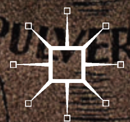
PALGRAVE STUDIES IN THEATRE AND PERFORMANCE HISTORY

War and Theatrical Innovation

Edited by Victor Emeljanow



Palgrave Studies in Theatre and Performance History

Series Editor
Don B. Wilmeth
Brown University
Emeritus Professor
Providence, RI, USA

Palgrave Studies in Theatre and Performance History is a series devoted to the best of theatre/performance scholarship currently available, accessible and free of jargon. It strives to include a wide range of topics, from the more traditional to those performance forms that in recent years have helped broaden the understanding of what theatre as a category might include (from variety forms as diverse as the circus and burlesque to street buskers, stage magic, and musical theatre, among many others). Although historical, critical, or analytical studies are of special interest, more theoretical projects, if not the dominant thrust of a study but utilized as important underpinning or as an historiographical or analytical method of exploration, are also of interest. Textual studies of drama or other types of less traditional performance texts are also germane to the series if placed in their cultural, historical, social, or political and economic context. There is no geographical focus for this series and works of excellence of a diverse and international nature, including comparative studies, are sought.

More information about this series at
http://www.springer.com/series/14575

Victor Emeljanow
Editor

War and Theatrical Innovation

palgrave
macmillan

Editor
Victor Emeljanow
University of Newcastle
Callaghan, NSW, Australia

Palgrave Studies in Theatre and Performance History
ISBN 978-1-137-60224-4   ISBN 978-1-137-60225-1 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-60225-1

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017950677

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2017
The author(s) has/have asserted their right(s) to be identified as the author(s) of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.
This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.
The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.
The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover credit: Photo 12/Alamy Stock Photo

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Macmillan Publishers Ltd.
The registered company address is: The Campus, 4 Crinan Street, London, N1 9XW, United Kingdom

Contents

Part I Theatrical Training

1 The Greek Tragic Chorus and Its Training for War: Movement, Music and Harmony in Theatrical and Military Performance 3
Will Shüler

2 Cultural Camouflage: Acting Identities in World War 2 Espionage 23
Fraser Stevens

3 The Scenographer as Camoufleur 41
Greer Crawley

Part II Propaganda Strategies

4 Puppetry and the Spanish Civil War 63
Cariad Astles

5 Theatrical Propaganda and an Imagined West During the Korean War 81
Yuh-Jhung Hwang

6 **The Biopolitics of ISIS' Iconoclastic Propaganda** 101
Gabriella Calchi-Novati

Part III Patronage and New Directions

7 **Guns, Money and the Muse: New Patronage in the Russian Civil War, 1919–1922** 121
Mayhill C. Fowler

8 **Manipulating Beijing Opera: Criminality and Prosperity During Civil War in China C. 1930** 139
Lu Miao and Wei Feng

9 **Patronizing the National Stage: Subsidies and Control in Wartime Britain** 161
Anselm Heinrich

10 **'Make Do and Mend': Civilian and Military Audiences in Australian Popular Entertainment During the Pacific War of 1942–1945** 179
Veronica Kelly

Index 199

Editor and Contributors

About the Editor

Victor Emeljanow is Emeritus Professor, School of Creative Industries, University of Newcastle, Australia and General Editor of the e-journal *Popular Entertainment Studies.* He has published widely on such subjects as the reception of Chekhov in Britain, the career of Theodore Kommisarjevsky, the engagement of Beerbohm Tree with Ibsen on the West End, Victorian popular dramatists as well as prisoner-of-war entertainments during World Wars 1 and 2. He co-wrote with Jim Davis the award-winning book *Reflecting the Audience: London theatregoing 1840–1880* in 2001. An interest in the role of children in the entertainment industry shared with Gillian Arrighi, is reflected in *Entertaining Children: The Participation of Youth in the Entertainment Industry* (Palgrave, 2014).

Contributors

Cariad Astles is course leader for the BA Theatre Practice (Puppetry) at the Royal Central School of Speech and Drama, London, and is also Lecturer in Drama at the University of Exeter, UK. She is director of the research group CROPP (Centre for Research into Puppets and Politics in Performance). She specializes in puppetry and political theatre/theatre of national identity; Catalan theatre under dictatorship and transition; Cuban popular performance and applied theatre, in particular theatre

and healthcare. She works as a puppetry performer and workshop leader in Catalonia with the group Irenia, running projects exploring cultural identity, peace and conflict and communication. Irenia was awarded the United Nations Prize for Intercultural Innovation in 2012 for its work in intercultural training.

Gabriella Calchi-Novati received an M.A. in Public Relations from the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore (Milan). She also holds an M.Phil. in Irish Drama & Film and a Ph.D. in Drama and Performance Studies, from Trinity College Dublin. Her work on "Performance & Biopolitics" has appeared in peer-reviewed journals, and in many edited collections. She is currently training at the International School of Analytical Psychology (ISAP) in Zurich, Switzerland.

Greer Crawley is lecturer in Scenography at Royal Holloway, University of London and in Spatial design at Buckinghamshire University. A practising designer, editor, curator and researcher, she has a M.A.S. (Masters of Advanced Studies in Scenography) from the Institute of Design and Technology, University of the Arts, Zurich and a Dr.Phil. from the Institute for Theatre, Film and Media Studies, University of Vienna. Editor for *Blue Pages,* the quarterly journal of The Society of British Theatre Designers and for *Transformation & Revelation: UK Design for Performance 2007–2011* and member of the Editorial Team for World Stage Design Catalogue, OISTAT and RWCMD, 2013 and UK commissioner for OISTAT Publications commission. She was Co-curator Scenofest Architecture WSD 2013 and UK curator for "Costume at the Turn of the Century" at the Bakhrushin State Central Museum in Moscow.

Wei Feng received his Ph.D. degree of Drama from Trinity College Dublin and is an assistant research fellow in the English Department of Shandong University. His research interests include intercultural theatre, classical Chinese theatre and Western theatre.

Mayhill C. Fowler, Ph.D. received her Ph.D. from Princeton University and teaches and researches the cultural history of Russia, Ukraine and Eastern Europe at Stetson University in Florida. She is completing a book, *Beau Monde: State and Stage at Empire's Edge, Russia and Soviet Ukraine 1916–1941*. She is a former actress.

Anselm Heinrich is a Senior Lecturer in Theatre Studies at the University of Glasgow. Book publications include *Entertainment,*

Education, Propaganda (2007) and *Theater in der Region* (2012), a collection of essays on *Ruskin, The Theatre, and Victorian Visual Culture* (2009) and a forthcoming monograph on theatre under German occupation during World War 2 (Routledge).

Yuh-Jhung Hwang has recently lectured on Korean language and culture in Korean Studies at the University College Cork, Ireland. She has also been a theatre critic in Korea since 2005 and won the New Scholars' Prize of the International Federation for Theatre Research in 2014.

Veronica Kelly is Professor Emerita at the University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia. She researches with collaborative teams in aspects of post nineteenth-century popular entertainment, and has produced the study *The Empire Actors: Australasian Stars of Costume Drama 1880s–1920s* (2009).

Lu Miao obtained his Ph.D. degree in the Department of Drama and Film at Nanjing University. His research interests include the history of modern Chinese theatre, production of Beijing opera, and the issues of nationality, class and locality involved in classical Chinese theatre.

Will Shüler is a teaching fellow at Royal Holloway, University of London and editor of the journal published by Royal Holloway's Department of Drama and Theatre Studies, *Platform: Journal of Theatre and Performing Arts.* Will has recently submitted his Ph.D. which examines the educative function of theatre in ancient Athens by employing the pedagogical philosophies of Plato and contemporary French philosopher Jacques Rancière. Recent publications include "Training of the chorus in ancient Greece" in *Theatre, Dance and Performance Training* and "Intellectual Equality in Postgraduate Publication" for *Contemporary Theatre Review*'s online *Interventions.*

Fraser Stevens is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Maryland, College Park. He obtained his undergraduate degree at York University in Toronto before moving to Wales to pursue his M.A. at Aberystwyth University. His doctoral study expands on this subjects identified in this chapter. Additionally he is a co-founder of the experimental theatre company Almost Human.

List of Figures

Fig. 1.1	Drawing of Pyrrhic dancer and Aulus player from Attic cup c. 480 BCE (Louvre Museum, G 136)	8
Fig. 3.1	Above, Harper Goff tests camouflage ideas by throwing shadows and outlines of trees and shrubbery on model railroad with slide film protector. Below, soldiers hide an Army Air Corps hangar with canvas fly extensions	54
Fig. 3.2	U. S. Army Air Corps photo	55
Fig. 8.1	Some statistics related to the Shanghai *jingju* market	146

Theatrical Engagements In Times Of War: An Introduction

The military strategist and theoretician von Clausewitz seems to have coined the term “theatre of war” and in so doing created a nexus that suggests some interesting commonalities: war as theatrical spectacle that takes place in designated areas of engagement, and his definition of the essential characteristic of war as a confluence of violent emotion, chance and rational calculation, might well have been describing the essential nature of a theatrical performance.[1] What this nexus might suggest is the need to explore it further with a particular focus on the impact of war upon theatrical practices and indeed even to consider whether some of these practices may have also penetrated the conduct of war itself.

Theatre has responded to the climacteric periods of war as they have affected both states and individuals—particularly when social structures and personal relationships are destabilized and inevitably changed as the result of geopolitical conflicts. In such circumstances, we would therefore expect that social destabilization might force the organization of theatre itself to be changed and that new forms of communication might find their ways onto a stage forced to accommodate and reflect the tensions which conflict has made evident. Performers too, as the result of the impact of war upon personal relationships, might themselves be required to assume new identities resulting possibly in alterations to the nature of their labour or compelling them “to dance to a different tune”.

This of course forms an aspect of the search for identity, a preoccupation that has intensified since the nineteenth century as modernist

pressures and technological advances have contributed to violent oscillations between established certainties and new, often perilous explorations on the part of individuals and nation-states. Yet versions of this violence may well have characterized tendencies and tensions evident in many other geopolitical conflicts prior to the nineteenth century and well into the twenty-first as both nation-states and individuals have been forced into taking specific roles in conflicts driven, for example, by empire building or post-colonial imperatives. These are some of the issues which are expanded and commented upon in discussions taken up in this volume.

At the same time any discussion that concerns itself with the engagement between theatre and the conflicts of war must start from the premise that theatre, like warfare itself, demonstrates the significance of change. Many of the chapters included here refer directly or indirectly to the huge changes that have taken place, particularly after World War 1 to the conduct of war itself. These can be traced in the differences which Mary Kaldor and others have identified as “new” and “old” wars.[2] The conduct of “old wars” was marked by codes of behaviour appropriate for an activity which required rules that confirmed armed conflicts as a socially sanctioned activity conducted by states to advance their political interests and ends (so Clausewitz).[3] This differentiation would become increasingly meaningless when the heroic model which underpinned its conduct as well as the clear separation between the military and the civil began to break down.[4] Soldiers became anonymous pawns in political games conducted far from the battlefields, a separation that further dissolved the clear distinctions been legitimate and illegitimate violence. As Kaldor points out, the goals of the “new wars” are concerned with identity politics in contrast to the geo-political goals of earlier ones.[5] In Edward Newman’s classification of the differing characteristics of “new wars” the issues surrounding identities assume a sharp focus:

- most wars today are intrastate rather than interstate, and interstate wars have declined in number while intrastate wars have increased in number;
- new wars are characterized by state failure and a social transformation driven by globalization and liberal economic forces; this gives rise to competition over natural resources and illegal commercial entrepreneur-ship, private armies, and criminal warlords, often organized according to some form of identity;

- ethnic and religious conflict are more characteristic of new wars than political ideology;
- civilian casualties and forced human displacement are dramatically increasing as a proportion of all casualties in conflict, especially since 1990;
- civilians are increasingly deliberately targeted as an object of new wars; atrocities and ethnic homogenization are key hallmarks of contemporary conflict; and
- a breakdown of public authority blurs the distinction between public and private combatants, and between combatants and civilians.[6]

The contributions therefore to this volume are concerned with the imbrication of theatre practices and the fabric of war itself, emphasizing the effects of this in terms of the impact upon both performers and audiences. New meanings are invested in theatre during times of war and this impacts directly on new audiences of whom many are affected by wartime displacements, and more recently by the breakdown in public authority to which Newman refers. Military and political leaders have demonstrated an interest in the theatre as a means of disseminating propaganda and also of generating a sense of social solidarity and psychological solace. These elements too form part of the discussions in this volume.

Theatrical Training

One of the basic tools in the theatrical process of assuming or changing one's identity involves the wearing of a mask, a literal blotting out of one identity and the immediate assumption of another. While in itself a relatively simple translation, the effect on the wearer of creating a total physical reality which coherently matches the new persona requires training and a ruthless suppression of the actor's personal idiosyncrasies that are at odds with the new incarnation. In part the success of this incarnation relies on the concealment of the performer, which forms a considerable proportion of any rehearsal process. Thus the success of the masked performer is contingent upon the ways in which the artist's body is camouflaged by costuming and a *trompe d'oeil* which allows the spectator willingly to suspend any vestiges of disbelief. Although we have suggested that the "new wars" have blurred the distinctions between the military and the civil particularly as civilians have been directly caught

up in battles raging around them, it is salutary to be reminded that in many ways these distinctions were also blurred in Athens during the fifth century BCE. This time period is usually regarded as containing the highest achievements of Greek civilization but Athens developed its cultural supremacy in an environment of continuous warfare, war with the Persian Empire in the first part of the century and with Sparta during the second which ultimately ended with the collapse of the Athenian empire in 404 BCE.

Will Shüler takes us through the interplay between military training and its application to choral performance. He suggests that "tragic choral training and performance … honed intuitive skills thought to aid in combat as embodied acts of transfer". As we know, all Greek performers were male. The most common age of members of a Greek chorus was 17–18 and they were schooled in movement and positioning on stage that mirrored those used as part of military tactics. Dancing in the chorus at the Festival of Dionysus was considered a civic duty: the result was the belief that such choral activity encouraged the lifelong skills of orderliness and co-ordination. It was an early example of applied theatre calculated to prepare young men for the application and penetration of theatre practices in the conduct of a "theatre of operations".

The donning of a mask results in the creation of a new character. In Greek theatre the creative process involved a team effort for the members of the chorus, required to convince a large body of spectators through a display of vocal and physical skills that they were indeed Theban elders or Trojan women or possessed Bacchants. Once the mask is removed however, the skills required to maintain a theatrical illusion must change. Certainly the Industrial Revolution provided the tools to satisfy the demands of a new audience from the end of the eighteenth century, increasingly urban in its focus and provenance and insistent on the representation of the realities to which it could immediately relate. Advances in technology enabled the realization of this demand by providing the means to effect magical transformations on stage, and to create new exotic environments which would frame their inhabitants. New scenographic techniques provided these environments convincingly: the real difficulty lay with the performers and their capacity to match the vraisemblance of three-dimensional living spaces. Their task was made extraordinarily complicated by the breakdown in the composition of theatre audiences during the nineteenth century that eroded the security of the performers' knowledge about the very people to whom they had

been accustomed to play. Melodrama was the new dramatic genre that accompanied the Industrial Revolution and performers might have felt a degree of reassurance in their ability to inhabit the personae of melodramatic heroes, villains and much-challenged heroines. It was not to be: once again theatrical forms and practices developed a complexity that matched the polymorphous urban developments and began to outstrip the performer's capability to inhabit this context convincingly. A training programme was needed that could blur the separation of reality and artifice and possess the same stamp of illusionist fidelity that set and costume designers could now provide. The actor needed indeed to prepare, and the Stanislavskian system appeared able to provide the necessary tools.

By the beginning of World War 2 Russian actor training principles were reasonably well known, if not entirely understood, outside Russia through their dissemination by expatriates like Fyodor Komissarjevsky, Nicolai Evreinov and Michael Chekhov. Although there exists no direct evidence of the application of Russian actor training programmes, Fraser Stevens brings the shadow of Stanislavsky into the wartime arena of deception and espionage. Stevens' point of departure is the formation of the British Special Operations Executive during World War 2. We know that European nations had developed Secret Service arms of their military establishments from the second half of the nineteenth century—the Deuxième Bureau in France after the Franco-Prussian war in 1871 and the British Secret Service in 1909 as examples. The "need to know" required clandestine operations with which the military hierarchies were often antagonistic. In 1940 the SOE was founded to conduct sabotage and reconnaissance and to help local resistance movements in Axis occupied countries. Because this necessitated a presence in foreign countries, potential spies needed to assume new identities and to make these "masks" impenetrable. How this was achieved forms the focus of Stevens' chapter, taken up with essential practices needed to master elements such as cultural differences manifested in details of behaviour that might be entirely foreign to the "actors," but required to camouflage themselves in disguises sufficiently convincing to ensure their survival. Stevens refers to the SOE training manuals and to the elaborate structures that made up the rigorous education of a spy. This appears to be an innovative attempt to apply the principles required for a seamless performance. The language of the training manuals refers to the vital need to preserve operational security through the development of faultless cover stories—the "given circumstances" of the Stanislavskian system or the

"back story" that needs to be imaginatively constructed in more recent theatrical parlance—suggests a craft that might define camouflage as an essential performance strategy.[7]

Greer Crawley considers deception and camouflage from the perspective of theatrical scenographers and stage construction specialists. Nineteenth-century technology had revolutionized the theatrical possibilities that could be realized on stage. Spectators expected to be astonished by the verismo of scenic presentations which included epic wartime scenarios whether set during the Indian Mutiny or key moments like the relief of Lucknow, the death of General Gordon in Egypt or the defence of Rorke's Drift during the Anglo-Boer War, all represented with a detailed realism that might include hundreds of extras, sound, lighting and smoke effects. Outside the theatre, individual spectators might visit displays of panoramas or exhibitions of new uses for the camera. The latter in particular would help to literally change views of war as perception was changed by camera techniques and the employment of aerial reconnaissance. These signalled as much as anything the transition from "old wars" to "new wars" as military strategists came to terms with the tensions between visibility and invisibility, the ability to utilize surveillance while at the same time avoiding such invasiveness through camouflage.[8] This last aspect as well as the term "camouflage" itself seems to have been created during World War 1 to describe the process of concealment and deception. Crawley recounts how the first British "camoufleurs" were working in France in 1916 and by 1917 they were creating illusionistic screens and fabrics intended to blend in with the surroundings they were attempting to conceal. At the same time the German military were able to employ a system of decoy structures to disguise military movements. Such developments went hand-in-hand with the understanding of aerial reconnaissance which would change the landscape of war forever. Spectators in a theatre were habituated to the attention to detail on stage; the emergence of a new bird's eye view of the world demanded that three-dimensionality be replicated in the field as well.

Crawley charts the development of an industry of disguise. Once again the utilization of training became the key to the innovative practices. In the United States the official centre for camouflage training was set up in Chicago with painter and photographer Moholy-Nagy as its director; in 1943 the Federal Security Agency produced a report identifying specific guidelines for university Departments of Drama to develop skills in scenic design and lighting for their application in propaganda,

especially strategies for increasing and maintaining morale and also applications for use in camouflage. Designers like Jo Mielziner were employed in camouflage laboratories while in Britain art directors of film studios were utilized to create elaborate lighting effects as well as scenarios to create phantom armies that included such devices as artificially generated soundscapes. Norman Bel Geddes who straddled the worlds of modernist invention and stage design, was commissioned by *Life* magazine to construct a series of models that replicated the Battle of the Coral Sea. These were photographed to suggest an array of actual aerial pictures, an astonishing change of perception, filling in gaps for actions that could not be photographed at the time. In a sense the wheel had come full circle; theatrical and military practices were now inextricably connected.

Propaganda Strategies

In his book *Theater and Propaganda* George H. Szanto asserts that all theatre is essentially propagandist and goes on to identify three kinds:

1. The theater (*sic*) of agitation propaganda;
2. The theater of integration propaganda;
3. The theater of dialectical propaganda.[9]

Written nearly forty years ago, these categories cannot include the speed of globalization and the dissolution of the boundaries between performers and spectators which contemporary advances in technology have achieved just as they have affected the perception about what is real and what is fictional. Sara Brady writes on this matter:

> Television and other popular mainstream entertainments traditionally accepted as "not real"—as representative of reality, as "fiction"—have either been designed to be perceived as "non-fiction" …while the non-fiction (e.g. reality television) … [has] been crafted as hyperreal, with such attention to reality that they are accepted as a (superior) substitute for "reality". On the other hand, what has traditionally been taken for "reality"—news programs, political campaigns…have increasingly tended towards the constructed, the fictional.[10]

Included in this section which illustrates the theatre's role in the dissemination of propaganda are three instances of propagandist practices:

two which fall within the categories of agitation or integration and a third which for the moment we might define (after Richard Schechner) as "make-belief propaganda".[11]

Puppetry is a well-established theatre form and can be dated back to the fifth century BCE in Greece and the second century BCE in India. Puppets have also usefully served as purveyors of social criticism at least since the introduction of the Aragoz puppets into Turkey and Egypt under the Ottoman Empire.[12] While historically it might appear easy to relegate puppet theatre to a children's entertainment or to occasional appearances at seaside resorts like the British Punch and Judy shows, Cariad Astles points to a much more serious role as vehicles to support political action in Spain especially after the establishment of the Second Republic in 1931 when theatre was used as an activating force. This was reinforced at the start of the Civil War in 1936 when puppets were used as part of the political struggle by both sides, the Republicans and Nationalists, to enact concerns about identity as well as to educate and indoctrinate. Astles quotes the words of a Republican reviewer who comments: "the puppet [is]…no less useful than a rifle in the successful prosecution of the war", a powerful theatrical tool in a time of crisis. From the end of the nineteenth century puppets formed part of modernism's rejection of mimesis and naturalism in favour of stylization and symbolist experimentation. With the establishment of the Franco regime in 1939 puppet experimentation ceased: like the case of the Aragoz puppets in Egypt, the popular Spanish puppet figures were marginalized as part of children's theatre. Both would have to wait until the 1970s for resurgence in relevance as an adult form of entertainment as well.

The potential of theatre to bring about change was recognized in South Korea after the end of World War 2 and the period of Japanese colonization. The *Sinhyup* theatre company was founded in 1950 as a national theatre in the hope it might serve as a cohesive force to promote national unity. Yuh-Jhung Hwang describes the rather desperate need for South Korea to identify itself with the developments in modern theatre. This was envisaged as analogous to the process of Westernization setting itself against the perspectives of Japan and China during South Korea's colonial period. Thus establishing a new drama would bring South Korea's culture into line with modernist developments as well as playing a significant role in contesting national identities (with the commencement of the Korean War, this became a tool for aligning itself with

its American allies.) One might argue that in this environment the propaganda imperatives straddled both the categories of agitation and integration. While theatre might indeed find a voice for a spirit of resistance, its principal purpose as seen through the lens of the *Sinhyup* organization was to integrate itself with and show the benefits of adherence to American models of performance. This might guarantee for South Korea a continuance of stable American support. As Szanto states of integration propaganda, it is intended to promote the feeling that "all is well with the world, that one should accept one's society and participate passively within it".[13] Predictably perhaps, Shakespeare figured prominently in *Sinhyup*'s repertoire along with the plays of Tennessee Williams and Arthur Miller. Surprisingly, however, South Korea had been exposed to Japanese translations of O'Casey and Synge during its period of colonization. The rollercoaster of Westernization had begun its journey long before the Korean War.

The sharply etched perspective of a "new war" is applied to the discussion of the propaganda emanating from the performance of power on the part of ISIS. Gabriella Calchi-Novati develops the scenario of terrorism, one facilitated by the technological leaps in the communication industry. Inevitably these leaps are harnessed to show that "war, fear, and insecurity have become the most powerful principles through which society is organized".[14] This insecurity has been compounded by the dissolution of the boundaries between the real and the theatrical. Not only has this affected non-combatants but also soldiers. As Sara Brady suggests, "when soldiers refer to action as being like a videogame, as they frequently do, it is not a metaphor".[15] Calchi-Novati draws our attention to the extraordinary production values of ISIS propaganda: "ISIS hijacks images that are embedded in the Western canon in order to transform them into the main tools of a globalized theatre of horror." Astutely the production of video cruelty utilizes costumes, scripts and sophisticated choreography to market ISIS terrorism for pleasurable consumption. As the chapter suggests, the confusion between reality and staged reality, what is painfully real and what is theatrically staged may be new in its globality, but its antecedents go back to the Roman Colosseum, Jacobean tragedy and the establishment of the Grand Guignol theatre in Paris at the end of the nineteenth century which until 1962 dedicated itself to representations of extreme suffering and the infliction of pain.[16]

Patronage and New Directions

> …can theatre practice provide temporary spaces that function to help people to adjust to disruption and transition? And how does performance contribute to processes of reinvention of identity?[17]

Though we might argue that in contemporary contexts the divisions between performers and spectators have been eroded, nonetheless the role of theatre to provide "temporary spaces" where questions of identity are deliberated and made the material of performance, remains strong, especially when the destruction of war demands the remaking of traditions or the invention of new forms. The media might change but the need for an audience even in a world infected by "swarmcast", the indiscriminate release of jihadist propaganda, continues to form an essential component of the theatrical engagement.[18]

Russia in the period from 1918 to the early 1920s was in a state of transition when imperial boundaries were dissolved and armies of various persuasions destabilized the sense of popular identity. Mayhill Fowler documents the early career of Les Kurbas, probably the most significant Ukrainian theatre director and manager of the period, and his relations with the Red Army during the Civil War. During the two World Wars entertainers were much prized both on the front lines and in prisoner-of-war camps where the sense of a "life on hold" was acute and ongoing. Politicians and military hierarchies recognized their importance in stimulating morale. Undoubtedly Kurbas was able to negotiate a new patronage with the Red Army. Local commanders could organize tours and use their army connections to secure performance spaces, support advertising and issue *laissez-passers* to travel to local villages away from the Ukrainian capital Kyiv (Kiev). Fowler suggests that the Red Army was the only army to sponsor theatre troupes of multiple ethnicities performing plays in Russian, Ukrainian and Yiddish. Kurbas himself was keen to develop his company and to provide actor training in a studio environment, difficult to achieve when at the same time the company was foraging for food. He had an interest in innovation that would avoid setting up a profit-making concern. This, however, would be challenged in 1921 with Lenin's New Economic Policy insisting that theatres had to rely on box-office takings to maintain their viability. Yet Kurbas was able to maintain his connection with the Red Army which may have protected him from the vicissitudes of state intervention. The question remains: why was the

Red Army so generous with its support for Kurbas? Fowler intimates that acting as entrepreneur and providing audiences drawn from its ranks had a political dimension: it was an aspect of building the Soviet phenomenon and reinforcing a sense of tradition and historical and ethnic narratives at a time of insecurity. There was considerable capital to be gained from maintaining the familiar while ridding society of old cultural habits and structures and preparing for the new dispensation. If this was the case, the yoking of new theatrical developments to an emerging political system was an appropriately innovative strategy.

Shanghai possessed unique qualities; its Foreign Concessions and the International Settlement created enclaves of European cultural and financial interests, surrounded by Chinese inhabitants who ensured the day-to-day position of the city as an important trade centre. Uniquely, even during the fighting in the First Sino-Japanese war in 1894–1895 and the establishment of the Republic of China in 1912, the city retained its independent status, a situation capitalized on by the Green Gang, a secret society originally created to service the needs of grain boatmen on the Grand Canal, but which became the major politically cohesive force in a city of disunified municipal authorities. It became a criminal gang which used the theatre, specifically the *jingju* (Beijing opera) industry, as it jostled for power and influence in the city. The chapter on the Green Gang demonstrates an instance of power consolidation and audience manipulation using the theatre's language to cross social and political boundaries. The Gang moreover acted as an intermediary between Concession authorities and other Chinese groups and was directly supported by Chiang Kai-Shek's Kuomintang. Its sources of income however comprised the opium trade, prostitution and property investment including theatres. The Gang's involvement with the theatre was the mortar supporting its less salubrious activities giving it a patina of social respectability. It rented theatre buildings and employed professionals to strengthen the *jingju* industry while its status as part of the Shanghai Theatre Association especially from 1924 gave it a virtual theatrical monopoly. The Gang saw theatre as a major site for involvement in public affairs which it consolidated through charity performances for worthy causes. Its principal innovation lay in establishing a copyright system to protect its monopoly and more importantly to import star performers from Beijing and elsewhere and to open up performance opportunities for females, a significant revolution in an all-male preserve. As Wei Feng

and Lu Miao aver, it formed part of the Gang's populist strategy as well as ensuring its longevity.

Perhaps theatrical innovation and its relationship to wartime conflict is a discussion about patronage and theatre in its widest applications. This may involve the implication of the state in the business of theatre and the appropriation of a theatrical occasion for its propaganda potential. It may involve the theatre in providing therapeutic assistance to a society deracinated by conflict and offering comfort when it suggests the ability to retain and demonstrate common human goals that transcends the current life in transition. As we have seen, the Red Army was directly involved in supporting theatrical initiatives during the Russian Civil War; in effect it was an example of the state providing direct financial and logistical assistance. It was gratefully received. At the same time state intervention can be regarded with suspicion, nowhere more so than in British commercial theatre accustomed to audience support and the ability of actor-managers to attract the charity essentially of strangers on a regular basis. Moreover, there had always been a suspicion about subsidy as an instrument of political control. This changed radically during World War 2, as Anselm Heinrich illustrates, with the foundation of the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA) in 1940 and provides a good example of integration propaganda to which Szanto had referred earlier. The organization was set up to revitalize and reassure the home front while the Entertainments National Services Association (ENSA) would continue to send concert parties to the various theatres of operation, a practice that had been successfully undertaken during World War 1 by Lena Ashwell and others. The implementation of state subsidy however signalled a testament, according to Heinrich, to a seismic change in the perception of the arts and their role in society. It was, moreover, the first time that the state became a patron of the arts (outside Europe) and a formal recognition that they were of national importance. Unlike the concert parties of World War 1, the role of CEMA was to develop a mass appeal for serious art forms: ballet companies, chamber music ensembles as well as symphony orchestras came under the organization's purview. It hoped to create a permanent, educated audience and set about using the arts in general and theatre in particular as facets of its educational mission. This was itself innovative as well as the focus on regional development. Heinrich refers to CEMA's support and financial stake in refurbishing the Theatre Royal, Bristol, turning it into the first state theatre, and quotes Bernard Miles's

evaluation: "for the first time in history the state recognised the drama as one of the sinews of the national soul". In 1946 CEMA would be transformed into the Arts Council of Great Britain.

In her discussion of civilian and military audiences in Australia 1942–1945, Veronica Kelly addresses the contribution of the Tivoli Circuit in the face particularly of the huge influx of American servicemen during the Pacific war to cities like Brisbane, Sydney and Melbourne.[19] Reputedly over 1 million American servicemen passed through Australia in the period 1942–1945. The Tivoli and other theatres rose to the occasion. Kelly points to the innovation that lies in recombination and diversification and new strategic configurations of existing practices, technologies and personnel to address the new reception conditions that took place in the period. These may have been temporary but the contribution was highly significant as troupes travelled to isolated rural training camps and hospitals and as theatre organizations geared their diverse activities to attract the urban-base civilians and servicemen and ameliorate the conditions of loneliness and insecurity that affected all who were about to be sent to the theatre of the Pacific War. From the military's point of view, entertainment could now be legitimated as a national priority intended to show the impact on morale that might take place through a demonstrable continuity between peacetime and wartime experiences. The Tivoli Circuits strength lay in its variety, a constantly revitalizing form that might permeate any discussion of theatre's contribution to military and civilian morale in the two World Wars and even in Afghanistan today. Kelly's point about the nature of innovation is echoed in *Performance in Place of War*: "cultural acts and performances can be perhaps best understood as moments of translation: ever-shifting, embodied and creative responses to new encounters and influences".[20]

The contributions to this volume have offered snapshots that demonstrate both continuity and change. Continuity might be reflected in the conscious application of old theatrical traditions and strategies to new environments and demands: for example the uses of actor training methods and scenographic conventions to achieve technical mastery in the field and more recently an impenetrable deception intended to obscure the real intentions of the protagonists. Change can perhaps be seen most egregiously in the attempts to win over new audiences and to offer them a morale-boosting sense of continuity in the middle of social and cultural upheaval, particularly in the context of civil wars. Some attempts have used strident examples of propaganda boosted by new technological

developments in an environment of digital globalization. Even without the stridency recent developments have embodied the tendency to dissolve the traditional boundaries between performers and spectators. Wars and their displacements have iterated the urgent need to develop a common language that may have little to do with verbal dexterity and much to do with new strategies for theatrical engagement. It is worth remembering after all that the etymology of the word "entertainment" enshrines the notion of a bond held between two opposing parties as they engage in an emotional and physical tug of war.

Victor Emeljanow

Notes

1. Von Clausewitz refers to "theatres of operation" and "theatres of war," the first defines the necessary battles and logistical procedures needed, while the second encompasses the political imperatives of the overall conflict. See Von Clausewitz Book 5, Chap. 2, 280–281 "theatre of operations" and Book 6, Chap. 8, 319 and Book 8, Chap. 9, *passim* for references to "theatre of war." (Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, edited and translated by Michael Howards and Peter Peret, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.)
2. Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars: organized violence in a global era*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999).
3. Clausewitz, Book 1, Chap.1, 87.
4. On the tradition of war as game defined by rules and codes of chivalric behaviour see J. Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: a Study of the Play-Element in culture*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1944), 89–104.
5. Kaldor, 6.
6. Edward Newman, "The 'New Wars' Debate: A Historical Perspective is needed," *Security Dialogue*, 35, 2 (June 2004), 174–175.
7. See Bernie Ross, "Training SOE saboteurs in World War Two," www.bbc.co.uk/history/world wars/soe_training_01.shtml (accessed 1 May 2017).
8. See Paulk Virilio, *War and Cinema: the Logistics of Perception*. (London & New York: Verso, 1989).

9. George H. Szanto, *Theater and Propaganda*, (Austin & London: University of Texas Press, 1978), 72.
10. Sara Brady, *Performance, Politics and the War on Terror: "Whatever it takes,"* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 109.
11. Richard Schechner, *Performance Studies: an Introduction*, (New York: Routledge, 2002), 35.
12. See Nashaat H. Hussein, "The Revitalization of the Aragoz Puppet in Egypt: some reflections," *Popular Entertainment Studies*, vol. 3, 1 (2012), 57ff.
13. Szanto, 24.
14. Henry A. Giroux, *Beyond the Spectacle of Terrorism: Global Uncertainty and the challenge of the New Media*, (London & Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2006), 8.
15. Brady, 65.
16. One might also refer to the analogy of professional wrestling in Lucy Nevitt, "Popular Entertainments and the Spectacle of Bleeding," *Popular Entertainment Studies*, 1, 2 (2010): 78–92.
17. James Thompson, Jenny Hughes, Michael Balfour, *Performance in Place of War*, (London: Seagull Books, 2009), 77.
18. See Ali Fisher, "Swarmcast: How Jihadist Networks maintain a Persistent Online Presence," *Perspectives on Terrorism*. 9, 3 (2015): 1–20.
19. The Tivoli Circuit was founded in 1893 by English music hall comedian Harry Rickards and flourished thereafter until the mid-1950s.
20. *Performance in Place of War*, 89.

PART I

Theatrical Training

CHAPTER 1

The Greek Tragic Chorus and Its Training for War: Movement, Music and Harmony in Theatrical and Military Performance

Will Shüler

"*War is the father of all things*" (Heraclitus)[1]

In the ever-warring world of Classical Greece, one can see why the pre-Socratic philosopher, Heraclitus, would make such a claim; to a certain extent, one could argue that it remains to be the case—as this collection of essays will likely attest. It is without a doubt that war had a commanding impact upon the poetry of Greece: the mythic recounting of it being the most popular narratives of the epic form. In tragedy too, of the thirty-one extent works of this genre, twenty-three directly revolve either around war (*Persians*, *Seven Against Thebes*, *Philoctetes*, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, *Phoenician Women* and *Rhesus*), the effects of war (*Agamemnon*, *Libation Bearers*, *Eumenides*, *Ajax*, *Antigone*, *Electra* (Sophocles), *Hecuba*, *Andromache*, *Electra* (Euripides), *The Trojan Women*, *Suppliants* (Euripides), *Iphigenia in Taurus*, *Helen* and *Orestes*) or the possibility of war (*Suppliants* (Aeschylus), *Oedipus at Colonus* and *Heracleidae*).

W. Shüler (✉)
University of London, London, UK
e-mail: shuler.will@gmail.com

© The Author(s) 2017

V. Emeljanow (ed.), *War and Theatrical Innovation*, Palgrave Studies in Theatre and Performance History,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-60225-1_1

The extant tragedies range in date of composition from c. 472 to 405 BCE. These dates mostly overlap the Greco-Persian Wars, fought between Greek city-states and the Empire of Persia (499–449 BCE) and the two Peloponnesian Wars, mainly fought between Athens and its allies and Sparta and theirs, from 460 to 445 BCE and from 431 to 404 BCE. Only the *Antigone* (c. 442 BCE) and the *Alcestis* (438 BCE) fall outside active wartime.[2] As it has been demonstrated that Athenians looked to poetry as a source of learning,[3] including the tragedies (*didaskalos* literally translating as both playwright and teacher), the tragedians' preoccupation with war demonstrates that this topic was a subject of direct spectator concern.

As institutional education in Athens focused on music, movement and, most importantly, the harmony of both, this chapter positions the theories and practice of ancient Greek choral and military training as a continuation of primary education. As such, choral and military performance contributed to inculcating Athenian cultural knowledge. It will be shown that the training in song and dance for tragic choruses sought to prepare young Athenians for much more than performing in a festival; the formal elements of choral performance in ancient tragedies functioned as an aspect of military training by providing young men with embodied knowledge believed to be useful in combat. While the Spartans drilled and practised sham-battles from a young age, the Athenians' innovation was to use cultural activities such as music, dance and choral performance as a means of preparing for war. This in turn influenced the form and reception of tragic theatre.

This chapter will provide an overview of battle tactics and formal/informal combat training, particularly emphasizing performative components. It will then make connections between the movement and music in these forms and their relationship to tragic choral competition. Ancient theories of harmonics—a science of blending—and Xenophon's explanation of honing skills intuitively will be held up to contemporary theorist Diana Taylor's notion that "performances function as vital acts of transfer, transmitting social knowledge, memory, and a sense of identity",[4] to demonstrate that far from being coincidental, the relationship between theatre and war in Athens was both known and actively developed.

Background: War in Athens

In Athens, military power consisted of battalions comprising *hoplites*, light infantry, archers, peltasts and cavalrymen, and the naval power of the *triremes*—large warships with three tiers of rowers. The *triremes*

were manned by four archers and fourteen *hoplites* whilst Athens was at war against the Persians.[5] Also indispensable on the *trireme* was the *aulos* (double-flute) player; modern attempts at recreating an *aulos* place the sound as similar to that of a bagpipe. The *aulos*-player was used to keep time, and given that the three tiers of rowers consisted of around 170 men, keeping everyone in time was both a demanding yet essential component.

Hoplites were almost always citizens, because it was thought to be dangerous to entrust slaves with weapons and mercenaries were primarily used for maritime warfare and archery due to their experience in these fields.[6] Xenophon writes that the state gains from using citizens as *hoplites* because it does not have to spend as much money and the citizens will gain pride from relying on themselves instead of foreigners.[7] In this way, military service as a *hoplite* was directly connected to an Athenian's citizen identity, and in some cases could even lead to their social mobility.[8]

In terms of the choreography of war, the most relevant formation is the *phalanx*, an infantry formation in which armaments were held in an optimal defensive and offensive position. Unlike the depiction of the tightly interlinked *phalanx* that films like *300* (2006) may suggest, the phalanx in all probability was spaced out in six-foot intervals, giving room within the ranks for the full extension of one's arms, without colliding with adjacent *hoplites*.[9] Thucydides, for example, describes being able to thrust a man with your spear if he got within the gap between you and your neighbour.[10] Like the rowers on the *triremes*, the advance of the army into battle and movements within the *phalanx* were controlled by the pace set by *aulos*-players.

In terms of formal military training, the only education funded by Athens in antiquity was the *ephebeia*, although there is no evidence of this until about 335 BCE—which post-dates all extant tragedies. While the topic of much academic speculation, scholarly consensus suggests that a less organized and/or self-organized training programme existed instead[11]: citing as evidence the fifth-century *ephebic* oath.[12] *Ephebes* (ἔφηβοι) were young men of around seventeen/eighteen years of age, conventionally described as when the beard starts to become evident but is not fully developed. In the *ephebeia*, *ephebes* were subject to one year of military training and another of military service in the form of garrison duty. In this way, *ephebes* could be seen as "proto-hoplites".[13] At the completion of their training, young men were required to demonstrate their skills in a theatre and recite the oath, before receiving a shield and

spear.[14] This is not the only moment that *hoplites* would spend in the orchestra of Athenian theatres; as explained below, this is also the age most common among members of the Athenian chorus.

