dramatic Romance, Being the Shakespearian Portion of the Tragedy of 'Pericles'* (London: Grant Richards, 1902), p. 2). In 1874 F. G. Fleay used metrical tests to separate Shakespeare's scenes (again taken to be the last three acts) from the others and printed the allegedly Shakespearean portions for Furnivall's *New Shakspere Society* as *The Strange and Worthy Accidents in the Birth and Life of Marina* (*The New Shakspere Society's Transactions: 1874* (London: Trübner & Co., [1874]), pp. 211-41). See also Fleay, 'On the Play of *Pericles*', in *The New Shakspere Society's Transactions: 1874*, pp. 195-209; Furnivall, 'Discussion on *Pericles*', in *The New Shakspere Society's Transactions: 1874*, pp. 252-53). Yet another version of *Marina*, based on Fleay's findings, was written by S. Wellwood in 1902 (cited above). Furnivall also cites a private conversation with Alfred, Lord Tennyson in which the latter stated his conviction that Shakespeare had written 'only the last three acts of it, less the prose scenes and the Gower choruses and epilogue' (Furnivall, 'Pericles', in *Tales from Shakespeare*, ed. by Furnivall, II, 199-201 (p. 199).

[73] Furnivall, 'Pericles', p. 199. Suzanne Gossett, however, notes that 'the first two acts of the play, usually alleged to be inferior and by someone other than Shakespeare, are more satisfactorily printed' (Suzanne Gossett, 'Introduction', in *Pericles*, ed. by Suzanne Gossett, Arden Shakespeare Third Series (London: Thomson Learning, 2004), pp. 1-163 (p. 16)).

[74] *Pericles*, Scenes 1-3.

[75] [M. Lamb], 'Pericles, Prince of Tyre', p. 287.

make an enemy of Antiochus, the powerful and wicked King of Antioch'.[76] However, both retain the other disputed scenes.

There is little doubt that Furnivall's edition capitalizes on both the reputation of the Lambs and the growing market for school editions of Shakespeare. His own economic situation seems to have been strained, and this may have been a motivating factor in his edition of the Lambs.[77] Interestingly, in his introduction, he seems to conclude, like Lang, that children are better off reading Shakespeare's plays themselves, rather than through an intermediary like Mary or Charles Lamb, particularly when it comes to the comedy:

> The odd thing is, that two such humourful folk as Mary and Charles Lamb were, two who so enjoyed Shakspere's fun, made up their minds to keep all that fun (or almost all) out of his plays when they told the stories of them to boys and girls who so like fun too. [...] I can't help thinking that most boys would like the fun put into the Tales, and the stories cut shorter; but they can get it all in the plays themselves, so there's no harm done.[78]

This assertion brings up several questions, which remain unanswered: for example, if the reader can 'get it all in the plays themselves', what purpose does Furnivall's edition in fact serve? While his aim seems to be to provide an introduction to Shakespeare for the young student, he never explains why he has produced an edition of the Lambs rather than an edition of Shakespeare. This is especially bewildering given his determination to provide the reader with summaries of passages that the Lambs have omitted, as the assumption seems to be that an unabridged text is preferable. The reason for these contradictions within the text seems to lie in Furnivall's confused sense of his intended readership.

Furnivall's introductory material does not address the question of readership, and the edition itself is somewhat self-contradictory in this respect. In his introduction to 'Cymbeline', he informs the reader that

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[76] Nesbit, 'Pericles', in *Beautiful Stories from Shakespeare for Children*, pp. 119-28 (p. 119).
[77] Furnivall 'lived in near-poverty for decades' and 'was compelled to exist on what little money he could bring in by writing and editing' (William S. Peterson, 'Furnivall, Frederick James (1825–1910)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn 2007), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33298> [accessed 26 May 2010]).
[78] Furnivall, 'General Introduction', p. xi.

> [t]he source of the historical legend in 'Cymbeline' is Holinshed's 'Chronicles,' though he uses but little of it. The Iachimo story, with its artifice and intrigue, is, of course, Italian; it comes from Boccaccio's 'Decameron,' the ninth novel of the second day, the tale of Bernabo Lomellini of Genoa. The story is also in an old French romance and mystery-play, and it was afterwards in the English 'Westward for Smelts' (1620), but there is no evidence that there was a translation existing earlier for Shakspere to use.[79]

When it comes to the Imogen plot, he writes that it may have come 'from the Fairy-tale of Snow-white',[80] and devotes the following two pages to recounting the story of this fairy tale so that the reader may see the parallels between the two stories.[81] Furnivall's implied reader, therefore, is one who prefers to read Shakespeare's plays in a simplified form, and yet is more familiar with Boccaccio's *Decameron* than with 'Snow White'. This is symptomatic of the contradictions inherent in an edition like Furnivall's. Its underlying assumption, as with all prose editions of Shakespeare, is that translating Shakespeare into simple narrative prose will render his plays more appealing to less advanced readers. On the other hand, the extent of Furnivall's annotations leads one to believe that the edition is intended for more advanced students of Shakespeare.

Shakespeare and the Social Education of Boys and Girls

Children's Shakespeares in the late nineteenth century, like the majority of children's literature published at the time, were marketed specifically to either girls or boys. This is in part a reflection of the increasing segregation of schools according to sex toward the end of the century. Kimberley Reynolds notes the 'dialectical relationship between juvenile publishing and the expansion of education' in the late nineteenth century and observes that 'separate literatures and syllabuses were designed and assigned according to class and sex'.[82] By the end of the century, Reynolds notes, publishers had recognized the potential of

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[79] Furnivall, 'Cymbeline', in *Tales from Shakespeare*, ed. by Furnivall, II, 233-38 (pp. 236-37).
[80] Furnivall, 'Cymbeline', p. 237.
[81] Furnivall, 'Cymbeline', pp. 237-38.
[82] Reynolds, *Girls Only?*, p. xvi.

the juvenile literature market, and were employing a variety of strategies designed to appeal directly to the child consumer.[83] It is perhaps for this reason that Shakespeare's child characters receive a degree of attention disproportionate to their place in the plays: just as illustration is assumed to appeal directly to less advanced readers, children are also frequently assumed to prefer reading about characters their own age. This in some way accounts for the popularity of Mary Cowden Clarke's *The Girlhood of Shakespeare's Heroines*, in which Cowden Clarke imagines childhoods for her favourite Shakespeare heroines, allowing her to produce a Shakespeare edition which purports to revolve entirely around children.[84] As I noted in the introduction to this thesis, children's Shakespeares have tended to favour plays which can be moulded into stories about young people coming of age, and even characters that are not traditionally thought of as children are described in childlike terms in these texts. This tendency is most pronounced in Nesbit's stories, in which many of the younger characters are infantilized and their troubles are assumed to stem from a lack of respect for their parents. Katharine in 'The Taming of the Shrew' is a 'naughty' child who learns 'that she could not bully her husband, as she had done her father and her sister',[85] while if only Juliet 'had spoken out and told her father the truth ... well, then this would have been a different story'.[86] The first edition of Nesbit's stories reinforces this view of the characters by featuring illustrations of chubby, cherubic children dressed up as Shakespearean characters (see Figures 2-4). Later editions of the texts of both Nesbit and the Lambs also frequently include Furnivall's 'When Shakespeare Was a Boy',

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[83] Reynolds, *Girls Only?*, pp. 2-5.

[84] In reality, these stories are often more about the heroine's parents than the heroine herself, typically beginning with the former's courtship and marriage, with the heroine in question sometimes not even born until halfway through the story. Cowden Clarke herself concedes in the preface to a later edition that 'it is the grown reader who will be even more likely to find attraction in tracing the careful development of character' employed in her tales than 'the youthful reader, who chiefly notes "the story" when perusing a book' ('Preface to the New Edition', *The Girlhood of Shakespeare's Heroines: In a Series of Fifteen Tales*, 3rd edn, 5 vols (London: Hutchinson & Co., [1892]), I, 1-2).

[85] Nesbit, 'The Taming of the Shrew', in *Beautiful Stories from Shakespeare for Children*, pp. 228-40 (pp. 229, 236).

[86] Nesbit, 'Romeo and Juliet', in *Beautiful Stories from Shakespeare for Children*, pp. 105-18 (pp. 113-14).

Colour plates by Frances Brundage for E. Nesbit, *The Children's Shakespeare* (1895).

2. 'Romeo and Juliet'.

3. 'Titania and the Clown'.

cited above, which concludes with an apology for the lack of children in Shakespeare's plays:

> Some boys and girls feel it rather hard that Shakespeare did not put more boys and girls into his plays. He certainly has very few, and doesn't do much with those he has, except when he makes his boys girls. But the boys and girls of this generation must recollect that Englishmen in the sixteenth century were not, on most points, so enlightened as they are now. They hadn't then learnt the real value of boys and girls, and didn't properly appreciate the blessing and the virtues in them. [...] If Shakespeare could but come to life again now, he'd assuredly put plenty of boys into his new plays.[87]

As well as indicating an interest in both Shakespeare's children and Shakespeare as a child, the statement that Englishmen were less enlightened in the sixteenth century calls to mind the writings Montagu, the Bowdlers, and others, cited above, who excused Shakespeare's moral failings on the basis of the less enlightened age in which he lived.

Just as separate syllabuses were designed for each sex, separate bodies of literature were produced to supplement classroom learning.[88] However, despite these divisions in schools and in publishing, there was almost certainly crossover in terms of young people's reading habits. Girls especially were known to read a wide range of literature: Yonge writes that while 'girls and young women are indiscriminate devourers of fiction' of any genre, 'most boys will not read girls' books'.[89] An 1888 survey also confirms that while the *Girl's Own Paper* was the most popular magazine among girls, their second choice was the *Boy's Own Paper* above any of the other girls' periodicals.[90] In 1886 Edward G. Salmon writes,

> There are few girls who boast brothers who do not insist on reading every work of Ballantyne's or Kingston's, or Henty's which may be brought into the house. *The Boys' Own Paper* [*sic*] is studied by thousands of girls. The explanation is that they can get in boys' books what they cannot get in the majority of their own—a stirring plot and lively movement. Probably nearly as many girls as boys have read *Robinson Crusoe*, *Tom Brown's Schooldays*,

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[87] Furnivall, 'When Shakespeare Was a Boy', p. 11.
[88] See the following pamphlets published by the English Association, outlining the different types of curricula for boys and girls: *Types of English Curricula in Boys' Secondary Schools* (1907); *The Teaching of English in Secondary Schools* (1907); J. H. Fowler, *English Literature in Secondary Schools* (1908); G. Clement, *The Teaching of English in Girls' Secondary Schools* (1908).
[89] Yonge, *What Books to Lend and What to Give*, pp. 10, 13.
[90] Kathryn Prince, 'Shakespeare in the Victorian Children's Periodicals', in *Shakespeare and Childhood*, ed. by Chedgzoy, Greenhalgh, and Shaughnessy, pp. 153-68 (p. 153).

> *Sandford and Merton*, and other long-lived 'boys" stories. Nor is this liking for heroes rather than heroines to be deprecated. It ought to impart vigor and breadth to a girl's nature, and to give sisters a sympathetic knowledge of the scenes wherein their brothers live and work.[91]

In the same article, Salmon prints the results of Charles Welsh's survey asking schoolgirls to name their 'favourite author' and 'favourite writer of fiction'.[92] Charles Dickens and Sir Walter Scott top the list by over one hundred votes, and Shakespeare ranks fifth. Salmon's list of the top fifty choices includes several other authors of 'high' literature, such as Thackeray, Tennyson, and Carlyle, and authors of boys' fiction, such as Kingston, Ballantyne, and Twain, while few authors associated with girls' fiction are mentioned. Salmon does not accept these results at face value, and speculates about why girls may have voted the way they did:

> I cannot help but thinking that the list far from adequately represents what girls read. [...] In the first place, doubtless they considered it proper to vote for such names as Scott and Dickens, although perhaps they had not read two of the works of either; in the second, Dickens' or Scott's works are probably in the school or home library, and hence easily get-at-able; in the third, from personal inquiries I am induced to believe that young ladies do not take particular note of authors' names, and such household words as Scott and Dickens occur to the minds more readily than the patronymics of the authors who devote their energies solely to writing for girls. Miss Sewell, for instance, is not mentioned once, neither is Miss Maggie Symington; Miss Sarah Doudney is mentioned only four times, Mrs. Ewing and Marian Rarningham only once each. To imagine that Carlyle is more popular with girls than any one of these is absurd.[93]

Although Salmon concedes that books for boys can hold attractions for girls that are not present in fiction aimed at girls, his comments on the results of this survey nevertheless indicate a gap between what adults perceived to be the most popular books among young girls and the stated preferences of the girls themselves. Rather than accepting that the results have not met with his expectations, Salmon rationalizes that the girls surveyed must not have been entirely honest in their responses. While it is conceivable that the children

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[91] Edward G. Salmon, 'What Girls Read', *Nineteenth Century* 20 (1886), 515-28 (p. 524). R. M. Ballantyne, William Kingston, and G. A. Henty were popular writers of adventure stories for boys in the nineteenth century.
[92] Salmon, 'What Girls Read', p. 527.
[93] Salmon, 'What Girls Read', p. 528.

surveyed based their answers on what they considered 'proper' rather than on actual preference, it should be noted that Dickens and Scott also top the list of boys' favourite authors, but Salmon does not see this as extraordinary; on the contrary, he congratulates the boys on their discerning taste and ability to recognize literary merit.[94]

However, it is certainly true that publishers perceived in the juvenile market two distinct categories of reader. Because of the different expectations nineteenth-century society had of girls and boys, children's fiction was divided according to the role the intended reader would be expected to assume in adulthood, and authors were under pressure to write texts that would ensure that future generations of Britons would grow up with the necessary values and standards to ensure a prosperous society. Salmon writes,

> Boys' literature of a sound kind ought to help build up men. Girls' literature ought to help to build up women. If in choosing the books that boys shall read it is necessary to remember that we are choosing mental food for the future chiefs of a great race, it is equally important not to forget in choosing books for girls that we are choosing mental food for the future wives and mothers of that race.[95]

Children's fiction, therefore, aimed to create model citizens, who would be prepared to grow into their respective gender roles, and it is easy to see why children's editions of Shakespeare positioned themselves as a suitable means to achieve this end. In his comedies, as well as domestic tragedies such as *Romeo and Juliet* and *Othello*, adapters continued to find models of a feminine ideal to which young girls could aspire, while his histories provided examples of heroic masculinity and knowledge of England's history for the future defenders of the British Empire. In the preface to *Historical Tales from Shakespeare*, Quiller-Couch writes that 'today, if ever, it is necessary to insist that no patriotism can be true which gives to a boy no knightliness or to a girl no gentleness of heart'.[96] Young boys and girls are given exaggerated and idealized models of 'knightliness'

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[94] The responses of boys to the survey appear alongside those of the girls in Edward Salmon, *Juvenile Literature As It Is* (London: Henry J. Drane, 1888), pp. 14-21.
[95] Salmon, 'What Girls Read', p. 526.
[96] Quiller-Couch, 'Preface', p. v.

and 'gentleness of heart' respectively, presumably in the hope that they will grow into these characteristics themselves. The editions of Shakespeare's histories adapted by Quiller-Couch and Carter feature men of sound judgement and exceptional military prowess who will do anything in the cause of the country they love. Girls, on the other hand, are given idealised versions of the heroines of Shakespeare's comedies and tragedies, with an emphasis on traits such as patience, constancy, and ingenuousness.

In adapting Shakespeare for children, authors in the late nineteenth century, like the Lambs and the Bowdlers before them, were able to use the authority of Shakespeare to reinforce traditional values, which were perceived to be under threat by the advent of industrialization, the decline of the British Empire, and the figure of the New Woman.[97] In translating Shakespeare's plots for a contemporary audience, children's Shakespeares at the end of the nineteenth century take on a somewhat nostalgic feel, looking back to an earlier, supposedly simpler time to support traditional social conventions. In an 1895 article entitled 'On the Study of Shakespeare for Girls', Kathleen Knox explains how Shakespeare can be used to counteract the potentially harmful effects of female progress:

> in this age of feminine eagerness and prominence, when everything in life, literature and science is being attempted by women, and often—as must infallibly be the case at the beginning of every great movement—with woful [*sic*] lack of judgment, it will be well to have such a standard of sanity, moderation, and harmony as is presented to us by Shakespeare's world, where the men, even, fail when they are immoderate, violent, or unbalanced in character or aim. I would have every would-be 'new woman' before she begins her crusade against this wicked world, especially if the pen be her weapon, study and lay to heart the lessons contained in 'King Lear', 'Hamlet', 'Macbeth', or 'Julius Caesar'.[98]

The lessons found in Shakespeare's plays, therefore, are held up as a safeguard against radical ideas about female progress. Reynolds has observed that children's books in the late

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[97] On the 'New Woman' in children's literature, see Kimberley Reynolds and Nicola Humble, *Victorian Heroines: Representations of Femininity in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Art* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993).

[98] Kathleen Knox, 'On the Study of Shakespeare for Girls: A Letter to a Girl-Friend', *Journal of Education*, 17 (1895), 222-23 (p. 222).

nineteenth century featured more 'rigid and exaggerated sexual ideals'[99] than did their adult counterparts, and argues that this was designed to create

> a reader who could be relied upon to read – and probably to select – safely. By drawing readers into ideological and discursive positions which encouraged them to accept as right and natural the existing social structure, with its profoundly inconsistent, frequently perverse and prohibitive attitudes towards women, these books together became a lens through which all other fictions were likely to be perceived and filtered.[100]

This is supported by Salmon's comment that the 'chief end served by "girls' literature" is that, whilst it advances beyond the nursery, it stops short of the full drawing-room',[101] and it is no coincidence that the majority of collections of Shakespeare adaptations at this time are aimed at girls entering puberty, the potentially dangerous phase between the nursery and the drawing room to which Salmon refers. It is also worth noting that this supposedly dangerous age is also the age of most of Shakespeare's heroines, a fact which seems to mark them out as useful role models for contemporary teenage girls.[102] In an 1887 article for the *Girl's Own Paper*, Mary Cowden Clarke advances the view that Shakespeare is ideal reading for 'the young girl, emerging from childhood and taking her first step into the more active and self-dependent career of woman-life', as his heroines provide 'vivid pictures of what she has to evitate, or what she has to imitate, in order to become a worthy and admirable woman'.[103]

Although the stated purpose of both Edith Nesbit's *The Children's Shakespeare* and Adelaide Gordon Sim's *Phoebe's Shakespeare* is entertainment, it is clear that both authors have instructional aims as well. Both authors address their editions to young female

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[99] Reynolds, *Girls Only?*, p. 41.
[100] Reynolds, *Girls Only?*, p. 100.
[101] Salmon, 'What Girls Read', p. 523.
[102] George C. Gross, for example, has argued that Cowden Clarke's *The Girlhood of Shakespeare's Heroines* serves not only to supply role models for pre-pubescent girls, but also to conduct them safely into sexual maturity without corrupting them: 'The author is very careful not to over-enlighten her younger readers [...] but the results of evil ways are graphically presented, and the first missteps that lead on to perdition are clearly marked out, so that all readers will know how to avoid those evils they may not clearly understand.' (George C. Gross, 'Mary Cowden Clarke, *The Girlhood of Shakespeare's Heroines*, and the Sex Education of Victorian Women', *Victorian Studies*, 16 (1972), 37-58 (pp. 39-40).)
[103] Cowden Clarke, 'Shakespeare as the Girl's Friend', *Girl's Own Paper VIII*, 4 June 1887, pp. 562-64 (p. 562).

relatives—for Nesbit, they are her two daughters, and for Sim, it is her niece, the Phoebe of the title—and both use Shakespeare's women to illustrate to their readers what will be expected of them in the coming years. The same characters, usually taken from the comedies, are repeatedly held up as models for female behaviour. Julie Hankey distinguishes between treatments of Shakespeare's heroines by male and female critics at this time, noting that for many male critics, 'the measure, the touchstone of Womanliness for the period, was Imogen—or at least a version of her', while female writers were eager to promote *The Merchant of Venice*'s Portia as an example of what women could achieve.[104] Portia, rather than Imogen, is the heroine most frequently held up by adapters in this period as a model for female behaviour, and as the majority of these are written by women, it would seem that the children's editions also follow the general pattern observed by Hankey. However, as Linda Rozmovits has shown, Portia's status in Victorian commentaries on Shakespeare is somewhat ambiguous: on the one hand, her 'quality of mercy' speech[105] and her yielding of her possessions to Bassanio are used to portray her as an icon of Victorian femininity, and on the other her active role in the trial scene positions her as an example of 'the New Woman incarnate'.[106]

These two interpretations of Portia can be clearly seen in the response to an 1888 essay contest in the *Girl's Own Paper*, in which readers were asked to write on 'My Favourite Heroine from Shakespeare'. Portia was the most popular choice, and the judges were disappointed to find that four respondents used Portia as 'a vehicle for expressing their ideas on [...] [t]he vexed question of "women's rights"',[107] and found it 'curious that both those who approve and disbelieve in what are known as "Women's Rights", should

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[104] Julie Hankey, 'Victorian Portias: Shakespeare's Borderline Heroine', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 45 (1994), pp. 426-48 (p. 431).
[105] *The Merchant of Venice*, IV.1.181-202.
[106] Linda Rozmovits, *Shakespeare and the Politics of Culture in Late Victorian England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), p. 5.
[107] Anon., 'Our Prize Competition', p. 380.

choose the same heroine, Portia, and draw from her character directly opposite conclusions'.[108] One entry reads,

> My favourite heroine from Shakespeare is the 'Lady Lawyer, Portia.' It is superfluous to describe her action and speeches in *The Merchant of Venice*. Far better will it be for me to transport her to the nineteenth century, and show how deeply she would have been interested in the great subject of women's rights. ... She is evidently Shakespeare's pet creation, and can we not deduce from this, that the great writer would give to women a more important position than they have hitherto occupied?[109]

Meanwhile, another essay writes of Portia,

> notwithstanding her vigorous mind, she is always gentle and womanly, and content to be dependent on her husband, although, I think, he must have been her inferior in many respects. ... My heroine would not support any of those fanciful opinions advanced by some women at the present day—opinions which, if carried out, would result in our clever girls becoming second-rate men, instead of first-rate women.[110]

The judges also note that '[t]he heroines who successfully overcame their obstacles' were 'six times more popular than those whose end is tragic'.[111] Although the judges state that 'Ophelia, one of the most exquisitely drawn of all Shakespeare's creations, has had but little recognition, while Juliet is the favourite of some half-dozen girls only', the two illustrations featured alongside the results depict the deaths of Juliet and Ophelia.[112] In the versions of the play by both Nesbit and Sim, the authors attempt to reconcile these apparently contradictory traits in Portia. Both make a point of emphasizing Portia's femininity and sense of duty in her scenes at Belmont, while ensuring that the trial scene is read as the realization of her potential rather than as an aberration. When Bassanio is about to choose a casket, Sim's Portia 'didn't dare watch him but threw herself down on a cushioned seat, and wished and wished as hard as she could, that he might choose right and be her husband'.[113] The colour plate that depicts this scene in Nesbit's edition likewise depicts

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[108] Anon., 'Our Prize Competition', p. 381.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Sim, 'The Merchant of Venice', in *Phoebe's Shakespeare*, pp. 80-98 (p. 87).

4. 'Choosing the Casket' (Colour plate by Frances Brundage for E. Nesbit, *The Children's Shakespeare* (1895)).

Portia sitting anxiously as she waits for Bassanio to make his choice, although she does seem to be brave enough to watch him (see Figure 4). Neither text allows Portia to take an active role in the scene, even though contemporary critics had already begun to observe that Portia's coded song in the play may in fact be intended to guide Bassanio to the correct casket.[114] Even in disguise, Sim's Portia is unwaveringly feminine:

> And who do you think came into the Court, dressed in a scarlet lawyer's gown, with a little square cap upon her head, but Portia; and with her, carrying a whole lot of books and papers, in a black clerk's dress, was Nerissa![115]

Sim also takes pains to ensure that readers will interpret Portia's legal manoeuvrings as the result of her own intelligence and not, as William Winter would argue, 'thoroughly worked out by Bellario' in advance:[116]

> just as Shylock, in great delight, was coming up to Antonio, waving his great knife, Portia, who had been reading the bond again, stopped him:—'Tarry a little, there is something else,' (she said) [...]. Clever Portia had found out a plan which none of the other judges had thought of [...]. As soon as Shylock had gone, all the people in Court began rejoicing over the happy ending of the trial, praising Portia for her cleverness.[117]

In Sim's reading, it is clear that Portia has come up with the 'jot of blood' plan herself when all of the (male) judges have been stumped. She repeatedly emphasizes Portia's 'cleverness', and presents it as something to be praised rather than condemned. Nesbit likewise has Bassanio realise 'how rich a prize he had drawn in the lottery of the caskets' when he hears what Portia has done.[118] In her prequel to the play, Mary Cowden Clarke attempts to forestall Portia's potential critics by having Bellario predict, 'Your intellectual accomplishments will draw the accusation of pedantry and unfeminine pre-eminence, from

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[114] *The Merchant of Venice*, III.2.63-71. A. H. Fox-Strangeways was the first to point out that the last words of the first three lines of this song ('bred', 'head', and 'nourishèd') rhyme with 'lead', the material of the correct casket, in the 1923 *Times Literary Supplement*, and it has since become common theatrical practice for Portia to emphasise these words. However, as early as 1876 John Weiss argued 'that by its warning against whatever is superficial the song is meant to guide Bassanio's choice' (See *The Merchant of Venice*, ed. by M. M. Mahood, rev. edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), III.2.63n).

[115] Sim. 'The Merchant of Venice', p. 93.

[116] William Winter, *Shakespeare on the Stage* (New York: [n. pub.], 1911), pp. 217-18, 227, 230. Quoted in Hankey, p. 445.

[117] Sim, 'The Merchant of Venice', pp. 94-96.

[118] Nesbit, 'The Merchant of Venice', p. 193.

the ignorant and consciously inferior alone, among men; when it is seen how modestly and wisely you exercise your faculties."[119]

In each of these editions, Shakespeare's heroines are forcibly domesticated. Furnivall connects three heroines of Shakespeare's later plays (Marina, Miranda, and Perdita) with what he deems typical English home life:

> All in peril as babes at sea, and later on land, they blossom into womanhood, shedding gracious influence around them, and they live to charm the world for ever. I like to think of them as pictures, glorified by Shakspere's genius, of the sweet English girls he saw about him [...] and to fancy that the reunion of the father, mother, and daughter in 'Pericles,' of father and daughter in 'Winter's Tale,' of husband and wife in 'Cymbeline,' had something to do with his own renewed home life by Avon-side.[120]

He later describes Imogen as 'the temple of virtue, the perfect wife, pure, devoted to her husband, and willing, like Viola, to give up her life even, at the wish of him'.[121] With Imogen, as with many of Shakespeare's most popular heroines, the qualities that are praised are those which make her a good wife. As in Mary Lamb's version, her aptitude at cooking and cleaning for Bellarius and her two brothers is held up as praiseworthy: according to Nesbit, she 'helped to cook the food, and made things comfortable' for the men.[122] Similarly, in Sim's 'As You Like It', 'Touchstone helped them with the rough work in the cottage, and Celia milked the goats, and looked after the chickens, and cooked. And Rosalind made the beds, and swept the floors, and lit the fires'.[123] The fact that Imogen and Rosalind are described doing domestic chores, leaving the 'rough work' to the men, also serves to keep their femininity at the forefront, echoing Mary Lamb's strategy of emphasizing the feminine traits of these characters while they are disguised as men.

The Taming of the Shrew was also a popular choice for adaptation for young girls, probably because of the potential use of the contrast between Bianca and Katherine as

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[119] Cowden Clarke, 'Portia: The Heiress of Belmont', in *The Girlhood of Shakespeare's Heroines* (1851), I, 1-90 (p. 88).
[120] Furnivall, 'Pericles', p. 200.
[121] Furnivall, 'Cymbeline', p. 236.
[122] Nesbit, 'Cymbeline', in *Beautiful Stories from Shakespeare for Children*, pp. 141-52 (p. 148).
[123] Sim, 'The Taming of the Shrew', in *Phoebe's Shakespeare*, pp. 63-79 (p. 115).

positive and negative examples of female behaviour, respectively. Both Nesbit and Sim make a point of contrasting the two girls when introducing them, and both reduce the play to a tutorial on how to catch (and keep) a husband. Nesbit writes, 'The eldest, Katharine, was so very cross and ill-tempered, and unmannerly, that no one ever dreamed of marrying her, while her sister, Bianca, was so sweet and pretty, and pleasant-spoken, that more than one suitor asked her father for her hand'.[124] Sim, too, makes a point of linking the two girls' temperaments with their marriage prospects:

> although Bianca was a very gentle, quiet and affectionate girl, Katharina was the most passionate, disagreeable, bad-tempered young lady possible. [...] You can well believe that none of the young men in Padua liked Katharina, or wanted to marry her, while many of them were in love with pretty Bianca.[125]

In addition, both authors stress that 'although she had been so rude to Petruchio, Katharina was really glad to be married',[126] and both present her reformation as unequivocally positive. Sim even uses it as an opportunity for criticizing the politically active 'New Woman'. After reproducing Katharina's submission speech in its entirety, Sim writes:

> I don't know if Bianca and her friends took Katharina's advice; but if they did not they were very foolish, for if women are gentle, sweet, and loving, they get all their own way in the world, and men are ready to work and do everything to protect and help them. But if they are rough and ill-tempered, and want what they call their rights, they will always find that men are the stronger, as did Katharina the Shrew.[127]

Sim's reprimand to women who 'want what they call their rights' is a clear reference to the female suffrage movement in the late nineteenth century. The contrast between these 'rough and ill-tempered' women and those who are 'gentle, sweet, and loving' is made abundantly clear, so that the female reader is not left in any doubt as to which model will gain her the most success in later life.

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[124] Nesbit, 'The Taming of the Shrew', p. 228.
[125] Sim, 'The Taming of the Shrew', p. 63.
[126] Sim, 'The Taming of the Shrew', p. 68.
[127] Sim, 'The Taming of the Shrew', p. 79.

Just as the Shakespeare editions aimed at young girls sought to provide exemplary female role models for the young girls who would read them, Carter and Quiller-Couch build up Shakespeare's male heroes to serve as role models for a new generation of empire-builders. Yonge writes:

> Boys especially should not have childish tales with weak morality or 'washy' piety; but should have heroism and nobleness kept before their eyes; and learn to despise all that is untruthful or cowardly and to respect womanhood. True manhood needs, above all earthly qualities, to be impressed on them, and books of example (not precept) with heroes, whose sentiments they admire, may always raise their tone.[128]

In their descriptions of exemplary men from history, both Carter and Quiller-Couch emphasize both the patriotism and the military prowess of their subjects, as well as their masculinity and stoicism. Thus Quiller-Couch's Richard II 'had never lacked bodily courage; it has never been the way of English kings to lack it',[129] and according to Carter, Henry VIII

> combined the genial strength of the Yorkist with the caution and ambitious self-restraint of the Lancastrian, and had the instincts of a soldier as well as of a statesman. [...] He was intensely patriotic, loved England, and was always popular with his subjects, even when they could not but condemn his actions.[130]

In each case, the strength and courage of the subjects are imagined to be inseparable from their Englishness. It is also worth noting that neither character is allowed to speak for himself, and that Shakespeare's characterizations of these two figures are in fact at odds with those supplied by the children's editions: immoderation, rather than 'ambitious self-restraint', is Henry VIII's leading characteristic, while Richard II is portrayed from the start as a weak and ineffectual ruler.

In Carter's version of *King John*, Richard I, a character who is dead long before Shakespeare's narrative begins, is described in retrospect as

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[128] Yonge, *What Books to Lend and What to Give*, p. 6.
[129] Quiller-Couch, 'King Richard the Second', in *Historical Tales from Shakespeare*, pp. 92-115 (p. 115).
[130] Carter, 'King Henry the Eighth', pp. 263-64.

> a Knight of wonderful prowess, tall, stalwart, and handsome, with fair hair and bright blue eyes. His reckless bravery impelled him to enter quarrels on the most trivial causes, and he would travel many leagues in search of adventure. He was marvellously expert in the use of weapons, and had been trained from his boyhood in all the knightly exercises of his times.[131]

Carter is capitalizing on the familiarity that young readers must have had with Richard, through popular retellings of the Robin Hood stories. Carter even inserts a superfluous reference to Sherwood Forest, seemingly for no other reason to remind the reader that he is already familiar with this setting and cast of characters. [132] The description of Richard's 'reckless bravery', which frequently gets him into scrapes, seems designed to align him with the heroes of the adventure stories that made up the majority of the fiction for young boys. Quiller-Couch includes *Julius Caesar* and *Coriolanus* in his collection, in addition to the English histories, and it is worth noting that Brutus and Coriolanus are described in terms similar to those used for Shakespeare's English heroes. In the case of Coriolanus, Quiller-Couch writes, 'in those days the quality honoured above all others in Rome was manliness, and Volumnia, like a true Roman mother, set herself from the first to encourage her boy in all those manly pursuits to which she saw him inclined by nature'.[133] As with Carter's descriptions of Henry VIII and Richard II, this is a very selective reading of *Coriolanus*.[134] However, by identifying in Coriolanus the same 'manly pursuits' that will later characterize his English heroes, Quiller-Couch implies that those qualities which are in the nineteenth century marked out as uniquely English can be traced as far back as Roman Britain.

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[131] Carter, 'King John', in *Shakespeare's Stories of the English Kings*, pp. 49-82 (p. 50). This is another example of Carter's choice to recount historical events that do not appear in Shakespeare's plays, in order to give a degree of continuity to his edition.

[132] 'Leaving his men, he hastened through the forest of Sherwood to Nottingham, where his brother John was staying with the noblemen whom he had won over to his side' (Carter, 'King John', p. 52). Contemporary children's versions of the Robin Hood stories include J. E. Muddock, *Maid Marian and Robin Hood: A Romance of Old Sherwood Forest* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1892); Edward William Fithian, *The Life of Robin Hood, the Celebrated Outlaw* (London: W. Nicholson & Sons, 1900).

[133] Quiller-Couch, 'Coriolanus', in *Historical Tales from Shakespeare*, pp. 9-38 (p. 9).

[134] A great deal of twentieth-century criticism on *Coriolanus* has focused on the emasculation of the title character in the last act of the play. See for example Janet Adelman, *'Suffocating Mothers': Fantasies of Maternal Origin in Shakespeare's Plays, 'Hamlet' to 'The Tempest'* (London: Routledge, 1992); Coppélia Khan, *Roman Shakespeare: Warriors, Wounds, and Women* (London: Routledge, 1997); Claudia Corti, '"As if a Man Were Author of Himself": The (Re-)Fashioning of the Oedipal Hero from Plutarch's Martius to Shakespeare's Coriolanus', in *Italian Culture in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries: Rewriting, Remaking, Refashioning*, ed. by Michelle Marrapodi (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 187-95; James Kuzner, 'Unbuilding the City: *Coriolanus* and the Birth of Republican Rome', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 58 (2007), 174-99.

Quiller-Couch declares that his primary purpose in adapting Shakespeare's history plays is to 'quicken [young readers'] interest in history and their early patriotism',[135] and to this end Shakespeare himself is held up as a model patriot:

> It has been said that the real hero of Shakespeare's historical plays is England; and no one can read them and be deaf to the ringing, vibrating note of pride, of almost fierce joy to be an Englishman, to have inherited the liberties of so great a country and to be a partaker in her glory. And this love of England is the sincerer for the courage with which he owns and grieves that she has been sometimes humiliated, sometimes untrue to herself. [...] [T]hese plays might almost serve as a handbook to patriotism, did that sacred passion need one.[136]

Love of Shakespeare here becomes synonymous with a love of England, and therefore an indispensable component of English education. Both Quiller-Couch and Carter reprint large chunks of Shakespeare's text in support of this patriotic zeal, such as 'the wise, brave, and patriotic words of Faulconbridge' at the end of *King John*, 'which every English boy should get by heart'.[137] John of Gaunt's deathbed lament in *Richard II* is likewise, for Quiller-Couch, a speech 'which no English boy, who is old enough to love his country, is too young to get by heart'.[138]

In children's literature, Shakespeare's plays could become fairy tales or adventure stories, depending on the sex of their intended readership. The retellings of Shakespeare's English history plays by Quiller-Couch and Carter are ostensibly aimed at boys, while Sim's *Phoebe's Shakespeare* and Nesbit's *Children's Shakespeare*, as well as Cowden Clarke's elaborations of the histories of Shakespeare's female characters, make it clear in their prefatory material that they are writing specifically to and for young girls. In addition, Shakespeare himself was figured as peculiarly attuned to the needs of both sexes. Quiller-Couch reads in the histories Shakespeare's 'ringing, vibrating note of pride, of almost fierce

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[135] Quiller-Couch, 'Preface', p. iii.
[136] Quiller-Couch, 'Preface', pp. v-vi.
[137] Quiller-Couch, 'King John', in *Historical Tales from Shakespeare*, pp. 70-91 (p. 91). The speech is *King John*, V.7.110-18. According to Carter, 'these brave words are true for all time, while England's sons stand as Wardens of her gates and keepers of her windswept seas' (Carter, 'King John', p. 82).
[138] Quiller-Couch, 'King Richard the Second', p. 99n. The speech is *Richard II*, II.1.31-68.

joy to be an Englishman',[139] while to Cowden Clarke, Shakespeare 'had likewise something essentially feminine in his nature, which enabled him to discern and sympathise with the innermost core of woman's heart'.[140] Young readers are therefore presented explicitly with two contrasting images of Shakespeare: one is sensitive, contemplative, and particularly sympathetic to female sensibilities, while the other is a patriot and guardian of English masculinity.

Performative Texts on Stage and Page

Richard Foulkes notes that 'Shakespeare's cultural pre-eminence, nationally and internationally, during the period 1832 to 1916 was based on the performance of his plays',[141] and prose retellings of Shakespeare for children in the late nineteenth century resembled notable Victorian stage productions of the plays. Although these adaptations were still primarily seen as stepping stones to *reading* the plays, they also increasingly sought to mimic performance conditions. As the theatre was becoming a more respectable source of entertainment, it seems that the children who read Shakespeare adaptations were being prepared to read the plays themselves in theatrical as well as critical terms, as evidenced by the popularity of toy theatres in the mid-nineteenth century. Furnivall, for example, writes in his introduction to Mary Lamb's 'The Comedy of Errors' that '[t]he full fun of this farce of the "Errors" is not realised till it is seen on the stage'.[142] Authors and editors of Shakespeare for children attempted to create a generation of Shakespeare lovers who would *see* Shakespeare's plays in addition to reading them, and it is no coincidence that this was a period when both theatre and children's books were becoming increasingly visual products. According to Brian Alderson the 'diversity in the content of literature for

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[139] Quiller-Couch, 'Preface', p. v.
[140] Cowden Clarke, 'Shakespeare as the Girl's Friend', p, 562.
[141] Richard Foulkes, *Performing Shakespeare in the Age of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 1.
[142] Furnivall, 'The Comedy of Errors', in *Tales from Shakespeare*, ed. by Furnivall, II, 233-38 (pp. 236-37) I, 3-4 (p. 3).

young readers at this time is paralleled by the inventiveness which went into its presentation'.[143] Innovations in illustration allowed for texts that addressed the reader visually as well as verbally, while the prose itself typically involved extensive descriptions of setting and costume in order to paint a mental picture of a play in performance, as well as relying heavily on dialogue to drive the narrative.

It should be noted that in this period illustrations were normally commissioned separately from the text itself and were the property of the publisher rather than the illustrator. Thanks to new technology such as lithography and photography, illustrations were much easier and cheaper to reproduce than hitherto, and for this reason, particularly in new editions of 'classics', illustrations were frequently re-used.[144] For example, the 1912 edition of Nesbit's text, re-titled *Children's Stories from Shakespeare* and published by Raphael Tuck and Sons reproduces Harold Copping's black-and-white illustrations, originally commissioned for the 1901 edition of the Lambs' *Tales from Shakespeare* from the same publisher, while its colour plates are scenes from Shakespeare from a variety of artists which bear no resemblance to Copping's drawings.[145] The resulting product therefore appears fragmented to the modern eye. Similarly, the illustrations for Nesbit's first edition are each produced by a different illustrator, and although there appears to be a single aesthetic running through the illustrations, it is also obvious that they are the work of different hands. It is therefore important to remember when discussing the illustrations in these editions that the illustrator has not always read the edition itself, and that the resulting images, although inspired by Shakespeare's plays, do not necessarily correspond to scenes in the specific edition for which the illustrations are to be used. In the case of both the Lambs' *Tales* and Quiller-Couch's *Historical Tales from Shakespeare*, pre-existing

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[143] Brian Alderson, 'Tracts, Rewards and Fairies: the Victorian contribution to children's literature', in *Essays in the History of Publishing in Celebration of the 250th Anniversary of the House of Longman 1724-1974*, ed. by Asa Briggs (London: Longman, 1974), pp. 245-82 (p. 257).
[144] For a fuller account of technological advancements in nineteenth-century juvenile publishing, see Percy Muir, *Victorian Illustrated Books* (Norwich: Jarrold and Sons, 1971).
[145] *Tales from Shakespeare*, ed. by Furnivall; Nesbit and Furnivall, *Children's Stories from Shakespeare* (1912).

prints from the Boydell collection have been inserted into later editions in lieu of original illustrations,[146] indicating that the illustrations were sometimes not even produced with children in mind, and that in fact Shakespearean images in children's books and paintings could be interchangeable. Illustrations in children's Shakespeares at this time, therefore, were neither as unified nor as closely related to their corresponding texts as they were in other children's books.

These children's texts share with contemporary stage productions an insistence on detail when it comes to their visual elements. Actor-manager Charles Kean noted that the 'present age demands that all dramatic representations be accompanied by a certain selection of scenery, dresses, and music' and that '*truth* in these matters is preferable to *inaccuracy*'.[147] Kean's Shakespeare productions in particular were known for their production value, incorporating hundreds of extras and elaborate, meticulously researched scenery and costumes, 'stressing the dual functions of lavish spectacle and historical accuracy'.[148] The theatres at Covent Garden and Drury Lane were renovated following fires in 1808 and 1809 respectively. The aprons were eliminated, the prosceniums widened, and the stages made deeper to allow for more backdrops and the large three-dimensional structures that would become a defining feature of set design in Victorian theatre.[149] Theatrical productions could effectively become moving *tableaux-vivants*, in which the scenery was as much on display as the plot or the dialogue. George Bernard Shaw complained about theatre managers' 'policy of sacrificing the credibility of the play to the chance of exhibiting an effective living picture',[150] and one satirical review of Kean's *Henry VIII* seems to agree:

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[146] See Quiller-Couch, *Historical Tales from Shakespeare*, 2nd edn (1910); Charles and Mary Lamb, *Tales from Shakespeare* (London: Bickers and Son, 1881).
[147] Playbill for *Pizarro*, Princess's Theatre, London, 1 September 1856. Quoted in Schoch, p. 4.
[148] E. Smith, p. 26.
[149] James N. Loehlin, 'Introduction', in *Romeo and Juliet*, ed. by James N. Loehlin, Shakespeare in Production (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 1-85 (p. 32).
[150] George Bernard Shaw, *Our Theatres in the Nineties*, 3 vols (London: Constable, 1931-32), I, 179.

> A new show of unrivalled magnificence, with living figures in superb costumes to fill up the foreground spaces, has been produced at the TEMPLE OF THE NATIONAL DIORAMA, in Oxford-street, under the title of 'SHAKSPEARE'S *Henry the Eighth*.' [...] Some speaking of SHAKSPEARE'S poetry was introduced with the Diorama; but as this part of the entertainment occupied quite a secondary position, it is unnecessary to refer to it at all particularly.[151]

When Irving revived the play in 1892, he sought to exceed Kean's production in historical spectacle and, according to one review, 'to make this the most perfect reproduction of court life in the days of Henry VIII, that this stage, or indeed the stage of any country, has ever seen'.[152]

William Charles Macready claimed that a Shakespeare production should be 'one of the best illustrated editions of the poet's works',[153] while Peter Holland has found that nineteenth-century illustrated editions of Shakespeare frequently featured representations of contemporary actors in specific productions.[154] It appears, that there was very little difference in terms of visual style between the illustrations of Shakespearean scenes that appeared in children's books, and those which appeared onstage in the London theatres. As Michael Booth puts it,

> To look at the stage as if it were a painting was an automatic response in Victorian audiences, and to make the stage look as much like a painting as possible was equally a habit among managers and technical staff. [...] Treating plays like books to be illustrated became a well-established method of producing Shakespeare or any other work with a historical setting.[155]

There is an explicit parallel being drawn, therefore, between illustration and theatrical *mise-en-scène*. Holland observes that '[a]ll illustrations constitute forms of performativity,

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[151] Anon., 'The Arts', *The Leader*, 19 May 1855, pp. 475-77 (p. 477). It should be noted that this negative view of Kean's project was a minority one; most reviewers praised Kean's lavish designs.
[152] Clement Scott, review in *The Daily Telegraph*, 6 January 1892. Quoted in Gordon McMullan, 'Introduction', in *King Henry VIII (All Is True)*, ed. by Gordon McMullan, Arden Shakespeare Third Series (London: The Arden Shakespeare, 2000), pp. 1-199 (p. 33).
[153] Quoted in Schoch, p. 3.
[154] Peter Holland, 'Performing Shakespeare in Print: Narrative in Nineteenth-Century Illustrated Shakespeares', in *Victorian Shakespeare*, ed. by Gail Marshall and Adrian Poole, 2 vols (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), I, pp. 47-72.
[155] Michael R. Booth, 'Pictorial Acting and Ellen Terry', in *Shakespeare and the Victorian Stage*, ed. by Richard Foulkes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 78-86 (p. 82).

performing the text in their modes of visualisation and making the text perform in its negotiation with these images'.[156] While readers were being trained to look at illustrations as if they were theatrical scenes, audiences were used to looking at the stage 'as if it were a painting', a connection made more explicit in the 'picture frame' proscenium theatres of Victorian England. Appropriately, *Model Stage*, the magazine of Pollock's toy theatres, suggests that its subscribers use an actual picture frame to construct a proscenium. G. K. Chesterton writes of the proscenium,

> Has not everyone noticed how sweet and startling any landscape looks when seen through an arch? This strong, square shape, this shutting off of everything else, is not only an assistance of beauty; it is the essence of beauty. The most beautiful part of any picture is its frame.
>
> This is especially true of the toy theatre, that by reducing the scale of events it can introduce much larger events. Because it is small it could easily represent the Day of Judgement [*sic*]. Exactly in so far as it is limited, so far it could play easily with falling cities or falling stars.[157]

Foulkes observes that nineteenth-century visual representations of Shakespearean scenes are typically intended to give the viewer 'a sense of a three-dimensional foreground and a two-dimensional background/backcloth',[158] as they would have been presented onstage at the time. Toy theatres were likewise designed to be working miniature replicas of actual London theatres, and the sets for individual plays that were sold separately corresponded to specific productions. According to George Speaight, toy theatres preserve 'what are often very faithful copies of actual scenery and costumes used in the original stage productions. [...] It appealed to nineteenth century children because it really was the real theatre in miniature, not something watered down "for the kiddies"'.[159] This indicates a fundamental difference between the way young readers are addressed in the editions I discuss in this chapter and in the Lambs' edition, which, as we have seen, sought to recover Shakespeare from the distortions of contemporary actors.

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[156] Holland, p. 49.
[157] G. K. Chesterton, *Tremendous Trifles* (London: Methuen & Co., 1909), pp. 150-51.
[158] Richard Foulkes, 'Charles Kean's *King Richard II*: A Pre-Raphaelite Drama', in *Shakespeare and the Victorian Stage*, ed. by Foulkes, pp. 39-55 (p. 47).
[159] George Speaight, 'Toy Theatre', in *Toy Theatre*, ed. by Kenneth Fawdry (London: Pollock's Toy Theatres Ltd, 1980), pp. 9-20 (p. 19).

Many of the most highly-praised scenes in Kean's productions represented historical events not dramatized by Shakespeare, and Carter and Quiller-Couch insert many of the same scenes in their adaptations of the history plays. For example, in Kean's *Richard II*, York's description of Richard and Bolingbroke entering London was cut in favour of a dumb show representing the scene in the style of a painting by James Northcote in the Boydell collection.[160] Kean's *Henry V* included a re-creation of Henry's triumphant procession through London following the Battle of Agincourt:

> Drawing on a contemporary account of it reprinted in Sir Henry Nicolas's *The Battle of Agincourt* (1827), Kean reconstructed the gatehouse standing at the Southwark end of old London Bridge, from which girls dressed as white-robed angels let fall a shower of gold on the King as he rode by, while beside it the yards of a ship moored in the Thames provided standing room for cheering Londoners.[161]

Thomas Carter also inserts this scene into his adaptation of the play for *Shakespeare's Stories of the English Kings*:

> King Henry returned to England in the middle of November and received a rapturous welcome when he landed at Dover, and all London acclaimed him as he rode to St. Paul's Cathedral to give thanks to God for his victory at Agincourt, and afterwards when he sailed up the river in his royal barge to the Abbey church of Saint Peter at Westminster.[162]

Both Carter and Kean are attempting to represent not only Shakespeare, but also England's history; more accurately, they are attempting to give their respective audiences a sense of how Shakespeare envisioned history. In the playbill to his *Richard II*, Kean writes that his goal has been 'to surround the flowing imagery of the great Poet with accompaniments *true* to the time of which he writes – *realizing* the scenes and actions which he describes – exhibiting men as they once lived'.[163] Richard Foulkes notes that Kean's productions were produced at a time when 'antiquarian, artistic and public interest in the medieval past

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[160] *Richard II*, V.2.1-40.
[161] T. W. Craik, 'Introduction', in *Henry V*, ed. by T. W. Craik, Arden Shakespeare Third Series (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 1-111 (p. 84).
[162] Carter, 'King Henry the Fifth', p. 204.
[163] Quoted in Marion Jones, 'Stage Costume: Historical Verisimilitude and Stage Convention', in *Shakespeare and the Victorian Stage*, ed. by Foulkes, pp. 56-73 (p. 60).

reached a new intensity'.[164] However, as with the adaptations of Carter and Quiller-Couch, this widespread insistence on historical accuracy is frequently at odds with Shakespeare's distorted versions of English history.

It was not only the history plays which received such elaborate stage treatments. Kean cut almost half of the text of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* for his 1856 production to accommodate his lavish visual spectacle, and according to Trevor Griffiths, in Kean's hands the play was less a coherent narrative than 'a kind of series of Shakespearian *tableaux vivants*'.[165] Herbert Beerbohm-Tree's 1900 production of the same play famously featured live rabbits.[166] In both illustrated editions and onstage, a disproportionate amount of attention is given to scenes which provide an opportunity for visual interpretation, such as the fairies in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. In Arthur Rackham's celebrated illustrated edition of the play, first published in 1908, twenty-eight of the forty colour plates depict fairy activity, compared to nine plates featuring the lovers and three for the mechanicals.[167] The fairy scenes also seem to encourage elaborate verbal description at the expense of the rest of the play. Nesbit's version of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, for example, devotes three and a half pages to the sequence of Bottom being waited on by Titania's fairy attendants, with the dialogue reproduced almost verbatim. Like Mary Lamb, she omits the mechanicals' scenes entirely, referring to Bottom only as 'a stupid clown'.[168] This sequence, which accounts for 72 lines in the play,[169] takes up 514 words of Nesbit's version, while there is only one paragraph to cover the various mix-ups involving the four lovers:

> When Hermia woke she found Lysander gone, and wandered about the wood trying to find him. Puck went back and told Oberon what he had done, and Oberon soon found that he had made a mistake, and set about looking for Demetrius, and having found him, put some of the juice on his eyes. And the first thing Demetrius saw when he woke was also Helena. So

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[164] Foulkes, 'Charles Kean's *King Richard II*', p. 39.
[165] Trevor R. Griffiths, 'Introduction', *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. by Trevor R. Griffiths, Shakespeare in Production (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 1-80 (pp. 29-32).
[166] Griffiths, p. 36.
[167] *Shakespeare's A Midsummer Night's Dream*, illus. by Arthur Rackham (London: William Heinemann, 1908).
[168] Nesbit, 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', p. 27.
[169] *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, III.1.122-93.