Alternative Military Training

In order to demonstrate that tragic choral training and performance served the function of preparing young Athenian men for *hoplite* service, it is useful to outline the basics of education in Athens. Primary Athenian education was not state funded and as a consequence could start anywhere between five and seven years of age, depending on what a boy's parents could afford. Attic education was roughly divided into three categories: gymnastics, music and grammar.[15] Gymnastic education included various kinds of jumping, running, wrestling, and throwing the javelin and discus. Less time was devoted to music school, which taught singing and lyre at first, but eventually reading, writing and counting. Reading evolved into memorizing epic poems and combined with song and lyre provided a method to learn lyric poetry.[16] It has long been argued that the primary education provided was cultural, rather than technical—directed towards developing skills vital for being a good Athenian citizens.[17] Thus while the physical, musical and literary skills learned might be applied to practical tasks, the primary aim was to cultivate an understanding of and appreciation for Athenian life.

Despite this, extant sources do show an understanding that there was a relationship between the gymnastic activities learned at that time and being better suited for the military training that they would receive as *ephebes* and subsequently their actions whilst in battle.[18] In *Cyropaedia*, Xenophon's Pheraulas claims:

> All men naturally understand, just as in the case of other creatures each understands some method of fighting which it has not learned from any other source than from instinct: for instance, the bull knows how to fight with its horns, the horse with its hoofs, the dog with his teeth, the boar with his tusks … though they have never gone to school with any teacher.[19]

Pheraulas claims that this is also how men have learned to use swords: through the instinctive handling of them from a young age.[20] It is this kind of intuitive battle training that gymnastic education, hunting and similar activities were intended to hone. They were transferable skills: embodied knowledge to be reactivated in combat.

Upon completion of primary education, a young man could pay for further educational enrichment. Most known today are the sophists who offered training in thought and rhetoric, but Athenians could also employ *hoplomachoi*—paid experts who trained men in the choreographed use of shield and spear, akin to a martial arts demonstration. The tradition of *hoplomachia* dates to the time of the Peloponnesian War.[21] In the *Laches* of Plato, Socrates and the distinguished military leaders Nicias and Laches are brought to observe a *hoplomachia* teacher by Lysimachus and Melisias, who are trying to find out what their sons "should study or practice if they're to become the best men possible".[22] Nicias recommends training in *hoplomachia* because he claims it will improve a boy's physique, train him for hand-to-hand combat if the *phalanx* is broken, make him more courageous, and motivate him to learn other admirable skills, such as tactics and military leadership.[23] This position is challenged by evidence that boys who trained in *hoplomachia* had not always proven themselves to be better in battle.[24] Moreover unstructured melée combat was less than desirable, as it would involve the breaking of the *phalanx*.[25] The dialogue then develops, as Platonic dialogues are wont to do, into a discussion of what exactly being a good person is, ending (of course) in an unresolvable conclusion.

For us, the questioning of *hoplomachia*'s usefulness is quite telling; it demonstrates that some Athenians were looking to choreographed manoeuvring as beneficial to combat skills. In fact, in the fourth century, *hoplomachia* was a component of the *Ephebeia*.[26] Like the Platonic Socrates, historians too are dubious of the success such training would actually have in battle. In *Greek Warfare: Myths and Realities*, van Wees writes: "a man might train enthusiastically to improve his strength and stamina, pick up basic weapons skills and absorb the Greek military ethos, but none of this could really prepare him for the terror of battle of the deprivations of campaigning".[27] While this is true, it does not disqualify learning the skills that might prove advantageous in battle. Besides which, nothing can *really* prepare someone for war. What is important, however, is that regardless of the extent to which choreographed manoeuvring like *hoplomachia* actually prepared *ephebes* for war, the Athenian attitude averred that it was beneficial.

As is the case of most remains from antiquity, the actual evidence spans several centuries and locations. The same can be said of the *Pyrrhic* dance, which was taught to boys in the gymnasium. Figure 1.1 depects an ephebe performing the *Pyrrhic* dance to the sound of the *aulos*. It is

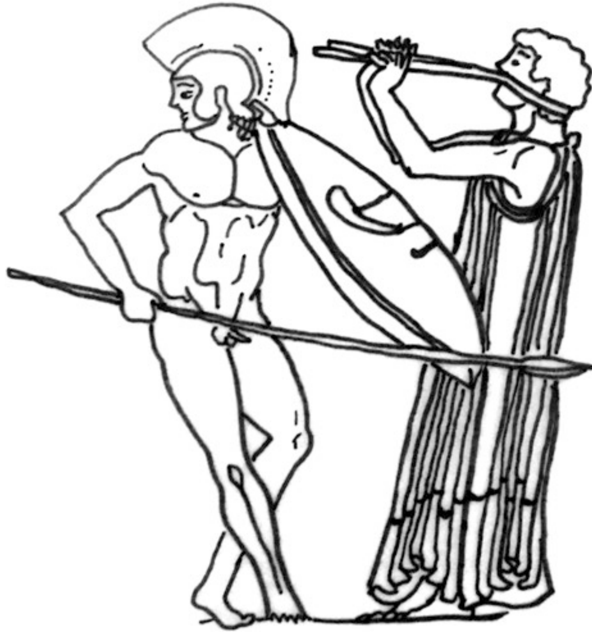


Fig. 1.1 Drawing of Pyrrhic dancer and Aulus player from Attic cup c. 480 BCE (Louvre Museum, G 136)

likely that the *ephebes* who received arms at the opening of the Festival of Dionysus similarly gave a display of the *Pyrrhic*.[28] It was performed individually in large *Pyrrhic* choruses for competition, singularly for private audiences, and as a component of gymnastic education.[29] Early examples in art show dancers holding shields of various sizes, while later depictions present the dancer manipulating a cloak to imitate a shield. Sometimes spears and swords are used, while at other times arms are pantomimed, thereby enabling the demonstration of multiple weapons in the same dance. The competitions in *Pyrrhic* dance were held in the categories of children, *ephebes* and adults,[30] and perhaps surprisingly, were also performed by women, for example in the cults of war goddesses.[31]

The origin of the *Pyrrhic* dance was disputed in antiquity. An Aristotelian fragment attributes the dance to Achilles, which states the *Pyrrhic* was first performed at the funeral of Patroclus.[32] Lucian and Athenaeus[33] attribute the dance to Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles,[34]

which, although written in the second and third centuries CE, respectively, does seem plausible given that another name for Neoptolemus was Pyrrichus. This aligns with a description of Neoptolemus' demise from the messenger in Euripides' *Andromache*:

> Pelted with missiles coming at him from all directions thick and fast like snowflakes he held his weapons in front of him and tried to protect himself against the onslaught by thrusting his shield out this way and that. The great shower of missiles—arrows, thronged javelins, spits with two points tugged from the slaughtered oxen they had pierced—fell together before his feet. You would have seen a terrible Pyrrhic dance as your boy warded off the missiles. But when they had formed a circle round him and were holding him there giving him no breathing space he abandoned the hearth of the altar where the sheep are received, and leapt the Trojan leap as he rushed on them.[35]

This poetic reference to Neoptolemus fighting off enemy Delians by evoking the movements of the *Pyrrhic* dance aligns well with the visual depictions of extant artworks and also the description by Plato:

> The correct name for it [the dance of war] will be the "Pyrrhic". It depicts motions executed to avoid blows and shots of all kind (dodging, retreating, jumping into the air, crouching); and it also tries to represent the opposite kind of motion, the more aggressive posture adopted when shooting arrows and discharging javelins and delivering various kinds of blows.[36]

In relation to military education, Athenaeus mentions that in his time the *Pyrrhic* dance was still being used in some cities as a preparatory drill for war as well as taught to children from the age of five on, though not nearly to the extent it had been in centuries past.[37] Everett L. Wheeler's article "*Hoplomachia* and Greek Dances in Arms" states "we cannot say that Pyrrhic dancing totally prepared the individual to fight in the phalanx".[38] However, in "Alternative agonies: hoplite martial and combat experiences beyond the phalanx," Louis Rawlings posits that "aspects of the *pyrrikhē* were useful in the phalanx, particularly the elements that promoted marching in step and uniform movement. It might be suggested that those who practiced dancing in arms were likely to move more gracefully in formation and were less likely to jostle others, or be ill at ease in equipment."[39] Here we see the practical application of

Pheraulas' theory of intuitive battle training in the specific form of the *Pyrrhic* dance; by rehearsing a marching step to the tune of the *aulos*, handling weaponry and manoeuvring in helmet, a young man was honing his *hoplite* skills.

It is now that we begin to see the process, or perhaps at least the thought process, of how this kind of training worked by reference to Taylor's notion of the embodied "act of transfer". In *The Archive and the Repertoire*, Taylor explains how "embodied expression has participated and will continue to participate in the transmission of social knowledge, memory, and identity pre- and post-writing".[40] Taylor's project, which examined the unwritten modes of knowledge prior to the Spanish Conquest of Aztecs, Mayas and Incas in Latin America, underscores the importance of unwritten forms of knowledge in pre-literate societies. In the fifth century BCE, Athens was at the threshold of literacy; the ability to read was the privilege of the wealthy few, and even then, it is likely that many pupils did not go on to regularly practise the skill.[41] As such, learning by non-dogmatic means was a necessity. The ephemeral modes of transmitting knowledge—gestures, orality, performances, movement—which Taylor discusses[42] were essential in Athens too and this included the training for war. It is evident that *hoplomachia*, the *Pyrrhic*, and gymnastic institutional education all aimed to function as an embodied training in military manoeuvring—an essential skill in the warring Athens of the fifth century. Along with the physical movements, rhythm and harmony comprising the embodied knowledge of choral dance training and military training, the concept of Athenian citizenship was a paramount lesson learned through these non-dogmatic forms as well.

Movement

While most publications on military training survey the pre-*ephebia* possibilities, *hoplomachia*, and the *Pyrrhic*, the dance of the tragic chorus is often omitted from the consideration. It is this chapter's position that tragic choral training and performance also honed intuitive skills thought to aid in combat as embodied acts of transfer.

The famous *Pronomos Vase*, probably created to honour the winners of a tragic competition, depicts actors and chorus men in varying states of changing out of their satyr play costumes along with Dionysus and the famed *aulos*-player, Pronomos. While the actors are depicted as being bearded men, and thereby adults, the chorus are beardless, as was the

artistic convention for depicting *ephebes*.[43] While the actors, who were probably non-Athenian, are labelled on this pot with their character names, the chorus of *ephebic* dancers are all labelled with their Athenian names.[44] Just as it was a requirement that *hoplites* be Athenian citizens, so too was it an Athenian's task to dance in the chorus. This civic duty did not exist solely within the annual festival of Dionysus. When productions would tour the fourteen or more Attic *deme* theatres on the periphery of Athens, locals would be trained for the choruses by a chorus leader, thus expanding greatly the number of young men who would have an experience singing and dancing in a chorus.[45]

Primary education consisting of physical education and musical training is strikingly linked to what was happening in the theatre, where the sung and danced poetic tragedies seem to provide a culmination of all the primary studies. In her monograph *The Dance of the Ancient Greek Theatre*, Lillian B. Lawler suggests that the performance of tragedies in antiquity would most closely resemble a semi-operatic spectacle of today.[46] The music of the instruments and of the voice both followed the same melody, though several modes of music were used in connection to tragedy. There was also very strict choreography, for example: the *parabēnai ta tettara*, a reordering of rows within a rank-and-file formation[47]; the sword-thrust (*xiphismos*), likely used in songs which described battle[48]; and the *kybistēsis*, rhythmic tumbling.[49] Lawler casually mentions that "it is interesting to note that the technical terms for the various positions in the chorus were the same as those used in military tactics".[50] Rapidly and rhythmically altering the linear formation of men, as with the *parabēnai ta tettara*, was an essential skill in the *phalanx* and could be adapted to be aesthetically compelling in the orchestra. Due to the nature of these movements, spacing out of the chorus men was likely akin to that of the *phalanx*.

Homer, the great educator of the Greeks, provided various examples of how being a skilled dancer was advantageous in combat.[51] Athenaeus' Socrates claims: "'whoso honour the gods best with dances are the best in war.' For the art of dancing was virtually like armed manoeuvres, and a display, not merely of discipline in general, but also of care taken for the body."[52] Xenophon's Socrates in the *Memorabilia* states that the Athenians could be better at warfare, were their generals able to harness the good conduct, discipline and submission that they showed quite readily in athletic contests and tragic choruses.[53] Severally Plutarch praises the Spartan's connection between music and their military

drilling and warfare.[54] The embodied connection of dance and war is clear, so it stands to reason that choral dance too was a part of this act of transfer.

The concept of Greek tragedy as a form of military training was first introduced quite speculatively by John J. Winkler in "The Ephebe's Song: *Tragoidia* and *Polis*" in the seminal *Nothing to do with Dionysos?* Elsewhere, I have detailed the physical similarities between the training involved for tragic choruses and the conditions of war.[55] Because it was believed that food would have an effect on a young man's singing voice, young men in choral training—which lasted for months leading up to the Festival of Dionysus—were to abstain from food from the early morning until training had completed in the late afternoon.[56] In a war situation it was never certain when food would be available, and thus functioning while fatigued as a result of little nourishment was an essential element of military success. Both chorus men and *hoplites* had to wear heavy head-gear, limiting a young man's vision, hearing and air circulation.[57] David Wiles has claimed that such conditions would aid in developing bodily-kinaesthetic knowledge of how to discern rhythm in a group from the chorus to the *phalanx*.[58] Tragic choral performance was accompanied by the *aulos*, and as mentioned above, the same instrument was used to keep time in both the *triremes* and on the battlefield.[59]

Undoubtedly choral training could not fully prepare an *ephebe* for war. Neither could gymnastics, *hoplomachia* nor the *Pyrrhic* dance. Yet, while the latter three items have continued to be recognized as an informal type of training for young men, tragic performance is commonly omitted from this discourse. It is clear that the physical training for military tactics, choral performance and education more broadly were interrelated at this time. Embodied skills learned in one discipline were applicable to the training and performance of the others. This, however, is just half of the puzzle; music too was another component of this interdisciplinary cultural repertoire.

Music

As the bodily conditioning of gymnastic training was understood to be socially useful for citizens (including honing *hoplite* skills), the significance of music training was also considered practical in multiple Athenian endeavours. In the *Republic*, the Platonic Socrates queries "isn't the prime importance of cultural education due to the fact that

rhythm and harmony sink more deeply into the mind than anything else and affect it more than anything else and bring grace in their train?”,[60] concluding that cultural education “doesn’t produce knowledge, but harmony in the sphere of music, elegance in the sphere of rhythm, and other allied habits in the field of literature”.[61] It is not knowledge itself which comes from learning appropriate movements and music, but rather one learns the habit or disposition which opens one up towards thought processes.

So important is the learning of music, movement, and the rhythmic harmony that comes with both, that the Athenian stranger in the *Laws* states “by an ‘uneducated’ man we shall mean a man who has not been trained to take part in a chorus; and we must say that if a man *has* been sufficiently trained, he is ‘educated’”.[62] Not much is known in terms of precise teaching. Plato’s Athenian specifically recommends how the lyre master must teach his pupil in the *Laws*:

> By exploiting the fact that each string makes a distinct sound, they must produce notes that are identical in pitch to the words being sung. The lyre should not be used to play an elaborate independent melody: that is, its strings must produce no notes except those of the composer of the melody being played; small intervals should not be combined with large, nor quick with slow, nor low notes with high. Similarly, the rhythms of the music of the lyre must not be tricked out with all sorts of frills and adornments.[63]

This passage implies that, perhaps, this was once the way, but now something else had taken its place. It also underscores the notions of harmony and discipline, to be discussed in the next section. The type of music mentioned being taught, where the music and song are both on the same note and relatively simple, is distinctly similar to the Dorian mode and strophic music.

The two modes of music often discussed in antiquity in regards to education are the Dorian (or Doric) and Phrygian modes, which like most modes of music were named after Greek or barbarian tribes.[64] Athenaeus describes the Dorian mode as exhibiting “the quality of manly vigour, of magnificent bearing, not relaxed or merry, but sober and intense, neither varied nor complicated”.[65] The Platonic Socrates agrees with this estimation of the Dorian mode and includes it in his ideal society, as well as the Phrygian mode, for its portrayal of temperance.[66] Aristotle disagrees with the Platonic Socrates in his inclusion of

the Phrygian, because music ought to express the best character, and for him, only the Dorian fulfils this.[67]

Though there is some evidence of ancient Greek dramatic music, the general suggestion is that it combined both Dorian and Phrygian modes, or some amalgamated version thereof.[68] Dionysius of Halicarnassus[69] preserves one of the oldest extant records of music—lines from a lost tragedy—in order to explain that the melody of the music was independent of the words' spoken accents in strophic songs.[70] Strophic is the form of music structure predominantly used in ancient tragedy and involves repetition of the same or similar melodies alongside stanzas; this is not dissimilar to the repetitious kind of chants or rounds likely to be common in the military. In *Ancient Greek Music*, Martin L. West emphasizes the likelihood that Aeschylus' odes, perhaps owing to his military experiences, include common tunes such as ritual hymns and formal laments.[71] Here we have an embodied connection between the modes and rhythms of educational, military and dramatic musical performance.

Aristotle describes the tunes of dramatic choruses as a sort of chant, and there is certainly evidence that the tunes were memorable and well received in Athens and beyond. Plutarch's *Nicias* describes a story of the Caunians, who when being pursued by pirates were allowed to come safely into harbour at Syracuse, because they performed songs of Euripides and gained the trust of their would-be benefactors.[72] Regardless of the validity of stories like this, their evidence plausibly suggests a widespread knowledge of these songs, a relative appreciation for them, and a memorable quality that implies an attractive simplicity in structure. It also demonstrates that the dramatic performances did not disappear after the performance, but remained as part of the citizen "repertoire".

In *The Athenian Institution of Khoregia: The Choruses and the Stage*, Peter Wilson draws a similar correlation, stating that "choral activity itself—including tragedy, with its rank-and-file *khoros*—encouraged skill of orderliness, obedience and co-ordination, as well as physical fitness which would serve the hoplite in the phalanx".[73] As music was perceived to put one in the right frame of mind for learning, its accompaniment of the *Pyrrhic* and tragic dancing would support the embodied knowledge learned. This adds a theoretical layer to the phenomenological connection of the *aulos* being the same instrument used in battle formation, upon *triremes*, in *Pyrrhic* dance and in tragic performance.

Harmony

For the Greeks, at the heart of physical and musical training was the notion of harmony. In a way, Plato even credits harmony for the invention of dance: "in general, when a man uses his voice to talk or sing, he finds it very difficult to keep his body still. This is the origin of the whole art of dancing: the gestures that express what one is saying."[74] Harmonics was considered its own branch of knowledge at that time, the science of what mingles together, what is balanced.[75]

Harmony itself becomes a metaphor for *aretē* (goodness) in the *Laches*, when the titular character posits that a man who speaks of *aretē* and acts accordingly is "the consummate musician, because he has perfected the tuning not of some recreational instrument such as the lyre, but truly lives with his words and deeds in harmonious consistency. He has really tuned his life to the Doric mode."[76] This underscores again how education was cultural; one is a good person when one has learned to keep actions and speech in balance, like the Doric mode of music (the same used in the theatre and battle).[77]

In the *Oeconomicus*, Xenophon also praises ordered mingling of these disciplines, using chorus and military manoeuvring as his examples:

> There is nothing so convenient or so good for human beings as order. Thus, a chorus is a combination of human beings; but when the members of it do as they choose, it become mere confusion, and there is no pleasure watching it; but when they act and chant in an orderly fashion, then those same men at once seem worth seeing and worth hearing. Again, my dear, an army in disorder is a confused mass, an easy prey to enemies, a disgusting sight to friends and utterly useless,—donkey, trooper, carrier, light-armed, horseman, chariot, huddled together […] [A]n army in orderly array is a noble sight to friends, and an unwelcome spectacle to enemies.[78]

In *Hellenica*, he provides a harmonic description between music and choreography of battle:

> The orders had been to keep their spears on the right shoulder until a signal should be given with the trumpet; then lowering them for the attack to follow on slowly, nobody to break into a run [… then once again] the trumpet sounded, and they struck up the paean [a song of triumph or thanks] and after that raised a battle-cry, and at the same moment couched their spears.[79]

These passages demonstrate both the theoretical and practical harmonic relationship between music and movement in battle. It is no wonder that training in music and movement were seen as paramount to military success.

This concept of harmony—a science of the blending of things—provides evidence for an understanding of how *hoplomachia*, the *Pyrrhic* and tragic choral performance were seen to be beneficial for combat. Specifically, the latter form employs tunes generally agreed upon in antiquity for gearing oneself towards learning (the Dorian and Phrygian), involves choreography such as rank-and-file realignments and sword-thrusts which share their names with military movements, requires rigorous training under conditions of fatigue, and is performed by citizens *ephebes*—the same age-class of citizens who will have or are about to commence military training and garrison duties before entering the fray. As military service in Athens was driven by civic ideology,[80] socio-religious events such as tragic performances were ripe for such inclusion. Theatrical practices penetrated the conduct of war, in that the very performing of them was as near a preparation for war as any other fifth-century Athenian institution.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that the tragic choral form was, in part, an innovative system of training for war, in that its performance was akin to intuitive battle training common in Athens. This assertion can potentially impact on how contemporary practitioners conceive of the chorus, often one of the most underutilized conventions of the choral form.[81] Some artists today actively draw connections between the themes of war in tragedies, most notably *Theatre of War*'s performances of the *Philoctetes* and *Ajax* for American war veterans.[82] *Theatre of War*'s artistic director, Brian Doerries, claims that the meanings of these plays were only elucidated once the veteran audience revealed it to him through their spectatorship.[83] Little work, however, has been done to connect the chorus' physicality to recognizable military movements or music. As this was surely a component of the historic performance tradition, using contemporary combat training as a source for choreographing the chorus and scoring the music could capture aspects of the genre otherwise lost or at the very least provide a key into accessing a theatrical convention—the chorus—which in contemporary performance is commonly overly condensed and under-emphasized.

Notes

1. DK22B53, translation my own.
2. While Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* was written in 406, it was first produced posthumously in 401 BCE.
3. See for example, Neil Croally *Euripidean Polemic:* The Trojan Women *and the Function of Tragedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 1–69 or his later defence of this stance in "Tragedy's Teaching" included in *A Companion to Greek Tragedy*, edited by Justina Gregory (London: Blackwell, 2005), 55–70.
4. *Archive and the Repertoire* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 3.
5. Plutarch, *Themistocles* XIV.1.
6. See Peter Hunt, "Military Forces" in *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare*, edited by Philip Sabin, Hans van Wees, and Michael Whitby (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) 108–146, specifically 138–141.
7. *Ways and Means*, II.3–4.
8. See David M. Pritchard, "The symbiosis between democracy and war: the case of ancient Athens" *War, Democracy, and Culture in Classical Athens*, edited by Pritchard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1–62.
9. Hans van Wees, *Greek Warfare: Myths and Realities* (London: Duckworth, 2004), 185.
10. *History of the Peloponnesian War*, 5.71.11.
11. Ancient *ephebeia* is evidenced in Psuedo-Aristotle's *Athenian Constitution*, 42. For positions on an earlier, though less-organized form of the *ephebeia* see Crowley 25–26; Louis Rawlings "Alternative agonies: hopite martial and combat experiences beyond the phalanx" in *War and Violence in Ancient Greece* edited by Hans van Wees (London: Duckworth, 2010), 233–259, 237; and Alan Sommerstein "Adolescence, ephebeia, and drama" *The Tangled Ways of Zeus: and other studies around Greek Tragedy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 50.
12. See Lycurgus, "Against Leocrates," (76) for an oration which cites the tenets of the *ephebic* oath as well as Pericles' quotation of it in Thucydides, I.144.4 and II.37.3. For analysis see Sommerstein, 50 and P. Siewart "The Ephebic Oath in Fifth-Century Athens" *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 97 (1977): 102–111.
13. This idea is evidenced by Rawlings, 238 in contrast to Vidal-Naquet's earlier assertion that *ephebes* were the antithesis of *hoplites.*
14. [Aristotle], *Athenian Constitution*, 42.4. For an investigation of the phenomenological relationship between the *ephebeia* and the theatre, see John J. Winkler's chapter "The Ephebes' Song: *Tragōidia* and *Polis*" in the book he co-edited, *Nothing to Do with Dionysos*? (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 20–62.

15. For overviews of Greek primary education see Mark Joyall, Iain McDougal, and J.C. Yardley, *Greek and Roman Education: A Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 2009); Frederick A. G. Beck, *Greek Education 450–350 B.C.* (London: Methuen, 1964); and William Boyd, *The History of Western Education* (London: Adams & Charles Black, 1921). See, for example evidence from Plato's *Theages*, 122e8-11 or *Alcibiades I*, 106e4-9.
16. Boyd, 17–20.
17. Beck, 72.
18. It is likely that sham-battles were almost never components of military training. See van Wees, 90–91.
19. Translated by Walter Miller, (Cambridge: Loeb-Harvard UP, 1914), 2.3.9.
20. Ibid., 2.3.10.
21. See Everett L. Wheeler. "*Hoplomachia* and the Greek Dances in Arms" in *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, 23.3, 1982: 223–233.
22. Plato, *Laches*, translated by Robin Waterfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 179d.
23. Ibid., 181e–182c.
24. Ibid., 183c.
25. See J. K. Anderson, *Military Theory and Practice in the Age of Xenophon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 93.
26. [Aristotle], 42.3.
27. London: Duckworth, 2004, 93.
28. This has been speculated by Stephen H. Lonsdale, *Dance and Ritual Performance in Greek Religion* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Up, 1993), 139, and Nancy B. Reed, *More Than Just a Game: The Military Nature of Greek Athletic Contests*, (Chicago: Ares, 1998), 22.
29. See Reed 24–25 and Lonsdale 147–148.
30. For *Pyrrhic* competitions see Lysias, *Defence* XXI. 1–4.
31. For female *Pyrrhic* dance see Lonsdale, 148.
32. F 519 R^3 [*Scholiast to Pindar*, Pythian II 127].
33. Lucian of Samosata (present-day Turkey) and Athanaeus of Naucratis (present-day Egypt) were both rhetoricians writing in Greek in the second and third centuries CE, respectively.
34. xiv 630e.
35. Translated by James Morwood (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001), 1129–1139.
36. Plato, *Laws*, translated by Trevor J. Saunders (London: Penguin, 2004), VII.815a.
37. *Deipnosophists* xiv.631a.
38. Wheeler, 232.

39. 248. See also Reed, 26.
40. *The Archive and the Repertoire* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 16.
41. For literacy in Athens see Harvey Yunis, *Written Texts and the Rise of Literate Culture in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
42. *The Archive and the Repertoire*, 20–21.
43. Winkler, 22, 43–44.
44. For more depictions of unmasked ephebic chorus men, see examples in Mary Louise Hart, *The Art of Ancient Greek Theatre* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010).
45. The main evidence of the touring chorus not being from the original production is a fragment from *Alcestis* (*P. Oxy.* 4546), which contains only the actors' lines. It would have been very costly and time consuming for the chorus men of the original production to tour along all of the *demes* along with the professional actors. See C. W. Marshall "'Alcestis' and the Ancient Rehearsal Process ('P. Oxy.' 4546)." *Arion*, 11.3 (2004): 27–45.
46. Lillian B. Lawler. *The Dance of Ancient Greek Theatre* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1964), 22. Graham Ley's *The Theatricality of Greek Tragedy: Playing Space and Chorus* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007) is written as "a review of different kinds of evidence" on space and chorus (206), including Lawler's assertions. Ley also states that the anapaest or "marching" meter is the most common in theatre, though not exclusive (85), and questions the evidence Lawler's assertion that the choral entrance was rectangular.
47. See Hesychius *S.V. 'Grammai'.*
48. See Athenaeus 14.629F; Pollux 4.99.
49. See Pollux 4.105.
50. Lawler, 27.
51. See for example Homer *Iliad*, XVI. 616–618.
52. *Deipnosophistae*, translated by Charles Burton Gulick (London: Loeb-William Heinemann, 1937), XVI. 628f.
53. III.V. 18–21.
54. *Moralia* 238B; *Lycurgus* XXI 3–4.
55. Will Shüler "Training of the Chorus in Ancient Greece" *Theatre, Dance and Performance Training* 6.1: 110–113.
56. For choral training, see Peter Wilson, *The Athenian Institution of* Khoregia: *The Chorus, the City and the Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
57. This claim is made by David Wiles in *Mask and Performance in Greek Tragedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 57.
58. Ibid., 59.

59. Peter Wilson has shown that theatre and war were the two main opportunities of employment for *aulos*-players in "Musicians amongst the actors" *Greek and Roman Actors: Aspects of an Ancient Profession* edited by Pat Easterling and Edith Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 39–68.
60. Robin Waterfield uses the translation "cultural education" as a contemporary for ἐν μουσικῇ τροφή, "being brought up in music" (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 401d.
61. Ibid., 522a.
62. Translated by Trevor J. Saunders, (London: Penguin, 1970) 654b, translator's emphasis.
63. Ibid., 812d-e.
64. R. P. Winnington-Ingram *Mode in Ancient Greek Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936), 81.
65. 624d.
66. *Republic*, 399a3–c4.
67. *Politics*, 1341b–1342a.
68. Winnington-Ingram, 32.
69. Historian and rhetorician c. 60–67 BCE.
70. "For in the lines σῖγα σῖγα λευκόν all is sung on one note, although all three words contain both graves and acutes. And ἀρβύλης has the third syllable on the same note as the second, despite the impossibility of a word having two acutes" *De Compositione Verborum* 63–64 quoted in Egert Pöhlmann and Martin L. West, *Documents of Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 11.
71. Ibid., 353.
72. xxix.3.
73. 46–47.
74. *Laws*, 816a.
75. See Edward A. Lippman, *Musical Thought in Ancient Greece* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964).
76. 188d.
77. For more on the relationship of harmony and goodness, see the *Philebus* of Plato.
78. Translated by E. C. Marchant (London: Loeb-William Heinemann, 1923), VIII. 4–6.
79. VI.V25–28.
80. See van Wees, *Greek Warfare: Myths and Realities*, 21, 27–32.
81. This assertion is convincingly made by Simon Goldhill in *How to Stage Greek Tragedy Today* (Chicago: U of Chicago Press, 2007).

82. For documentation of this company see Bryan Doerries, *The Theatre of War: What Ancient Greek Tragedies Can Teach Us Today* (Melbourne: Scribe, 2015).
83. Bryan Doerries "Theatre of War Trailer." YouTube video, 8:50. Posted January 2012. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RHTVBq5nkj8.

CHAPTER 2

Cultural Camouflage: Acting Identities in World War 2 Espionage

Fraser Stevens

The world of espionage, whether political, business or military-oriented is a complicated, secretive entity, which requires intelligence and skill to allow an operative the chance of a successful endeavour. Nowhere is this more critical than within military or police clandestine operations, where failure can bring the consequence of torture, disappearance and even death. What is intriguing, though, is that among all professions in the world, acting/performing is, in many respects, one of the most relatable. Easily linked by the requirement for both operatives and performers to assume new and factitious identities, this connection between disciplines is uncharted territory within theatre and performance studies. Borrowing from theories within sociology, history and performance studies, and utilizing concepts such as mimetic realism and camouflage as a performance practice, this chapter is an attempt to begin the exploration and questioning of this very minimally researched intersection of disciplines, and to establish just how these two areas of knowledge come together in what is perhaps one of the more curious applications of theatre and performance. To refine the discussion attention will be placed

F. Stevens (✉)
University of Maryland, College Park, USA
e-mail: stevensfm@gmail.com

© The Author(s) 2017

V. Emeljanow (ed.), *War and Theatrical Innovation*, Palgrave Studies in Theatre and Performance History,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-60225-1_2

upon clandestine work within the context of the Allied efforts of World War 2. Beginning with a small exploration of the requirements of wartime espionage, the chapter will move into the work of the Special Operations Executive—the Allied espionage organizing body—and the approaches they were utilizing in their work. After this will be a brief overview of historical approaches to agent and actor training and their overlapping aspects.

Doing Dramatic Things

Before attempting to intermix the disciplines of theatre and espionage it is important to define "espionage" itself. In the modern sense, espionage has become synonymous with, perhaps even usurped by the term "intelligence" along with its associated studies. Thus we need to develop an understanding of this term "intelligence". In the introduction to the edited volume *The Handbook of Intelligence Studies* Loch K. Johnson explains that officers, within the modern intelligence world, propose the following as the working definition of strategic intelligence: "the prelude to [Presidential] decision and action".[1] Johnson's description of intelligence is, one would argue, a fairly standard understanding that is likely to be accepted by many. Johnson continues; "At a more narrow or tactical level, intelligence refers to events and conditions on specific battlefields or theatres of war, what military commanders refer to as 'situational awareness.'"[2] Johnson explains that while the terms "intelligence" and "strategic intelligence" are inclusive of all types of information from news reports, to satellite readings and so on, there also exists a secret component within the classification of "intelligence". Those in the business of gathering intelligence blend together the open source information gleaned from the public domain with information that other nations try to keep hidden. The hidden information must be ferreted out of encoded communications or stolen from safes and vaults, locked offices, guarded military and intelligence installations, and other clandestine areas, a potentially dangerous task involving the penetration of an enemy's camp and its concentric circles of defence. As intelligence scholar Abram N. Shulsky has written, that intelligence often entails access to "information some other party is trying to deny".[3]

Regarding contemporary intelligence practices and the individuals involved in their execution, Michael Andregg identifies that there are a variety of intelligence operatives. In the chapter "Laying a foundation

for the second oldest profession" he lists five broad types of intelligence professionals:

> *Collectors* [who] gather information data or both, usually by technical means like satellites or from human agents… *Analysts* [who] process that information and combine it with "open sources" information to generate higher order papers or other "products"… *Operators* [who] go places and do things, sometimes very dramatic things like starting wars and such, but more often they are doing quiet things they would prefer we not observe or talk about. Of all the types of intelligence professional, operators are the most likely to kill, blackmail, extort or torture in their work, and often "handle" spies who are at risk from their own governments. So guarding "operational security" is a core value to operators in order to protect their operations, the people they employ, and themselves. *Managers* [who] organize the work of all of these people and the budgets that support them.… And finally, *Policy Makers* [who], in theory, make the decisions that have the greatest impact.[4]

Andregg's explanation of the "*operator*" is perhaps the most relevant to the individuals who are being examined in this chapter. It is, however, critical to note that this definition of an espionage agent, although transcending both the contemporary and early modern notion of an operative, is further contextualized by the establishments for whom they work; in this chapter the focus will be on the Special Operations Executive or SOE of the British military during World War 2.

Setting the Stage

During World War 2 the British, together with their associated allies, established the SOE, a department dedicated to espionage and clandestine affairs and tasked with, as Sir Winston Churchill put it, "[setting] Europe ablaze".[5] Within this establishment espionage began its industrial revolution. The effort appeared simple: produce agents within a formulaic system for deployment abroad during conflict. Agents were given a variety of tasks which ranged from sabotage, collecting intelligence, aiding other operatives, to carrying out secretive and lethal missions. Specific to at least one training base, known as a finishing school, was the production of cover stories and false identities. Existing records state that in at least one of these finishing schools an actor was brought in to guide agents in the practice of camouflage as well as in the creation

and performance of cover identities, or what one would term as "cultural camouflage"—the event of assuming and enacting a strategically created and culturally aware personal identity. Accompanying this instruction by professionals was a set of manuals that would identify specific cultural and societal characteristics and challenges, as well as providing basic training skills that agents might have to employ, and were likely engage with and require during their fieldwork.

For the sake of providing a framework to engage with the intersection of espionage and theatre, we should establish the nature of "culture" within the context of conflict—occupied Europe in the 1940s, and fundamentally, the nature of "culture" in the context of espionage and the theatrical manifestations of it. In his 1961 publication *The Long Revolution* Raymond Williams identified culture in three strands:

> first, the "ideal", in which culture is a state or process of human perfection, in terms of certain absolute or universal value. The analysis of culture, if such a definition is accepted is essentially the discovery and description, in lives and works, of those values which can be seen to compose a timeless order, or to have permanent reference to the universal human condition. Then, second there is the "documentary", in which culture is the body of intellectual and imaginative work, in which, in a detailed way, human thought and experience are variously recorded… Finally, third, there is the "social" definition of culture, in which culture is a description of a particular way of life, which expresses certain meanings and values not only in art and learning but also in institutions and ordinary behavior. The analysis of culture, from such a definition, is the clarification of the meanings and values implicit and explicit in a particular way of life, a particular culture. Such analysis will include the historical criticism always referred to, in which intellectual and imaginative works are analyzed in relation to particular traditions and societies, but will also include analysis of elements in the way of life that to followers of the other definitions are not "culture" at all: the organization of production, the structure of the family, the structure of institutions which express or govern social relationships, the characteristic forms through which members of the society communicate.[6]

One should of course note that Williams continues on to explain that the concept of culture is not finite, and that there is no true "ideal" definition of culture, which individuals can work from—the notion of culture is in flux, constantly changing. For the sake of clarity and efficiency these differing aspects are considered as "the culture of the time" a period of

societal and political hypersensitivity and suspicion which operatives must have considered and constantly engaged with during their training and missions in the course of World War 2.

Within the context of surveillance and law enforcement, Nikos Passas and Richard Groskin sum up this critical issue of cultural differences within surveillance in foreign locations: "Differences in language, customs … make single agency, aggressive investigations difficult to mount and sustain in foreign … environments".[7] As evidence to this, within one of the training manuals of the Beaulieu section of the SOE, an agent training base which was located within Hampshire in the UK, there is a section titled *Life of Agent in the Field*; the author writes:

> [An agent] must at once familiarize himself with new customs and slang which have arisen … He must particularly avoid English habits, e.g. eating with fork alone, leaving knife and fork on plate when finished, eating soup with side instead of point of spoon, tipping soup plate forward instead of backward, carrying handkerchief in sleeve etc.[8]

Nadine Holdsworth echoes these same aspects in her monograph *Theatre and Nation*, stating that, "throughout history people have constructed group formations to distinguish 'us' from 'them …'".[9] and although this is being considered in relation to theatrical institutions, it provides support to the assertion that Passas and Groskin make and assists in initiating the bridging between theatre and military espionage. This well-investigated notion of "difference" in the context of culture is the critical departure point which this chapter seeks to utilize.

Training

As mentioned previously, with the establishment of the SOE, this department in turn began the task of creating training camps to prepare agents for subversive work. The archival documentation indicates that there were four steps to the training process before arriving in occupied territory. These schools were given the designation of STS (an acronym for Special Training School) and were separated into three stages of subversive training: Preliminary School, Paramilitary School and finally Finishing School, the fourth stage was a final briefing location— typically London—where agents would receive their last orders before being made active.

Unfortunately, much information surrounding the training programmes, missions and results, whether successful or not, is unavailable. However, as identified by historian Denis Rigden in the edited volume *How To Be A Spy: The World War II SOE Training Manual*, substantial information on STS103, often referred to as "Camp X" and located near present day Whitby, Canada, is available. Rigden has incorporated much of this information, as well as supplemental information retrieved from the British National Archives in London into his book. The composition of "Camp X" was unique among overseas training facilities in that it provided both preparatory and specialist training regiments which mirrored the work which was done within the United Kingdom in multiple locations, while at the same time offering a whole programme within one specialized facility.

Rigden, in his introduction to the book, provides the following synopsis to identify the focus of each of these institutions:

> [With]in the Preliminary Schools the student's character and potential for dangerous clandestine work were assessed without revealing to them much about what SOE did … [the] syllabus covered physical training, weapons handling, unarmed combat, elementary demolitions, map reading, field craft, and basic signalling … the sort of training that any army recruit might expect to receive.[10]

Paramilitary schools were a more intensive specialized version of this training, focusing on "physical training, silent killing, weapons handling, demolition, map reading and compass work, field craft, elementary Morse, and raid tactics".[11] Finally, finishing schools were, perhaps, the most important in the process of becoming an undercover agent. Having passed basic assessments within each of the previous stages, potential students were informed about the realities of the SOE and what their training was truly preparing them for within the war context. It is in these finishing schools' locations where students would begin their "theatrical" training.