> now Demetrius and Lysander were both following her through the wood, and it was Hermia's turn to follow her lover as Helena had done before. The end of it was that Helena and Hermia began to quarrel, and Demetrius and Lysander went off to fight.[170]

This paragraph covers 236 lines in the play, and is here described in only 112 words.[171] Likewise, Sim uses seven pages to narrate the scenes between Titania and Bottom and only three for the lovers. In productions of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, as with the children's adaptations, the tendency was to emphasize the fairy sequences at the expense of the others. Much of the production value in Samuel Phelps' stagings of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* between 1853 and 1875, for example, was derived from the fairies. He staged the scenes in the woods behind a scrim that was 'decorated with giant flowers that made the characters appear smaller, and it clearly played a significant part in emphasising the different nature of events in the wood and in Athens'.[172] The play is the most commonly adapted of Shakespeare's plays in children's editions, and to this day the fairy sequences, which in the play itself are weighted equally with the scenes involving the lovers and the mechanicals, often account for the bulk of the adaptation.

Children's authors sought to reproduce in words the elaborate visual spectacle that was nineteenth-century Shakespeare production. Henry Irving's 1879 *Merchant of Venice* sought to reconstruct onstage a version of sixteenth-century Venice, evident in M. M. Mahood's description of one of Irving's interpolated scenes:

> After Jessica, in 2.6, had been serenaded by singers in a gondola and swept out by Lorenzo in a whirl of Carnival figures, the curtain fell, and quickly rose again on an empty stage. Shylock made a slow entrance across the canal bridge which nearly spanned the stage, and knocked twice on the door of his house.[173]

As with Kean's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, the time and effort required to change these enormous pieces of scenery necessitated further cuts to the text, and scenes often had to be

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[170] Nesbit, 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', pp. 24-26.
[171] *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, II.2.151-62; III.2.122-345.
[172] Griffiths, p. 27.
[173] M. M. Mahood, 'Introduction', *The Merchant of Venice*, ed. by Mahood, pp. 1-65 (p. 45).

reordered to accommodate the longer scene changes.[174] Sim's description of Venice in her adaptation of the play is similarly detailed, supplying through words that which is achieved visually onstage:

> instead of the houses all being built as they are in London or Brighton, with long straight streets that stretch away as far as you can see, they are all built on numbers of little islands close to each other; so that to go from one part of the town to another you have to get in a boat, and row along the water till you come to the island where you wish to go; or you can walk along by the side of the water until you get to a bridge, and so cross over to the next island. [...] One thing all the houses had, that were on the edge of the islands, and that was a flight of marble steps going down into the water; where the boats that people used instead of carriages or cabs were tied up ready for passengers. There were no cabs, or carriages, or horses, in all the town; everybody used these boats, which are called gondolas.[175]

According to Stanley Wells, Mary Macleod's depiction of Shylock in her *Shakespeare Story Book* is influenced by Henry Irving's notable portrayal of the part in 1879.[176] The *Spectator* noted that Irving's Shylock was 'a man whom none can despise, who can raise emotions of both pity and fear, and make us Christians thrill with a retrospective sense of shame'.[177] Similarly, Macleod puts a tragic spin on Shylock's last line:

> And what was left for Shylock to answer? Baffled of his revenge, stripped of his wealth, forced to disown his faith, his very life forfeited—a hated, despised, miserable old man—he stood alone amidst the hostile throng. Not one face looked at him kindly, not one voice was raised in his behalf. Twice he strove to speak, and twice he failed. Then, in a hoarse whisper through the parched lips, came the faltering words:
> 'I—am—content.'[178]

Sim's description of Portia in her lawyer disguise, quoted above, is also based on contemporary theatrical productions: the 'scarlet lawyer's gown' was the usual costume for Portia in the trial scene throughout the nineteenth century.[179] The descriptions of Juliet at the Capulet party in the versions of *Romeo and Juliet* adapted by Nesbit and Sim each refer to the nineteenth-century theatrical tradition of having Juliet appear first in a white dress

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[174] For a full account of Irving's 'brutal' alterations to the text of *The Merchant of Venice*, see Mahood, pp. 45-47.
[175] Sim, 'The Merchant of Venice', pp. 80-2.
[176] S. Wells, 'Tales from Shakespeare,' p. 202.
[177] *The Spectator*, 8 November 1879, quoted in Charles Edelman, 'Introduction', *The Merchant of Venice*, ed. by Charles Edelman, Shakespeare in Production (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 1-92 (p. 23).
[178] Macleod, 'The Merchant of Venice', in *The Shakespeare Story-book* (1911), pp. 68-85 (p. 84).
[179] *The Merchant of Venice*, ed. by Edelman, IV.1.162n.

to highlight her innocence and naïveté at this point in the story.[180] Sim's version of the scene reads as follows:

> She was so pretty and so charming; she was in white, as it was her first ball; and her dress was trimmed all over with silver thread, and little seed pearls; and round her waist, instead of a sash, she had a girdle of great big pearls, and another long string of them that went round her neck four or five times. All her fair hair fell curling down her back, far below her waist, and in it she had a wreath of real white roses.[181]

Nesbit too describes Juliet in 'white satin and pearls'[182] as she dances at the ball, implicitly contrasting her simple dress with 'the ladies with brilliant gems on breast and arms, and stones of price set in their bright girdles'.[183] These detailed descriptions of setting and costume in children's versions of Shakespeare's plays in this period represent a departure from the Lambs' *Tales*, which are more likely to describe the mental or emotional state of the protagonist than physical attributes. The relationship between stage productions and children's editions was to some extent reciprocal; Arthur Rackham's illustrations for *A Midsummer Night's Dream* continue to influence sets and costuming in the fairy sequences of that play, as evidenced by Max Reinhardt's 1935 film version (see Figures 5 and 6)[184] and Bill Dudley's designs for Bill Alexander's 1986 production for the Royal Shakespeare Company.[185]

The point I am making here is that a century after the Lambs, adapters of Shakespeare for children are aware that simply reading Shakespeare is no longer enough; it is understood that if children are to reap the cultural benefits of Shakespeare, they must be trained to read his plays in theatrical terms. The references that children's Shakespeares make to specific theatrical productions in both words and images reflect this. Children's Shakespeares in the late nineteenth century are, then, to a large extent, performative texts. Adapters of Shakespeare, Nesbit in particular, consciously tell their stories through

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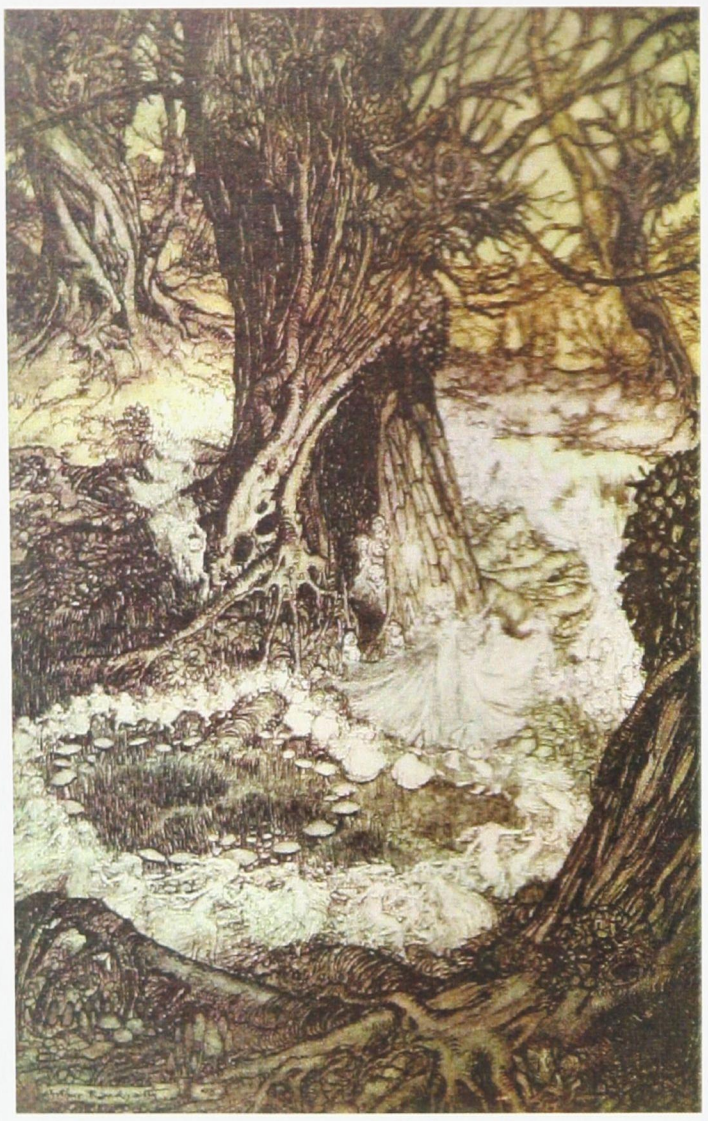
[180] *Romeo and Juliet*, ed. by Loehlin, 1.3.4n.
[181] Sim, 'Romeo and Juliet', in *Phoebe's Shakespeare*, pp. 121-46 (pp. 124-5).
[182] Nesbit, 'Romeo and Juliet', p. 107.
[183] Nesbit, 'Romeo and Juliet', pp. 106-07.
[184] Max Reinhardt, dir, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Warner Brothers, 1935).
[185] See Griffiths, p. 113.



5. 'Come now, a roundel' (*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, illus. by Arthur Rackham).

6. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, dir. by Max Reinhardt (1935).

dialogue and action, in contrast to the Lambs' emphasis on character-centred narration. In these adaptations, scenes play out as they would in a Victorian theatre, as opposed to real life, including entrances, exits, and stage directions. Morris's adaptations of those plays omitted by the Lambs are distinguished from the Lambs' originals in this respect. Unlike the Lambs, Morris narrates almost every scene, and he does so in terms of action. For example, in his 'Troilus and Cressida', he describes the scene of Cressida's arrival at the Greek camp in terms of stage entrances and exits: 'But before Cressida had quite vanished among the tents, the great Hector and his train came into the lists."[186] This piece of narration implies that Cressida is exiting into one wing while Hector enters from another. Similarly, his description of the ghosts on Bosworth Field the evening before the battle in 'King Richard III' asks the reader to imagine the scene in a theatrical rather than a historical context:

> For when these two rivals for England's throne had been long abed and slumbered each according to his deserts, there arose a vision of Prince Edward, son to Henry the Sixth, between their tents, which slowly turned towards where the king lay, saying gravely, 'Let me sit heavy on thy soul to-morrow. Think how thou stabb'dst me in my prime of youth at Tewkesbury. Despair, therefore, and die!' But toward Richmond the ghost turned with words of cheer, saying the wronged souls of butchered princes would fight in his behalf.[187]

The ghosts are described as appearing between the two tents, which are imagined to be within sight and earshot of each other, as they might be onstage. Additionally, strategic changes of tense are used in order to bring the experience of reading the stories closer to that of watching them. Carter shifts from past to present tense when narrating scenes that have no basis in historical fact, but which are included for their dramatic impact, such as the build-up to Clarence's dream in 'King Richard the Third':

> The scene is now within a chamber in the Tower. It is early morning. The swiftly flowing Thames is washing past the stones of the old grey pile

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[186] Morris, 'Troilus and Cressida', in *Tales from Shakespeare: With a Continuation by Harrison S. Morris*, III, 53-73 (p. 65).
[187] Morris, 'King Richard III', in *Tales from Shakespeare: With a Continuation by Harrison S. Morris*, IV, 87-112 (p. 108). Cf. *Richard III*, V.5.71-130.

> which Julius Cæsar founded. Traitor's Gate frowns upon the boatmen drifting by, and green moss clings to the steps which have been trodden by so many sad and hopeless women. The light of day struggles through a narrow, heavily-barred window in the room where a pale, heavy-eyed prisoner sits in painful and most sombre thought. He has been torn from his family, banished from his brother's presence, deprived of rank, dignities and freedom, and now sits under the oppression of a vivid dream which has terrified his soul.[188]

The change from past to present tense gives a sense of immediacy to the scene in question, giving the illusion that events are playing out in real time.

The theatrical qualities under discussion in these texts is of particular significance because, as we have seen, editions of Shakespeare that were being produced for children responded strongly to contemporary educational priorities. Those who concerned themselves with young people's reading habits sought 'mental food for the future chiefs of a great race',[189] and the Shakespeare that was promoted as a touchstone of British culture was a theatrical figure. In the classroom, teachers were beginning to be encouraged to teach Shakespeare's plays in dramatic as well as literary terms. The English Association strongly recommends reading aloud in the classroom and suggests, for example, that 'the Forum scene in *Julius Caesar* comes one step nearer the dramatic if the teacher is Antony and the other parts are distributed and the class is transformed into a Roman mob shouting for the will'.[190] The Association then warns teachers of the dangers of teaching Shakespeare's plays as purely literary texts:

> Teachers would do well not to undervalue the help afforded by the best kind of Shakespearian readings and still more by dramatic representation. Some schools act a play of Shakespeare yearly: this is to treat it as a work of art, and one would imagine the plan a keen incentive to appreciation. [...] In London and in large provincial centres it is possible to let school-children see a performance at the theatre; this plan should be encouraged wherever it is practicable. There is a serious danger in the class-room, with text-books open before us, of our forgetting what drama really means, and burying the poet beneath a mass of comments, conundrums, and morals.[191]

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[188] Carter, 'King Richard the Third', p. 250.
[189] Salmon, 'What Girls Read', p. 526.
[190] English Association, *The Teaching of Shakespeare in Schools*, p. 2.
[191] English Association, *The Teaching of Shakespeare in Schools*, p. 7.

The mere fact that a school trip to the theatre is actually being recommended is an indication of how far introductions to Shakespeare for children had come since the days of the Bowdlers. In the previous chapter, the distinction was made between the intentions of the Lambs, who saw their plays as an aide to the young reader's understanding of the plays, from which he would graduate to reading the 'real' text, and those of the Bowdlers, whose edition was intended as a replacement for the morally deficient 'originals'. The Lambs and the Bowdlers shared a common belief that the genius of Shakespeare could be most fully appreciated by reading or listening to the plays, rather than seeing them performed. A century later, in both the literature and the classroom, children were being prepared to *see* the plays when they were old enough, in addition to reading them, anticipating the overtly performative texts which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 3: Multiple Media and Postmodern Narrative

The last decades of the twentieth century saw an explosion of children's Shakespeares which exceeded that of the nineteenth century. Rather than addressing each text that was published in this period, I have chosen to focus on two or three examples of each of three media—picture book, illustrated book, and graphic novel—in order to demonstrate the ways in which the choice of medium affects both interpretation and reader involvement in the text.[1] By the end of the twentieth century, adapters of Shakespeare for children had begun to acknowledge the futility of any attempt to provide children with a single, uncomplicated interpretation of the plays, and to search for more multivalent approaches. This chapter will be concerned with the strategies employed by adapters of Shakespeare in the 1980s and 1990s to encourage the young reader's active engagement with Shakespeare's plays. As will become clear over the course of the chapter, the authors I discuss in this chapter are informed by postmodernism as the prevailing literary culture in the sense that, as Jonathan Clark observes, 'postmodernism has set itself against what it takes to be "modernist" ideas of truth and objectivity, replacing what it sees as a set of grand narratives claiming objective authority with a diverse pattern of localized narratives and fluid identities'.[2] When I refer to the texts in this chapter as 'postmodern', I mean to suggest that they are concerned with the erosion of such 'grand narratives'.[3] These adaptations explicitly set themselves up in opposition to the authoritative figure of Shakespeare that governed the early twentieth-century editions discussed in Chapter 2. As such, fidelity to Shakespeare is not a primary concern since, as Anne-Marie Bird notes, 'postmodern art

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[1] These three forms are distinguished from each other by the relative prominence given to text and image. A picture book typically has images on each opening, with few words, while an illustrated book is primarily verbal, with some pages also containing illustrations. The graphic novel is dominated by images, and because of the layout there is rarely any narration: the only words are contained in speech and thought bubbles, so that the text is actually part of the image.

[2] Jonathan Clark, *Our Shadowed Present: Modernism, Postmodernism, and History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), p. 3.

[3] See Introduction for further discussion of theories of postmodernism.

does not lament what has apparently been lost; instead, it "plays" with the fragments'.[4] The adapters discussed in this chapter attempt to break down distinctions between 'high' and 'low' culture, and thus between 'sophisticated' and 'unsophisticated' readers, which earlier adaptations had upheld and promoted. Stephens and McCallum assert that 'the postmodern world is sceptical of metanarratives, as everybody knows—everybody, that is, except most of the people who retell traditional stories for children'.[5] Marchitello similarly contrasts the 'new' Shakespeare of criticism with the 'old' Shakespeare of adaptation, noting that while 'our understanding of Shakespeare today is more complete, more sophisticated, and more nuanced in large part because we no longer privilege—or even trust—"content" in the ways we have historically', adaptation for children relies 'upon the transmission of narrative content as embodied in plot'.[6] However, the texts I discuss in this chapter challenge these assertions, in that while their existence does indicate implicit assumptions about the cultural value of Shakespeare, the modes of address they use continually prompt the reader to question received wisdom imparted by these 'grand narratives'.

Visual and Verbal Narratives in Picture Books: Marcia Williams and Bruce Coville

This section focuses on the relationship between word and image in the picture books of Bruce Coville and Marcia Williams, and how these authors manipulate this relationship to negotiate potentially disturbing elements for their readers. The previous chapter touched on the similarities between illustration and theatrical *mise-en-scène*, and this connection is even more apparent in the picture books I discuss in this section. In Coville's texts, the frames around each illustration evoke the frame created by the proscenium in a theatre, while Marcia Williams's texts situate the plays in the open-air playhouses of early modern

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[4] Anne-Marie Bird, 'Postmodernism', in *The Routledge Companion to Children's Literature*, ed. by Rudd, pp. 231-232.
[5] Stephens and McCallum, p. 8.
[6] Marchitello, p. 181.

London, reimagining the original performance conditions in a new medium, including representations of actors as well as an unruly audience commenting upon the events of the plays themselves.[7] Williams's prefatory statement to her *Mr. William Shakespeare's Plays* situates her adaptations in a theatrical context from the outset:

> Dear Play-goer,
>
> Imagine you have been transported to the England of William Shakespeare's time. On the banks of the River Thames is the Globe Theatre, the wooden building where all the plays in this book are to be performed. [...]
>
> For a penny you can stand in the open courtyard with other "groundlings" and see the play (watch out for pickpockets!). Or for an additional penny, you can sit among richer people in the covered galleries.
>
> There are three parts to each performance: the words that Shakespeare actually wrote are those spoken by the actors; the story, or plot of the play, is told underneath the pictures; and the spectators – who are famously rude and noisy – can be seen and heard around the stage.[8]

Williams specifically describes her adaptations as 'performances', as opposed to the 'stories' or 'tales' of the other adaptations discussed in this thesis. Her second collection of Shakespeare adaptations, *Bravo, Mr. William Shakespeare!*, goes a step further, replacing this preface with a playbill, with the heading 'The Globe Theatre is proud to present a new season of Mr. William Shakespeare's Plays' above a list of the plays which are adapted in the volume.[9] Throughout her adaptations, Williams continues to invoke both the open-air playhouses of early modern London and more modern theatrical conventions, reimagining original performance conditions in a new medium. Williams and Coville each liken their roles to theatrical ones: Williams describes how she has been able to indulge her 'megalomaniac tendencies' by acting as 'author, actor, director, set designer, and even the

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[7] From the reader's point of view, the frames around the individual panels do function as proscenia; however, as I argue later in this chapter, the varied positions of the audience members allow the 'performance' to be experienced vicariously from a variety of viewpoints around the 'stage'.

[8] Williams, *Mr. William Shakespeare's Plays* (London: Walker Books, 2000), 1st opening.

[9] Williams, *Bravo, Mr. William Shakespeare!* (London: Walker Books, 2001), 1st opening.

audience',[10] while Coville imagines himself as playwright and the various illustrators with whom he collaborates as designers.[11]

These analogies also serve to highlight the difference between author-illustrator collaborations, as Coville's adaptations are, and texts which are the work of a single author-illustrator like Williams. Williams's position as 'megalomaniac' author-illustrator makes, unsurprisingly, for a more unified text: the verbal and the visual complement each other to achieve the same end. Because he works with a different illustrator for each project, in some of Coville's picture books text and image cohere, while in others, there is a disparity between what is read and what is seen. Nikolajeva and Scott note that this is common with authors who do not illustrate their own texts:

> too many double-author picturebooks in the United States are created by a writer producing a text that is then sent by the writer's literary agent to a publisher, which then finds a suitable illustrator. The writer has no say in the choice of the illustrator or in the illustrator's choice of pictorial solutions. A picturebook text must therefore include all the details the writer regards as important, such as the setting, the appearance of the characters, and so on. This means that the text can be read and apprehended independently, and the final product is, in fact, not a picturebook, but an illustrated book.[12]

It should be noted however that although Coville does follow this process of writing the words before allowing them to be handed over to the illustrator, he has a presence in the illustration process as well: Coville posed as Prospero for Ruth Sanderson's illustrations of *The Tempest*.[13] This indicates a greater degree of co-operation between author and illustrator, but it also reflects on Coville's perception of the primacy of his authorial role, as he is posing as Prospero, a character historically aligned with Shakespeare himself.[14] Coville also describes his apprehension at the prospect of handing his texts over to be illustrated:

> Just as a playwright must, at some point (at least these days) release the play to the director, eventually I have to release the text to the artist. [...]

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[10] Williams, 'Bravo, Mr. William Shakespeare!', p. 33.
[11] Bruce Coville, 'Nutshells and Infinite Space: Stages of Adaptation', in *Reimagining Shakespeare for Children and Young Adults*, ed. by Miller, pp. 56-66 (p. 66).
[12] Nikolajeva and Scott, p. 16.
[13] Coville, 'Nutshells', p. 66.
[14] See Chapter 1, note 29.

> [O]nce he or she works out how the text will be divided and what images are to be used, I may need to make additional cuts to accommodate the design of the book.[15]

In addition to his anxiety over ceding control of his work, Coville's awareness that the artist may demand editing further influences his approach to the text. However, in contrast to the relationship described by Nikolajeva and Scott, Coville's final revisions are made with the illustrations in mind, implying that Coville's relationship with his illustrators is in fact one of mutual negotiation and revision, resulting in what Miller describes as a 'dialogic quality of voice and vision between author and illustrator'.[16]

Because of the large amount of plot that he wants to cover, coupled with his diminished control over the artwork, Coville's texts, at 3000-4000 words each, are longer than most picture books, which tend to be under 1000 words.[17] This is significant in terms of the relationship between the verbal and visual narratives in Coville's picture books. Important to the production of meaning in picture books is the degree to which the illustrations are explicitly addressed directly to the child reader. This is especially true when it comes to adaptations of 'classic' authors like Shakespeare, since, as we have seen, the language is commonly perceived as a stumbling block for less advanced readers. The view expressed by Coville in the 'Author's Note' to his version of *Hamlet* is typical of adapters of Shakespeare for children:

> Yet all too often when *Hamlet* is taught, we spend so much time working our way through that richness of language—exploring the mysteries of its metaphors, so to speak—that we lose sight of what a compelling story we have before us, a breakneck tale of ghosts, murder, madness, and revenge. One of my goals in this adaptation has been to give young readers a chance to experience *Hamlet* as a story before they begin the deeper explorations that can add so much richness to repeated experiences of the play.[18]

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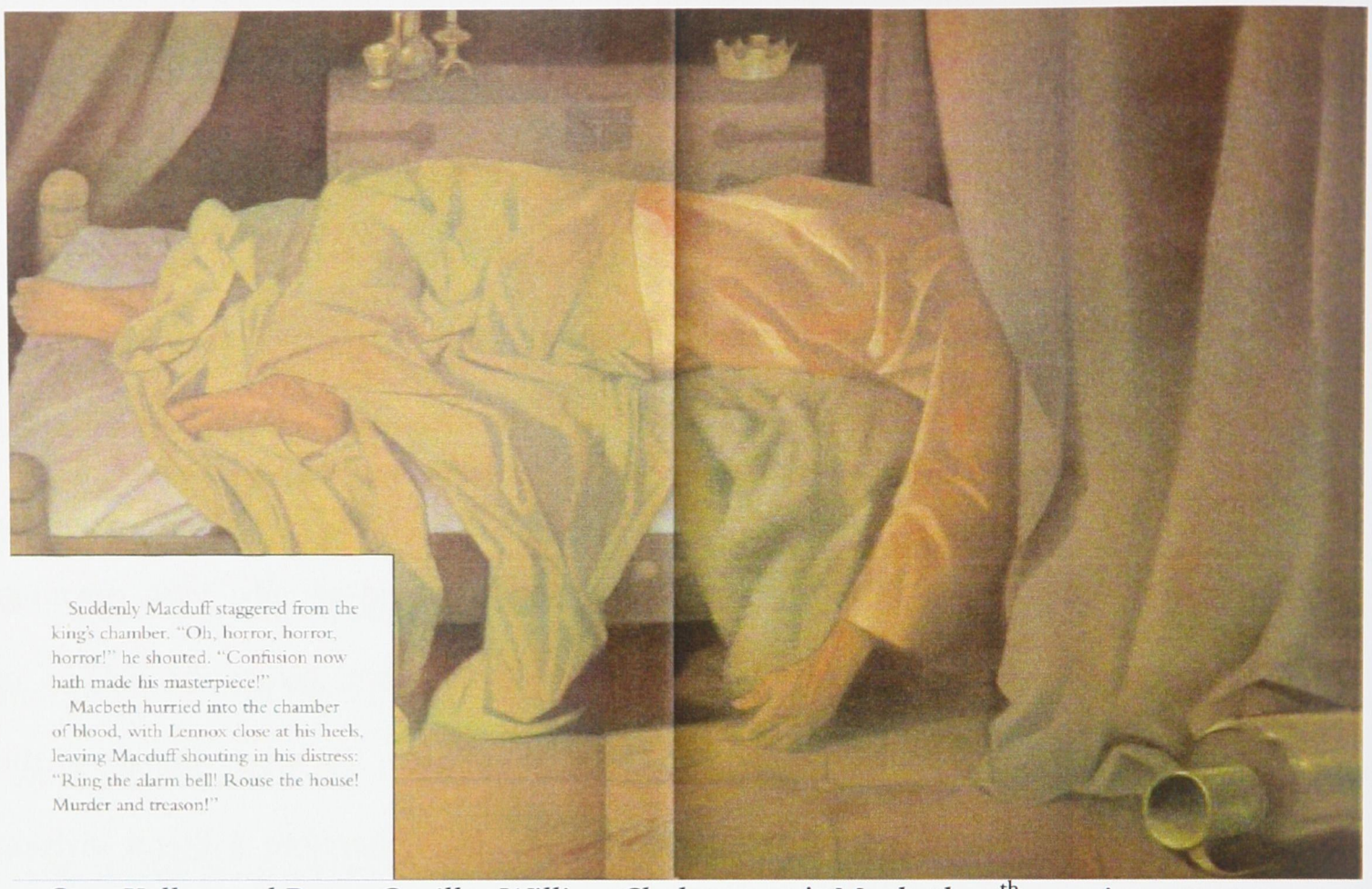
[15] Coville, 'Nutshells', p. 66.
[16] N. Miller, 'Play's the Thing', p. 145.
[17] Coville, 'Nutshells', p. 65.
[18] Coville, *William Shakespeare's Hamlet*, illus. by Leonid Gore (New York: Dial, 2004), 2nd opening. This observation echoes Nesbit's account of her daughters' trouble with the language of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, quoted above, in which she encourages her daughters to begin with the 'stories', as retold by Nesbit, and to come to Shakespeare's words later. Coville also alludes to this passage in his 'Note' to his version of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Coville, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 22nd opening).

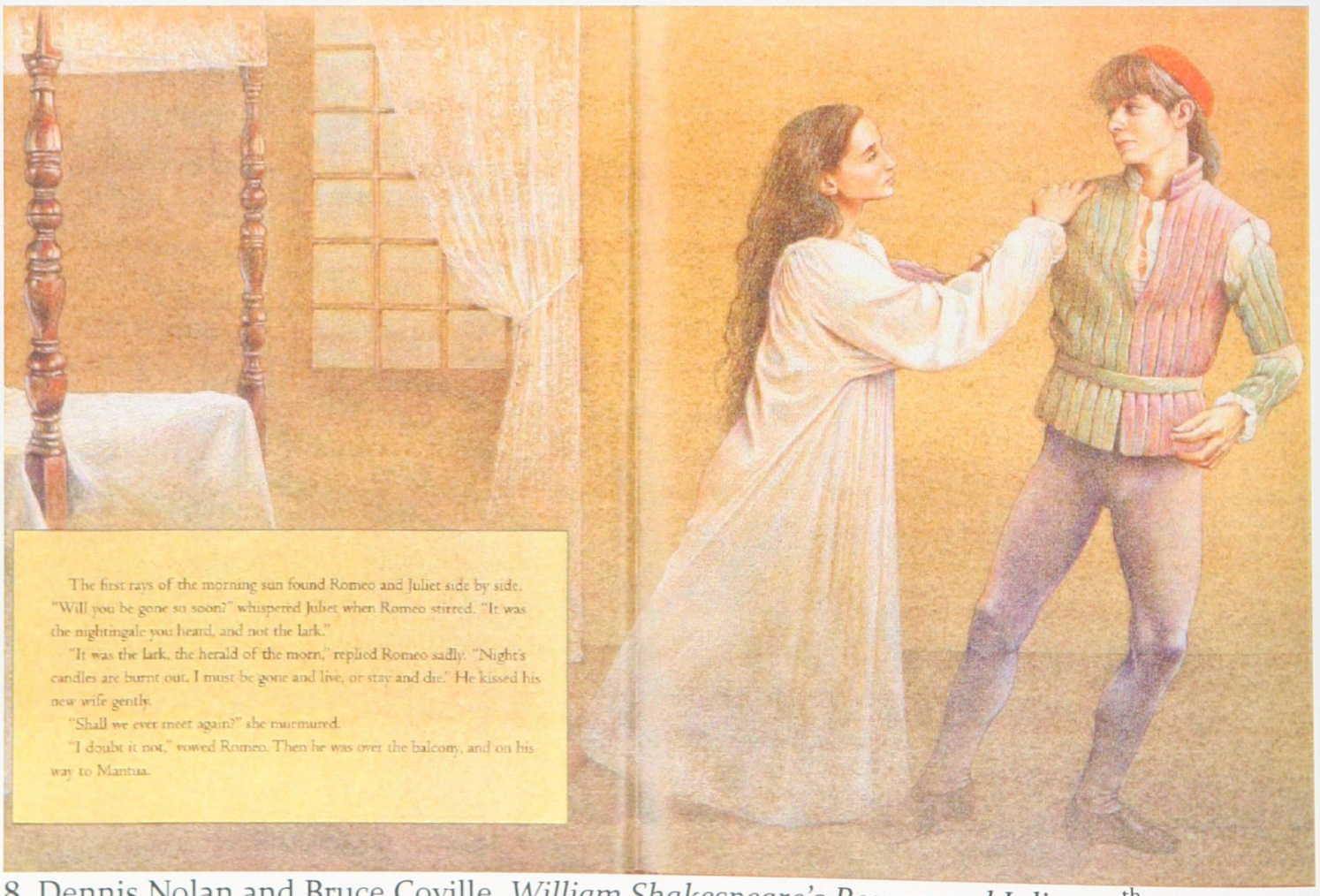
Similarly, series like SparkNotes' *No Fear Shakespeare*, which translate Shakespeare's plays into modern English, begin from the assumption that young readers are likely to have trouble with the language, but that early exposure to the plots of the plays is valuable. Because it is anticipated that less confident readers will have trouble with the verbal narrative, the visual narrative represented by the illustrations is often presented as a 'way in' for the less confident readers who are imagined to prefer reading picture books. The illustrator therefore has a great deal of control over how the text is likely to be read by its target audience.

In Coville's books, text and image are seemingly treated equally: most openings have a full-page image and a portion of text facing each other, giving the illusion of balance. However, because each image is enclosed by a frame, the visual impact of the images is contained and therefore diminished. There exists therefore a literal division between word and image. This decision was probably made to make the publishers' lives easier since Coville works independently from his illustrators. In addition, because the layout of the books separates the text from the illustrations—there are no speech bubbles as in Williams—there is often a sense of reading two parallel narratives, one told verbally and the other told visually, which belies the fact that what is not illustrated is in many ways just as important as what is, as we shall see later. In most of Coville's adaptations, there are two or three illustrations which take up a full double spread, presumably because of their visual impact, as in the discovery of Duncan's body in *Macbeth*, Romeo and Juliet parting from each other, or Oberon sending Puck to 'overcast the night' in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (see Figures 7-9).[19] Each of these images consists of a two-page illustration and a small amount of text in a box in the corner. Paradoxically, in each of these instances, the impact of the image is so strong as to render the text superfluous, so that the text, even as

[19] Coville, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 18th opening; *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, III.2.356.



7. Gary Kelley and Bruce Coville, *William Shakespeare's Macbeth*, 11th opening.



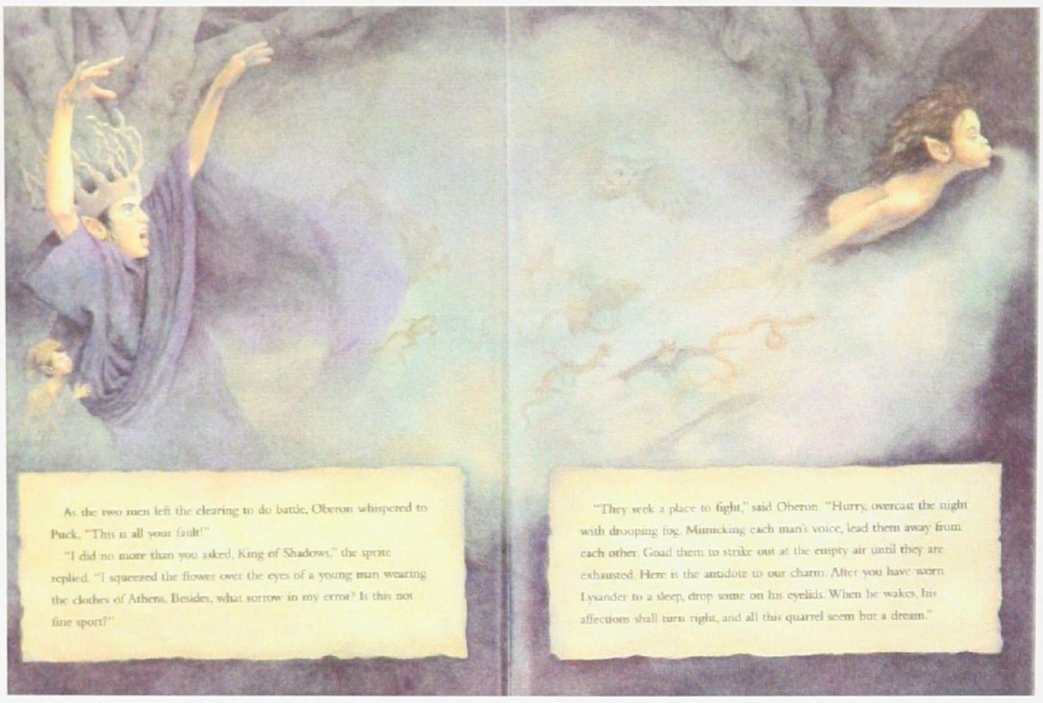
8. Dennis Nolan and Bruce Coville, *William Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet*, 14th opening.

it clarifies what is being shown in the illustration, comes across as intrusive and unnecessary.

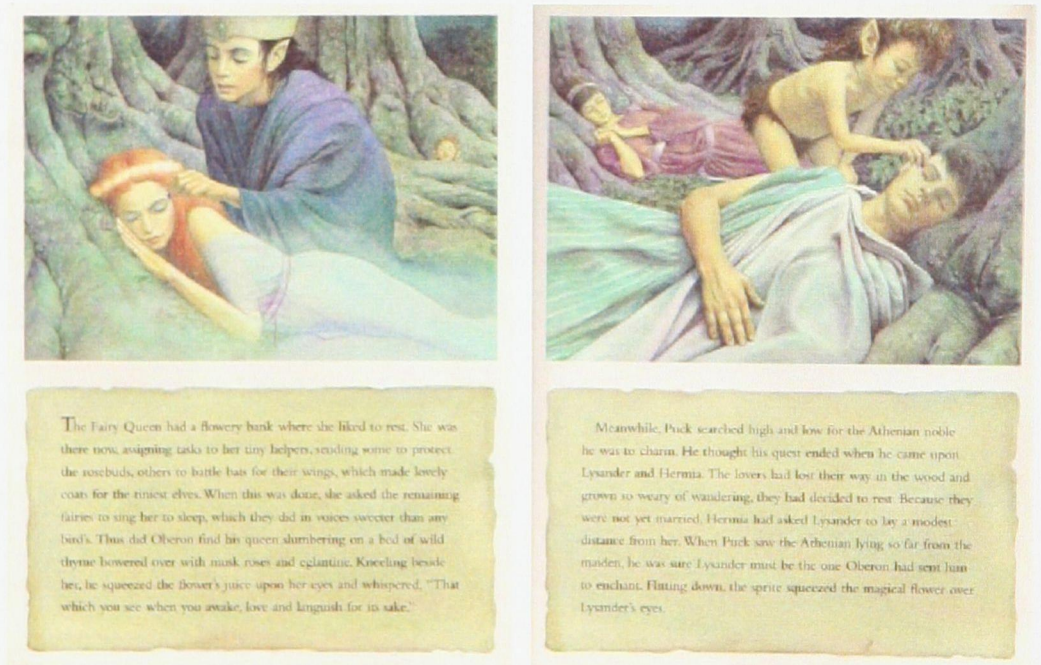
The other exceptions in Coville to the general rule of text on one side of the page and image on the other occur when there are two images facing each other, one on the verso and one on the recto. The layout is significant in these cases: the relationship between the two images can illustrate what is only implied in the words. For example, in the eleventh opening of Coville's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the verso features an image of Oberon squeezing the juice of the magical flower into Titania's eyes while Puck watches from behind a tree. The recto illustration is a mirror image of this, with Puck squeezing the same juice into Lysander's eyes. The two images meet in the centre, and almost blend seamlessly into each other. However, a second look reveals that the recto image is actually the verso image from Puck's perspective: in the visual narrative, he has watched Oberon drugging Titania and then turned around to drug Lysander (see Figure 10). Similarly, when Macbeth sees Banquo's ghost, the verso image is of a startled Macbeth, and the viewer only needs to follow his gaze in order to see what he sees on the recto, where Banquo's ghost approaches (see Figure 11).

In Williams's texts, the visual narrative is privileged over the verbal, and the former is aligned specifically with the child reader. Williams writes, 'Comic strips require skilled reading and it is my experience that children, particularly of primary school age, are far better at this than adults. In a comic strip it is not enough to be literate, you must also be visually literate.'[20] Williams uses the conventions of the comic book to depict each of the plays in performance in a Globe-style playhouse, putting Shakespeare's dialogue into the mouths of the 'actors', while providing narration at the bottom of each panel. There are multiple levels of narration at work here: in addition to the narration at the bottom of each panel, the action onstage is narrated through both dialogue and images, while the audience

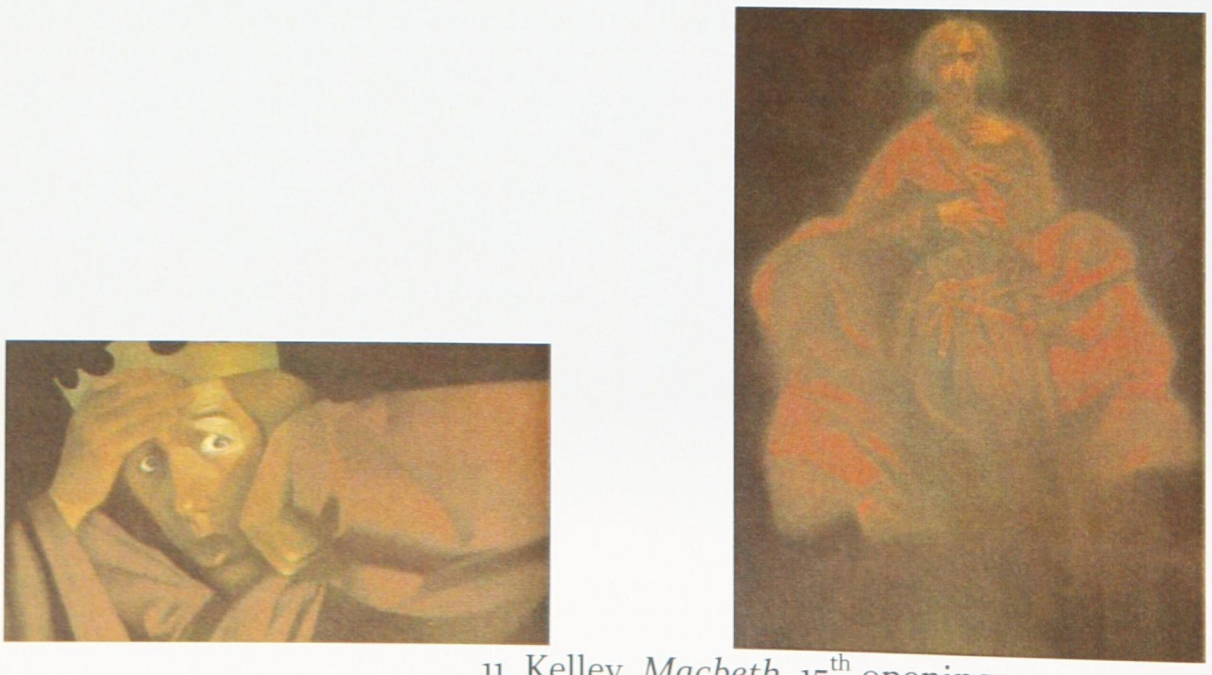
[20] Williams, 'Bravo, Mr. William Shakespeare!', p. 35.



9. Nolan and Coville, *William Shakespeare's A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 18th opening.



10. Nolan and Coville, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 11th opening.



11. Kelley, *Macbeth*, 15th opening.

that forms a border on each page provides yet another set of dialogue and images in their reactions to the play being presented 'onstage'. There are visual and verbal distinctions between Williams's rendition of her working class groundlings along the bottom of the page, and the middle- and upper-class patrons who occupy the middle and upper galleries along either side of the action. These distinctions may not reflect the composition of early modern audiences, but Williams's representations of the Globe audience are intentionally anachronistic.[21] The audience members speak in modern vernacular, indicating their position as intermediaries between the reader and the onstage action, and allowing them to relate to both the reader and the actors. This is similar to the strategy used by Terry Deary in his *Horrible Histories* series,[22] of which Margaret Scanlan notes, 'a favorite ploy is to use blatant anachronisms and make historic figures speak in modern colloquial terms'.[23] Like Deary, Williams uses anachronistic modern colloquialisms deliberately in order to get the implied reader onside, as they serve to narrow the gap between past and present. The spectators interact with the 'actors' and with each other, commenting on the action but also alluding to historical events and early modern theatre conditions. One comments during *Hamlet*, 'I hope Will gets knighted for this', and another responds, 'Never! The Queen only knights explorers',[24] and a groundling at *Richard III* complains that '[b]eing a groundling is a pain in the neck'.[25] There are several recurring characters, who attend multiple 'performances', allowing for running gags to build up,[26] indicating an awareness on Williams's part of the appeal of recurring characters to young readers and calling to mind Victor Watson's observation that the popularity of series fiction among young

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[21] For example, in perhaps the most glaring inaccuracy, Queen Elizabeth is present at every 'performance', even those which were almost certainly not performed in her lifetime, such as *Macbeth* and *The Tempest*.
[22] See especially Terry Deary and Neil Tonge, *The Terrible Tudors*, illus. by Martin Brown, Horrible Histories (London: Scholastic, 1993); Terry Deary, *Even More Terrible Tudors*, illus. by Martin Brown, Horrible Histories (London: Scholastic, 1998).
[23] Margaret Scanlan, 'History Beyond the Academy: Humor and Horror in Children's History Books', *New Review of Children's Literature and Librarianship* 16 (2011), 69-94 (p. 86).
[24] Williams, *Plays*, 6th opening.
[25] Williams, *Bravo*, 9th opening.
[26] Queen Elizabeth I and Shakespeare make appearances at each performance, and other recurring characters include the Master of the Revels (who typically appears threatening to close the theatre), a Puritan who tries to win converts, and an aspiring actor looking for work.

readers has to do with its ability to offer 'the continued satisfaction of observing the same characters over a long period of fictional and real time'.[27] Because of this, the text also lends itself to repeat readings, as the reader is encouraged to seek out these connections between the plays: when one audience member at *Macbeth* asks another, 'Didn't I see you at Hamlet?', the reader can turn back to *Hamlet* and search for these characters (see Figure 12).[28]

The audience members also interact with the reader, one particularly noticeable instance occurring in *Richard III*: in the first opening of this play, the last panel on the recto features Richard's coronation, and an audience member directly under this panel looks at the reader and asks, 'Now, do you dare turn the page?' (see Figure 13).[29] In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, as the characters onstage watch the performance of *Pyramus and Thisby*, a woman in the middle gallery faces the reader and asks, 'Are we the audience or are they?',[30] a question that neatly encapsulates the multiple levels of performance and spectatorship both in the play and in Williams's text while also drawing attention to the reader's own spectatorial position (see Figure 14). Williams's audience can be read as an enactment of Rosemary Johnston's observation that in children's theatre '[t]he play that is being presented is only one aspect of the performance; the role of audience is being performed as well'.[31] In Williams's *As You Like It*, the famous 'All the world's a stage' speech is presented in the same panel as Orlando's entry into Duke Senior's circle, so that the speech and the meeting seem to occur simultaneously.[32] This means that Jaques's delivery of this set piece competes with the dialogue between Orlando and the duke for the audience's (and the reader's) attention. While Shakespeare can be seen in the audience boasting, 'Not a lot, but

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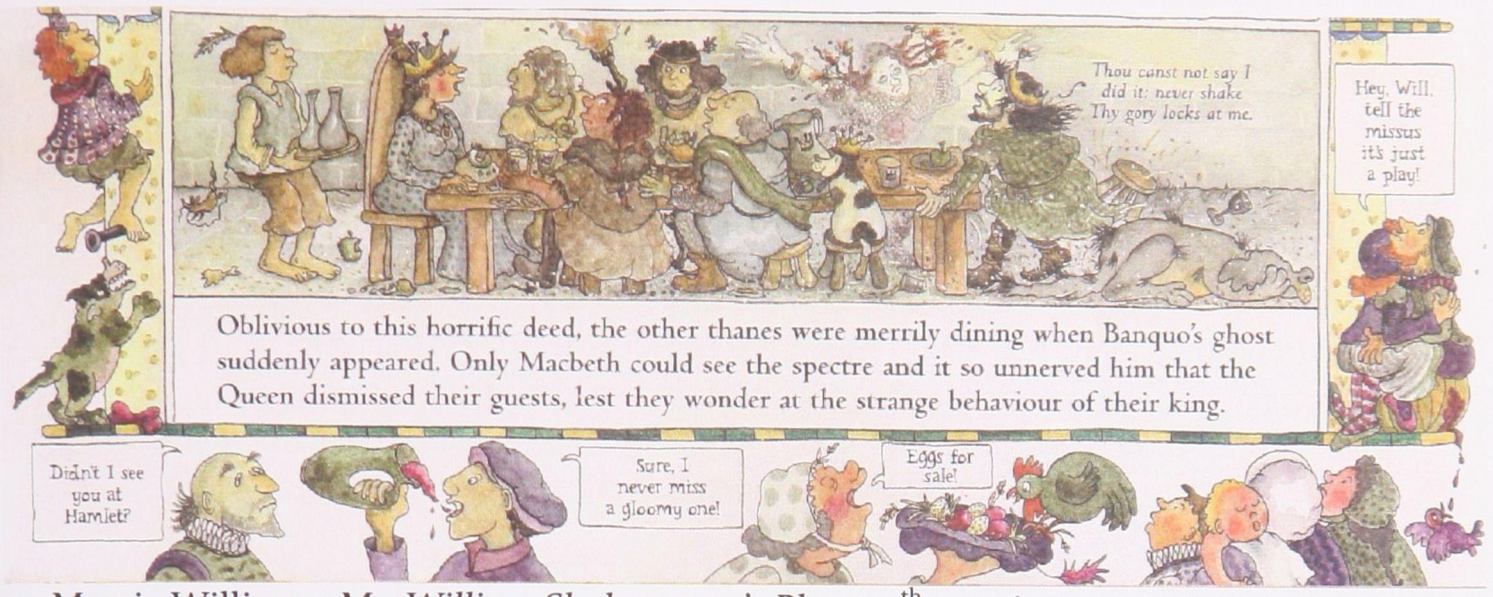
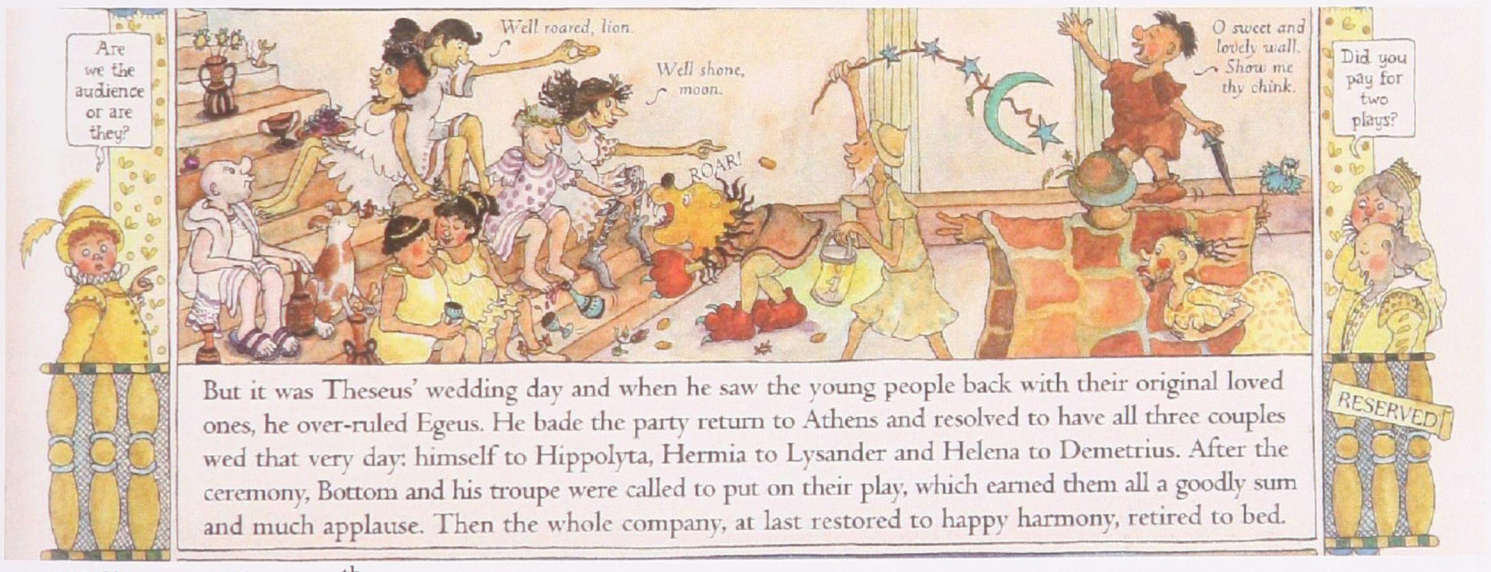
[27] Victor Watson, *Reading Series Fiction: From Arthur Ransome to Gene Kemp* (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2000), p. 7.
[28] Williams, *Plays*, 11th and 5th openings.
[29] Williams, *Bravo*, 8th opening.
[30] Williams, *Plays*, 9th opening.
[31] Rosemary Johnston, '"All the World's a Stage": Children's Literature as Performance', in *Children's Literature and Childhood in Performance*, ed. by Kimberley Reynolds (Lichfield: Pied Piper Publishing, 2003), pp. 57-67 (p. 64).
[32] Cf. *As You Like It*, II.7.139-67 and II.7.88, respectively.