The Schools themselves were separated into five departments identified with letters "A" to "E". Departments A and B are the most relevant to this chapter: "A" was dedicated to the instruction of agent technique which included procedures for clandestine life, personal security, clandestine organization, communications, as well as the creation and maintenance of cover or how to "act" while under surveillance, and how to

handle the interrogation process. Department "B" focused on the conduct of exercises and role playing which assisted agents in practising the techniques learned in Department A, such as discreet meetings, communication, interrogation, etc. Departments "C" to "E" were more specific to the understanding of enemy forces, the execution of propaganda, and the use of codes and ciphers amongst other areas.

As Rigden notes, the SOE required many specialists in various training areas, so when possible agents returning from missions would provide information to keep records up to date since experience in the field was valued above all else. However, as mentioned before, it is known that at least for the instruction of disguises and the execution of cover stories the SOE did in fact employ at least one actor to guide instruction—Peter Folis. As Bernie Ross identifies in his article for the BBC: "His mantra was, 'When thinking disguises don't think false beards, instead make small changes to your appearance; wear glasses; part your hair differently; take a different gait'."[12] Here Folis, an actor, was instructing the trainees in the techniques needed to validate a personal performance and in the camouflage of self.

What now needs to be investigated are the prevailing ideas of camouflage and concealment that are central to this examination and the relationship of camouflage to theatrical practices. In her book *Performing Ground: Space, Camouflage, and the Art of Blending In* Laura Levin explores the concept of camouflage as a performance practice. Tying together historical notions of mimesis, camouflage and art, she provides a background from which to depart. It is her explanation of the intertwining of mimesis and camouflage that have contributed to this chapter. Levin writes: "I am drawing my understanding of mimesis from philosophers like Caillois … Walter Benjamin, and Theodor W. Adorno, who treat mimesis as 'the way an organism adapts itself to its environment'".[13] Thus we need to touch on the ways in which Folis and his contemporaries instructed agents to adapt to their environment or changes of circumstance.

The section of the syllabus concerned with disguises, the portion which Folis dealt with, addressed alterations of physical identity, camouflage and concealment and began with the following:

Definition of Disguise.

a) It does not mean covering your face with grease paint and hair.

> b) It must have at its basis the art of being and living mentally as well as physically in this new role. The important thing to remember is to be the person you are portraying mentally first and then afterwards physically. Therefore—EXTERNAL IMITATING BY ITSELF IS NOT SUFFICIENT. By this we mean imitating the external part of a character only i.e. the walk, the voice, the manners and individual abilities etc. of the character. External imitation without proper mental preparation must mean you speak and do things mechanically without fully realizing who you are, where you come from, why, what you want, where you are going, what you are supposed to be and do when you get there, etc. You will therefore be nothing but an external caricature and easily caught out.[14]

The relationship between espionage preparation and actor training can already be seen here; instructors were evidently utilizing simple theatre terminology within their preparation of students and within manuals, requesting the agent to go beyond a superficial cloaking of themselves and "live" and "be" their identity. Further to this point, within the portion of the training manual entitled *Points to Be Considered in Your Disguise* the very first "Golden Rule" as identified by the authors, is the statement "Never come out of character. By this we mean not only from the clothes point of view but from the mental side also, E.g. if you are a workman do not wear a white collar and black tie, have clean hands and behave like an educated man."[15]

One of the more well-known examples, appearing as a lesson within the training manuals, which stressed an understanding of cultural and societal differences and changes, was of an operative recently landed in France. Under cover the agent entered a café and requested a café noir (black coffee) as his drink. Through improper preparation and awareness the agent exposed his cover. Milk was being rationed and locals, in assuming that all coffee would be served black, requested only "coffee".[16] It is the detailed analysis of the ever-changing culture, which agents must have studied in order to be an effective asset in the war effort. Not only did this apply to agents who were citizens of unoccupied countries such as British, Canadians or Americans, but also recent immigrants in unoccupied Allied territories, first-generation citizens or individuals seeking shelter during the conflict such as Dutch, Polish or French citizens. Many individuals chose to risk their safety as operatives within their home territories from which they had escaped, and the issue of cultural camouflage was just as critical for them as it was for an agent who would be imitating a foreign language, culture and identity.

As mentioned earlier, Williams' third notion of culture encompasses a broad range of "cultural aspects" from art to everyday events to a particular way of life. If this concept is considered in the context of World War 2, and in particular occupied territories within Europe, then the culture of suspicion and scrutiny, a large part of the day-to-day existence of these besieged societies must be a part of this definition. This idea then extends to the requirement of a natural citizen of occupied nations operating as an agent for the SOE to "act" as though they are not a part of clandestine operations. The training supplied by the Allied forces was not only appropriate to foreigners of the target nations, but those who volunteered to return as agents.

Unfortunately, little seems to be known about the background of Folis and therefore about the details of his theatrical experience. Yet, we know that Folis was heavily involved in the instructional process, and even his statements concerning disguises and concealment alone (not to mention many others within the archival documents along with their obvious appropriation of theatrical terminology), serve to strengthen the inherent relationship between the training of espionage agents and theatre practitioners.

The Theatre of the Time

Throughout the reading, training, and seminars delivered by the SOE, authors and lecturers provided constant reminders about the necessity of preparing a character/cover story in the most in-depth manner possible, as the earlier quotation in regards to disguises demonstrated. In a particular portion of one training manual the author presents an anecdote on the failure to remain "living mentally and physically as the character entirely". The author writes:

> The assumed name must be learnt thoroughly and be so ingrained that the Agent responds automatically to it and NOT to his real name. He must also sedulously practice his factitious signature. A most experienced Agent in France, arriving late and very tired at an hotel, filled in the usual arrival form at the Bureau and went straight to bed. Just before going to sleep he suddenly became aware that, although he had printed his assumed name in block capitals at the head of the form, he had inadvertently signed his real signature at the foot. As he had the foresight to ascertain at what time the Police collected the registrations in the morning, he was able to get away before they arrived.[17]

Such evidence corroborates the requirement that living as authentically as possible was clearly an essential in the work being undertaken by operatives. Certainly an understanding of the tenets of realism was of primary significance both for espionage instructors and their agent trainees. It meshed with the notion of mimesis as part of the working definition of camouflage.

Matthew Potolsky's *Mimesis* provides a condensed and informative view on the subject and as he clearly establishes within his introduction "Mimesis describes the relationship between artistic images and reality: art is a copy of the real."[18] In this current case, we can view the "image" as the attempted character, which the agent establishes, along with the identity they assume. Operatives would invent a version of the "real" to perform for the society they intended to infiltrate including the political establishment in power. Levin in *Performing Ground* makes a similar allusion equating camouflage to scenic practices. She asserts that "[it draws] together the complex strands of this developing interdisciplinary conversation, [and] makes an argument for reading camouflage as a performance strategy, as a theoretical frame for analysing contemporary performance practices and the performance of self in everyday life".[19]

Continuing with his exploration of mimesis Potolsky writes, "Theatrical metaphors … figure mimesis as a representation for someone, and not only, a representation of something else. They highlight what theorists have called the 'performative' quality of mimesis, its explicit address to or dependence upon an audience."[20] Thus it seems that the production of performance in everyday life, of a realistic character by an agent, and intended for viewing by the infiltrated society, the audience, is fulfilling exactly these requirements. The urgency of maintaining a quality "performance" by an agent was governed by the hyper-suspicious attitudes of the political office in power, and subsequently the public at large. In this context Levin and Potolsky's writings offer us a useful framework and reinforce the distinction that imitation is not the same as replication. The SOE archival evidence strengthens this position and, as quoted earlier, states that mere imitation was an unacceptable method to utilize; only through living and being the "character" could one truly be an effective agent and convince others of one's (false) intentions. Potolsky links these ideas of mimesis and performance to acts within everyday life, and cites the influential work of Erving Goffman:

> Goffman argues that all social interactions are akin to performances, based on a fundamental division between actor and audience, and between a self

> that potentially knows it is acting and the character it plays. The aim of these performances is to engender "the impression of reality", to persuade an audience that the act is sincere. No less than for stage acting, the aim of social acting is mimesis. Failure to play a role, or playing it poorly, will come across as a breach of decorum.[21]

While agents were not playing "themselves" in a subconscious manner, as is suggested by Goffman, they were straddling a barrier in which they must appear to be totally natural, while being fully conscious of the significance of their actions at all times. To do otherwise would have been catastrophic for an agent.

In knowing that the SOE were working towards a systematic training of operatives, who would live as the characters they created, and with the fact that preparations for agents were taking place within the late 1930s, suggest an historical commonality with the writing of Konstantin Stanislavsky on the preparation of a dramatic character, and it might be worth speculating that the origins of the training approaches utilized by the SOE could have been found in aspects of his writing. However, before touching on some of the commonalities between the SOE agent training methods and Stanislavsky's actor training theories, it must be acknowledged that at present there is little evidence to support that Stanislavsky's system was the direct model which the SOE utilized in their training methods. In knowing that Stanislavsky's famed publication *An Actor Prepares* had been translated and published in London by 1938 it is conceivable that Peter Folis and his contemporaries could have been introduced to this works preceding the conflict and employed them in their instruction, but at present this must remain speculative.[22]

Stanislavsky, as is well known, sought to establish a process through which he could instruct and prepare actors for their roles onstage. Although moving on to explore other areas of artistic expression and investigation it was this "process" so sought after for which he became most remembered. In her essay *Stanislavsky's System* Sharon Marie Carnicke sums up the primary philosophical positions of Stanislavsky. Those which demonstrate a close relationship to agent training include the following: the **Psychophysical**, "the belief that mind and body represent a psychophysical continuum".[23] As Stanislavsky asserted: "In every physical action there is something psychological, and in the psychological, something physical."[24] **Immediacy of Performance**, "However well-rehearsed, Stanislavskian actors remain essentially

dynamic and improvisatory during 'performance'"[25] and yet the performer must exist "fully within the immediate moment… He describes this state as… when the actor is seized by the role. The Russian word carries many different nuances amongst them 'to experience'… 'to live through.'"[26] **Communication**, "For Stanislavsky, there can be no 'drama' without interaction … Words are one vehicle for such interaction … but hidden beneath words is subtext … Actors communicate subtext through non-verbal means (body language, the cast of eyes, intonations and pauses)."[27] **The Method of Physical Actions**, "In this method, the actor discovers and then performs the logical sequence of physical actions necessary to carry out the inner, purposeful actions of the scene."[28] Included in this is "The score of physical actions includes many external moves and strategies that the actor needs to carry out the overarching purposeful action (events of the scene)."[29] and finally, **Active Analysis**, "In active analysis, actors grasp a play's anatomy before memorising lines. To do so, they read a play as if it were a system of clues that imply potential performance … Stanislavsky calls these clues the *facts* to which actors accommodate performance."[30]

These aspects of the far larger and more complex method that Stanislavsky proposed are each replicated in some capacity by the instructional manual of "Section A" within the SOE finishing school. What can already be identified, even during a cursory reading of archival documents, is how these concepts would fall into the process of training an agent for the creation and execution of a character. However, the question remains, what particulars existed within the training manuals and their relationship to the sections of Stanislavsky training referred to above?

Instructions and Manuals

In the process of instructing an operative on the manner of creating an identity the SOE provided a fairly formulaic approach, as an excerpt from the instruction manual provided by the SOE to agents suggests: "Your cover is the life which you outwardly lead in order to conceal the real purpose of your presence and the explanation which you give of your past and present. It is best considered under the heads: Past, Link between Past and Present, Present, and 'Alibis' [*sic*]".[31]

"Past" was divided into the categories of: (a) Identity, (b) History, (c) Documents (d) Clothes and Effects, (e) Change of Appearance,

and (f) Final Search. The subsection of **Identity** was split into sections, each of which had their advantages and disadvantages identified for the agent. The three choices of approach to establishing an identity were: (i) Your Own (ii) That of a Real Person, Distant or Dead, (iii) Wholly Fictitious. The manual from Beaulieu Camp further explain this within the description of "General Cover": "An agent can adopt one of three identities … The probabilities are that it will be the latter, despite the danger of carrying Identity papers which, however perfect in form, are not recorded at their alleged place of origin … This danger can sometimes be averted by choosing a place of origin where the archives are known to have been destroyed."[32]

The second subsection of "Past" was **History** and this emphasized the need for realism and strategy in the establishment of the character by the agent: "Whatever your identity, your story must be plausible and not indicate any connection with subversive activity."[33] The manual continues on to further suggest that any of the three approaches to identity should be based on personal history and facts as much as possible.

"Documents" can easily equated with "Props" from the stage and was the third subsection of "Past". These items reaffirmed the previous two aspects of identity for any investigating force. The manual recognizes that for each of the previous identity categories (Own, Real Person, Fictitious), documents would provide certain obstacles and benefits, such as accurately forging an identity card for a totally fictitious individual.[34]

Clothes and Effects, much like the aforementioned "documents", emphasized the need to utilize only appropriate clothing for the role being enacted, and which supported the history of the character in question.[35] Similar to the way a member of the creative team of a theatrical production would work to establish appropriate attire or costume for a performer, so would the operative, and if circumstance allowed it their supervisory officer, work to make such choices to support their new persona. The subsection heading, **Change of Appearance** raised the issue of "looking the part", while differentiating this from Clothes and Effects by emphasizing the need to keep supporting features consistent, such as rough hands for an individual posing as a workman.[36]

Lastly, **Final Search** identified the necessity of maintaining the façade of a character whenever circumstances change, such as the event of changing one's cover story or concealing recent covert activity.[37] This is reminiscent of Stanislavsky's belief, mentioned earlier, that even in living as a character, the performer will constantly be required to be able to

improvise within the guise of their identity, but adjusting to the circumstances in which they might find themselves.

Under the secondary aspect of establishing a cover story, "Past to Present" was condensed into a fairly self-explanatory area of instruction. This particular area was the act of tracing a believable line from the cover story/character "Past" to "Present".[38] This included the research required to have knowledge about a particular region, possess items from other locations used within backstory, and "build up your present cover background by innocent and inconspicuous actions to which reference can be made later … make innocent acquaintances, etc."[39]

The "Present" was defined as "the life which you lead and the 'story' which you will tell about that life to account for your presence".[40] Operatives were not always provided with assistance in preparing such a cover story, such as attempting to evade detection after having their cover revealed as an agent, and in these instances were required to manufacture another identity through their own initiative. What was fundamental to agents was that "[their] ostensible present must be consistent with [their] alleged past".[41]

This area was divided into three sections to consider; (a) Maintenance of Cover further separated into:(i) **Name** described as "Signing correctly and responding immediately"[42]; (ii) **Consistency** which was clarified as "Your personality and general conduct must fit your cover story […] Documents, clothing possessions, etc. must be suitable. Manners tastes, bearing, accent, education and knowledge must accord with your ostensible personality",[43] (a re-emphasis of the realism that this work required); and (iii) **Concealment**: "Avoid foreign words, tunes, manners, etc. Avoid slang which has developed among your countrymen in Britain. Avoid showing knowledge or expressing views acquired in Britain. Conform with all new conditions which have arisen, observe new customs and acquire the language which have developed in your country."[44] The SOE provided another useful and demonstrative anecdote to re-emphasize these rigid orders of concealment in the following: "An agent landed in an occupied country made himself undesirably conspicuous through asking a farmer, carrying milk to the neighbouring town, on the first morning of his arrival, for a drink, in a locality in which the disposal of milk had recently been absolutely prohibited except through a licensed dairy to the holder of a ration card."[45] The last two aspects of "Present" were (b) Cover Occupation where again it was emphasized

that consistencies must be taken into consideration when choosing an occupation; and (c) Conclusion—a warning to the operative on just how complex creating an effective cover story and character were.

Finally, within this section was the instructional process for manufacturing an Alibi. Creating a successful Alibi was crucial to the maintenance of a cover story/character. Although this process was dependent on the circumstances that the agents found themselves within, the SOE provided a strategy for guiding the process. This consisted of two aspects, the nature and construction of the Alibi: **Nature** explained as being "In addition to your cover background, you must have an explanation ready for every subversive act, however small e.g. conversation, journey, etc. Such alibis are more important than your background cover, if they are good no further enquiries will be made."[46]

The construction of the Alibi was further divided into eight aspects: Plausibility, Detail, Self-Consistency, Cover Background, Truth (emphasizing that this area should be as close to truth as possible) Dead End (projecting a sense of finality), Consistency with Other, and Discreditable Story.[47] The relationships between these briefly introduced elements of the instruction manual and theatrical training of Stanislavsky and, more importantly, the quest for realism are immensely suggestive. The following are just a few instances where there is considerable crossover between the methods being instructed by the SOE and the approach which Stanislavsky sought to establish. **Psychophysical**: as was introduced earlier in the chapter, within the first stages of schooling at the Preliminary Schools, students were assessed for their psychological and physical states. Secondly, through observation students would be gauged on their ability to work within the field. Thirdly, in the paramilitary schools students were trained in hand-to-hand combat and routinely put through the rigours of physical interaction, altercation and retaliation—all governed by yet more psychological assessment. Fourthly, within Section B of the finishing schools, operatives were exposed to mocked up circumstances intended to assess their mental reaction and application of training to staged interrogation, compromised circumstance, and routine stops by police and military. **Immediacy of Performance**: the SOE stressed that students must prepare in advance for changing scenarios depending on which clandestine work they were engaged with, on whether their cover was blown and when they had to create a new identity for themselves. **Communication**: in this area there was

an emphasis on the plausibility of the event, and the effective communication required to achieve and maintain the façade. **Physical Actions**: the identification of the need to eradicate one's natural movements and actions and re-articulate oneself with the actions and movements of the new identity. Lastly, **Active Analysis**: the active event of identifying, dissecting, constructing and acting of identities, and covert tasks.

As mentioned earlier, Stanislavsky is not the only acting pedagogue whose work can be related to techniques used by the SOE. It could be argued there is more in common with Michael Chekhov's work working well with his assertions that an actor should not be portraying how "they" would react to dramatic events, but how the character would experience the world.[48] Furthermore, the emphasis that he places on "atmosphere" of situation and location, as a consideration any performer should make, relates well to both Williams' earlier explanation of culture, and the SOE declaration that agents must familiarize themselves with the cultural state of the occupied territory they will be infiltrating.[49] Certainly Chekhov's presence in the United Kingdom at Dartington Hall, beginning in 1936, along with his already well-established international presence makes a case to consider his work as one of the possible foundations for agent training.[50]

Although British mainstream theatre had always been suspicious of foreign influences, and existing schools of actor training tended to preserve many of the verities of nineteenth-century theatrical practices, by the commencement of World War 2 British actors had become aware of new training methods available to them and audiences had been exposed to new artistic directions even in the production of works by Shakespeare. Michel St. Denis formed his London Theatre Studio in 1936 almost exactly at the same time as Michael Chekhov's studio. He, too, was very familiar with the work of Stanislavsky. Nonetheless, any direct connection between the work of these studios and SOE training methods must remain speculative. Indeed, such speculation might also investigate the possible input of Basil Dean who, after a theatrical career and as a film producer and a founder of Ealing Studios, had been appointed head of Entertainments National Service Association (ENSA) from 1939. He was fully conversant with the value of propaganda. This, however, calls for further investigation especially of the competing systems of actor training and their relationship to the archival documentation and literature of World War 2 clandestine history.

Notes

1. Loch K. Johnson, "Introduction," in *The Handbook of Intelligence Studies*, ed. Loch K. Johnson (New York: Routledge, 2007), 1.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., 2.
4. Michael Andregg, "Intelligence ethics: Laying a foundation for the Second Oldest Profession," in *The Handbook of Intelligence Studies*, ed. Loch K. Johnson (New York: Routledge, 2007), 52–53.
5. Dennis Rigden, *How To Be A Spy: The World War II SOE Training Manual* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2004), 28.
6. Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (New York: Harper and Collins, 1961), 57.
7. Nikos Passas and Richard B. Groskin, "International Undercover Investigations," in *Undercover: Police Surveillance in Comparative Perspective*, ed. C.J.C.F. Fijnaut and Gary Trade Marx (The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 1995), 299.
8. Special Operations Executive. "SOE Course at Beaulieu." (London: National Archives, Kew, 1941).
9. Nadine Holdsworth, *Theatre & Nation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 9.
10. Dennis Rigden, 2.
11. Ibid., 5.
12. Bernie Ross, "Training SOE Saboteurs in World War Two," last modified February 17, 2011, www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/wwtwo/soe_training_01.shtml.
13. Laura Levin, *Performing Ground* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 11.
14. Dennis Rigden, 52.
15. Ibid., 53.
16. Bernie Ross, "Training SOE Saboteurs in World War Two," last modified February 17, 2011, www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/wwtwo/soe_training_01.shtml.
17. Special Operations Executive. "SOE Course at Beaulieu." (London: National Archives, Kew, 1941).
18. Matthew Potolsky, *Mimesis* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 1.
19. Laura Levin, *Performing Ground* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 5.
20. Matthew Potolsky, 74.
21. Ibid., 89.
22. It should be noted that British performers as well as entrepreneurs were reasonably familiar with Russian theatre practices. Although Stanislavsky's seminal work, *An Actor Prepares* appeared in English in 1938, his autobiography *My Life in Art* had been translated in 1924. Moreover, the

British theatre more generally had seen the work of Michael Chekhov who had set up a theatre school in 1936 (see endnotes 48, 49 below) and Fyodor Kommisarjevsky who had been noted for his London productions of Anton Chekhov's plays since 1921 and his productions of Shakespeare in Stratford until 1939.
23. Sharon Marie Carnicke, "Stanislavsky's System." in *Actor Training*, ed. Alison Hodge (London: Routledge, 2010), 16.
24. Konstantin Stanislavsky, *An Actor's Work: A Student's Diary*, trans. Jean Benedetti (New York: Routledge, 2008), 180.
25. Sharon Marie Carnicke, "Stanislavsky's System." in *Actor Training*, ed. Alison Hodge (London: Routledge, 2010), 8.
26. Sharon Marie Carnicke, 132–133.
27. Sharon Marie Carnicke, 12.
28. Ibid., 26.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid., 18.
31. Dennis Rigden, 46.
32. Special Operations Executive. "SOE Course at Beaulieu." (London: National Archives, Kew, 1941).
33. Dennis Rigden, 47.
34. Ibid., 47–48.
35. Ibid., 48.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid., 48–49.
39. Ibid., 49.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Special Operations Executive. "SOE Course at Beaulieu." (London: National Archives, Kew, 1941).
46. Dennis Rigden, 50–51.
47. Ibid., 51.
48. Franc Chamberlain. "Michael Chekhov on the Technique of Acting." in *Actor Training*, ed. Alison Hodge (New York: Routledge, 2010), 64.
49. Michael Chekhov, *To the Actor* (New York: Harper & Row, 1953), 48.
50. On the impact of Russian actor training methods upon British theatre, see Jonathan Pitches, "Tradition in Transition: Komisarjevsky's seduction of the British Theatre," and David Shirley, "Stanislavsky's passage into the British Conservatoire," in Jonathan Pitches ed. *Russians in Britain: British theatre and the Russian tradition of Actor Training* (London & New York: Routledge, 2012).

CHAPTER 3

The Scenographer as Camoufleur

Greer Crawley

This chapter will consider the scenographic strategies deployed for decoy, camouflage and deception during World War 1 and 2 in Europe and the USA, with a focus on the activities carried out by the Allied forces. It draws on military sources as well as the personal accounts and memoirs of theatre designers and art directors engaged in camouflage units to demonstrate how the military stratagem of "play-acting" would have been impossible to realize without the stage professionals that were enlisted to design the *mises-en-scène* created in models, viewing rooms and camouflages. It will also investigate how the military and government instrumentalities imposed their own vision of war on theatre practice through recruiting manuals, training manuals, propaganda and film. A particularly notable example discussed here is the report published in 1943 by the Federal Security Agency for the US Office of Education 1943 listing recommendations for the "Adjustment of the College Curriculum to Wartime Conditions and Needs" with specific suggestions made for Theatre Departments.

War has long relied on the processes and practices of theatre. The cultural theorist Paul Virilio, who has made a study of the military practice of stagecraft, argues that theatre not only provides the rhetoric of

G. Crawley (✉)
Royal Holloway, University of London, Egham, UK
e-mail: greer.crawley@gmail.com

© The Author(s) 2017

V. Emeljanow (ed.), *War and Theatrical Innovation*, Palgrave Studies in Theatre and Performance History,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-60225-1_3

war and the metaphors for strategic presentations, it offers the military the scenographic means for spatial and temporal organization. The geographers Luke and Tuathail observed in *Thinking Geopolitical Space* that for Virilio, there are three distinct orders of military knowledge: tactics, strategy and logistics. Strategy is the organization of space as a theatre in preparation for war,[1] and in this context the military become "stage-directors" and their command centres are "theatre-halls" intended for "command operas".[2]

A prerequisite for both military and theatrical action is to give it a scenographic frame. The American theatre designer Donald Oenslager records how he put into an effect an appropriate scenographic strategy for an air force briefing in the Pacific theatre of World War 2:

> As the war's progress accelerated, camouflage closed its net around me and I arranged for my transfer to Combat Intelligence with a B-29 wing, ultimately based on Guam. Our A-2 section discovered that the accepted method of briefing crews for bombing missions was inadequate, not clear, and ineffective. We proceeded to improve it by simply converting an old theatrical lighting trick into a new briefing aid. In our darkened briefing hall, set up in a large Quonset hut, our maps, charts, and essential target information for the bombing mission were treated with different colors of fluorescent pigment and stimulated with ultraviolet light. This system presented all our information with dramatic emphasis and with the clarity of neon light.[3]

In addition to the theatrical configurations of the command centres and briefing rooms, scenographic strategies were also being deployed in the testing of weaponry and camouflage and for the rehearsal of scenarios that would be played in the field. The British painter and theatre designer Robert Medley writing about his camouflage work in World War 2 drew on his experience in the theatre to find parallels for the rehearsal and performance of war:

> The winter offensive of 1941–2 meant a wide disposal of the Army over the Western Desert. My first real task in the field was to assist Captain Stephen Sykes in work on a decoy line that had been laid to distract enemy attention from the railway supply line to those in the South. This ran to what was to be enticingly baited as a tank delivery point. Here indeed my instinct for an effective *mises-en-scène* was deeply satisfied by the set created by Stephen Sykes. Inspired improvisation with two small camouflage

> units (also reminiscent of Group Theatre days) gave the appearance of a fully operational supply point; and when the performance began and the German bombers arrived to play their part I was highly delighted. The essential importance of the project lay in its use as a dress rehearsal for the infinitely larger role camouflage was to play, a year later, in the counter-plan at El Alamein. [4]

Fake Nature

Thus the use of camouflage and deception played key roles in the conduct of war. The twentieth-century military historian Colonel Michael Dewer, in his study *The Art of Deception*, claims that "the main, almost the only, weapon of the deception analyst is to put himself in the mind of the deceiver. This requires a certain imagination, a flair, if you like, for theatre."[5] While these key elements have always been instrumental in the conduct of war, their actual definition is relatively recent: the word "camouflage", for example, did not appear in the English language until World War 1. In Roy Behrens' comprehensive encyclopaedia of camouflage, *Camoupedia*, "camouflage" and "camoufleur" are described as World War 1-era French terms. Behrens cites A. Russell Bond's article "Warriors of the Paint-Brush" which appeared in *St Nicolas* Vol XLVI November 1918–April 1919 in which it was stated that: "A new name was coined for these warriors of the paint brush—camoufleurs they were called, and their work was known as camouflage."[6]

The French army's first specialized camouflage unit, *Les Peintres de la Guerre au Camouflage*, was formed in 1915. The camouflage recruits were initially trained in Paris at the Atelier de Décors at the Opera. They were then assigned to front-line studios, each with their own specialisms. Elizabeth Louise Khan in *The Neglected Majority: Les Camoufleurs, Art History, and World War I*, identifies these as: painted effects, concealment with cloth trellis and nets, deceptions with fake artillery, structures and soldiers, and observation posts disguised as landscape features.[7] The value of this form of strategic deception was quickly recognized by the Allies and in 1916 the first British camoufleurs arrived in France. The group under the leadership of the painter Solomon J. Solomon included the theatre designer Oliver "Percy" Bernard, Lyndsay D. Symington, a theatre designer and illustrator, Roland Harker, a scenery painter and E. W. Holmes, head property man at the Drury Lane theatre and himself a master carpenter.[8]

At the French studios, the British contingent learned the skill of making decoys including life-sized painted wooden silhouettes and dummy heads. These were used in the trenches to draw enemy fire, while hollow *papier maché* horses on the battlefield served as “hides” for snipers and *les faux arbres* were trees that disguised the armour-plated observation posts.[9] Soon the British artists and designers began making their own innovations. Solomon was able to put into practice the experiments with fake “willow trees” he had made with a prop maker and scenic artists on the Royal estate at Windsor, while Oliver Bernard’s scenic arts training, which included studying and drawing trees, proved useful for his design of “hollow imitations of pollard willow trees”.[10] L. D. Symington seems to have been particularly inventive, creating a number of camouflage prototypes that were widely adopted and included the Symien camouflage sniper suit consisting of painted transparent scrim.[11]

By 1917, camouflage was no longer confined to props and costume; the scale of the illusions had become scenographic. The objective was to create fabrics and *trompe l’oeil* screens that blended into the surroundings. Lakes, canals and rivers were disguised with painted covers and a re-creation of Paris was conceived for fields outside the city. Fake boulevards, avenues and railway stations realized in paint, wood and canvas and lit by strings of lights were all part of a complex scheme whose “luminous camouflage” was extensively reported in 1920 in *L’Illustration*. The article made the observation that even if German intelligence had been aware of the French plans “this would certainly not have prevented enemy aviators from being deceived by the mirage of a fake factory or a simulated station; and that was essential”.[12]

The German use of deceptions, however, was the subject of one of the most influential post-war publications on camouflage. At the beginning of 1918, S. J. Solomon had begun to study German camouflage. He became convinced that Germany, having recognized early in the war the strategic significance of the aerial view, had “perfected her system of camouflage” by employing scientific and artistic principles to produce an advanced form of concealment.[13] In his book, *Strategic Camouflage*, published in May 1920, Solomon describes the German efforts at concealment in theatrical and scenographic terms. From his studies of aerial photographs, he concluded that “imitation shadows” and “papier-maché-like bobbles” were indications to him of the existence of a massive system of decoy structures raised above existing roads or fields to disguise military movements and positions.[14] He suggested that “there

are things which can be drawn on paper, or done in modelled scenery, which can destroy the sense of space, and defy the elements, which cannot be equalled in nature".[15] Among the dummies he identified were imitation hay stooks in the fields at St. Pierre Chapelle. In response to the argument that no camoufleurs would ever take so much trouble to reproduce the distinctive dome shaped stooks in such number, Solomon wrote that

> The making of a few hundred papier-mache mounds would certainly not deter the manager of Grand Opera or of Drury Lane Theatre from mounting a ballet, in which such *decors* might be needed for the *mises-en-scène*, so that it is hardly credible that the German who made up his mind after forty years of preparation to dominate Europe, would hesitate to give these very convincing touches to his work. Their very numbers helped the illusion.[16]

Solomon goes on to commend German camouflage for its "constructive artistry and patience" in creating "the surface texture of this modelled Earl's Court scenery on a large scale".[17] He concludes his book by claiming that "today their modelled scenery system and our shadowless method together, practically cover the ground of camouflage devised to screen from aerial observation".[18]

Solomon believed that aerial photography had changed the landscape of war and thought that aerial photographs could see through the exaggerated shapes and colours of the "Cubist" paint effects favoured by the artists. He advised that the camoufleur should strive instead to imitate the colours and textures of the local terrain. It was a belief that was shared by a growing number of camoufleurs. "Camouflage", said Homer Saint-Gaudens (1880–1958), the American theatre designer, "is no vaudeville magic. It requires trouble, horse sense and an ability to take advantage of the local conditions."[19] With America's entry into World War 1, Saint-Gaudens found himself in charge of the American camouflage corps, "guiding the emotional destinies of 400 tempermentalities in the forms of artists, plumbers, carpenters and other eccentrics who ultimately won the war by spreading scenery over the gory fields of the AEF (American Expedition Forces)". It was Saint-Gaudens' opinion that while architects made the best officers, "For our non-commissioned officers and privates, the moving picture and stage property men and carpenters were by all odds, the most successful. An ability to handle those superior in rank and a resourcefulness at all hours was theirs."[20]

Throughout World War 1, there had been a continuous debate about who were the best at camouflage work. The decorators of the *Syndicat des Décors de Théâtre* had protested against the camouflage section when it was founded demanding to know "why certain special painting jobs were not assigned to the Theater Decorators' Union which seemed the obvious choice and which offered much lower prices than those obtained by giving the work to artists who seem not to have been trained for such work".[21]

In addition to the arguments about who had the most appropriate painting skills and offered the best value, increasing doubts arose about the suitability of camouflage training for aerial warfare. As photo reconnaissance and interpretation became more sophisticated, it was apparent to many civilian and military observers that treating buildings as two-dimensional painted surfaces could no longer provide adequate concealment from the aerial observer. In 1940, Lieutenant-Colonel Clement Chesney, in *The Art of Camouflage* recommended the "deformation" of existing structures through three-dimensional structural methods using projecting elements, roof extensions and textured screens. He went on to write "Why a successful painter or scenic artist, say, who has perhaps never been in an aeroplane should be thought to be the most suitable person to undertake three-dimensional work of this nature, is rather astonishing."[22] Chesney, an English camoufleur, had trained as an engineer and worked as a camoufleur in World War 1 at the Amiens studio where he said he had been "ticked off" by the scenic artist A. R. Harker "for painting black lines between the colours of canvas".[23] This may partially explain his strong disapproval of the "paint-brush" approach to camouflage. However, he was not alone in recognizing the limitations of this form of disguise. An article published in *Nature* deplored the fact that all but four of the sixty-five technical officers in the British Civil Defence Camouflage Establishment were "either professional artists or, at the time of recruitment, were students at art schools", so that the research and application of camouflage were "controlled by people lacking the necessary scientific training and with no knowledge of the fundamental biological and psychological principles involved".[24] "Artists", the essay continued, "rely too much on painting, and tend to forego patterns in favour of fanciful pictures, e.g. preposterous pictures of trees were painted on factory towers! It should scarcely be necessary to point out that the result of light and shade is such as absolutely to kill this piece of stage scenery at bombing range."[25]

Despite these criticisms, at the beginning of World War 2 most camouflage was still being created with paint—it was cheap and could be used to give quick effects and consequently camouflage training continued to be regarded predominantly as an artistic pursuit. Henrietta Goodden in her book *Camouflage and Art* identified the large number of British camoufleurs that were recruited during World War 2 from the colleges of art, theatres and film studios.[26] It was a similar case in the United States, where *Popular Mechanics* reported in its December 1942 issue that: "Artists, architects, engineers, photographers, industrial designers, stage designers, magicians, chemists, sculptors, mathematicians, model makers, taxidermists, landscapers and movie technicians whose special training fits them for angles of the fooling game are contributing to the national effort."[27] In the same year, the US government certified the School of Design of Chicago directed by Laszlo Moholy-Nagy as an official centre for camouflage training. Gyorgy Kepes was given the responsibility for running the camouflage workshops.[28] The material covered in the Camouflage Course reflected the influence of Gestalt theory on Kepes' teachings. There were lectures given on "psychological and physiological phenomena such as figure/ground relationship, effects of similarity, closure, inclusiveness, submergence, optical mixture of tone and color values, border, successive and simultaneous contrast, various forms of visual illusion".[29]

Rival American colleges and universities were quick to respond by setting up their own courses on all aspects of camouflage work. In an attempt to bring some unity to the teaching, an official government report was issued in 1943. A committee of academics at the leading universities and colleges of art compiled the report produced by the Federal Security Agency for the US Office of Education in Washington. It listed recommendations for the "Adjustment of the College Curriculum to Wartime Conditions and Needs". While the report stated that "Certain individuals can develop initiative, responsibility, and an alertness to their surroundings more easily through the arts than through any other form of training", it warned that "In recent months there has been a tendency, apparent particularly in articles published in newspapers and magazines, to dramatize and emotionalize the contributions of the arts in wartime" and that this detracted from the beneficial aspects of art instruction which the report went on to outline: "The arts can serve every student by stimulating and developing visual perception and manual skills…" and recommends that the student should be able "to recognize forms in

space" to demonstrate "methods of judging scale, proportions, and relative distances in two dimensions" and have "the ability to recognize at a glance similar features in a number of different objects".

In addition to these more general recommendations, the report gave specific guidelines for Departments of Art and Architecture as well as for Theatre Departments. These included instruction in camouflage and model building:

> IV. Departments of Drama.
>
> A. Military: (1) Morale. Students trained in the theatre can do much within camps to arrange entertainments. Here the basic training is useful in all branches from play writing to stage management, production, and acting.
> (2) Model making. As in architecture, model making is useful in all branches of the service. Practice in model theatre making can be of great value.
> (3) Camouflage. Basic training in scene design, construction, and lighting provides valuable preliminary experience.
> B. Civilian, Industrial, and Cultural: (1) Motion-picture work. This is generally connected with the theatre, and in some departments is given special attention.
> (2) Propaganda. The possibility of using the legitimate stage for this purpose has been exploited in Russia.
> (3) Morale. The statements issued by the CEMA and the ENSA in England prove the value of the theatre in this respect. Serious drama has a growing importance as the tension of the war increases and its significance in the reconstruction should not be overlooked.[30]

As well as the educational institutions, professional societies and institutions all over the USA were contributing to the war effort. Among them was the Camouflage Society of Professional Stage Designers, which had a camouflage laboratory in New York City and whose members included Jo Mielziner, Donald Oenslager, Boris Aronson and Harry Horner.[31] Oenslager was to become a camouflage officer for the Second Air Force and organized and inspected many of the camouflage training programmes at bomber bases throughout the Midwestern states.[32] Jo Mielziner, also became a commissioned officer and supervised the camouflage at Richmond Air Base in Virginia. A description of Mielziner's

skill in camouflage appeared in *the New York Herald Tribune* on the 24 March 1946. The article reported that Mielziner's "theatrical training was ideal for his new work; his knowledge of quick effects, of expedients, of limited and substitute materials. His intimate 'know how,' gained in the theatre was just the right equipment for an expert who had to be intimate with the chemistry of lighting, the principles of landscaping, architecture and hasty improvisation."[33]

The air bases and airplane factories were the focus for particularly elaborate camouflage schemes after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. At Richmond, it was reported that Mielziner used spray paint to give aircraft runways the appearance of a three-dimensional landscape intended to blend in with the surrounding countryside. In addition, the buildings were disguised to look like a suburban neighbourhood of family houses with chimneys, awnings, white picket fences and front lawns.[34]

Popular Mechanics in 1942 described the rationale behind this technique of combining paint with structural elements to create different camouflage effect:

> The basic idea is to provide either concealment or confusion of identity, or both. An example of concealment would be the application of splotches of paint to the roof of a small factory and the construction of screens and ragged extensions to the roof, to blend it into nearby trees and shadows. An example of confusion of identity would be to change the exterior of the factory and add fences, smaller buildings and vegetable patches to make it look like a farm, or to build similar fake rooftops nearby.[35]

The theatre designer Harry Horner, "a protégé of Max Reinhardt",[36] joined the Hollywood art directors, scenic designers and technical effects specialists who enlisted for camouflage training at March Field outside Los Angeles. Seymour Reit, who was also stationed at March Field, gives a number of examples in his book *Masquerade* of the extensive camouflage schemes devised by the Hollywood camoufleurs. The disguise of the Lockheed-Vega aircraft plant at Burbank, hidden beneath a complete southern California "suburb", was perhaps one of the most ambitious. The site was "landscaped" into a gently sloping hill made of chicken wire, scrim netting, and painted canvas supported on scaffolding poles. Canvas houses lined the roads painted on the slopes and dummy cars, gardens and washing lines were among the details added to create

authenticity. Reit describes how the “quality of theatre and stagecraft … crept into almost all wartime camouflage”.[37] In order to maintain the effectiveness of the deception, the camoufleurs would make regular adjustments to the various props to suggest convincing activity. “moving on hidden catwalks, they were able to do the necessary maintenance work and to move the lightweight ‘parked cars’ periodically. They were also careful to put out and take in the regular Monday wash.”[38]

As well as devising camouflage schemes, the camoufleurs toured army bases giving demonstrations and lectures. Reit explains how one of these US camouflage tours had its “own miniconvoy complete with equipment, nets, displays, and collapsible ‘stage sets’. holding classes and giving hundreds of demonstrations which achieved a high level of showmanship”.[39] In 1944, *Theatre Arts* published Harry Horner’s sketches and working drawings for a camouflage musical revue entitled *You Bet Your Life*.[40]

While the deployment of camouflage effects on the US mainland remained speculative exercises, across the Atlantic, camoufleurs were being called on to stage elaborately choreographed and scripted presentations that were put to an immediate test. In the United Kingdom, the Royal Engineers’ Camouflage Development and Training Centre had been established in 1940 and among the first cohort of trainees were the artist Julian Trevelyan, the theatre designer Oliver Messel, the magician Jasper Maskelyne and the art directors Peter Proud and Geoffrey Barkas. Stephen Sykes in *Deceivers Ever: The Memoirs of a Camouflage Officer* describes how “Geoffrey Barkas was the force behind a quite unusually welcome collection of bumph which was sent to all outlying camouflage people-‘Camoufleurs’ as he called us. This publication was called The Fortnightly Fluer…”[41]

Barkas’s camouflage training and that of his fellow camoufleurs included theoretical studies on perception, light and shadow, textures, wavelengths and the properties of chlorophyll. They also had practical instruction at Denham film studios in plaster moulding and other three-dimensional construction methods. The latter, according to Sykes, proved particularly valuable for the construction and concealment of the pillbox observation posts built as defences against the threat of invasion.[42]

The artist and camouflage officer Julian Trevelyan recalls in his memoir *Indigo Days* that the British theatre designer Oliver Messel converted pillboxes into gothic lodges, caravans, haystacks, ruins and cafes with enormous attention to detail.[43] Although Messel’s stagecraft in

camouflage was admired by many, the author Beverly Nichols in *Down the Kitchen Sink*, having described Messel's eccentric design for a gentlemen's lavatory rigged with explosives as "a small iron building, painted pale green with touches of gold, in themed-Victorian style", went on to say that: "Oliver was doing a vital job but somehow one had the feeling that he regarded it as an exceptionally difficult assignment in the ballet rather than as part of the war effort."[44]

Alongside Messel's theatrical props and scenery, the art directors from the British film studios were using lighting, sound and smoke to make their own stage-managed effects. Many towns, important factories and key installations were protected by elaborate fake lighting schemes. Derek Threadgall in his account of the wartime activities of Shepperton Studios outside London describes how in 1944, scenic designers and craftsmen fabricated a giant oil storage facility and docking area near Dover entirely from painted canvas, wooden scaffolding and sections of old sewer pipe. Aerial photographs were taken of the completed stage set so that its effectiveness could be assessed and any changes made if necessary. Threadgall reports how one of the workers recalled that "Most of us were film and theatre people so naturally we wanted a proper dress rehearsal."[45] The German reconnaissance photographs taken at high level "showed an authentic terminal" which became a target for long-range artillery from German emplacements on the French coast. The playacting continued when, in response to the enemy fire, the camouflage crews faked the resulting "fire damage" using sodium flares and mobile smoke generators.[46]

Smoke has always been used as a tactical weapon in battles, but by World War 2 it had become an integral part of the *mises-en-scène* of the theatre of war. Mechanically generated smoke screens were used in combination with sound, to deceive and disorientate both the ground troops and the aerial combatants. The American Harold Burris-Meyer, an expert in theatre sound and a pioneer in stereophonic sound reproduction, contributed to the development of sonic deception used by the "beach jumpers", the US Navy's special unit, and to military research on the physiological and psychological effects of sound. Sound projection, artificially generated noise, radar-jamming and coded radio traffic were among the techniques used to simulate the "phantom armies", the fictional invasion forces created for Operation Fortitude South, staged in Kent as preparation for the Normandy landings as well as at the Battle of El Alamein in North Africa.

After a raid, realistic bomb craters were needed to show up on the enemy's reconnaissance photographs, so the camoufleurs mass-produced dummy craters painted on large sheets of canvas. Art director Peter Proud at Tobruk in North Africa designed numerous small "bomb craters" with shadows made from oil or coal dust and scattered "battle debris" around them. Other "damage" was simulated with canvas, paint and cement and by blowing up surrounding disused buildings with preset charges.[47]

The performative predisposition of camoufleurs was always evident in these camouflage schemes. It was never just a case of devising the dramaturgy and scenography. It needed to be acted out, to be rehearsed. Among the methodologies employed to rehearse the decoys and deceptions was model-making. The value of using models to plan and rehearse military strategies and camouflage schemes was first recognized in World War 1. In 1917, the New York Board of Education organized camouflage workshops for "platoons" of artists. "On two evenings per week, one could find each of the platoons busily engaged in camouflaging miniature ambulances, tanks, guns and other battlefield objects to conform with the color scheme and topography of miniature landscapes."[48] In the same year in France, Oliver Percy Bernard became the camouflage officer in Sir Herbert Plumer's Second Army that was preparing for the assault on the Messines-Wijtschate Ridge. Aerial photographs were used in the creation of a huge scale model of the Ridge and its defences. The model the size of "two croquet lawns" was surrounded by scaffolding that provided a viewing platform for the officers.[49]

In World War 1, the introduction of semiautomatic cameras had enabled a sequence of overlapping shots to be taken from an airplane.[50] When viewed through a stereoscope, the overlapping pair of aerial photographs revealed an unprecedented amount of information and detail that helped the camoufleurs to create the highly effective three-dimensional models. By World War 2, stereoscopy together with the model had become the camoufleur's most valuable visualization tools. A 1942 US Engineer Board report on "The Construction of Models for Protective Concealment Purpose" states that:

> Stereo-vision is a most important aid in identifying camouflage installations. Objects register in an exaggerated height, therefore are much easier to identify. Stereoscopic pairs should be taken of an area which contains installations, in order that repairs might be made or installations adjusted

… Models are capable of telling a precise story in a universal language. Through the eye, a layman is given a graphic understanding of three dimensional space, form and color, and the camouflage designer is shown the merit or fallacy of his accomplishment.[51]

To test the effectiveness of the camouflage models, experiments were made with lighting and atmospheric effects and assessed through viewing procedures that simulated the aerial perspective. *Popular Mechanics* ran an article in March 1943 entitled "Playing Hide and Seek", which featured the camouflage models of Harper Goff, a member of one of the movie camouflage units. It detailed Goff's experiments with throwing shadows and outlines of trees and shrubbery on a model railroad with the aid of a slide film projector; applying infrared paints to a model of a factory; and reversing field glasses in order to gain an aerial view (Figs. 3.1 and 3.2).[52]

The model, however, presented a further perceptual challenge for the camouflage designer: what to put in and what to leave out. Achieving realism was held out as the primary objective but there was disagreement about its interpretation and representation. It was believed that too much realistic detail could be confusing and modelmakers made their selections based on the strategic goals of the exercise. The selective nature of models, however, made them particularly useful for communicating wartime propaganda. Unlike the photograph that recorded indiscriminately the details of the scene set before it, the model could be staged to convey the appropriate message. In the USA, *Popular Mechanics* reported that professional movie makers have demonstrated that with models they can "simplify and explain intricate operations that are difficult to grasp by reading textbooks".[53] It went on to say: "On the screen you get the impression that you are actually seeing full sized battleships or tanks at work. Carefully chosen camera angles is one of the ways in which this illusion of reality is created. Some scenes are purposely stylized by eliminating all distracting details."[54]

A particularly celebrated example of this approach to the representation of military action was the theatre designer Norman Bel Geddes' 1942 commission for *Life* magazine. Bel Geddes produced a number of small-scale models as subjects for a series of staged "aerial" photographs to illustrate the Battle of the Coral Sea, Japan's first important naval defeat. The article that accompanied the published photographs stated that "Norman Bel Geddes developed an amazing technique of ship

Fig. 3.1 Above, Harper Goff tests camouflage ideas by throwing shadows and outlines of trees and shrubbery on model railroad with slide film protector. Below, soldiers hide an Army Air Corps hangar with canvas fly extensions

models, props and lighting. Working with the known facts under *Life's* supervision, Mr Geddes produced the realistic set pieces shown on these pages."[55] As well as battles in the Pacific theatre, Bel Geddes represented the invasion of Sicily and the Orel battle on the Russian front and promoted his models to the military as an ideal method for documenting battle: "Model photographs of a battle … in no way conflict with the on-the-spot photographs taken during the battle. Instead, they fill in the

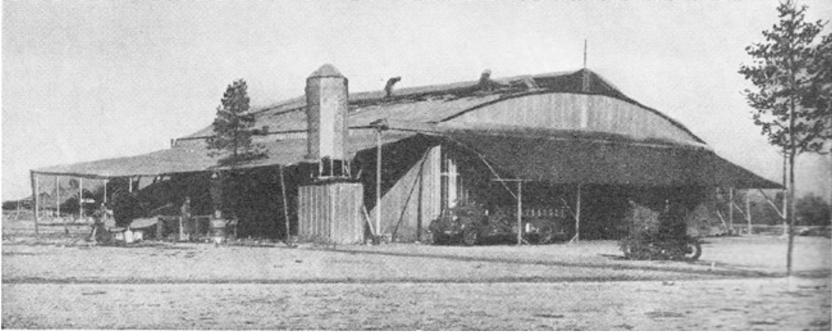


Fig. 3.2 U. S. Army Air Corps photo

gaps and supply the missing links by furnishing a picture of those parts of the action that could not be taken at the time."[56]

The visual techniques that Bel Geddes first experimented with in the theatre were applied to the project. As the theatre historian Christopher Innes observed, "whether designing stage sets, production cars, or buildings, his working method was to create scale models".[57] In 1944, the Museum of Modern Art held an exhibition of Bel Geddes's models. As well as simulating the pilot's aerial perspective through the use of elevated viewing positions, the MOMA press release states that "the day-by-day construction of a large model showing various aspects of the war as it progresses, [gives] the onlooker not only a graphic presentation of phases of actual battle but also enables him to see how ingeniously the Geddes war maneuver models are constructed".[58] In the Bel Geddes models, as in camouflage and theatre, the relationship between the representation and the place or thing it represents was carefully constructed to tell a particular story. While what was included in the scene was important for the sense of authenticity, what was excluded provides a valuable insight into the level of realism thought necessary for an accurate perception of the situation.

The selective reality of the wartime scenic effects and the perceptual theories associated with ideas of disguise and exposure informed the adoption of similar strategies in post-war scenographic practice in both military and theatrical contexts where scenographic methods were used to create the illusion of the appearance of the real and to control the conditions of perception. In its 1946 review of "Dream Girl", *The New York Herald Tribune* had noted:

> The two important aspects of camouflage—self -preservation and the protection of equipment on the ground—were natural for a scene designer who knew how to solve them with the use of light, shadow, color, texture, blending, use of drapes, netting and decoys. Back in full stride in the theatre, Mielziner's work in "Dream Girl" illustrates how an expert in the art of camouflage can reverse the same principles and be an expert in the art of revelation.[59]

While Mielziner's theatrical experience and innovative scenographic techniques enabled him to contribute effective solutions to camouflage problems, his wartime exposure to a visual language informed by Gestalt theory, the aerial perspective, stereoscopy, visual illusion and the scientific use of texture, tone and colour had implications for his scenographic practice. When Liam Doona observes that in Mielziner's 1945 design for Tennessee Williams *The Glass Menagerie* "reality as external and quantifiable matter is brought into question as character and scenography encounter and explore mutable perception",[60] he could equally be describing the camouflage experience.

Mielziner, as camoufleur and theatre designer knew that attempts to reproduce an exact representation of reality would be unconvincing; that aspects of the real had to be carefully selected to create a convincing resemblance to the observer. He wrote in his memoir *Designing for the Theatre*:

> We are bombarded by newspaper and magazine photographs that purport to be the "actual picture" but we are fooled. They are not "actual" but factual … the good theatre artist is never "actual". He omits the nonessentials, condenses the essentials, accents the details that are the most revealing. He depicts only that part of the truth which he deems necessary to the course of the story.[61]

Mielziner's "good theatre artist" was also the "good" camoufleur who recognized that in wartime reconnaissance photographs as in theatre "what is immediately visible is less important than the inferences that can be drawn from it".[62] Mielziner believed that "suggestion, with sophisticated use of light and color, was frequently far more helpful to the play than the straight, usually overdressed realism of the box set".[63] Doona tells us that "Mielziner is able to demonstrate scenography as the expression of a psychological construct which, whilst quoting extant

architectural forms, renders those forms mutable and ambiguous. He presents permanence and solidity as temporary and illusionistic, as unstable and changeable."[64]

Doona's description of Mielziner's scenography recalls an observation made in 1944 about camouflage effects by the architect and camouflage officer, Hugh Casson. Writing in *The Architectural Review* he reported that "here in the midst of war …Solid is suggested where there is void, recession hinted at where there is projection. Beneath the rhythm of pattern, form seems to melt away. Here is strangeness indeed."[65] Casson saw in camouflage a new and perhaps disturbing aesthetic that presented a challenging alternative to the strict functionalist forms of pre-war modernism.

The wartime camouflage units promoted the cross-fertilization of ideas between the military, artists, architects and theatre and production designers, engineers and technicians. Through their common camouflage training and close cooperation, the different disciplines shared their specialist theoretical and technical knowledge. The theatre designers learned about new methods and materials from the architects and the architects (re)discovered scenographic approaches which offered an alternative to pre-war modernist practice. In addition to introducing new aesthetic concepts to the visual artists and architects in the camouflage units, the theatre and production designers contributed their specialist resources and skills to the interdisciplinary effort. As camoufleurs, they consistently demonstrated that they had the ability to solve problems, to see the detail but also the larger picture; to use materials in new ways, to create three-dimensional forms out of two-dimensional materials, to work collaboratively and under pressure. These attributes are what made them so valuable to the military in developing the scenographic strategies needed to create the diverse *mises-en-scène* needed to rehearse and to stage war.

Notes

1. Tim Luke and Gearóid Ó Tuathail, "Thinking Geopolitical Space: The Spatiality of War, Speed and Vision in the Work of Paul Virilio" in *Thinking Space,* eds. Mike Crang & Nigel Thrift (London: Routledge, 2000), 360–379.
2. Paul Virilio, *War and Cinema*. trans. Patrick Camiller, (London: Verso, 1989), 78.

3. Donald Oenslager, *The Theater of Donald Oenslager* (Middleton, Ct: Wesleyan University Press, 1978), 12.
4. Robert Medley, *Drawn from Life: A Memoir* (London: Faber & Faber, 1983), 187.
5. Michael Dewar, *The Art of Deception in Warfare* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1989), 198.
6. Roy R. Behrens, *Camoupedia* (Dysart, Iowa: Bobolink Books, 2009), 82.
7. Elizabeth Louise Kahn, *The Neglected Majority: 'Les Camoufleurs' Art History and World War I* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1984), 20–21.
8. Nicolas Rankin, *Churchill's Wizards The British Genius for Deception 1914–1945* (London: Faber and Faber, 2008), 83.
9. Roy R. Behrens, *Art and Camouflage: Concealment and Deception in Nature, Art and War* (Cedar Falls, Iowa: University of Northern Iowa, 1981), 30.
10. Oliver Percy Bernard, *Cock Sparrow: A True Chronicle* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1936), 83.
11. Hardy Blechman and Alex Newman. *DPM Disruptive Pattern Material An Encyclopedia of Camouflage: Nature, Military, Culture* (London: DPM Ltd, 2004), 126.
12. Davide Deriu, "Between Veiling and Unveiling: Modern Camouflage and the City as a Theater of War" in *Endangered Cities: Military Power and Urban Societies in the Era of the World Wars* eds. Marcus Funck and Roger Chickering (Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2004), 1–14.
13. Solomon Joseph Solomon, *Strategic Camouflage* (London: John Murray, 1920), 2.
14. Solomon, *Strategic Camouflage*, 16.
15. Solomon, *Strategic Camouflage*, 13.
16. Solomon, *Strategic Camouflage*, 16.
17. Solomon, *Strategic Camouflage*, 21.
18. Solomon, *Strategic Camouflage*, 59.
19. Behrens *Camoupedia*, 312.
20. Behrens *Camoupedia*, 312.
21. Kahn, *The Neglected Majority*, 23.
22. Clement Hope Rawdon Chesney, *The Art of Camouflage* (London: Robert Hale, 1941), 42.
23. Behrens, Camoupedia, 178.
24. Behrens, *Art and Camouflage*, 64.
25. Behrens, *Art and Camouflage*, 64.
26. Henrietta Goodden, *Camouflage and Art* (London: Unicorn Press, 2007).
27. *Popular Mechanics* "Fooling the Spy in the Sky". 78(6) (1942): 66–70.

28. Behrens, *Art and Camouflage*, 59.
29. Cohen, Jean-Louis. *Architecture in Uniform*. (Montreal: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 2011), 198.
30. U.S. Federal Security Agency. *Recommendations for the Adjustment of the College Curriculum to Wartime Conditions and Needs*, (Washington D.C.: US Office of Education, 1943).
31. Behrens, *Camoupedia*. 82.
32. Oenslager, *The Theater of Donald Oenslager*, 12.
33. *New York Herald Tribune* "Mielziner Marks 150th Show by Scoring One More Success," March 24, 1946.
34. Seymour Reit, *Masquerade: The Amazing Camouflage Deceptions of World War II*. (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1978), 81.
35. "Playing Hide and Seek for Keeps," *Popular Mechanics* 79, 3, (1943): 82–86.
36. Reit, *Masquerade*, 84.
37. Reit, *Masquerade*, 88.
38. Reit, *Masquerade*, 88.
39. Reit, *Masquerade*, 86.
40. Rosamund Gilder, "You Bet Your Life, Report on a Camouflage Musical". *Theatre Arts* January (1944): 521–528.
41. Steven Sykes, *Deceivers Ever: The Memoirs of a Camouflage Officer* (Tunbridge Wells, Kent: Spellmount, 1990) 73.
42. Goodden, *Camouflage and Art*, 39.
43. Julian Trevelyan, *Indigo Days* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1957), 122.
44. Beverley Nichols, (*Down the Kitchen Sink* London: W.H. Allen, 1974) 50–51.
45. Derek Threadgall, *Shepperton Studios: An Independent View* (London: BFI Publishing, 1994), 28.
46. Threadgall, *Shepperton Studios*, 28.
47. Threadgall, *Shepperton Studios*, 26.
48. Behrens, *Art and Camouflage*, 28.
49. Nicolas Rankin, *Churchill's Wizards The British Genius for Deception 1914–1945* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 2008) 139.
50. Roy Conyers Nesbit, *Eyes of the RAF: A History of Photo-Reconnaissance* (Godalming, Surrey: BramleyBooks, 1996), 35.
51. U.S. Engineering Board. *The Construction of Models for Protective Concealment Purpose*, Fort Belvoir, Virgina, 1942.
52. "Playing Hide and Seek for Keeps," *Popular Mechanics*, 79(3), (1943): 82–86.
53. *Popular Mechanics* "Table Top War Movies", *Popular Mechanics*, 81(6) (1944): 57–61.
54. Ibid.

55. “Norman Bel Geddes’ Models Re-enact Naval Battle,” *Life Magazine*, May 25 (1942): 21–25.
56. Norman Bel Geddes, Presentation book for Midway battle, unpublished, Job 536, Folder 536.1, Norman Bel Geddes Collection. Austin TX: Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, 1942.
57. Christopher Innes, *Designing Modern America Broadway to Main Street* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 130.
58. Museum of Modern Art. “Museum of Modern Art Schedules New Exhibitions Including War Maneuver Models and Modern Drawings” New York: MOMA archives, 1944 Press release. http://www.moma.org/d/c/press_releases/W1siZiIsIjMyNTQyMiJdXQ.pdf?sha=199d378c9bc74509.
59. “Mielziner Marks 150th Show by Scoring One More Success,” *New York Herald Tribune* March 24, 1946 X3.
60. Liam Doona, “Hope, Hopelessness/Presence, Absence: scenographic innovation and the poetic spaces of Jo Mielziner, Tennessee Williams and Arthur Miller,” in *Theatre and Performance Design A Reader in Scenography* eds. Jane Collins and Andrew Nisbet (London: Routledge, 2010), 178–187.
61. Jo Mielziner, *Designing for The Theatre A Memoir and A Portfolio* (New York: Atheneum, 1965) 19.
62. Bernd Huppauf, “Modernism and the Photographic Representation of War and Destruction,” in *Fields of Vision*, *Essays in Film Studies, Visual Anthropology and Photography* ed. Leslie Devereaux and Roger Hillman (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1995), 94–124.
63. Mielziner, *Designing for The Theatre*, 21.
64. Doona, “Hope, Hopelessness/Presence,Absence”, 183.
65. Hugh Casson, “Art by Accident,” *The Architectural Review*, XCVI (573), 1944: 77–82.

PART II

Propaganda Strategies

CHAPTER 4

Puppetry and the Spanish Civil War

Cariad Astles

Brutal, savage, polarized: the Spanish Civil War divided a nation and set in place events and politics which would dominate the entire twentieth century, the legacies of which continue well into the twenty-first. Disappearances, torture and cruelty were commonplace, the body of the Spaniard used to play out ideological narratives. The fierce fighting between Nationalist and Republican forces was no less marked within training, educational and propaganda campaigns. Puppets, in particular the puppets drawn from popular culture, have frequently been used by campaigners on all sides of the political and social spectrum to enact nationalist concerns about identity and to provoke a sense of community, to educate and to indoctrinate. Puppets have long been visual representations of political, social and religious instruction; Spain's colonisers and the Catholic Church used them to educate illiterate audiences about the Bible and to subdue colonized people. Conversely, puppets have fought against indoctrination through their tradition of subversive antiheroes. In the wake of a nineteenth-century rise throughout Europe in the popularity of the puppet as newsreader, political commentator and satirist, drawing on its tradition of radical popular fools, puppets during the early twentieth century had come to be seen as players within the

C. Astles (✉)
University of Exeter, Exeter, UK
e-mail: cariadastles@gmail.com

© The Author(s) 2017

V. Emeljanow (ed.), *War and Theatrical Innovation*, Palgrave Studies in Theatre and Performance History,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-60225-1_4

artistic articulation of national and local identity. In Spain, and in particular in Catalonia, during the early years of the twentieth century, the popular glove puppet was further seen as a vehicle for modernist experimentation and expression. Immortalized by the Spanish playwright and poet Federico García Lorca in "The Puppet Play of Don Cristóbal", the traditional Spanish glove puppet, Don Cristóbal, was seen as a mouthpiece for popular feeling. This feature of the puppet, to express popular opinion and sentiment, was energetically harnessed during the Second Republic in Spain, and during the Spanish Civil War attempts were made to further harness this popularity and to use the puppet for the entertainment of troops, to support the political struggle and to offer moral instruction to both soldiers at the front but also to civilians involved in political campaigning and activity. Political puppetry in fact became a matter of survival for practising puppeteers forced to make a living from the apparatus of war. The body of the glove puppet, a metaphor for the body of the Spaniard, was used as both mouthpiece and as statement of identity, aspiration and intent across both sides of the political divide, its material nature making it a useful vehicle to mould to each particular ideology. Uncannily, the puppet seems to emerge during times of heightened concern about nationalism and identity related to state, to articulate responses to nationalistic agendas. It has variously been used as critic and dissenter, to express jingoistic and nationalistic voices; to materialize visual markers of national identity; to educate, to lampoon and to mock. The particular examples of puppetry that I propose to examine here relate to the performance of the "ideal Spaniard"[1] prior to and during the period of crisis of the Civil War. This chapter will examine the use of the puppet within the war to voice identity and hope, and to explore the negotiation of political and personal identity. I will also explore the notion of the ideal soldier/combatant as set up through puppet theatre performed as part of educational workshops prior to and during the war, and at the front. Popular puppetry, however, tends to resist dogmatic and monopolitical categorization. Its subversive and anti-hegemonic stance emerges even during political crisis. This chapter will also note, therefore, the tensions between political puppetry, set up to demonize the enemy (from both sides of the battle lines) and present itself as a visual icon of nationalist ideology, and puppetry's own desire to subvert and satirize political dogma, prior to and during the Spanish Civil War.

The Spanish glove puppet had particular resonance during the period immediately prior to the outbreak of the war. The early twentieth

century in Spain—and elsewhere in Europe—marked an effervescent artistic scene which experimented with form, popular culture and the mingling of "high" and "low" art.[2] During the latter decades of the nineteenth century, puppets were seen as a renewing force and part of the movement away from mimesis and naturalism towards stylization, symbolism and experimentation in art. Renowned playwrights, sculptors, painters and musicians saw the puppet as simultaneously the voice of freedom and also representative of the fate of the human. Artists from different parts of the world such as Paul Claudel, Alfred Jarry, Maurice Maeterlinck and Vsevolod Meyerhold, saw immense power in the puppet, in particular in being able to express aspects of the subconscious and the unconscious; caricature and parody; and the human as machine; and all became fascinated by the metaphorical power of the puppet as permitting the expression of other psychological levels and other worlds.[3]

Spanish playwrights and artists experimented with the puppet as form and archetype: turn-of-the-century playwright Ramón del Valle-Inclán indicated that his *esperpentos* (grotesque plays) would be better performed by puppets, to turn tragedy into comedy and later to show the true fate of the human being. Jacinto Benavente incorporated puppet figures into his plays[4]; Jacinto Grau wrote *Mr Pygmalion* in 1921, showing the longing of humans to overthrow those who manipulate them; writing about puppets, he suggested that they had the power to express nationalistic aspirations: "manipulated by strings, (they) show uncontrollable passion or collective social myths, not least of them the nationalist spirit".[5] Thus puppets seem to possess especial power to express nationalistic sentiments, perhaps since they are a visual and material manifestation of a people's material culture, and because the traditional popular glove puppet drew on popular narratives, verses and songs easily recognizable by communities, as well as on the politics of the day. They are powerful, moreover, as the voices they express represent a people rather than an individual and as such they can be considered free from blame for their political sentiments.

Rafael Alberti, one of Spain's most renowned twentieth-century poets and playwrights, and a member of the *Generación del* 27,[6] wrote a short farce for puppets who poke fun at the clergy trying to enrich themselves at the expense of the poor; his other work expresses his interest in writing for popular audiences and in using improvisation and play in the manner of puppets.[7] García Lorca wrote plays for puppets (*The Billy-Club Puppets*; *The Puppet Play of Don Cristobal*; *The Girl who Waters the*

Basil Plant) and a number of plays which drew from popular tradition and could have been performed as puppet plays, since they shared characteristics of stylization, archetypal or supernatural figures and ritual language with the traditions of the puppet stage (*Don Perlimplín and Belisa in the Garden*; *The Butterfly's Evil Spell*; *As Five Years Pass* and other plays).[8]

Not only playwrights experimented with puppetry, but also sculptors, poets, musicians and painters: García Lorca undoubtedly influenced his colleagues Luis Buñuel and Salvador Dalí; Picasso frequented the emblematic Bohemian café in Barcelona, *Els Quatre Gats*, which frequently showed experimental puppetry productions; the composer Manuel de Falla composed music for *Master Peter's Puppet Show* in 1923. Alongside modernist experiments, the popular glove puppet, widespread throughout Spain during the early twentieth century, continued to perform in festivals, on public holidays and at weekends as part of popular culture. The shows presented included popular farces and folk tales, commentaries on local political and social events, mixing these with fantasy and the supernatural, and also included religious ritual at certain times of the ecclesiastical and seasonal calendar. These popular elements therefore mixed with formal experimentation, giving rise to increased status for the puppet and the puppeteer.

The advent of the Second Republic in Spain in 1931[9] meant that theatre overall acquired a new function. Conscious and deliberate moves were made to use theatre as an active and activating force. The new government saw theatre, including puppet theatre, as a valuable tool which could assist in the development of education and active citizenship. As part of its political and educational agenda, the government hoped to increase literacy, overall education and access to the arts, particularly for those communities previously denied these. As a result, a series of educational and artistic initiatives were set up to take education and culture to rural communities. The most significant initiative in this area during the early 1930s was the setting up of the *Misiones Pedagógicas*. This was a funded programme of work whereby professional artists would tour rural communities throughout Spain, performing theatre and giving talks about politics, education and culture. In Madrid, the theatre group *La Barraca* was set up (García Lorca a prime mover and director of the group) in December 1931 and undertook its first rural tour the following summer; it similarly toured plays to communities throughout Spain. Art was increasingly seen as both the cultural right of the working classes

and also as an instrument of instruction and encouragement, gaining great influence as a political tool. Kathryn Lea notes the republican agenda: "Funded directly by the government, the *Universidad Teatral de la Barraca* and groups such as the *Misiones Pedagógicas* worked in parallel initiatives to educate the public, specifically the rural poor, in classic and contemporary theatre…".[10] The historiographer Adolfo Ayuso also highlights the importance of the *Misiones* as bringing culture to rural communities and ensuring that they enjoyed similar cultural benefits to those people living in the cities.[11] The divide between those living in cities and those in rural communities was seen as problematic and unjust, a divide that the new government sought to lessen. Citing Dougherty's work on Spanish theatre in the twentieth century, Lea notes on the educational project of theatre in general during these years: "they (the *Misiones* and *La Barraca*) were also part of a larger movement, the creation of a National Theatre that sought to identify the Republican state with Spain's long and glorious theatrical tradition… The official decree stated that the genuine expression of Spain's soul lay in its popular theatre."[12]

In the cities, renewed interest in art as political action and in the educational power of art gave rise to workshops for the working classes in literacy, artistic expression and crafts. Art was seen as an indispensable part of the fulfilled human condition, and increasingly as a way to emancipate and extend the visual and performative vocabularies of the working class. Classes in theatre, including puppet theatre, were offered at some community and education centres in cities, in order for the workers to educate their children or to develop skills in crafts which were elevated in status as part of the focus on manual work and artisan skills. It was not uncommon, therefore, for both men and women to attend literacy classes in the evenings after work and to attend theatre and music workshops to develop their self-expression and articulacy. The social agenda for these workshops was strongly political and aligned to the ideology of Republican emancipation. It is not so surprising, therefore, that puppets became part of the cultural and political activity used during the Civil War.

Puppets were used during the Civil War in a variety of ways: by local artists wishing to entertain people during the difficult days of privation, loss and political strife; as performers struggling to make a living; as part of theatre work engaged in political artistic action; but perhaps most prominently as puppeteers employed by governments to incite workers

and soldiers to action and attitude. Those puppeteers who continued to perform during the Civil War tended to side with a particular political standpoint, depending on where they were from and local political sympathies. A number of puppeteers continued to perform their usual repertoire during the war years. Although not initially or always overtly political, these plays had clear Republican sympathies as they sought to perform for orphaned children, or those left destitute by the war. A number of puppeteers were involved in direct agit-prop, as will be discussed shortly. Other puppeteers, if they were not conscripted, were forced to take other jobs to survive during the war years since the social climate put an end to their public and festive performances. The puppeteer Antoni Verguès, who was very active in the Republican cause, and later captured and sent to a concentration camp, sent letters to his family, marked with the stamp of the military censor, indicating that he was involved in puppetry performances within the camp. We do not have records of the nature of the performances, but Verguès was a traditional puppeteer with a wide repertoire of tales. This chapter does not claim that all Catalan puppeteers made performances thick with anti-Franco sentiment. The anecdotes from puppeteers are not usually stories of grand narratives or revolutionary heroism but acts of human response to threat. Antoni Faidella, one of the most prolific puppeteers of the time, recounts that his approach to life was as cowardly as that of *En Titella*, the popular Catalan puppet: forced to sign up towards the end of the war, he ran away from the front and hid "amongst his puppets" (it is not known exactly what is meant by this) until, fortunately for him, the war ended a few weeks later. He then attempted to divert attention from his desertion by mounting a tour of puppet shows under the guise that he had been involved in the tour for some time. Mostly, if the puppeteers were not directly involved with propagandist theatre, they were concerned with survival and their shows adapted to political circumstances. Barcelona received a steady flood of refugees from other parts of Spain, and a number of puppeteers performed regularly for the refugee children. Didó, the most well-known of the post-war traditional puppeteers, made the statement during the war that those shows were attended by "some who had it all, and some who were starving, like those in exile". Didó himself set up performances promoting Republicanism and performed throughout Barcelona during the years of the Civil War. Much of the information about puppeteers in Barcelona during the Civil War comes from the memoires of Harry Tozer, a British-born puppeteer

resident in Barcelona. Tozer continued to make puppets during the war; he noted that he "could remember all the places bombed in the Civil War because he remembered the part of the puppet he was sculpting at that time". He also commented on the benefits of performances carried out for refugees from war in Barcelona by local puppeteers showing their solidarity with those affected.

The dominant political culture within Barcelona in particular during the war years meant that some puppeteers there were actively involved in performances supporting the Republicans. During the first years of the war, puppeteers continued to be paid by the local government to entertain workers in workers' community and education centres and to perform plays which supported the war effort. These projects were not the same as those of puppeteers employed specifically to perform to the troops; these puppeteers were employed to perform to the citizenry. Puppeteers tended to be from local families where puppetry was either a long-standing tradition handed down from generation to generation, or was performed by those from artisan backgrounds; or indeed, in the case of playwrights and theatre-makers, adopted by those who had seen the potential of puppetry within political theatre. For those local puppeteers, performance was a necessity of life in order to survive and to continue their trade. The war affected their work directly through the content of the performances and the places they performed to. We have to understand that the context of the war coming directly from the Second Republic meant that all the institutions which had been set up in order to support theatre as part of education, political consciousness-raising and as support for the arts still existed and endeavoured, as far as possible, to continue with their social and political agendas. As the war progressed, increasing funds were diverted to military and political needs, but the government attempted initially to maintain support for culture. It is worth noting, then, that for the puppetry families that continued to perform throughout cities and in villages at the outset of the war, the content of the shows developed in line with progressing political narratives. The popular glove puppet tended to be used as a form of commentary on news and politics in any case, so performances began to be adapted to statements in favour of the war effort. "Baddies" became Nationalists; an increasing number of texts were written which were clearly partisan, and references to skirmishes, battles and political figures were commonplace. It is interesting also that glove puppet performances, which had developed previously largely as improvised

skits with plots and characters handed down through families of players, became increasingly scripted; this is one of the changes which occurred due to the war in line with the idea that theatre in support of political action should be consciously designed. The performances tended to depart from the script, however; the glove puppet has the propensity to shift from script into improvisation, perhaps due to its tendency to desire freedom. The scripting of plays had a dangerous effect for puppeteers: where they had a clear political or partisan message, they had the potential to become damning documents showing evidence of anti-Nationalist activity. Following the defeat of the Republicans in 1939, puppeteers destroyed, burnt or hid these texts, which is why there is such scarce material available for scrutiny of the texts and evidence comes largely from word of mouth. Antoni Verguès, who is mentioned above, commented that he quickly burnt all his texts in fear of reprisals by Nationalists. Further texts were destroyed by the new government as they sought to destroy traces of culture supporting Republicans. It is evident that much material has been lost, although following the defeat of the Republicans, many artists, among them puppeteers, fled to France or South America, and a number of documents have emerged from archives in these countries.

The second way in which puppeteers were affected during the Civil War was in the use of puppets in the widespread political theatre movement known as *Teatro de Urgencia*. This was a movement consciously and deliberately set up by artists and intellectuals to respond to the crisis of the war. Loosely translated as "urgent theatre", the urgency lies in the political moment and the importance of art in working alongside politicians to engage people in political action and to expose political workings through visual and physical representation. It was therefore a form specifically dedicated to the development of culture within the war. One of the main founders and defenders of the movement, the Spanish poet and playwright Rafael Alberti, defined the primary features of the form as "short, quick, intense pieces … which can be adapted … to the specific composition of theatre groups … A piece of this type should not have complicated set ups or need a large number of actors. it should not last more than half an hour."[13] Alberti further indicates that the pieces should be didactic, satirical or dramatic. Plays should often offer "instruction".[14] Jim McCarthy notes that existing theatre groups were also encouraged to write pieces extolling Republican virtues through the Ministry of Education and the General Commissariat

of War (Sub-Commissariat of Agitation, Press and Propaganda). Puppeteers were involved in *Teatro de Urgencia* in a different way from those performing their own repertoires. The movement was dominated by playwrights and intellectuals who were not themselves puppeteers, but who were inspired by the immediacy and clarity of the puppet play. Puppeteers were sometimes employed to perform the pieces. Unlike the traditional puppet show, therefore, the pieces were always scripted. The themes of the pieces written as part of the repertoire were often specifically military: they addressed political and military events. Examples of the work include Álvaro de Orriols' *España en Pie*, which was a piece in six scenes showing the political events of the "Spanish Revolution" (the piece opened in Barcelona in 1937 and was widely performed); Santiago Ontañón's *The Saboteur* (performed in Madrid in 1937) and José Antonio Balbontín's *The Mountain Barracks* (performed in Madrid in 1936), which is a one-act play showing the qualities of the soldier as brave, strong and gentle. Plays often included short skits, songs and dances drawn from popular entertainment and, as mentioned previously, lampooning of the enemy was commonplace, through farce, rhyme and comic performance, clowning and the practices of *the commedia dell'arte*. Alberti advised that pieces should be done in twenty minutes as a rule and should never last more than half an hour; a spate of new writing responded to this call. McCarthy suggests that *Teatro de Urgencia*, to differentiate it from other political theatres, contained three primary characteristics: firstly, it dealt with material specifically emanating from the circumstances of the Spanish Civil War; secondly, it demonstrated an intention to develop an appropriate Republican attitude; thirdly, it nurtured the development of the spectator as citizen.[15] The genre was a result of policies and decisions made by government ministries and initiatives from the General War Commissariat.

Within this genre, a number of plays were written which were specifically meant for puppet performance. Rafael Dieste, a Galician writer, also allied with the *Generación del 27*, had worked closely with the *Misiones Pedagógicas* in Madrid during the early 1930s and set up a puppet theatre there. During that period, inspired by glove puppetry, he wrote a series of farces for puppets. When Civil War broke out he worked closely with the Alliance of Antifascist Intellectuals and was director of the *Teatro Español* in Madrid which hosted many *Teatro de Urgencia* performances. Within this genre, he wrote a series of puppet pieces with pro-Republican sympathies, such as a play entitled *The Loyal Moor*.[16]

This play dating from 1937 is interesting in that it includes the revision of attitudes towards Muslims, or Moors. Moors were usually considered to be stupid and immoral within popular culture; this play draws on those attitudes and subverts them. Within the play, the brutal and bloodthirsty Nationalist Sergeant orders the "good" Moor to kill communists, trying to make him obey through temptation (of women, riches and freedom), through trickery and bribery and ultimately through threats. The play uses the knockabout farcical material common to the popular glove puppet show where the Sergeant and later, the Banker (who wields counterfeit bank notes), are soundly beaten by the Moor. Dieste wrote two further puppet plays during the Civil War: "The Anti-Fascist Bull" and "The New Marvellous Puppet Show". The first of these, according to Dieste, was written in a day or less, in response to political and military events, something which often happened within *Teatro de Urgencia*. Reports had arrived of a brutal Nationalist massacre within the bullring at Badajoz: the play subverted the political action by representing a bull (a frequent figure within the popular puppet show) obstructing the actions of the Nationalists. The second draws on the play of the same name by the classic playwright Miguel de Cervantes but is updated for the circumstances: three strolling players arrive in a village controlled by Nationalists to give a performance, but no one who has any Marxist or communist tendencies is allowed to see the play. All pretend they have none in order to watch the play. The piece is a comment on democracy and freedom and a clear critique of Nationalism.

Rafael Alberti's play *Radio Sevilla* seems to have been performed by both human and puppet actors, but was most popular in its puppet version, which was performed by the puppet company of the 8th Division of the Republican Army in Madrid in 1938. *Radio Sevilla* is distinctive for its lampooning of the then Nationalist general, Queipo de Llano. The title of the play refers to de Llano's nightly radio broadcasts from Seville in which he identified himself as an avenging hero. The play shows him as an increasingly drunken idiot, surrounded by flattering courtesans until he begins to transform into firstly a donkey (showing his idiocy and folly) and finally a bull, chased and beaten as in a bull run. The piece concludes with him being forced to clean another soldier's boots as an act of total subservience. As is a common use of puppets as political commentators, the figure of authority is brought low through carnivalesque means: through emphasis on the physical and uncontrollable bodily functions, through grotesque characterization, through

role-reversal and through comic violence. This portrayal of the enemy figure can be considered to have two functions: firstly, to mock the nonsensical power games which were being played out on the national level, and secondly to dispel fear and show how even fearsome figures could be brought low through comedy.

Radio Sevilla was performed alongside another of Alberti's puppet plays for *Teatro de Urgencia*, *The Saviours of Spain*, a farce showing the corruption within the Spanish Nationalist forces; the performance, which is brief, comprises a military and religious parade full of famous figures, employing tongue-twisters and drunkenness. Both pieces were performed by the *Guerillas de Teatro*, one of the theatre groups set up to perform Republican *Teatro de Urgencia*. One of the communist cultural organizations, *Loudspeaker from the Front*, toured a series of antifascist puppet plays, including those by Alberti (the two already mentioned, and also a comic poem by Alberti, titled *Gil, Gil*, which attacked the repression and slaughter being carried out), Dieste, and also others: *The Tomato Warrior* by Ramon Gaya (which experienced great popularity); *Franco's potatoes* by Ortega Redondo and others such as *Be careful with Venus*, *Canuto* by De Ponsó.