12. Marcia Williams, *Mr. William Shakespeare's Plays*, 11th opening.

13. Williams, *Bravo, Mr. William Shakespeare!*, 8th opening.



14. Williams, *Plays*, 9th opening.

it's a great speech!' another audience member shouts, 'Hey, Will! What's them seven acts got to do with this plot?'.[33] The narration at the bottom of this panel also acknowledges that this famous speech has little to no relevance to the plot of the play:

> When Orlando and Adam reached the forest, they too felt tired and hungry, especially the aged Adam. Fortunately, they came across the deposed duke's camp where they were made welcome. As Adam revived, one of the duke's courtiers, Jaques, entertained them with a long speech.[34]

Shakespeare's supposed authorial wisdom is here directly challenged, implicitly giving readers licence to question ideas imparted by an adult authority.

Williams writes, 'while the rest of the book may be considered my retelling of Shakespeare's conversation with his reader, the audiences' speech bubbles are my conversation with my reader, our personal interaction, gossip, backchat'.[35] Unlike her predecessors, Williams positions herself on the side of her reader, rather than that of Shakespeare, continually using her audience members to destabilize the reader's received notions of Shakespeare as high art. In this way, her relationship with her reader is collusive rather than didactic. When Williams has Shakespeare complain to two young street performers in the yard during *Hamlet*, 'You children are distracting my audience',[36] the remark is therefore a knowing aside to the reader, a joke about the supposed exclusivity of Shakespeare since, of course, the book's implied audience is made up of children (see Figure 15). Similarly, during *Romeo and Juliet*, a mother encourages her son to '[w]atch, dear. Nice Mr Shakespeare wrote this just for you', and her son replies, 'Boring',[37] and a school group watching *Julius Caesar* seems to be enjoying the play until their teacher gives them an assignment to 'write about the fall of the Roman Republic, in Latin' (see Figure 16).[38] In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, a groundling asks, 'Is this good for my education?',

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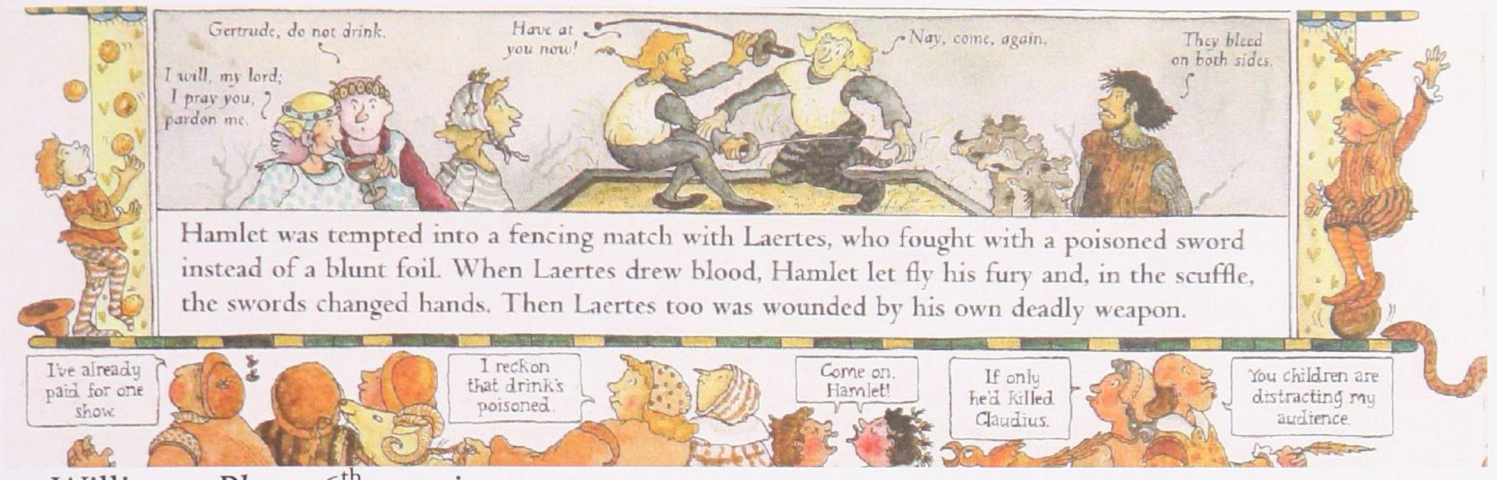
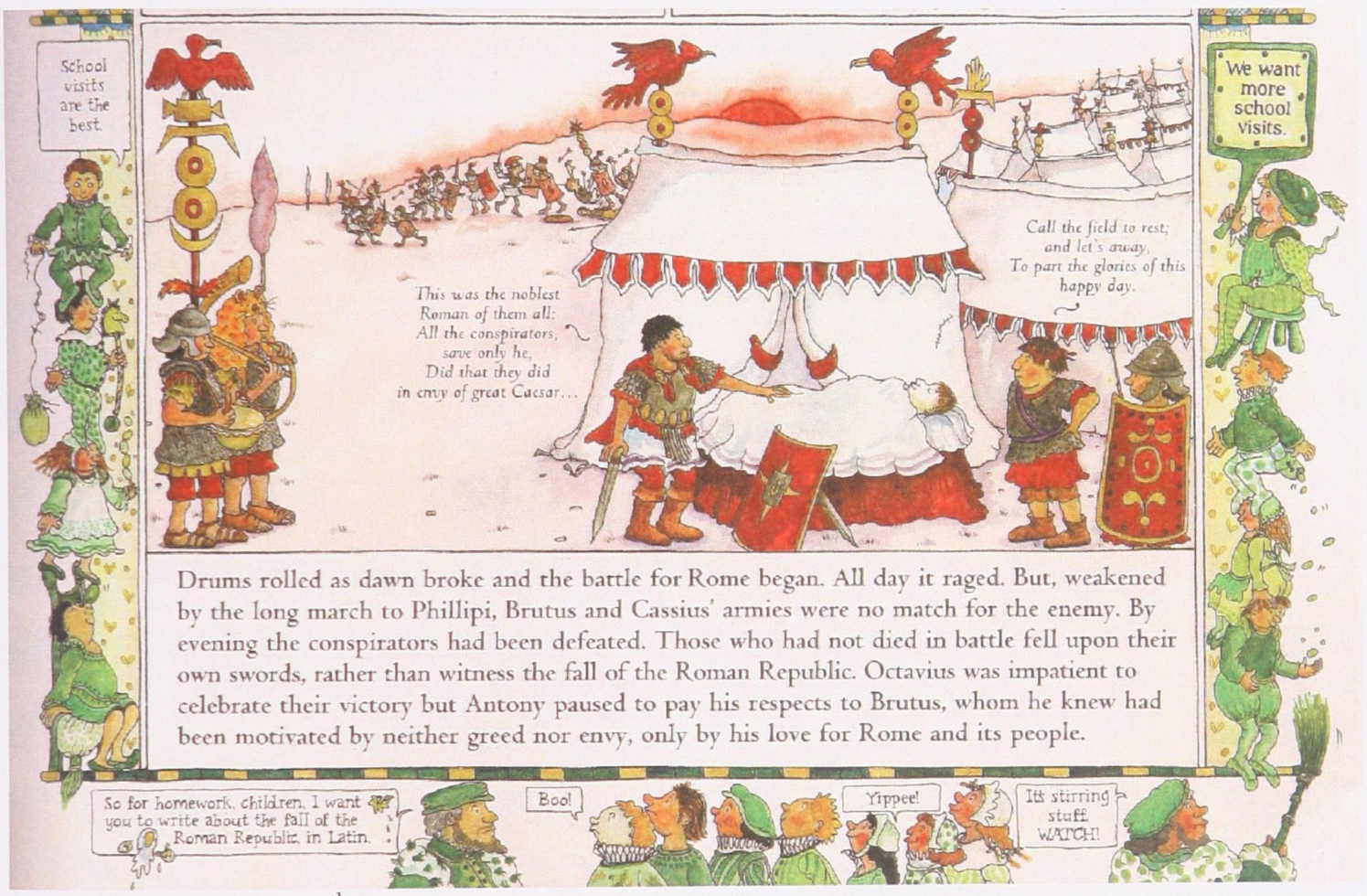
[33] Williams, *Bravo*, 3rd opening.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Williams, 'Bravo, Mr. William Shakespeare!', p. 34.
[36] Williams, *Plays*, 6th opening.
[37] Williams, *Plays*, 3rd opening.
[38] Williams, *Plays*, 16th opening.



15. Williams, *Plays*, 6th opening.



16. Williams, *Plays*, 16th opening.

while her companion replies, 'I doubt it, dear'.[39] In each of these instances, Williams situates her text in opposition to a boring and outdated mode of classroom learning of Shakespeare, and uses her on-page audience to undermine the notion that Shakespeare is only accessible to an elite set of educated adults.

Williams's on-page audience acts as a mediating presence between the reader and the action, assisting the reader to interpret what is happening onstage. Rather than directing the reader toward a unilateral interpretation, however, this strategy allows for multiple perspectives to exist simultaneously. As Marchitello notes, Williams replaces the 'monological nature of more conventional adaptations' with 'a staged polyvocality', which 'serves to displace the "content" of the plays and offer instead models for multiple points of entry into and understanding of the plays'.[40] Williams uses her audience members to call into question the interpretation presented by the 'actors' or the narration. In her adaptation of *The Merchant of Venice*, for example, when Bassanio wins Portia in the casket scene, two of the spectators argue over whether Bassanio's intentions are honourable: one says, 'I think he's just a fortune-hunter', and another replies, 'No, he really loves her', while a third asks, 'Really loves her money, d'you mean?'.[41] When it comes to the end, as the characters on the 'stage' are celebrating, one audience member says, 'I feel sorry for Shylock,' and another asks, 'Is this really a comedy?',[42] thus undermining the unequivocally happy ending presented by the characters on Williams's stage (see Figures 17 and 18). One frame in Williams's *King Lear* demonstrates exactly how the various levels of narrative compete in her adaptations. The narration reads, 'Cordelia's suitor, the King of France, admired her honesty, and asked her to marry him.' Within the frame, France speaks the line, 'Thee and thy virtues here I seize upon';[43] however, the illustration overtly undermines

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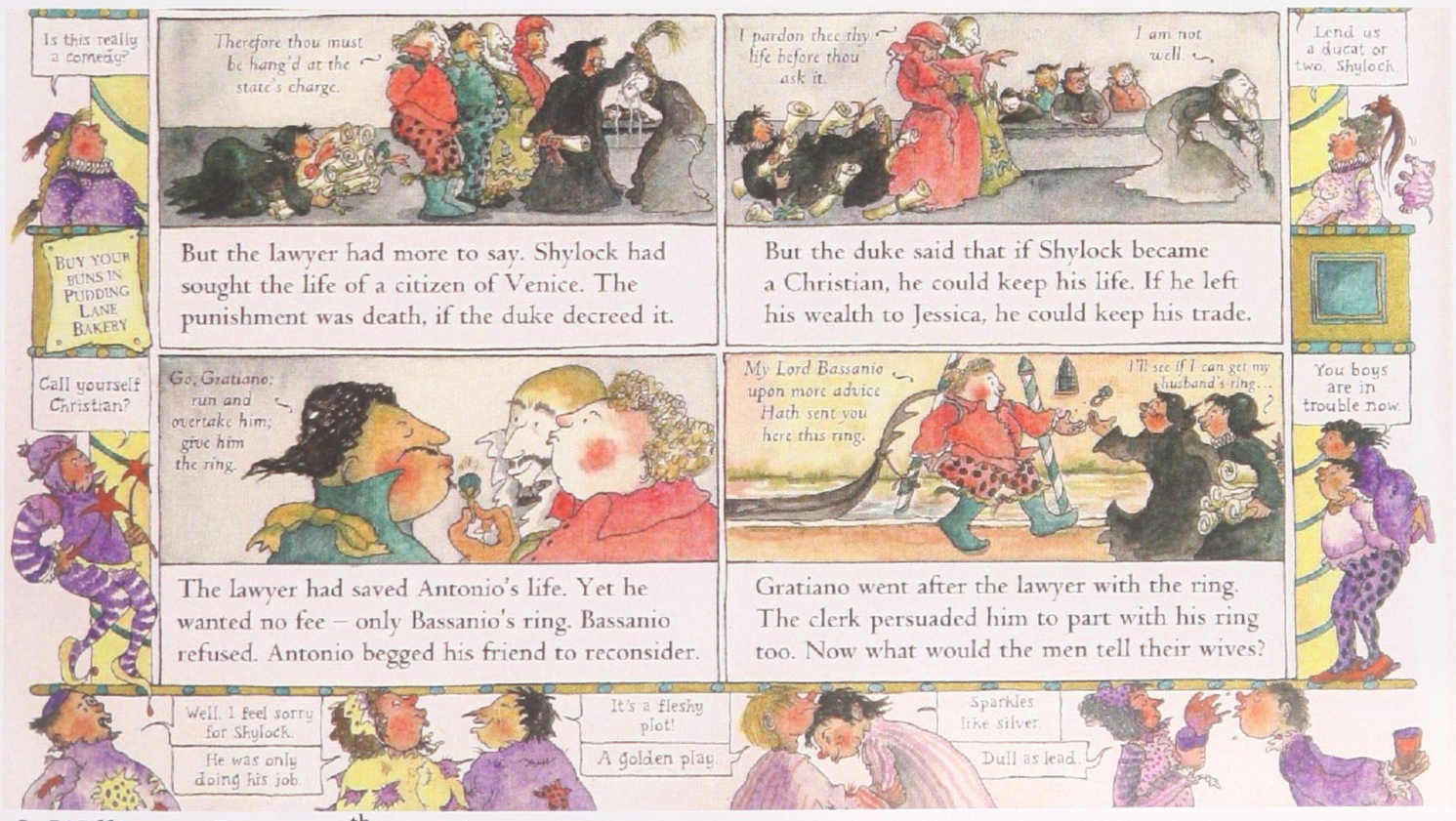
[39] Williams, *Plays*, 7th opening.
[40] Marchitello, p. 186.
[41] Williams, *Bravo*, 15th opening.
[42] Williams, *Bravo*, 16th opening.
[43] *The Tragedy of King Lear*, 1.1.252.

17. Williams, *Bravo*, 15th opening.



18. Williams, *Bravo*, 16th opening.

the interpretation of this line offered by the narration, as France 'seizes' Cordelia from behind and carries her offstage (see Figure 19). The speech and action onstage is then interpreted in two opposing ways by the audience members, as one woman asks, 'Francey, any more like you at home?', while Queen Elizabeth from her royal box declares, 'Being a virgin queen does avoid these problems.'[44]

In each of these examples, there is a variety of interpretations on offer, and the reader is encouraged to engage with the debate and join with the audience members in questioning what's being presented. As Miller puts it, 'Williams's versions give her young readers a shared experience of viewing the plays alongside other audience members, encouraging their own right to involved commentary'.[45] The child reader is put in the position of an audience member at a performance of Shakespeare, presented with a series of visual and verbal cues, sometimes complementary and sometimes contradictory, and forced to sift through these multivalent interpretive options to extrapolate meaning. Unlike the Lambs and their successors, who seek to explain and simplify Shakespeare's plays for children, with Williams the right of interpretation is given back to the child reader. Williams's reader is allowed to be a participant in the interpretive process rather than a receptacle of instruction. This is not to say that Williams does not direct the focus of the reader; she does, but in the same way as the director of a theatrical production directs an audience's focus, through visual cues such as set and costume design, gesture, and staging.

Williams's strategy is in contrast to that of Coville's texts, in which the text and illustrations manipulate the reader into identifying with a single character's perspective. In Coville's adaptation of *Romeo and Juliet*, for example, the reader is gradually drawn from the position of detached observer into identification with Romeo through a variety of focalization techniques. Nolan's first illustration features the street brawl of I.1 (see Figure 20). The illustration sets the scene in a large Verona square, and the architecture of the

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[44] Williams, *Bravo*, 12th opening.
[45] N. Miller, 'Play's the Thing', p. 147.

19. Williams, *Bravo*, 12th opening.

20. Nolan, illustration for *Romeo and Juliet* (Coville), 2nd opening.

buildings and the size of the square are most prominent. The figures fighting are tiny by comparison and too small to be recognized individually, encouraging the viewer to focus first on the setting and then on the nameless, faceless characters. The viewer therefore begins the visual narrative from the position of a detached and uninformed observer, and the opening narration follows the same line of focus:

> Once in fair Verona there lived two families who had fought for so long that no one could remember why their quarrel first began. Now whenever the Montagues and the Capulets met in the streets, a battle was sure to follow. Thus it was one summer day when a sharp word and a rude gesture quickly led to drawn swords and a building brawl.[46]

On the opening featuring the balcony scene,[47] the illustration features Juliet on her balcony, but then the page actually opens vertically to reveal Romeo standing on the ground below the balcony, and we are made to realize that we have been sharing Romeo's gaze as he looks up at Juliet (see Figure 21). Because Romeo is on the same level as the text, with Juliet suspended above it, the viewer is here placed in Romeo's position. The text supports this as the scene is narrated from Romeo's point of view:

> Romeo slipped away from his friends as they left the party. He climbed the wall of old Capulet's orchard and stood outside the house. A window opened. Juliet stepped onto her balcony.
>
> 'What light through yonder window breaks?' whispered Romeo. 'It is the East, and Juliet is the sun.'
>
> 'O Romeo, Romeo,' said Juliet to the night. ''Tis but thy name that is my enemy. What's in a name? That which we call a rose by any other word would smell as sweet. Discard thy name, which is no part of thee, and in return take all myself.'
>
> Romeo could keep still no longer. 'I take thee at thy word. Call me but love, and henceforth I never will be Romeo.'[48]

The reader's identification with Romeo is carried through to his fight with Tybalt. Tybalt's fight with Mercutio is not shown; instead, the images on the openings leading up it are focused on Romeo: there is a double spread illustration of the marriage of Romeo and Juliet, and then on the following opening the image is of Romeo kneeling over the dying

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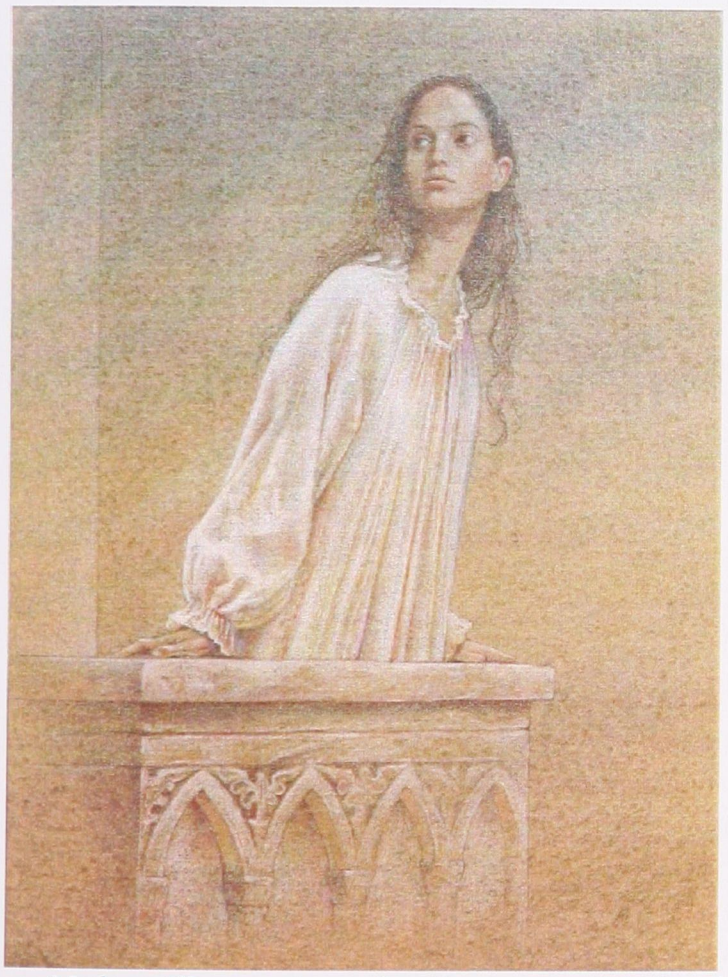
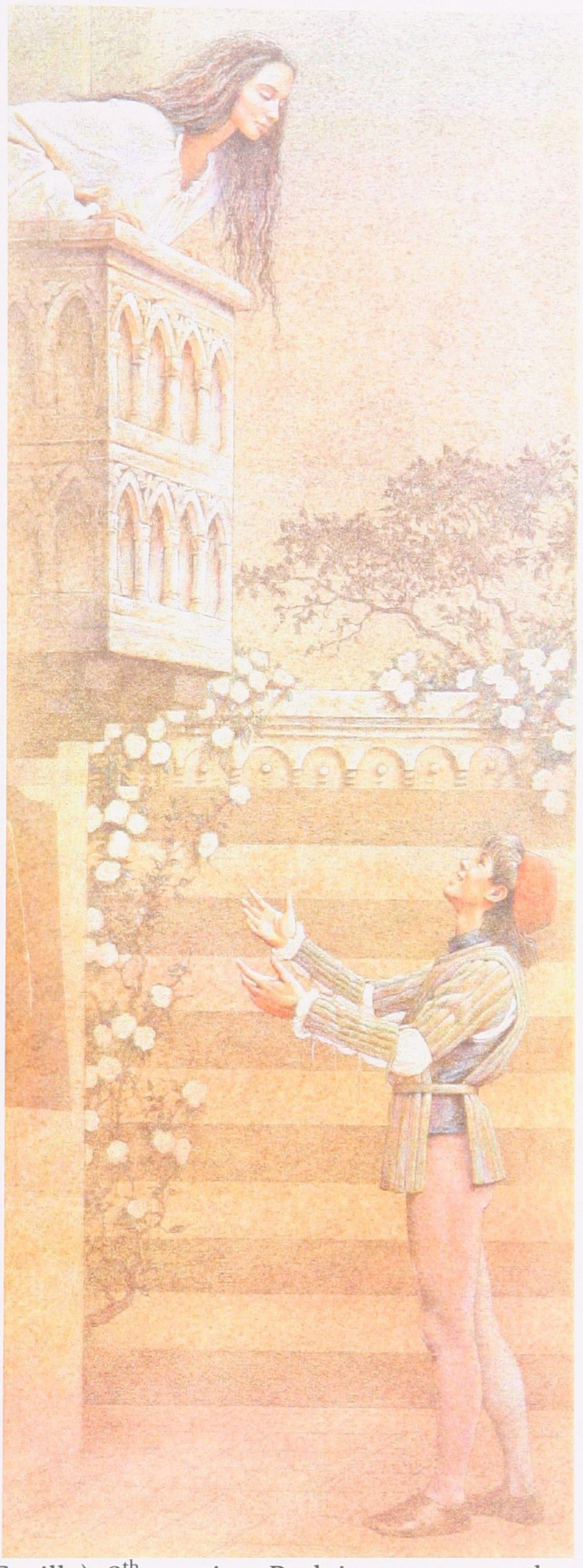
[46] Coville, *Romeo and Juliet*, 2nd opening.
[47] *Romeo and Juliet*, II.1.43-234.
[48] Coville, *Romeo and Juliet*, 8th opening.





21. Nolan, illustrations for *Romeo and Juliet* (Coville), 8th opening. Both images are on the recto side of the page, which opens vertically to reveal the second image.

Mercutio (see Figures 22 and 23). This places the focus on Romeo's grief and his recently acquired kinship with Tybalt, rather than on the events leading up to the fight. When Romeo fights with Tybalt, the image focuses on Tybalt's rage rather than Romeo's. Romeo is half out of the frame and has seemingly just stepped back, in a defensive position, while Tybalt furiously swings his sword 'about his head' (see Figure 24).[49] The illustration creates a clear impression that Tybalt is the attacker and Romeo is the defender, while the text creates the opposite impression: 'Wild with rage, Romeo leaped to his feet. [...] Tybalt was on him in a flash. But Romeo fought like a mad dog. When the battle was over, Tybalt lay dead on the pavement.'[50] Taken together, the tension between text and image neatly encapsulates the moral paradox concerning revenge that Shakespeare's own text introduces at this moment in the play, as Romeo is simultaneously figured as victim and aggressor.

Later twentieth-century adapters have been less concerned about exposing children to moral corruption than they have been about exposing them to psychological trauma, and accordingly their cuts and revisions are more likely to be to scenes which are dark or disturbing. The texts produced by Coville vary according to the illustrator, and as a result his versions of *Macbeth* and *Hamlet*, easily the darkest plays he adapts, are markedly different from each other. However, despite these differences, the texts of both Coville and Williams strive to create a safe environment in which to work through dark or difficult themes by distancing the reader from the immediacy of potentially disturbing situations. Coville's adaptations of *Macbeth* and *Hamlet* are separated by seven years (they were published in 1997 and 2004 respectively), and Gary Kelley and Leonid Gore approach their respective illustrations in very different ways. King, in his study of the supernatural in children's Shakespeares, makes the point that it is the decisions of the illustrator which determine whether supernatural forces 'come across as benevolent, dangerous, fearsome,

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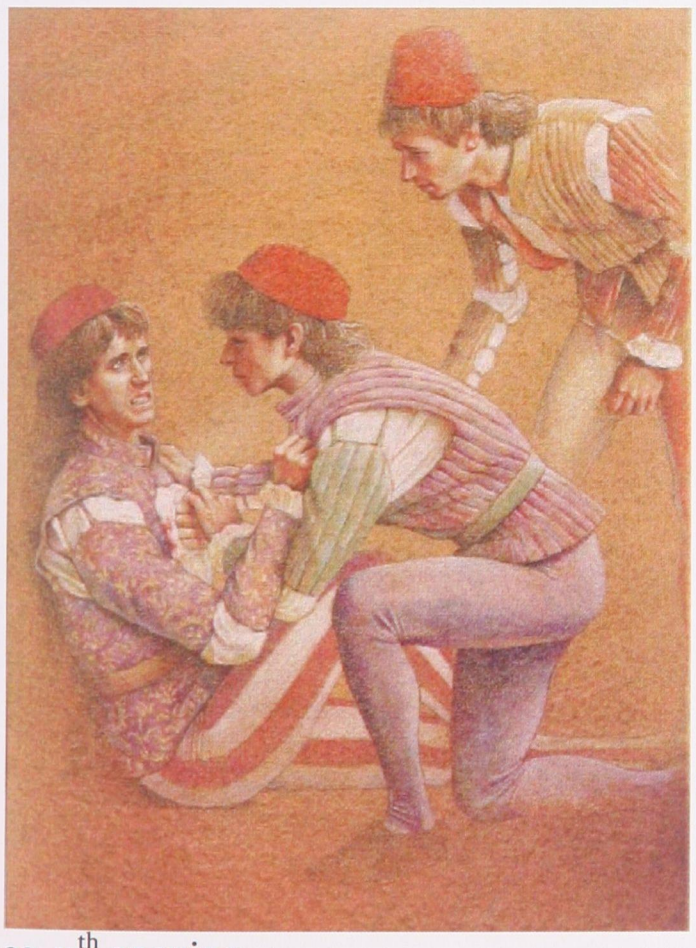
[49] *Romeo and Juliet*, 1.1.108.
[50] Coville, *Romeo and Juliet*, 12th opening.

Nolan and Coville, *Romeo and Juliet*.

22. 10th opening.



23. 11th opening.

24. 12th opening.

controllable, and so forth',[51] and the representation in particular of the ghosts and witches in *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* by each illustrator is indicative of their overall approach to the play. In addition, the choices of which scenes are to be illustrated, and how, indicate how the reader is meant to interpret each play. In Kelley's illustrations for *Macbeth*, supernatural scenes—the witches, ghosts, and apparitions—account for a disproportionate amount of the illustrations. In the cauldron scene,[52] there is an illustration devoted to each of the apparitions that the witches conjure, in addition to a two-page spread of the witches (see Figures 25-27). This means that one scene in the play takes three openings and four illustrations to narrate (out of a total of twenty-five openings), while other scenes are cut entirely due to space constraints.

Kelley's illustrations of the apparitions are fairly menacing, but despite Coville's claim that he chose to adapt *Macbeth* because 'kids like the grim and gory',[53] there is no actual bloodshed depicted in the illustrations. None of the play's many murders is illustrated; they are alluded to in Coville's narrative, but never shown. Coville has Macbeth decide that Banquo must die, and the next we hear of it is at the banquet, where Macbeth hears the report that 'Banquo is dead, but Fleance has escaped'.[54] Similarly, in Coville's text, the scene which directly follows Macbeth's orders to '[e]nter Macduff's castle' and '[p]ut the traitor's wife and children to the sword'[55] describes Macduff receiving the news of his family's slaughter. Williams's narration likewise informs the reader that 'Macbeth ordered the death of Macduff's wife and children',[56] but the illustration accompanying this text is of Macduff and Malcolm receiving the news (see Figure 28). In the 'Author's Note' that precedes the text, Coville justifies the cuts he has made to the text, noting that some were necessary due to space constraints. He writes:

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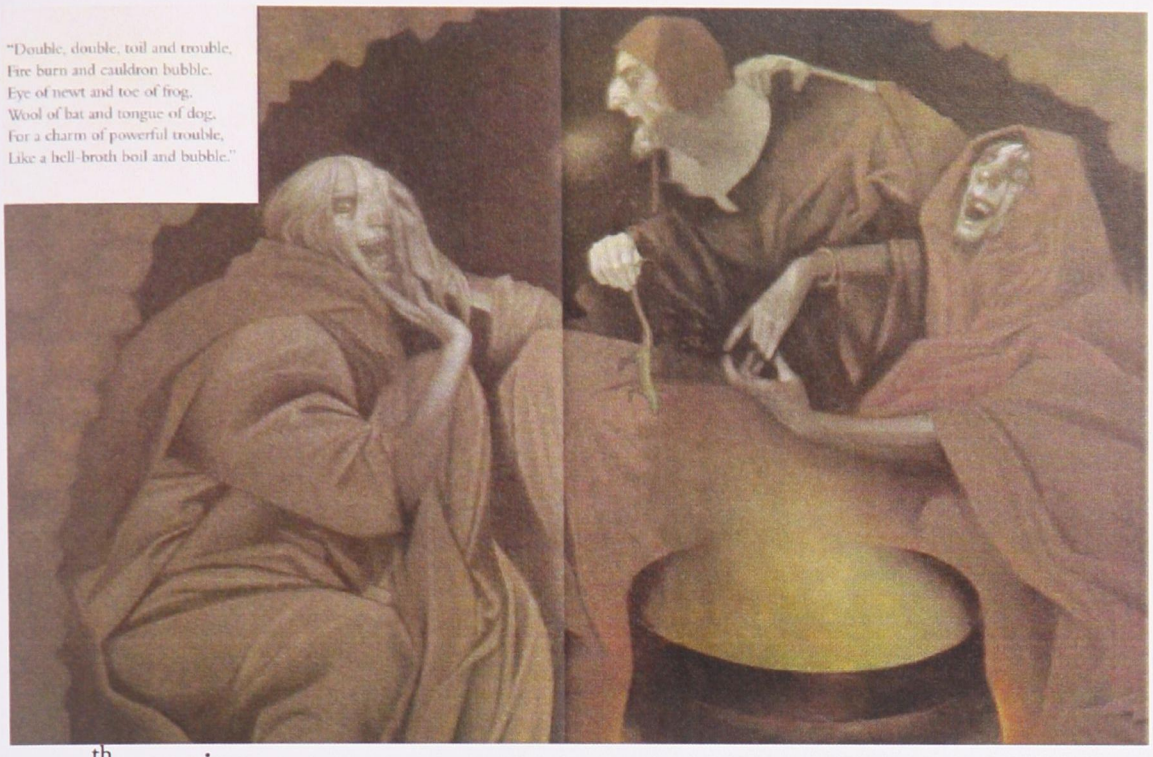
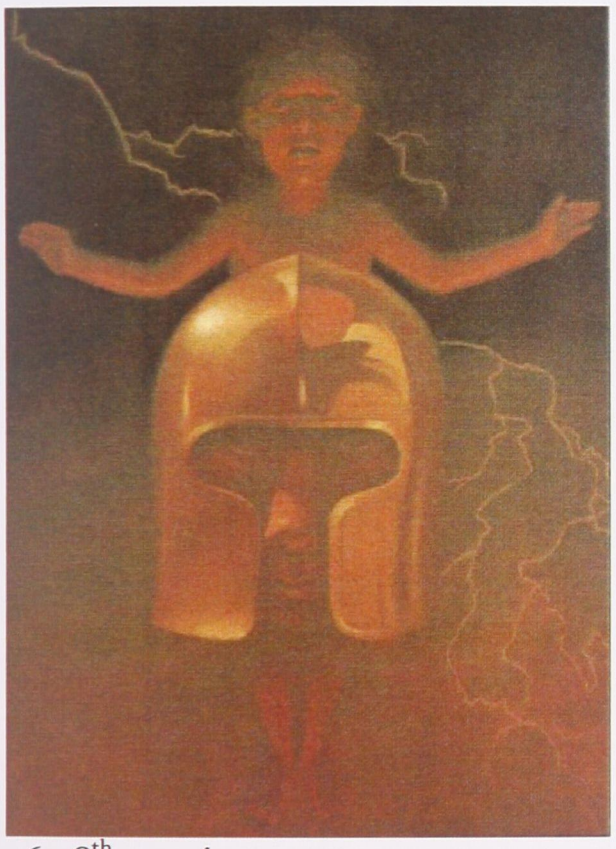
[51] King, p. 130.
[52] *Macbeth*, IV.1.1-140.
[53] Coville, 'Nutshells', p. 60.
[54] Coville, *William Shakespeare's Macbeth*, illus. by Gary Kelley (New York: Dial, 1997), 14th opening.
[55] Coville, *Macbeth*, 20th opening.
[56] Williams, *Plays*, 12th opening.

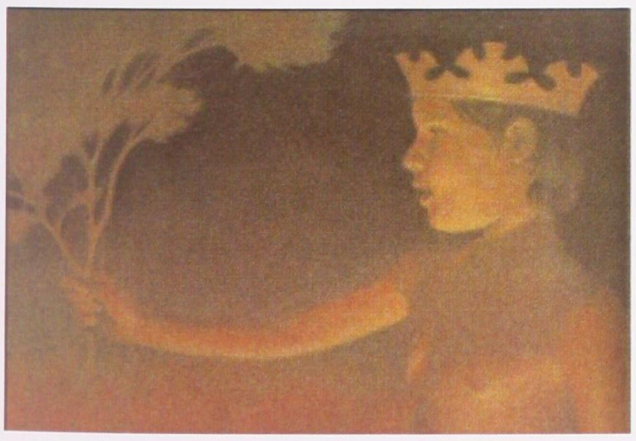
Kelley and Coville, *Macbeth.*



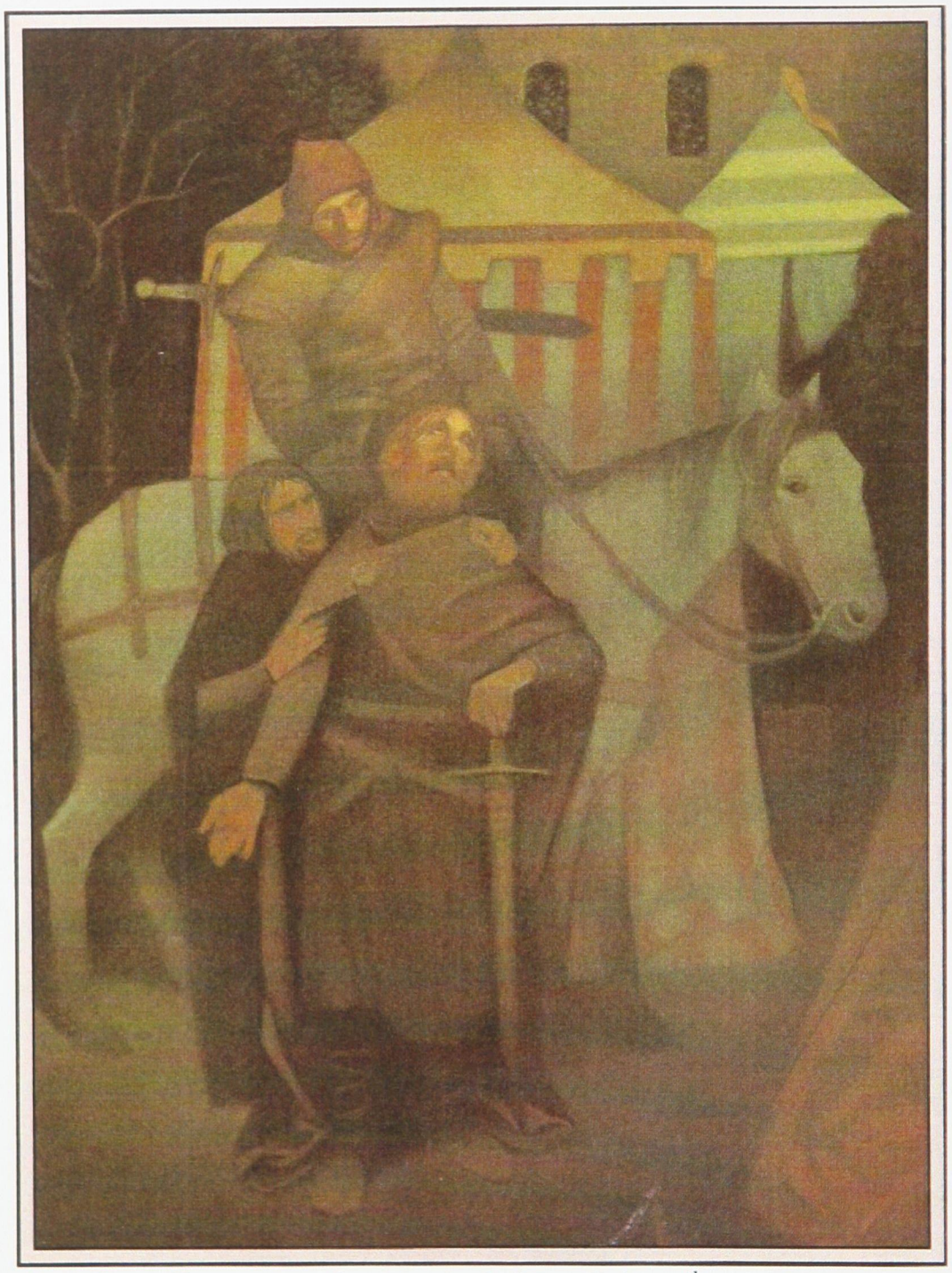
25. 17th opening.



26. 18th opening.



27. 19th opening.



28. Kelley, illustration for *Macbeth* (Coville), 20th opening.

> The sections I have most sharply abbreviated are the porter scene – which can be screamingly funny on stage when played by the right clown, but is more about philosophy than plot; Malcolm's testing of Macduff, which is frequently cut in performance as well; and the actual slaughter of Macduff's family.[57]

It is telling that while Coville gives his reasons for his other two major cuts—the 'porter scene' and 'Malcolm's testing of Macduff' are not necessary in terms of the plot—he is conspicuously silent on the third scene he mentions. He seems to feel that no justification is necessary for omitting the gruesome details of the slaughter of Macduff's wife and children. By contrast, although the Bowdlers also make cuts to the scene with the porter on the grounds of indecency, the scene in which Macduff's family is slaughtered is left completely intact,[58] and Charles Lamb and E. Nesbit each narrate a version of this scene in their adaptations.[59] The idea that this scene is somehow too inappropriate or traumatic for children is therefore a relatively recent one.

Even when Coville's text describes a particularly gory scene, the gore is conspicuously absent from the corresponding illustrations. For example, Coville describes Banquo's ghost as '[b]loody with the gashes the murderers had put upon him',[60] but in Kelley's illustration on the facing page, there are no bloody gashes to be found (see Figure 11). Kelley tints Banquo red, giving the impression of blood, but without any actual gore. Similarly, in the final fight between Macbeth and Macduff, Macbeth is described as 'raising his bloody blade',[61] but again, there is no blood in the illustration (see Figure 29). There is also an unaccountably cheerful spin put on the end of the adaptation, in both the text and the illustration. Echoing an earlier illustration depicting a dark cloud descending over Scotland after Macbeth's coronation, the final opening depicts the same scene, where the clouds have lifted and a sunnier future is promised (see Figures 30 and 31). The text reads,

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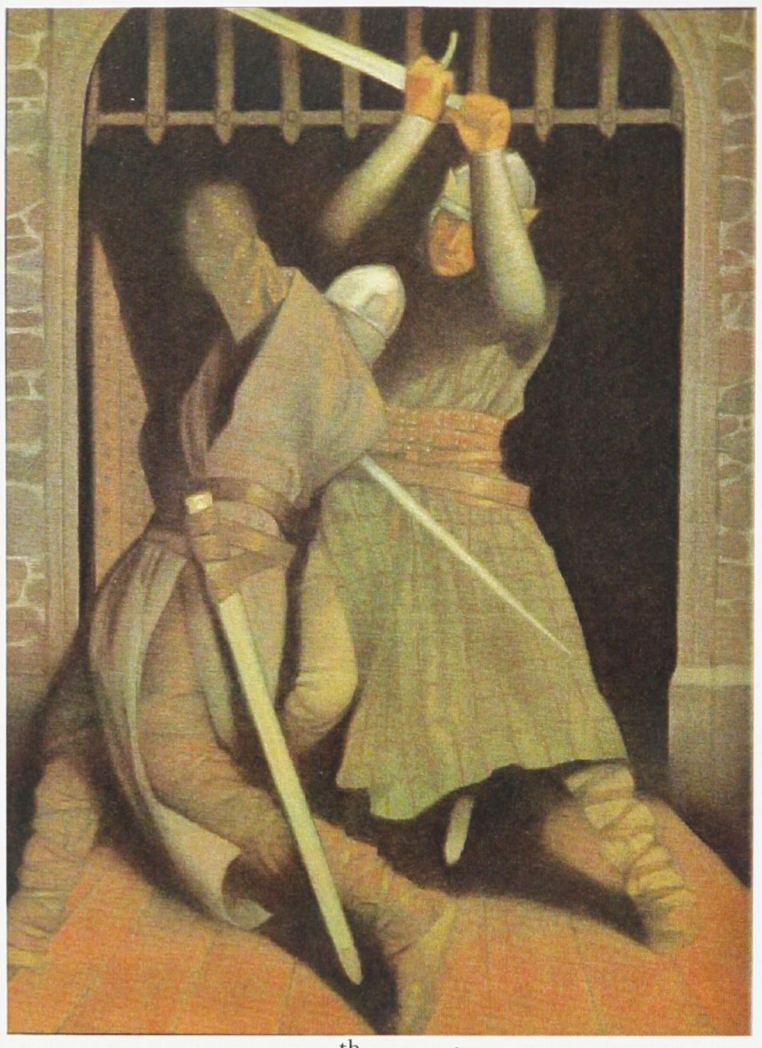
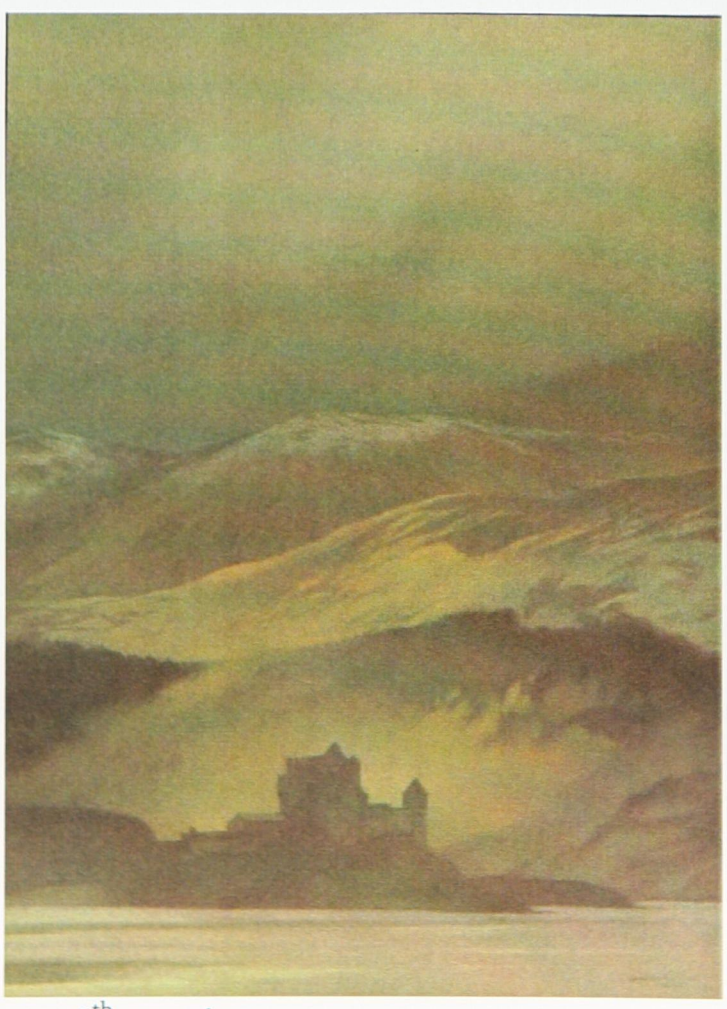
[57] Coville, *Macbeth*, 2nd opening. The scenes in question occur in *Macbeth* at II.3.1-40, IV.3.1-160, and IV.2, respectively.
[58] *Macbeth*, in *The Family Shakspeare* (1818), p. 225.
[59] *Tales from Shakespeare*, p. 144; Nesbit, *Beautiful Stories*, p. 163.
[60] Coville, *Macbeth*, 15th opening.
[61] Coville, *Macbeth*, 24th opening.

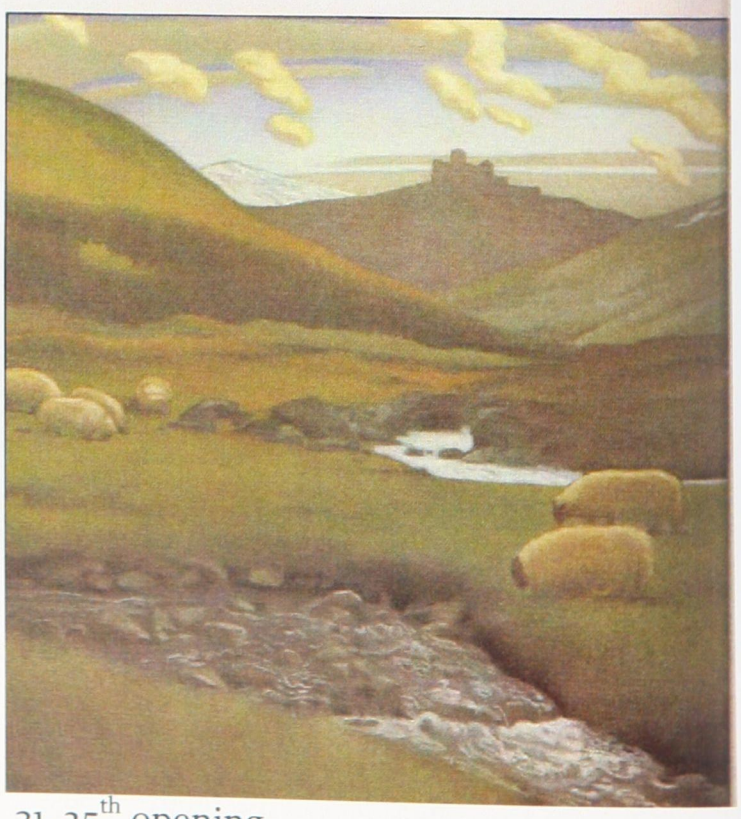


29. 24th opening.



30. 16th opening.

Thus ended the dark and bloody reign of Macbeth, who killed a king to become a king, and in so doing murdered his own soul. Thus did a bright new day dawn in Scotland.



31. 25th opening.

'Thus ended the dark and bloody reign of Macbeth, who killed a king to become a king, and in so doing murdered his own soul. Thus did a bright new day dawn in Scotland.'[62]

Gore's illustrations for *Hamlet* are similarly free of any realistic depiction of bloodshed, but, in contrast to Kelley, the suitably-named Gore does not shy away from using unsettling imagery and colour schemes. His style, perhaps influenced by the stained glass artwork for the *Hamlet* episode of *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales* (discussed in Chapter 4),[63] differs from that of Coville's other illustrators in its use of colour to convey the setting and mood in an abstract sense, rather than presenting literal representations of the words on the page. The opening scenes involving the Ghost are primarily illustrated using blues and greens, and these colours are brought back effectively later to indicate that Hamlet is still haunted by the Ghost's words. Scenes in Claudius's court use browns and yellows, while the graveyard sequence is mostly grey (see Figures 32-34). Hamlet stands out in every scene as a black blob, emphasizing his alienation from the scenes around him. The characters are nothing more than stencilled outlines on these shaded backgrounds, and the colour schemes convey the setting as well as the mood of each scene. It is as if the entire story unfolds behind a layer of fog, so that everything is obscured, perhaps alluding to Hamlet's view of the earth as 'a foul and pestilent congregation of vapours'.[64]

Death, too, is represented in an abstract way. Corpses are surrounded by red to suggest blood. When Hamlet kills Polonius, the latter is on the ground bathed in red, while Gertrude, surrounded by a yellow-orange glow, looks on in the background (see Figure 35). Between them is Hamlet, sword drawn and all in black. This image is repeated at the end: Gertrude now lies on the ground in the red section, while above her, Hamlet force-feeds the poisoned wine to Claudius, who is between them (see Figure 37). When a character is

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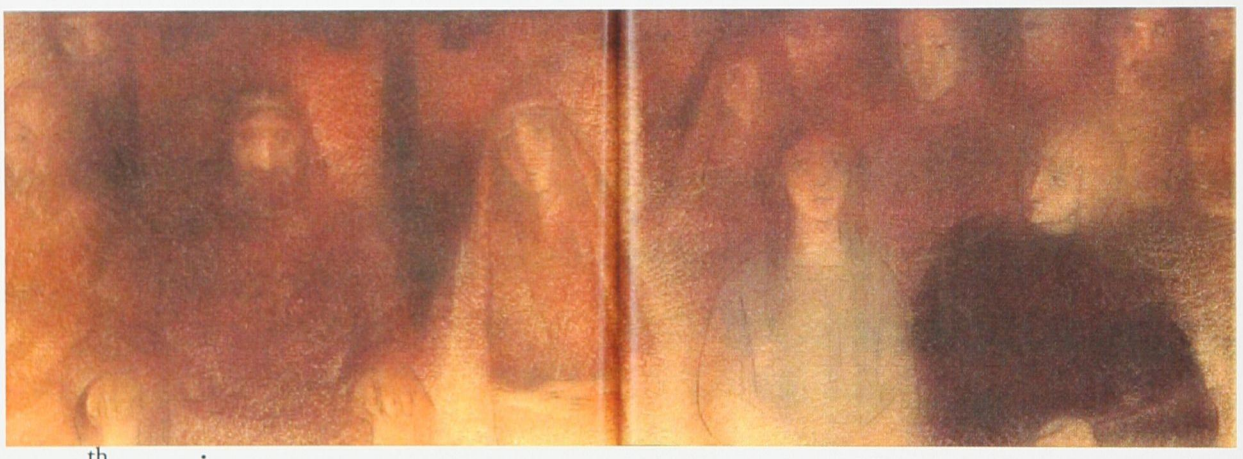
[62] Coville, *Macbeth*, 25th opening. The narration accepts the version of events given by Malcolm at the end of the play, replacing the uncertainty of Shakespeare's play with the promise of a brighter future. See *Macbeth*, V.II.26-41.
[63] 'Hamlet', dir. by Natalya Orlova, *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales*, episode 1.5 (BBC, 1992).
[64] *Hamlet*, II.2.304-05.

Leonid Gore, illustrations for *William Shakespeare's Hamlet* (Coville).

32. 5th opening.



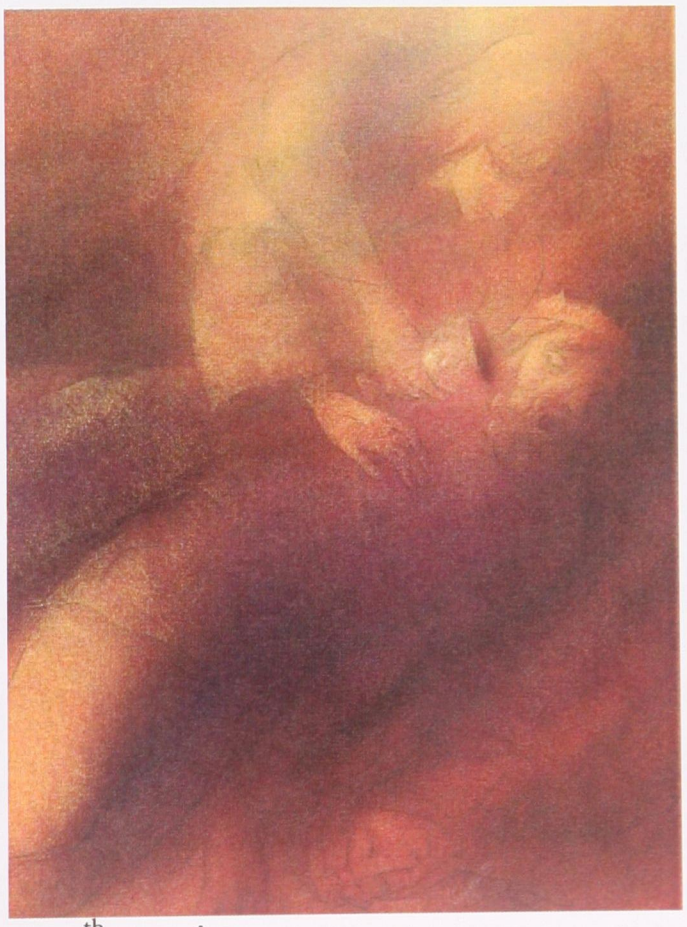
33. 12th opening.

34. 18th opening.

Gore, illustrations for *Hamlet* (Coville).

35. 14th opening.

36. 19th opening.



37. 20th opening.

killed, he either falls or is forced to the lower right hand corner of the illustration, as when Laertes mortally wounds Hamlet (see Figure 36). The exception to this representation of death is Ophelia, whose death inspires the most colourful image in the book. She is depicted wearing blue, her skin is pink, and there is green grass on the bank, and a bright sunset over Elsinore behind her. Rather than falling off the page at the bottom right, she floats gracefully toward the upper right hand corner (see Figure 39). This serves to differentiate her 'doubtful' death from those of the characters who are murdered.[65] This is reinforced by the previous opening, in which she is shown travelling across the page from left to right, moving purposefully toward her death, rather than being forced in that direction as the murdered characters are, and surrounded by the same blue glow that earlier marked out the Ghost (see Figure 38).

In contrast to Coville's adaptations of *Macbeth* and *Hamlet*, Williams's approach to darker plays like *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, and *Richard III* is consistent throughout her books, and relies on the use of comedy to relieve tension. The reader is never allowed to become fully immersed in the grotesque and potentially disturbing imagery of supernatural elements like *Macbeth*'s witches or the ghosts in *Hamlet* and *Richard III*, but is rather encouraged to laugh at them. This is achieved through a variety of distancing techniques, both verbal and visual, beginning with the question of language and register. Each of the three levels of verbal narration (actors, narration, and spectators) is distinguished by its language, so that the stories unfold in three distinct registers: Shakespeare's dialogue on the 'stage', straightforward prose in the narration, and the casual conversation of the audience members. Three distinct fonts are also used in order to differentiate between these three verbal registers. Because, as we have seen, Shakespeare's language is likely to be the most difficult of the three for a less experienced reader, the narration at the bottom of each panel translates Shakespeare's dialogue into modern prose, while the conversational register of

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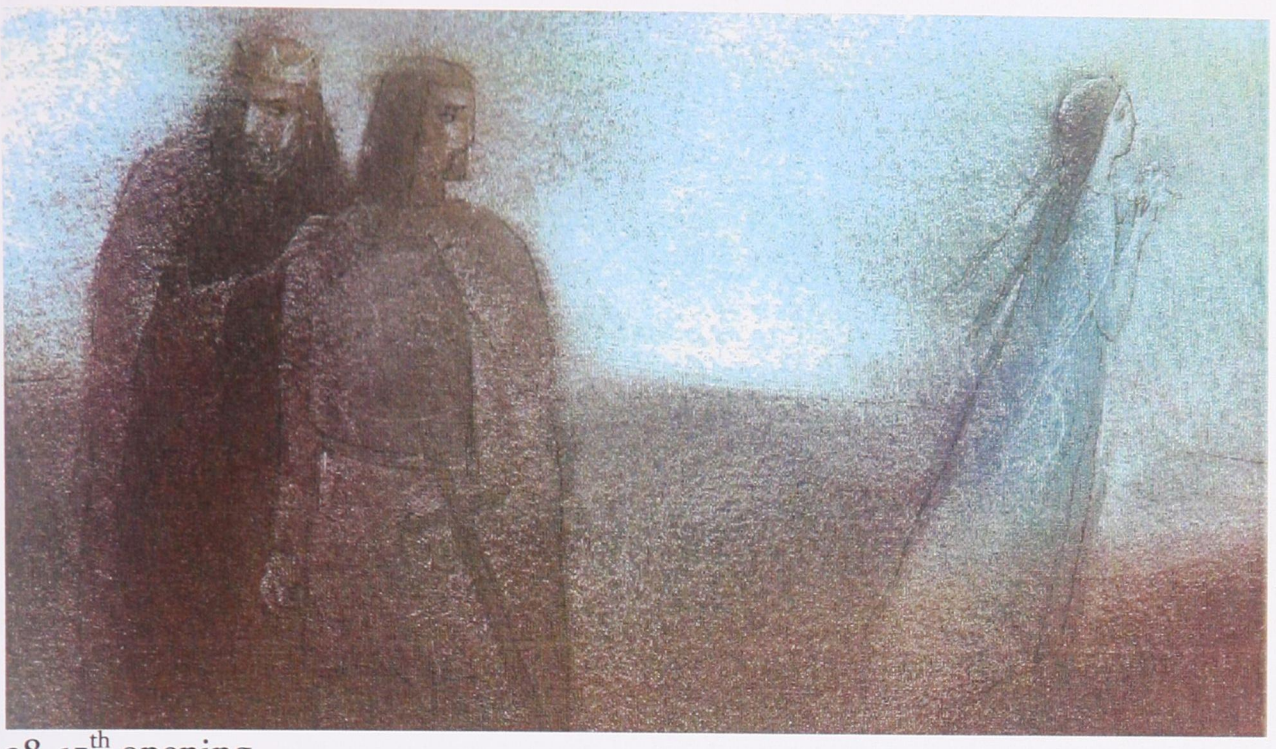
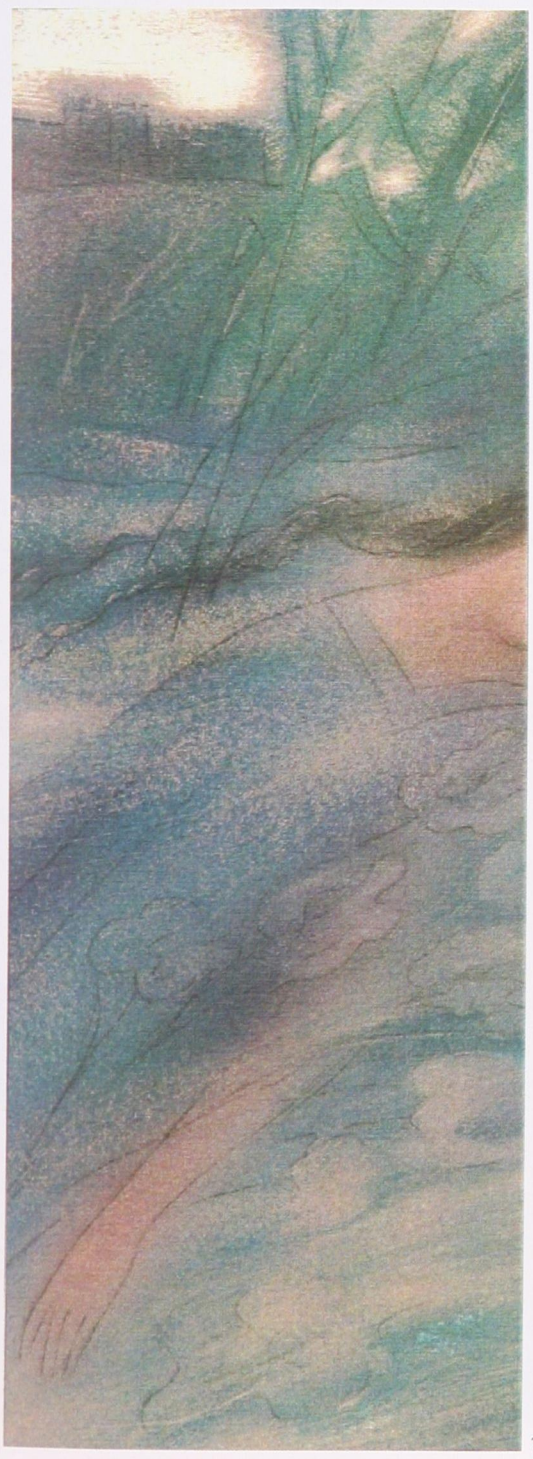
[65] *Hamlet*, V.1.221.

Gore, illustrations for *Hamlet* (Coville).



38. 15th opening.



39. 16th opening.

the audience members is likely to be the entry point for many into the story. The retention of Shakespeare's dialogue in the mouths of the actors is, however, crucial to the alignment of the child reader with a theatre audience, discussed above.

The visual dimension in Williams' text complements the verbal in putting the reader at a remove from the drama. The illustrations themselves are far from realistic, and are often comical. Williams also provides a clear visual distinction between audience and action through her use of colour. In each of her adaptations, contrasting colours are used for the actors and audience, reinforcing the concept that it is the audience that frames the action, as it forms a literal frame, a visible buffer zone between the reader and the action. In *The Winter's Tale*, the cold greys and blues used for the audience are in contrast to the warm indoor fires of the first act and the bright pastoral setting of the second act, perhaps as a parallel to the tragicomic plot: one audience member says, 'A sad tale's best for winter, my foot. It hasn't warmed me up' (see Figure 40).[66] In her adaptations of the bleakest of the plays she adapts, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, and *Richard III*, the panels themselves, which represent the action within the play, are very dark, using predominantly greys, blues, and browns.[67] The borders, on the other hand, use bright, cheery colours, especially yellows and oranges, to denote the lively atmosphere of the playhouse (see Figure 41). This creates a visible distinction between the audience and the stage, and everything that might be frightening or distressing is contained within this enclosed space. The audience acts as a buffer between the reader and the action, constantly reminding the reader that what is being presented is not real. This effect is largely achieved through comedy, using laughter to provide a release from the tension onstage. The side conversations between the spectators often have little or no relation to the action of the play, providing a distraction for the reader. There are several instances of the audience drawing attention to the

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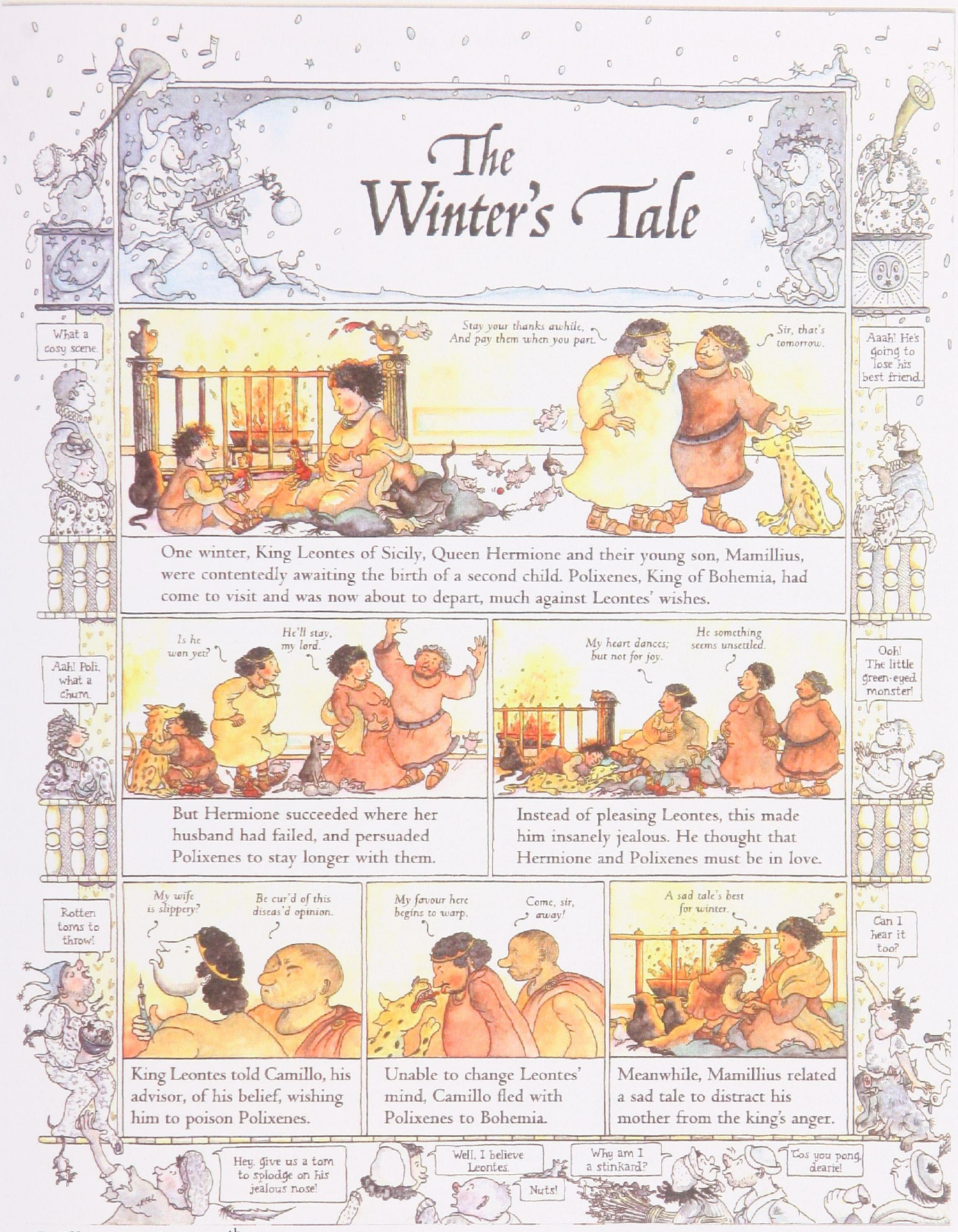
[66] Williams, *Plays*, 14th opening.

[67] *Richard III* is an interesting case, as the only colourful items 'onstage' are the garments worn by Richard and Richmond, which are bright red, perhaps in order to convey the blood that is shed in order for Richard to gain the throne and to suggest that in this respect there is little difference between these rivals.



40. Williams, *Plays*, 13th opening.

stagecraft. For example, at the end of *Macbeth*, one disappointed spectator says, 'I wanted to see Macbeth's head chopped off', and another replies, 'Someone would only have had to sew it back on.'[68] This reminder of the practical limitations of onstage violence reinforces the fact that a play is merely a representation: none of the elements that could potentially be disturbing, such as ghosts, witches, and dead bodies, is real.

The frightened spectators voice what a reader or viewer of the play might be expected to feel, for example in their reactions to *Macbeth*'s cauldron scene: one person says, 'This is too bloomin' spooky!'; another, pointedly looking away, says, 'Tell me when it's over,' while a third has his eyes tightly closed, saying, 'It's not that I'm scared...'[69] These comments may serve to validate any feelings of unease that the reader might be having, as if to say, 'it is OK to be scared' (see Figure 41). However, paradoxically, these constant reminders that the play is frightening in fact serve to undermine its potential to scare: because the reader is continually made aware of the artificiality of the scene, it is necessary to indicate which parts are meant to be 'scary'. When Banquo's ghost appears, one man, whose wife is clearly agitated, shouts, 'Hey, Will, tell the missus it's just a play!'.[70] However, the image itself of Banquo's ghost is, if anything, comical, and there is a lot more activity in this panel than Macbeth's interaction with the ghost (see Figure 12). The impact of the figure is thereby reduced, and the image is more likely to incite laughter than fear. In Williams's hands, what could potentially be a frightening image becomes something to be laughed at, and it is significant that it is always the adults in the crowd that are scared, and not the children. One child in particular appears to be completely engrossed by the cauldron scene, in contrast to the adult spectators who find it too frightening, and his mother tells him, 'Behave, or I'll put you in the cauldron.'[71] The child reader is encouraged

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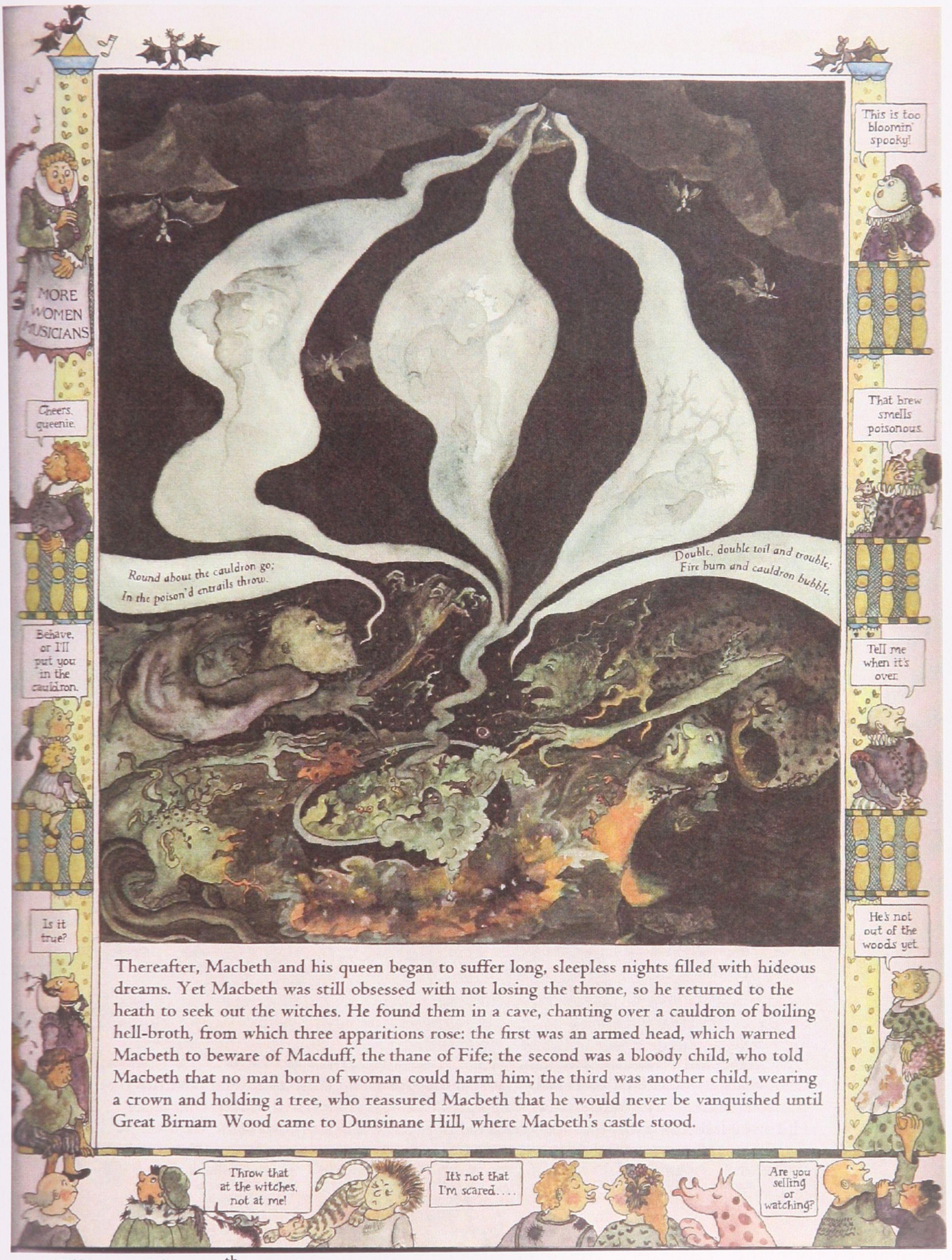
[68] Williams, *Plays*, 12th opening.
[69] Williams, *Plays*, 11th opening.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid.



41. Williams, *Plays*, 11th opening.

to identify with the child spectator, and to laugh at the frightened adults who cannot separate fiction from reality. As in her other adaptations, Williams here encourages the reader to identify with the anarchic children in the audience, as opposed to the adult authority figures represented by Shakespeare, Queen Elizabeth, the schoolmaster, and the Master of the Revels.

Leon Garfield and Michael Foreman: Multiple Perspectives in Illustrated Prose Narration

We have seen that the choice of which scenes are selected for visual representation has a direct impact on how an adaptation will be interpreted, and this is especially true when the illustrations are few and far between, as they are in Leon Garfield and Michael Foreman's *Shakespeare Stories* (1985)and *Shakespeare Stories II* (1994) Each story within these editions is about 8000 words[72] (compared to 3000 in Coville's picture books, which are themselves already longer than most picture books, as discussed above), and not every opening includes an illustration. Furthermore, the layout of the text and the illustrations is not necessarily designed to serve the narrative, as the illustrations are not always physically near the passages they illustrate. However, in contrast to the fragmentation we saw in illustrations of a century earlier, Foreman's illustrations are designed to complement Garfield's text, giving these books a greater aesthetic coherence than earlier illustrated editions. As Miller observes, Foreman's illustrations 'serve to connect children more to moments of emotional intensity in the texts than to climactic details of the plot'.[73] This is in keeping with Garfield's prose, which encourages the reader to identify with the emotional journeys of specific characters. However, crucially, the story told by the illustrations does not always parallel that told by the text. This can be seen in Garfield and Foreman's version of *Othello*, in which the text follows Iago as he carries out his plot against Othello, while

[72] Garfield, 'The Penny Whistle', p. 98.
[73] N. Miller, 'Play's the Thing', p. 145.

the illustrations track Othello's emotional trajectory over the same course of events, highlighting both Iago's verbal dexterity and Othello's emotional susceptibility.

Each of Foreman's illustrations represents a moment of heightened 'emotional intensity' for Othello and gives the reader an idea of his state of mind at that point in the story. The first illustration is a colour plate depicting the entrance of 'Othello, the Moor of Venice' in 1.2 of the play.[74] He is shown making a grand entrance in full armour and a resplendent yellow cloak, with a helmet in one hand and a sword in the other. The shining armour and billowing cloak emphasize both his nobility and his valour, and the colour of the cloak offsets his dark skin to create a stunning and imposing image that is entirely at odds with the derogatory description of Othello given by Iago and Roderigo in the preceding pages (see Figure 42). After this colour plate, which perhaps represents Othello's self-image at this point in the play, almost every image is seen from Othello's point of view: he is depicted with his back to the viewer, and we see what he sees as he enters the Duke's council chamber, arrives in Cyprus, breaks up the drunken brawl between Cassio and Roderigo, spies on Cassio and Bianca, wakes up Desdemona, and smothers her (see Figures 43 and 44). The only two illustrations which do not follow this pattern are nevertheless reflections of Othello's mental state: when Iago first plants doubts in Othello's mind, there is an image of Othello's head, partially obscured, and with the form of a devil seeming to grow out of it (see Figure 45). Later, after Cassio has been wounded, an illustration depicts him on the ground, bleeding, and attended by Lodovico and Iago; at this point in the story, Othello has heard Cassio calling for a surgeon and assumes that the latter has been mortally wounded, and the ambiguous illustration neither confirms nor refutes this (see Figure 46).

Wherever Iago is present in a scene, his perspective is privileged, emphasizing his verbal dominance over the other characters as well as giving the reader a degree of

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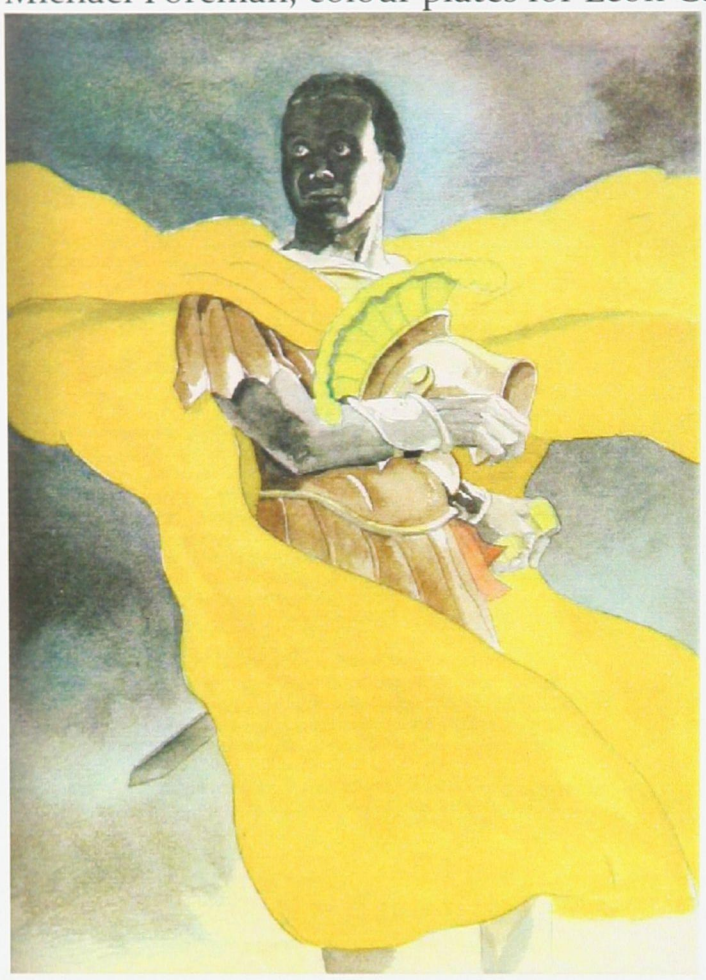
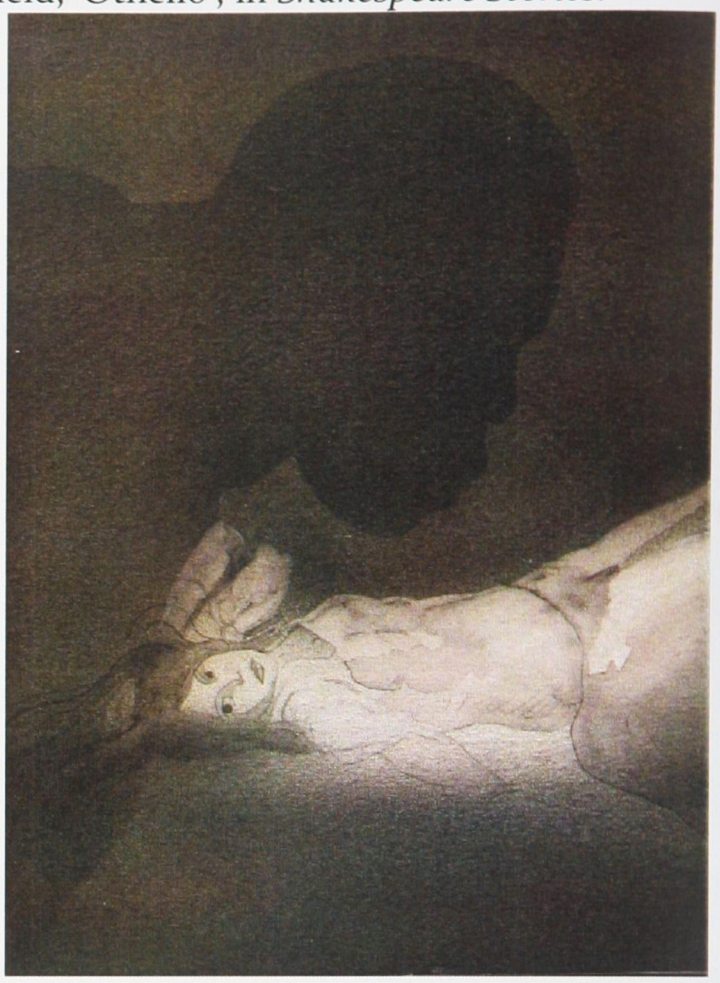
[74] Garfield, 'Othello', in *Shakespeare Stories* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1985), pp. 223-52 (pp. 224-25).

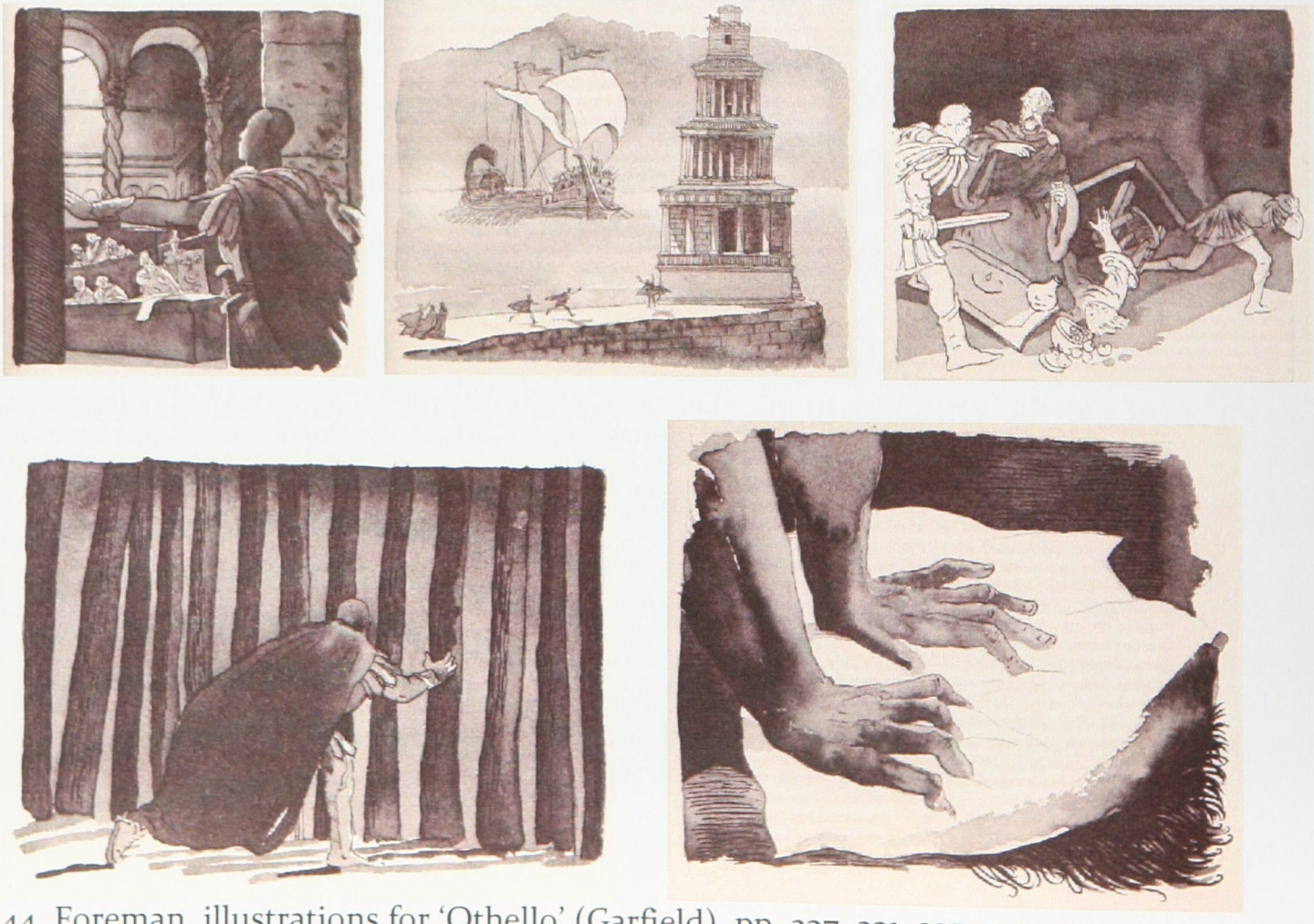
Michael Foreman, colour plates for Leon Garfield, 'Othello', in *Shakespeare Stories*.



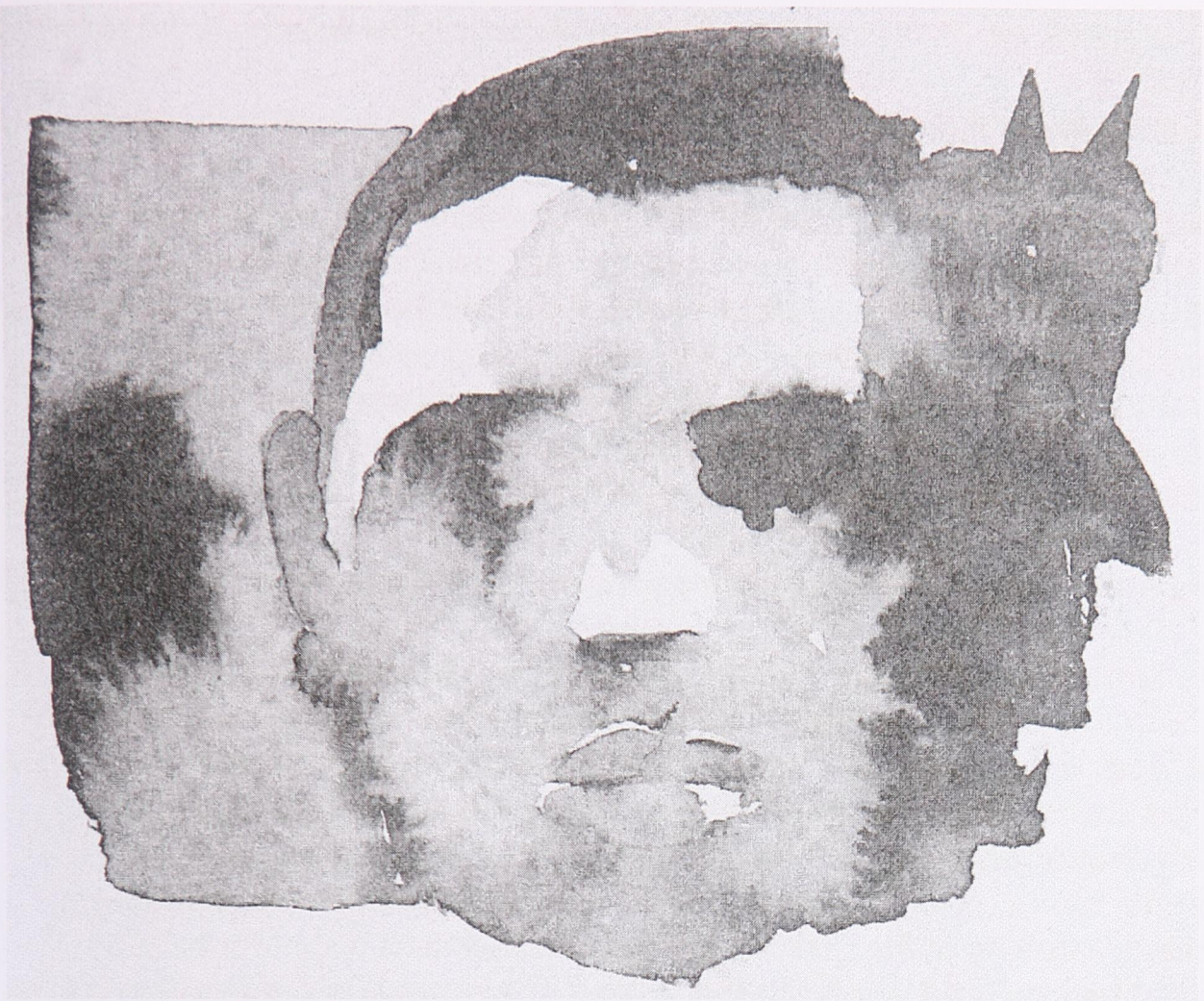
42. 'Othello, the Moor of Venice'.



43. 'She awoke and smiled up at him'.



44. Foreman, illustrations for 'Othello' (Garfield), pp. 237. 231, 235, 242, 249.



45. Foreman, illustration for 'Othello' (Garfield), p. 239.

46. Foreman, illustration for 'Othello' (Garfield), p. 247.

complicity with his schemes. As he works on Othello's mind the reader is privy to his thoughts and reactions to his success:

> Silently Iago exulted. Skilful soldier that he was, he had brought down an enemy a thousand times greater than himself. 'Is't possible, my lord?' he exclaimed, in honest amazement when he perceived the huge extent of the Moor's anguish. The deadly seeds he had planted had lodged in a richer soil than ever he'd dared hope. Othello was great in all things: great in war, great in love, great in despair. Like a coin turned, the noble head had become the unnatural beast.[75]

Even in scenes that are not actually told from Iago's point of view, the other characters' ironic reactions to him serve to confirm that his deception is successful:

> So Cassio was ruined; and it seemed to that unhappy young man, as everyone left the hall, that all the world now shunned him. Except for Iago. That sturdy fellow had been the only one who had taken his part and spoken up for him ... even though it had done no good. It was Iago who stayed behind, came up to him, patted him on the back and bade him be of good cheer. Ah! he was a real man, a real friend! Thank God for fellows like honest Iago![76]

At this point, the reader, like the audience at a production of the play, is a co-conspirator in Iago's deception and can therefore share his delight in continuing to dupe Cassio and the others. Taking the adaptation as a whole, therefore, the reader is allowed to take pleasure in being allowed to participate in Iago's plot on an intellectual level in the text, while simultaneously sympathizing with Othello's mental deterioration on an emotional level through the images.

For Garfield, a successful retelling of Shakespeare is one which recognizes the limitations of its medium and works within them. He writes,

> The method I have adopted in my own retellings has been to remember, as best I can, various performances I have seen and to attempt to convey an impression of them—not so much as stage plays but as actual dramas. [...] I can create, in a paragraph, a far more convincing storm than any stage could supply; but I cannot begin to do justice to Lear's frantic utterances in the way a fine actor can. So, rather than destroy what it is my intention to promote, I leave out the poetry and concentrate on the stage carpentry.[77]

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[75] Garfield, 'Othello', pp. 238-39.
[76] Garfield, 'Othello', p. 235.
[77] Garfield, 'The Penny Whistle', p. 97.

Although he relies on memories of past performances he has seen, Garfield is not attempting to imitate a theatrical experience, but rather to translate the 'dramas' into texts that will have literary merit in and of themselves. His texts read like novels, as the reader is given insight into the thoughts and emotions of specific characters. There is an emphasis on the personal growth of the characters, so that a happy ending to *The Tempest*, for example, is one in which Prospero comes to terms with his humanity and recognizes that he no longer needs magic:

> That night, when all had retired to bed, Prospero stood by the sea, a tall and lonely figure, silvered by starlight. First his magic mantle, then his magic book, and last of all his staff, broken in two, he cast into the waves. He had no more need of them, nor of the enchanted isle. By his art he had made men see themselves, and, through make-believe, come to truth. Now he, too, like Ariel and Caliban, longed to be free.[78]

In this sense, Garfield has more in common with the Lambs than with his contemporaries, as he attempts to create a literary work rather than a theatrical one. Like the Lambs, Garfield refuses to colloquialize Shakespeare's language, taking his dialogue directly from the plays, and attempting to provide continuity between the dialogue and the narration. Garfield argues that '[t]he direct speech should never look out of place'[79] but as Bottoms notes, Garfield's attempts to replicate Shakespeare's 'cadence and vocabulary'[80] in the prose at times creates 'an awkward, "prosaically poetic" form; the attempt to stay too close to the master tends to distort the acolyte's own voice'.[81] At the opposite extreme, Anna Claybourne, in her *Usborne Stories from Shakespeare*, translates the dialogue as well as the prose into contemporary colloquial English, and not very successfully. A typical example occurs at the end of 'The Winter's Tale', in which Leontes' reaction to the unveiling of the

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[78] Garfield, 'The Tempest', in *Shakespeare's Stories*, pp. 51-74 (p. 74).
[79] Garfield, 'The Penny Whistle', p. 95. Unlike the Lambs, however, Garfield does not avoid the use of dialogue, as he believes that '[e]very story is enlivened by dialogue' ('The Penny Whistle', p. 94).
[80] Ibid.
[81] Bottoms, 'Of *Tales* and *Tempests*', p. 83.

'statue' of Hermione is rendered as, "'It's amazing," said Leontes. "To see it fills my heart with feelings! Oh, how I still miss her after all these years!"'.[82]

The use of limited perspective which we saw in Iago's scenes is typical of Garfield's approach to Shakespeare's plays in general. This play with perspective exploits the uniquely literary aspects of narrative prose, as in the narration only one character's point of view is privileged at a time. In large scenes involving several characters with multiple, competing perspectives, Garfield often chooses one character to focus on, and shows the entire scene from that character's point of view. In his 'Julius Caesar', the scene leading up to Caesar's murder is narrated from the point of view of Casca, who is to strike the first blow, which has the effect of making the murder personal in a way that is not possible onstage:

> Casca was to strike the first blow. With his right hand hidden in his gown, he walked as if on egg-shells, and sweated like an actor fearful of mangling his part. Every sight, every sound was betrayal—the echoing footsteps on the huge marble floor, the murmuring of senators as they moved among the tall, shadowy columns to take their places in the solemn circle of chairs; the quick glances, the sudden silences [...]. His heart was knocking violently. Of a sudden, the man seated in the chair seemed immense! He towered above the crouching figures before him like a god![83]

The emphasis on Casca's physical, visceral reactions to the murder he is about to commit effectively conveys the mood of the other conspirators by extension. This strategy also proves effective in denouement scenes, in which the audience has information that the characters do not. Narrating, for example, the last scene of 'Measure for Measure' from Angelo's point of view,[84] or the last scene of 'Cymbeline' from Cymbeline's point of view,[85] makes each revelation appear fresh, so that the reader, along with the character, can experience them as if for the first time.

Narrating a climactic scene from the point of view of one character focuses the reader's attention on its emotional impact on that character, while also alluding to its wider

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[82] Anna Claybourne, 'The Winter's Tale', in *Usborne Stories from Shakespeare*, illus. by Elena Temporin, ed. by Jane Chisholm (London: Usborne Publishing Ltd, 2006), pp. 146-61 (p. 160). Cf. *The Winter's Tale*, V.3.23-98.
[83] Garfield, 'Julius Caesar', in *Shakespeare Stories II*, pp. 37-66 (p. 49).
[84] Garfield, 'Measure for Measure', in *Shakespeare Stories II*, pp. 101-30 (pp. 119-30).
[85] Garfield, 'Cymbeline', in *Shakespeare Stories II*, pp. 165-198 (pp. 193-98).

implications by taking that character as representative of a whole. This limited perspective parallels the limitations of the visual narration, as the paucity of Foreman's illustrations is exploited to manipulate the reader's attention. The trial scene in Garfield's 'The Merchant of Venice', for example, hints at the fact that the lawyer and his clerk are actually Portia and Nerissa in disguise, but without stating it outright. Portia arranges for 'certain notes and articles of clothing to be dispatched to the Venice ferry [...]. This done, she and Nerissa left Belmont on their strange adventure'.[86] When the two enter the court, they are described from the point of view of the Duke:

> The messenger was called, and the messenger came: a most curious small clerk, in clerk's gown, and clerk's hat, with clerk's wig and clerk's spectacles, so that nothing showed but what was proper to a clerk, who did not look like Nerissa at all. [...] The Duke looked up, and there before him stood the young lawyer: a most curious small young lawyer, in lawyer's gown and lawyer's hat, with lawyer's wig and lawyer's thick spectacles so that nothing showed but what was proper to a lawyer, who did not look like fair Portia at all.[87]

The repetition in the prose and its reliance on familiarity with the characters gives the reader a satisfaction similar to that which we saw with the recurring characters in Williams's text. Of course, by this point it is probable that even readers who are not familiar with the source material will have guessed that it is in fact Nerissa and Portia who have entered, but Garfield does not confirm this until the last scene, when the two women reveal the truth to their husbands. Likewise, the only illustration of Portia depicts her in disguise, with the 'thick spectacles' that Garfield describes (see Figure 47).[88] Again, the viewer may notice that the lawyer's features look feminine and suspect that it is in fact Portia, but with no other illustration of Portia with which to compare it, this can only be speculation on the part of the uninitiated reader.

This approach is not to be confused with that of the Lambs, who use a single, omniscient narrator so that when the perspective of one character is incorporated into the

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[86] Garfield, 'The Merchant of Venice', in *Shakespeare Stories*, pp. 75-100 (p. 93).
[87] Garfield, 'The Merchant of Venice', p. 95.
[88] Ibid.

47. Foreman, illustration for 'The Merchant of Venice' (Garfield), p. 95.

whole, it has the air of narrative authority. In Garfield's text, the constant shifting between the perspectives of specific characters draws attention to the fact that they represent highly biased viewpoints, with the result that none of them wields any kind of narrative authority. Garfield's approach works best when it is self-conscious, drawing attention to the inflated self-images of characters like Richard II, Julius Caesar, and King Lear. When Richard II returns to England to quash Bolingbroke's rebellion, Garfield's presentation of his state of mind is intended to reveal to the reader the flawed and outdated nature of Richard's idea of kingship:

> The crossing from Ireland had been rough; but the fury of the elements had done no more than make him bright with anger. That Bolingbroke should so much as set his foot upon the kingdom was a crime; and that he should come in arms was treason against God. But he would fall, as all bad men must fall, before the divine splendour of the King. Bolingbroke could never succeed. Though all the world might fight for him, God and His angels were for Richard, and theirs was the power that must conquer all. King Richard knew, as he had always known, since he was a little boy, that there was a sacred mystery in kingship before which all men must bow.[89]

The phrase 'he had always known, since he was a little boy' emphasizes the effects of the historical Richard II having been crowned at the age of ten, simultaneously implying that his notions are childish and drawing attention to the fact that these are received ideas which have never been called into question. This is in contrast to what we saw in Quiller-Couch's version of the play, in which Richard is only seen through the eyes of others. Similarly, Carter describes Richard as

> gentle and merciful in disposition until he was crossed, and then he acted unjustly and without thought. He did not appreciate as he ought to have done the rising power of the people, and their love of straightforward dealing, and to the more thoughtful of his subjects he often appeared to be a selfish, frivolous oppressor.[90]

Garfield conveys the same character information about Richard, but he does so by adopting Richard's point of view, whereas Carter describes him through the eyes of others. In this case, as in that of Lear and Caesar, the narration draws attention to the protagonist's flawed

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[89] Garfield, 'King Richard the Second', in *Shakespeare Stories*, pp. 121-138 (pp. 130-31).
[90] Carter, 'King Richard the Second', pp. 87-88.

self-image, and so prepares the reader for his fall. This strategy is also used to comic effect in Garfield's depiction of Bottom in 'A Midsummer Night's Dream':

> Nick Bottom, the weaver, spoke up, and everybody paid attention. Among every company of men there is always one to be reckoned with, one that it is good to have on your side, one whose abilities mark him out as a mine of intellect and a tower of strength.
>
> Such a man was Bottom the weaver: large, big-faced and with little eyes ringed round with red, as if to emphasize their importance. He was down for Pyramus in the play, which was the lover's part and the most important; for none but Bottom could have undertaken it. He might have played Thisbe, the lady, with equal success; he might have played the Lion, who frightened poor Thisbe away; he might have played any or all of the other parts—for he had a genius for each of them, as everyone agreed—but he had to play Pyramus, for none but Bottom could have undertaken it.[91]

Although this passage serves as the reader's introduction to Bottom, it is clear from his behaviour in the rest of the scene that Bottom's introduction is told from Bottom's point of view. While Garfield does indeed depict the other mechanicals in the scene standing in awe of Bottom, the reader is offered the superior position of seeing through Bottom's bombast.

However, this play with perspective becomes more complicated when it is unclear whose viewpoint is being shown. In the example of 'Othello', most of the first scene is shown from Iago's point of view, and thus the first reference to Othello reflects Iago's viewpoint:

> His hatred for the man Roderigo had referred to was an honest hatred. Indeed, both he and Roderigo had cause enough to dislike that proud, boastful, vain personage, that 'thicklips', as Roderigo contemptuously called him. He was a Moor and black as a stove; and he had done both of them a bad turn.[92]

When Othello enters the scene, the narrative shifts:

> Othello, the Moor of Venice, stepped out of the inn where he and his new wife had retired for the night. The thicklips, the old black ram, was tall and dignified, as became the great general in whom Venice had placed her trust. Splendidly robed, he enriched the night. Soldierly attendants waited respectfully upon him; and at his side stood his sturdy, faithful ensign, Iago.[93]

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[91] Garfield, 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', in *Shakespeare Stories*, pp. 253-70 (p. 260).
[92] Garfield, 'Othello', p. 223.
[93] Garfield, 'Othello', p. 225.

At first glance, this appears to be the perspective of a neutral, omniscient narrator, who negates Iago's derogatory terms by providing a more positive alternative. However, the reference to the 'sturdy, faithful ensign, Iago', calls the omniscience of the narrator into question, since the reader has already seen that Iago is not a faithful ensign. This suggests that the paragraph may in fact represent Othello's own perspective and thus the unequivocally positive characterization that it offers in fact represents Othello's potentially flawed view of himself. These constant shifts in perspective make for an unstable and therefore unsettling narrative that parallels the effect of Iago's words on Othello, while the uncertainty as to who is speaking prefigures Othello's eventual internalization of Iago's words.

As with Williams's texts, Garfield's narrative approach allows the reader to become an active participant in the interpretive process. Because most of the narration is conspicuously coloured by the bias of specific characters, the reader is forced to do some detective work, reading between the lines to discern what is actually happening. Additionally, the emphasis on emotion rather than action encourages the reader's sympathy. Writing about Garfield's adaptation of *The Tempest*, Miller argues that children 'are brought into the Garfield/Foreman adaptation as into a world where nature itself is magical, possibly malevolent, and clearly enchanting [...] and child readers or listeners, watching the pictures as the text is read aloud, can enter that world of their own volition'.[94] Miller suggests that the child reader is allowed more agency in Garfield and Foreman's adaptation than in nineteenth-century adaptations, and this is true up to a point. However, it should be noted that it is still an adult mediator who decides which characters are deserving of sympathy, and Garfield manipulates the reader into identifying with specific characters. Additionally, although Garfield's young characters do seem to have more agency than their nineteenth-century counterparts, their behaviour is still reined in and

[94] N. Miller, 'Play's the Thing', p. 145.

filtered through prevailing social mores. This is seen more clearly when his adaptations are compared to the Lambs' retellings of the same plays.