The fragments and texts of puppet plays that have been recovered indicate that puppets were used for their robust qualities of characterization, comedy and visual representation. The use of popular dramatic traditions were intended to gain the sympathy of an audience versed in those techniques and vocabularies, while presenting the Nationalist enemy as brutal beyond redemption. The emphasis on puppetry as a vital force in convincing both citizens and combatants of allegiance to the Republican cause can be seen in McCarthy's citation of a reviewer of a puppet play, that he saw "the puppet as no less useful than a rifle in the successful prosecution of the war".[17]

The third way in which puppeteers were affected by and engaged in the Spanish Civil War was a development of the aforementioned *Teatro de Urgencia*, where puppeteers (as opposed to playwrights using puppetry techniques) were specifically employed to create new performances for troops. They were engaged to write and perform short agit-prop sketches which demonstrated the moral attributes required in order to win the battle: honesty, punctuality and discipline above all. The performances were also designed to lampoon the enemy relentlessly.[18] Under the Commissariat for War, numerous companies were set up with the specific purpose of puppeteers performing to troops.

García Lorca himself was prominent in the presentation of works through his company *La Barraca*; but perhaps the most significant company of note to perform puppetry during the Civil War was *La Tarumba*. This company, in response to the war, started to present *marionetas militantes* (militant puppets) in 1936 in defence of the Republic. Following the *coup d'état* in July that year, in which a group of officers staged a coup against the Popular Front government, leading the country into civil war, *La Tarumba* played a marked role in the extension of cultural action against fascism. It collaborated with the overall cultural effort being extended during the years of the war in publishing, performing and writing new pieces which discussed the activities of the Nationalists against the intellectual stance taken by many artists. The company's repertoire includes puppet plays entitled *Hitler and Mussolini*, *Cardboard Tanks and Planes* and *Mola's Battle in Madrid*. The key features of the plays were again comic violence, ridiculing of the Nationalists and the setting up of Republican propaganda as moral force and identity. All these plays mentioned were for glove puppets, to be played in a booth, following the popular tradition. The characters were grotesque and caricaturized. The puppet served to satirize the figures of the Nationalists and to improve morale by showing the eventual defeat of the Nationalists through comic knockabout action. *La Tarumba*'s plays fell primarily into three categories: comic farces, in which the puppet antihero represented a grotesque and ridiculous figure of Nationalist authority, who was beaten during the course of the action; folk tales drawn from popular history, which included excerpts from political news and activity, mingled with the narrative of the folk tale; and tales drawn from history but commenting on military activity.

Miguel Prieto was one of the directors and playwrights associated with *La Tarumba* and the most important for its puppetry activity: he was also instrumental in the setting up of other puppet troupes associated with different militias, linked to a particular division or army and ended up being some kind of coordinator for the puppetry troupes. His interest in providing entertainment for the soldiers was incalculable: he provided support, energy and artwork for their projects and encouraged the linking of groups across divisions. The puppeteer Francisco Porras and researcher Adolfo Ayuso cite a number of performances by *La Tarumba* under Prieto's leadership; as well as those by Dieste and Alberti already mentioned above, they add *The Defence of Madrid*, *Franco the Fascist* and *The Invaders*.[19] According to Robert Marrast, writing about theatre

during the Civil War, Prieto's main concern during the war years was to perform near to the military front: for soldiers in combat and citizens; shows therefore took place in hospitals, in factories and in town squares close to where military action took place. In 1937 the Central Theatre Council was set up and Prieto was asked to commission work from puppeteers. In theory, the stories written for the war effort were free in content; the criteria, however, were restrictive: a list of characters had to be published beforehand; the performance had to be created by one or possibly two people, thus limiting the characters possible; the performance had to broadly support the ideology of the political side they were performing for, and separate scenes could not last more than a few minutes.

Puppetry continued throughout the years of the Civil War; with the victory by Nationalist forces in 1939, numerous artists, particularly those who had been at the forefront of the political activity, including Dieste, Alberti and Prieto, went into exile for many years and puppetry went through a period of repression, along with all cultural and theatre production, during the early days of the Franco dictatorship.

There are also accounts of puppetry shows and characters used by Nationalist forces. These shows functioned similarly to those on the Republican side, in that their main purpose was to ridicule what they saw as the chaos, disorderly conduct and moral deprivation of the Communists, Anarchists and Republicans overall. The same figure immortalized by García Lorca from popular puppet theatre, Don Cristóbal, was taken up as a Nationalist hero, and shows were created in which he showed up the activities and politics of Communism in particular as dangerous and foolish. The puppetry historian Henryk Jurkowski cites a Fascist organization called SEU which promoted a tour of a puppet play called *Periquito against the monsters of Democracy*; and in 1939 the National Organization for Youth sent an edict to local authorities that theatre must be used to combat democracy, communism and freemasonry.[20] Less research has been undertaken into the uses of puppetry by pro-Nationalist groups during the Civil War, and so less is known about the repertoire and the performances undertaken. It seems likely, however, that puppet theatre was used in a similar way to the performances created by the Republican sympathizers, though almost certainly with less vigour, since most artists adhered most closely to the Republican sentiments and politics expressed and aligned themselves with the left. Some critics of the use of puppet theatre (and indeed, of theatre in general) as propaganda pointed to the poor quality of the

shows in that they were often written and devised quickly, used improvised props and stages, demonstrated a lack of theatrical expertise and knowledge among the performers and the distancing of the performances from tradition. By this they meant that the use of the traditional puppet for political propaganda instead of performance of folk and traditional tales took it away from its purpose for pure entertainment. It is clear, however, that puppetry was used at a particular time, recognizing its strength and popularity, to support concerted political action.

The critic José Monleón comments that while the explosion of the Civil War gave rise to renewed energy and focus, the reality of putting into place a good antifascist and ideological theatre proved difficult. Theatre artists, concerned with the need to survive, at times enforced an ideological stance on their puppets which limited the traditional freedom of the puppet, as it was perceived, and a polemical discussion continued throughout the war years between artists, puppeteers and intellectuals about the nature of performance, ideological content (whether puppets should espouse a particular political ideology, for example) and the freedom of the artist to express their own stories. This debate about content, style and quality was prominent within the publication of the Alliance of Antifascist Intellectuals, *The Blue Monkey*, a journal established to discuss and critique antifascist art and culture during the Civil War. The use of Don Cristóbal himself by Nationalist forces was hugely derided within this publication, although the character of Don Cristóbal himself represented all that was unpalatable to the Republicans: inherited wealth, lack of moral rectitude and respect for workers, women; a literal reading could render him thus. Nevertheless, the character also represented freedom of expression, the association with ritual and popular festivity, fertility, comic violence and the triumph of the ordinary person over institutional authority. As a consequence, he had much to offer both parties.

García Lorca linked his puppet plays to political dreaming as well as to entertainment. He made it plain that he wished his theatre to be a theatre from popular roots, drawing on folk humour. García Lorca also worked closely with Prieto in encouraging others to make use of the simple form of the glove puppet to bring people closer together and remember their own roots. His vision of a touring puppet theatre was never fully realized; although he participated fully in the development of an antifascist puppet theatre through his fascination for the puppet and his participation in the work of *La Tarumba*, his tragic assassination early

in the war put an end to further experimentation with the form. García Lorca, like some others, argued for the quality of the art within the work to be maintained, and defied an over-restrictive form of presentation. The need for artistic freedom was more pronounced among those who already had an extensive and developed theatrical repertoire prior to the war, and particularly amongst the literary and middle-class puppeteers. Performing puppeteers from the popular tradition, perhaps more used to improvisation, adaptation and experimentation, were adept at the speedy writing techniques required for new scripts to be produced, and for their stock characters to be used within a variety of different narratives. The tensions that arose as a result of the vigorous use of puppetry for agit-prop, propaganda and dissemination of anti-fascist (or anti-communist, in the case of Nationalist agendas) messages were fundamental questions about the role of art during times of crisis. It is ironic that during these days of uncertainty, the public probably experienced more theatrical activity as part of their daily lives than during the years following the end of the Civil War.

The culmination of the Civil War and the onset of the dictatorship in Spain led to a complete change in puppetry activity. Puppeteers were banned from political performance; puppet shows now fell under censorship regulations which they had previously been exempt from; all puppet shows had to be performed in Spanish (as opposed to Catalan, Basque or Galician as well as Spanish) and the repertoire was obliged to conform to Catholic ideology and immorality was prohibited. Puppet shows, previously considered spectacles for all ages, were now primarily relegated to children's theatre and confined to designated celebrations and events. Numerous puppeteers went into exile and continued their work, large numbers of these in Argentina and Mexico, where the repertoire was extended considerably due to the influx of artists. The rupture with the past "golden age" of puppetry, however, was catastrophic for Spanish puppeteers. Experimentation within Spanish theatre all but halted until the 1970s when puppeteers once more began to reclaim their popular roots. The figure of Don Cristóbal diminished considerably over the years of the dictatorship and his voice as an anti-clerical, anti-authoritarian carnivalesque hero was silenced. Political theatre was not permitted and those puppeteers remaining in Spain were forced to perform to a non-political and anodyne agenda.

During the Civil War, therefore, puppeteers were employed to create work which deliberately and explicitly extolled the virtues of whichever

side they were fighting on. This was more prominent through the use of puppetry by Republican troops, since the style of puppetry agitprop developed directly from the use of puppets in education which had been given so much attention during the 1930s in artistic and educational workshops set up during the Second Republic, and mentioned here. Nevertheless, theatre was used consciously by both sides of the conflict for two primary purposes: firstly, to encourage soldiers and civilians towards the "correct" attitude and course of action, and secondly, to lampoon and ridicule the other side. Popular figures from the puppetry repertoire were appropriated in this way to represent either Nationalist or Republican popular opinion. This chapter attempts to show the particular contribution made by puppetry to the ideological and political developments during the Civil War; its popular form as suitable in style and content to Republican aspirations relating to the heightened interest in craft, popular and folk expression developed during the Second Republic, and its ability to entertain, give attention to ideological processes and dialectics, and in its references to the ordinary man or woman as the future of democracy. Its presence and vitality during these years was largely a result of the support, experimentation and interest demonstrated throughout the first three decades of the twentieth century; debate about and tension between differing ideas about the figure of the popular puppet, as is discussed, defied simplistic categorization and instead provoked discussion about the role of the artist in war. The continuation of puppetry throughout the war is a direct result of the link made by significant artists between high and low performance forms mentioned earlier; its content contributed enormously to the sense of identity in relation to state and nation throughout the years of the Civil War.

Notes

1. Propaganda, in particular, visual media in the form of posters and leaflets, played a huge part during the Spanish Civil War. The use of photography, visual media, theatre and puppetry formed part of the massive propaganda campaigns fought from both sides. Posters were used to encourage people into combat by displaying the atrocities committed by the opposing side, to bear witness to the passing of the war, and to communicate messages. A series of puppet shows were created to exalt the virtues of the ideal soldier and Spaniard, and to demonstrate and model appropriate

behaviour during the years of conflict. The purpose of these shows was partly to engage solidarity and support between soldiers and non-combatants but also to engage the citizenship with ideas of responsibility and loyalty. Thus the idea of the "ideal Spaniard" was developed.

2. Jesús Rubio Jímenez gives a good account of puppetry in relation to these categories of "high" and "low" during the early twentieth century in his chapter "Títeres y renovación artística en España durante el siglo XX", in *Títeres*, ed. Fundación Joaquín Diaz, Títeres de Binefar. 2004.
3. See Segel, Harro B. *Pinocchio's Progeny* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1995), 79–124.
4. Ibid., 125–172.
5. Ibid., 146.
6. The *Generación del 27* was a group of avant-garde artists and poets formed in 1927 and which included the playwright and poet Federico García Lorca.
7. Popkin, Louise B., *The theatre of Rafael Alberti*, (London: Tamesis, 1975), 78.
8. Astles, Cariad,, "Lorca, Don Cristobal and the Carnivalesque" in Doggart, Sebastian and Thompson, Michael, *Fire, Blood and the Alphabet*, (Durham: University of Durham, 1999), 94–102.
9. The Second Republic was a republican government which came into power in 1931 after elections overwhelmingly showed hostility to the monarchy and to the power of the Catholic Church. The Second Republic extended suffrage to women, permitted a wide range of freedom of expression and banned religious orders from working in educational contexts. Divorce was also permitted. The Second Republic lasted until 1939 when Franco won the Civil War, after which the government went into exile.
10. Lea, Kathryn, "Speaking Franco: Francisco Franco and the evolution of the Spanish artistic voice", https://gccorinthian.wordpress.com/articles-by-discipline/theatre/speaking-franco-francisco-franco-and-the-evolution-of-the-spanish-artistic-voice/
11. Ayuso, Adolfo, "Miguel Prieto, armonía y furia desde un scenario de guiñol" in *Fantoche*, October 2007, 1, (Zaragoza: UNIMA Federación España): 51.
12. Dougherty, Dru, cited by Kathryn Lea, ibid.
13. Alberti, cited in McCarthy Jim, *Political Theatre during the Spanish Civil War,* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 1999), xiv.
14. Ibid., xv.
15. Ibid., xviii.
16. Jurkowski, Henryk *A History of European Puppetry*, (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1998), 172.

17. McCarthy, James, “Militant Marionettes: Two ‘Lost’ Puppet Plays of the Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939”, *Theatre Research International*, 23, 1, 1998: 44.
18. Ibid., 45 & 48.
19. Ayuso, 12.
20. Jurkowski, 172.

CHAPTER 5

Theatrical Propaganda and an Imagined West During the Korean War

Yuh-Jhung Hwang

In September 1951, in the midst of the Korean War, *Hamlet* was staged by a South Korean theatre company, *Sinhyup*, in a movie theatre in Dae-gu, a remote southern city. Though the building's seating capacity was only about 800, an audience of over 3,000 gathered to watch the performance. Such overcrowding was characterized in the theatre by vociferous noise. In order to counter this noise and attract the audience's attention, trumpets announced Claudius's coronation at the start of the performance, and the actors were forced to project loudly. It was a resounding success, and this performance of *Hamlet* came to be regarded as one of the representative works of *Sinhyup*.

It was the first time *Hamlet* had been performed by a professional theatre troupe in the history of Korean theatre, and the leading actor, Kim Dong-Won (1917–2006), has been referred to as "an everlasting Hamlet"[1] and "a Korean Laurence Olivier"[2] by exponents of Korean theatre. It occurred approximately five years after the Liberation following the Japanese colonial regime, and one year after General Douglas MacArthur's Battle of Incheon and the Second Battle of Seoul, which

Y.-J. Hwang (✉)
University College , Cork, Ireland
e-mail: egallia@hotmail.com

© The Author(s) 2017

V. Emeljanow (ed.), *War and Theatrical Innovation*, Palgrave Studies in Theatre and Performance History,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-60225-1_5

resulted in UN forces recapturing Seoul from the North Korean army. Under such circumstances, some Korean theatre artists moved to the southern part of the country to take refuge, while others were kidnapped by North Korean troops, or went to North Korea to join the Communist party. A national theatre that had been established in Seoul just two months before the war was later re-established in Dae-gu in 1952, after *Hamlet* was first staged. Indeed, this was an extremely turbulent political period involving a complex process of state-building in which two competing ideologies—those of revolutionary North Korea and anti-communist South Korea—clashed with each other, tipping the postcolonial nation that had been liberated from Japanese rule into civil war.

In this difficult period, *Sinhyup* was the only South Korean theatre company owned by a national theatre and able to produce theatrical works, and so gained huge popularity throughout the Korean War. However, as the South Korean theatre critic Yoh Suk-Kee points out, "it is doubtful whether *Sinhyup*'s productions of Shakespeare are really successful in terms of quality, regardless of the fact that the theatre company used Shakespeare's fame to gain popularity from the public".[3] In other words, given that many people—including "children,"[4]—patronized the theatre during the war due to a lack of alternative entertainment rather than through any particular appreciation of Shakespeare, huge ticket sales did not necessarily mean that the quality of the production was particularly high.

Nevertheless, what makes this theatre company significant in the history of Korean theatre is that *Sinhyup* revealed "landscapes of theatre and culture in the 1950s".[5] Due to the turbulence of the Liberation, the subsequent process of trusteeship in Korea in which the United States supported the South, and the Soviet Union supported the North, and the waging of the Korean War, the 1950s are today regarded as a "vacuum period and dark age of theatre history".[6] Ironically, *Sinhyup*'s popularity during the Korean War is linked to one of the theatre troupe's heydays: it was founded as a national theatre company in 1950 just before the war broke out. In this regard, it is impossible to deal with *Sinhyup*'s history without considering the context of the establishment of a Korean national theatre in the mid-twentieth century. Although the Korean War was a destructive and tragic event, it affected Korean theatre in significant ways: while it had previously been based on the colonial experience, it now enabled South Korean theatre practitioners to articulate the need

for a national theatre, making the emergence of *Sinhyup* possible. In the context of Korean theatre history, the theatre troupe *Sinhyup* would be permanently linked to a demand for mainstream American theatre which provided the basis for theatrical entertainment during the Korean War. Since this theatre company was the only one able to remain financially viable through the medium of theatre during the war,[7] it would be appropriate to position its status within the context of Korean theatre.

With this in mind, this chapter seeks to explore how *Sinhyup* played a pivotal role in shaping a theatre culture during the period of the Korean War (1951–1953). To do this the chapter will firstly discuss how the company was established along with the emergence of a Korean national theatre in 1950 in the context of competing ideologies in postcolonial Korea. This will be followed by a description of how the theatre company worked as an entertainment troupe, operated by the South Korean Department of Defense during the war, to boost soldiers' morale on the battle field which also involved the spread of anti-communist theatrical propaganda. Most importantly, the chapter will explore how Shakespeare's plays contributed to defining the company's chief characteristic—the shaping of a popular imagining of the West as the origin of a pro-American culture within Korean theatre. Along with this, it will also explore how *Sinhyup* contributed to theatrical innovation during the Korean War in terms of its acting style.

National Theatre as a Spirit of Resistance

The word *Sinhyup* means "a new theatre society". What was a "new theatre" in the context of Korea in the 1950s? It took the form of a modern drama, developed during the Japanese colonial period, when the Korean intellectuals positioned themselves in opposition to traditional Korean theatre, such as *pansori* and Korean mask dancing,[8] both of which were neglected until the renaissance of Korean folk theatre in the mid-1970s. This was due to the fact that, for Korean intellectuals, modern theatre was analogous to Westernization, and a strategy for debunking the perspectives and traditions held by Japan and China during the colonial period.[9] In other words, instead of traditional Asian values such as Confucianism, these intellectuals gave priority to value such as individual freedom, which these intellectuals regarded as Western. Thus, establishing and developing a new drama as a modern theatre became a priority and demanded an ongoing effort from those working in Korean theatre at that time.

Following the Liberation, the theatre field was divided into two: most Korean theatre practitioners who favoured the Communist regime and sought a socialist and communist theatrical movement went to North Korea, leaving those who favoured an anti-communist regime to remain in South Korea, seeking to create a new, realist drama during the period of trusteeship. Given that during the Japanese colonial period Korean theatre people equated realist drama with modern theatre and as the most effective means of describing the repressed people's lives and resistance against Japan,[10] such a tendency to create and develop a realist Korean drama was continued after the Liberation. In this regard, the new theatre pursued by *Sinhyup* would seem to also emphasize a realist drama, to be further addressed in the section on "The Discovery of a *Sinhyup* Style" below.

Only right-wing dramatists remained in the South following the establishment of the US military government and the declaration of independence by the Republic of Korea in 1948. Right-wing theatre people in addition sought to establish a national theatre with the help of a Korean government in 1949 in order to forge "the development of a national theatre stage"[11] and of "creating a national drama"[12] at that time. To put it succinctly, for these theatre practitioners supporting the South, the "nation" meant South Korea only. Not surprisingly, for the most part, they served as a counterpart to the leftist dramatists who resided in South Korea and later went over to North Korea after the Liberation. In fact, in the context of Korean history, the term "the right wing" includes those harbouring pro-Japanese sentiments, particularly during the Japanese colonial period. Most right-wing dramatists such as Yu Chi-Jin, who made an effort to enlighten the people through the medium of theatre in early twentieth-century Korea, had been involved in pro-Japanese activities during the 1940s, when the Japanese suppression of Korea peaked during wartime mobilization. This would remain an indelible stain on their artistic careers. Nevertheless, South Korean theatre historian Lee Seung-Hee contends that for theatre people, hardly anyone makes an issue about the morality of the right-wing dramatists' activities in support of the Japanese government, and such pro-Japanese activities were merely regarded as being on an individual level rather than occurring on a social level that could be blamed on society as a whole.[13] This aspect reflects the contradictions of Korean theatre after the Liberation and leading up to the Korean War.

Just two months before North Korea's invasion of South Korea in June 1950, a national theatre institution was founded in Seoul. Although the emergence of modern Korean theatre culture is generally dated to the first modern playhouse built in 1908,[14] and funded by a Korean emperor, this was the first national theatre building in Korean history that was large enough to accommodate an audience of 1,800 people.[15] Yu Chi-Jin became its first director and served as the chair of the national theatre, where he made an attempt to use his new administrative power to shape a national drama in a new independent nation. By accentuating the fact that "in order to create a national drama, our national theatre is to be established",[16] Yu stated that "we should complete this task in the name of a new independent nation, unlike other nations which already established their national dramas during the feudal period".[17] It is certain that he felt an urge to create and establish a tradition that might achieve a national unity through this national theatre house.[18]

However, to Yu and theatre people remaining in the South, the concept of a national theatre was nothing more than an abstract and superficial idea that was merely created to oppose communist theatre or leftist politics. The purpose of creating a national theatre was "to embody a democracy of the Free World".[19] It would seem that for Yu, theatre was a forum for a national spirit of resistance against the North in order to "gain a victory from communists who pursued ideological anomy".[20] Thus, Yu's notion of a national theatre refers to the fact that "once a particular nation gets strong culturally, then the entire world of democracy will be strengthened".[21] In this regard, the foundation of *Sinhyup* as a national theatre company matched the key elements of Yu's political beliefs. Lee Hae-Rang (1916–1989), one of the key members of *Sinhyup*, similarly argued that an important task of a national theatre was "to resist against the leftist theatre,"[22] and to emphasize the importance of "a national spirit of resistance".[23] Lee also believed that the establishment of a national theatre house could be a means of "overcoming the crisis of a new theatre".[24] These claims were an obvious reaction to the socio-historical dimension of the conflicts resulting from both pro- and anti-communist ideologies among the Korean theatre people. In other words, the history of Korean theatre during the Liberation period was centred on the dynamics of the rightist politics representative of Yu Chi-Jin and his people[25]; as theatre practitioners, they followed Yu's idea of theatre in terms of how they could achieve a dominance over South Korean theatre.

Furthermore, the fact that a national theatre followed Yu's intention to develop a national drama is also demonstrated by the evidence that the first production by the theatre was Yu's own national historic play *Wonsullang*, based on Korean folklore. It narrated the story of an ancient war hero who defended the kingdom against Tang China's invasion in 668 BC. This production was regarded by audiences as revealing "a patriot spirit as a strong theme of the play".[26]

Indeed, Yu is regarded as a trendsetter in realist Korean drama; he launched a theatre movement during the colonial period, and also served as a playwright representative of such dramas in the context of Korean theatre history. From that time on, he was consciously attempting to create a vehicle for the embodiment of a national spirit, using a realist drama as propaganda to achieve this during the Liberation period. In relation to the premiere of a national theatre, his standpoint on national drama might well have been to provide a basis of a realistic representation of the Korean people, that would enlighten them, and inspire a national spirit. After Yu became the first director of a national theatre, he wished to achieve a national theatre as a legitimate institution to develop his playwriting, directing and acting style.

Because the concept of national drama had not been clarified and remained abstract at this time, Yu's aim of using the national theatre institution to create a national drama was not realized, as only two productions were introduced to the general public on the national stage before North Korea invaded and the Korean War broke out. After Seoul was captured by the North, the national theatre ceased to function. Some actors of *Sinhyup* fled to Dae-gu for safety, while others who remained in Seoul hid, were forced to join a communist theatre society, or were kidnapped and taken to the North. During this time of refuge, they were not able to continue as national actors, receiving a salary from the South Korean government. *Sinhyup* became a private theatre company in southern cities of Korea, and later joined an entertainment troupe to boost South Korean soldiers' fighting spirit against North, and being paid by the army to maintain their livelihood during the war.[27] This situation lasted until a national theatre was able to resume and *Sinhyup* was reincorporated into a national theatre company in Seoul in the spring of 1957. At this time, *Sinhyup* was no longer self-financing, due to the rising popularity of cinema which displaced theatre as major entertainment.[28] Accordingly, the heyday of *Sinhyup*'s activities during the war ended.

Contesting National Identities as Theatrical Propaganda

Only three days after the Korean War broke out, Seoul was occupied by the North Korean army. Following that initial occupation, there were four occasions in which Seoul was captured by the either the North Korean army or the South Korean army throughout the course of the war. This reveals the extremely precarious situation of the Korean War and set in motion a vicious cycle of violence against innocent civilians.

The official name of the conflict is the Korean War, but it is known differently in the two Koreas. To North Koreans, it is called the Fatherland Liberation War, as they regarded the war largely as a fight against external political forces such as the USA; conversely, to South Koreans, it is called the War of 25th June, which is the date on which war broke out. South Korea's emphasis on the date in which hostilities began highlights North Korea's invasion of the South. This different approach to naming the conflict indicates how the Korean War was not only a civil war between North and South Korea, but also an international conflict fought between the powerful states of the United States and the Soviet Union. In other words, the waging of the Korean War consolidated the Cold War in the Korean peninsula after the 35 year period of colonial rule by the Japanese, as both the Soviet Union and United States intervened to divide Korea into North and South. This geographical division was based on the differing nation-building processes of the two Koreas.

During the war and the communist occupation of Seoul, it became necessary for South Korean actors to leave and seek safety in remote southern cities, entertaining the thousands of war refugees and soldiers while their northern counterparts performed propaganda plays, such as *The Land* and *a Commander Yi Sun-Sin*[29] in the capital. As South Korean theatre historian Jun Jee-Nee argues, based on a logic of war justification and influence of the national narrative, there was a peculiar difference between North and South Korean theatre: the former expressed a powerful degree of comradeship combined with hatred for the United States; the latter explored the characters' intensity of anger and aggression in the form of family tragedy resulting from communists atrocities.[30] In both Koreas, theatre played a significant role in contesting national identities using the theatre to create propaganda appropriate for the new societies. In his book *Theatre and Propaganda*, George Szanto makes the point that "propaganda is a specific form of activated ideology".[31]

Accordingly, propaganda in theatre might take the form of an appeal to a specific political regime, thereby constructing an identity. To South Korean entertainers, theatrical propaganda meant that they joined the army to boost soldiers' morale, and also travelled between cities to perform anti-communist plays for civilian audiences. During the Korean War, as Lee Hae-Rang recalled, one aspect of theatrical propaganda in the North was through assemblies and rallies; theatre people were forced to sing the *Red Flag* to create an upsurge of anti-American sentiment, and to express their allegiance to Kim Il-Sung. This concluded with their volunteering to join the army in order to fight the American aggressors.[32] In the case of *Sinhyup*, propaganda was performed highlighting democracy as a dominant political ideology. The majority of Yu's plays were staged featuring predominantly anti-communist themes.[33] Indeed, wartime provided a situation conducive to the formation of the actors' ideological beliefs. They often witnessed "dead bodies of North Korean soldiers and smelled their rotten corpses"[34] on their way to the frontline to entertain South Korean soldiers. Such experiences helped to formulate the actors' support for a democratic nation through their activities. The effect of *Sinhyup*'s propaganda is illustrated by reactions of the audience: "each time the actors who performed a role of North Korean soldier appeared on stage, audience members shouted at them 'Kill them!'".[35] This particular recollection by the *Sinhyup* actor reveals that strength of the audience's denunciation of North Korea as its enemy. Such reactions by actors and audience members played a pivotal role in supporting their democratic regime during the war.

The popularity of *Sinhyup* in local cities during the war is especially interesting because for the Korean audiences who experienced the tragic events of the war, theatre became a source of entertainment and comfort. During the war refugee period, when a provisional capital was established in Pusan, there were few films to entertain audiences, and, furthermore, these were less popular than theatre.[36] Rather than follow a dominant trend of Korean plays, which focused on war and propaganda during the 1950s,[37] the innovative characteristics of *Sinhyup* lie rather in the fact that it sought to perform Western plays in translation. As one actor recalled, "a Korean theatre during the wartime was meant to be one that took place in southern parts of cities such as Pusan and Dae-gu".[38] In other words, Korean theatre during the war hinged on *Sinhyup*'s activities, as this company was the only professional theatre group in the refugee cities. Another actor also recalled that "if there

was no work of Shakespeare among our repertoire, we could have been left in hunger during the war",[39] a reflection of the wartime status of *Sinhyup*.

After the United States and South Korean military forces recaptured Seoul in September 1950, *Sinhyup* became an entertainment troupe under the aegis of South Korea's Department of Defense, composed of one theatre troupe, one music troupe and one dance troupe, so as to maintain their livelihood during the war. Accordingly, their status was no longer that of a national theatre troupe. Part of the reason for this was that *Sinhyup* wanted to instil a sense of patriotism within civilians, and to "preserve a Korean theatre art during the war".[40] Indeed, this opportunity created a new reality for *Sinhyup*; it also helped them to achieve huge financial gains during the war.

As an entertainment troupe, the actors in *Sinhyup* spent their time preparing a series of performances for civilians and soldiers, and staging them multiple times a day, from 9 in the morning till 11 at night.[41] The rehearsal period lasted only for a week or ten days at best, and due to a lack of cast numbers, most actors performed multiple roles during the performances.[42] They toured the southern part of South Korea, territory which the North Korean forces had failed to occupy. As the war went on, in order to support the soldiers, *Sinhyup* began to visit the frontline,[43] and became involved in pacification activities. Although there is little evidence available regarding *Sinhyup*'s tours as a military entertaining group during the war,[44] some of the actors who joined the army recalled that they felt proud of what they did for the nation[45] and that they were satisfied with their work, particularly during the war.[46] Such propaganda activities were possible because of Lee Hae-Rang's efforts "to get U.S army's financial support",[47] which was later linked to form the basis for pro-American sentiment in Korean theatre.

An Imagined West as the Origin of a Pro-American Culture

While taking refuge in local cities, *Sinhyup* staged several of Shakespeare's plays, including *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* in the early 1950s. Due to the difficult economic situation and turbulent political circumstances, such a repertoire required the introduction of available Western plays during the war, as it was impossible to produce a new Korean drama during wartime.

Although the chosen repertoire depended on the director's propensity for Shakespeare, this theatre company's resoundingly successful Shakespeare productions functioned as "a turning point in the reception of Shakespeare's works in Korea".[48] In the context of Korean theatre, Shakespeare had long been regarded as "academic literature"[49] rather than as "theatrical works",[50] but *Sinhyup*'s performances demonstrated the theatrical nature of Shakespeare's works to the Korean audience. Nonetheless, the actual conditions of the premiere of *Hamlet* were quite poor; as the actors recalled, they only had one week to rehearse the play before the opening of the performance, not to mention the poor quality of the facilities in the theatre venue. In addition, the quality of costumes and props were substandard; for example, due to the absence of a proper Western costume, long underwear was used,[51] and swords were fashioned out of bin rubbish.[52] Nevertheless, despite the restless and uncertain situation caused by the conflict, *Sinhyup*'s productions were a pleasure to Korean audiences, who, during the refugee period had nowhere to go, while the productions contributed to a new trend for the audience to "experience a new culture outside of Korea during the war".[53]

It was acknowledged that the premiere of *Hamlet* was possible because of the help of the South Korean English literature scholar Han No-Dan, yet audiences of his time were nonetheless unprepared for a proper appreciation of Shakespeare, especially during the war: "it was chaos in the auditorium, they were not ready to watch the performance, and the playhouse was too overcrowded".[54] But as Lee Hae-Rang recalled, "no matter what play staged during the war, any play would be a great hit to the war audiences".[55]

Furthermore, just as Korean audiences had no experience of watching Western drama in person and found it unfamiliar, Korean theatre practitioners, despite feeling compelled to introduce Western drama, had no in-depth knowledge of it. As well, although Western drama functioned as a model for the development of a Korean theatre, for the theatre practitioners, "the West" served as an imagined space, and most accounts and recollections revealed their unfamiliarity with Western dramas, as well as the specific challenges of producing them. Nevertheless, the curiosity of the public was piqued, and this led to huge ticket sales regardless of the quality of the performance or the theatre director's artistic intention.

What makes *Sinhyup*'s *Hamlet* significant in the history of Korean theatre is that the successful reception of Western plays during the war

would later form a basis for pro-American culture in Korean society of the 1950s. Indeed, this case is different from that during the colonial period, in which Korean dramatists received and adapted European dramas as a means of enlightening the common people. European drama played a significant role in the cultural relationship between Japan and Korea, since, for the most part, European drama was first introduced to Korea by means of Japanese translated works, such as works by Synge and O'Casey.[56] Moreover, the concept of the West, as conveyed through European drama, was quite superficial and abstract for Korean theatre directors and actors during the Japanese colonial period, as no one had the chance to see the performances in their original context, let alone to travel to European countries.

Conversely, the public's reception of Western plays during and after the war suggests that their popularity was associated with the relationship between Korea and one particular Western country in a concrete manner. For Korean theatre practitioners, the West was reducible to an identification with America due to both the pro-American sentiments among the South Korean people during the war and the increased availability of Hollywood films, particularly during the 1950s. Hence their concept of America as embodying the West seemed to be a concrete reality based on "their intimacy to Americans",[57] and which they encountered in their daily lives in the form of popular culture. Indeed, in the years prior to the Korean War, the United States Information Service supported the Korean theatre financially to translate and stage American plays such as Arthur Laurents' *Home of the Brave* and Sidney Kingsley's *The Patriots.*[58] However, South Korea's relationship with the United States Information Service reveals that South Korea had to "be subordinate to America's guidance" about "anti-communist value and Westernization" in relation to constructing a national identity.[59]

After the war, some Korean theatre practitioners were sent to the United States in order to see and experience American theatre culture. For instance, in 1955, funded by the United States Information Service, Lee Hae-Rang visited the United States to see contemporary American plays. Yu Chi-Jin paid a similar visit in 1956, funded by the Rockefeller Foundation.[60] Shortly thereafter, American plays were first introduced by *Sinhyup* in Korea such as *A Street Car Named Desire* (1955), *Desire Under the Elms* (1955), *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* (1960) and *Death of a Salesman* (1957). Following contemporary trends of American theatre, the introduction of American theatre as contemporary drama was mostly

completed during the late 1950s, thereby encouraging and developing a Korean realist theatrical style.

In this context, *Sinhyup*'s production of Shakespeare's works served as the springboard for the boom of American culture and theatre in the period which followed the war. For Korean theatre people, American theatre was understood as "an alternative to a new drama, or the extension of the politics, an alternative to a popular drama".[61] For them, America was seen as a "symbol of freedom as well as an affluent country",[62] as recalled by Lee Hae-Rang. In this regard, it was no surprise that Lee Hae-Rang, the leading director of *Sinhyup*, later acted as "a missionary of American Theatre to Korea".[63] Furthermore, it is undeniable that the introduction of contemporary American plays was intended as a "means to fill in the absence or lack of Korean drama",[64] rather than to "improve the quality of Korean theatre"[65] within the broader context of Korean theatre history. Moreover, the tendency of "the West" to be reduced to solely referencing America, meant that Korean theatre culture relied on and was obviously subordinate to a dominant American cultural hegemony, both financially and politically.[66]

The Discovery of a *Sinhyup* Style

Another aspect of *Sinhyup*'s innovation within Korean theatre during the war is their contribution to a new style of acting, referred to as the *Sinhyup* style. The Korean theatre director Lim Young-Woong recalled *Sinhyup*'s leading actor Kim Doing-Won's characteristic acting style:

> The term realistic is quite vague. Kim Dong-Won's concept of realistic acting [in the 1950s] is quite different from contemporary Korean actors' concept of realistic acting. However, he had been faithful to his acting as the first generation of Korean theatre and created a style of acting, the so called "Kim Dong-Won's acting" as realism. So it should be highly regarded that he [and *Sinhyup's* signature acting style] would provide a seed for realistic acting in the context of the Korean theatre.

Indeed, it is widely acknowledged that Kim's acting style is representative of *Sinhyup*. However, given that the actors endeavoured to project as loudly as possible and to exaggerate their movements as a means of overcoming the challenge posed by overcrowding, as Lim Young-Woong described, it was doubtful whether their acting style was able to accomplish a realistic form during the war.

According to the theatre historian Ro Seunghee, Lee Hae-Rang's directing style fully emphasized realism as an artistic expression yet was closely linked to a romantic style of acting.[67] Under his directing, Kim Dong-Won's acting is depicted as a poetic dance movement and with rhythmical tone of the dialogue.[68] Furthermore, Kim admired a Japanese actor, Osamu Takizawa, and considered this Japanese actor exemplary, which inspired him to pursue his own career in Korean theatre.[69] Yet, the fact that Osamu worked at the Tsukiji Little Theatre suggests that his acting style might have been rooted in Japanese *Sinpa* style, which would have duly affected Kim. Indeed, Japanese *Sinpa* theatre arose from Kabuki theatre and featured an intense degree of emotional response, which had been popular during the colonial period.[70] To put it differently, *Sinhyup*'s acting style as represented by Kim Dong-Won, while based on emotional intensity, was "decorative".[71] In other words, such a different evaluation of *Sinhyup*'s way of acting clearly reveals that it was in a transitional period, transforming the Japanese *Sinpa* style.

In Korean theatre, realism is a mainstream stylistic trend and was regarded at the time as synonymous with modern theatre within the framework of developing a Korean theatre. Most Korean theatre historians use the term "realism" as referring to a linear and evolving perspective based on the history of Western theatre, as if "each period has a single, defining ideology".[72] Thus, modern and contemporary periods are divided according to the characteristics of theatre: realist drama as identified with the beginnings of European modern theatre from the 1910s to the 1930s, while the peak of realist drama and the emergence of anti-realist drama in Korean theatre occurred in the 1960s. However, because of the Korean War, it was impossible to describe theatre in Korea as developing gradually using this linear historical model. There were areas of Korean theatre not yet ready to accept Western theatre practices, which makes it difficult to identify one specific period or one particular theatre trend. Such periods were rather characterized as "mixed"[73] and the concept of realism has thus been used quite elastically in the Korean context.

According to Lee Hae-Rang

> After the Liberation, realism was predominant. But it was a distorted realism which came from the Soviet Union's social realism as a means for a social revolution. Of course, this kind of realism belonged to communist

> artists in Korea at that time. They named all the arts as realism including theatre and if the realism did not match any of artistic work, it would be condemned as anti-arts. Due to the fact that realism as a healthy movement of arts is associated with leftist politics, those artists who objected to the communists became isolated from this trend of realism. Thus, the rightist artists were unwillingly even to let the term realism pass their lips.[74]

Lee's statement clearly shows the particular position of realist arts in the complicated situation of competing different political ideologies before the war. It also reveals that, from the start, *Sinhyup* did not pursue a realist drama. Since this theatre troupe was representative of the right-wing dramatists in the theatre, realism did not become a priority until Lee Hae-Rang decided to favour it as a means for evolving a Korean theatre.