Garfield uses the same format as the Lambs and like them he uses this format to manipulate his reader's interpretation of the plays, with the result that his texts also impart a set of cultural and social assumptions and values. While the Lambs and the Bowdlers were concerned with indecency, Garfield is especially sensitive to the issues of race and gender which have influenced the performance history of Shakespeare's plays in the twentieth century. For example, Garfield's version of *The Taming of the Shrew*, like many contemporary written and staged adaptations of the play, is emphatically not a story of a man teaching a woman her duties. In fact, Claybourne unashamedly rewrites the last act, so that Kate tells Petruchio that her plan is '[t]o pretend I agree with you, and let you think you're in charge', to which he replies, 'Well, that will do for me [...]. Kiss me, Kate.'[95] Garfield's version is more nuanced in that he includes the Induction scenes involving Christopher Sly, a framing device that forces the reader or viewer to question the reliability of the interpretation of the 'Shrew' plot that follows.[96] Garfield implies that the entire 'Shrew' plot may even have been a dream of Sly's; if this is true, then we are forced to see the 'Shrew' story through the eyes of Sly, and Michael Foreman's illustration of him as a fat old drunkard does not inspire confidence in him as a narrator (see Figure 48). Garfield blurs the lines between fiction and reality, having his Lord decide that 'to fuddle him further, he was to be shown a play, and it was to be performed so straight and serious that

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[95] Claybourne, 'The Taming of the Shrew', in *Usborne Stories from Shakespeare*, pp. 52-65 (p. 65).

[96] The relationship between the anonymous *Taming of a Shrew*, which provides closure to the Sly frame with a final scene of Sly waking up, and *The Taming of the Shrew*, which abandons the Sly plot after the play-within-a-play starts, is uncertain. Shakespeare may have left the Sly frame open-ended deliberately, or the folio text may be based on an incomplete or corrupted copy which should have included a version of Sly's later scenes. Later directors of the play therefore have a choice as to how much, if any, of the Induction scenes are staged, and this choice plays a large part in determining how the sexual politics of the 'taming' plot come across. As Barbara Hodgdon puts it, framing the play with the Sly scenes, including the closing scene from *A Shrew*, 'distances the taming story [...] permitting viewers to dissolve *The Shrew*'s gender politics into a ludic space where social roles slide into theatrical ones.' It is no coincidence that these scenes began to be incorporated into modern productions at the same time as the question of women's rights was gaining prominence, in the beginning of the twentieth century (see Barbara Hodgdon, 'Introduction', in *The Taming of the Shrew*, ed. by Barbara Hodgdon, Arden Shakespeare Third Series (London: A & C Black, 2010), pp. 1-131 (pp. 105-18)).

48. Foreman, illustration for 'The Taming of the Shrew' (Garfield), p. 103.

he would no longer know what was true and what was make-believe'.[97] Additionally, Garfield follows the quarto text of *The Taming of A Shrew* in returning to the Sly frame at the end of the 'Shrew' plot.[98] Garfield ends his story with the following lines: 'All was silent, save for a sound of soft snores. Was it a sleeping reveller; or was it a sleeping tinker, all alone?'[99] Beverley Birch likewise frames her retelling of the play as Sly's dream; her version opens, 'It was a tinker's vision, or a tinker's dream, this story of the taming of the shrew. Or was it the vision of a lord who only thought he was a tinker?',[100] and ends, 'High up in the gallery of a lord's manor house, the tinker's dream had also reached its end. Or had it?'[101]

In Garfield's version of the play-within-a-play, it is implied from their first encounter that Kate and Petruchio are well-suited to each other, and Kate's final speech is presented as a gesture of love and loyalty rather than of duty and submission: 'Kate bade them consider what they owed their husbands, for safety, security and comfort; and then to consider how little they were asked in return [*sic*]. Or was obedience to another's wishes so demeaning a thing?'[102] Garfield devotes more attention to Kate's thoughts and feelings than do his predecessors, and is thus able to rationalize her transformation in terms acceptable to modern feminist sensibilities, as evidenced by his elaborations on the sun-and-moon exchange:[103]

> Kate sighed. She was aching and weary; and she had suffered much, she reflected, as she had made others suffer. It would be folly to suffer more. It was the moon if he wanted it to be the moon, or a candle if he preferred. It was the wiser course, she thought, to deny the evidence of her senses than her good sense.
>
> 'What you will have it named,' she said, 'even that it is, and so it shall be for Katherine.' She looked at him. He was a plain, rough fellow who had weathered her storms. He was, she felt, a mariner to be admired. She smiled at him; and he tried hard not to smile back.[104]

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[97] Garfield, 'The Taming of the Shrew', in *Shakespeare Stories*, pp. 101-120 (p. 102).
[98] *The Taming of a Shrew*, reproduced in *The Taming of the Shrew*, ed. by Hodgdon, pp. 343-94.
[99] Garfield, 'The Taming of the Shrew', p. 120.
[100] Beverley Birch, 'The Taming of the Shrew', in *Shakespeare's Stories: Comedies* (London: Macdonald & Co., 1988), pp. 84-118 (p. 84).
[101] Birch, 'The Taming of the Shrew', p. 101.
[102] Garfield, *Shakespeare Stories*, p. 120.
[103] *The Taming of the Shrew*, IV.6.1-23.
[104] Garfield, 'The Taming of the Shrew', p. 118.

Rather than being a moment of submission, Garfield represents this as the moment when Kate and Petruchio fall in love. Having demonstrated the mutual affection of the couple, Garfield is in a position to claim that Kate's gesture of placing her hand below her husband's foot 'had not humbled Kate; but had raised her husband because it showed that he was high in her esteem'.[105]

Although Garfield's rewritings are politically and socially more progressive than those of his predecessors, there is nevertheless a conservative undercurrent running through them, especially when it comes to the female characters. Ophelia is presented as a victim of her own passivity, of which the men in her life take advantage: 'She was of so yielding a nature that she dared not call her soul her own, and had put it, trustingly, in the care of her brother and her wise old father, Polonius, the chamberlain.'[106] The implication is that her story might not have ended so tragically if she had taken a more active role in her own destiny. However, both Garfield's description of her madness and Foreman's illustration of it are remarkably objectified (see Figure 49):

> Her hair was down and still wild from sleep for, although she had remembered to dress everything else, she had forgotten her head. Which was not to be wondered at: the murder of her father by her one-time lover had quite blown out the candle of her mind. She smiled absurdly at the Queen, and then began to sing.[107]

Non-conforming women such as Cleopatra and Lady Macbeth are not given a voice of their own, but are dismissively seen through the eyes of the male characters, while Maria in 'Twelfth Night' is described as 'too pretty a complainant to be taken seriously'.[108] In 'Much Ado About Nothing', Beatrice's point of view is not shown until III.1, after she eavesdrops on the conversation of the other women, which occurs nine pages into the story. She is first seen from Benedick's point of view, 'in her daffodil gown, spying him out with her cat's

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[105] Garfield, 'The Taming of the Shrew', p. 120.
[106] Garfield, 'Hamlet', in *Shakespeare Stories*, pp. 169-204 (p. 174).
[107] Garfield, 'Hamlet', p. 194.
[108] Garfield, 'Twelfth Night', in *Shakespeare Stories*, pp. 9-28 (p. 15).

49. Foreman, illustration for 'Hamlet' (Garfield), p. 195.

eyes, and, as usual, biding her time to pounce. He'd hoped that, for once, she'd hold her tongue; but no!'.[109] Later, Garfield includes Leonato's warning to Beatrice that 'thou wilt never get a husband, if thou be so shrewd of thy tongue',[110] but omits her repeated insistence that she does not want one,[111] only stating that 'Beatrice was unrepentant, and continued with her abuse'.[112]

In some senses, Garfield's young characters are allowed more agency than their nineteenth-century counterparts. His adaptations are less likely to valorize filial duty; where earlier adaptations of *The Merchant of Venice* stressed Portia's resolution to adhere to her father's will in the casket scene, Garfield allows her to take a more active role:

> Some say it was the song that guided Bassanio in his choice, for Portia already loved him well enough to give his fortune a proper turn; but she was ever honourable in her dealings, and well Bassanio knew it. No! If he was guided at all, it was not by rhyme, but by the bright sudden looks of Portia's sea-blue eyes, which warned him that beauty dwells within. It was his own love and hers that taught him the wisdom to know where his best hope lay: not in gold, not in silver, but in quiet, unassuming lead.[113]

Similarly, while Charles Lamb admits in his 'King Lear' that Cordelia is 'a little ungracious' and takes pains to show that she does love her father 'almost as extravagantly as her sisters pretended to do' and 'would have plainly told him so at any other time, in more daughter-like and loving terms',[114] Garfield's Cordelia is praised for standing up for what she believes in:

> She knew what was expected of her, but she would not, could not, submit. She loved her father as a daughter should, truly and with clear eyes. She could not swear, as her sisters had done, that she adored him as a god.[115]

Furthermore, in Garfield's version, it is made clear that the tragedy is the consequence of the actions of individuals, and not divinely determined as it is in Lamb's version. Garfield makes it clear that the deaths of Goneril, Regan, and Edmund result entirely from their

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[109] Garfield, 'Much Ado About Nothing', in *Shakespeare Stories II*, pp. 9-36 (p. 10).
[110] Garfield, 'Much Ado About Nothing', p. 12; *Much Ado About Nothing*, II.1.16-17.
[111] *Much Ado About Nothing*, II.1.19-58.
[112] Garfield, 'Much Ado About Nothing', p. 12.
[113] Garfield, 'The Merchant of Venice', p. 91.
[114] [C. Lamb], 'King Lear', p. 129.
[115] Garfield, 'King Lear', in *Shakespeare Stories*, pp. 29-50 (p. 30).

own actions, and not from divine retribution: 'Serpents do not sicken from their own venom, but men do. Already Lear's evil daughters and Gloucester's evil son were being poisoned by the very instruments that had brought them power: greed, lust, cruelty, envy, and ambition."[116]

Garfield's priorities can be seen most clearly in his adaptation of *Measure for Measure*, compared to that of Mary Lamb and the abridged text of the Bowdlers (discussed in Chapter 1). Garfield is less concerned with sex and violence than he is with the ambiguous motivations of many of the characters. Although he cuts most of the scenes involving Mistress Overdone, he does mention that she is 'the owner of a famous bawdy-house'.[117] Curiously, he uses Lamb's euphemism 'Claudio's crime', only defining it as 'unlawful love',[118] though it is made clear that it is love of the kind that results in pregnancy. He also describes Angelo being 'tormented' by 'hot dark fancies' of Isabella,[119] vividly illustrated by Foreman (see Figure 50), and even inserts the scene of Angelo's rendezvous with Mariana:

> The deepest time of the night, moonless, starless ... Within its encircling wall of brick, crouched Angelo's garden-house, black, silent, waiting ... A faint noise broke the heavy quiet: a key turning in a lock. A door opened in the wall. A vague shape slipped within, drifted uncertainly to and fro, as if driven by conflicting winds, then approached the blackness ahead. With a quick sigh, it was swallowed up. There was no outcry. Silence and contentment. Angelo had been deceived.[120]

The moral ambiguity of the central characters and the dubious happy ending seem to give Garfield more trouble. Like Lamb, he stresses Angelo's repentance at the end: Angelo is relieved to find that he 'had murdered in thought alone. It was as if all his evil had been a wicked dream. He had been given a second chance',[121] and he is happy to marry Mariana. As for Isabella, it is not enough for her to accept the Duke's proposal out of gratitude, as she

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[116] Garfield, 'King Lear', p. 43.
[117] Garfield, 'Measure for Measure', p. 102.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Garfield, 'Measure for Measure', p. 109.
[120] Garfield, 'Measure for Measure', p. 114.
[121] Garfield, 'Measure for Measure', p. 129.

50. Foreman, illustration for 'Measure for Measure' (Garfield), p. 109.

does in Lamb's version, so Garfield hints at a romance between them from their first meeting, when '[t]hough, as he had assured Friar Peter, his bosom was not to be pierced by the dribbling dart of love, he, like all who saw her, was struck by Isabella's beauty'.[122] When she leaves this meeting, the Duke 'gazed after her, and his admiration divided between her passionate purity, and the grace and lightness of her step'.[123] When his proposal is met with silence, 'the Duke, dreading that she would choose the cool cloister instead of the warmth of his heart, turned away',[124] and after the Duke has spoken the final lines of the play, Garfield offers a closure that Shakespeare's play denies:

> Now, at last, he dared to look to Isabella for her answer; and most wonderfully she had given it. It was the last unveiling. She had thrown back her hood and unbound her hair. It fell about her shoulders in a storm of gold.
>
> Isabella, like the Duke, had made the long and arduous journey from justice to mercy, to forgiveness, and thence to love. She had chosen the warmth of his heart.[125]

In Garfield's adaptations, the individual is prized over the community. This marks a significant departure from the Lambs, whose version of the same play ends with Isabel single-handedly reforming the loose morals of every inhabitant of Vienna. The end of Garfield's 'Measure for Measure' is happy not because of the moral reformation of the city of Vienna, but because of the personal growth of Isabella and the Duke.

Garfield's adaptations are directly descended from earlier prose retellings in terms of his use of the medium to manipulate reader response. His interpretations of difficult plays like *Measure for Measure*, *The Taming of the Shrew* and *The Merchant of Venice* are certainly more palatable to a contemporary audience than those of the Lambs, as his adaptations value free will, emotional growth, and individuality where those of the Lambs valorized virtues such as a sense of duty to one's family and community. This is achieved through his use of limited perspective, which gives the reader insight into specific

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[122] Garfield, 'Measure for Measure', p. 112.
[123] Garfield, 'Measure for Measure', p. 114.
[124] Garfield, 'Measure for Measure', p. 129.
[125] Garfield, 'Measure for Measure', p. 130.

characters' thought processes, allowing identification with different characters at different points, rather than an omniscient, authoritative narrator. The effect of this is that while Garfield's prose adaptations are subject to the same problems as that of the Lambs as far as the medium is concerned, unlike the Lambs' *Tales*, they resist unilateral interpretation. Garfield's narration is complemented by Foreman's illustrations, which convey heightened states of emotion for specific characters, providing a psychological context for Garfield's verbal descriptions of character and action.

The Graphic Novel: Visual Text and Verbal Imagery

It may seem counterintuitive to include graphic novel adaptations of Shakespeare in the category of children's literature. While the comic book is often perceived as juvenile, graphic novels tend to be emphatically aimed at adults as writers and artists seek to distance themselves from misguided assumptions that their work is easy to read and therefore without artistic merit. Rocco Versaci notes that 'comic books are often cast in an oppositional relationship to "good" or "real" literature',[126] whereas graphic novels are branded as more sophisticated, upmarket and respectable than comic books—they are more likely to be sold in mainstream bookstores, rather than specialty shops, and they physically resemble books in their construction, whereas the serialized quality of comics makes them bear more of a resemblance to magazines.[127] Those involved in creating and marketing graphic novels consciously try to demarcate the genre as an adult one, and to differentiate it from children's literature. However, graphic novel adaptations of 'classic' literature should be considered a special case, as unlike mainstream graphic novels, these

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[126] Rocco Versaci, *This Book Contains Graphic Language: Comics as Literature* (London: Continuum, 2007), p. 183.

[127] Although many graphic novel adaptations of Shakespeare have titles like 'Comic Book Shakespeare' or 'Cartoon Shakespeare' (perhaps conscious of this perception of comic books as an inherently juvenile format), they are actually graphic novels, as defined by their format and modes of production and distribution. In fact, the label 'comic book' or 'graphic novel' when applied to a series of Shakespeare adaptations reveals a great deal about its creators' aspirations for the text and its intended audience.

adaptations are created with a young audience in mind, and like the annotated editions of the Lambs discussed in Chapter 2, their goals are educational rather than artistic.

While the medium as a whole is one which self-consciously distances itself from the children's literature label, adaptations of Shakespeare in this medium are nevertheless marketed specifically to younger readers and are frequently placed in the children's section in bookstores, instead of with other graphic novels. This points to a fundamental (and flawed) assumption on the part of creators of graphic Shakespeares, not shared by mainstream graphic novel artists: that graphic novels are more accessible to young people than other literary forms. As with most of the adaptations discussed in this thesis, it is assumed that children will understand Shakespeare better if his plays are presented in the same format as texts that are read for pleasure. The graphic novel Shakespeares seem designed for classrooms and libraries as more appealing (and therefore more accessible) editions of Shakespeare to complement school texts: they boast of being 'full-text' editions and frequently format their pages according to accepted act and scene divisions. Many include footnotes defining obscure words. The *Classical Comics* series (2008-present) produces three separate editions of each play: 'original text', 'plain text' (rewritten in contemporary English), and 'quick text' (abridged), as well as a study guide and CD-ROM. Similarly, the *No Fear Shakespeare* series published by Spark Notes has also produced graphic novel versions of their parallel-text editions of *Macbeth*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Hamlet*. Both of these series present the graphic novel as a valuable study aide, when used in conjunction with the 'real' text, of course. The implied aspiration is that children who would not normally take pleasure in Shakespeare will be encouraged to seek out the 'originals' or to attend a performance of a Shakespeare play after encountering the graphic novels. This was the rationale behind the *Classics Illustrated* series, produced between 1941

and 1971,[128] which Versaci claims has 'served as the template for all such adaptations'.[129] Each issue of *Classics Illustrated* concludes with the suggestion, 'Now that you have read the *Classics Illustrated* edition, don't miss the added enjoyment of reading the original, obtainable at your school or public library."[130] However, Charles Hatfield argues that there is a problem with the assumption that the process of reading comic books and graphic novels is interchangeable with that of reading a book. He argues that the interplay between text and image in fact creates 'several kinds of *tension*, in which various ways of reading—various interpretive options and potentialities—must be played against each other', and for this reason the reader 'must call upon different reading strategies, or interpretive schema, than they would use in their reading of conventional written text'.[131] A major issue in the production of graphic novel adaptations, therefore, is that while the graphic novel is a highly sophisticated medium, the primary concern of most adaptations of Shakespeare in the medium is with producing an accessible version of Shakespeare, rather than a high quality graphic novel.

Those who advocate the use of graphic novel adaptations in the classroom assumed that, as with picture books, the existence of images will instantly make the text more appealing to younger readers who may otherwise have difficulties with Shakespeare's language. Additionally, graphic novel versions of Shakespeare address the implied reader in the same way that the picture book adaptations discussed earlier do. The images are presented as a way in, an aide to the loftier goal of understanding Shakespeare's language, but they can also undermine the text and suggest alternative interpretations. For this reason, it is worth considering these texts as sophisticated picture books, rather than as

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[128] Included in the series are five Shakespeare adaptations: *Julius Caesar* (#68), *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (#87), *Hamlet* (#99), *Macbeth* (#128), and *Romeo and Juliet* (#134).
[129] Versaci, *This Book Contains Graphic Language*, p. 183. Versaci likens the *Classics Illustrated* series to illustrated Cliffs Notes, noting that its creator, Albert Kanter, was interested 'far less in the comics than in promoting the classics, so he sought to efface the comics medium whenever possible' (pp. 184-86).
[130] 'Julius Caesar', *Classics Illustrated* #68, p. 45.
[131] Charles Hatfield, *Alternative Comics: An Emerging Literature* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2006), p. 36.

dumbed-down or infantilized attempts at graphic novels. It is however worth noting that, as with other adaptations I have discussed, the most successful graphic novel adaptations are those which understand how the medium works and are able to exploit it to its full potential. To illustrate this, I will look in detail at the three graphic novel adaptations of Shakespeare's plays published by Oval in the 1980s: *Macbeth* (1982), illustrated by Von, *King Lear* (1984), illustrated by Ian Pollock, and *Othello* (1986), illustrated by Oscar Zarate. These three texts all claim to be 'full text' editions, citing Shakespeare as sole author and the artist as illustrator, prioritizing their status as editions of Shakespeare over their status as graphic novels.[132] What is exceptional about this series in particular is the greater prominence given to the artwork as compared to other adaptations in this medium. These texts are also longer than most graphic novel Shakespeares, allowing the images to have greater prominence, and their artists are full-time artists who have experience with the genre.[133] For these reasons, the series is ideal for demonstrating both the ways in which the visual narrative works on the reader and the tensions that are inherent in translating a text into a medium for which it was not intended.

While each of the picture book adaptations discussed above seeks, in its own way, to reproduce a theatrical experience, there are obvious connections to be made between the graphic novel and the cinema in terms of how they construct a visual narrative, as the composition of frames and panels in a comic book or graphic novel parallels the composition of shots for film.[134] In Von's *Macbeth*, changes in perspective and depth are used to give a sense of Macbeth's state of mind as he contemplates murdering Duncan (see

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[132] The claim that these are 'full-text' editions is in itself dubious, as it implies an original, authoritative text which does not exist. Both Pollock's *King Lear* and Zarate's *Othello* claim to be 'the complete play', failing to acknowledge that more than one 'complete' version of each of these plays exists. In fact, the text of Pollock's *King Lear* seems to be based primarily on the 1608 Quarto *The History of King Lear*.

[133] Many of the artists who work for the *Classical Comics*, *Shakespeare Graphics*, *Graphic Shakespeare*, and *No Fear Illustrated* series, for example, seem to work exclusively on graphic novel adaptations for those series.

[134] See for example Francis Lacassin, 'The Comic Strip and Film Language', *Film Quarterly* 26 (1972), 11-23.

Figure 51).[135] In the first panel, Macbeth is shown in the foreground with his back to the large banquet and his eyes closed, and the text in the thought bubble reads:

> If it were done when 'tis done, then 'twere well it were done quickly. If the assassin could trammel up the consequence, and catch with his surcease success; that but this blow might be the be-all and the end-all. Here, but here, upon this bank and shoal of time, we'd jump the life to come.

The narrow panel which follows this wide one has Macbeth, now with his back to the viewer, looking out of the window as he thinks,

> But in these cases we still have judgement here; that we but teach bloody instructions, which, being taught, return to plague the inventor. This even-handed justice commends the ingredience of our poisoned chalice to our own lips. He's here in double trust: first, as I am his kinsman and his subject, strong both against the deed; then, as his host,

The next panel is also narrow, and features a close-up of Macbeth's face from outside the window. The bars of the window cut across his face, which is half in shadow, and he continues, 'who should against his murderer shut the door, not bear the knife myself. Besides, this Duncan hath borne his faculties so meek, hath been so clear in his great office, that his virtues will plead like angels'. The next panel is short and wide, and comes in tighter still on Macbeth's face. The bars on the window can no longer be seen, but we see the shadow they are casting on Macbeth's face, while the thought bubble continues,

> trumpet-tongued against the deep damnation of his taking-off; and pity like a naked new-born babe, striding the blast, or heaven's cherubin, horsed upon the sightless couriers of the air, shall blow the horrid deed in every eye, that tears shall drown the wind.

The last panel, which runs horizontally across the bottom of the page, is a wider shot showing Macbeth at the window from the outside, his hands clutching the bars so that he appears to be in prison as he concludes, 'I have no spur to prick the sides of my intent, but only vaulting ambition, which o'er-leaps itself and falls on the other.' This soliloquy is presented cinematically: although Macbeth himself is stationary, the variety of perspectives and variations in the size and shape of the panels allows the reader to experience his state

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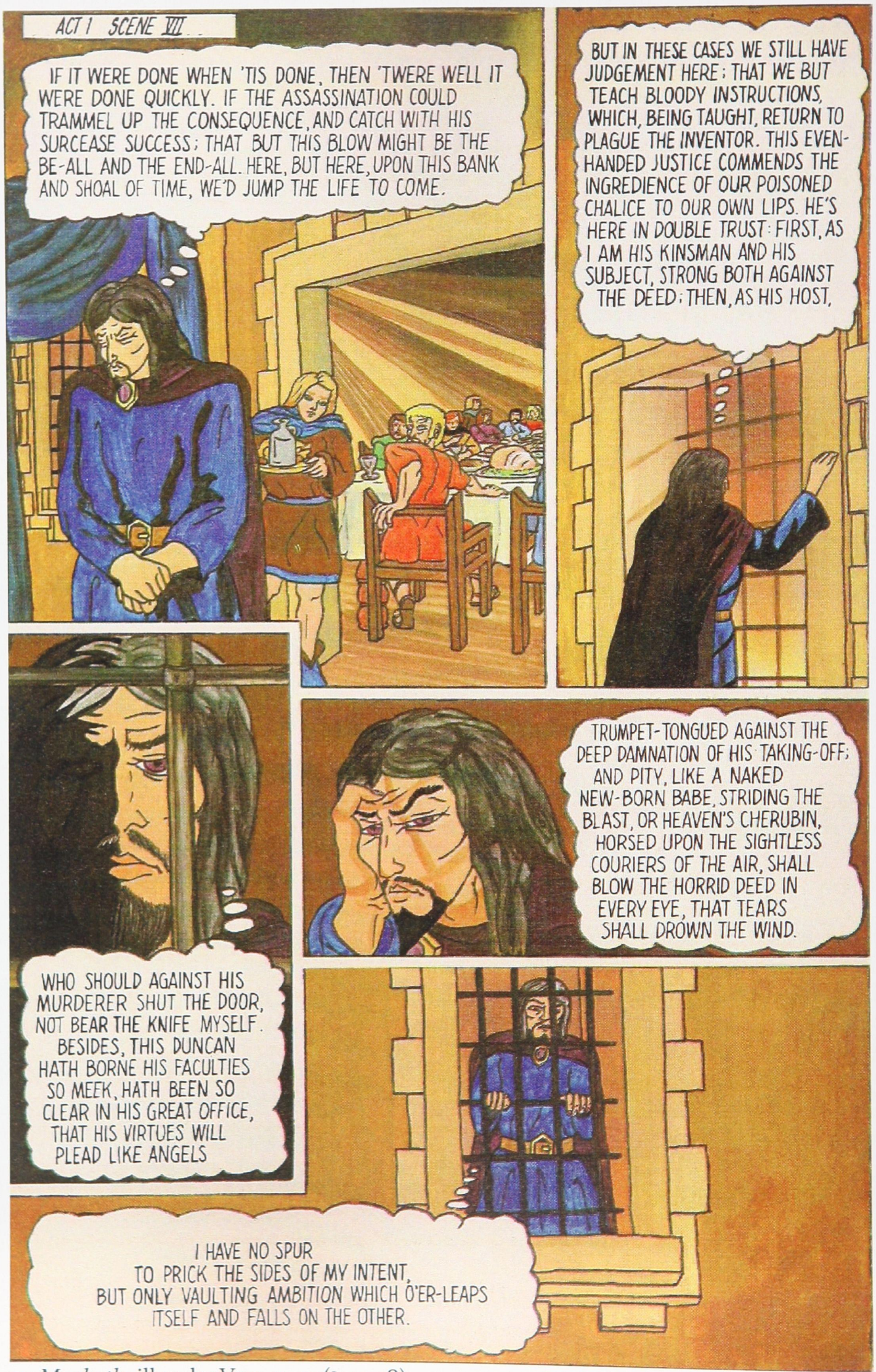
[135] *Macbeth*, illus. by Von, [ed. by David Gibson], Graphic Library Shakespeare (London: Oval Projects Ltd, 1982), p. 19. Cf. *Macbeth*, 1.7.1-28.



51. *Macbeth*, illus. by Von, p. 19 (1.7.1-28).

of mind firsthand. The visibility of the bars on the window in each panel, along with the tightening of the frames around Macbeth's face, portrays a sense of entrapment not immediately apparent in the text.

In this succession of panels, each of which contains a section of the soliloquy in thought bubbles, there is a shift from medium shots to close-ups to a final longer shot, a sequence which is typical of continuity editing in mainstream cinema. Like a film, a graphic novel is at its most basic level a series of still images which, when viewed in succession, work together to construct a narrative; we will see this again in the next chapter in relation to the *Animated Tales*. In many ways, cel animation is a fusion of the principles of cinema and graphic novels, as individually crafted single frames are viewed in succession to form a visual narrative. However, as Versaci points out, while continuity editing is a self-effacing process, the reader of the graphic novel is made acutely aware of this frame-by-frame construction:

> while film and comic narrative both rely on a succession of still images, the transitions between those still images in film are far less visible than between those in comics. That is, we do not notice the still images in a film (they move too fast at twenty-four frames per second); in comics, because the still images are laid out before us, we are free to examine how one illustration moves to the next.[136]

The reader of a comic book or graphic novel is therefore more consciously aware of what is not being shown than is the viewer of a film. The gutters, a term used to describe the empty space between panels, draw attention to the selectivity of what is shown in the panels themselves. In Pollock's *King Lear*, Edgar's transformation into Poor Tom, which occurs over six panels on a single page, ends with him leaping out of frame in the last panel (at the lower right-hand corner of the page) as he exclaims, 'Poor Turlygood! Poor Tom! That's something yet: Edgar I nothing am' (See Figure 52)[137]. By the last panel, Edgar is

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[136] Versaci, *This Book Contains Graphic Language*, p. 14.

[137] *King Lear*, illus. by Ian Pollock, ed. by David Gibson, Graphic Library Shakespeare (London: Oval Projects Ltd, 1984), p. 51. Cf. *The History of King Lear*, II.2.168-87.

52. *King Lear*, illus. by Ian Pollock, p. 51 (II.2.167-87).

indeed 'nothing': he has effectively jumped out of his own skin and into the gutter. Only his feet are still visible and motion lines indicate his trajectory, but we do not get to see where (or indeed if) he lands.

The nature of the graphic novel makes it a good medium in which to play with linear narrative because, as Hatfield puts it, a single image on the page in a graphic novel 'functions in two ways at once: as a "moment" in an imagined sequence of events, and as a graphic element in an atemporal design'.[138] In other words, the reader of a graphic novel is confronted simultaneously with a series of images in sequence and with the aesthetic qualities of the page as a whole. Pollock exploits this aspect of the medium in his *King Lear*. For example, in the scene in which Kent tries to persuade Lear to take shelter from the storm, the page features a single image in the centre in which Lear stands solitary against a black background and says, 'When the mind's free, the body's delicate; the tempest in my mind doth from my senses take all feeling else save what beats there—filial ingratitude!'[139] The colouring of the rest of the page is lighter, using primarily greens and browns. Kent and the Fool are visibly present, as is the hut into which Kent is trying to coax Lear. The central image is a visual representation of Lear's mind as a vacuum, devoid of sense and feeling, and upon turning to this page the eye is immediately drawn to the single black frame, even though it is the fourth image on the page in terms of the narrative sequence. Before the scene even begins, therefore, the reader cannot help but be aware of Lear's state of mind, and this informs his behaviour throughout the scene (see Figure 53).

The graphic novel, perhaps more than any other medium, has the ability to convey multiple narrative perspectives simultaneously through the positioning of speech and thought bubbles, which do not always follow a clear left-to-right or top-to-bottom sequence within a panel. This means that interruptions, asides, and parallel conversations can occur within the same frame without privileging one character's voice over another.

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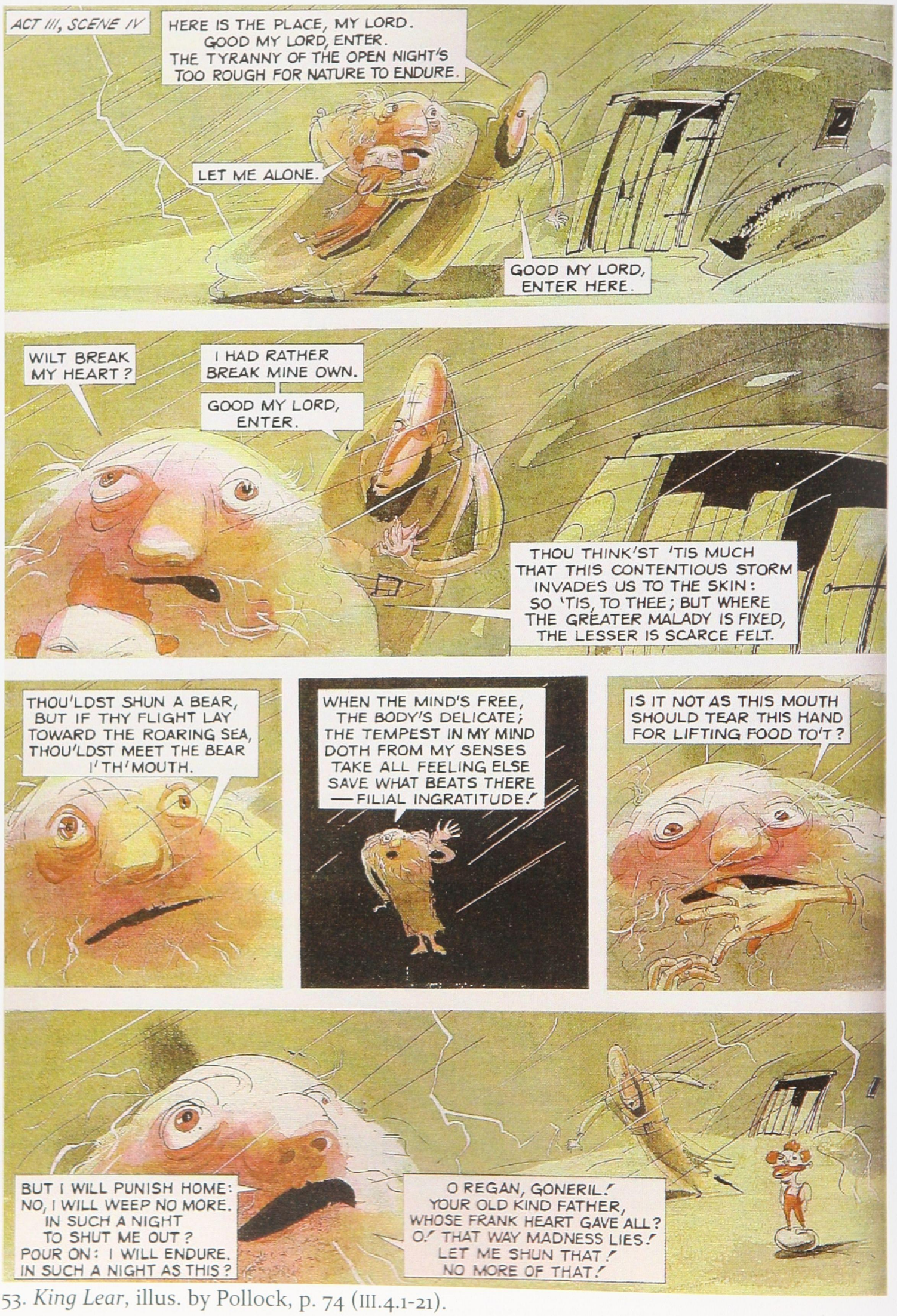
[138] Hatfield, p. 48.
[139] *King Lear*, illus. by Pollock, p. 74. Cf. *The History of King Lear*, III.4.1-21.



53. *King Lear*, illus. by Pollock, p. 74 (III.4.1-21).

This strategy is especially effective in conveying discrepancies between what a character says and feels, through speech and thought bubbles, so that Von's Macbeth, for instance, can simultaneously say, 'Thanks for your pains.—Do you not hope your children shall be kings when those that gave the thane of Cawdor to me promised no less to them?' and think, 'Two truths are told, as happy prologues to the swelling act of the imperial theme' (see Figure 54).[140] Pollock frequently plays with the positioning of his speech bubbles in *King Lear*, so that they do not necessarily follow any linear logic. This is particularly effective in conveying the feigned madness of Edgar or the real madness of Lear. When the latter enters in IV.5, his speech is represented by a number of speech bubbles coming from him at all angles, so that rather than being a single speech with a beginning, middle, and end, it instead becomes a cloud of (literally) unconnected ideas (see Figure 55).

The transformation of Shakespeare's plays into graphic novels brings the tensions surrounding language to the fore. As with the other adaptations that have been discussed, the impulse with graphic novel versions is to retain all or most of Shakespeare's language, so that the resulting texts are not so much adaptations as they are illustrated editions. This goes directly against one of the strengths of the medium, namely its ability to tell a story with a minimum of words, allowing the images to do most of the narrative work. Because all of the text is retained, therefore, the artists are charged with the difficult task of producing images that reveal information not immediately apparent in the text. When this fails, the images tend to depict imagined stagings of the plays, making the text closer to a storyboard for a film than to a true graphic novel. Additionally, within each panel, there is a risk of the words crowding out the images as publishers struggle to fit an entire play onto a limited number of pages. An example of this occurs in Von's *Macbeth* in Macduff's conversation with Malcolm in England, already among the longest and most verbally dense scenes in the play. The imagery is striking, depicting Macduff and Malcolm on a hunting

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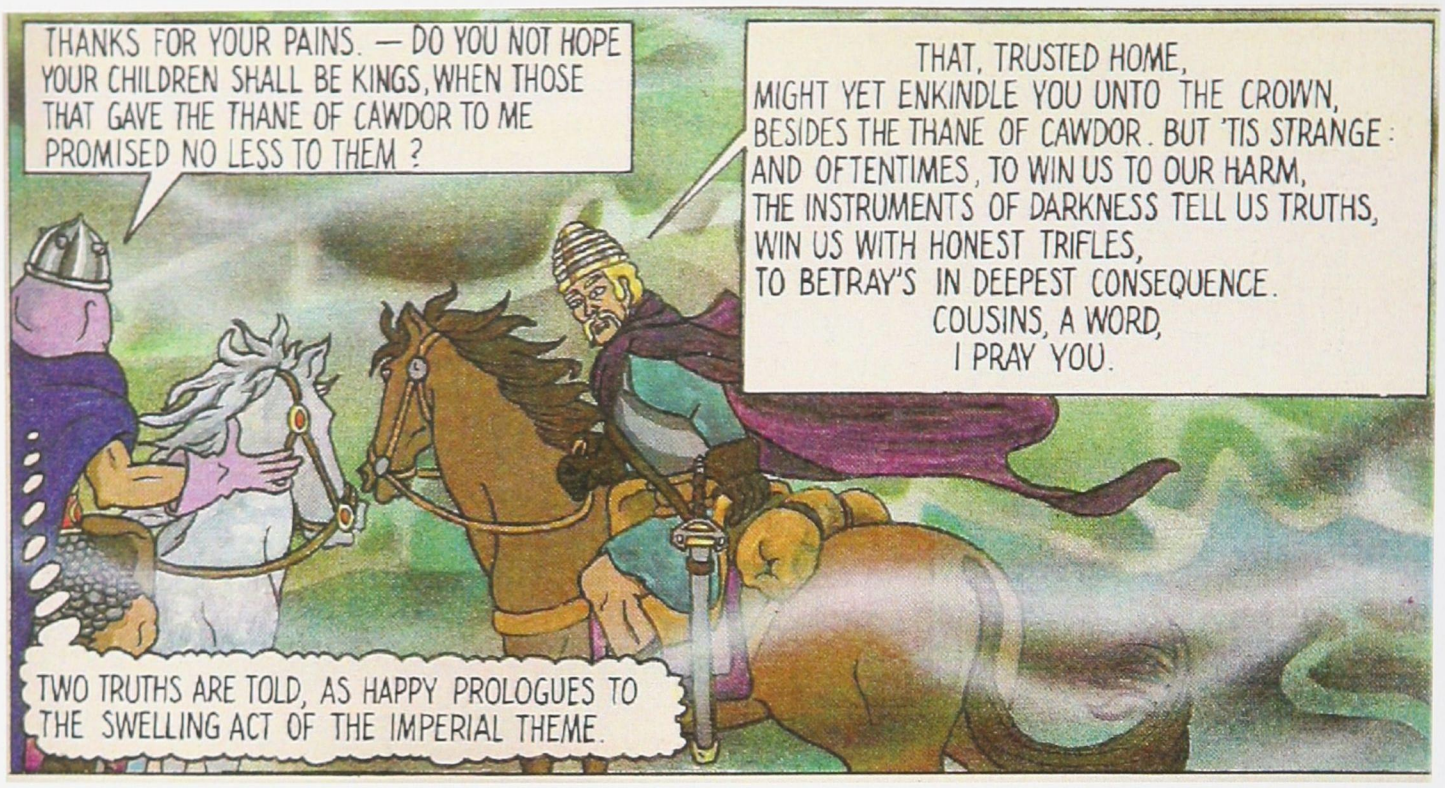
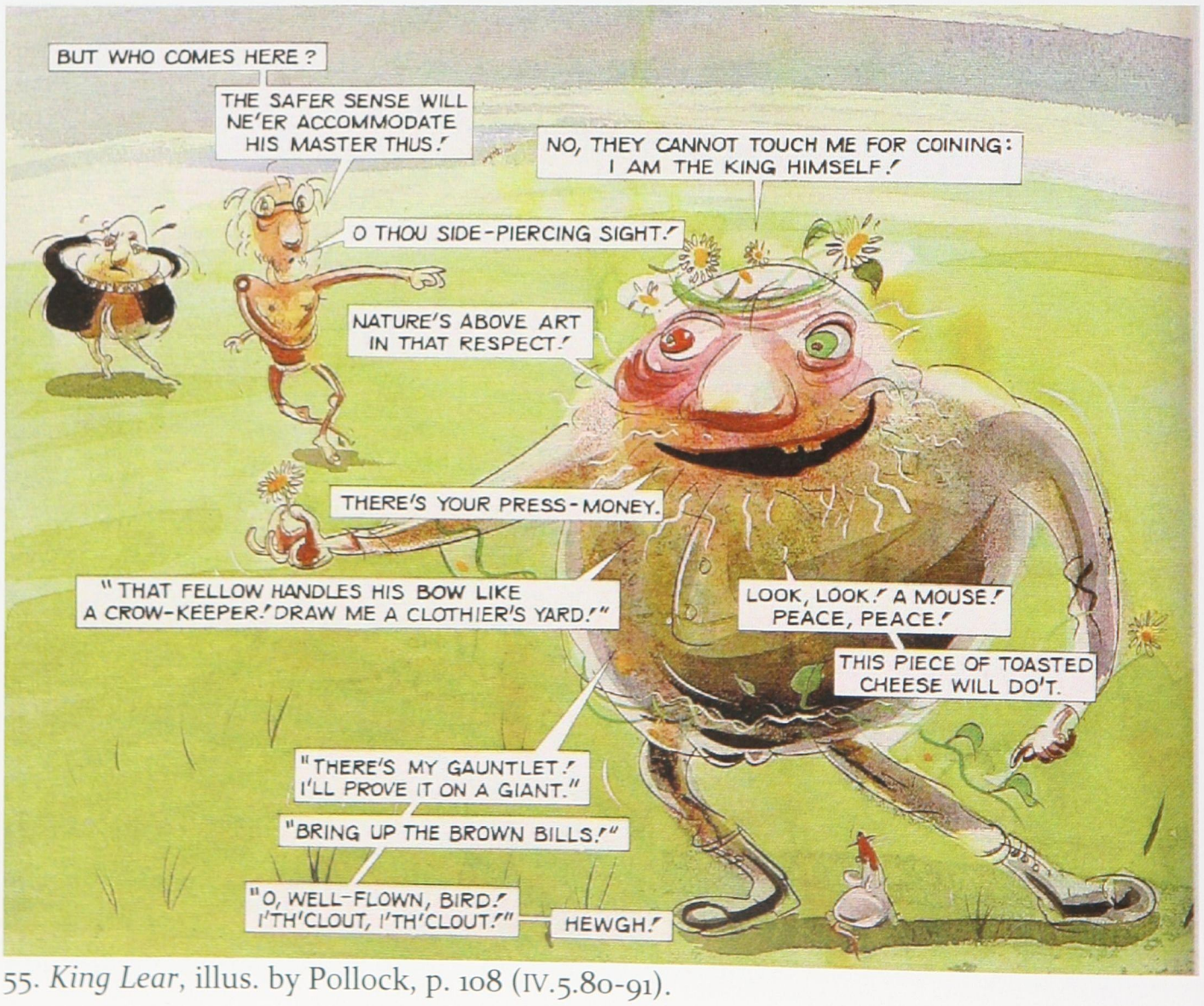
[140] *Macbeth*, illus. by Von, p. 9. Cf. *Macbeth*, I.4.114-28.



54. *Macbeth*, illus. by Von, p. 9 (I.3.115-28).



55. *King Lear*, illus. by Pollock, p. 108 (IV.5.80-91).

expedition as they discuss the 'untitled tyrant bloody-sceptered',[141] with obvious parallels between Macbeth's bloodlust and their own slaughter of various animals (see Figure 56). However, the sheer size of each of the speech bubbles, and the amount of text contained in each one, leaves very little space for these images, which are tiny in comparison.

The adaptations which communicate most effectively with the child reader are those which find ways to work around this by manipulating the layout of the panels and speech bubbles in order to break up long speeches and allow sufficient space for the images to work. In the *Classics Illustrated* series, where the goal was to trick children into reading 'real' literature by presenting it in comic book form, entire speeches (most noticeably Hamlet's soliloquies) are put into one speech bubble, which takes up an entire panel, while the illustrations do no more than indicate who is speaking (see Figure 57). Later texts, including the Oval editions, recognize the need to break up these long speeches so as to minimize the extent to which the panels are taken over by words. In the example of Macbeth's soliloquy, cited above, the entire soliloquy is on a single page, but rather than putting it into a single speech bubble, it is broken down into five thought bubbles, and each is given its own panel so that the reader can track the emotional trajectory of the speech through the images as well as the words. By contrast, the entire speech beginning 'Tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow'[142] is put into one speech bubble, which takes up most of the space in the panel, with Macbeth's face relegated to the lower left corner, filling the function of a speech heading but not adding anything to the panel (see Figure 58). Perhaps because this soliloquy is a known Shakespearean set piece, the words are given centre stage, while the static image of Macbeth's face evokes the classic image of the actor standing front and centre, reciting a lofty speech while around him time stands still.

When Zarate's Othello begins to doubt his wife, Iago exits and a wordless panel shows a bird flying into a mirror and breaking it; on the next page, Othello is looking into

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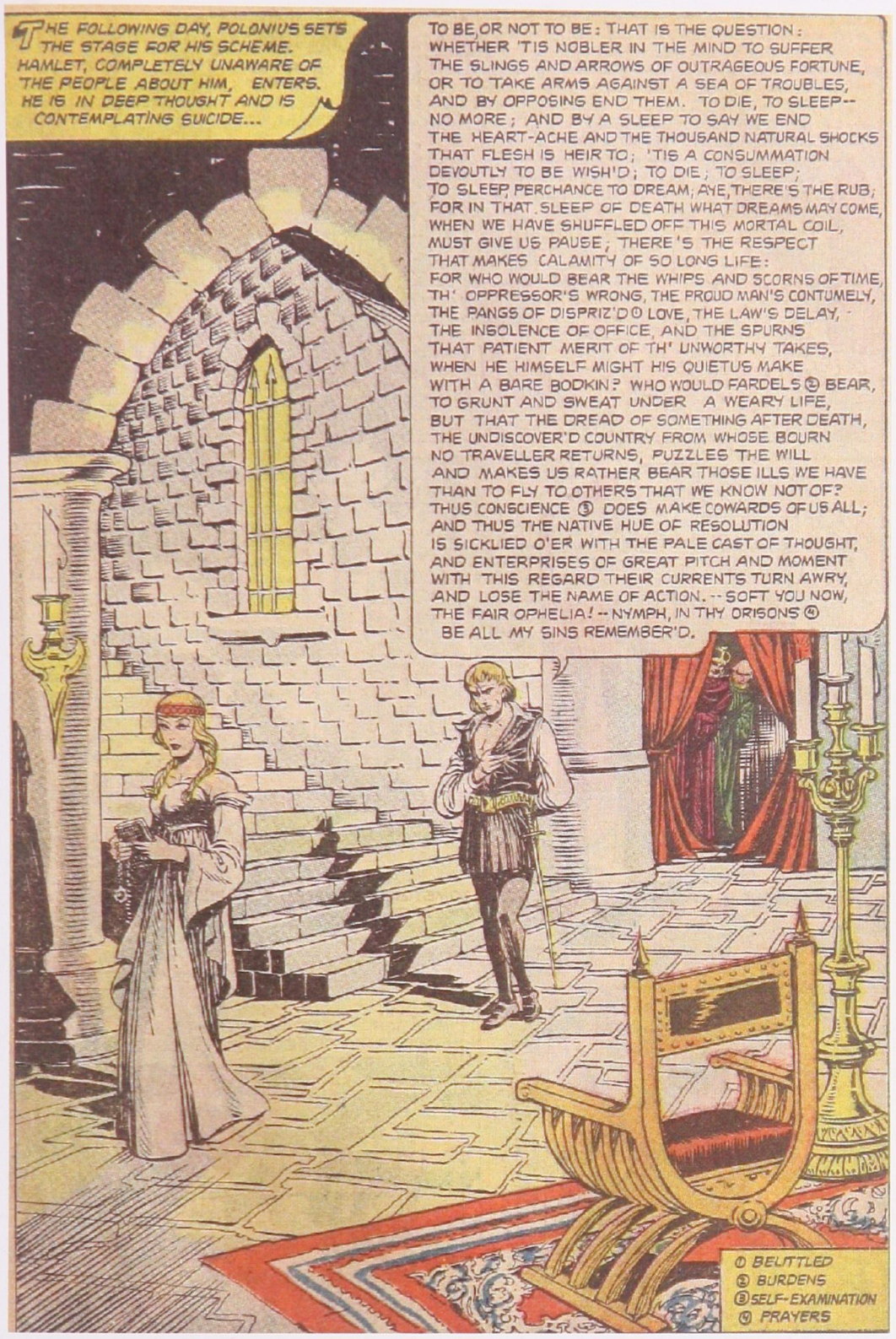
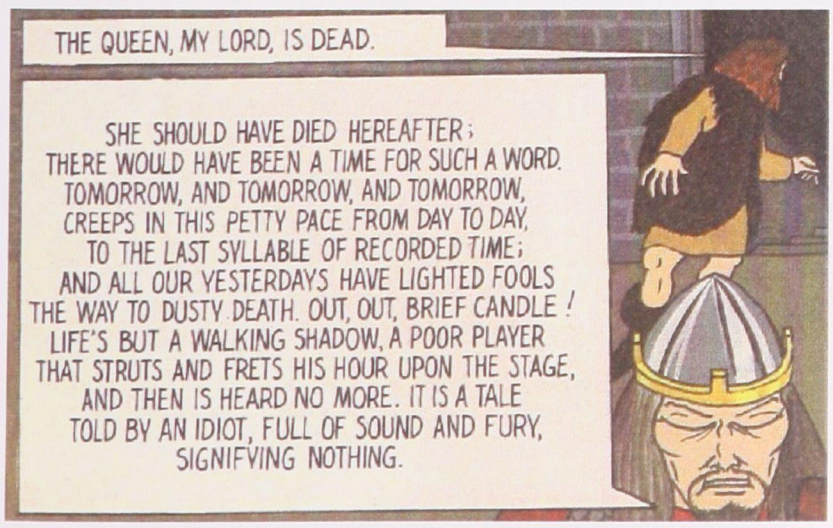
[141] *Macbeth*, illus. by Von, p. 69. Cf. *Macbeth*, IV.3.105.
[142] *Macbeth*, illus. by Von, p. 82. Cf. *Macbeth*, V.5.18-27.

56. *Macbeth*, illus. by Von, p. 69 (IV.2.103-41).



57. 'Hamlet', *Classics Illustrated* #99 (III.1.58-92).



58. *Macbeth*, illus. by Von, p. 82 (V.5.16-27).

the broken mirror (see Figure 59). Six fragments of the mirror replace conventional panels, and each fragment features part of Othello's face and a section of his soliloquy in a thought bubble.[143] In the first fragment, we see his forehead as he thinks, 'This fellow's of exceeding honesty, and knows all qualities, with a 190learnèd190 spirit, of human dealings.' Next to this, we see his right ear and eye in profile as he thinks, 'If I do prove her haggard, though that her jesses were my dear heart-strings, I'd whistle her off, and let her down the wind to prey at fortune.' Below this is one eye, with the thought:

> Haply for I am black, and have not those soft parts of conversation that chamberers have; or for I am declined into the vale of years (yet that's not much) she's gone. I am abused! And my relief must be to loathe her.

The fragment next to this shows Othello's nose and mouth, as he thinks,

> O, curse of marriage, that we can call these delicate creatures ours and not their appetites! I had rather be a toad, and live upon the vapour of a dungeon, than keep a corner in the thing I love for others' uses.

The fragment at the lower left of the page features Othello's hand, the text continues, 'Yet 'tis the plague of great ones; 190preroga190otived are they less than the base—'tis destiny unshunnable, like death: even then this 190forkèd plague is fated to us when we quicken.' The final fragment shows Othello's eyes, looking toward the next page, as he thinks, 'Look where she comes! If she be false, heaven mocks itself!—'.

Even with these creative methods of representing long speeches graphically, it seems that long sections of text are difficult to avoid, as is indicated by the fact that several of them are long enough to necessitate indented quotations above. In some cases this is used deliberately, to the text's advantage, as when a page with a large amount of text is juxtaposed with one with little to none. For example, one page from the last scene of Pollock's *King Lear* has a panel across the top of the page in which the dying Edmund says to Albany and Edgar, 'This speech of yours hath moved me, and shall perchance do good;

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[143] *Othello*, illus. by Oscar Zarate, ed. by David Gibson, Graphic Library Shakespeare (London: Oval Projects Ltd, 1985), p. 68. Cf. *Othello*, III.3.262-83.

59. *Othello*, illus. by Zarate, p. 68 (III.3.262-83).

but speak you on; you look as you had something more to say.'[144] Directly beneath this, three long, narrow panels are devoted to Edgar's conversation with Albany. The text takes up very little space, and the focus of attention is Edmund, who lies bleeding in the foreground while Edgar and Albany converse in the background (see Figure 60). This allows the emotional impact of Gloucester's death to be felt, while simultaneously keeping Edmund's unspoken confession in the mind of the reader. Upon turning the page, however, the reader is confronted with a crowded page with a large amount of dialogue, indicating the confusion that follows the report of the deaths of Goneril and Regan (see Figure 61).

Marcia Williams's use of comic book conventions may be a reason why her books address their implied reader more successfully than those of many of her contemporaries. However, it is worth noting the ways in which her adaptations differ from the graphic novel versions. As discussed above, her adaptations seek to mimic a theatrical experience, whereas the graphic novel is more cinematic. Each panel in Williams's text is a view of the characters on a stage, with the frame fulfilling the function that the proscenium would in a proscenium theatre. In a graphic novel, as in a film, each panel/shot shows a scene from a different position, allowing the reader/viewer to see each scene from several different angles. In Williams's texts, the plays are seen from multiple viewpoints through the comments of the spectators, who are imagined to be watching the 'performance' on a sixteenth-century thrust stage. The reader, like a real audience member, sees all of the onstage action from one physical position, which is situated front and centre. A graphic novel equivalent may be the 'A Midsummer Night's Dream' issue of Neil Gaiman's *Sandman* series,[145] in which Shekespear's (Shakespeare's) company performs *A Midsummer Night's Dream* for the real Auberon (Oberon) and Titania and their attendants. Although the focus is on the offstage interactions between the actors and the fairies rather than on

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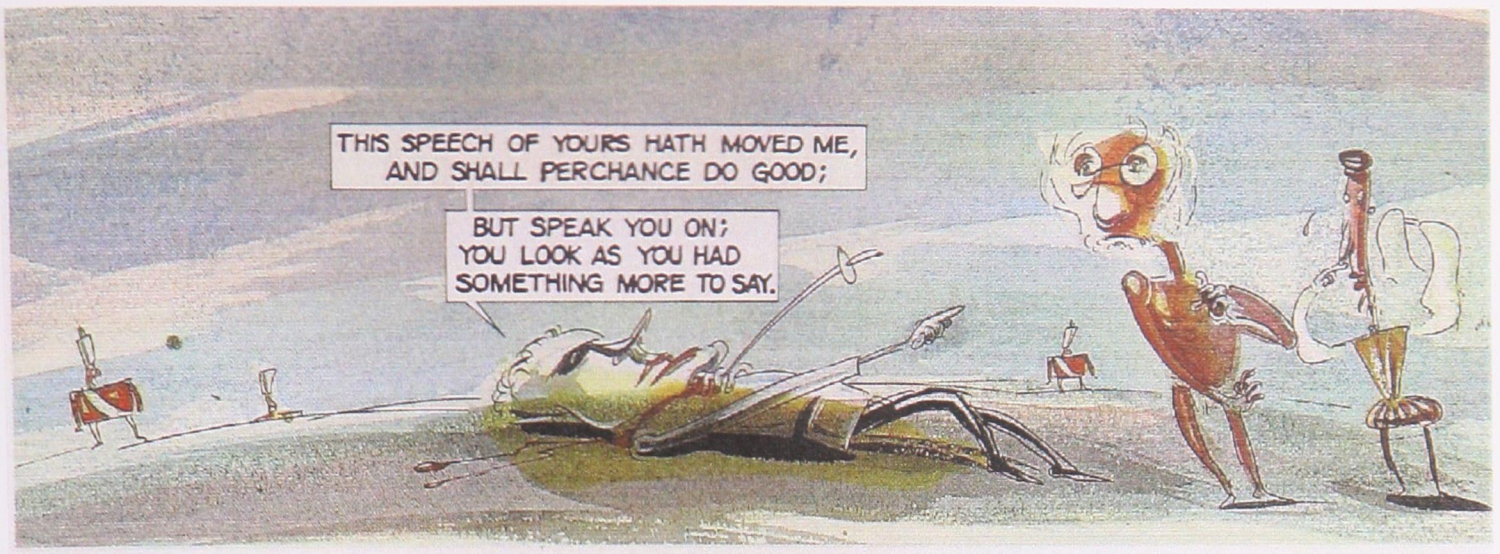
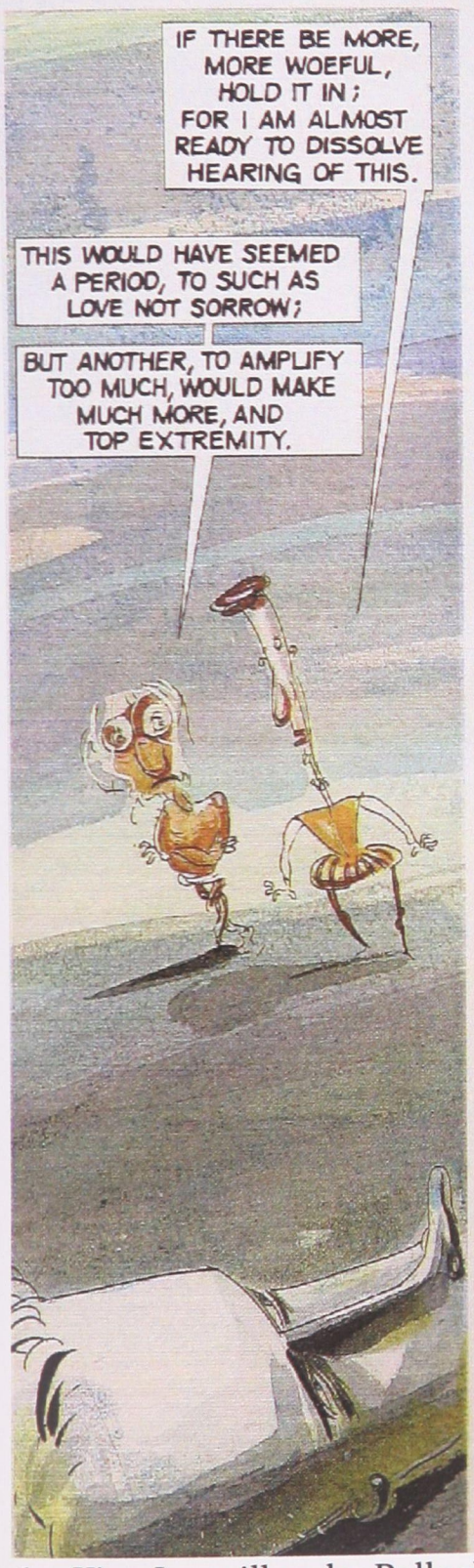
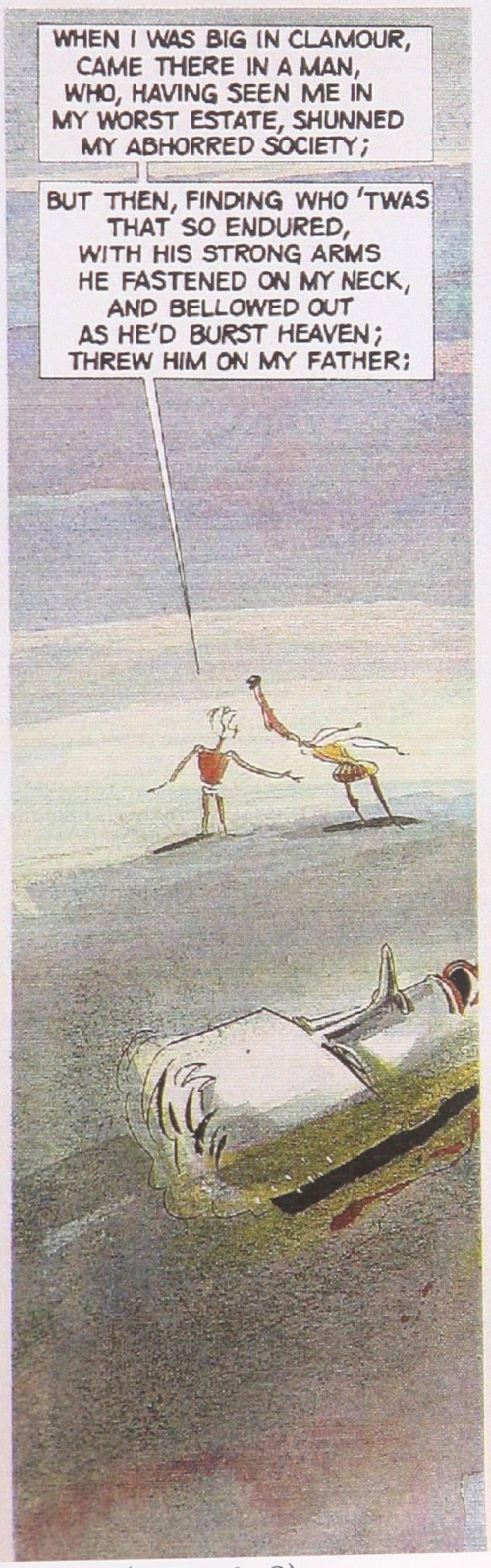
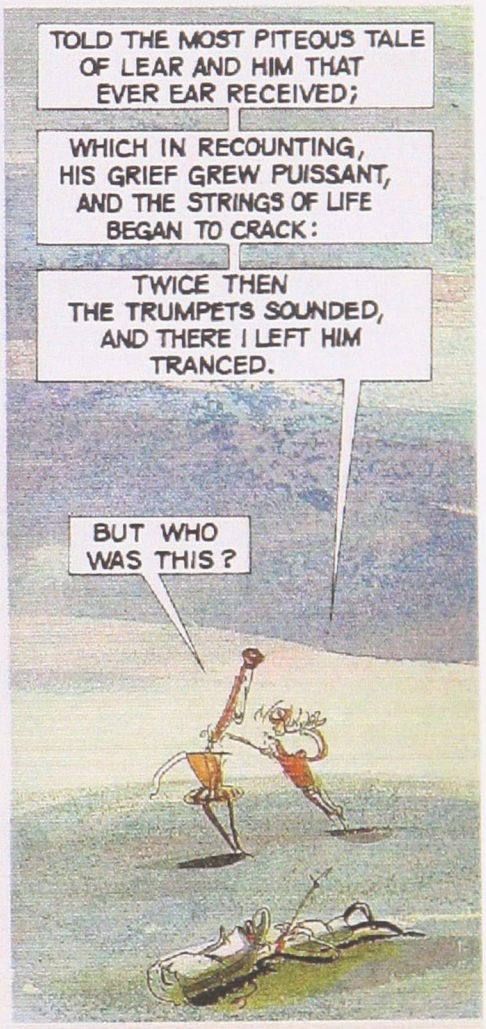
[144] *King Lear*, illus. by Pollock, p. 133. Cf. *The History of King Lear*, v.3.196-98.
[145] Neil Gaiman (w) and Charles Vess (a), 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', *Sandman* #19 {*The Sandman: Dream Country* #3}, September 1990, DC Comics.

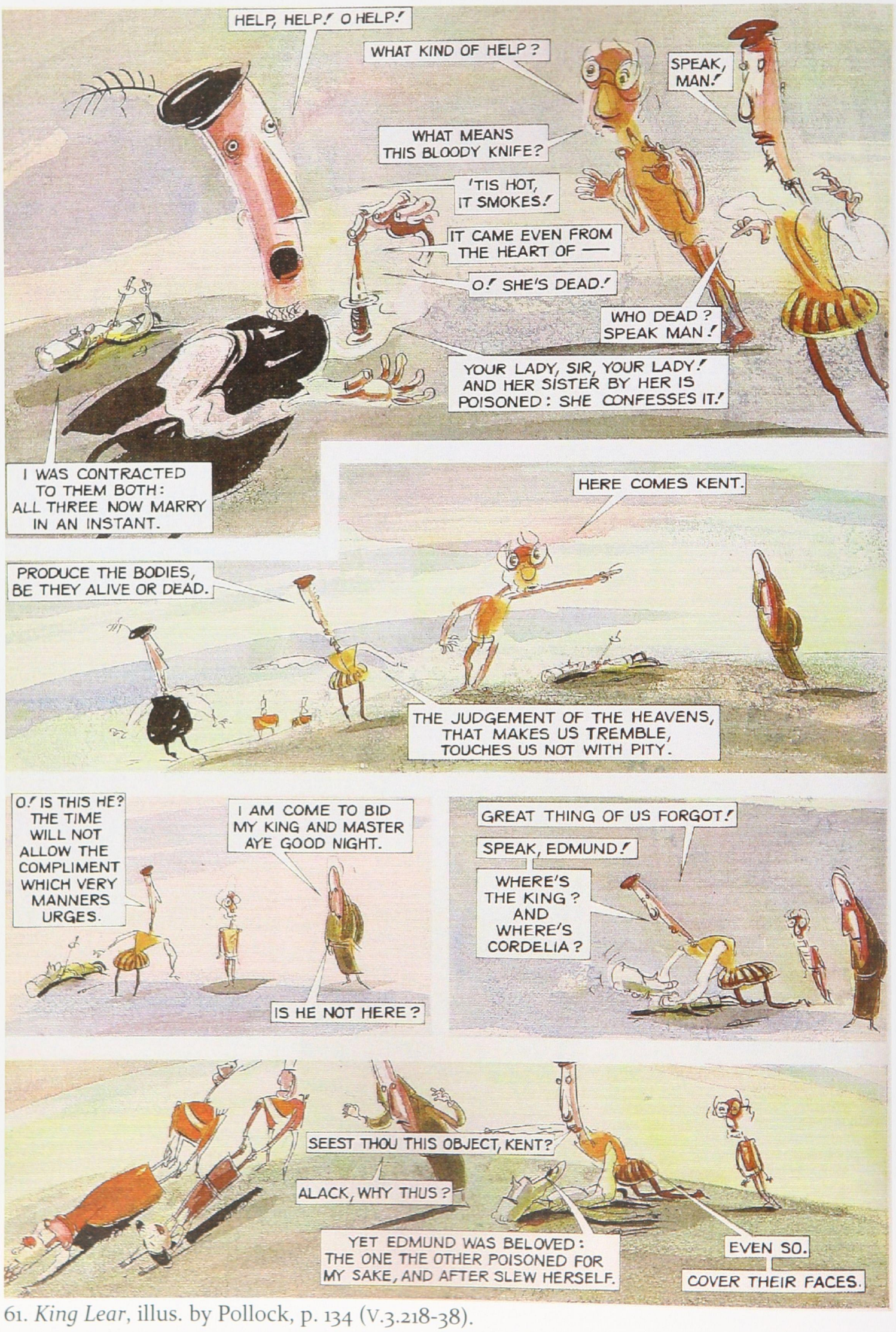








60. *King Lear*, illus. by Pollock, p. 133 (V.3.196-18).



61. *King Lear*, illus. by Pollock, p. 134 (V.3.218-38).

the story of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, it is similar to Williams's texts in its use of a visible audience as an intermediary between the reader and Shakespeare's text (see Figure 62). The fairies both comment on and question aspects of the performance, and the reader is encouraged to recognize parallels between the action onstage and off.

As Hatfield points out, the graphic novel breaks down the distinctions between word and image that are so prevalent in the discussion of visual media, since in a graphic novel

> the written text can function like images, and images like written text. Comics, like other hybrid texts, collapse the word/image dichotomy: visible language has the potential to be quite elaborate in appearance, forcing recognition of pictorial and material qualities that can be freighted with meaning (as in, for example, concrete poetry); conversely, images can be simplified and codified to function as a language.[146]

Although each of these statements could also be applied to sophisticated picture books, in the context of the adaptations of Shakespeare I have been discussing, the graphic novel versions require the most from the reader in terms of active engagement with the text. Each of the media discussed in this chapter—picture book, illustrated book, and graphic novel—involves different types of interaction between word and image, and asks the reader to read images as well as words. In addition, each medium invites a metatextual engagement with Shakespeare's plays, rejecting the notion of cultural literacy as something that must be passed down from an educated adult to an innocent child.

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[146] Hatfield, pp. 36-37.

62. Neil Gaiman (w) and Charles Vess (a), 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', *Sandman* #19, p. 21.

Chapter 4: Visual Literacy and *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales*

Despite the modest amount of critical attention that has been paid to adaptations of Shakespeare for children in other media, *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales* (1992-94) has been undervalued and therefore critically neglected as an adaptation of Shakespeare for a specific audience. Part of this is to do with the overt commercial aims of the series when it was first broadcast, and the apparent mixed motives of its producers. Laurie Osborne detects a 'not-so-veiled cultural imperialism' running 'alongside musings about the series' financial potential', particularly in Prince Charles's statement that 'this pioneering project [...] will bring Shakespeare's great wisdom, insight and all-encompassing view of mankind to many millions from all parts of the globe, who have never been in his company before'.[1] Similar to the reactions to the graphic novel that we saw in the previous chapter, the series has hitherto been seen as at best a useful study aide (when used in conjunction with the *real* versions, of course) and at worst as an inexcusable form of bowdlerization, with all the negative connotations that the word carries.[2] This is the picture painted by the early publicity for the series, which draws attention to the heavily abridged scripts, focusing on what is lost rather than what is retained and ignoring the animators' aptitude at compensating visually for the cuts to the text. Terence Hawkes, for example, states that the *Animated Tales* 'will be of no use. They are packages of stories based on Shakespearean plots, which themselves were not original. So they aren't going to provide much insight into Shakespeare'.[3] One exception has been Osborne, whose two articles on the *Animated*

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[1] Laurie Osborne, 'Poetry in Motion: Animating Shakespeare', in *Shakespeare: The Movie: Popularizing the Plays on Film, TV, and Video*, ed. by Boose and Burt, pp. 103-20 (p. 105)). Prince Charles's statement is quoted in Teresa L. Waite, '"Tempest" and Others the Size of a Teapot', *The New York Times*, 9 November 1992, <http://www.nytimes.com/1992/11/09/movies/tempest-and-others-the-size-of-a-teapot.html> [accessed 11 July 2011], para. 17 of 21.

[2] See for example Geoff Brown, 'Bard Suffers Slings and Arrows', *Sunday Telegraph*, 1 November 1992, p. 12; Anon., 'Soundbite Shakespeare', *The Guardian*, 24 November 1992, p. G16; Peter Thomas, 'Shakespeare: The Animated Tales', *Books for Keeps*, November 1992, p. 36.

[3] Quoted in Brown, p. 12.

Tales, one for each series,[4] consider the different media used in the series, although she does complain that the abridged text serves to 'flatten' the characters.[5] Even commentators who are otherwise perfectly willing to accept other forms of adaptation on their own terms have been more resistant to the *Animated Tales*. Janet Bottoms, for example, one of the most prolific scholarly critics of children's Shakespeares, worries that the 26-minute animations might come to replace their sources in the classroom. She warns,

> the deliberate shrinkage of these complex, multilayered plays into less than half an hour appears to me to be one with the 'fast food,' TV-zapping culture which schools should actively resist. [...] There is much to be gained from the new angle of Shakespeare's plays offered by the Russian artists, but it is not to be found simply by showing children the videos in the belief that they are naturally disposed to animation.[6]

While this is typical of Bottoms's tendency to see adaptation only in terms of its fidelity to its source, she does not express any fear of the simplified prose or picture book adaptations she discusses replacing the 'complex, multilayered plays', even though, as we have seen, these re-tellings often result in more radical departures from the plays than abridged or edited versions.

Textual Abridgement and Visual Metaphor

Although the primary reason for the *Animated Tales*' cutting of Shakespeare's plays is to do with playing time, it must be acknowledged that in some cases the cuts do make aspects of the plays more palatable to a late twentieth-century audience. The example of *The Taming of the Shrew* was used above to show how Garfield's prose version in *Shakespeare Stories* revises the source plays so that they conform to twentieth-century social mores, by eliding the more misogynist elements of Kate's taming and presenting the central relationship as a loving marriage of equals. Similar strategies are carried over to Garfield's screenplay for the

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[4] Osborne, 'Poetry in Motion'; 'Mixing Media and Animating Shakespeare's Tales', in *Shakespeare: The Movie II*, ed. by Boose and Burt, pp. 140-53.
[5] Osborne, 'Poetry in Motion', p. 110.
[6] Bottoms, 'Speech, Image, Action: Animating Tales from Shakespeare', *Children's Literature in Education* 32 (2001), 3-15 (pp. 13-14).

animated version. In the animated 'The Taming of the Shrew', the protagonists' verbal one-upmanship during their courtship is replaced by a duelling tap dance, in which each of Katherine and Petruchio's lines is followed by an increasingly complicated step sequence. Garfield also cuts all descriptions of Petruchio's violent behaviour from the animated tale and drastically reduces the soliloquy in which he describes his plan for taming Kate in terms of falconry.[7] In the animated version, he only says, 'Thus have I politicly begun my reign. Last night she slept not, nor tonight she shall not. He that knows better how to tame a shrew, now let him speak.'[8] Similarly, Kate's final speech is reduced from forty-four to eleven lines and many of the more distasteful sentiments have been cut. For example, Kate still says, 'A woman moved is like a fountain troubled, | Muddy, ill-seeming, thick, bereft of beauty', but she does not speak the lines which immediately follow these in the play, 'And while it is so, none so dry or thirsty | Will deign to sip or touch one drop of it'.[9] In addition, all references to the husband as 'king', 'governor', 'head', 'sovereign', or 'prince' are cut from the speech.[10] Garfield's screenplay for 'The Taming of the Shrew' also follows Garfield's prose adaptation in including the Induction scenes involving Christopher Sly, drawing attention to the fictive nature of the 'Shrew' plot that follows. The animated version draws a definite distinction between the 'real' world of Sly and the make-believe world of the play-within-a-play, using stop-motion animation to present 'The Taming of the Shrew' as a Punch-and-Judy-style puppet show performed for Sly's benefit. This metatheatrical approach resists any unilateral interpretation of the 'Shrew' story, drawing attention to its own artificiality. As in the written version, this means that a straightforward interpretation of what follows is virtually impossible. Additionally, Garfield's abridgement, like his prose retelling, follows the quarto text of *The Taming of a Shrew* in returning to the Sly frame at the end of the 'Shrew' plot. Garfield has Sly confidently assert, 'I know now how to tame a

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[7] *The Taming of the Shrew*, IV.1.174-97.
[8] 'The Taming of the Shrew', dir. by Aida Zyablikova, *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales*, episode 2.2 (BBC, 1994).
[9] *The Taming of the Shrew*, V.2.147-50.
[10] *The Taming of the Shrew*, V.2.143, 152, 160-65.

shrew',[11] a claim which is immediately discredited when he tries once again to gain access to a tavern and is once again thrown out by the Hostess (see Figure 63).

Bottoms aligns the *Animated Tales* with other abridged versions such as the *Family Shakespeare*,[12] and it is true that the abridgements allow Garfield an easy way to omit material he deems inappropriate. However, there is a fundamental ideological difference between the *Animated Tales* and the Bowdlers' project, in that, as we have seen, the Bowdlers envisaged their edition as the first and only exposure to Shakespeare's plays that young people would have, born out of an environment which privileged reading or listening to the plays and discouraged theatre attendance. By the 1990s, however, young people were being virtually bombarded with Shakespeare through a variety of media, so that the *Animated Tales* was assumed to be one of many channels through which Shakespeare would be encountered. Garfield suggests that the *Animated Tales* should not be 'looked at as versions of the plays, but rather as fragments, reassembled into something new',[13] while Stanley Wells, literary advisor to the series, places it alongside 'the operas, ballets, and paintings based on Shakespeare, [which] transmute their raw material into something rich and strange in its own right'.[14] Additionally, longer versions of the abridged scripts, with illustrations inspired by the *Animated Tales*, were published to coincide with the broadcast of the series.[15] As Osborne notes, the 'coincident publication of cartoon and text – as well as their disparate content – marks the significantly multiple ways in which the twentieth century conceives and recreates Shakespeare's texts'.[16] Osborne further observes that while the Lambs intended their *Tales from Shakespear* as a stepping-stone to reading Shakespeare's plays, the *Animated Tales* 'prepare their audience to understand the

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[11] *The Taming of a Shrew*, l. 1619.
[12] Bottoms, 'Familiar Shakespeare', p. 13.
[13] Leon Garfield, 'A Present for Mr Patten', *Books for Keeps* (1992), p. 77.
[14] S. Wells, 'Shakespeare's Been Framed', *Daily Telegraph*, 11 June 1992, p. 6.
[15] *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales*, abridged by Leon Garfield, 2 vols (London: William Heinemann Books, 1992-94).
[16] Osborne, 'Poetry in Motion', p. 104.

63. 'The Taming of the Shrew', dir. by Aida Ziablikova.

'I have had | the bravest dream' (*The Taming of a Shrew*, ll. 1614-15).

plays cinematically rather than theatrically or literarily',[17] a position that will be examined in more detail later in this chapter. Additionally, just as the Victorian adaptations discussed in Chapter 2 refer to specific theatrical productions, the *Animated Tales* allude to specific filmed versions of the plays. For example, the animated 'Hamlet', as we shall see, owes a great deal to film adaptations of both Laurence Olivier (1948) and Grigori Kosintsev (1964), particularly in the ghost scenes,[18] while the abridgements to *Richard III* for that episode echo Olivier's 1955 screenplay of that play in placing Richard at the centre of the action and diminishing the scenes in which he is not present.[19] The animated 'Taming of the Shrew' includes a sequence of Petruchio and Kate riding from Padua to Verona through a storm after their wedding, which mirrors an interpolated scene in Franco Zeffirelli's 1967 film adaptation of the play.[20]

As we have seen, adaptations of Shakespeare for children have become increasingly visual products as it has come to be accepted that it is visual narrative which resonates most strongly with young readers. Watson and Styles are among those who have found that the picture book 'welcomes and provides for young readers' detailed observation of image and, as a bonus, supports their developing sight-vocabulary and growing phonic confidence',[21] while technological advances have allowed for the mass production of such visual products. The *Animated Tales* can be seen as the apotheosis of this movement, as animation is potentially the medium most up to the challenge of producing a purely visual Shakespeare. When executive producer Chris Grace describes his inspiration for the series, he recalls, 'I saw the possibilities animation could bring to Shakespeare that live action

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[17] Osborne, 'Poetry in Motion', p. 103.
[18] *Hamlet*, dir. by Laurence Olivier (Universal Pictures, 1948); *Hamlet*, dir. by Grigori Kosintsev (United Artists, 1966 [1964]).
[19] *Richard III*, dir. by Laurence Olivier (Lorpet Pictures, 1955).
[20] *The Taming of the Shrew*, dir. by Franco Zeffirelli (Columbia Pictures, 1967).
[21] Victor Watson and Morag Styles, 'A Variety of Voices', in *Talking Pictures*, ed. by Watson and Styles, pp. 1-4 (p. 2).

could not'.[22] Animation has therefore been assumed to go hand in hand with stories which involve fantasy, magic, and transformation. Animator John Halas claims that

> [t]he purest form of visual expression is where the least physical restrictions exist, in animated film. Drawn film can break away completely from physical nature and devote itself to free expression in the purest pictorial terms.
>
> Animation also has the advantage that it is not chained to the optical eye of the photographic camera, which automatically reflects reality. It can penetrate easily to examine the physical world, and can visualise the invisible.[23]

In keeping with this philosophy, Stan Hayward's article 'Scriptwriting for Animation' specifically instructs would-be animators not to 'make images conform to the laws of a real physical world'.[24] Animation can therefore open up meanings and inspire insights not necessarily apparent in a strictly verbal rendering, especially, in this case, through the use of non-traditional animation techniques, such as puppetry, stained glass, and oil and watercolour painting.[25]

In the *Animated Tales*, the visual narrative in a sense replaces the verbal in what Sergei Eisenstein has termed 'the literalization of the metaphor'.[26] This is a key feature of animation, since there are fewer physical restrictions on animation than on theatre in terms of what can and cannot be done. In the case of the *Animated Tales*, because of what can be done with animation, the verbal imagery can come across as redundant if it merely describes what the viewer can already see. Garfield recalls revising his scripts after having met with the animators and learned more about the potential of animation: 'I was very worried at first and astonished that anyone could contemplate doing it in that time span [...]. But when I saw the work of the Russian animators I realized that a great deal could be

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[22] Quoted in Waite, para. 6 of 21.
[23] John Halas, 'Introduction', in *Visual Scripting*, ed. by John Halas (London: Focal Press, 1976), pp. 6-10 (p. 8).
[24] Stan Hayward, 'Scriptwriting for Animation: The Basic Approach', in *Visual Scripting*, ed. by Halas, pp. 21-30 (p. 27).
[25] Cel animation is used for *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Macbeth*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Julius Caesar*, *Othello*, and *As You Like It*, which uses watercolour paints. Stop-motion puppet animation is used for *The Tempest*, *Twelfth Night*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, and *The Winter's Tale*, while stained-glass animation is used for *Hamlet* and *Richard III*.
[26] *Eisenstein on Disney*, ed. by Jay Leyda, trans. by Alan Upchurch, Eisenstein Texts, 3 (London: Methuen, 1988), p. 39.

conveyed purely visually.'[27] This means that although the texts are heavily abridged in order to fit into their allocated twenty-six minutes, these cuts to the text are not necessarily omissions, as they are replaced by visual equivalents. Sometimes the visual replacements are quite literal, as in 'The Taming of the Shrew', in which the Lord's comments that Sly lies 'like a swine'[28] are replaced by a shot in which the Lord's attendants remove the boar from the spit they have been carrying and replace it with Sly (see Figure 64). In 'Twelfth Night', as the narration introduces the main characters, we see Orsino gazing longingly at a portrait of Olivia. A close-up shot of the portrait then dissolves into an identical shot of Olivia herself, distinguished only by her mourning costume (see Figure 65). This visual sequence replaces the sustained metaphor of painting and portraits that is cut from Olivia's first conversation with Viola/Cesario.[29] The final shot in the animated 'Romeo and Juliet' depicts the monument to the dead lovers superimposed over a bird's-eye view of Verona before they gradually fade away to be replaced by two stars, evoking Juliet's cut speech at the start of III.2 in which she imagines Romeo 'cut [...] out in little stars' (see Figure 66).[30] In 'King Richard III', the Duchess of York's cut reference to 'England's lawful earth, | Unlawfully made drunk with innocents' blood'[31] is picked up visually by repeated imagery linking wine with blood. After Hastings is executed, Richard is seen at the head of a long banquet table and a platter is uncovered to reveal Hastings's head. Buckingham then toasts Richard, 'England's worthy king'[32] and there is a close-up of two wine glasses clinking, causing the red wine to spill. The wine seeps and expands until it covers the whole frame, so that there is a moment where all that can be seen is a red screen before the camera pulls back to reveal Richard's red coronation cape. As he walks up a long flight of stairs to his coronation, his cape trails behind him in what appears to be a river of blood. Later, after

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[27] Quoted in Waite, para. 10.
[28] *The Taming of the Shrew*, Induction 1.32.
[29] *Twelfth Night*, I.5.223-32.
[30] *Romeo and Juliet*, III.2.21-22.
[31] *Richard III*, IV.4.29-30.
[32] *Richard III*, IV.1.230.

64. 'The Taming of the Shrew', dir. by Ziablikova.

65. 'Twelfth Night', dir. by Mariya Muat.

66. 'Romeo and Juliet', dir. by Efim Gamburg.

waking from the dream in which the ghosts of his victims appeared to him, Richard pours himself a glass of wine but spills it and the camera zooms in as the blood-red wine covers the table and drips to the floor, where we see Richard's feet stepping in it before pacing around the tent, so that he appears to be literally walking in 'innocents' blood' (see Figures 67-68).

Thompson writes that while in 'live action, action usually occurs in "real time" [...] speed in the animated film involves something closer to a continuum'.[33] Garfield's heavy abridgements complement the animated cartoon's compression of time, allowing him to play with the timescales of the plays. This is most apparent in 'Othello', in which the compression of time in the first half of the episode makes the second half appear to move more slowly. When the episode reaches the climactic III.3, which is more than halfway into the play, only nine of its twenty-six minutes have elapsed. This allows the rest of the play to move more slowly, so that set pieces like Othello's hand-wringing soliloquies and Desdemona's 'Willow' song are given enough space for their impact to be felt. By contrast, 'Julius Caesar' moves slowly and meticulously toward Caesar's murder, while the battle sequences in the second half of the play are reduced to a confused blur. Cel animation's propensity for spatial and temporal distortions also features strongly in 'Julius Caesar', which is able to depict the 'strange-disposed time'[34] that precedes Caesar's death. In a brief montage, as thunder and lightning strike, we see a tree falling down, a horse whinnying, the green flames of a torch blowing out, and statues coming to life. An urn shatters and a bird of prey emerges from it, screeches, and flies away, after which we see a hooded Cassius approaching Casca.[35] There are echoes of these images when Caesar is killed: this time, a statue of an angel is toppled, a conflation of the images of the statues coming to life and the falling of the tree, followed by the repetition of the bird emerging from the shattered

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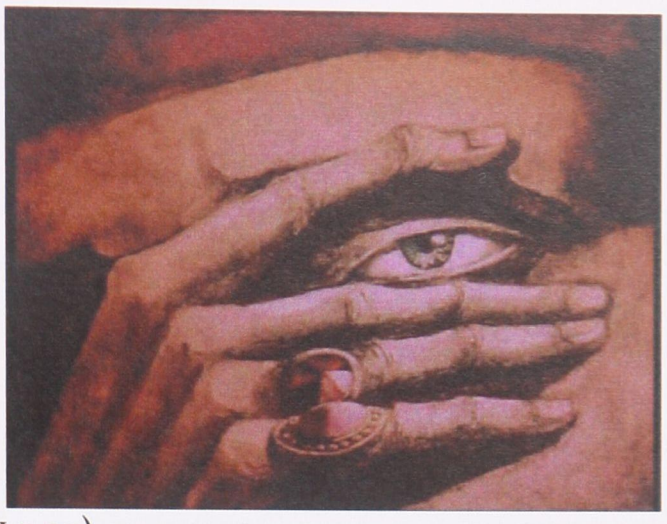
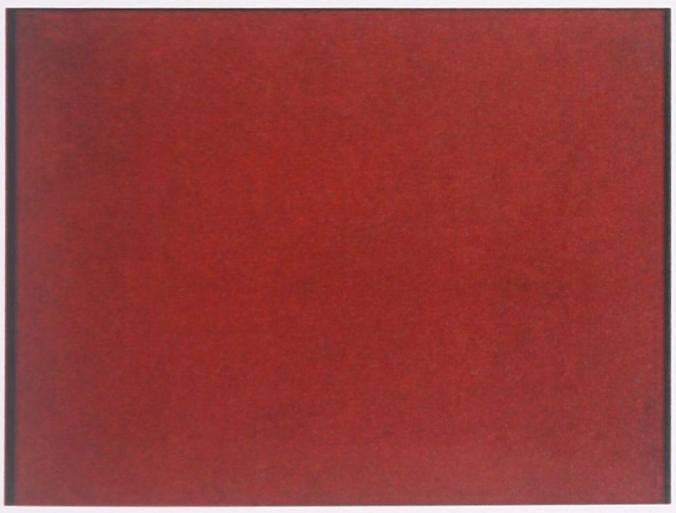
[33] Kristin Thompson, 'Implications of the Cel Animation Technique', in *The Cinematic Apparatus*, ed. by Theresa De Lauretis and Stephen Heath (London: Macmillan, 1980), pp. 106-20 (p. 115).
[34] *Julius Caesar*, I.3.33.
[35] Cf. *Julius Caesar*, I.3.3-77 and II.2.13-26.

67. 'King Richard III', dir. by Natalya Orlova.



'So dear I loved the man that I must weep' (III.5.23).

'Long live King Richard, England's worthy king!' (IV.1.230).



68. 'King Richard III', dir. by Orlova.

'Let not our babbling dreams affright our souls.
Conscience is but a word that cowards use' (V.6.38-39).

urn and then Caesar's crown falling to the ground, which echoes an image that appears earlier as Casca describes Caesar's refusal of the crown. This series of images therefore serves to link the assassination with disturbances to the natural order (see Figure 69).

In addition, animation's refusal to be bound by 'physical restrictions' makes it a peculiarly self-conscious and self-reflexive medium. Edward Small and Eugene Levinson note 'the generally reflexive nature of animation graphics. [...] Spatial disruptions usually call attention to the nonrealistic quality of an image and hence to the image's status as artifice'.[36] This heightened degree of self-awareness in fact makes it uniquely suited to the metatheatrical aspects of Shakespeare's plays. In this sense, the objections levelled at the abridged scripts of the *Animated Tales*—that they reduce complicated characters to stock figures and great speeches to 'edited highlights'—are strengths rather than weaknesses. Indeed, the reduction of these well-known speeches to a few quotable lines can be seen as an acknowledgement of the way Shakespeare is digested in contemporary culture. In these abridged versions, a part is taken to signify the whole, so that for example all Hamlet has to say is 'to be or not to be' and most viewers will assume that they can fill in the rest. The creators of the series display a certain amount of self-awareness about the privileging of Shakespeare's most well-known lines, with Garfield noting, 'I tried to use the famous lines where I could as long as it didn't get in the way of the narrative.'[37] These famous lines have been selected not because of artistic or poetic merit, nor because they carry narrative information; they are included only because they are famous, similar to the treatment of well-known speeches in the graphic novel adaptations discussed in Chapter 3. Furthermore, because the lines are so famous, the voice actors at times cannot help but deliver them in a somewhat tongue-in-cheek manner, as a sly wink to the more informed members of their audience.

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[36] Edward S. Small and Eugene Levinson, 'Toward a Theory of Animation', *The Velvet Light Trap: Review of Cinema*, 24 (1989), 67-74 (p. 70).
[37] Quoted in Waite, para. 13.

69. 'Julius Caesar', dir. by Yuri Kulakov.

It is important here to distinguish between what Susan Rubin refers to as 'direct' and 'indirect' animation, as both are used in the series. Rubin writes,

> Direct animation refers to frame-by-frame animation that is achieved during the filming process. It is often known as animating 'under the camera,' because the creation and manipulation from frame to frame occurs as the camera is shooting the film frame by frame.[38]

The stop-motion and stained glass animation used in the series are both examples of direct animation. Indirect animation, on the other hand, refers to techniques such as cel or computer animation, where the frames are produced separately and out of sequence to be brought together at the end. In each episode, one of three animation techniques—cel, stop-motion, or stained glass—is selected as most appropriate to that play. Whether by design or by accident, the plays selected for each technique also fall into specific genre categories. Both plays which are animated using stained glass—*Hamlet* and *Richard III*—are considered tragedies, while none of the plays which use stop-motion puppet animation is tragic. However, two of the four plays which are considered tragicomic romances—*The Tempest* and *The Winter's Tale*—are animated, and both are filmed using puppet animation, along with comedies *Twelfth Night* and *The Taming of the Shrew*. By contrast, although the majority of the episodes (seven out of twelve) use cel animation, only two of these plays—*A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *As You Like It*—are comedies, compared to four tragedies (*Macbeth*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Othello*). It should also be noted that although the animated *As You Like It* uses cel animation, the cels are painted using watercolours (in contrast to the gouache paint used in traditional cel animation). This distinguishes the episode from the other cel animations in the series and gives it an overall appearance suitable to the play's pastoral setting. In the remainder of this chapter, I will show how each animation technique serves its play by simultaneously reinforcing its perceived genre classification and undermining it.

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[38] Susan Rubin, *Animation: The Art and the Industry*, illus. by Susan Rubin and Joey Ahlbum (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1984), pp. 21-22.

Flattened Images, Flattened Characters

In the cel animation technique, we can see most clearly the ways in which the animators of *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales* have taken Shakespeare's verbal imagery and transformed it into literal visual images. The process of cel animation, developed in the early days of cinema to be efficient and cost-effective, involves painting on a series of sheets of celluloid, or cels. Up to seven cels may be layered for a single shot, which minimizes the extent of the alterations between shots. This allows for a clear-cut delegation of tasks and speeds up filming.[39] Of the three animation techniques used in the series, cel animation is the most capable of depicting transformative processes, as it is not bound to physical objects, confined only by what can be drawn. Because of this, as Thompson notes, cel animation lends itself readily to 'disruptive formal strategies' such as the creation of false perspective and the compression of time.[40] From the outset, in 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', the first of the *Animated Tales* to air, the self-reflexive and potentially alienating nature of the medium can be seen. The episode features 777 words of voice-over narration, by far the most of any of the episodes.[41] The voice-over is often disruptive, frequently telling the viewer no more than what is shown onscreen while making identification with any of the characters impossible. However, this very disruption is characteristic of the distancing strategies employed by the episode, which continually refuse to allow the viewer to become immersed in the story. Unnatural shapes and colours are used for human and nonhuman characters alike, making their appearances unrealistic and distorted. The lack of a clear sense of geography within the forest likewise seems designed to disorient the viewer by disabling any sense of location. Furthermore, although Osborne, citing the reduction of the

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[39] See David Callahan, 'Cel Animation: Mass Production and Marginalization in the Animated Film Industry', *Film History* 2 (1988), 223-28.
[40] Thompson, p. 119.
[41] The narration in the animated *Richard III* has the second-highest word count at 426 words, followed by the animated *Hamlet*, which has 272.

Pyramus and Thisbe performance to 'the briefest of afterthoughts', claims that 'the *Animated Tale* echoes other films of *Dream* where "film magic" overwhelms the comedy's theatrical elements',[42] the framing of the episode in fact draws attention to its own theatricality in the same way that the *Pyramus and Thisbe* performance and Puck's epilogue do in performances of the play. The episode begins with an establishing shot of comedy and tragedy masks, as a way of indicating to the viewer that the ensuing story is to be viewed through the lens of established theatrical tropes and conventions. The camera then zooms in through the mouth of the comedy mask, indicating the genre of the play and thereby alerting the viewer to the specific set of dramatic codes that will be in play for the next half-hour (see Figure 70). This frame, which establishes a firmly theatrical setting, is picked up again at the end of the episode. Puck's epilogue[43] is cut but its sense remains: as the couples retire to bed, we see the building from the outside and watch as the light in each of the windows is turned off. Oberon instructs the fairies, 'Through the house give glimmering light', and we see the flickering fairies moving through the house as Oberon continues his instructions.[44] The narrator tells us, 'And so at last after the madness of the midsummer night, the course of true love came home in smiles and laughter, to peace, contentment, and a well-earned rest'.[45] Lysander's line 'The course of true love never did run smooth'[46] is spoken by the narrator at the start of the episode, so the narration's repetition of this phrase at the end gives closure by reminding the viewer where the story began. As these lines are spoken, the image of the exterior of the building is shown to be a backdrop, which rises to reveal an empty stage, over which the closing credits begin to roll. This captures the essence of Puck's speech in a few seconds, as the performative and

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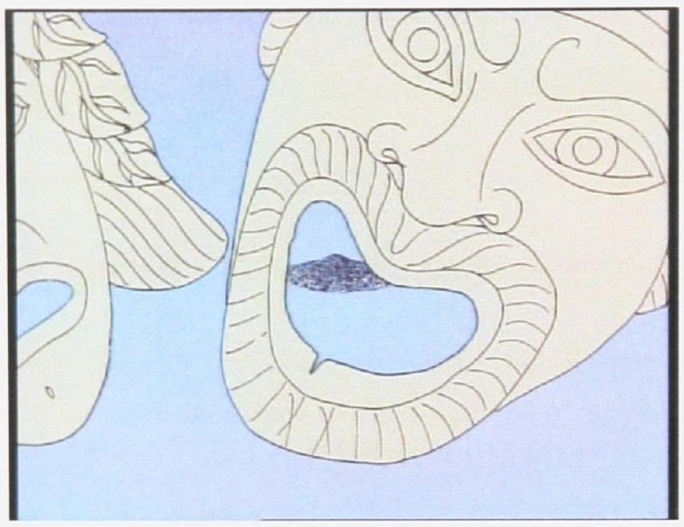
[42] Osborne, 'Poetry in Motion', p. 110.
[43] *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Epilogue.
[44] *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, V.2.31-34, 51-52.
[45] 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', dir. by Robert Saakiants, *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales*, episode 1.1 (BBC, 1992).
[46] *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, I.1.134.

'A Midsummer Night's Dream', dir. by Robert Saakiants.



70. 'The course of true love never did run smooth' (I.1.134).

'What could have been worse than that?'

'Through the house give glimmering light' (V.2.21).

71. 'Peace, contentment, and a well-earned rest'.

illusory nature of the episode is revealed, the fantastic dissolves into the mundane, and reality re-asserts itself (see Figure 71).

The comically distorted forms of the characters in 'A Midsummer Night's Dream' are examples of another characteristic of cel animation, namely the inevitable two-dimensional appearance of characters and settings, both literally and figuratively. Small and Levinson note the distancing effect this has on the viewer:

> [Cel] animation often shows flattened, shadowless characters set before 'deep-space' backgrounds rendered in full linear perspective. The resulting contradictions bring the cel process itself into the spectator's awareness. Such anti-illusionist tendencies contrast sharply with the seamless illusion of movement carried so effortlessly by virtually all animated work.[47]

The contradiction here is between the lack of realism in the appearance of the characters and the apparent seamlessness of their movement. Even if a multiplane camera is used to create an illusion of depth, the figures on the cels can only move laterally, drawing attention to the fact that their movements are subject to the limitations of the cel process. This can be seen in the opening sequence of 'A Midsummer Night's Dream'. We first see the two couples through the windows of a house, where Egeus physically separates Hermia and Lysander and places her hand in that of Demetrius as the narrator introduces them (see Figure 70):

> Hermia loved Lysander and Lysander loved Hermia. And what could have been better than that? At the same time, Helena loved Demetrius, but Demetrius did not love Helena. Instead, he loved Hermia. What could have been worse than that? Only Hermia's father. Although there was nothing to choose between the two young men, Hermia's father had chosen, and he had chosen Demetrius.[48]

The placement of the characters all in a row along the same horizontal plane and within the frames of the windows further distances the couples, while the repetition in the

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[47] Small and Levinson, p. 70.

[48] 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', dir. by Saakiants. This introduction is taken almost word for word from the opening of Garfield's version of the play in *Shakespeare Stories*: 'Hermia, who was small, dark and perfect, loved Lysander; and Lysander loved Hermia. What could have been better than that? At the same time, Helena, who was tall, fair and tearful, loved Demetrius. But Demetrius did not love Helena. Instead, he, too, loved Hermia ... who did not love him. What could have been worse than that?' (Garfield, 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', p. 253).

narration ('What could have been better than that'/'What could have been worse than that?'), as well as its sing-song quality, limits emotional engagement with their plight by implying that their story is not unique, and that they are merely going through the motions of an essentially formulaic story. The flattened versions of Shakespeare's characters found in these episodes of the *Animated Tales*, therefore, are not merely the result of abridgement; they are a product of the literal two-dimensionality of the cel animation process itself.

The two-dimensionality of the images has a similar effect on 'Romeo and Juliet', in this case bringing to the forefront the various types of role-playing in which the characters engage in the play, and the suggestion that these roles have indeed been pre-determined. In his review of the series, Christopher Andreae notes that the animated Romeo and Juliet are 'more like types than individuals'.[49] In this way, the episode acknowledges the familiarity with their story that a twentieth-century viewer is already likely to possess. The narrator introduces the major characters in a manner that suggests that their reputation has preceded them:

> That's Tybalt, a Capulet. [...] And that's Benvolio, a Montague. That's old Capulet, the head of the house, and Lady Capulet with him. [...] The head of the Montagues' house with his lady. [...] Escalus, prince of Verona, long wearied by the brawling of his people. [...] Romeo, the son of Montague and lovesick for Rosaline. [...] Here are Romeo and Benvolio, and Mercutio, a relative of the prince and Romeo's dearest friend. [...] That's Rosaline, and *that's* Juliet, Capulet's daughter. [...] Here is Juliet's nurse.[50]

These introductions do little more than to match the already familiar names to their faces. There is a long pause between the introduction of Rosaline and that of Juliet, so that there is a certain amount of anticipation attached to Juliet's entrance, as the viewer already knows from the title that she will be more important than Rosaline. During this voice-over segment, the camera is panning around the dance floor, stopping briefly at Romeo, Benvolio, and Mercutio as they are mentioned by the narrator before following Romeo's

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[49] Christopher Andreae, '"Animated Tales" of Shakespeare', *Christian Science Monitor*, 6 January 1993, p. 14.
[50] 'Romeo and Juliet', dir. by Efim Gamburg, *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales*, episode 1.4 (BBC, 1992).

gaze to rest on Rosaline. After Rosaline is introduced, two dancing couples cross in front of her, and when they have passed, Juliet is standing in Rosaline's place so that she has literally eclipsed Rosaline in Romeo's eyes as the narration says, 'and *that's* Juliet'. The camera then cuts back to Romeo, whose mask melts away as he says, 'O, she doth teach the torches to burn bright' (see Figure 72).[51]

The use of masks in the scene of the Capulet ball symbolizes the extent to which the lovers are shown to be playing out well-worn roles throughout the episode. Romeo's mask reappears on his face when the Nurse arrives to call Juliet away, but he takes it off again as he asks, 'Is she a Capulet?'.[52] It falls to the ground, where Juliet picks it up and puts it on her own face. When she says 'My only love sprung from my only hate',[53] a tear runs down the cheek of the mask (see Figure 72). This implies that the emotion is related to her knowledge of the role in which she has been cast, rather than from herself. Because her face already looks like a mask, which has been fixed in the same contented expression since her entrance, her donning of Romeo's mask effectively transforms her face from a comedy mask to a tragedy mask, signalling the shift in the play's tone from comic to tragic. This is followed by a cut from her face with the crying mask to a clock tower chiming ominously, the first of many times this clock is used in a transitional capacity. The repeated use of the clock highlights both the speed with which the tragic end is approaching and its inevitability. Even more than the characters in 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', the animated Romeo and Juliet are aware that they are going through the motions of a story that everyone knows.