Due to limited number of facilities and to wartime audiences with no specific knowledge of theatre, the amount of time they could rehearse was no more than one week. Moreover, considering that they usually performed their roles in cinemas rather than purpose-built theatres during the war, it was difficult to develop such aspects as dialogue technique. Therefore, it is no wonder that Kim Dong-Won recalled *Hamlet* as "a very tough task beyond his capacity".[75] Inevitably the actors' financial needs intervened so that rather than focusing on the quality of acting, they were busy introducing and performing the plays in order to maintain their living throughout the war years. In addition, as one of the actors recalls, "we had no sufficient time to create a character depending on a diverse range of theatrical works at that time; there would be no particular difference to the ways in which we acted between Western translation plays and Korean historic plays".[76] In particular, until the late 1960s, it was still the norm for an offstage prompter to remind actors of forgotten lines.[77] This explains how *Sinhyup*'s actors were able to perform without proper rehearsals. Their method of representing their characters was to imitate their outward appearance, such as wearing a wig as if they were Westerners.[78] Moreover, it cannot be overlooked that the policy of reserved seats was not introduced to theatres until 1955.[79] Until then, it was common for a theatre meant to accommodate 1,000 people to allow more than 2,000 people to enter the auditorium, due to a lack of regulation.[80] Such circumstances militated against the possibility for the actors to perform their roles in a realistic manner.[81]

After the war, when Lee Hae-Rang returned to Seoul from a trip to New York's Broadway, funded then by the United States Information Service, he felt an urgent need to adapt a realist drama through the

medium of American theatre: “it was beyond my expression to see American theatre practitioners who eagerly pursue a realism in person in a democratic American society”.[82] He criticized himself for not having pursued realism and felt it was his “responsibility”[83] that Korean theatre had developed without recognizing the importance of realism. Indeed, the older generation of Korean theatre practitioners, who had lived and worked through Japanese colonial rule and the Korean War, were responsible for developing a Korean theatre. This is the reason why *Sinhyup*’s acting style became embodied as realistic after the war. However, although Lee Hae-Rang prioritized a realistic representation in theatre, his idea of realistic representation, in the context of Korean theatre history, is quite different from the ideas of contemporary Korean theatre practitioners. When *Hamlet* was first staged by *Sinhyup*, Lee, as the director, stated that he had highlighted “Hamlet’s fiery passion for revenge”[84] for his father’s murderer. After the premiere of *Hamlet* in 1951, he published a short essay in a newspaper, writing that “there might be a difficult play for the audiences, but there cannot be a difficult theatre. There was only a difficult directing.”[85] He thus accentuates the importance of directing, arguing that it brings about concrete acting which enables the audience to understand the logic of the performance. Indeed, Lee focused on how the audience would “feel real” and would be “moved” by their “emotional response” during the performance.[86] This is how Lee understood realistic representation. Not surprisingly, this approach to realistic acting became the main goal of Korean theatre, “to achieve the audience’s emotional response and persuade them emotionally without considering a diversity of playtexts”.[87] This is particularly true when we note that the actors working for *Sinhyup* during the war felt nostalgic for large-scale audience reactions and they worried about the lack of audiences present at some performances.[88] This might be a particular aspect of Korean theatre as well as a limitation. At the very least we can say that this phenomenon developed continuously after the war. It offered a foundation for a Korean style of realist acting equivalent to a modern and contemporary theatre and as a reaction to traditional Korean theatre.

Notes

1. “An Everlasting Hamlet: Kim Dong-Won”, *Kyunghyang Newspaper*, 13 October 2004.
2. “Hamlet: Kim Dong-Won”, *Mae-IL Newspaper*: 15 May 2006.

3. Yoh Suk-Kee, *The Reality of Korean Theatre* (Seoul: Common People, 1972), 73.
4. Lee Hae-Rang, "Remaining Stories that I Want to Talk", *Jungang Newspaper*, 11 December 1978.
5. Kim Ock-Ran, "Korean Theatre in the 1950s and *Sinhyup*'s Position", *Korean Literature* 34 (2007): 121.
6. Kim, "*Sinhyup*'s Position", 129.
7. Lee Hae-Rang, "Remaining Stories that I Want to Talk", *Joongang Newspaper*, 17 November 1978.
8. *Pansori* is a musical performance conducted by one singer together with one drummer.
9. Hwang Yuh-Jhung "A Mad Mother and Her Dead Son: The Impact of the Irish Theatre on Modern Korean Theatre", *Literature Compass* 9/8 (2012): 560.
10. Hwang, "A Mad Mother and Her Dead Son": 563.
11. Hong Hae-Sung, "The Opening of a National Theatre and the Foundation of *Sinhyup*", *Kyunghyang Newspaper*, 30 April 1950.
12. Yu Chi-Jin, "The Realization of a National Theatre", *Kyunghyang Newspaper*, 26 December 1949.
13. Lee Seung-Hee, "A Study of the Process of Aquiring a Hegemony from the Rightists' Theatre in the 1940s", *Journal of Korean Drama and Theatre* 21 (2005): 188–191.
14. Seo Yun-Ho, "My Journey of Experiencing Cultural Contents", *Seoul Culture Today*, 12 September 2013.
15. Kim, "*Sinhyup*'s Position", 121.
16. Yu, "The Realization of a National Theatre".
17. Yu, "The Realization of a National Theatre".
18. Yu, "The Realization of a National Theatre".
19. "The Meaning of a National Theatre", *Dong-A Newspaper*, 13 February 1953.
20. "Yu Chi-Jin: A Pioneer in a New Theatre Movement", *Dong-A Newspaper*, 21 March 1954.
21. Yu Chi-Jin, "A National Culture and The Construction of Democracy", *Dong-A Newspaper*, 1 January 1950.
22. Lee Hae-Rang, "A Spirit of Resistance and a New Theatre Movement", *Dong-A Newspaper*, 23 August 1955.
23. Lee, "A Spirit of Resistance".
24. Lee Hae-Rang, "Overcoming the Crisis of a New Theatre through the Founding of a National Theatre", *Kyunghyang Newspaper*, 5 September 1949.
25. Lee, "A Study of the Process of Acquiring". 188–215.
26. Oh Young-Jin, "After Watching *Wonsullang*", *Kyunghyang Newspaper*, 3 May 1950.

27. Kim Dong-Won, *The Curtain Call of an 88 Year Old* (Seoul: Taehak-sa, 2003), 191.
28. Lee Hae-Rang, “Remaining Stories that I Want to Talk”, *Joongang Newspaper*, 25 December 1978.
29. Kim Jeong-Soo, “A Study of North Korea’s Drama Performance around the Korean War”, *North Korean Studies Review* 14/1 (2010): 129.
30. Jun Jee-Nee, “A Study of Theatrical Censorship of North Korea during the Korean War through a Panel Discussion about the Journal *Chosunmunhak*”, *The Journal of Korean Drama and Theatre* 48 (2015): 152.
31. George Szanto, *Theatre and Propaganda* (Texas: University of Texas Press, 1978), 6.
32. Kim Suk-Min, *Korean Entertainers’ History of Anti-Communist Movement (*Seoul: Art and Culture Service, 1989), 67.
33. “An Interview with Kang Yu-Jung”, *Hankyoreh Newspaper*, 24 October 1991.
34. Park Am, “6.25 and Shakespeare”, *Korean Theatre Journal*, June 1976: 34.
35. Park, “6.25 and Shakespeare”, 33.
36. Han No-Dan, “*Junyuhwa*”, *Korean Theatre Journal*, June 1976: 18.
37. Oh Young-Mi, *The Formation of a Korean Theatre and Its Development during the Post-War Period* (Seoul: Taehak-sa, 1996), 27.
38. Han No-Dan, “*Junyuhwa*”, 18.
39. Park, “6.25 and Shakespeare”, 32.
40. Lee Hae-Rang, “Remaining Stories That I Want to Talk: The Founding of Entertainment Troup”, *Jungang Newspaper*, 5 December 1978.
41. Kang Yu-Jung, “Entertaining the Troops Under the Gunshots”, *Korean Theatre Journal*, June 1976, 46.
42. Park, “6.25 and Shakespeare”, 34.
43. Kang, “Entertaining the Troops”, 46
44. Maeng Su-Yoel, “Hidden Heroes Who Instilled a Fighting Spirit to War Heroes”, *Kookbang Newspaper*, 24 June 2016.
45. Maeng, “Hidden Heroes Who Instilled a Fighting Spirit”.
46. Park, “6.25 and Shakespeare”, 36.
47. Ro Seunghee, “A Study of the Process of Adapting a Romantic Realist Acting in Korea by Lee Hae-Rang: with regard to the Transformation Process of His Concept of ‘*Inner Truth*’”, *The Journal of Korean Drama and Theatre* 33 (2011): 114.
48. Shin Jung-Ok, “The Process of Shakespeare Acceptance in Korea (1) 1906–1961”, *Drama Studies* 23 (2004): 112.
49. Shin, “The Process of Shakespeare”, 52.
50. Shin, “The Process of Shakespeare”, 52.

51. Kim Sung-Hee, *The Oral History of Korean Modern Art: Kim Dong-Won* (Seoul: Arts Council Korea, 2003), 162.
52. Kim, *The Oral History of Korean Modern Art*, 163.
53. Kim, "*Sinhyup*'s Position", 213.
54. Lee Hae-Rang, "Remaining Stories that I Want to Talk", *Joongang Newspaper*, 17 November, 1978.
55. Lee Hae-Rang, "Remaining Stories that I Want to Talk", *Joongang Newspaper*, 7 December, 1978.
56. Hwang, "A Mad Mother and Her Dead Son", 560.
57. Yoh, *The Reality of Korean Theatre*, 115.
58. Woo Su-Jin, "American Plays and Imagined 'America' in Korea -Focused on Yu Chi-Jin's Productions of American Plays", *Journal of Korean Drama and Theatre* 39 (2013): 98–99.
59. Hoe Eun, "The Role in Cultural Diffusion Played by the United States Information Service, Korea", *Journal for the Studies of Korean History* 15 (September 2003): 253.
60. "Theatre Journey", *Kyunghyang Newspaper*, 14 July 1956.
61. Woo, "American Plays and Imagined 'America'", 107.
62. Lee Hae-Rang, "Remaining Stories that I Want to Talk", *Joongang Newspaper*, 7 November 1978.
63. Kim, "*Sinhyup*'s Position", 143.
64. Yoh, *The Reality of Korean Theatre*, 124.
65. Yoh, *The Reality of Korean Theatre*, 123.
66. Lee Young-Seok, "A Study of the Irrepresentational Aspect of Korean Post-War Theatre" (PhD diss., Seoul National University, 2016), 33.
67. Ro, "A Study of the Process of Adapting", 113.
68. Kim Jeong-Soo, "A Study of Acting Style in Korean Theatre: From 1945 to 1950s", *Journal of Korean Theatre Education* 14 (2008): 39, 50.
69. Kim Dong-Won, "Cover Story: I Would Like to Remain an Everlasting Hamlet", *Korean Theatre Journal,* December 1998: 10.
70. Sinpa means "new wave" or "new style". Korean Sinpa style is a localized form of Japanese Sinpa that modernized Kabuki—a classical Japanese dance-drama. By imitating the Japanese Sinpa, the content of Korean Sinpa theatre predominantly featured love affairs and marriage relying on exaggeration and extreme sentiment by the actors. In this respect, Sinpa was regarded as synonymous with commercial theatre during the Japanese colonial period.
71. Kim, "A Study of Acting Style", 48.
72. Thomas Postlewait, "The Criteria for Periodisation in Theatre History", *Theatre Journal* 40/3 (October 1988): 310.
73. Lee, "Remaining Stories", 17 November, 1978.
74. Lee, "Remaining Stories", 17 November, 1978.

75. Kim Dong-Won, “The World of Shakespeare”, *Kyunghyang Newspaper*, 31 October 1951.
76. Lee, “Remaining Stories”, 17 November, 1978.
77. Lee, “A Study of the Irrepresentational Aspect”, 135.
78. Lee, Ibid.
79. Ro, “A Study of the Process of Adapting”, 112
80. Ro, “A Study of the Process of Adapting”, 112.
81. Kim, “A Study of Acting Style”, 45.
82. Lee Hae-Rang, *The Truth of Illusion* (Seoul: Saemunsa, 1991), 176.
83. Lee, *The Truth of Illusion*, 176.
84. Lee Hae-Rang, “Remaining Stories that I Want to Talk-*Hamlet*”, *Joongang Newspaper*, 9 December 1978.
85. Lee Hae-Rang, “The Backline Theatre Movement”, *Kyunghyang Newspaper*, 31 October 1951.
86. Lee, “A Study of the Irrepresentational Aspect”, 40.
87. Lee, “A Study of the Irrepresentational Aspect”, 44.
88. Park, “6.25 and Shakespeare”, 33; Han, “Junyuhwa”, 18.

CHAPTER 6

The Biopolitics of ISIS' Iconoclastic Propaganda

Gabriella Calchi-Novati

Slavoj Žižek claims that the obscene message of the unconditional exercise of Power is: "laws do not really bind me, I can do to you WHATEVER I WANT, I can treat you as guilty if I decide to do so, I can destroy you if I say so." Considering that such "obscene excess [is] a necessary constituent of the notion of sovereignty",[1] and that sovereignty is one of the main features of biopolitics, this chapter will investigate the biopolitics of ISIS' unconditional exercise of Power, as we witness it through their propaganda *dispositif*. After a brief introduction to what constitutes the ISIS' propaganda campaign, the chapter will then investigate its biopolitical tones and show that obscenity and indistinction are the main traits of ISIS' propaganda, which happens in that hybrid realm that I have termed the "biovirtual"[2]: a realm that produces *live* consequences (i.e. prisoners are really killed), while manifesting itself through *digital* environments such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube and so on. The difference between *live* and *digital* appears to be not only uncertain but also increasingly unstable. It should be stressed at the very beginning of this chapter that if it true that ISIS propaganda

G. Calchi-Novati (✉)
Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland
e-mail: calchinovatig@gmail.com

© The Author(s) 2017

V. Emeljanow (ed.), *War and Theatrical Innovation*, Palgrave Studies in Theatre and Performance History,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-60225-1_6

is presented in the style of a performance, it is in itself not a performance. The attempt here is to address the biopolitics of ISIS propaganda by attempting to read it "as" performance, in the sense that Richard Schechner uses it,[3] but positioning it within the post-9/11 aesthetic. As acutely noted by Žižek, until 9/11 "the so-called fundamentalist terror" was "an expression of the passion for the Real".[4] What happened with the 9/11 attacks was the unveiling of "the fundamental paradox of the 'passion for the Real'", namely "the pure semblance of the spectacular *effect of the Real*". Žižek articulates such a claim as follows:

> We can perceive the collapse of the WTC towers as the climactic conclusion of the 20th century arts' "passion for the Real" – the "terrorists" themselves did not do it primarily to provoke real material damage, but *for the spectacular effect of it*.[5]

I would claim that this is exactly what ISIS wants to provoke through its ultraviolent propaganda: they attempt to deliver (whether consciously or not) the spectacular effect that the Real can provide. In an age where every aspect of our lives is increasingly digitalized, and in which virtual and real blend into each other, "the thrill of the Real" is "the ultimate effect", for "there is an intimate connection between the virtualisation of reality and the emergence of an infinite and infinitised bodily pain, much stronger than the usual one".[6] As Žižek provocatively puts it:

> The authentic twentieth-century passion for penetrating the Real Thing … through the cobweb of semblances which constitutes our reality thus culminates in the thrill of the Real as the ultimate "effect", sought after from digitalised special effects, through reality TV and amateur pornography, up to snuff movies. Snuff movies which deliver the "real thing" are perhaps the ultimate truth of Virtual Reality.[7]

Since 2014, ISIS has been employing in its propaganda material images that are directly borrowed from Hollywood films, American television series and videogames. Such a cobweb of semblances has, in ISIS' hands, culminated in the "thrill of the Real": ISIS' videos—snuff films at the nth degree—deliver the only "real thing" that cannot yet be faked, namely death. This is "the dirty obscene underside of Power": individuals are not just ready to die for the caliphate; they are ready to commit obscene crimes for it.[8]

Obscene State of Exception

The etymology of the English word "obscene" is ambiguous, with most dictionaries referring to the French *obscène* and Latin *obscaenus* meaning from or with filth, disgust or repulsion. There is, however, another interpretation of the etymology that suggests that the term "obscene" derives from the Latin *obscaena* or Greek *ob-skene*, which means "off-stage", or perhaps more accurately, "not fit to be seen on-stage". Lynda Nead in her study of the obscene and art argues that the existence in the eighteenth century of secret museums (where sexually explicit artefacts were exhibited) proves that isolating those kind of works was but "a spatial enactment of the possible etymology of the *obscene*", according to which the obscene is what "is off or to one side of the stage": the obscene is that which should remain "beyond the immediate frame of representation or visibility".[9] Peter Michelson reminds us that obscenity in the Greek sense of the term means to bring "onstage what is customarily kept offstage", like the blinding of Oedipus or Jocasta's suicide.[10] Indeed, theatre has a long history of onstage violence: suffice it to think of *Le Théâtre du Grand-Guignol* which from its opening in 1897 until its closing in 1962 specialized in naturalistic "horror plays designed to terrorise and amuse its audience".[11] A deeply unsettling feeling emerges when we compare some of the descriptions of the plays performed in the Grand Guignol with the imagery of ISIS' propaganda videos. Victor Emeljanow brings to our attention a newspaper article written for the reopening of the Grand Guignol twelve years after its closure, which, disturbingly, could very well be a description of one of ISIS' horrific videos. We read: "severed heads thud on a blood soaked floor. A glistening scalpel slices open the throat of a screaming victim. Knives tear into writhing bodies".[12] The ultra-violent propaganda material produced by ISIS, employs real knives, real severed heads and real screaming victims, thus bringing onto the world's stage, now through the Internet, that which should be kept, not just offstage, but never actualized.

However, it is necessary for us to consider that the obscenity of ISIS' online propaganda material, from videos of massacres to glossy magazines such as *Dabiq*, also confirms Hal Foster's argument that "obscene" does not just mean "against the scene". It also suggests "an attack on the scene of representation, on the image-screen".[13] Indeed by "hijacking western pop-culture", from Hollywood movies and television series to videogames, ISIS' undeniable obscenity attacks both "the scene of

representation" and "the image-screen". ISIS makes us witness a double collapse in the realm of representation: that which is painfully real and that which is theatrically staged, are confused, mingled and marketed as a desirable performance of Power, a Power that always-already performs above and beyond the Law. In ISIS' ideological apparatus the "paradox of the state of exception" rises to its highest degree: in their *modus operandi* "it is impossible to distinguish the transgression of the law from the execution of the law".[14]

Giorgio Agamben's study of biopolitics expands on a critical analysis of what he calls "the paradox of sovereignty", namely that political model in which "the sovereign is, at the same time, inside and outside the juridical order".[15] Agamben stresses that it is crucial to understand the "topology implicit in [such a] paradox", for it is exactly the paradox in itself that defines "the degree through which sovereignty marks the limit (in the double sense of end and principle) of the juridical order"[16] as we understand it. Carl Schmitt had already addressed the concept of the sovereign, calling it "a borderline concept", and arguing that "sovereign is he who decides on the exception".[17] Therefore, for Schmitt and Agamben alike there is a clear dependency between the sovereign and the state of exception. This idea is crucial for this chapter's analysis of the biopolitics of ISIS propaganda, which claims that what we see in such propaganda is the literal and tangible appearance of a state of exception, in which the sovereign is not just one individual, but an ideological concept: obscene violence. ISIS *is* a state of exception, in that it aims at legitimizing its sovereignty by the exercise of absolute obscene power.

The concept of sovereignty has been historically understood as supreme power within a given territory. According to Agamben, there is an inescapable link between sovereign power and what he has named *nuda vita*—bare life. He contends that in order for sovereign power to exist at all, bare life needs to be produced. Bare life is the very life of *homo sacer*, a new biopolitical subject, which, according to Agamben, "maybe be killed and yet not sacrificed" because its life has been stripped of any ethical value.[18] And if it true that the state of exception always excludes bare life by positioning it, paradoxically, within the political order, Agamben seems to describe ISIS' actuality, when he notes that, when the borders of the state of exception become blurred, "the bare life that dwelt there frees itself" thus becoming "both subject and object of the conflicts of the political order".[19] This is precisely what life *is* under ISIS: life is bare, naked, stripped of any ethical value; life according to

ISIS ideology is at the same time *subject* and *object* of the obscene underside of Power, namely killing.

HD Terror

With ISIS, bare life is the exception and, at the same time, the rule. Videos, such as, *The Sons of Jews*, released in December 2015, prove the point. This video begins with a computer screen showing various images of Israel and Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu. Using the contemporary style of found-footage films, such as the 2014 film *Unfriended* directed by Levan Gabriadze, ISIS' *The Sons of Jews* opens with a scene in which a video is being uploaded onto Facebook. This is the video that the audience is about to see. After some brief footage of young students studying the Quran in an outdoor setting, six of them are called aside, in a way that resembles the "harvest ceremony" of the *Hunger Games*.[20] In the ISIS version of the *Hunger Games*, children, dressed in camouflage and balaclavas, run around an ancient ruin, followed by multiple cameras. They have a mission to discover where the enemy captives are hidden and to execute them. Once the boys find their assigned target, translucent popup graphics appear on the side of the screen showing a short presentation from each one of the victims. Then the execution takes place.

From the first scenes of the video, the sense is that of a high-tech, first-person shooter video game with multiple camera angles and high production values. There is a sense of doubling: that which was created as virtual is now turned into reality, and thus our perception, as audience, is inherently troubled. The agents in the video are reduced to a set of automatons devoid of all empathy. About this very issue, the Italian philosopher Franco "Bifo" Berardi writes that "the virtualisation of the experience of the other" is the cause of a pathology that is eroding both the sphere of empathy and the sphere of sensibility: in the age of digital communication we are all growing somehow desensitised to the "existence" of the other.[21] As we know, contemporary videogames are built around the constant *stimulation* of the players (i.e. the adrenaline rush), in the absolute absence of *empathy*: videogames characters are but virtual avatars for which players do not have to feel anything. Contemporary philosopher and psychoanalyst Luigi Zoja suggests that what these new media have produced is "an affective distance between who watches and who is watched", which has resulted in a pathological spreading of

"video-cruelty".[22] And "video-cruelty" is what ISIS produces and reproduces over and over again.

For example, in *The Sons of Jews* the age of the children, their absolute absence of empathy and the feeling of power and excitement/blood lust that the video attempts to convey openly show what "video-cruelty" is. Unfortunately, however, violence and cruelty over time lessens their affect on the audience, which is why ISIS constantly raises the stakes, forcing my analysis to consider the ways in which ISIS exercises the "state of exception" in all its aspects. I see that bare life, in the age of ISIS, is both the means and the end: the six children of the video are bare life as much as the six "imprisoned spies" are. Once again the exception is applied to everybody, without exclusion. Schmitt, discussing exception, suggests that:

> Precisely a philosophy of concrete life must not withdraw from the exception and the extreme case, but must be interested in it to the highest degree. The exception can be more important to it than the rule, not because of a romantic irony for the paradox, but because the seriousness of an insight goes deeper than the clear generalizations inferred from what ordinarily repeats itself. The exception is more interesting than the rule. The rule proves nothing; the exception proves everything: it confirms not only the rule but also its existence, which derives only from the exception. In the exception the power of real life breaks through the crust of a mechanism that has become torpid by repetition.[23]

Agamben clarifies further the unavoidable interconnection between rule and exception, claiming that "the rule applies to the exception in no longer applying, [that is] in withdrawing from it".[24] He argues that "the exception is not the chaos that precedes order but rather the situation that results from its suspension". In addition, the philosopher draws our attention to the etymological root of the term "exception" that is "taken outside (*ex-capere*), and not simply excluded".[25] Therefore, we can see that the exception and the obscene are not simply excluded: they are taken aside, in that they happen offstage. If we now consider these concepts in relation to ISIS propaganda, I would advance that what ISIS produces is an "obscene theatricalisation of the state of exception". This claim finds supporting evidence in Simon Parking's analysis of *The Sons of Jews*:

> When, at last, each boy finds a target, cringing in the shadows, he lines up a shot and, following a *theatrical* pause, squeezes the trigger. The footage

> invites many questions. Who are these children? Who are the men they kill? What perverted doctrine could ever defend such cruelty? How large was the production team? Was there, for example, a casting director, who held auditions in search of the most photogenic boys? Who picked out the location, the ruined Qalaat al-Rahba castle on the outskirts of the Syrian city of Mayadin? Someone must have sourced the "props" and "costumes" (handguns, balaclavas), and there were at least two camera crews on foot, as evidenced by the film's dramatic, staccato cuts. Were there gaffers and grips, too? Did someone provide catering?[26]

These are important questions to address, although of course they make us feel disoriented, for we find ourselves trying to understand real executions by employing terms such as auditions, casting, catering and so on. But this is what happens when a state of exception is obscenely turned into the rule, whereby the exceptional actions are not exceptional anymore but need to be staged, rehearsed, acted and edited in order to achieve the desired result.

According to *Washington Post* journalists Greg Miller and Souad Mekhennet, such a process of theatrical construction is a key component of ISIS propaganda as a whole. For them there is an "extraordinary level of choreography" in ISIS' videos, in which "discrepancies among frames" prove "that scenes had been rehearsed and shot in multiple takes over many hours". ISIS has, according to Abu Abdullah al-Maghribi, a defector who served in ISIS' security ranks but had extensive involvement with its propaganda teams, "a whole army of media personnel" who are "more important than the soldiers and their monthly income is higher" because "they have the power to encourage those inside to fight and the power to bring more recruits to the Islamic State" from the outside. Moreover, Miller and Mekhennet report that:

> Abu Abdullah said he had witnessed a public execution-style killing in the city of Bab in which a propaganda team presided over almost every detail. They brought a white board scrawled with Arabic script to serve as an off-camera cue card for the public official charged with reciting the condemned man's alleged crimes. The hooded executioner raised and lowered his sword repeatedly so that crews could catch the blade from multiple angles. The beheading took place only when the camera crew's director said it was time to proceed. The execution wasn't run by the executioner, Abu Abdullah said. "It's the media guy who says when they are ready".[27]

And since it is the media which seem to be in charge, I think that Bourriaud's theory of postproduction may help us to further decipher ISIS propaganda. Postproduction "refers to the set of processes applied to recorded material" such as "montage, the inclusion of other visual or audio sources, subtitling, voice-overs, and special effects".[28] Bourriaud argues that in the art-world, from the 1990s onwards, artists have mainly engaged in the realm of interpretation, reproduction, re-exhibition, or simply employment of works made by others. ISIS' employment of camera shots, slow motion scenes, prolonged pauses, subtitles and voice-overs do exactly what Bourriaud calls "postproduction": they re-stage scenes of films such as *The Saw*, *Hostel*, and *American Sniper*, of video games such as *Grand Theft Auto*, and of TV series such as *Person of Interest*. ISIS hijacks images that are embedded in the Western canon in order to transform them into the main tools of its globalized theatre of horror. In *The Sons of Jews*, for example, what may appear to be a digital avatar from a shooting video game, is in fact a real child. The indistinction between what is merely performed and what is not is deeply disturbed and disturbing.

Swarmcasting Terror

It is within such an indistinction that ISIS presents itself as powerful and victorious, while the American-led Coalition is consistently presented as becoming more and more fearful and weak. To this end, ISIS "swarmcasts" its propaganda, thanks to the activity of the so called "media mujahedeen"—online supporters who disseminate its content over the Internet. The "media mujahedeen" operate through a widely dispersed network of accounts that are constantly reconfigured "much like the way a swarm of bees or flock of birds constantly reorganizes in mid-flight".[29] Such a technique has obvious consequences on the construction of spectatorship: in the age of pop-terrorism, the "one-to-many" model of radio and television broadcasting, has been replaced by "a new dispersed and resilient form (inspired by 'peer-to-peer' sharing). Producer and spectator have become indistinct at once. In the user-organised 'Swarmcast', propaganda content is both produced and released, and it is often the distributing network of media mujahedeen, rather than the original producer, that ensures the continuing content availability".[30]

Such a method eludes censorship and allows the virtual jihad to perform like a virus and become viral. It noticeably started to happen on

19 August 2014, when ISIS gained the world's attention after uploading online a video entitled *A Message to America*. Though YouTube immediately deleted the video, copies of the same videos began their viral tour through to the meticulous work of the "media mujahedeen". In this video James Foley, an American photojournalist, who was kidnapped in Syria in 2012, appears wearing an orange jumpsuit, an obvious reference to similar prison uniforms worn by the Guantanamo prisoners: ISIS is also very attentive in portraying its victims with costumes that are iconic in the Western imagery. Foley is kneeling in the desert next to a silent ISIS fighter, who is dressed from head to toe in black, with a black balaclava on his face and a knife in his left hand. Foley, in order to be clearly heard by the cameramen and thus by the audience, wears a small black microphone onto the collar of his jumpsuit, while he reads, or recites a message to America. Foley's message quoted below shows the ways in which ISIS creates the semblance of a theatrical enactment. ISIS employs costumes, body gestures and scripts as means of manufacturing their obscene propaganda. In the video we see Foley saying:

> I call on my friends, family, and loved ones to rise up against my real killers, the U.S. government. For what will happen to me is only a result of their complacency and criminality. A message to my beloved parents: save me some dignity and don't accept any meager compensation for my death from the same people who effectively hit the last nail in my coffin with their recent aerial campaign in Iraq. I call on my brother John, who is a member of the U.S. air force, think about what you are doing; think about the lives you destroy, including those of your own family. I call on you John, think about who made the decision to bomb Iraq recently and kill those people whoever they may have been. Think John who did they really kill? Did they think about me, or your family when they made that decision? I died that day, John; when your colleagues dropped that bomb on those people, they signed my death certificate. I wish I had more time … I guess, all in all, I wish I wasn't an American.

At this point, the screen goes suddenly black. After few instants, the image is restored, except that Foley this time is not wearing the microphone since his part is over. Now it is the turn of the ISIS masked fighter, who later will be known as "Jihadi John", to take over the scene, proclaiming:

> This is James Wright Foley an American citizen of your country. As a government you have been at the forefront of the aggression towards

> the Islamic State … your strikes have caused casualties amongst Muslims. You are no longer fighting an insurgency, we are an Islamic army. … Any aggression towards the Islamic State is an aggression towards Muslims.

When "Jihadi John" finishes his speech, he bends over Foley, puts his knife to his throat and begins to cut. The video goes black again, leaving to the imagination of the audience the actual performance of decapitation, only to continue with the image of Foley's dead body with his severed head positioned on his back.

The video concludes with "Jihadi John" reappearing once again on camera, this time he is dragging another American journalist, Steven Sotloff, by the collar of the orange jumpsuit. The terrorist concludes the video by addressing directly the US president: "the life of this American citizen, Obama, depends on your next decision". The message is now over, the curtain closes and the video goes black. What we see in this video is a theatricalization of "the thrill of the Real", as Žižek calls it.

Terrortainment

Although videos such as *Clanging of the Swords Part 4*,[31] or the ones that I have already mentioned, resemble Hollywood scenarios, they are very different from graphic video games and horror films: the point is not that the characters are "real" people, but rather what is portrayed is *violence-induced death*. In *Clanging of the Swords Part 4*, for example, ISIS fighters are shown cheerfully shooting at random cars and pedestrians, producing hallucinatory scenes of inhuman cruelty. There is an uncanny, seemingly flawless transition between the different scenarios: the camera unapologetically moves from close-ups of the corpses of unarmed young men; to a group of foreign fighters celebrating the burning of their passports, while across the landscape cars explode, bringing to mind scenes from well-known films such as *Mission Impossible*. This is indeed one of the major techniques of ISIS' propaganda: the appropriation and subsequent subversion of the symbols of American power, or of American culture at large: the appropriation of the Guantanamo Bay style orange jumpsuit that, until the advent of ISIS, had been a signifier of the American War on Terror, is a case in point. Another one is the aerial footage of Falluja that opens the video *Clanging of the Swords Part 4*, which, although filmed by a "flying camera controlled by radio", sends a

strong message to Western audiences: drones, "the enemy's most feared and hated weapon[s] [are] now part of ISIS' arsenal".[32]

ISIS' propaganda, since its very beginning, has openly borrowed images from Hollywood movies, American television series and videogames for recruitment purposes. As is well known, the use of entertainment for recruitment purposes has been a fundamental practice of the United States military since 9/11. In his 2010 book and documentary *Militainment, Inc.* Roger Stahl examines the politics, ethics and aesthetics that underlie the extremely problematic interrelations between entertainment and warfare. He called such a phenomenon "militainment", namely "war packaged for pleasurable consumption".[33]

In my opinion, however, ISIS does something quite different. ISIS does not use images of "war packaged for pleasurable consumption", they rather use ultraviolence to make "the dirty obscene underside of Power"—terror and horror—ready to be pleasurably consumed by a differentiated audience. It is of note that, since 2014, ISIS has created a network of more than thirty audio-visual producers. While *Al Furqan*, *Al Ittissam*, and *Al Hayat*[34] produce content aimed at a global audience and thus the language of the messages is either in English or with English subtitles, the other network producers generate culturally specific messages that are diligently tailored for each region controlled by ISIS or for areas where it hopes to exert influence, such as Syria, Iraq, Egypt, Libya, Yemen and Afghanistan.

During his speech to the Security Council of the UN on 1 October 2015, Spanish scholar Javier Lesaca illustrated the results of his extensive research on ISIS' digital audiovisual propaganda material, emphasizing that what ISIS is posing is an important "communication challenge".[35] Lesaca argued that ISIS has initiated "a new phenomenon of unpredictable consequences" that can be described as "marketing terrorism".[36] According to him, ISIS is establishing a new kind of terrorism that "uses marketing and digital communication tools not only for 'socialising terror' through public opinion, as previous terrorist groups did, but also for making terror popular, desirable, and imitable".[37] With ISIS we are witnessing the appearance of a new phenomenon, which is a step beyond *militainment*. I would call this new phenomemon *terrortainment*: "terror packaged for pleasurable consumption"; a phenomenon that, as a consequence, turns terrorism into a fetish, for it becomes both marketable and consumable.

The End of Postmodernity

When at the end of April 2004, photographs of US soldiers abusing prisoners in military prisons in Iraq went public, the reaction of US Army Command was baffling in that "the Army investigation confirmed that soldiers at Abu Ghraib were not trained at all in Geneva Convention rules"[38], openly admitting that "nowadays … soldiers have to be taught not to humiliate and torture prisoners".[39] What those infamous pictures showed was a theatricalization for the camera of the psychological and physical humiliations inflicted by US soldiers on the enemy: in this a seminal moment of *terrortainment* can be recognized. Žižek notes that "the positions and costumes of the prisoners suggest a theatrical staging, a *tableau vivant*, which cannot but call to mind the 'theatre of cruelty', Robert Mapplethorpe's photographs, scenes from David Lynch movies".[40] What I find pertinent to my argument is Žižek's main claim, namely, that what is at stake in those pictures is a sort of initiation of the Iraqi prisoners into American culture. In other words, by undergoing that "theatre of cruelty" the prisoners were "getting a taste of the obscenity that counterpoints the public values of personal dignity, democracy and freedom".[41] Is it not the case that in ISIS propaganda, this very obscenity backfires on the West?

Returning to the opening quote from Žižek, according to which on the one hand ISIS ideology preaches against Western permissiveness, while on the other, it allows for obscene behaviour including robberies, gang rapes, torture and public murder of "infidels", it appears evident how ISIS has indeed created for themselves a state of exception in which biopolitics, or rather thanatopolitics, the politics of death, perform undisturbed. Excess is *the* cipher of ISIS' "state of exception", in that they claim to be beyond and above any geographical *nomos* as well as any temporal framework. ISIS does not recognize the existence of any zone where its power could not be performed, which within itself negates the very existence of its power in the first place. Schmitt is clear when he claims that the sovereign power, in order to exist, always, already implies a "delimited free and empty space in which every law is suspended", for "all law is law only in a particular location".[42] In other words, power needs a space in which to perform; it needs borders. But what happens when there is no space to be included via exclusion, as all space is already included? Do we still have a state of exception; do we still have a state at all? My response to this would be negative.

In a video posted on YouTube on 29 June 2014 entitled *Breaking of Borders* ISIS fighters proudly perform the demolition of a checkpoint marking the border between Syria and Iraq: they "brought a bulldozer to take down the barricades to open the route for Muslims",[43] for they do not believe in the imaginary borders defined by the Sykes-Picot Agreement [44] and they need to make the world whole for Allah. Perhaps Montesquieu was right, perhaps there should be a common custom according to which the statue of justice might be veiled for a determined period of time, "as one hides the statues of the gods",[45] in order to hide certain events. The veiled justice may also signify that violence and civil order—nature and law—can only coexist for a limited period of time: the necessarily limited time of the state of exception. ISIS, however, enacts the exact opposite. Not only is it not "hiding the statues of gods", it is actually destroying them.[46] Beside its audiovisual digital propaganda, ISIS is also physically destroying extremely precious archaeological sites and museums. From the unstable nature of the name to its video messages, ISIS employs obscenity and indistinction as marketing tools.

In ISIS' audiovisual material the differentiation between signifier and signified is confused and blurred to the point of cohesion and schizophrenic splitting. It seems to me that with ISIS we are experiencing a further development of Borges' fable: first there was the empire and a map so detailed that it could cover up the whole territory of the empire. Then, with Baudrillard's idea of hyper-reality, the map came before the empire, so that the map was what proved the existence of the empire, which in essence did not exist at all, but was the "desert of the real".[47] Now ISIS presents us with a state that, by going above and beyond any possible representation, is "map-less" because it is all encompassing. Although "Islamic State" is "near enough a literal translation from the group's name in Arabic, *Al Dawla al-Islamyia*", the translation is somehow misleading because "it implies a Western conception of bureaucratic statehood", while "the Arabic equivalent relates to the Qur'anic ideal of a universal Islamic community, united by faith and spirituality, and bound in religious terms by *sharia*".[48] That said, from a philosophical perspective, the borderless concept of the Islamic state might be seen as an ideological expression of the exhaustion of post-modernism, as we know it.

For Franco "Bifo" Berardi a direct consequence of postmodernity is that "the seductive force of simulation transformed physical forms into vanishing images, submitted visual art to viral spreading, and subjected

language to the fake regime of advertising". He concludes by saying that in such a regime "real life [has] disappeared into the black hole of financial accumulation".[49] ISIS propaganda shows unmistakably these consequences of postmodernity. In their videos, physical forms (actual prisoners) are transformed into vanishing images: theatrically staged executions uploaded on social media and going viral through the work of "media mujahideen", which opposes the vanishing nature of digital images by uploading these very images over and again. ISIS' incredibly sophisticated propaganda machine, whose images are ever more sleek, cinematic and graphically obscene, demonstrates how far removed it is from Osama bin Laden's old-fashioned videos of himself preaching about jihad. ISIS, in its messages, barely mentions religion.[50]

Conclusion

ISIS propaganda "as" performance is iconoclastic for, if it is true that "iconoclasm can … be said to function as a mechanism of historical innovation, as a means of revaluing values through a process of constantly destroying old values and introducing new ones in their place", it is a matter of fact that "such a close connection between iconoclasm and historical progress is not logically necessary". As Boris Groys reminds us, in fact, "iconoclasm addresses not only the old but also the new" by showing that "the new gods are not powerful enough, or at least not as powerful as the old gods".[51]

ISIS performs iconoclasm to the extent that it destroys popular cultural images and symbols, transposing them into a factual reality, while at the same time being utterly dependent on the very images that they attempt to destroy. ISIS' propaganda is to be found in an excess of images. What we are confronted with is not, as Žižek would say, "the constitutive excess of representation over the represented",[52] quite the contrary. Within ISIS propaganda "as" performance, what we encounter is the confusion of *representation* and *represented*. There lies an eerie confusion between what performance studies scholar Diana Taylor calls the *archive* and the *repertoire*, namely, between the video messages as a tangible product and the unknown "behind the scenes" of such videos. Such indistinction clearly gestures towards Agamben's main claim that *life* in our contemporaneity is bare and always-already caught in a state of exception. The concept of indistinction is evident also in the fact that within ISIS propaganda a hybrid realm has replaced the mere

digital one, what I have called the "biovirtual": a realm that produces *live* consequences (prisoners are actually beheaded and executed), while it unravels (at least for the audience of these videos) only within *digital* environments such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube and so on. Therefore, the difference between the *archive* and the *repertoire* has become, not only uncertain, but increasingly unstable. And while the costumes and the staging of their expertly produced video messages are *theatrical* (hostages dressed in orange jumpsuits, an eerie reminder of Guantanamo), ISIS combatants day after day perform in real life video episodes of a contemporary digital tragedy with its silent chorus— "media mujahedeen"—and solo messengers,[53] who, addressing the audience, promise the advent of a psychotic utopia in which the state of exception will be an everlasting rule.

Notes

1. Slavoj Žižek, "From Democacy to Divine Violence," in *Democracy: in What State?*, 100–120 (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 117.
2. Gabriella Calchi Novati and Matthew Causey, "ID/entity: the Subject"s Own Taking Place," in *Performance, Identity and the Neo-Political Subject*, ed. Fintan Walsh and Matthew Causey, (London: Routledge, 2013), 33–48.
3. Richard Schechner, *Performance Studies. An Introduction*, 2nd Edition (New York; London: Routledge, 2006), 1–2.
4. Slavoj Žižek, *Welcome to the Desert of the Real* (London; New York: Verso, 2002), 9–10. For an in-depth analysis of the concept of the "passion for the Real" see: Alain Badiou, *The Century* (Cambridge: Malden: Polity Press), 48–57.
5. Slavoj Žižek, *Welcome to the Desert of the Real*, 11.
6. Ibid., 12.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid., 30.
9. Lynda Nead, "Bodies of Judgement: Art, Obscenity, and the Connoisseur," in *Law and the Image: the Authority of Art and Aesthetics of Law*, ed. Costats Douzinas and Lynda Nead, 203–225 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 204.
10. Peter Michelson, *Speaking the Unspeakable. A Poetics of Obscenity* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), xi.
11. John M. Callahan, "The Ultimate in Theatre Violence", in *Violence in Drama*, ed. James Redmond, 165–175 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), at 175.