This can also be seen in the stylized representation of their wedding night, which is just that—a representation, rather than the thing itself, enacting Alan Cholodenko's assertion that animation 'suspends the distinction between representation and

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[51] *Romeo and Juliet*, 1.5.43.
[52] *Romeo and Juliet*, 1.5.116.
[53] *Romeo and Juliet*, 1.5.137.

72. 'Romeo and Juliet', dir. by Gamburg.

'That's Rosaline...'

'...and *that's* Juliet'.

'O, she doth teach the torches to burn bright' (I.5.43).

'My only love sprung from my only hate' (I.5.137).

simulation'.[54] As the clock strikes, we see Juliet welcoming Romeo onto the balcony again. Harp music then plays over two shots of the nude couple kissing in bed, at which point translucent miniature versions of Romeo and Juliet rise out of the space between them, and are transported to the outside of Juliet's closed window. These two figures float outside the window before being shot by an arrow from a floating Cupid. Images of the real Romeo and Juliet cuddling then appear superimposed over the window and their conversation[55] is heard in voice-over, over the course of which the characters fade and the camera pulls back to a wide shot of Juliet's house as the sun comes up, followed by a cut to the Nurse's entrance, and then another cut back to a fully-clothed Romeo and Juliet (see Figure 73). The scene apparently caused the animators and producers some trouble as there was concern over how much nudity could be shown; director Efim Gamburg was instructed to make the love scenes '[n]ot too explicit, but not too abstract'.[56] The resulting sequence, apparently a compromise between Gamburg and the BBC marketers, is essentially a series of signs and symbols suggesting lovemaking, rather than the thing itself. The decision to present the well-known 'nightingale/lark' exchange as voice-over highlights this. In addition to tactfully avoiding any censorship issues by bridging the gap between before and after, it suggests that because the exchange is so well-known, telling (rather than showing) will suffice.

Visual signs are used for characterization throughout the *Animated Tales*. In the animated versions of both *Othello* and *Macbeth*, characters that are good or pure, such as Duncan, Lady Macduff, and especially Desdemona, are dressed in white and often appear swathed in light so that they seem to glow, in contrast to the 'evil' characters who frequently appear in shadow (see Figures 74-78). This is in keeping with the black-and-white characterization that these episodes favour, a visual equivalent to the Lambs'

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[54] Alan Cholodenko, 'Introduction', in *The Illusion of Life: Essays on Animation*, ed. by Alan Cholodenko (Sydney: Power Publications, 1991), pp. 9-36 (p. 21).
[55] *Romeo and Juliet*, III.5.1-27.
[56] Efim Gamburg, quoted in Anon., 'Macbeth: Moscow-Style', *Radio Times*, 7 November 1992, pp. 29-30 (p. 30).

73. 'Romeo and Juliet', dir. by Gamburg.

moulding of characters into extremes of good and evil, discussed in Chapter 1. When Macbeth resolves to murder the Macduff family, his dark face shatters into fragments, which form themselves into the black stick-like figures of the murderers, who crawl up the screen to an image of Lady Macduff and her children (see Figure 74).[57] Lady Macduff has no lines in the episode, and she is pictured here as a stained glass window, so that she is figured as a saint. The dark figures of the murderers surround her bright form and suffocate it. This image of something bright being swallowed up by darkness recurs in the death of Desdemona in 'Othello'. Like Lady Macduff, Desdemona's lines are reduced in the episode—she does not speak at all in 1.3. for example—and she is continuously depicted all in white, including her skin and hair, so that she resembles a statue, a literalization of Othello's excised description of 'that whiter skin of hers than snow | And smooth as monumental alabaster'.[58] Meanwhile, Iago is continually shown in shadows, which increasingly cover Othello too as the episode progresses. By extension, Othello's black and white costume can be said to signify his persistent need to see the world in terms of extremes of good and evil. The lack of any middle ground is typical of the series's presentation of characters in terms of types, while the episode's manipulation of the timescale of the play, discussed above, facilitates an almost instantaneous turn from light to darkness on Othello's part. When Iago first appears, he is seen only in silhouette as he says, 'I do hate him as I hate hell's pains',[59] and his face is not seen until he says, 'an old black ram | Is tupping your white ewe' (see Figure 75).[60] This is the point at which the viewer is able attach a face to what has hitherto been a voice in the shadows, and the words that go with that face are examples of the crude bestial imagery with which Iago will be

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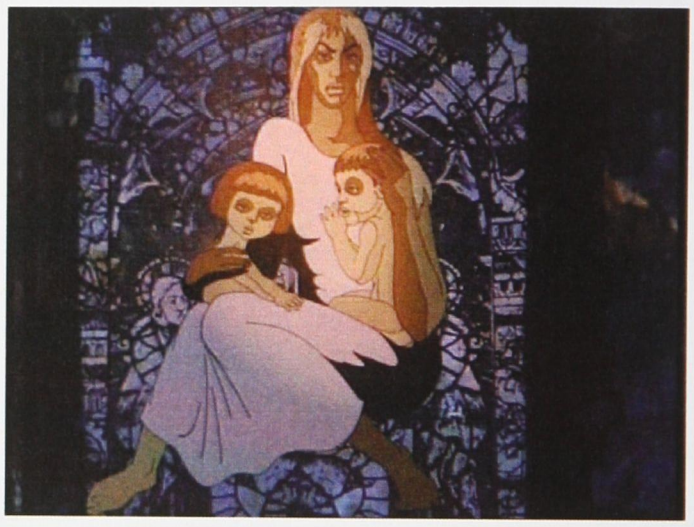
[57] As Bottoms notes, this sequence is also a visual representation of Macbeth's 'From this moment | The very firstlings of my heart shall be | The firstlings of my hand. And even now | To crown my thoughts with acts, be it thought and done' (IV.1.162-65) as it shows Macbeth's plans being carried out at the same moment that he gives voice to them (Bottoms, 'Speech, Image, Action', p. 11).

[58] *Othello*, V.2.4-5.

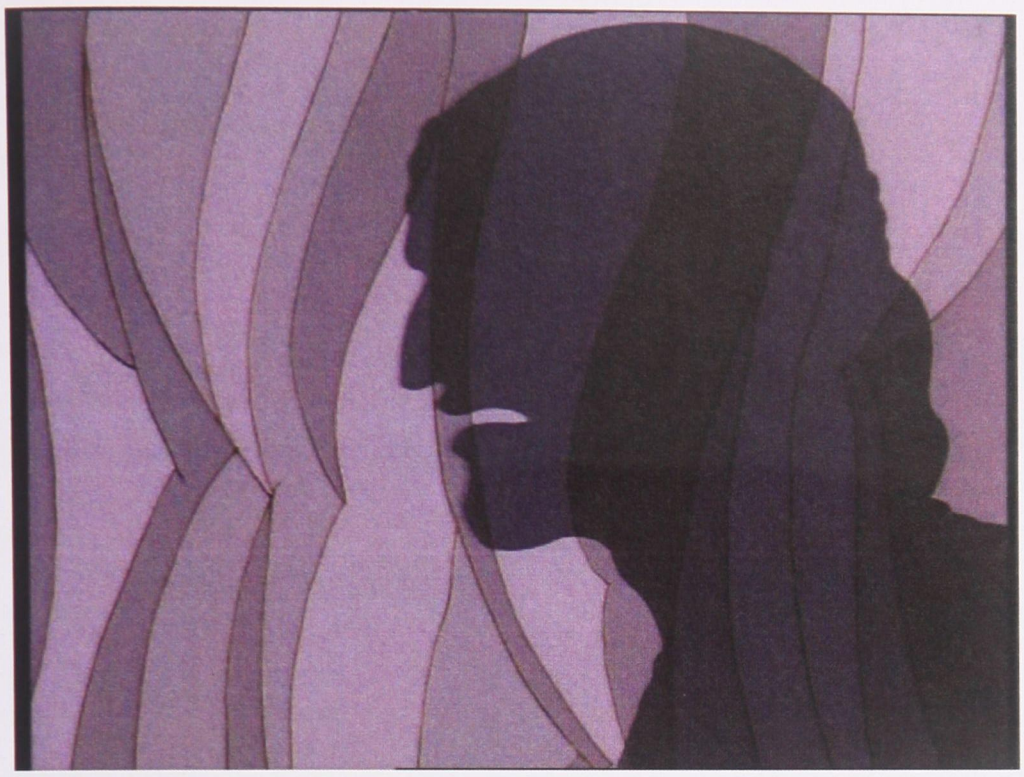
[59] 'Othello', dir. by Nikolai Serebryakov, *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales*, episode 2.6 (BBC, 1994). Cf. *Othello*, I.1.156. In the animated version, this line is moved to the beginning of the episode and is spoken by Iago over a montage of images depicting the courtship of Othello and Desdemona.

[60] *Othello*, I.1.88-89.

74. 'Macbeth', dir. by Nikolai Serebyakov.



75. 'Othello', dir. by Serebryakov.



'I do hate him as I [hate] hell['s] pains' (I.1.156).

'an old black ram | Is tupping your white ewe' (I.1.88-89).

associated throughout the episode. Like that of Lady Macduff, Desdemona's murder is depicted by her engulfment in shadows, with images that recall Foreman's illustrations for Garfield's prose version (see Figures 43 and 44), beginning with a shot of her in bed, with Othello's shadow slowly coming into frame from behind. When she says, 'Heaven | Have mercy on me',[61] we see her face, with Othello's big black hand in the foreground. She kneels to plead with him and he takes her wrists and pushes her back onto the bed. This shot is taken from the ground, with the camera placed between them, and the resulting low-angle shot of Othello as he pushes her back makes him appear to tower over both Desdemona and the viewer as he says, 'It is too late'[62] and the darkness swallows her (see Figure 76). Throughout the episode, Desdemona is figured as an archetypal chaste woman, while Iago is made to resemble a pantomime villain.

Hayward advises animators to '[t]reat the images as if you were thinking about them, and the screen portrays your thoughts'.[63] In the episodes of the *Animated Tales* which use cel animation, the screen frequently 'portrays the thoughts' of a character in place of a soliloquy or an aside, in another example of Shakespeare's verbal imagery being made literal through animation. When Othello says, 'That handkerchief | Did an Egyptian to my mother give', we see an image of Othello's mother receiving the handkerchief. Othello says, 'There's magic in the web of it', and as she takes it, two insects with death's heads appear to burst out of it, replacing Othello's cut lines, 'The worms were hallowed that did breed the silk, | And it was dyed in mummy, which the skilful | Conserved of maidens' hearts'.[64] Although Othello's warnings of the consequences of giving away the handkerchief are also cut, many of these images are recalled later, when Desdemona recounts the story of the maid Barbary.[65] As she begins the story, we see Barbary with her

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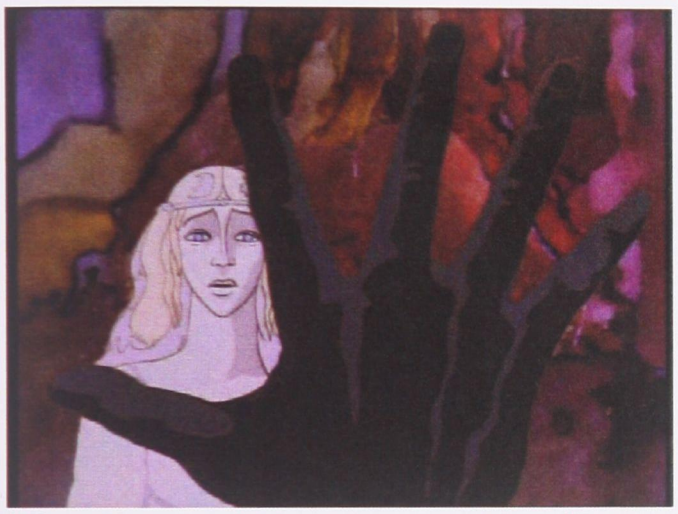
[61] *Othello*, V.2.35-36.
[62] *Othello*, V.2.92.
[63] Hayward, p. 27.
[64] *Othello*, III.4.55-75.
[65] *Othello*, V.1.25-30.

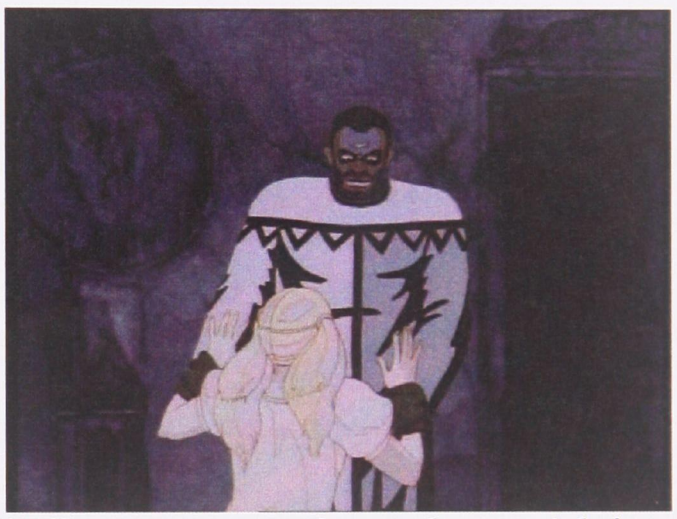
76. 'Othello', dir. by Serebryakov.

'Have you prayed tonight, Desdemon?' (V.2.26).

'I would not kill thy unpreparèd spirit' (V.2.33).



'Then heaven | Have mercy on me' (V.2.35-36).



'Kill me tomorrow; let me live tonight' (V.2.87).

'But half an hour' (V.2.89).

'It is too late' (V.2.92).

lover. The insect with the death's head enters the frame and lands on her hand before transforming into the shape of a mummy with a woman's head as Desdemona's voice says 'he she loved proved mad'. This is followed by a close-up of the man's eye, which constricts as the mummy figure appears superimposed over first one eye, then the other, before transforming back into the form of the insect. There is a cut to another shot of the two lovers, but first he and then she fades away as Desdemona says 'she died singing it'. As Osborne notes, although Othello's warnings have been cut from the earlier scene, the recollection of the image of the insect 'enacts Desdemona's perception that Othello grows neglectful because of the handkerchief'.[66] Both sets of images can therefore be read as visualizations of Desdemona's thoughts and fears. As Desdemona begins to sing, she combs her hair, which transforms into the branches of a willow tree hanging over a stream as she starts singing. A dead woman floats into frame, in what can only be a deliberate evocation of popular depictions of Ophelia's death, especially John Everett Millais's 1851 painting.[67] Although she has been speaking of Barbary, the dead woman Desdemona imagines is herself. Her internalization of the association between the loss of the handkerchief and the loss of her husband's affections and her recollection of Barbary's story have prompted her to conclude that her own death is imminent (see Figures 77-78).

The images do not necessarily correspond literally to excised words in the *Animated Tales*; rather, they take the form of recurring motifs which suggest interpretive options over the course of an episode. In 'Julius Caesar', for example, the images set up a conflict between Cassius and Caesar to match the one described by the text. Visually, the two men are depicted as mirror images of each other. When Cassius says, 'Why, man, he doth bestride the narrow world | Like a Colossus, and we petty men | Walk under his huge

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[66] Osborne, 'Mixing Media', p. 143.
[67] See *Hamlet*, ed. by Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor, Arden Shakespeare Third Series (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2006), IV.7.164-81n; Kaara Peterson, 'Framing Ophelia: Representation and the Pictorial Tradition', *Mosaic* 31 (1998), 1-24.

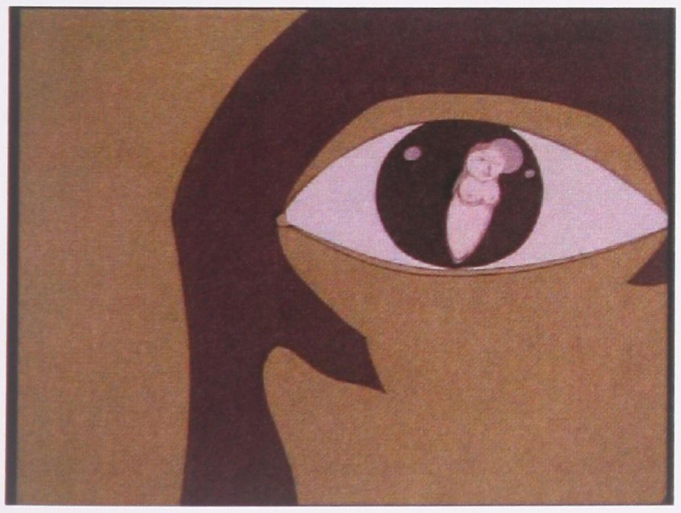
77. 'Othello', dir. by Serebryakov.

'That handkerchief | Did an Egyptian to my mother give' (III.4.56-57)

'There's magic in the web of it.' (III.4.69)

'She was in love...'

'...and he she loved proved mad...'



'...And did forsake her' (V.1.26-27).

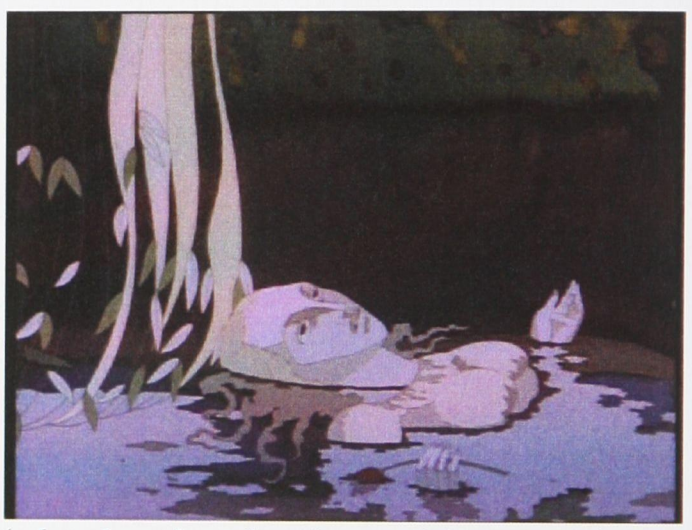
'And she died singing it' (V.1.29).

78. 'Othello', dir. by Serebryakov.

'The poor soul sat sighing...'

'...by a sycamore tree...'

'Sing all a green willow...'



'...her hand on her bosom' (V.1.38-40).

legs',[68] the camera pulls back to reveal that Cassius and Brutus have indeed been walking under the legs of a giant statue of Caesar, which also serves to give a visual definition of 'Colossus' for the viewer. The camera then pans up the statue's head and shoulders before a dissolve into a shot of Cassius in an identical pose as he questions, 'What should be in that "Caesar"? | Why should that name be sounded more than yours?'.[69] Once Caesar is killed, the episode sets up Antony as Cassius's new antagonist by visually aligning him with Caesar. When Antony, addressing Caesar's corpse, says, 'Cry "havoc!" and let slip the dogs of war',[70] he stands and adopts the same pose as Caesar's statue. Although the lines immediately preceding this, in which Antony invokes 'Caesar's spirit, ranging for revenge',[71] are omitted, the pose relays the information that Caesar's spirit is indeed in him (see Figure 79). This pose is repeated when he triumphantly holds up Caesar's cape to show the crowd, one of whom says, 'I fear there will a worse come in his place',[72] reinforcing the notion that Antony could easily displace Caesar.

Cel animation is an effective medium with which to represent the Roman crowd, which is portrayed as a mass of faces and hands that seem to blend into each other, their colouring associating them alternately with water and fire (see Figure 80). The literal sea of faces gives the sense of the crowd as a single unit rather than a collection of individuals and links its changeability with changes in tides, while the association of the crowd with fire suggests the rapidity with which ideas spread among them. When Antony enters with Caesar's body, the crowd falls silent, and there is a close-up of one man's stunned expression. The camera then pulls back to reveal the huge crowd, each with an identical stunned expression, again reinforcing the notion of the crowd as a single entity, one part of which is to be taken as representative of the whole (see Figure 81). The effect is similar to

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[68] *Julius Caesar*, I.2.136-38.
[69] *Julius Caesar*, I.2.143-44.
[70] *Julius Caesar*, III.1.257-78.
[71] *Julius Caesar*, III.1.273.
[72] *Julius Caesar*, III.2.112.

79. 'Julius Caesar' dir. by Kulakov.

'Why, man, he doth bestride the narrow world
Like a Colossus' (I.2.136-37).

'What should be in that "Caesar"?' (I.2.143).

'Cry "havoc!" and let slip the dogs of war' (III.1.276).

'Julius Caesar' dir. by Kulakov.

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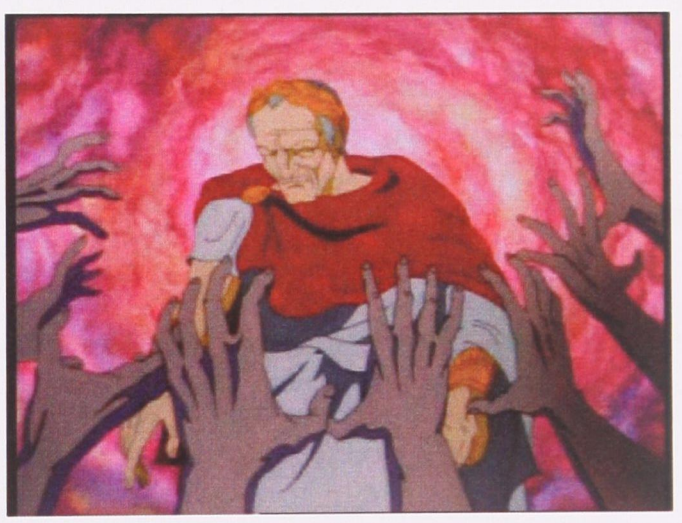
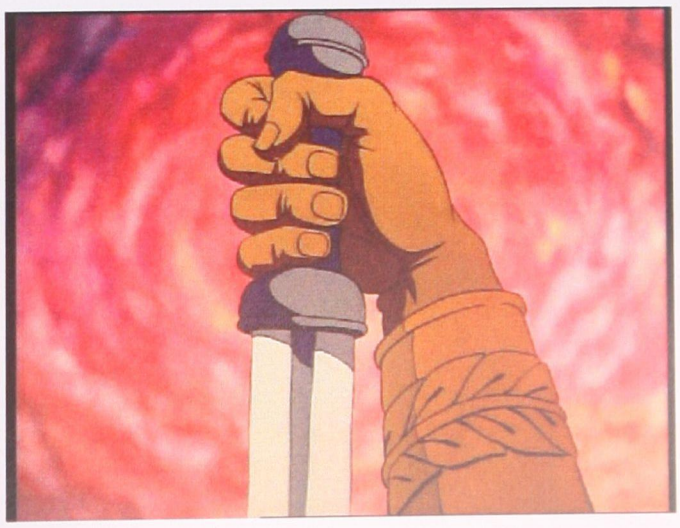
81.

82.





that of Garfield's prose adaptations, in which the limited perspective of his narration filters the scene through one character's experience. Although there are similar shots throughout Antony's speech, which isolate specific listeners as they deliver their reactionary lines, each of these shots is followed by a shot of the whole crowd, so that it is their similarities that are emphasized, rather than their differences. After Antony says, 'This was the most unkindest cut of all',[73] the crowd is literally transformed into a series of faces and limbs in a fire, which spreads and consumes the Capitol (see Figure 80). In the first shot of the episode, the title appears over flames, which transform into the crowd cheering with their hands in the air as Caesar emerges from the sun and rides toward them on a white horse. This image of outstretched hands against an orange or red background is repeated several times throughout the episode (see Figure 82). As Calpurnia's dream is described, there is a visual depiction of the hands of the 'many lusty Romans' bathing in the fountain of Caesar's blood.[74] When Caesar is murdered, he is similarly depicted surrounded by the hands of supplicants, which transform into the hands of the murderers, carrying daggers, after Casca says, 'Speak, hands, for me'.[75] This is recalled when Cassius raises his dagger to stab himself, reinforcing the visual connection between him and Caesar by recalling his death visually, as he announces, 'Caesar, thou art revenged, | Even with the sword that killed thee.'[76]

The animated *Macbeth* demonstrates cel animation's capacity to depict the illusory and the transformative. The fluid and unstable forms of the witches are in constant motion, disappearing and reappearing in different guises. As they deliver their predictions to Banquo, their changing faces correspond to their equivocal statements. In the lines 'Lesser than Macbeth, and greater', 'Not so happy, yet much happier', and 'Thou shalt get kings, though thou be none',[77] the words 'and', 'yet', and 'though' are each accompanied by a

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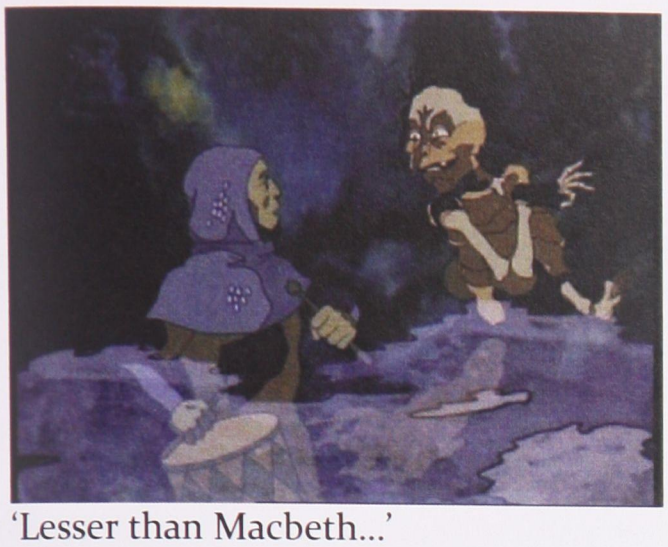
[73] *Julius Caesar*, III.2.181.
[74] *Julius Caesar*, II.2.76-79.
[75] *Julius Caesar*, III.1.76.
[76] *Julius Caesar*, V.3.44-45.
[77] *Macbeth*, I.3.63-65.

83. 'Macbeth', dir. by Serebryakov.



'Lesser than Macbeth...'
'

'...and greater.'

'Not so happy...'

'...yet much happier.'

'Thou shalt get kings...'

'...though thou be none' (I.4.63-65).

84. 'And take my milk for gall, you murd'ring ministers' (I.5.47).

corresponding change to the witch's face (see Figure 83). These changes are also evoked later by Lady Macbeth: as she says, 'Come to my woman's breasts, | And take my milk for gall, you murd'ring ministers',[78] her hair becomes loose and a series of wild animals erupts from her torso (see Figure 84). These supernatural transformations contribute to the viewer's awareness of the cel process, as the images are literally layered on top of one another, drawing attention to the distinction between what is apparent on the surface and what is underneath. The witches in 'Macbeth' can be made to appear and disappear, or to change their appearance, by simply removing or substituting a single layer of celluloid against the fixed background. The juxtaposition of the fixed and stable with the fluid and uncertain serves to highlight the play's disruption of apparently stable structures.

In these episodes, the *Animated Tales* capitalize on the viewer's familiarity with the conventions of cel animation only to disrupt the assumptions borne out of this familiarity. One such convention, which is frequently manipulated in the series, is the fixed nature of the background images, which remain still while characters move laterally in front of them. However, in 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', Oberon and Puck become 'invisible' by transforming into plant life, which can be seen moving in the background behind the arguing lovers, recalling Arthur Rackham's illustrations of the play a century earlier (see Figure 85). This is disruptive to a viewer who is familiar with the conventions of cel animation and therefore assumes that the background images will remain stationary, as well as serving as a reminder that the lovers are being watched. Conversely, in the animated *Macbeth*, characters frequently seem to materialize out of the background. These inventive uses of layering are characteristic of cel animation's tendency to draw attention to its own processes.

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[78] *Macbeth*, 1.4.46-47.

85. ‘A Midsummer Night’s Dream’, dir. by Saakients.

Puppet Animation and the Illusion of Realism

Puppet animation is the most self-evidently theatrical of the three media used in the *Animated Tales*, and this proves to be an ideal method for interpreting plays which revolve around various types of role-playing and performance. As a form of stop-motion animation, puppet animation straddles the line between animated cartoon and live-action cinema, resulting in a considerable amount of tension between the apparent naturalism of the photography and the inherent artificiality of the medium. Yu. Lotman writes, 'In our cultural perception a photograph is a substitute for nature and as such we ascribe to it an identity with the object [...]. Any individual photograph can be under suspicion of accuracy but The Photograph is a synonym for accuracy.'[79] The viewer is used to equating photography with realism, but the use of puppets and other toys in these animations immediately belies this supposed realism, since the 'puppetness' of the characters is always foregrounded. As in live-action filmmaking, in stop-motion animation the camera films three-dimensional objects as opposed to two-dimensional drawings, and this has occasionally been mistakenly read as evidence of the medium's supposed realism. An example is the misleading promotional material on the DVD release of the series, whose description of *The Tempest* reads:

> A marvelous and terrifying island, populated by spirits and monsters, is the ideal setting for demonstrating how puppets can become extraordinarily convincing 'actors'. Caliban becomes an almost human monster and Prospero's magic brings the spirit Ariel to life in a way that no stage performance could ever hope to achieve.[80]

It is claimed on the one hand that the puppets are 'extraordinarily convincing "actors"' and on the other that the depiction of Ariel goes beyond what is possible in a stage performance, while the idea that the puppet Caliban appears 'almost human' is laughable

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[79] Yu. M. Lotman, 'On the Language of Animated Cartoons', trans. by Ruth Sobel, in *Film Theory and General Semiotics*, ed. by L. M. O'Toole and Ann Shukman, Russian Poetics in Translation, 8 (Oxford: [Holdan Books], 1981), pp. 36-39 (p. 36).

[80] *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales*, DVD cover. The description of *The Winter's Tale* similarly praises its 'exquisitely sculpted and lifelike puppets'.

(see Figure 86). This self-contradictory description, written by those not involved in the animation process, reveals the tensions that arise when the apparent naturalism of the photograph is juxtaposed with the unnaturalness of the puppets: the very illusion of realism actually serves to draw attention to the medium's artificiality, and as a result, the viewer is never allowed to be fully immersed in the animated world. It should also be noted that although the initial critical response to the *Animated Tales* was mixed, most commentators devoted a lot of attention to the design of the puppets themselves. Indeed, Laurie Osborne observes a shared preoccupation in the various reviews of the series with how the puppets worked—commentators marvelled at their size, independently moving joints, and interchangeable heads. It seems that everyone who viewed these *Tales* was very conscious of the 'puppetness' of the figures, and the effect of this, Osborne writes, is paradoxical: 'it augments both the audience's awareness of manipulation and their admiration for the resulting illusion'.[81]

'The Taming of the Shrew' is the episode that most obviously and self-consciously invokes its own 'puppetness', by staging the play-within-a-play as an actual puppet show, placing it at a remove from the Sly scenes. As we have seen, this serves to distance the viewer from the potentially uncomfortable subject matter of the 'Shrew' story.[82] In a departure from the other tales in the animated series, the title does not appear on the screen until the start of the play-within-a-play, superimposed over the curtain, after which the curtain opens on a tableau featuring Bianca, Baptista, and Bianca's suitors. Throughout the piece, the Lord's servants can be seen changing the scenery, so that the mechanisms of the production are always at the fore. Any time the viewer is in danger of forgetting that the 'Shrew' story is a play-within-a-play, there is a scene change to take the viewer out of the illusion. In a further departure from the other episodes in the series, the narration in

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[81] Osborne, 'Poetry in Motion', p. 113.
[82] Garfield apparently wanted to use cel animation for the Sly scenes, in order to place the *Shrew* plot at a further remove (Osborne, 'Mixing Media', p. 147).

86. ‘The Tempest’, dir. by Stanislav Sokolov.

'The Taming of the Shrew' is not a voice-over; rather, it is spoken by the dwarf who serves a double function as one of the Lord's servants and as a sort of master of ceremonies for the play-within-a-play. The narration has a choric quality; for example, after the opening scene of the 'Shrew' play, the characters freeze in place and the dwarf comes onto the stage and says, 'Well, well, what a wretched state of affairs! Old Baptista will never give his consent to the marriage of fair Bianca, not until a husband is found for Katharina. No consent, no dowry.'[83] When coupled with the tableau formed by the characters, the narration here demonstrates the extent to which the wooden figures are essentially standing in for specific well-known character types. Furthermore, the dwarf's physical presence in front of them prevents Sly's world from fading into the background; the viewer is constantly reminded that this is a performance (see Figure 87). Although this episode is the most obviously self-reflexive of the four puppet animations, the same effect can be seen in the other three, as their staging continuously invokes puppet theatre and pantomime, especially in their use of unrealistic settings and archetypal characters. Even though they are not specifically presented as performances, 'The Tempest', 'Twelfth Night', and 'The Winter's Tale' are nevertheless staged as miniature theatre pieces, with a predominantly static camera placed in front of three-dimensional objects which move in front of backdrops, mimicking a performance on a proscenium arch stage. A great deal of thought has clearly gone into the sets and costumes in these episodes, more so than in the hand-drawn episodes, making the production process more like that of a live-action film or staging. In the animated *Twelfth Night*, for example, the costumes of Viola and Sebastian appear similar but have subtle differences that allow the audience to know which is which, while maintaining the pretence that they could be mistaken for each other (see Figure 88). Olivia's costuming is twinned with that of Malvolio: both wear black at the start of the episode, but after Olivia has fallen for 'Cesario', she wears a white dress with purple ribbons on the sleeve which match

[83] 'The Taming of the Shrew', dir. by Zyablikova.

87. 'The Taming of the Shrew', dir. by Zyablikova.

Malvolio's purple cross-gartering (see Figure 89). Olivia's love for 'Cesario' is therefore made to look absurd through a purely visual parallel with a character who is already an object of ridicule.

The very fact that the characters are represented by wooden puppets makes them appear caricatured, so that they are types rather than individuals. This is fitting considering the emphasis on role-playing in both *The Taming of the Shrew* and *Twelfth Night*. Again, in the animated 'Twelfth Night', both the faces of the puppets depicting Viola and Sebastian and their costumes are almost identical, making it plausible that the two could be mixed up. Furthermore, because all of the puppets are somewhat androgynous to begin with, it is easy to believe that Viola is a man, or that Cesario is really a woman. The limited number of interchangeable heads on each puppet means that the emotional range of the characters' facial expressions is similarly limited, as we saw with the use of masks in 'Romeo and Juliet'. Each character has two or three heads, each of which is set in a fixed expression. As with the cel animations, these limits on characterization highlight the archetypal nature of the characters, and this is augmented by the heavy cuts to the dialogue and the intrusive nature of the voice-over narration. The cumulative effect is to turn Shakespeare's already somewhat stereotyped characters into one-dimensional stock figures, removing any sense of individual agency they might have had.

Of course, this also goes hand in hand with the improbable plots and emphasis on illusion and wonder that are typical of Shakespeare's late romance plays. *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales* contains animated versions of two of Shakespeare's four tragicomic romance plays (*The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*), and it is no coincidence that both of these *Tales* have the same director, Stanislav Sokolov, and designer, Elena Livinova, and that both are told through puppet animation. Puppet animation, although something of a novelty in Western Europe in the early 1990s when the series first aired, has a long tradition in Russia and the Soviet Union. Rubin writes, '[p]uppet animation was developed in Eastern

'Twelfth Night', dir. by Muat.

88. 'Most wonderful!' (V.1.223)

89. 'It did come to his hands, and commands shall be executed' (III.4.25-26).

Europe where there is a long tradition of designing and carving puppets and dolls', noting that '[t]he puppets were usually characters in animated folktales'.[84] Lotman suggests that the affinity between puppets and folk and fairy tales is due to the fact that puppet animation is

> particularly suitable for the transmission of various shades of irony and for the creation of an allegorical text. It is no accident that one of the genres where the animated or the puppet film were most successful was the fairy tale for adults.[85]

The plots of Shakespeare's romances have periodically been compared to fairy tales,[86] and this is probably an underlying cause for the choice of puppet animation in these episodes. In addition, the use of puppet animation highlights a central theme of the romances, namely human subordination to the gods, Fate, or Fortune, while the self-conscious artificiality of the medium goes hand in hand with the romance genre's use of the fantastic, improbable, and illusory. In all four of the plays traditionally categorized as 'romances', it is implied that there are powerful external, often providential, forces at work beyond the understanding of the characters themselves. Characters frequently appeal to the gods or Fortune, but ultimately they are aware of their own powerlessness, and accept whatever these forces have planned for them.[87] The characters are therefore shown to be subject to the whims of agents outside themselves. In the *Animated Tales*, this is made explicit by having the characters literally appear as puppets being manipulated and moved around a miniature set by the production team. Rubin observes that '[m]ost of the work in stop motion animation occurs in the pre-production phase. All camera and figure positions are

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[84] Rubin, p. 23.
[85] Lotman, p. 38.
[86] Belsey notes that the stories of Miranda, Perdita, Imogen, and Marina are variations on the 'exiled princess' trope of folklore, while the supposed deaths and resurrections of Hermione and Imogen recall the enchanted sleeps of Snow White and Sleeping Beauty (Belsey, pp. 65-84).
[87] For example, Pericles laments his dead wife by saying, 'We cannot but obey | The pow'rs above us. Should I rage and roar | As doth the sea she lies in, yet the end | Must be as 'tis' (*Pericles*, 13.9-12). Hermione's defence concludes with, 'I do refer me to the oracle. | Apollo be my judge' (*The Winter's Tale*, III.2.113-14), and the conflict that drives the rest of the play can be said to stem from Leontes' unwillingness to accept the judgment of Apollo. Although Prospero has god-like powers over the inhabitants of the island once they arrive, he thanks 'bountiful Fortune' for bringing his enemies there (*The Tempest*, I.2.179). Furthermore, all four plays end with the characters thanking the gods for the happy ending (*The Tempest*, V.1.204-07; *Cymbeline*, V.6.477-79; *The Winter's Tale*, V.3.122-24; *Pericles* 22.62-63).

predetermined in relationship to the soundtrack',[88] which is fitting considering the deterministic tone of the romances.

In 'The Tempest', there are deliberate parallels between Prospero's manipulation of the movements of the other characters in the play and the animator's manipulation of the entire production.[89] It is hardly surprising that Garfield's screenplay should emphasize this, considering that Garfield, Sokolov, and many of the creative minds behind the *Tales* came from a critical tradition that was used to aligning the character of Prospero with Shakespeare himself.[90] Sokolov alludes to this when he states that he likes *The Tempest* 'because it has the light touch of a craftsman who's reached the stage of being free. He feels his own strength and he's fully in control of his material'.[91] In 'The Tempest', Prospero has complete control over each plot thread: the courtship of Miranda and Ferdinand, the shaming of Alonzo and his entourage, and the conspiracy between Caliban, Trinculo, and Stephano. Furthermore, Paulina in 'The Winter's Tale' can be said to fulfil a similar role to that of Prospero, as she is revealed at the end to have orchestrated the death and resurrection of Hermione. However, in the *Tales*, both Prospero and Paulina are subordinated to the all-powerful animator. Speaking about the series as a whole, Garfield states, 'In the theatre, it'w [*sic*] the actor who creates the part; in animation, it's the animator'.[92] In 'The Tempest', Prospero, and Ariel on Prospero's orders, use magic to control the movements of the other characters, but the viewer is also aware that both Prospero and Ariel are under the control of the animator, who manipulates them manipulating the movements of others.

There is also a comparison to be made between the mechanics of stop-motion animation and the ways in which these episodes explore ideas of motion and stasis. This is

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[88] Rubin, p. 23.

[89] It has become commonplace in the context of the animated cartoon to ascribe to the animator godlike powers of omnipotence and control—Chuck Jones's early *Looney Tunes* shorts, for example, characteristically used the medium to draw attention to the power of the animator over the characters.

[90] See Chapter 1, note 29.

[91] *Animating Shakespeare* (BBC, 1992).

[92] Quoted in Robin Buss, 'A Palpable Hit', *The Independent Sunday Review*, 8 November 1992, p. 33.

evident in the phrase 'stop-motion' itself: the illusion of motion is produced using a series of still images, and the tension this creates can be seen most clearly in the final scene of 'The Winter's Tale', in which the presumed-dead Hermione is revealed to have survived (see Figure 90). Paulina stages this moment of revelation as the unveiling of a statue of Hermione, which she then animates, revealing it to be Hermione herself. Paulina's claim that she can 'make the statue move indeed'[93] highlights a fundamental principle of stop-motion animation, namely the illusion of making still objects appear to move. The statue which has been brought to life clearly parallels the frame-by-frame animation of the puppets, and Osborne and others have observed a connection in this scene 'between the still image/puppet brought to motion and the statue brought to life'.[94] Each individual frame consists of inanimate objects in a still pose. Paradoxically, although the word 'animation' implies endowment with movement, the reality is that in animation, the only actual motion takes place between frames. To illustrate this principle, animator Norman McLaren reportedly had a sign posted on his machinery which read:

> THE PHILOSOPHY BEHIND THIS MACHINE
> - Animation is not the art of *DRAWINGS-that-move* but the art of *MOVEMENTS-that-are-drawn.*
> - What happens *between* each frame is much more important than what exists *on* each frame.
> - Animation is therefore the art of manipulating the individual interstices that lie between the frames.[95]

Similarly, Halas writes that in animation, as in all film, 'an individual frame is meaningless until that frame is joined to another in continuity'.[96] This means that although animation can be defined as 'movements-that-are-drawn', movement itself is never actually seen, because it exists only in the space between frames, a principle that is most noticeable in stop-motion animation.

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[93] *The Winter's Tale*, v.3.88.
[94] Osborne, p. 146.
[95] Small and Levinson, p. 68.
[96] Halas, p. 6.

90. 'The Winter's Tale', dir. by Sokolov.

'Her natural posture' (V.3.23).

''Tis time. Descend. Be stone no more. Approach' (V.3.99).

As noted above, it is the final scene of 'The Winter's Tale' that most clearly demonstrates these tensions between motion and stasis, animate and inanimate objects, through the motif of the moving statue. The combination of Shakespeare's words and the medium of stop-motion puppet animation gives this scene a degree of irony that is not present when the play is performed live in the theatre. The irony comes from the discrepancies between what is being described and what is being shown. For example, Leontes and Paulina refer to Hermione's wrinkles, but the viewer can see that the carved puppet has no such physical flaws. When Paulina warns against 'marring' the paint on the statue's lips by kissing them,[97] the viewer is invited to notice that Hermione's face is indeed painted on. When Leontes takes Hermione's hand, he exclaims, 'She's warm!'.[98] Onstage, this is the point where Hermione is revealed to be a living, breathing human being as opposed to a statue, but in puppet animation, this moment serves as a reminder that every character is essentially a moving statue. Leontes' exclamation that she is warm only draws further attention to this—it is impossible not only for her to be warm, but also for Leontes to be able to feel warmth, as he too is nothing but a moving statue. Because all of the characters are 'played' by inanimate objects, there is no perceptible difference between statues capable of movement and human beings who are frozen, or indeed between a woman sleeping and a woman dead.

Stained Glass and Moving History

In discussing *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales*, it becomes apparent that characteristic of all animation is a lack of realism, which heightens the viewer's awareness of watching something that has been constructed. As with the other media in use in *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales*, stained glass animation has a tendency to draw attention to its own processes, and the viewer's likely unfamiliarity with the medium contributes to this. As

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[97] *The Winter's Tale*, V.3.82.
[98] *The Winter's Tale*, V.3.109.

Osborne puts it, it is the technique which 'most thoroughly alerts viewers to the manipulation and changes in the images they watch',[99] and Andreae in his review of the series notes that in stained-glass animation, 'the movements do not have the same fluidity of motion as cel animation; they rarely let you forget you are watching something drawn or painted'.[100] Although cel animation looks no more realistic than stained glass, its pervasiveness in animated films makes more unusual forms of animation such as stained glass appear foreign by comparison, and this is potentially alienating to the viewer. The result is that, as we saw with the puppet animations, critical commentary on 'Hamlet' and 'King Richard III', the two stained glass episodes in the series, has been disproportionately concerned with the process itself, rather than the result. This fascination with the episodes' construction puts the viewer at a distance, which, as we shall see, is entirely appropriate for these two plays.

There is a considerable degree of self-consciousness in the use of stained glass for these episodes, particularly in 'King Richard III', where it reflects the title character's self-conscious manipulation of the other characters as well as the audience. *Richard III* is the only history play to be animated for the series, and the episode invokes Shakespeare's conflation of history, myth, and legend in the play by letting the story play out as a series of stained glass windows. We have seen that in stop-motion animation, characters holding still poses are indistinguishable from their inanimate forms. Similarly, in stained glass animation, when characters are still they resemble figures in stained glass windows, reinforcing the notion that their actions are already inscribed in history and therefore inevitable. In 'King Richard III', this aspect of the technique is invoked in several instances featuring characters posing in window frames. When Richard claims to '[h]ave no delight to pass away the time',[101] the camera pans across a series of arched windows in which the

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[99] Osborne, 'Poetry in Motion', p. 116.
[100] Andreae, p. 14.
[101] *Richard III*, I.1.25.

'merry meetings', 'delightful measures', and 'sportive tricks',[102] which are cut from his speech, are shown in pantomime (see Figure 91). This sequence is recalled later when the Duchess of York says, 'A cockatrice hast thou hatched to the world, | Whose unavoided eye is murderous',[103] and the camera follows her gaze to another set of windows, in which the newly-crowned Richard is seen in silhouette, now part of the festivities from which he was earlier excluded, as his followers drink a toast to him (see Figure 92). At the end of the episode, the camera pans across a succession of stained glass windows as Richmond, in voice-over, says, 'O now let Richmond and Elizabeth, | The true succeeders of each royal house, | By God's fair ordinance conjoin together' (see Figure 93).[104] The final image of the episode is of the couple, who form another stained glass window as Richmond's voice-over continues: 'Now civil wounds are stopped; peace lives again. | That she may long live here, God say "Amen".'[105] This series of framed tableaux resembles similar sequences in other episodes, notably 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', 'Romeo and Juliet', and 'Twelfth Night'. The distancing effect it has on the viewer is magnified by the fact that these are literal stained glass windows, which the sophisticated viewer will be used to equating with both historical legend and religious parable. The historical and legendary status of the narrative is therefore simultaneously imposed by the viewer's preconceptions and created by the medium's visual codes.

The *Animated Tales*, particularly in the stained glass episodes, are very self-aware when it comes to their use of visual metaphor, for example in the use of wine to represent blood in 'King Richard III', discussed above. Additionally, both of these episodes rely heavily on bird symbolism, particularly in their use of ravens and other birds of prey to set a grim, foreboding tone in both episodes, and birds feature prominently in significant deaths. Ophelia's death is not shown; instead she is seen disappearing down a long

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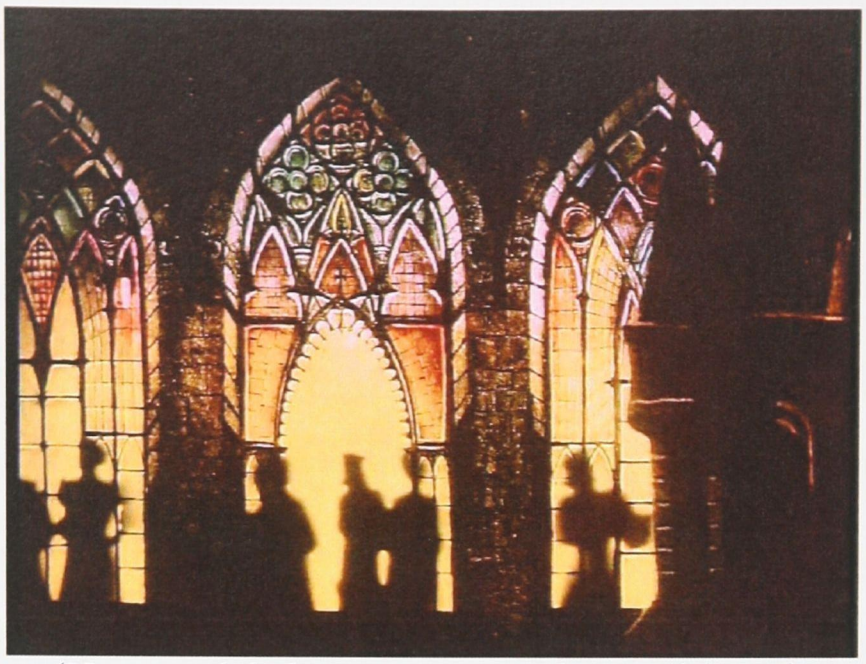
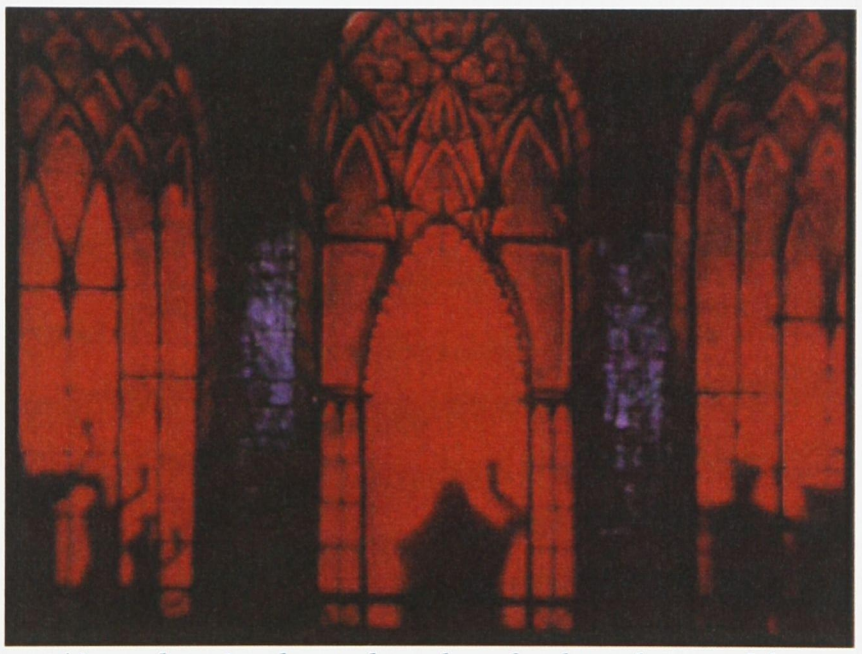
[102] *Richard III*, I.1.7, 8, 14.
[103] *Richard III*, IV.1.54-55.
[104] *Richard III*, V.6.29-31.
[105] *Richard III*, V.6.40-41.

'King Richard III', dir. by Orlova.



91. 'Have no delight to pass away the time' (I.1.25).



92. 'A cockatrice hast thou hatched to the world,
Whose unavoided eye is murderous' (IV.1.54-55).

93. 'Now civil wounds are stopped; peace lives again.
That she may long live here, God say "Amen"' (V.6.40-41).

corridor, which dissolves into an outdoor scene, where we see a white wading bird. A splash can be heard, and the bird takes off, flying slowly upward into a shaft of light, echoing Ophelia's first appearance, in which she is lit by sun coming through a window (see Figure 94). By contrast, the presence of ravens at the deaths of the young princes in 'King Richard III' can be taken to signify Richard's involvement. Ravens are explicitly aligned with Richard both before and after the murder. When Elizabeth calls on the 'ancient stones' of the Tower to 'use my babies well',[106] the camera pans up to the top of the Tower, where a raven lands, which then dissolves into a shot of the hunchbacked Richard in the same pose. This is repeated after the murder itself. The princes are shown sharing a bed as in James Northcote's iconic painting before they are engulfed by shadows as a bird noise is heard. The next image is of a flock of ravens scattering in the night sky, one of which comes to rest and closes its wings, which transform into Richard's cloak, which closes around him (see Figure 95). This gives the sense that the raven is in fact Richard himself, and indicates that where a raven is present in a scene it is to be taken as a stand-in for Richard himself.[107] In the cases of both Ophelia and the princes, the death itself is not shown, but the activity of the birds stands in for what the viewer knows is inevitable.