12. Victor Emeljanow, “Grand Guignol and the Orchestration of Violence”, in *Violence in Drama*, ed. James Redmond, 151–163 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), at 151.
13. Hal Foster, “Obscene, Abject, Traumatic,” *October* 78 (Autumn 1996), 106–124, 113–114.
14. Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 57.
15. Agamben, 15.
16. Ibid.
17. Carl Schmitt, *Political Theology, Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*, trans. George Schwab (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 5–6.
18. Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, 8.
19. Ibid., 9.
20. The *Hunger Games* is a series of three American science fiction films directed by Gary Ross and based on a trilogy of dystopian novels written by American novelist Suzanne Collins. *The Hunger Games* depicts a dystopian universe set in a country called *Panem*, which consists of the wealthy city of Capitol and twelve poverty-stricken districts. Every year, two children (one male and one female) are selected from each district to participate in a compulsory annual televised death match called *The Hunger Games*. The procedure of choosing these children is called “harvesting”.
21. Franco “Bifo” Berardi, *Heroes. Mass Murder and Suicide* (London; New York: Verso 2015), 48–49.
22. Luigi Zoja, *La Morte del Prossimo* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi, 2009), 36–39. (Translation into English is by the author).
23. Carl Schmitt, *Political Theology*: 15.
24. Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer*: 18.
25. Ibid.
26. Simon Parkin, *How Isis hijacked Pop Culture, from Hollywood to Video Games*, 29 January 2016, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/29/how-isis-hijacked-pop-culture-from-hollywood-to-video-games (Accessed 30 January 2016).
27. Greg Miller and Souad Mekhennet, “Inside the surreal world of the Islamic State”s propaganda machine,” *The Washington Post*, 20 November 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/inside-the-islamic-states-propaganda-machine/2015/11/20/051e997a-8ce6-11e5-acff-673ae92ddd2b_story.html (Accessed 1 December 2015).
28. Nicholas Bourriaud, *Postproduction. Culture as Screenplay: How Art Reprograms the World*, 2nd Edition, trans. Jeanine Herman (New York: Lukas & Sternberg, 2005), 7.

29. Ali Fisher, *Swarmcast: How Jihadist Networks Maintain a Persistent Online Presence*, n. 3 Vol. 9 2015, http://terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/426/html.
30. Ibid.
31. This video, released on the Internet in May 2014, is the final episode of a series of videos, which started in June 2012 with *Clanging of the Sword Part 1*, followed by *Part 2* (August 2012), and by *Part 3* (January 2013).
32. Stern and Berger: 110.
33. Roger Stahl, *Militainment, Inc. War, Media and Popular Culture* (New York; London: Routledge, 2010). Stahl"s documentary is available online at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=caH_RJZvnnY (Accessed 3 January 2016).
34. *Al Furqan*, *Al Ittissam* and *Al Hayat* are the three main ISIS media centres which produce propaganda content, mainly video, for a Western audience. The propaganda material is broadcast in different languages, including English, French, German and Russian.
35. https://smpa.gwu.edu/visiting-scholar-javier-lesaca-presents-isis-audio-visual-engagement-strategy-research-un-security. For more detail about this UN Security Council meeting see: http://marcaespana.es/en/content/transparency-and-participation-un-security-council.
36. Javier Lesaca, "On Social Media, ISIS Uses Modern Cultural Images to Spread Anti-Modern Values," *Brookings*, 24 September 2015, http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/techtank/posts/2015/09/24-isis-social-media-engagement (Accessed 3 December 2015).
37. Ibid.
38. Rebecca Leung, "Abuse at Abu Ghraib," *CBS news*, 5 May 2004, http://www.cbsnews.com/news/abuse-at-abu-ghraib/ (Accessed 16 November 2015).
39. Slavoj Žižek, "Between Two Deaths: The Culture of Torture," *London Review of Books*, 3 June 2004: 19.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Carl Schmitt, *The Nomos of the Earth in the International Law of the Jus Publicum Europeum*, trans. G.L. Ulmen (Telos Press Publishing, 2006), 98.
43. Vice News, *Bulldozing the Border Between Iraq and Syria: The Islamic State (Part 5)*, 13 August 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TxX_THjtXOw (Accessed 4 November 2015).
44. This agreement was signed on 16 May 1916 between the governments of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the French Third Republic. The Agreement is considered to have shaped the region by defining the borders of present-day Iraq and Syria. When the Islamic

State of Iraq and the Levant breached the frontiers of the Sykes-Picot Agreement by establishing themselves in territory in both Iraq and Syria, they used the Twitter hashtag *#SykesPicotOver*.

45. Baron de Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, ed. Anne M. Cohler, Basia Carolyn Miller and Harold Samuel Stone (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), Book XII, Chap. 19.
46. For an in-depth analysis of the politics of iconoclasm in Islam see: James Noyes, *The Politics of Iconoclasm: Religion, Violence and the Culture of Image-breaking in Christianity and Islam* (London; New York: I. B. Tauris, 2013). A more specific anaylsis of ISIS' iconoclasm can be found in a three-part interview with James Noyes: Matthew Hall, *Iconoclasm & the Islamic State: Whither the Caliphate? A Q&A with Dr. James Noyes*, 16 October 2014, http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/mena-source/iconoclasm-the-islamic-state-whither-the-caliphate (Accessed 7 November 2015).
47. Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, trans. Sheila Faria Glaser (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994).
48. Fred McConnell, "Australian PM says he"ll now use Daesh instead of Isil for "death cult" – but why?," *The Guardian*, 12 January 2015, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/12/tony-abbott-say-hell-now-use-daesh-instead-of-isil-for-death-cult-but-why (Accessed 10 December 2015).
49. Hito Steyerl, *The Wretched of the Screen* (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2012).
50. http://qz.com/578052/this-is-how-isis-inspires-its-followers/
51. Boris Groys, *Art Power* (Cambridge, London: The MIT Press, 2008), 68–69.
52. Slavoj Žižek, "From Democacy to Divine Violence", 116.
53. Usually in ISIS' videos only one person addresses the camera.

PART III

Patronage and New Directions

CHAPTER 7

Guns, Money and the Muse: New Patronage in the Russian Civil War, 1919–1922

Mayhill C. Fowler

Theatre scholars generally trace the development of Soviet theatre aesthetically. From the realism of the legendary late imperial Moscow Art Theatre productions of Anton Chekhov's plays to the expressionist physicality of Vsevolod Meyerhold's productions in the 1920s, Russian theatre exploded with innovation in the early twentieth century. But an exploration of the cultural infrastructure supporting these theatrical productions reveals a difference between the Russian imperial and Soviet periods. Post-revolutionary theatre rested on a new cultural infrastructure, one where the state was far more invested in the arts than had previously been the case.[1]

Of course, the full state monopoly over the arts, a central feature of the Soviet system, did not come from nowhere. This chapter explores one particular moment of transformation: new patronage relationships created between theatre artists and the Red Army during the Civil War years. After the Bolshevik revolution in October 1917 war consumed the former Russian empire, as multiple armies—Bolshevik, monarchist, nationalist, Polish, and anarchist of various flavours—fought for political

M.C. Fowler (✉)
Stetson University, DeLand, Florida, USA
e-mail: mfowler@stetson.edu

© The Author(s) 2017

V. Emeljanow (ed.), *War and Theatrical Innovation*, Palgrave Studies in Theatre and Performance History,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-60225-1_7

control of the borderlands until 1922. Far from the famous theatres of Stanislavsky or Meyerhold, and far from Moscow and St Petersburg, military men encountered itinerant artists on the frontlines. These men became new patrons, who logistically and financially supported artists performing work to new audiences. New army patrons funding new artists and new projects for new audiences proved unexpectedly consequential for the emerging Soviet state and its artists.

Let me turn now to a specific example of the power of new patronage: theatre actor and director Oleksandr "Les" Kurbas (1887–1937) who would rise to celebrity status as artistic director of Soviet Ukraine's premier theatre company, the *Berezil*. Although active only between 1922 and 1933, the *Berezil* and its artistic director created some of the most innovative theatre productions in the Soviet Ukraine, and indeed in the entire Soviet Union. The theatre staged new plays, from Ukrainian, Soviet and Western playwrights, incorporated new stage techniques, such as the use of film and music, and created a legend still discussed and debated today. In this chapter, however, I discuss not Kurbas' most famous years, those of his first company in Kyiv, the Young (*Molodyi*) Theatre, 1917–1919, or the *Berezil* itself (1926–1933), but the years in between, when he wandered the countryside around Kyiv (Kiev) with a group of artists and secured the patronage of the Red Army. The company was called the *Kyidramte*, for "Kyiv dramatic theatre" (*Kyivs'kyi dramatychnyi teatr*), and has remained relatively unstudied. Perhaps this is because the drastic nature of wartime for the itinerant troupe lacking safety, food and a stable cohort of actors meant that this was a period with largely re-staged work the company had previously created. Compared to the shocking innovation of the Young Theatre and the *Berezil*, the *Kyidramte* seems like a caesura. Yet, as I will show, the innovation of the *Berezil* was possible only because of the shifts in cultural infrastructure that took place outside the city on the frontlines of war.[2]

Kurbas is well known to specialists on Ukraine, and somewhat well known to scholars of Soviet theatre, but he belongs in a wider pantheon of theatre innovators. Kurbas came to Russian imperial Kyiv from Habsburg Galicia in 1916 fleeing the Eastern front of World War 1, in order to work in the first permanent and professional Ukrainian-language theatre company. Its lead actor and manager, Mykola Sadovskyi, was a classic imperial manager who worked the Russian theatre network to his advantage. He made deals with local theatre owners and performed plays designed to ensure ticket-buying audiences

throughout the southwest borderlands of the Russian empire. His work was dependent on the audience, and although in his later years he experimented with Ukrainian modernism and European classics, he knew his bread-and-butter repertory was the song-and-dance melodramas that made audiences laugh and cry—and guaranteed him ticket sales and a profit.[3]

Kurbas had studied at university in Vienna and Lemberg (today's Lviv); although we do not know for certain what productions he saw, Iryna Volytska argues that in Vienna he must have seen Max Reinhardt's expressionism and Josef Kainz' technical mastery of voice and movement, all of which inspired the young student to transform theatre back home. He wanted to create a theatre that was in the Ukrainian language, but that was as experimental physically and psychologically as the top theatres in Europe. In short, like many young people at the turn of the century, Kurbas longed to push the boundaries not only of theatre in Ukrainian, but also of theatre itself.[4]

With several like-minded young artists, then, Kurbas started the Young Theatre in 1917 in Kyiv, after the February Revolution, when the Romanov dynasty collapsed. The artists of the Young Theatre criticized the previous Ukrainian-language theatre companies, such as that of Sadovskyi, as having "no culture of the gesture, of the word, of style". They expressed "faith in victory with the awareness that we are digging a dam in the stagnant, cankered water of Ukrainian theatrical art, so that some day through its cleansed veins the hundred-colored rainbow of the free creative spirit may flow".[5] This was all well and good, but the Young Theatre made no money. Essentially, all the members had day jobs, trained with Kurbas in a studio when they could, and rented space in a local theatre for their occasional performances. In other words, they were creating innovative work that was unsustainable given the current cultural infrastructure, with limited audience for such experimental work, no patrons, and no permanent theatrical home. How could artists go about securing funding for experimental productions?[6]

This challenge became especially pertinent towards the end of the civil war years, when Kyiv had become Soviet. The Soviet programme envisioned state funding for the arts, but there simply was not enough money in the new state to support all the theatre—especially after years of violent civil war that had ravaged the city. A member of the local Commissariat of Enlightenment (that is, one of the early local Soviet institutions responsible for "enlightenment" in its broadest sense,

including art, education and hygiene) lamented that there was "no authority" as an organization to prevent "an entire army of artists" from "dying of hunger". Quipped one local actor in his memoirs: "Kyiv did not have that which was really most important—bread." Kurbas therefore left Kyiv in June 1920 with a group of artists, with the hope that food would be easier to find in the countryside. The group spent most of the next year south of the metropolis in small towns like Bila Tserkva and Uman. Unexpectedly, the group ended up in the centre of war on the front lines (specifically, the Polish–Soviet war contesting the border between the new Soviet Union and the new independent Polish state). This proximity to the front lines proved fortuitous, however, because the artists were able to secure new Red Army patronage from the many military men working to secure the territory for the Bolsheviks. These patronage connections would last throughout the early Soviet period and would prove crucial for the later aesthetic innovation Kurbas would achieve with his *Berezil* Theatre.[7]

New Programmes, or Old Programmes in New Forms?

The artists from Kyiv brought new opportunities and a new repertory to their audiences. First of all, they not only performed, but also engaged with the local population. The artists spent the summer in the town of Bila Tserkva performing and teaching paid courses organized by the local Commissariat of Enlightenment. Yet the artists also exposed the small-town audiences to experimental theatre. It was in Bila Tserkva in 1920 that the company premiered *Macbeth*, performed for the first time in Ukrainian. The production reflected the young actors' intensive studio work on physicality and technique. Kurbas himself played Macbeth, and photographs suggest a constructivist style—in other words, this was not realist theatre, but rather experimental avant-garde in a small-town imperial borderland. This was not the kind of production that, for example, Sadovskyi had been creating to ensure profits, and this was not the kind of production one would imagine a company doing to please audiences.[8]

Kurbas (like many of his generation) concerned himself not only with the choice of play, but also how the play was created and performed by his company. Coming from his experience in Vienna, Kurbas strove for technical mastery from his actors. Consequently, from the

days of the Young Theatre, and continuing in the countryside outside the city, Kurbas required acting training: frequent exercises and ensemble work to develop his actors. In a letter to his troupe, Kurbas articulated his training platform. Rehearsals would continue well into the run of the show to work out mistakes. There would be no relaxation after premiering a production. Kurbas demanded "at least" two to three full rehearsals with props, full costumes and sets, which was unheard-of for a regional theatre. Training would consist of dance and movement work daily, and "fencing at least twice a week". Finally, Kurbas argued for the importance of the director, who "must be the mirror of the actor and in this way help his development of self-criticism, getting to know himself and his artistic strength and capabilities". So the time spent outside Kyiv was not only time spent foraging for food and hoping to attract audiences (although, of course, it was that as well), but rather it provided an opportunity for artistic development in the company.[9]

In addition to classic drama, such as Shakespeare, the *Kyidramte* repertory included a healthy selection of comedy to entertain the public. The public "laughed to tears" at Marko Kropyvnyts'kyi's nineteenth-century comedy *They Made Fools of Themselves*, done in a broad *commedia dell' arte* style. The company performed classic and new comedies from the Russian Empire, Ukraine and Europe: Nikolai Gogol's 1836 *The Inspector General*, Volodymyr Vynnychenko's 1918 farcical *Miss Mara* and Franz Grillparzer's 1838 comedy *Woe to Him Who Lies*. Kurbas also seems to have thought seriously about the region in which he was performing and premiered a production of Jacob Gordin's *Satan* (translated from Gordin's 1900 Yiddish-language *God, Man, and the Devil*). The play concerned the consequences of a wager between God and the Devil; at stake was an everyday religious Jew, who lost everything when he became rich. Kurbas hoped that the Gordin play would resonate particularly strongly with the local Jewish population. The pogroms during the Civil War were particularly violent in this Central Ukrainian region and there were entire orphanages in Uman full of Jewish children who had lost their parents. But whether Shakespeare, a modern Yiddish or Russian drama, or a European classic, Kurbas was playing with style, working with physicality, rhythm and considering how to bring studio acting exercises to bear on actual performances. In other words, the audiences were not receiving run-of-the-mill itinerant theatre, but rather the best quality theatre they could possibly get.[10]

New Patrons

Officialdom supported the experimental actors from Kyiv. As soon as they left the city, the artists became dependent on local officials to make their work—and survival—possible. Making theatre in wartime was filled with complications alleviated by connections with local officials. In conditions of scarcity and violence artists needed officials to allow them the possibility to perform. A local Red Army commander, a certain Sobol, organized a tour for them around the region. Kurbas described Sobol as a "simple, good drunk". But Kurbas was grateful to the Red Army commander: "With his efforts he brought us here and fed us. The local Ukrainian intelligentsia did what they could, too!" Sobol, presumably, was a local commander who had fought on the Galician front in World War 1 and now was fighting in the next phase of war in the Red Army. Thus Sobol offers an example of early Soviet official patronage of the arts. Whereas in pre-revolutionary times theatrical impresarios organized tours, here a theatre-loving military commander organized financial opportunities for the artists by (presumably) using his Red Army connections to secure performance space, advertising, and permission for the *Kyidramte* to perform in local villages. It was presumably the authority of the Red Army that ensured the tour—and financial security—for Kurbas' theatre troupe.[11]

The artists needed everything: for example, wood, food, paper for posters to advertise their performances. At first the *Kyidramte* company performed in Uman's wooden theatre, which was unheated and therefore untenable for both artists and audiences in winter. The company voted to allocate 10,000 karbovantsy (the new local official Soviet currency) to renovate the stage, but also to initiate talks with the Trade Unions for the use of their space, a former monastery. But how would one acquire the space and accomplish the necessary renovations? Legend has it that Red Army general Iona Iakir, famous for securing Bolshevik authority in the area and head of the 45th Red Army Division stationed in the area, upon seeing the artists shivering onstage and taken with their work, ordered his troops to rebuild the Trade Union space themselves. Iakir may indeed have played a role, but so must have the company's lower-level local contacts, such as Iakiv Strukhmanchuk, a Paris-trained painter and former Habsburg officer now fighting on the side of the Red Army who actually knew Kurbas from their youth in Galicia. In February 1921 Uman's regional Commissariat of Enlightenment,

on which Strukhmanchuk served, voted to grant a subsidy to 10,000 karbovantsy to the Kurbas theatre because "even though they find themselves completely on their own support" still they gave free tickets to the Red Army and the various professional trade unions. Connections with officials facilitated artistic work.[12]

New Audiences, New Reactions

Iakir and Strukhmanchuk, higher and lower level officials in the Red Army's 45th Division, enjoyed the *Kyidramte*, but it seems that more widely Kurbas' company enjoyed popularity in Uman. Uman teenage girls copied the hairstyle and speech intonations of star actress Valentyna Chistiakova, an ethnic Russian, former ballet dancer, and Kurbas' wife. Soviet writer Mykola Bazhan relates in his memoirs how, as a young aspiring artist, he picked apples to sell in order to scrounge enough money to purchase a ticket to the theatre. He describes the crowd gathered outside the theatre waiting in line for the show. Actresses, handing out programmes, wore perfume, recalled Bazhan, and their elegant scent wafted down the line of eager spectators. Had the actresses in Kurbas' company, who left all their possessions in war-torn Kyiv, really donned perfume that day? Perhaps not, but certainly Bazhan's description highlights the extent to which the arrival of the theatre offered a major diversion from the difficulty of life in wartime. After the move to the heated Trade Union club the *Kyidramte* founded an acting school, and Uman teenagers like Bazhan, and future Soviet playwright Oleksandr Korniichuk, began studying theatre with Kurbas and the members of his company.[13]

Archival documents suggest that, indeed, Uman officialdom enjoyed the *Kyidramte*. Kurbas' actors stated that although "all artistic forces" were to be mobilized for propaganda, they believed that local Uman officials wanted to nationalize the *Kyidramte* "in such a way to as not to kill the possibility for artistic work". Nationalization meant that the state—Uman officialdom in this case—would fully support the theatre financially. While some artists may have feared that full state support would require them to subsume their artistic agendas for propaganda purposes, the Kurbas actors seem to have felt trust in their local officials that art was valued as much as spreading the Soviet good news. The actors felt that they were appreciated since the state wanted to absorb the company's costs in their own budget, allocating scarce resources to financially

support the theatre. At a later meeting of local Commissariats throughout the Kyiv region, a certain Uman representative stated that the city had sponsored several troupes, but that only the Kurbas troupe was "very nice (*duzhe harna*)". A second Ukrainian troupe was so terrible that the Commissariat had to forbid them from playing.[14]

Yet Kurbas' diary reflects the challenge of experimental theatre and new audiences. During the Sobol-organized tour, for example, Kurbas made frequent diary notes about his audiences and the box-office takings. His notes show the various kinds of payments they received for performances. One evening show received, for example, piles of sugar and potatoes, as well as three different kinds of currency, since bills of various regimes—Tsarist, Ukrainian, Soviet—were circulating in the region. Food bought theatre because actors needed to eat, and the panoply of currencies shows how this region was wracked with the shifting control of multiple armies. But more pertinent are Kurbas' comments on his audience's reception of his theatre; having left an itinerant troupe struggling on the frontlines in wartime Galicia, he may never have thought he would be performing for rural frontline audiences again. Yet here he was, and his notes suggest the complicated encounter between experimental artists in the city and wartime audiences in the village.[15]

Kurbas was concerned about the *Kyidramte's* repertory choices, because when they performed plays that Kurbas classified as "dried out-intelligentsia" plays, the village audience seemed disappointed: "The tense, naively interested, good faces of the villagers and workers take on an expression of disappointment. One feels so pained for them. The villagers are a much more intelligent and cultured public than the Red Army men or, in general, the grey urban public."[16]

His sense of distance from his audience continued. In July 1920 he described the evening's performance (without naming the play performed): "Sugar factory. 70 workers. Fairly numerous intelligentsia and half-intelligentsia. Rustic stage." Although they received "10,000 krb [karbovantsy]"—albeit in a combination of the multiple currencies in play at that point—the show (in Kurbas' mind) failed and the audience "didn't like it," an impression Kurbas must have gleaned from verbal or physical reactions to the performance. The next day Kurbas felt the group did better. They received "12,000 kerenki, hryvnia + sugar" and the "public listened very attentively" and "reacted wonderfully". Kurbas did, however, overhear one worker complain: "*tvoiu mat'* with all these actors. I could act like that myself, but they brag about the fact that they

come from Kyiv." The *Kyidramte*, however, did come all the way from Kyiv, and this worker did see the performance: perhaps suggesting new connections, new ties, and new experiences.[17]

Kurbas' diary notes reflect the categories in which he analyzed his own theatre: intelligentsia / non-intelligentsia, rural public, military. We do not know which plays were "dried-out intelligentsia" plays; was this *The Black Panther and the White Bear*, by Volodymyr Vynnychenko, who himself hailed from the intellectual classes? Or was this *Macbeth*, performed in an experimental style? But it was clear to Kurbas that certain plays belonged to a certain audience; yet his own experience was proving those categories more fluid. Rural audiences were showing him a better response than the "grey urban public". New patronage created new audiences.[18]

Kurbas' reflections on his audience's relationship to his theatre continued in Uman, where he complained: "We have to give 254 tickets for free to the *Politprosvit* [local Political Enlightenment Committee] and 300–400 people with revolvers and without tickets come to the theatre." While Kurbas was dismayed at the loss of income, the presence of "300–400 people with revolvers" suggests that the theatre had found an audience among the military (the Red Army men whom Kurbas liked less than the villagers) or the local Cheka, the Civil War era secret police. The presence of the Cheka in fact would not have been extraordinary. The connection between artists and the police had a long history: during the Russian imperial period seats were set aside in every theatre for the police in case of unrest. In the chaos of Civil War artists and managers continued to turn to the police for regulation and censorship. But yet again, the presence of such a high quantity of men with guns—not the audience who attended Kurbas' Young Theatre, for example—shows that the audience for Kurbas' shows was widening, whether he liked it or not.[19]

Did these 300–400 men without tickets and with revolvers have other entertainment options? The unnamed Uman representative stated that in addition to the terrible second Ukrainian troupe, Uman sponsored a Yiddish-language and Russian-language troupe. Kurbas complained that the authorities did not support the Ukrainian-language theatre because they were "requisitioning our lights for Russian touring artists—some kind of singers". There were, then, several troupes entertaining Uman audiences. Perhaps these troupes performed on alternate nights, perhaps more attended the Russian singers than the Ukrainian actors, but the presence of several hundred military-official types at the *Kyidramte*

supports celebrated Soviet Ukrainian writer Iurii Smolych's assertion that the Civil War was a Golden Age for theatre, at least in terms of quantity if not always quality. Regardless of the fact that they were performing theatre in the Ukrainian language, still the local Army and state officials wanted free tickets to the show. In other words, the borderlands of the Russian Empire were home to multiple ethnic groups, who all spoke multiple languages. The theatrical landscape of Uman, like most towns and villages throughout the region, was multi-linguistic, and audiences could support entertainment in Ukrainian, Russian, Yiddish—as long as it truly entertained.[20]

Ordinary soldiers, furthermore, also encountered the *Kyidramte*, and, in several cases, with great consequence. Red Army soldier Stepan Shahaida, a Galician now fighting in the Red Army, so fell in love with the company that he decided to join the theatre after he was demobilized. He later ended up performing in several of film innovator Oleksandr Dovzhenko's films.[21] While The Red Army facilitated new encounters between artists, audiences and officials, Kurbas diary suggests that had it not been for the Red Army, his theatre would not have survived.

The True Innovation: Consequences of New Patrons and New Clients

The relationship between the *Kyidramte* and the 45th Division offers an example of the new mode of artist–army relations during the Civil War. The Red Army filled the roles of impresario, entrepreneur and audience for theatre companies, such as Kurbas' *Kyidramte*. The Red Army sponsored independent non-Bolshevik troupes, like Kurbas', in a way that the Imperial Army and the non-Bolshevik Armies simply did not.

Of course, there is a long history of encounter and interaction between soldiers and artists. Armies required entertainment; artists needed to make money. During World War 1, even amid the hell of trench warfare, armies were entertained, with amateur and professional performers. The Habsburg Army, during World War I, comprised "ethnic" units, which sponsored theatre troupes. The Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, the *Sichovii striltsi*, for example, the ethnic Ukrainian rifle division in the Habsburg Army, sponsored Ukrainian-language theatre. The Bolshevik Red Army, however, created a new kind of patronage that

would serve as a small first step in building the Soviet artistic phenomenon, by encouraging new patrons for new artists and new plays.[22]

The Galician Invasion: Friends from Home

Several military men from Galicia, who had begun their military careers with the ethnic Ukrainian division of the Austro-Hungarian Imperial Army, then moved to the Ukrainian Galician Army fighting the Poles for an independent Ukraine, and had now joined up with the Red Army. Many, one presumes, joined the Red Army out of prudence, but several appear to have been fully committed to the Soviet project. Key figures in the 45th who hailed from Austrian Galicia, became committed Communists, and actively supported the theatre. Oleksii Lazoryshak, for example, the Political Commissar of the 45th, had studied at the University of Vienna, fought in the Austrian Imperial Army, then the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, and finally joined the Red Army and the Communist Party in 1920. After the Civil War, Lazoryshak continued to work both in theatre and in the party in 1920s Kyiv. He eventually received a promotion to Kharkiv (Kharkov), the capital of Soviet Ukraine until 1934, where he joined Kurbas' company as administrative director. Or to take another example: Iakiv Strukhmanchuk, the Paris-trained painter and new Red Army officer. Strukhmanchuk not only worked for the Uman regional Political Enlightenment Committee, but also edited the local newspaper. For the paper he sketched portraits of several *Kyidramte* artists.[23]

Certainly the heavy Galician influence in Iakir's 45th Division facilitated the relationship between the soldiers and the artists; hometown similarities proved stronger than professional differences. In another world, for example, Strukhmanchuk and Kurbas might have sat together in a café in Austrian Lemberg talking about European artistic trends, but here one was a soldier and one an artist, and the connection between them enabled both to pursue later careers in Soviet Ukraine. This political flexibility for cultural exchange may have proved a characteristic of the Red Army across the frontlines.[24]

However, the Red Army offered opportunities not only for aspiring artists, but also for new officials to involve themselves in the arts. Humorist writer Nadezhda Teffi (the pen name of Nadezhda Aleksandrovna Lokhvitskaya) in her memoirs of escaping Civil War Russia, writes of a young Commissar in a middle-of-nowhere

garrison town en route to Odessa. The Commissar, whom Teffi names *Robespierre*, threatened Teffi's artistic cohort that they might never pass through the town without his approval. When he knocked on their lodgings late one evening, the artists feared Robespierre's wrath. In fact, Robespierre simply wanted to discuss contemporary theatre: "What's more important, the director or the chorus?" Teffi describes Robespierre as so pleased with the ensuing discussion that he commanded a lecture series on art, after which he permitted them to move onwards to Odessa. In fact, claiming artistic status offered one way of facilitating evacuees' passage through the Bolshevik zone. Teffi humorously describes how one group of refugees—who had nothing to do with the arts—claimed to have eleven theatrical prompters in their group. When Bolshevik guards questioned them as to why their theatre group contained so many prompters, the non-artists responded without hesitation that the prompter was the most important member of the dramatic company. The impressed Bolshevik officials permitted passage without delay. Teffi's caricatures of culturally ignorant Bolsheviks may have been intended to provoke laughter in her readers, but they actually reveal how local officials felt newly empowered to participate in art. The Bolsheviks benefitted from the interest in theatre nourished by years of itinerant troupes crisscrossing the Empire. Robespierre, presumably, had seen some sort of itinerant troupe in his small provincial town, and valued his new status that gave him access to discuss matters of high culture with actors coming all the way from Moscow.[25]

Teffi's anecdotes raise a question: were there Robespierres in the non-Bolshevik armies? Certainly, artists' desire for state support was so widespread by the early twentieth century that most revolutionary governments included increased state support for the arts as part of their programmes, and soldiers have always needed entertainment. The region currently under discussion was ruled from 1917 to 1922 by multiple regimes (from a non-Communist Ukrainian rule in 1917, to an occupying German regime, to Bolsheviks, to others of various political persuasions), and all supported the arts, to varying degrees. However the "White" and "Red" sponsorship of culture differed in three major ways.

First of all, the Bolsheviks seem to be unique in actively promoting the arts as an army, as opposed to, for example, offering financial support to city officials.[26] Second, the Red Army was the only army to sponsor theatre troupes of multiple ethnicities in multiple languages. To be sure, violence to minorities and civilians was omnipresent in the years of

political instability; still, the presence of supported Ukrainian-language, Russian-language and Yiddish-language troupes resonates with the ideological stance of the Bolsheviks towards the local multi-ethnic population. Importantly, although the theatre I have discussed in this chapter was in the Ukrainian language, and while some of its artists may have dreamt of an independent Ukraine, they found sponsorship among non-Ukrainians in the Red Army. For the Bolsheviks, or at least those fighting in their army, theatre was seen as a means of entertainment and Soviet ideology, not part of a national project, one exclusive to Ukrainians or Russians.[27] Third, and perhaps most importantly, the Red Army offered more opportunities to officials and soldiers to involve themselves in the arts as patrons. By contrast, those officials involved in the other governments managing or supporting the theatre were almost exclusively pre-revolutionary Russian imperial elites. It seems as though the Red Army offered these patronage opportunities to its officials and soldiers, while the White armies reserved those opportunities for those already possessing cultural authority. Archival documents point to no Robespierres in the non-Soviet governments regulating culture.[28]

As the Civil War continued, the Red Army proved capable of an extraordinary capacity for cultural sponsorship all along the frontlines in a way that the Russian imperial army and non-Bolshevik armies simply were not. The connection with the 45th Division proved highly consequential for Kurbas, the *Kyidramte*, and theatre in Soviet Ukraine. While in 1920 the Commissariat of the Arts had no authority to prevent artists from starving, by 1922 Kurbas had somehow acquired precisely that authority: his connections with the Red Army ensured food and safety for his troupe. The 45th simply took over official patronage of the company, and that patronage continued into the 1920s presumably helped by Iakir's new position as head of the Kyiv Military District. Connections made in Uman continued in Kyiv, when Kurbas created the *Berezil* theatre on the foundations of the *Kyidramte*. One young director, Vasyl Vasylko, described in his diary extensive celebrations in Kyiv marking the anniversary of the patronage. Local newspapers, too, made much of the connection between the army and the arts, and described how the Kurbas group "met the 45th division, which received a moment of rest and entertainment for the worn-out fighters" and, in return, gave the artists "both material and moral support". In their adventures "from victory to victory" the soldiers often encountered the artists, "who broke with the old traditions and bravely stepped

up to the creation of a new theatre appropriate for the new life, artists who despite hunger and cold raised high the banner of genuine art". In other words, the writer points to the company's push for experimental theatre, for innovation, and for not catering to simply entertaining audiences in order to make a profit. Artists pursued artistic agendas without consideration for financial security, just as soldiers were (presumably, according to this article) pursuing the political goal of winning territory for a new society at all costs.[29]

While the newspapers may have spun the story for propaganda purposes, the connections between the 45th and the actors remained strong. Practically speaking, the 45th and Iakir connection ensured cafeteria meals for the *Berezil'* actors. The Kyiv Regional Land Department allocated a piece of land south of Kyiv to the *Berezil'* for growing food. Lazoryshak wrote articles for the Kyiv papers in 1923 rallying for support for the theatre, and at the end of 1923 multiple city and county authorities met to figure out how to secure resources for the young company, and turned to the republic-level Council of People's Commissars for a subsidy, which Kurbas' theatre received in 1924. The group had gone from an avant-garde experimental group in danger of starving to a studio fully under the wing of the Red Army, and eventually the Soviet state.[30]

In fact, as Lenin's New Economic Policy began in March 1921, these ties became once again a matter of life-or-death. The NEP's policy of "self-sufficiency", *samookupaemost*, took the idea of full state financial support for theatres off the table and forced theatres to rely solely on their audience for their livelihood. This was a tricky proposition. One theatre manager expressed mystification at the composition of and reactions of the audience: "Who are you, you enigma?" He wondered whether attempting to reach the audience was even worth it; would they not do better to simply close all good theatres and offer the audience entertainment in a tavern, a casino, or a café selling home-brew?[31]

The existence and survival of Kurbas' *Berezil'* theatre, however, was not entirely dependent on audience support. The company had the support of the Red Army, and consequently, local party and state institutions who would ensure their continued ability to make art. Perhaps unexpectedly, the years of the NEP, often touted as years of great experimentation in the arts because of the possibility of private patronage, made theatrical experimentation extraordinarily difficult for those artists lacking state patronage.

While (generalizing from Kurbas' experience) these connections must have been forming all along the frontlines, they were not yet organized or centralized. Yet the Red Army's patronage of the arts would become a fixed feature of the Soviet artistic landscape. Moscow's *Theatre of the Red Army* emerged as a major theatrical institution in 1929; Soviet Ukraine acquired one in 1931, under the aegis of Iakir's Kyiv Military District. This army–arts relationship shows how interconnected the arts were to the "non-artistic" government spheres (that is, the military): rather than artists or officials compromising their values, the process of making theatre necessitated certain relationships between those in official positions and those in artistic positions. These one-on-one local relationships then slowly knitted together into a network.[32]

To be sure, patronage by institutions of the Soviet party, state and military, carried with it many challenges. That the arts—and theatre—occupied a privileged position meant that state oversight was potent and powerful, and state oversight from an authoritarian dictatorship—such as the Soviet Union became—could prove fatal for artists. While Kurbas continued to push his experimental style and to found a new theatre for new times, his provocations increasingly rubbed state and theatrical colleagues the wrong way. After all, if revolutionary art becomes official, shouldn't it stop protesting? Rejected by friends and enemies alike, Kurbas was sent into exile in Moscow, arrested and sent to the camps of the gulag, and finally was shot in 1937.

Yet this chapter is not about the artistic achievements of the *Berezil*, and not about the tragedy of murdered artists. Rather, it seeks to look behind the drama of victory and death to examine a factor often overlooked in explorations of Soviet theatrical culture: new patronage. Several lines in a poem by Ukrainian poet Pavlo Tychyna summarize this late Civil War relationship between officialdom and artists: "The point: without the spirit of music socialism cannot be established even with the most powerful guns." The Red Army's flexibility in absorbing Galicians and artists, and in opening the door to the arts not only to aspiring artists, but also to the aspiring patronage of lower-level officials and soldiers, certainly enabled the spread of the Soviet project. Turning Tychyna's poem around, however, suggests that without the "powerful guns" of the Red Army, artists would have had a difficult time finding a place for themselves. In the late Civil War, music, guns, and socialism all combined together to create the beginnings, the possibilities, of a new Soviet theatre network.[33]

Notes

1. The English-language literature on theatre in Russia is extensive, but see Robert Leach, *Revolutionary Theatre* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994); Edward Braun, *Meyerhold: A Revolution in Theatre* (London: Methuen, 1998); Andrei Malaev-Babel, *Yevgeny Vakhtangov: A Critical Portrait* (London and New York: Routledge, 2012); Laurence Senelick and Sergei Ostrosvsky, *The Soviet Theater: A Documentary History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014); this chapter uses Library of Congress transliteration, with soft signs only in the notes, and commonly accepted English-language versions of Stanislavsky and Meyerhold (as opposed to Stanislavskii and Meierkhold); I use the commonly accepted transliterations of city names, as well, such as Kyiv, as opposed to Kiev.
2. See, for Kurbas, Hanna Veselovs'ka, *20 Vystavy Lesia Kurbasa* (Kyiv: Tsentr Lesia Kurbasa, 2005), Irene Makaryk, *Shakespeare in the Undiscovered Bourn: Les Kurbas, Ukrainian Modernism, and Early Soviet Cultural Politics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), Virlana Tkacz, "The Birth of a Director: the Early Development of Les Kurbas and his First Season with the Young Theatre," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 12: 1 (Summer 1987): 22–54.
3. Nataliia Kuziakina, "Les' Kurbas" in *Les' Kurbas: stat'i i vospominaniia o L. Kurbase*, eds. Kuziakina, Drach, Taniuk, (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1987), 10–11; Vasyl' Vasyl'ko, *Teatru viddane zhytiia* (Kyiv: Mystetstvo, 1984), 59, 68–70.
4. Iryna Volyts'ka, *Teatral'na iunist' Lesia Kurbasa* (L'viv: Instytut Narodoznavstva NAN Ukrainy, 1995), 23.
5. Les' Kurbas, "Molodyi Teatr: Heneza, zavdannia, shliakhy" in Mykola Labins'kyi, ed., *Les Kurbas: Filosofiia teatru* (Kyiv: Osnova, 2003), 13–17, here 14.
6. On the *Kyidramte*, see Inna Kozii, "*Kyidramte* v teatral'no-mystets'komu prostori Uman'i" in *Kurbasivs'ki chytannia* 2 (2007), 176–185, and Natalia Iermakova, *Berezil''ska Kul'tura: istoriia, dosvid* (Kyiv: Feniks, 2012), 113–131.
7. *Derzhavnyi arkhiv Kyivs'koi oblasti* [DAKO] *fond* [collection] R-142, *opys* [description] 1, *sprava* [file] 151, *arkush* [page] 1–2; DAKO f. R-142, op. 1, s. 337, ark. 5-zv; Prokhor Kovalenko, *Shliakhy na stsenu* (Kyiv: Mystetstvo, 1962), 145–152.
8. Iermakova, *Berezil''ska kultura*,114–130.
9. Mykhailo Moskalenko, "Tragediia Lesia Kurbasa," in *Les Kurbas: Filosofiia teatru*, ed., Labins'kyi, 825–850, here 832; *Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv-muzei literatury ta mystetstva Ukrainy* [TsDAMLM] f. 988, op. 1,

s. 9, ark. 7; *Derzhavnyi muzei teatral'noho, muzychnoho, ta kinomystetstva Ukrainy* [DMTMKU] "Bondarchuk," inventory # 8197 ("Molodyi teatr v Kyevi"), ark. 91–97.