The relationship between motion and stasis in the stained glass episodes is the inverse of that which we saw in the stop-motion episodes. In the latter, objects are manipulated into a series of still poses to create the illusion of movement. There is not much camera movement; rather, the activity of the objects which have been brought to life is the focus. Because of the time-consuming nature of stained glass animation, as well as the potential for error in this 'under the camera' approach, nothing in the image is moved unnecessarily, and several frames are shot at a time, so that the movements of the characters appear to occur in stages. By contrast, the camera itself is in continuous motion

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[106] *King Richard III*, ed. by Siemon, IV.1.98-102. These lines are only present in the folio text of the play.
[107] This persistent equation of the ravens with Richard alludes both to the trickster raven of folklore and to the Scandinavian legend of the *Valravn*, who can return to human form by consuming the blood of a child.

94. 'Hamlet', dir. by Orlova.

Death of Ophelia.

'Ophelia, daughter of Polonius, the king's cautious old councillor, loved Hamlet.'

95. Murder of the princes ('King Richard III', dir. by Orlova).

across the single pane of glass. Again, the 'Hamlet' and 'King Richard III' episodes are each set primarily within a large fortress (Elsinore and the Tower of London, respectively), and the camera is constantly exploring the dark corridors and nooks and crannies of these structures. In this respect, the animated 'Hamlet' closely resembles Laurence Olivier's film version, in which, as Anthony Davies notes, 'the movement of the camera is both thematically and structurally integrated', and Olivier's 'expressionist use of architectural dimensions' serves 'to externalize the psychological isolation of the principal character'.[108] There is no pausing for reflection, and therefore no definite answers, only the inevitable movement toward a predetermined end. Frequently, in place of a cut, the camera will simply move laterally to another part of the glass. On the one hand, this can be said to mimic the experience of a live spectator to the scene. However, the departure from the continuity editing that film viewers have come to accept as natural can paradoxically appear jarring, and take the viewer out of the moment. Furthermore, the limitations imposed by this type of framing can also be used to withhold information from the viewer, as that which is out of the frame is assumed by the viewer not to be there. In the animated *Hamlet* in particular, this is used to reveal the many characters who eavesdrop on other characters throughout the play. For example, after Laertes warns Ophelia about Hamlet's intentions,[109] the camera pans over to reveal that Polonius has been listening behind a pillar (see Figure 96). Indeed, this strategy is used in virtually all of Ophelia's scenes; they open on her before revealing the presence of more and more witnesses, culminating in the scenes of her madness,[110] in which she is seen wandering in and out of frame as she moves down a long corridor before Claudius and Gertrude are revealed at the end of the corridor watching her (see Figure 97). In this way, scenes that at first seem to be intimate conversations are revealed to have an audience, demonstrating that in *Hamlet*, even private

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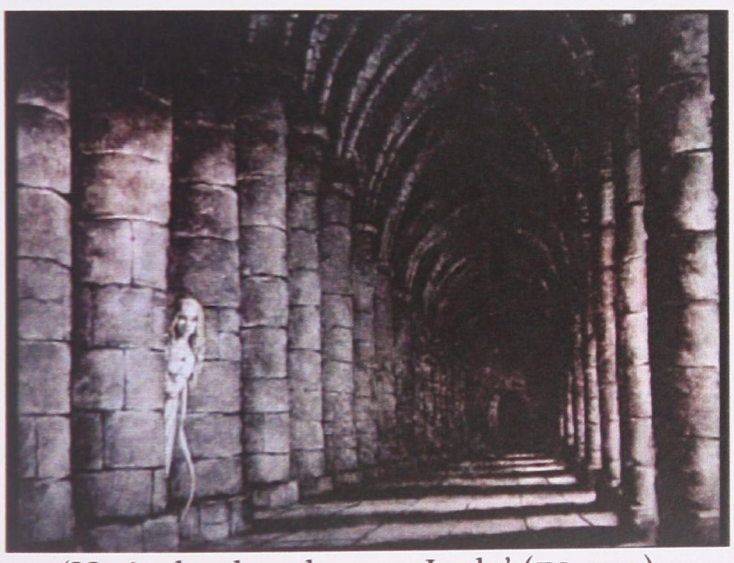
[108] Anthony Davies, *Filming Shakespeare's Plays: The Adaptations of Laurence Olivier, Orson Welles, Peter Brook and Akira Kurosawa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 59, 66.
[109] *Hamlet*, I.3.1-50.
[110] *Hamlet*, IV.5.1-73 and 155-198.

'Hamlet', dir. by Orlova.

96. 'Then weigh what loss your honour may sustain | If with too credent ear you list his songs' (I.3.29-30).



97. 'He is dead and gone, Lady' (IV.5.29).

'She is importunate, indeed, distraught' (IV.5.1-2).

conversations occur publicly. The fact that this is a defining characteristic of Ophelia's scenes in the episode contributes to her portrayal as a victim of the culture of surveillance at Elsinore.

In the animated versions of both *Hamlet* and *Richard III*, the camera can be seen as an extra character, who tracks and spies on the other characters in the play on behalf of the viewer. This is used effectively to efface the many cuts to the text, as the camera repeatedly enters scenes after they have begun and leaves before they are finished, with the air of an eavesdropper who does not want to be caught. For example, when Polonius questions Ophelia about Hamlet,[111] the camera, anticipating their movements, turns away from them and goes down a long corridor and then down a spiral staircase, as the characters' voices grow fainter, before coming to rest in the shadows behind a pillar, the perfect location from which to watch Polonius and Ophelia re-enter the scene and finish their conversation (see Figure 98). This sense of surveillance is continued later when Polonius and Claudius spy on Hamlet and Ophelia; the camera comes to rest directly behind them so that the viewer is watching them watch Hamlet and Ophelia (see Figure 99). In 'Hamlet', since most of the scenes of the play are seen through doors, windows, or archways, there is a sense that the camera (and the viewer) is intruding on private scenes. The juxtaposition between the intimacy of the scenes and the voyeuristic manner in which they are filmed makes at times for uncomfortable viewing. Again, this is especially apparent in the depiction of Ophelia's madness. She flits in and out of frame as she sings, and the camera tracks her movements through the castle, lending to the uneasy feeling that we are witnessing something we should not, intruding on a private family matter. As with the framing strategies discussed above, this reflects the play's juxtaposition between the personal and the political, and the fact that in the context of the play, even the most intimate domestic scenes have wide-ranging political implications.

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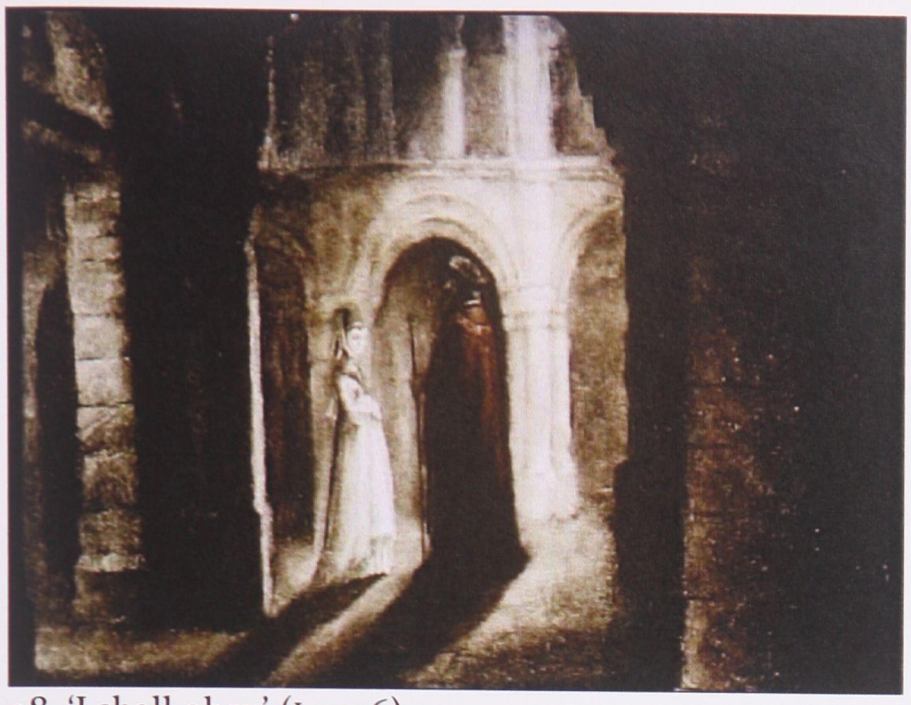
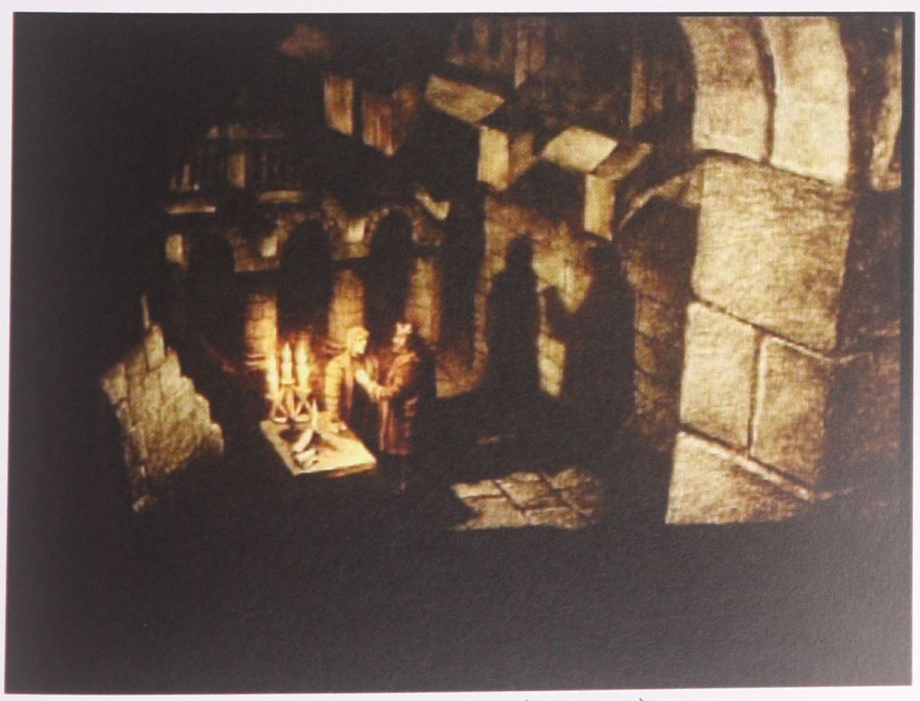
[111] *Hamlet*, 1.3.88-136.

'Hamlet', dir. by Orlova.



98. 'I shall obey' (I.3.136).

99. 'Indeed, my lord, you made me believe so' (III.1.118).



100. 'Will you be ruled by me?' (IV.7.58).

The camera movement in the scene between Polonius and Ophelia is typical of the episode as a whole. The camera often seems to exit a scene and make its way around the corridors or up and down the stairs of the castle only to return again to the same scene from another angle. The audio track is continuous but can get louder or softer depending on how far away the camera is meant to be. The camera movement therefore gives the feeling that the entire play is in fact happening, but we only get to see the small snatches of scenes that the camera has managed to pick up. When Claudius and Laertes plan the fencing match,[112] they are seen first from a high balcony, then the camera moves down one level to where Gertrude is entering to report Ophelia's death (see Figure 100). Hamlet's soliloquies at the end of II.2 and the start of III.1 are compressed into one continuous voice-over, in which Hamlet says,

> Bloody, bawdy villain!
> Remorseless, treacherous, lecherous, kindless villain!
> O, vengeance!
> That I, the son of a dear father murdered,
> Prompted to my revenge by heaven and hell,[113]
> A dull and muddy-mettled rascal, peak
> And can say nothing.[114]
> The spirit that I have seen
> May be the devil, and the devil hath power
> T'assume a pleasing shape; and perhaps
> Abuses me to damn me.[115]
> To be, or not to be; that is the question:
> Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
> The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,
> Or to take arms against a sea of troubles,
> And by opposing, end them. To die, to sleep—
> No more.[116]
> About, my brains.
> I have heard that guilty creatures sitting at a play
> Have by the very cunning of the scene
> Been struck so to the soul that presently
> They have proclaimed their malefactions.
> I'll have these players
> Play something like the murder of my father

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[112] 'Hamlet', dir. by Orlova. Cf. *Hamlet*, IV.7.90-136.
[113] *Hamlet*, II.2.582-84 and 586-87.
[114] *Hamlet*, II.2.569 and 571.
[115] *Hamlet*, II.2.600-03 and 605.
[116] *Hamlet*, III.1.58-63.

101. 'Hamlet', dir. by Orlova.

'Bloody, bawdy villain!' (II.2.582).

'That I, the son of the dear [father] murderèd' (II.2.586).

'The spirit that I have seen | may be the devil' (II.2.600-01).

'To die, to sleep— | No more' (III.1.62-63).

'About, my brain' (II.2.590).

'The play's the thing | Wherein I'll catch the conscience of the King' (II.2. 606-07).

> Before mine uncle. I'll observe his looks.[117]
> The play's the thing
> Wherein I'll catch the conscience of the King.[118]

However, the camera movement serves to break this speech up into three distinct segments (see Figure 101). Hamlet is seen glaring at Claudius as he thinks 'bloody bawdy villain', then he turns and leaves and the camera rapidly moves around the castle, searching for him as the voice-over continues, and finding him cowering in a dark corner, into which he sinks as he begins 'To be or not to be', pulling his cloak over his head as he says 'to die, to sleep; no more'. Hamlet and the camera are then roused by the noise of the players outside and Hamlet goes to a window, saying, 'About my brains'. The rest of the soliloquy is then given as we see the players performing tumbling and musical acts. Therefore, although it is true that the majority of Hamlet's soliloquies have been either severely shortened or removed altogether, the camera movement suggests that he has in fact delivered the speeches, but the camera has had the misfortune to miss them.

In 'King Richard III', the camerawork complements Richard's onstage verbal manipulation of the audience, in another parallel to Olivier's film version. In his opening soliloquy, the camera, and by extension the viewer, is complicit with Richard's plotting. The episode opens with a shot of Richard standing on the battlements with his back to the camera. This is followed by a brief close-up of Richard's eyes before the camera pulls back to include the rest of his face and his shoulders in the frame as he begins the soliloquy (see Figure 102). This set of shots invites the viewer to see the situation from Richard's point of view. We are then invited to follow his gaze and sympathize with him as he looks bitterly at the series of feasters and lovers in the windows opposite (see Figure 91). The camera's identification with Richard continues as he verbally invites us to share in his glee as he plans to murder Clarence and woo Anne. However, at the same point that he verbally stops inviting the audience in on his plot, the camera stops identifying with his point of view. At

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[117] *Hamlet*, II.2.590-94 and 596-98.
[118] *Hamlet*, II.2.606-08.

102. 'King Richard III', dir. by Orlova.

'Now is the winter of our discontent' (I.1.1).

'But I, that am [...] | Deformed...' (I.1.14-20).

'...unfinished' (I.1.20).

this point, the camera becomes an interloper, as in 'Hamlet', only getting glimpses of what he is thinking by sneaking around corners and hiding in alcoves. The shift is gradual but becomes noticeable during the discussion of the princes' coronation. After sending the Bishop of Ely for strawberries, Richard pulls Buckingham aside and they whisper in a corner as the narrator says, 'Hastings had opposed his coronation. Hastings must die.'"[119] When the camera approaches Richard and Buckingham, they suddenly become conscious of being watched and stop. Richard then turns to face the camera and accuses Hastings of witchcraft (see Figure 103). By this point the viewer has come to expect Richard to confide another part of his plan when he faces the camera, and it therefore comes as a shock that it is in fact this blatantly false accusation which is being directed to the camera instead. The viewer is for the first time forced to rely on the narration in order to learn the real reason for Hastings's death sentence. At this point it becomes apparent that the viewer is no longer a confidant of Richard's, having been in a sense replaced by Buckingham. This scene is followed by Richard's coronation, discussed above, which significantly ends with Richard walking away from the camera, his blood-red cape trailing behind him and figuratively representing the gulf that now exists between Richard and the viewer (see Figure 67). This is immediately followed by the scene of the three women, Anne, Elizabeth, and the Duchess of York, outlining Richard's guilt, the first instance in the episode of a viewpoint other than Richard's being privileged. From this point, Richard stops addressing the camera directly and is primarily seen through windows and archways, with the camera only catching glimpses of his plans, in a similar fashion to how the camera works in 'Hamlet'. Once Buckingham flees, Richard begins to address the camera directly again, when he reveals Anne's death. This paves the way for the dream sequence in his tent, where he once again lets the camera in, but in the intervening time, the viewer has come to see Richard

[119] 'King Richard III', dir. by Natalya Orlova, *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales*, episode 2.1 (BBC, 1994).

'King Richard III', dir. by Orlova.

103. 'I pray you all, tell me what they deserve | That do conspire my death with devilish plots' (III.4.59-60).

104. 'Despair and die' (V.5.103).

through the eyes of others, as represented by the ghosts, who appear superimposed over Richard's face and dissolve into one another as they curse Richard in turn (see Figure 104).

Stained glass animation is a form of direct animation in which a single pane of glass is suspended under a camera. A slow-drying oil-based paint is used and the image on the glass is altered one frame at a time. The process enhances the effect of a story which plays out in a single enclosed location, such as the island fortress of Elsinore depicted in 'Hamlet', or the Tower of London, where the majority of 'King Richard III' is set. In this respect, these episodes resemble Laurence Olivier's film versions of these plays, of which Davies writes, 'the deployment of action in expansive interiors and the movement of the action from one interior location to another in *Richard III* recalls the interiors of Elsinore'.[120] In both episodes, the medium lends itself to the tragic inevitability of the plot trajectory; as the entire play unfolds before our eyes on the single sheet of glass, we get the sense that any change will only be superficial. Stained glass animation is a prime example of direct, 'under the camera' animation, a technique which, Rubin observes, 'allows for spontaneous, yet at the same time, irreversible decisions as to how the animation evolves'.[121] The decisions made by the characters in these plays are likewise irreversible, and as Osborne notes of 'Hamlet',

> the viewer is always aware that each image is a revision of the previous one. Each moment of *Hamlet* [...] stands alone as a picture – mysterious, shadowy, and prey to loss and remembrance. Just as important each image is eradicated by the next one that fills the glass.[122]

The plots unfold over a series of stained glass images, which are continually being revised to form the next image, giving the impression of watching legends or history play out in moving tableaux. This is the impression given by the Bosworth Field battle in 'King Richard III'; it begins with the two armies charging at each other, but they soon seem to merge into one body as they meet and then disappear in a cloud of dust (see Figure 105).

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[120] A. Davies, *Filming Shakespeare's Plays*, p. 66.
[121] Rubin, p. 22.
[122] Osborne, 'Poetry in Motion', p. 117.

'King Richard III', dir. by Orlova.

105. 'If not to heaven, then hand in hand to hell' (V.6.43).

As with the other animation techniques discussed in this chapter, the process itself of stained glass animation is used to suggest specific readings of the plays in question. The *Animated Tales* are hugely significant in this respect as they indicate that children's Shakespeares have reached the point where images are the primary means used to communicate with the child reader. Whereas the Lambs and the Bowdlers were exclusively concerned with the transmission of Shakespeare's *words*, the *Animated Tales* use a variety of animation techniques to construct a complex visual narrative so effective as to render Shakespeare's words all but superfluous. The *Animated Tales* therefore challenge traditional definitions of literacy, in that they reward viewers who are *visually* literate.

Conclusions

While the form, content, and mode of address of adaptations of Shakespeare for children have changed since 1807, it is apparent that all adapters start from a specific set of often contradictory assumptions, beginning with the conviction that Shakespeare is intrinsically valuable to children, and that if the young reader is to benefit from this exposure, the plays must be presented in a form other than that in which they were written, through some mediating author and/or illustrator. Miller notes that '[a]daptations of Shakespeare for children embody and respond to a variety of adult attitudes toward children and Shakespeare', and as a result 'children have been regarded as being at once the most enthusiastic and malleable and as potentially the most likely to be misdirected or even alienated by their initial encounters with the Bard'.[123] Adults who serve as mediators between Shakespeare and children have tended to view Shakespeare ahistorically, even while recent Shakespeare scholarship has rejected the supposed 'universality' of Shakespeare's plays. Indeed, as we have seen, adaptations of Shakespeare for children are inevitably a product of the moral and ethical values of their time, and informed by its prevailing literary discourse. Stephens and McCallum note,

> A key assumption about retold stories is that they are invested with the equivalent of *truth* [...]; that is, their capacity to be retold over centuries suggests their unique value as stories in themselves, but also implies that they continue because they are the bearers of transcendent meanings. [...] When values are identified in children's books, and when they are commended, they are usually presented as *natural* human values which reflect the word as it is.[124]

Shakespeare is presented as a 'bearer of transcendent meaning', but as Marchitello points out that 'the Shakespeare that informs these texts is precisely the Shakespeare that has been so vigorously de-centered and de-stabilized as a transcendent category over the past twenty years within adult early modern literary studies'.[125] Williams is a possible exception

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[123] N. Miller, 'Play's the Thing', p. 137.
[124] Stephens and McCallum, pp. 16-18.
[125] Marchitello, p. 185.

since, as we have seen, she does attempt to destabilize this model of Shakespeare as a bearer of universal truths. However, the very existence of her edition indicates a similar underlying assumption about the value of Shakespeare to children. It is worth repeating the hope expressed by Charles and Mary Lamb that through their *Tales from Shakespear*, Shakespeare's plays will prove for children

> enrichers of the fancy, strengtheners of virtue, a withdrawing from all selfish and mercenary thoughts, a lesson of all sweet and honourable thoughts and actions, to teach courtesy, benignity, generosity, humanity: for of examples, teaching these virtues, his pages are full.[126]

Although the specific 'virtues' have changed over the years, adaptors of Shakespeare for children continue to work from the assumption that Shakespeare's plays carry valuable lessons about universal human truths, which can be passed on to young readers. As later twentieth-century writers have been more reluctant to admit an outright moral agenda, these adaptations are more likely to assign value to Shakespeare based on 'cultural literacy', noting the extent to which Shakespeare's works have seeped into the collective cultural consciousness. Coville's 'Author's Note' to his retelling of *The Tempest* is typical:

> *The Tempest* is a gorgeous fairy tale of a play, and a perfect introduction to Shakespeare for young readers. It is also a play that young people *should* know. Prospero, Miranda, Ariel, and Caliban have entered the culture as icons, and to be unaware of their provenance means missing references that are sometimes simply fun, sometimes a vital clue to what an author or artist is trying to do. In short, knowing these characters is a perfect example of what has come to be called 'cultural literacy'.[127]

For Coville, the virtue to be strengthened by an introduction to Shakespeare is that of being able to understand cultural references, and it is curious that while he claims that his adaptation of *The Tempest* 'is not meant as a substitute for, but as an invitation to, the splendors that await' in Shakespeare's work,[128] the latter is also figured here as a gateway to other literary texts.

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[126] C. and M. Lamb, 'Preface', p. 7.
[127] Coville, *William Shakespeare's The Tempest*, illus. by Ruth Sanderson (New York: Yearling, 1996), 21st opening.
[128] Ibid.

Because of the cultural importance that continues to be attached to Shakespeare, it is clear that adaptations of Shakespeare for children can tell us a great deal about constructions of childhood at what are considered the high points of children's literature. In 1807, both the Lambs and the Bowdlers sought to make Shakespeare compliant with early nineteenth-century morality, implying that they saw their ideal reader primarily in moral terms, and Shakespeare as an instructor. Later, the texts of Furnivall, Morris, Quiller-Couch, and Carter indicate an awareness of their part in an institutionalized education process, while Nesbit, Sim, and Britton on the one hand and Carter and Quiller-Couch on the other were engaged in the social education of girls and boys, respectively. Meanwhile, the illustrations that accompanied these texts, as well as their descriptive passages, indicate an awareness of the theatrical basis of the plays, which was emphasized to some extent in the classroom as well, as teachers were encouraged to take classes to the theatre and to have students act out selected scenes. Williams, Coville, and Garfield demonstrate not only an awareness of theatricality, but also a desire to incorporate it into their texts. This implies that by the end of the twentieth century, the child reader is understood as one who is both visually literate and used to reading in a variety of different media. Because of this, it has been possible to destabilize Shakespeare's authorial presence, as unilateral interpretations of the plays are no longer either desirable or necessary. The emergence of adaptations of Shakespeare in the media of comics, manga, and graphic novels, as well as the exploration of the possibilities of different animation techniques in the *Animated Tales*, are designed to satisfy readers and viewers on a visual level, prioritizing this above Shakespeare's words.

Although children's Shakespeares, like all adaptations, have constantly been altered to suit the needs of the culture in which they are produced, certain patterns can be detected when they are viewed in tandem. Many of the problems with which adapters contend can be traced to the beginnings of children's Shakespeare in 1807. In a letter to

Wordsworth dated 29 January 1807, just before the publication of the first edition of *Tales from Shakespear*, Charles Lamb writes,

> You will forgive the plates, when I tell you that they were left to the discretion of Godwin, who left the choice of subjects to the **bad baby,** who from mischief— (I suppose) has chosen one from damn'd beastly vulgarity (vide Merch. Venice) where no atom of authority was in the tale to justify it—to another has given a name which exists not in the tale, **Nic. Bottom,** & which she thought would be funny, though in this I suspect *his* hand, for I guess her reading does not reach far enough to know Bottom's Xtian name —— ——& one of Hamlet, & Grave digg., a scene which is not hinted at in the story, & you might as well have put King Canute the Great reproving his courtiers—the rest are Giants & Giantesses—. suffice it, to save our taste & damn our folly, that we left it all to a friend W. G.—who in the first place cheated me into putting a name to them, which I did not mean, but do not repent, & then wrote a **puff** about their *simplicity* &c. to go with the advertisement. as in my name!— Enough of this egregious **dupery.**— I will try to abstract the load of teazing circumstances from the **Stories & tell you** that I am answerable for Lear, Macbeth, Timon, Romeo, Hamlet, Othello, for occasionally a tail piece or correction of grammar, for **none** of the cuts and **all** of the spelling. The rest is my Sister's.[129]

Lamb's complaints—about the artistic failings of publishers, the lack of coherence between text and image, questions of authorship and collaboration, and the extent of the relationship between genre and gender[130]—persist throughout all subsequent adaptations of Shakespeare for children. Additionally, when Lamb objects to Godwin's advertisement praising the simplicity of the *Tales*, he identifies a major issue in all writing about children's books, which is especially apparent in discussions of adaptation for children, namely the idea that a text written for and to children is necessarily simpler than its 'adult' counterpart. In the case of Shakespeare adaptation, the perception that the adaptation must be merely a simplified version of the 'original' is derived from the fact that the language is commonly altered and/or abridged. As we have seen, the narrative prose, which has already been translated from dramatic verse, is most commonly rendered in the vocabulary and register of the implied child reader, with varying degrees of retention of Shakespeare's words and imagery. A comparison of the treatments of the same scene in

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[129] *The Letters of Charles and Mary Anne Lamb*, ed. by Marrs, II, 256-57.
[130] That is, the idea that Shakespearean comedy is more suited to young girls and tragedy to young boys, discussed in the first two chapters of this thesis.

Macbeth, the beginning of II.2, by each of the adapters on whom I have focused in this thesis will demonstrate the effect that this choice has on the reading of the scene, as well as providing a basis for returning to many of the issues I have raised in this thesis.

Von's graphic novel version is a 'full-text' edition, which nevertheless uses a variety of strategies to break up lengthy sections of verse over many panels, so that the reader can easily see shifts in tone and register, as we saw with his rendition of Macbeth's speech in I.7, discussed in Chapter 3. In the case of II.2, Von uses a series of close-ups on the faces of the two protagonists, and uses the layout of the page to contrast the urgency of Lady Macbeth's dialogue with the deliberate self-examination of Macbeth's (see Figure 106).[131] The page is broken up into several small panels of unconventional size and shape which, as we have seen, is a common strategy for breaking up large sections of verse in graphic novel adaptations. At the centre of the page is a panel featuring the hurried dialogue of the two protagonists: 'I heard the owl scream and the crickets cry. Did not you speak?' 'When?' 'Now.' 'As I descended?' 'Ay.' 'Hark! Who lies I'the second chamber?' 'Donalbain.' The panel immediately to the left of this depicts only Macbeth's eyes with the words 'I have done the deed. Didst thou not hear a noise?', while immediately below it are two panels, the first of which has Macbeth holding the bloody daggers saying, 'This is a sorry sight' while Lady Macbeth can be seen over his right shoulder, saying, 'A foolish thought, to say a sorry sight.' The panel next to this again shows only Macbeth's face, from below, as he says, 'There's one did laugh in's sleep, and one cried 'murder!' that they did wake each other. I stood and heard them. But they did say their prayers, and addressed them again to sleep.' These two panels are linked by the bloody daggers in Macbeth's hands, which reach across the gutter. This continues on the following page, where the short, clipped sentences of Lady Macbeth ('Consider it not so deeply'; 'These deeds must not be thought after these ways; so, it will make us mad'; 'What do you mean?') intrude on panels featuring Macbeth's

[131] *Macbeth*, illus. by Von, pp. 25-26.

106. *Macbeth*, illus. by Von, p. 25.

face from a variety of angles, to show his internal conflict, and longer speech bubbles. As we saw with the other graphic novel adaptations, in Von's *Macbeth* the layout of the words on the page serves as an interpretive clue; in this case it effectively highlights both Lady Macbeth's sense of urgency and frustration and Macbeth's physical and mental paralysis.

In the Lambs' *Tales*, as we have seen, Shakespeare's words are reproduced verbatim in dialogue while the narrative portions are restricted to words which were available to Shakespeare. In addition, as discussed in Chapter 1, the Lambs incorporate Shakespeare's words into the narrative portions, in order 'to give as much of Shakespeare's own words as possible',[132] so that the same scene in Charles Lamb's 'Macbeth' reads,

> Just as he had done the murder, one of the grooms, who slept in the chamber, laughed in his sleep, and the other cried, 'Murder,' which woke them both; but they said a short prayer; one of them said, 'God bless us!' and the other answered, 'Amen;' and they addressed themselves to sleep again. Macbeth, listening to them, tried to say, 'Amen,' when the fellow said, 'God bless us!' but, though he had most need of blessing, the word stuck in his throat and he could not pronounce it.
>
> Again he thought he heard a voice which cried, 'Sleep no more: Macbeth doth murder sleep, the innocent sleep, that nourishes life.' Still it cried, 'Sleep no more,' to all the house. Glamis hath murdered sleep, and therefore Cawdor shall sleep no more, Macbeth shall sleep no more.'
>
> With such horrible imaginations Macbeth returned to his listening wife, who began to think he failed of his purpose, and that the deed was somehow frustrated. He came in so distracted a state, that she reproached him with his want of firmness, and sent him to wash his hands of the blood which stained them, while she took his dagger, with purpose to stain the cheeks of the grooms with blood, to make it seem their guilt.[133]

Shakespeare's words are reproduced in the sparse dialogue, but in keeping with the Lambs' policy of avoiding the use of dialogue, the conversation between Macbeth and Lady Macbeth is incorporated into the narration. Lamb also narrates the scene of the murder, so that Macbeth no longer only thinks he hears the grooms crying out. Rather than seeing the scene play out, and hearing Macbeth recount the offstage events, the reader is told by the omniscient narrator what has happened. Lamb therefore carefully controls the reader's

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[132] C. and M. Lamb, 'Preface', p. 5.
[133] [C. Lamb], 'Macbeth', pp. 148-49.

perception of the play, as this omniscient narrator acts as a filter through which Shakespeare's meaning can be simultaneously disseminated and contained.

Garfield's strategy when it comes to the Shakespeare's language is similar to that of the Lambs, in that he quotes Shakespeare's play verbatim in the dialogue portions. However, as we saw in Chapter 3, he imposes fewer restrictions on the narrative portions, only attempting to 'approximate' the 'cadence and vocabulary' of Shakespeare's plays.[134] It is also worth noting that, as we saw with many of the *Animated Tales* in Chapter 4, the imagery in this scene of the animated 'Macbeth' seems to be inspired by Garfield's narration (see Figure 107):

> 'I have done the deed,' he said, and stared down at his hands. He was holding two daggers: their blades and his hands were dripping with blood.
>
> 'This is a sorry sight,' he said.
>
> 'A foolish thought, to say a sorry sight,' cried she. But for once her words had no force for him. What he had done had put him out of her reach. To her, he had done no more than to kill an old man to get a crown; to himself, he had murdered sleeping innocence, he had murdered his own honour, he had killed his own soul. Already, he was a man apart.
>
> 'Why did you bring these daggers from the place?' she demanded. 'They must lie there. Go...'
>
> He shook his head. 'I'll go no more. I am afraid to think what I have done; look on't again I dare not.'
>
> Give me the daggers!' she exclaimed contemptuously. 'The sleeping and the dead are but as pictures...'.[135]

As in Von's version, Macbeth is depicted as preoccupied with the thought of what he has done and impervious to his wife's words; however, what Von conveys through the page layout Garfield describes through narration. Garfield uses words from Shakespeare's play sparingly in the dialogue, while his description of Macbeth's state of mind draws on Shakespeare's words without using them. His reflection that he has murdered sleeping innocence therefore seems to come from his own conscience rather than from the sleep-talking grooms. This is in keeping with Garfield's emphasis on the conscience of the individual, as we saw above in his depictions of Prospero, Isabella, and Othello. Garfield's

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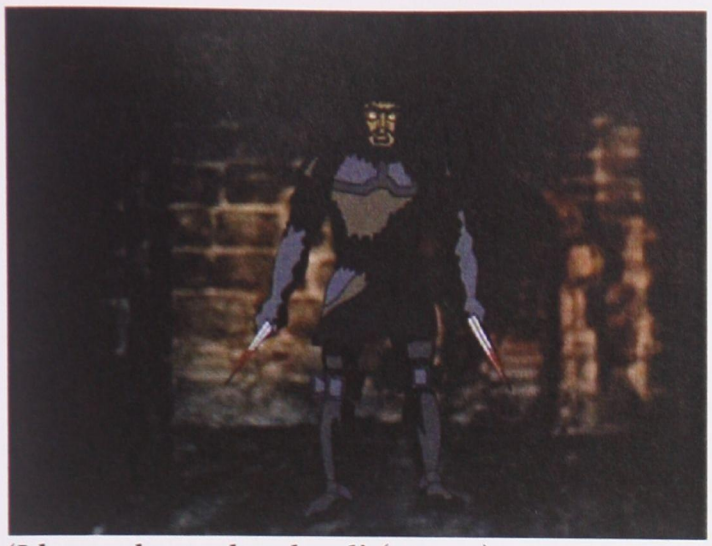
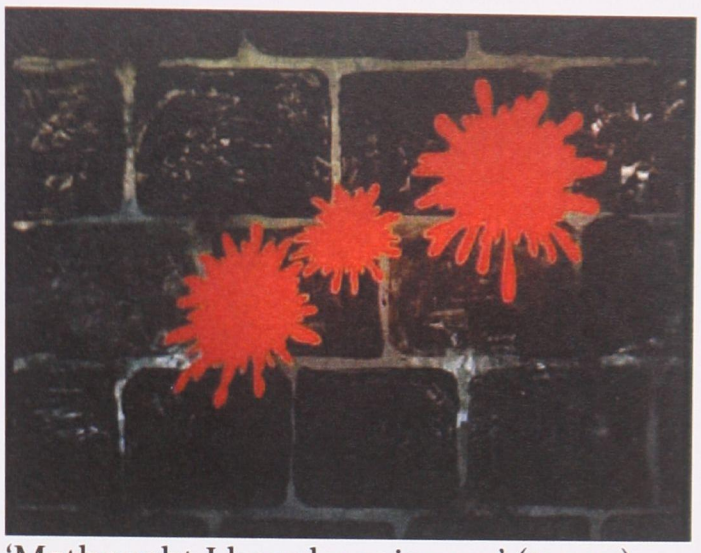
[134] Garfield, 'The Penny Whistle', p. 95.
[135] Garfield, 'Macbeth', p. 278.

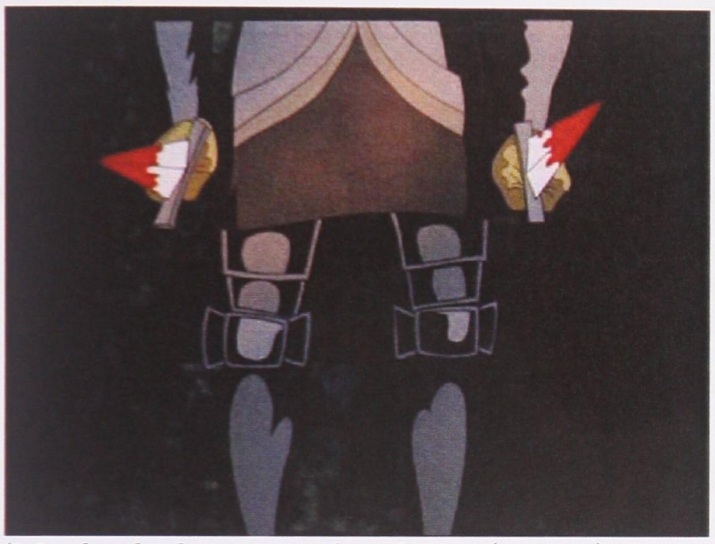
107. 'Macbeth', dir. by Serebryakov.



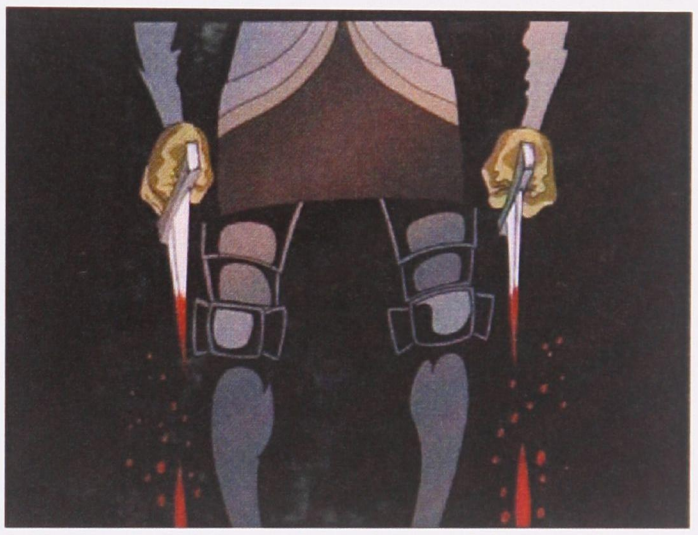
'I have done the deed' (II.2.14).



'Methought I heard a voice cry' (II.2.33).



'Macbeth does murder sleep' (II.2.34).



'Glamis hath murdered sleep' (II.2.40).

'Macbeth shall sleep no more' (II.2.41).

'Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood | Clean from my hand?' (II.2.58-59).

narrator, unlike that of the Lambs, is neither omniscient nor authoritative, focusing on the point of view of one character at a time. This is what sets Garfield's adaptations apart from others who use the same medium; rather than offering a definitive interpretation, he gives his readers the tools to make sense of these multiple narrative strands.

Williams also uses Shakespeare's dialogue, putting it in the mouths of her 'actors', but as we saw in Chapter 3, she deliberately does not attempt to replicate Shakespeare's language in either of the other two levels of narration in her text. In her version of this scene, she does not depict the conversation between Macbeth and Lady Macbeth; the final panel in the opening only shows Macbeth, who says, 'I have done the deed.' His hands are covered in blood, his hair is standing on end, and he is surrounded by a red glow (see Figure 108). As in Von's graphic novel, the hands holding the daggers cross the gutter and intrude on the adjacent panel on one side, and the audience on the other. The narration reads, 'So, reluctantly, Macbeth took the daggers from the drugged guards and slew the king.' Characteristically, Williams's narration describes a scene which she does not illustrate, rather than merely rehashing the action which can be seen in the panel above. The audience members temper the impact of this potentially horrifying scene with humour, as one groundling asks, 'Shall we throw apples cores at them?' and another replies, 'No, I want to see what happens', and two more try to predict what will come next, saying, 'One death always leads to another' and, 'He'll have to kill the sons next.' Meanwhile, a child sticks his tongue out at a woman who is proclaiming, 'I don't think this is suitable for children."[136] Crucially, and characteristic of Williams's adaptations, the language of Williams's audience members is directed at the child reader and questions both the narrative authority of Shakespeare and the moral authority of the prudish adult.

In contrast to Garfield, who moulds his narration so it will be worthy to stand next to Shakespeare's dialogue, both Nesbit and Coville rewrite the dialogue to match the

[136] Williams, *Plays*, 11th opening.

108. Williams, *Plays*, 10th opening.

narration. They each update archaic words and sentence structure, but keep the phrasing otherwise intact. In Nesbit's 'Macbeth',

> Macbeth came later, and found the daggers lying by the grooms; and soon with red hands he appeared before his wife, saying, 'Methought I heard a voice cry, "Sleep no more! Macbeth destroys the sleeping."'
> 'Wash your hands,' said she. 'Why did you not leave the daggers by the grooms? Take them back, and smear the grooms with blood.'
> 'I dare not,' said Macbeth.
> His wife dared, and she returned to him with hands as red as his own, but a heart less white, she proudly told him, for she scorned his fear.[137]

This passage also displays Nesbit's characteristically wry sense of humour, and it is clear that she demands more of the reader than the Lambs do. Coville's tone is less playful but the balance between dialogue and narration and between fidelity to Shakespeare's play and ease of understanding is similar:

> Then Macbeth was at her side, eyes wide, gasping for breath. 'Tis done,' he whispered. 'But methought I heard a voice cry, "Sleep no more. Macbeth doth murder sleep!"'
> In his bloodstained hands he clutched a pair of daggers. Lady Macbeth was horrified. 'Why did you bring these with you? Take them back. Smear the sleepy grooms with this blood. Then get some water and wash this filthy witness from your hands.'
> 'I'll go no more. I am afraid to think what I have done. Look on it again I dare not.'
> 'Infirm of purpose! Give me the daggers.' Lady Macbeth snatched the knives and hurried off to do her grisly work.[138]

It is also worth noting that unlike Lamb or Garfield, both Nesbit and Coville devote more space to dialogue than to narration. This is in keeping with Nesbit's belief, cited in the introduction to this thesis, that it is story rather than language that will entice young readers; accordingly she rarely includes long descriptive passages. Her minimal updating of the language allows her to move the story forward primarily through dialogue. As we saw in Chapter 2, this gives her adaptations an immediacy analogous to performance, in that information is conveyed through dialogue rather than narration.

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[137] Nesbit, 'Macbeth', p. 158.
[138] Coville, *Macbeth*, 9th opening.

Although I do not devote much attention to Anna Claybourne's retellings, I referred to her retellings in Chapter 3 as a contrast to Garfield's use of Shakespearean 'cadences' in his narration. Her text is also worth citing here for comparative purposes, as an example of an adaptation which rewrites both the dialogue and the narration. Her version of II.2 of *Macbeth* reads,

> Just then, her husband's voice echoed from the end of the passageway. 'I've – I've done it,' he said faintly. 'But look at my hands!' His eyes were wide with horror.
>
> 'What about them?' said his wife impatiently. She looked down at his bloodsoaked fingers. 'Macbeth!' she gasped. 'Why did you bring the daggers with you? You should have put them in the guards' hands! Go back at once, and make it look as if they did it!'
>
> 'I can't go back – I'm too afraid to look at what I've done – '
>
> 'Oh, give them to me!' fumed Lady Macbeth. She grabbed the daggers, which were slippery with blood, and stormed off back to the tower.[139]

Claybourne makes no attempt to retain the vocabulary or the register of the source play, privileging story over language. She is also more concerned with reporting what has happened than with the style in which she reports it, while the idea that Lady Macbeth would call her husband by his surname stretches the bounds of credibility. The reader is led from one plot point to the next and very little is expected in terms of active engagement.

It is clear therefore that while each of the adapters I discuss grapples with the same issues, the difference can be found in their strategies for resolving them. It is also apparent that each adaptation of Shakespeare I have discussed here owes a great deal to contemporary performance practice, particularly when it comes to illustration. As we saw in Chapter 3, the picture-frame proscenium theatres of Victorian England had a huge influence on illustrations of Shakespearean scenes, and vice-versa, and several of Coville's illustrators in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries also frame their illustrations as stage scenes, most notably Gary Kelley (*Macbeth*) and Ruth Sanderson (*The Tempest*). Meanwhile, the twentieth century's renewed interest in the thrust stage and with

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[139] Claybourne, 'Macbeth', in *Usborne Stories from Shakespeare*, pp. 20-35 (p. 26).

'original practices' staging popularized by the reconstructed Globe Theatre is the basis of the overall design of Marcia Williams's texts. Furthermore, the *Animated Tales* and graphic novel adaptations, as well as the illustrations of Leonid Gore (*Hamlet*) and Dennis Nolan (*A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Romeo and Juliet*) for Coville's texts, display an awareness of cinematic framing techniques. Even editions which privilege reading over performance remain aware of the debt they owe to theatrical representations. Thomas Bowdler cites performance cuts as justification for his own abridgement, and admonishes those 'who have confined their study of Shakespeare to the closet'.[140] Charles Lamb's 'King Lear' can be seen as originating in his outrage at the continued prevalence of Tate's version of the play, while his dissatisfaction with the excesses of Garrick's theatre inspires adaptations of the tragedies into a form which celebrates interiority. Interestingly, Lamb's reservations about the performability of *Hamlet*, discussed in Chapter 1, almost exactly describe the staging of Hamlet's soliloquies in Natalya Orlova's animated 'Hamlet':

> Why, nine parts in ten of what Hamlet does, are transactions between himself and his moral sense, they are the effusions of his solitary musings, which he retires to holes and corners and the most sequestered parts of the palace to pour forth.[141]

In Orlova's animated version, discussed in Chapter 4, Hamlet's soliloquies are delivered as voice-overs, indicating that they represent thought rather than speech, and during the soliloquy sequence he is shown retreating into 'holes and corners and the most sequestered parts of the palace' before sinking into a corner and pulling his cloak over himself (see Figure 101). Lamb, meanwhile, incorporates Hamlet's 'transactions between himself and his moral sense' into his narration:

> Moreover, he could not help having some scruples upon his mind, whether the spirit which he had seen was indeed his father, or whether it might not be the devil who he had heard has power to take any form he pleases, and who might have assumed his father's shape only to take advantage of his

[140] T. Bowdler (1), 'Preface to the Third Edition', p. viii.
[141] C. Lamb, 'On the Tragedies of Shakespeare', p. 24.

> weakness and his melancholy, to drive him to the doing of so desperate an act as murder.[142]

This is the essential difference between where this thesis began and where it ends, for while both Lamb and Orlova strive to convey Hamlet's retreat inwards, Lamb does it by telling and Orlova by showing.

Comparison between *Tales from Shakespear* and *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales* also reveals adapters' changing attitudes about the relationship between an adaptation for children and its source material. The fundamental difference between adaptation for children and other forms of adaptation is that the implied reader of the former is figured as reading the adaptation without having read the source text. This means that few adaptations are accorded by their authors any value in their own right, but are rather assumed to have use only insofar as they provide stepping-stones from which the reader can progress to the 'original'. Adaptation is seen as a means to an end, and that end is full understanding and appreciation of Shakespeare. The Lambs state in the first sentence of their preface that they intend their edition to be 'an introduction to the study of Shakespeare',[143] from which 'young ladies' will later graduate to listening to, and then reading, the plays themselves:

> and when they [older brothers] have helped them to get over their difficulties, then perhaps they will read to them (carefully selecting what is proper for a young sister's ear) some passage which has pleased them in one of these stories, in the very words of the scene from which it is taken; and it is hoped they will find that the beautiful extracts, the select passages they may choose to give to their sisters, in this way will be much better relished and understood from their having some notion of the story from one of these imperfect abridgements—which if they be fortunately so done as to prove delightful to any of the young readers, it is hoped that no worse effect will result than to make them wish themselves a little older, that they may be allowed to read the Plays at full length (such a wish will be neither peevish nor irrational).[144]

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[142] [C. Lamb], 'Hamlet, Prince of Denmark', p. 271.
[143] C. and M. Lamb, 'Preface', p. 5.
[144] C. and M. Lamb, 'Preface', pp. 6-7.

Similarly, Coville states that in his editions, 'the real goal is to offer young readers a sense of the pleasure that awaits them in these plays'.[145] Although Coville, like the Lambs, hopes that his adaptations will pique the interest of young readers and encourage them to seek out the 'originals', by the time he was writing this was no longer the straightforward linear progression described by the Lambs. The co-existence at the end of the twentieth century of Shakespeare in the media of the picture book, the graphic novel, and the animated cartoon, as well as the numerous children's performances, video and computer games, short films, abridged editions, and study guides which aim to involve young people with Shakespeare indicate that each individual edition is to be taken as only a small portion of the relationship a young reader at the beginning of the twenty-first century is figured as having with Shakespeare's plays. This intertextually aware reader will therefore bring to each new adaptation an awareness of Shakespeare's plays across multiple media and, as we have seen, this is exploited particularly effectively in the *Animated Tales*, which play on the viewer's familiarity with Shakespeare's culturally pervasive characters and plot devices. Coville's choice of words indicates his awareness of this phenomenon: the goal of children's Shakespeares is no longer to translate the 'originals' into something that can safely be read by children, but to give a 'sense' of the plays, to complement the wide range of multi-media encounters with Shakespeare that his reader is likely to have.

The point I am making here is that the changes I have charted in the media used to adapt Shakespeare's plays for children are a product of changing concepts of 'cultural literacy' and of Shakespeare's value to children. Each of the editions I discuss is produced under the assumption that Shakespeare carries cultural value. Adaptations of Shakespeare for children therefore simultaneously reproduce and respond to contemporary notions of what it means to be culturally literate. For the Lambs and the Bowdlers, knowing Shakespeare means being able to *read* his plays and to interpret them correctly in literary

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[145] Coville, *Macbeth*, 2nd opening.

terms. This is achieved through expurgation and, in the case of the Lambs, incorporating Shakespeare's words into the language of an authoritative narrator. In the adaptations of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Shakespeare is figured as culturally valuable in terms of maintaining social order. Moreover, the Shakespeare who is 'a necessary part of an Englishman's education'[146] is the Shakespeare of the nineteenth-century theatre, and it is on those terms that adapters such as Nesbit, Sim, and Carter address the reader. By the end of the twentieth century, however, postmodern literary theory has destabilized notions of authorship, canon, and linear narrative and, as noted above, 'literacy' in children's books is no longer defined in strictly verbal terms. The adaptations of Williams, Garfield, and Coville use a multivalent approach, combining complex visual cues with unstable and varied verbal narratives, while the media of graphic novel and animation break down distinctions between verbal and visual narratives. Whereas earlier adaptations were concerned with the degree of *verbal* translation of Shakespeare's words permissible, in a world where young readers are understood to be both visually literate and intertextually aware, Shakespeare's words become superfluous to an adaptation of Shakespeare.

Despite their rich history, reimaginings of Shakespeare for children have only recently begun to be recognized in academic studies. This thesis is a necessary intervention in the fields of Shakespeare studies and children's literature studies, which uses the methodological and critical frameworks of both disciplines. As I noted in the introduction to this study, children's Shakespeares have been viewed somewhat disparagingly by both disciplines, hampered by preconceptions about fidelity and pedagogy. This is in contrast to the attention that similar 'adult' adaptations have received from the second half of the twentieth century. This thesis demonstrates the potential for a range of critical readings of these texts. As indicated in the introduction, this thesis opens the door for further research

[146] Ainger, 'Introduction', p. xiii.

on intersections between Shakespeare and children's literature. Furthermore, the methodologies I have used here can be extended to other adaptations of canonical authors for children, as well as translations of children's texts into other media. This thesis is therefore an important and original contribution to a discipline which is still in its infancy, and it provides a base for further avenues of academic enquiries.

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