10. Iermakova, *Berezil''ska kultura*, 114–130; Nahma Sandrow, *God, Man, and Devil: Yiddish Plays in Translation* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999); DAKO R-142, op. 1, s. 507, ark. 37zv.
11. Les' Kurbas "Shchodennyk," in *Les Kurbas: Filosofiia teatru*, ed., Labin's'kyi, 51; DAKO f. R-1, op. 1, s. 64, ark. 91–92, 573.
12. See the need for poster paper and wood in DMTMKU f. "*Kyidramte*" inv. 7400s, ark. 5, 7; DAKO f. R-1, op. 1, s. 270, ark, 4; on Profsoiuz space, DMTMKU f. "*Kyidramte*," inv. 7400s, ark. 3, 11; on the Iakir story, Mykola Bazhan, "Pod znakom Lesia Kurbasa," Natalia Kuziakina, ed., *Les' Kurbas: Stat'i i vospominaniia o Lesie Kurbase* (Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1987), 227; Kovalenko 190; Vasyl'ko 183; P. I. Iakir, ed., *Komandarm Iakir: vospominaniia druzei i soratnikov* (Moskva: Voennoe izd-vo Ministerstva oborony SSSR, 1963), 233–236.
13. Bazhan, 219.
14. TsDAVOV f. 166, op. 2, s. 265, ark. 39; DMTMKU fond "*Kyidramte*" inv. 7400s, ark. 16.
15. Kurbas, *Shchodennyk*, 50–51.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Kurbas continued his interest in his audience, see Irena R. Makaryk, "The Perfect Production: Les Kurbas' Analysis of the Early Soviet Audience," *Gramma: A Journal of Theory and Criticism*. Special Issue on Shakespeare's Audiences, vol. 15 (2007), 89–109.
19. TsDAVOV f. 2708, op 1, s. 6, ark. 13; TsDAVOV f. 166, op. 2, s. 136, ark. 344–345.
20. Kurbas, *Shchodennyk*, 52; Iurii Smolych, *Ia vybiraiu literaturu* (Kyiv: Radians'kyi pysmennyk, 1970), 252.
21. DMTMKU fond "Datsenko," inv. 10028 "Moi spohady," ark. 13.
22. Frontline theatre is ripe for research, but see, for example, Weldon Durham, *Liberty Theatres of the United States Army* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2006); www.iwm.org.uk on the entertainment during World War 1; on World War 2, see Richard Stites, ed., *Culture and Entertainment in Wartime Russia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995).
23. DAKO R-142, 1, 507, 40; for evidence of Lazoryshak in Kyiv, see DMTMKU fond "Nediuchi teatry" inv. 9052s, ark. 1.
24. On Vinnytsia, see, Buchma, *Z Hlybyn' dushi*, (Kyiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo obrazotvorchoho mystetstv, 1959), 5–11; Iosyp Hirniak, *Spomyny* (New York: Suchasnist', 1982), 153.

25. Nadezhda Teffi, *Nostalgiia* (Leningrad: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1989), 284–292, 362; there is a new translation by Robert Chandler, Elizabeth Chandler, Anna Marie Jackson, and Irina Steinberg, *Memories: From Moscow to the Black Sea* (New York City: NYRB Classics, 2016).
26. Hirniak, *Spomyny*, 48; Olena Bon'kovs'ka, *L'vivs'kyi teatr-tovarystva Ukrains'ka Besida* (L'viv: Litopis', 2003), 67.
27. For the story of non-Bolshevik-sponsored Ukrainian-language theatre, see Ruslan Leonenko, "Pershi ukrains'ki derzhavni teatry, 1917–1919 roky," *Zapysky naukovoho tovarystva im. Shevchenko* (L'viv) 1999, 134–167.
28. See, for example, the files of fond 2201 "Ministerstvo Ukrains'koi derzhavy" or fond 2583 Ministerstvo Osvity UNR" in *Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchykh orhaniv vlady ta upravlinnia Ukrainy* [TsDAVOV].
29. *Proletarskaia Pravda* (Kiev) 21 December 1922, ark. 4 [these and the following articles from *Proletarskaia Pravda* are located in *Instytut literatury im Ryls'koho* fond 42–53]; *ibid* 12 December 1922, ark. 4.
30. DMTMKU "Vasylko," inv. 10343c [Shchodennyk tom V], ark. 38; *ibid* inv. 10368 [Shchodennyk tom VI], ark. 40; TsDAMLM f. 988, op. 1, s. 33, ark. 15, 92; *Proletarskaia Pravda* 4 December 1923, ark. 4; *ibid* 5 December 1923, ark. 5.
31. I. Rod', "Publika: opyt' ankety," *Teatr* (Kyiv) 1922, no. 1 (1–7 November), 5–6.
32. Boris Volkov, "The Red Army Central Theatre in Moscow," in *Soviet Theatres 1917–1941*, ed., Martha Bradshaw, (NYC: Research Program on the USSR, 1954), 128–177.
33. Pavlo Tychyna, "The Highest Power (1920)," trans. Wanda Phipps and Virlana Tkacz, in *In a different light / V inshomu svitli*, ed., Tkacz (L'viv: Sribne Slovo, 2008), 64–65.

CHAPTER 8

Manipulating Beijing Opera: Criminality and Prosperity During Civil War in China C. 1930

Lu Miao and Wei Feng

There are roughly three approaches to the topic of theatre and war. As Andrew Maunder suggests in his Introduction to *British Theatre and the Great War, 1914–1919*,[1] one can consider the backstage issue of how the theatre industry manages to produce plays in the time of war,[2] or how theatre represents war onstage,[3] or how theatre affects audiences and society.[4] Most existing studies focus on plays with the subject of war and audiences' reception. Yet the production of theatre as an industry, namely, its economics and other related factors, is insufficiently studied. During wartime, established orders are at stake, which might affect the operation and management of the theatre industry. One also has to consider the spatial and temporal issues related to war. The study *Performance in Place of War* categorizes them into "in place of war, out of the place of war, at a time of bombardment/closure/curfew, in a time of ceasefire",[5]

L. Miao
Nanjing University, Nanjing, China

W. Feng (✉)
Shandong University, Shandong, China
e-mail: arthurfw@hotmail.com

© The Author(s) 2017

V. Emeljanow (ed.), *War and Theatrical Innovation*, Palgrave Studies in Theatre and Performance History,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-60225-1_8

and, to be specific, “post-war, pre-war, military zone, demilitarized zone, cleared area, uncleared area, no man’s land”.[6] Due to the variety of the external environment for theatre production amid war, the ways that war can influence theatre industry are worth considering. This chapter concerns itself with the *jingju* (Beijing opera) industry in Shanghai, a location free from the direct impact of war, and around 1930, when several wars (mostly civil wars) took place in other parts of China. It attempts to investigate how the *jingju* industry was manipulated by the Green Gang, a local organized crime group, during the 1920s and 1930s. Briefly it tries to address the following questions: what was the relation between war and Shanghai’s historical and geographical specificities that contextualized the *jingju* industry? How did the Green Gang take advantage of the disorder created by struggling powers to establish the gang’s status and importance in Shanghai and how did this facilitate its control of the *jingju* industry? What factors of production, products and strategies to maintain monopoly status did the Green Gang possess to ensure the prosperity of the *jingju* industry and what were their innovations and their side effects? In so doing, we hope to offer an alternative history of *jingju* in Shanghai and most importantly, to displace academic attention from onstage manifestations to offstage during wartime. The remaining part of this chapter is divided into three sections: the first section introduces the background of wartime Shanghai and the rise of the Green Gang to prepare readers for eccentricities of the Shanghai *jingju* market; the second as well as the most important section firstly briefly describes the negative impact of war on theatre, and then illustrates innovations of Shanghai *jingju* production through the manipulation of the Green Gang, with subsections on the factors of production, products and strategies to maintain monopoly status; the third section summarizes the historical characteristics of the Shanghai *jingju* market during wartime to illustrate from a Chinese example the interaction between war and theatre production.

Performance in Place of War argues that “in times and place of war, clear distinctions between sites, styles, genres and types of practice break down as the wider crisis disrupts the everyday roles, routines and institutional practices of a stable society”.[7] This was the exact situation in Shanghai, not only at the political level, but also at the artistic and cultural level. Amid the chaos, the pragmatic Green Gang found a place to exercise its power, and played a significant role in the development of *jingju* in Shanghai. Both the Green Gang and *jingju* were unique outcomes of the socio-historical milieu of Shanghai from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century.

Wars, Shanghai Concessions and the Green Gang

Although Shanghai had been populated 6000 years ago, its status as a metropolis was much more recent. When the Manchu-ruled Qing government lost the First Opium War (1839–1842) to the British, Shanghai and other four cities were opened to foreign trade in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Nanking. The British concession was established later as a settlement, followed by the American concession in 1848 and the French concession in 1849. In 1863 the British and American settlements were united into the Shanghai International Settlement.[8] The prosperity of Shanghai was reliant upon these concessions, because they were to some extent immune from the catastrophic consequences of wars in China. Most contemporary theatres which prospered were located in the concessions, which were related to war, yet again immune from its direct impact. From 1843 to 1945, there were several significant wars and battles waged around Shanghai, which involved Chinese rebels, revolutionaries, authorities, political parties, warlords and Japanese invaders.[9] Yet for most of this period, the concessions claimed a neutrality in the face of all struggling parties and an immunity from attack.

Foreign concessions were originally Chinese sovereign territory, but because of constant wars, the state lost control of them, thereby facilitating their autonomy. In 1854 the concessions founded the Shanghai Municipal Council and formed the Shanghai Municipal Police to ensure their judicial and administrative autonomy. Thus, they virtually assumed the status of nations within China. At the outset Chinese people were excluded from the concessions, but as war refugees from the Taiping Rebellion (1850–1864) continued to flock into the area, Chinese entry was legalized and by the 1860s the Chinese population outnumbered foreigners.[10] The growth of population stimulated the economic transformation in the concessions from pure trading to various industrial investments from which the concessions profited. Under such circumstances, Shanghai became a significant city in South China.

During periods of war in other parts of China, the concessions became a haven for fugitives, outlaws, bandits, revolutionaries, political dissidents and gangsters, which complicated the internal structure of the concessions. Because of self-government and "the unruly"[11] nature of these people, organized criminal practices, banned outside the concessions, became commonplace: gambling, prostitution and the opium trade, all of which were ironically sources of revenue for the

concession authorities. Most of these businesses were operated by the Shanghai Green Gang, the most important and indispensable intermediary between the concession authorities and the other myriad Chinese groups.

The history of the Green Gang can be traced back to 1726. It was a secret society for workers who transported grain along the Grand Canal, a major cargo transportation route in China which dated back to 400 BCE. When Shanghai became an important port, hundreds of thousands of people flooded there, many of whom joined the Green Gang. Besides transporting cargoes, some gang members became involved in organized crime, such as the selling of opium, the opening of brothels and gambling houses, or even involving themselves in human trafficking, fraud, extortion, robbery and theft. In early twentieth-century Shanghai, the Green Gang established themselves, forging alliances in the underworld and with the ruling classes. It became ever stronger in the 1920s and 1930s and finally established a system dominated by three chieftains who became sworn brothers: Huang Jinrong 黄金荣 (1867–1953), Zhang Xiaolin 张啸林 (1877–1940), and Du Yuesheng 杜月笙 (1888–1951). Based in the concessions, their influence permeated throughout Shanghai. Since "[m]embership in the Green Gang and other minor labor gangs or mutual-aid groups was the primary form of association among members of the emerging working class in Shanghai",[12] many refugees who fled to the concessions became members of these groups that controlled numerous positions in a variety of legal or illegal trades. Membership not only guaranteed their safety in a jungle society, but gave them access to livelihood in the Green Gang's trades. This, on the other hand, increased these gangs' economic profit.[13] According to Brian G. Martin, there might have been 100,000 gangsters in the 1920s and 1930s Shanghai, the majority being members of the Green Gang.[14] Under such circumstances, the Green Gang controlled a huge force that could, for example, foment or stop social unrest such as strike activity if it wished. This endowed it with direct as well as indirect power and influence.

To increase its power and profit, the Green Gang was also willing to form alliances with several antithetical political parties, namely, concession authorities, warlords in China, the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). And these parties were also forced to treat the Green Gang with respect due to its influence on economy and social (dis)order. Significantly, the Green Gang was even empowered by the

concession authorities to maintain order. To facilitate "effectiveness of the coercive power of the foreign settlements",[15] foreign authorities granted permission for gangsters to join in foreign police forces,[16] and ignored illicit businesses, particularly when the Green Gang made substantial monthly payoffs to concession authorities.[17] Huang Jinrong even became Chief of the Chinese Detective Squad.[18] The Green Gang's influence can also be seen in other social sectors, for instance, its status as an intermediary between workers and factory owners, which made it indispensable for both lower and upper classes. These cooperative alliances were not without practical concerns; essentially they were business and speculation, for the Green Gang's primary objective was to protect its business (particularly the opium trade) from the unrest caused by struggling political parties in China. In 1927, Chiang Kai-Shek 蔣介石 (1887–1975), then head of the Kuomintang and once himself a member of the Green Gang,[19] gave the Gang leaders more political power and support for their opium business.[20]

With political assistance and accumulated capital from illegal trades, in the 1930s the Green Gang started to invest in legal trades such as banking and manufacturing, charities, and formed societies (such as Du's Endurance Club 恒社) to assimilate capitalists and other social elites as members, so as to extend its influences in the public domain. Moreover, as will be elaborated later, the Green Gang often subsidized its workers and staged free performances to raise money for armies to fight the Japanese, and thus enhanced its reputation and earned a measure of gratitude from the public. As a result, from 1927 to 1937 when the Second Sino-Japanese War broke out, the Green Gang reached its heyday in Shanghai by ascending from the underworld lower class to the public upper class.[21] Likewise, the *jingju* industry in which the Gang invested also enjoyed commercial prosperity and gained cultural capital.

War and Theatre

In early twentieth-century Shanghai, the impact of war on the theatre industry was enormous. There were negative aspects on various levels. Theatres outside the concessions were particularly at the mercy of war. At its worst, theatres were involved in combat and suffered from physical damage to buildings. As Gengxin Theatre 更新舞台, built in 1923 and famous for its stage machinery, was located at the border of the concessions and the Chinese districts, it often became a place of combat.

Moreover, if a theatre was not damaged, the army or the government might appropriate the building for temporary use: camping, fund raising, or troop headquarters, thereby disrupting its operation. Gengxin Theatre was occupied by Nationalist armies and the Nationalist government on more than ten occasions in 1927 alone.[22] Even if a theatre was lucky enough to be able to stage plays, it might suffer from the increased tax (disguised as donation) on the entertainment industry during wartime,[23] not to mention the loss caused by fighting in the auditorium between opposing audience factions (such as aggressive soldiers).[24] Although the war caused performances to be often halted by authorities,[25] the theatre industry in the concessions was in a far better situation and found aspects of war advantageous. On the one hand, due to the concession authorities' ineffective control of all aspects of society, varied illegal theatre operations existed in the concessions, which made it possible for risk takers (gangsters in particular) to make great fortunes overnight. On the other hand, living in a time of uncertainties created by war, the lower and middle classes were inclined to seek immediate entertainment, rather than saving money for the future. A place for new/foreign experiences and ideas, Shanghai was capable of meeting consumers' needs for more and novel pleasures. The boom of the theatre industry, under such circumstances, was fuelled by willing audiences and investors. Looking closely at the role of investors in the prosperity of *jingju* in the Shanghai concessions during periods of war, one cannot avoid a consideration of the manipulation of the *jingju* industry by the Green Gang.

Innovations of Shanghai *Jingju* Production and the Green Gang

Although not all innovations in Shanghai *jingju* production were driven by the Green Gang's direct manipulation, it is possible to regard the Green Gang as an embodiment of the "abnormality" in the *jingju* industry shaped by war. Moreover, the unique features of the *jingju* industry in Shanghai, as distinct from its existence in other locations, were the result of the Green Gang's involvement.

There were several Green Gang members who invested in theatre in the early twentieth century,[26] yet those with real impact on the Shanghai *jingju* industry were figures with real power: Huang Jinrong, Du Yuesheng, and Gu Zhuxuan 顾竹轩 (1885–1956), who marked the heyday of the Green Gang and the *jingju* industry itself through their

dedicated involvement. Huang owned Rong's Gong Theatre 荣记共舞台 from 1913 to 1937, Rong's Grand Theatre 荣记大舞台 from 1927 to 1936 and Huang Jin Grand Theatre 黄金大戏院 from 1930 to 1935, all of which were probably the most famous ones in the contemporary Shanghai *jingju* market.[27] Du not only was closely connected to *jingju* stars (for instance, by marriage), but also subsidized the Shanghai Theatre Association (STA) for a long time. Gu was the sole owner of the Tianchan Theatre 天蟾舞台 from 1921, a famous theatre also still in use, and the Gengxin Theatre. Moreover, their followers occupied many positions throughout theatres and associations in Shanghai. In other words, *jingju* in Shanghai was under the de facto control of the Green Gang in the 1920s and 1930s. The interplay between both will be addressed from the following three perspectives: production, the products themselves and the strategies to maintain the gang's monopoly.

Production Factors

In the early twentieth century, the capital needed to start a theatre was undoubtedly a thorny issue for investors. As Tsuji Choka recorded, it cost at least 40,000 yuan to start a theatre business in Shanghai and Beijing,[28] while as Fig. 8.1 in the following section demonstrates, the monthly salary of a section chief of Songhu Health Bureau was 30 yuan in 1927. For the Green Gang which accumulated sufficient capital in its numerous trades, money was not an issue. For example, because of the system of joint shareholders, the ten shareholders of the Grand Theatre 大舞台 often had disputes over how to run the theatre, which ultimately resulted in its decline. Nevertheless, this trouble was resolved by exclusive investment from Huang, who renamed it as the Rong's Grand Theatre, operated it more effectively and led the theatre to what would become its golden era.

Abundant capital was a prerequisite for a stable business operation in times of war. As will be suggested later, a large proportion of capital was spent on inviting stars into perform, improving the quality of the consumers' experience, as well as holding charity shows. Yet there were requirements more fundamental: places and people. The property rights of theatres at that time were separated from the rights of the management; namely, the manager paid the rent to the landlord to use theatres. Due to the unstable market performance in wartime, the contract was often signed for a short term. Although some contracts lasted for

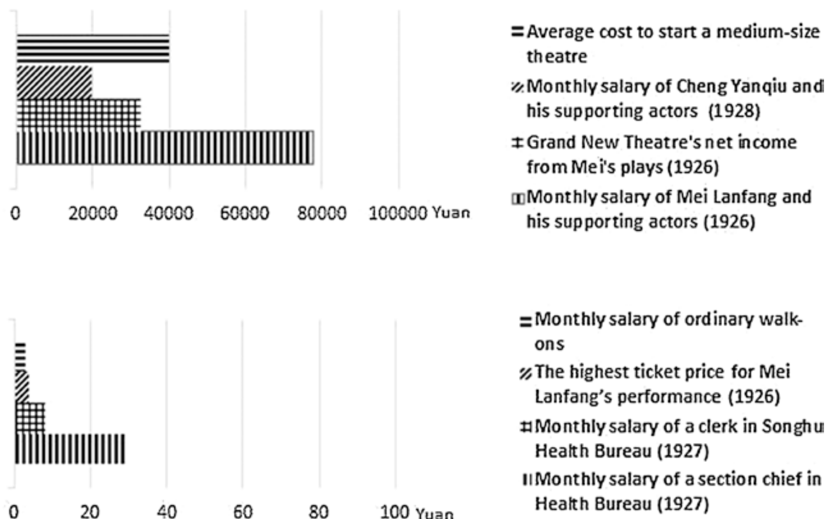


Fig. 8.1 Some statistics related to the Shanghai *jingju* market

one year, there were even contracts signed on a monthly basis. However, contracting for a short term was not always satisfactory, because the constant turnover of tenants caused endless disputes between tenants, property owners and other interested parties. For example, the First Red Laurel Theatre 丹桂第一台, a renowned theatre where the distinguished actor Mei Lanfang 梅兰芳 (1894–1961) gave his premiere in Shanghai, declined due to arguments about rent resulting in constant changes in theatre ownership, and was finally closed in 1930. Constant relocation and market competition complicated the trajectory of theatre development in the early twentieth century. Small and medium theatres were merged, transformed and closed down, while theatres operated by the Green Gang survived and expanded. From the late nineteenth century to 1930, there had been in Shanghai more than 40 theatres specializing in *jingju*, yet around 1930, only seven were in operation, and four of them were controlled by the Green Gang, and by 1933, of the four *jingju* theatres, three were controlled by the Green Gang.[29] This was determined by the fact that the Green Gang had an overwhelming financial advantage to rent buildings, which made it possible for gangsters to maintain a long-term steady relationship of cooperation with the proprietor.

It should be remembered that the Green Gang was a criminal organization profiting through illegal means, and indeed sometimes it used illegal means to take over theatres. Gu's takeover of the Tianchan Theatre was a case in point. The Tianchan Theatre had been solely owned by Xu Shaoqing[30] 许少卿 before it was purchased by Gu. Gu did not negotiate with Xu on the issue of purchase; instead, he promised a higher price for the Tianchan Theatre to the Yongan Company 永安公司, which was Xu's landlord. Gu approached the Yongan Company in 1922 when Xu's contract with it was about to expire, and who was himself absent in Beijing to invite *jingju* stars. In fact, Xu had encountered a series of threats prior to the takeover: as early as 1919, he was threatened by a bomb placed in front of his house possibly because he might not yield to Gu. At the end of 1921, he received another extortion letter, which demanded 2000 yuan, accompanied by a further bomb threat. Such threats disappeared when Gu took charge of the Tianchan Theatre, suggesting that Gu was the person behind the threats and extortion demands.

With theatre buildings established, theatre owners needed staff members to run the business, and they were quick to learn from foreigners in terms of the personnel system. As an early port opened in China, Shanghai developed a strong business atmosphere, and embraced new ways of doing business. Because of its special and sophisticated social structure, a modern personnel system came into being relatively early under the influence of foreign commercial companies. Its modernity lay in clear division of labour and effective management. The personnel of most theatres consisted of staff members in charge of business operation and performance management. Business operation needed a manager and his assistants, accountants, and ushers who were in charge of the overall operation of theatre; performance management also involved a manager and his assistants, performance consultants, the stage supervisor, and scenographer and others, who were in charge of all issues related to performance. Each had their own specific responsibilities. As an example, salary payment was decided by the operation manager and paid by the performance manager. The number of personnel indicated the scale of a theatre. Generally speaking, except performers, there were at least ten staff members in a theatre. Rong's Grand Theatre, however, had over 50 non-performer staff members, greatly exceeding its competitors, which ensured a better management of his theatre's core business.

Besides ordinary staff members, a theatre also needed professional talents to improve productions and services. The Green's Gang's advantage of capital, again, played a vital role in realizing the potential of talented professionals for innovation. For instance, when Gu managed the Tianchan Theatre, he not only paid Yu Zhenting 于振庭, a celebrated playwright, 400 yuan per month for his playwriting, but also rewarded him 200 yuan more for each new play. In terms of sales, the rise of the *anmu* 案目 [usher], a kind of special occupation in theatre industry, shows how open-minded and flexible theatre owners were to expand their business. Originally, *anmu* were ushers, yet in the context of Shanghai their potential was developed so that they were able to become sales managers to make contact with customers in need of tickets, rich customers and their sought-after tickets in particular. In other words, they became responsible for marketing and ticket sales. Their relation with theatre owners was generally one of cooperation. It was possible that the new system of ticket selling in the *jingju* market copied that in the cinema operated by Westerners.[31] As an important agent in theatre operation, the *anmu*'s income was not a regular salary from theatres, but earned 5% of the total sales. Ticket sales in fact rose in proportion to the numbers of ushers there were inside a theatre.

The Green Gang also had other strategies to systematically control theatre practitioners. As representatives of the *jingju* industry in wartime Shanghai around 1930, the Shanghai Theatre Association (STA) exemplified the Green Gang's power to manipulate *jingju*. The STA was an autonomous organization for all theatre professionals in Shanghai, chief among whom were *jingju* professionals. The manipulation of the STA thus equated with the manipulation of the *jingju* industry. The first evidence of manipulation was Du Yuesheng's subsidization of the STA. In December 1928, the STA's official newspaper *Liyuan Gongbao* 梨园公报 [*Liyuan Bulletin*] consecutively published advertisements on the front page in order to explicitly acknowledge Du's subsidization and named him "the most benevolent man".[32] Furthermore, the STA gave Du an embellished plaque in 1929,[33] which was a traditional Chinese gesture to display one's gratitude to or respect for a benefactor. The Green Gang's crucial impact on the STA was based on this kind of subsidization. The organization itself originated from the Theatre Association supported by Sun Yat-sen 孙中山 (1866–1925) around 1911, with the purpose of strengthening the bonds between theatre practitioners, to safeguard their benefits, and improve their humble

social status that had been long established in Chinese history. After its formal foundation in February 1912, the operation of the STA was facilitated by membership fees that accounted for 0.5% of the average actor's income as well as proceeds from benefit performances that every actor in the STA was obliged to participate in without payment. All funds were used for running primary schools that provided theatre practitioners' children with free education, preserving a cemetery for theatre practitioners, helping their widowers, widows and orphans, as well as organizing charity shows. It should be noted that the STA made undeniable contributions to improving the social status of theatre professionals. However, the financial resources at their disposal soon became insufficient to support their various activities. The subsidization, however, from the Green Gang helped the *jingju* circle through difficulties, while at the same time, facilitated the Green Gang's dominance of the *jingju* industry. For example, in early 1930, two actors went on strike because both of them wanted to play the leading role in a performance. Customarily, such issues should have been handled by STA mediation, yet in this case eventually it was solved by Du himself, thereby exemplifying his impact on the *jingju* industry.

Another proof of manipulation was that most committee members in the STA had a Green Gang background. Committee members were selected among all theatre practitioners across Shanghai yet as can be seen in the list of STA committee nominees published in *Shen Bao* in April 1924, members of the Green Gang held important positions. On the very top of the list were Xia Yuerun 夏月润 (1878–1931) and Ouyang Yuqian 欧阳予倩 (1889–1962), who were known in the Chinese *jingju* circle for their performing skills and practices of theatre reform. Following them closely were two Green Gang disciples, Zhao Ruquan 赵如泉 (1881–1961) and Li Guichun 李桂春 (1885–1962),[34] both *jingju* actors and theatre managers, who had taken leading positions in the STA for a long time. A number of executive members were also gangsters.[35] As agents for the Green Gang, these people helped to control and manage the *jingju* market by resolving disputes or allocating actors to particular roles. In this way control of the STA gave the Green Gang a structural advantage to oversee the *jingju* industry and maintain its prestige. Indeed, production factors provided the Green Gang advantages for intervening in theatre productions, which is the fundamental aspect one needs to bear in mind when investigating the innovations which took place.

Products

Of all newly emerged products in the Shanghai concessions, three elements were particularly important: star performances, serialized plays and the cast of mixed genders, of which star performances were the most popular and profitable. We will use Mei Lanfang as an example. On 1 December 1923, Mei was invited to Rong's Gong Theatre, together with other stars from Beijing. Huang prepared a villa at Yanghaiqiao in the French concession for Mei's stay during which he performed for 45 days.[36] The total sales for these performances were over 130,000 yuan, of which the net profit exceeded 40,000 yuan. However, the salary paid to stars soared as the market developed, so that no theatre could afford stars except the most influential ones. Take Rong's Grand Theatre as an example. From 1927 when Huang took over the Grand Theatre up to 1932, an amazing list of first-class *jingju* performers was advertised ceaselessly on the billboard of the Theatre. Only Mei performed three times: in December 1928, January 1930 and January 1931; other superstars like Cheng Yanqiu 程砚秋 (1904–1958), Shang Xiaoyun 尚小云 (1900–1976) and Xun Huisheng, all female impersonators, each performed twice. In fact, half of the *jingju* stars in China performed in Rong's Grand Theatre. No other theatres were capable of inviting so many stars at that time, except for the Tianchan Theatre owned by Gu. Yet even Gu could only afford to invite Xun Huisheng and Gao Qingkui 高庆奎 (1890–1942), another superstar, for one performance each.

To maintain their monopoly, access to stars were predominantly controlled by the Green Gang, since other theatres were financially incapable of featuring even one big star. The monthly salary for Mei (including his supporting actors) in 1926, for example, was more than 70,000 yuan,[37] and Cheng's (including his supporting actors) was more than 20,000 yuan in 1928.[38] The strategy of inviting big stars raised the ticket price throughout the Shanghai *jingju* market. Audiences flocked to theatre, even though the price for a show with big stars unprecedentedly reached 4 yuan, which represented half of the monthly salary of a clerk.[39]

To counterbalance the drawing power of stars that they could hardly afford to invite, ordinary theatres had to invent alternatives to attract audiences, one of which was to stage serialized plays (*liantai benxi* 连台本戏). In terms of form, serialized plays could be performed on stage continuously and, like a contemporary TV series, a serialized play could

cease or continue, depending on audience reception. Moreover, to be more effective and appealing, a new performance system was invented: to stage two or three serialized plays in one theatre at regular intervals.

In terms of content, serialized plays always focused on gods and stories animated by superstition, such as *Guanshiyin Dedao* 观世音得道 [*Enlightened Avalokitasvara*] and *Fengshen Bang* 封神榜 [*The Legend of Deification*] produced by the Tianchan Theatre. In this respect, the popularity of these stories reflected the social inclination to illusion and escapism during wartime. Since the late Qing Dynasty, the Chinese Nationalist bourgeois revolution attempted to terminate feudalism in China. Although the 1911 revolution eliminated the feudal monarchy, feudal ideology that lurked in society soon revived because China was still at war after the revolution. Take the New Stage 新舞台 as an example. Originally constructed in 1908 to champion theatre reform as well as a primary site for Nationalists to propagate revolutionary ideas through the introduction of new plays, it was celebrated for its determination to discard plays based on outmoded superstition. But then it became the first theatre to turn against its idealism after the revolution and restaged old plays to maintain its operational capacity. It was, however, closed in 1927. This shift of content indicated an equal shift of people's minds in society: audiences enjoyed shows that temporarily dissociated them from the miserable reality of conflict.

Significantly the Green Gang facilitated the removal of the prohibition against plays with a cast of mixed genders in the concessions. Such a prohibition was commonplace in the early twentieth-century Chinese theatre, while in the Shanghai *jingju* industry, performers were mostly men. In order to expand his market, Gu Zhuxuan succeeded in persuading the Municipal Council into removing this prohibition, on the grounds that such plays were popular and profitable.[40] With the permit issued, Gu immediately employed famous actress Xue Yanqin 雪艳琴 (1906–1986),[41] and three other famous actresses known as 'the Three Sisters of Cao' 曹氏三红, with the assistance of Green Gang members Huang and Cao Youshan 曹幼珊.[42] Gu's efforts soon reaped dividends.

The Green Gang was proficient in catering to the popular taste, hence its up-to-date theatrical productions and innovations. All of the above three kinds of innovation have left a tangible legacy to *jingju* to be explored below. Yet to maintain its monopoly status for greater financial gain, the Green Gang also adopted several strategies in terms of self-promotion, marketing and restraining competition.

The Strategies to Maintain Monopoly Status

Theatres operated by the Green Gang found charity shows attractive in order to ameliorate their social image and helped to develop the *jingju* industry. Charity events referred to a theatre's donation of the total income of performances to organizations or to areas struck by natural disasters, and also to the renting of theatres to organizations with or without charge in order to raise funds. According to a rough estimation, Huang's Gong Theatre on average held charity events at least once every year from 1913 to 1937.[43] *Shen Bao*, a mainstream newspaper in Shanghai, reported such events regularly and gave its enthusiastic praise. In July 1925, an organization rented the Gong Theatre to raise money for unemployed workers. Du and Zhang Xiaolin each donated 200 yuan, and the owner Huang waived the rental.[44] In May 1936, the China Aviation Association initiated a charity movement to defend China against Japanese invasion, appealing to every Chinese for donations to purchase airplanes, and in the meantime raised funds for Chiang Kai-shek's fiftieth birthday, which also stimulated people to donate for national causes. Huang instantly started a large-scale donation movement in the Shanghai entertainment world, and promised to contribute one day's income of all his entertainment venues. The STA subsequently held a meeting, encouraging its member theatres to contribute one day's income as well. Without strong social influences and financial backup, such charity events would not have been possible. The Green Gang gambled its financial profits against the achievement of its long-term interests. Because of its involvement in public affairs with theatres as major sites, the Green Gang and its theatres won support from the public, and more importantly, strengthened its ties with political authorities.

Market competition in the Shanghai *jingju* industry led to the birth of copyright. The production of a new play was always costly although such expenditure did not necessarily guarantee a good reception. One way to secure popularity was to copy successful plays from other theatres. In June 1921, the Tianchan Theatre produced the play *Palm Civet for Prince* 狸猫换太子. It was adapted from an exciting folk tale, and used dazzling stage machines which guaranteed its popularity—in fact, it still remains within *jingju*'s repertoire.The First Red Laurel Theatre soon followed suit in June 1922 to stage its own version of the same play. Again, another version starring Li Guichun and Zhao Ruquan was produced by Rong's Grand Theatre, soon followed by a further version

that achieved better sales. In the meantime, Gong Theatre and Qian Kun Theatre in Grand World 大世界乾坤剧场, a small-scale theatre that would be taken over by Huang Jinrong in 1930, both had the same play advertised. For a time this play almost dominated the entire Shanghai market. The pursuit of profit, however, encouraged plagiarism. The most effective approach was to send someone to watch a play and to write down the plot in shorthand. Under such circumstances, theatres that took pains to create new plays were affected badly and bound to claim the infringement of copyright. The Tianchan Theatre took the initiative in 1923 regarding its new play *Liang Wudi* 梁武帝 [*The Emperor Liang Wu*], which was copied as soon as it became popular. The STA held a meeting dedicated to the issue of copyright. *The Regulation for Rectifying Serialized Plays* was issued a week later, in which the copyright of a new play was stipulated to last one year and other theatres were prohibited from producing similar plays within the year. Theatres that intended to create new plays needed to register with the STA. It seemed that these difficulties were solved immediately, but new problems followed. Powerful theatres like Tianchan registered popular topics as soon as possible so as to preclude competition. Small and medium-sized theatres also invented new methods to plagiarize. Despite its deficiencies, copyright as an invention in this period did help reduce the conflict between theatres. Noticeably, the STA mainly functioned on behalf of the Green Gang who controlled the most capital; thus the coming into being of a copyright system implied the Green Gang's anxiety at the prospect of losing its established monopoly.

The Green Gang also needed to restrain existing competitors. Sometimes it even overreacted to potential competition. Take Huang Jinrong as an example. In early 1930, a *jingju* theatre called Three Star Grand Theatre 三星大舞台 was about to open for business. Yet Huang was unhappy with the repetition of the "grand" in the name because one of his theatres was called Rong's Grand Theatre. He threatened the theatre owner and consequently the Three Star Grand Theatre was forced to rename itself as Three Star Theatre 三星舞台.[45]

Assassination was also practised to get rid of competitors. The murder of Chang Chunheng常春恒 (1889–1928), a famous *jingju* actor, was a controversial and well-known event in Shanghai. At 11.30 pm on 27 January 1928, Chang took a car home after his performance of *Emperor Wu of Liang* at the First Red Laurel Theatre. Suddenly Chang was shot by several unknown assassins. Passers-by were also hurt by stray bullets.

He died on 30 January in hospital at the age of 39. In March 1928, the police arrested one suspect called Xie Dejin 谢德金. He confessed that Gu commissioned a man named Liu with a payment of 250 yuan to kill Chang, and Liu organized this assassination. The release of this news gave rise to an immediate public outcry. Strangely, the public tended to beg for mercy for Gu. The Zhabei Chamber of Commerce (chaired by Gu) sent a letter to the Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce, stating that the detention of Gu, who was too public-spirited and upright to commit such a crime, would inevitably detract from the reputation of Shanghai's merchants. The Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce, together with the Chinese Ratepayers Association in the settlements, made every possible effort to deal with the court of justice. Yu Qiaqing 虞洽卿 (1867–1945), the Chinese Chairman of the Shanghai Municipal Council, also stood by Gu. Eventually, the police decided to spare Gu and released him on bail of 20,000 yuan. In May 1928, the police had more than ten people in a lineup in front of Xie Dejin, and asked Xie to identify Gu from them, but Xie failed. Thus the case against Gu was overturned, and the event turned out to be unresolved.[46] However, a number of historical documents suggest that Gu was indeed the person responsible. In his old age, Huang Zhenshi 黄振世 (1899–1982), who worked for Huang Jinrong, recollected and believed that Gu was to blame. He further held that the cause for Chang's death was his demand for a pay rise together with his threat to leave the Tianchan Theatre.[47] Other *jingju* practitioners, such as Ouyang Yuqian and Zhou Xinfang 周信芳 (1895–1975) also held similar views.[48] Gu may have murdered Chang not only as a result of his demand for a pay rise, but also because Chang had recently co-opened the First Red Laurel Theatre after leaving the Tianchan Theatre, and would therefore become a formidable competitor to Gu. In order to eliminate his potential competitors, Gu appears to have resorted to murder.

Historical Characteristics of the Shanghai *Jingju* Market

The particular theatre production mechanism in wartime Shanghai concessions determined the uniqueness of theatre management and operation from the front of house to the back stage. In terms of the trend of market development, the *jingju* industry underwent a transition from

free competition to the Green Gang's monopoly, which was co-influenced by Shanghai's geographical and historical milieu as well as the agency of the Green Gang. While the concessions in Shanghai protected foreigners, they also harboured free capital, which facilitated an integration of the best resources of the *jingju* industry in China. Stars in Beijing flocked to the Shanghai market for fortune, fame and not the least out of fear of the Green Gang. Their charisma, supreme virtuosity and stories bewildered local audiences and overwhelmed local actors. Talented professionals from other fields were also lured to the lucrative *jingju* industry to contribute to its prosperity. Joined together in Shanghai, these cultural resources found Shanghai a fertile and promising locality to engender new artistic possibilities and enhance the hybridity of local culture. Again, a vital agent in this process was the Green Gang. Its impact on the *jingju* industry was multi-layered, including play production, selection of performers and stage style, as well as personnel system and methods of payment. As the eye of storm in modern China, Shanghai's hybrid and complicated social, economic and political structure forced theatres to survive in nonconventional and even abnormal ways, in which the Green Gang dominated in the end. The Green Gang, explicitly and implicitly, manipulated the *jingju* market, which finally resulted in three changes, not necessarily entirely positive innovations: the polarization of the rich and the poor among practitioners, the soaring of ticket price and the survival of Shanghai-style *jingju*.

The story of the polarization of the rich and the poor among practitioners was also one of the rise and fall of theatres in competition with each other. Stars were spoiled by theatres and audiences and were as a result able to demand extremely high salaries, while many more ordinary practitioners struggled for a basic living. Mei's salary mounted to far more than 10,000 yuan, whereas a walk-on only received 3 yuan per month. Although supposed to bridge the gap, it was hard for the STA, as representative of the Green Gang, to resolve the problem. It was thus foreseeable that in the 1940s practitioners' strikes were bound to play an important role in having their salaries raised.

Similarly, consumers were divided. Generally speaking, the lowest ticket price remained stable throughout modern Shanghai, yet the highest prices kept soaring. The upper class was immune to the price change because warlords and squires preferred to invite actors to play at their homes rather than visit the theatre. The middle class was happy with most performances as long as the price for non-star casts fluctuated

around one yuan. The lower class, in fact the majority of Shanghainese, was mostly kept out of theatres. It would be unbelievable that the proletariat living and working in urban areas would travel across Shanghai to the city centre for performances after ten hours' hard work. On average, a working class family spent only 1.07 yuan per year then on entertainment,[49] which means that they visited theatre once at most and bought the cheapest ticket. In this regard, the proletariat was actually excluded from the Shanghai *jingju* market.

The constitution of audiences determined that *jingju* should be more consumerist. The so-called Shanghai-style *jingju* came into being in this period, which was far more fashionable, novel and costly than *jingju* products in other places. Its defining features were inclusiveness and the emphasis on visual and total effects as opposed to traditional *jingju*'s prioritization of what might prove attractive to the ear. Because of Shanghai's open-mindedness, all *jingju* experiments regarded as heretical in Beijing were carried out in Shanghai, including highlighting theatricality. Zhou Xinfang was the primary representative of this type of *jingju*, who, to audiences and scholars, was no less artistically pre-eminent than *jingju* masters from Beijing. Yet this was not the case of all plays and actors. Although new costumes, a fascinating new plot and gorgeous visual effects were created to please theatregoers, herein also lay the weakness of Shanghai-style *jingju*, as exemplified by the serialized plays: theatres prioritized stage machines over plot to attract audiences, which was even worse in plays which drew their inspiration from superstition and depended upon special effects. Most of the plots were derived from plagiarized content or based on widely known stories. With middle- and upper-class audiences devoted to consumerist pleasure, the Green Gang's capital input catered for the desire for escapism, as it did for its opium trade. Banality and vulgarity of plot and style would inevitably dominate the *jingju* industry. Critics commented that whatever they watched in Shanghai tasted the same in the end. In a place lacking social order because of wars, the Shanghai *jingju* industry operated by the Green Gang created many profitable initiatives which were trapped in the polarities of refinement and vulgarity, innovation and transient success.

The story of the Green Gang and *jingju* changed in 1937, when the Japanese army occupied Shanghai, and isolated the concessions. Theatres outside the concessions were unable to continue operation, while those inside maintained operation and even formed a trust in the 1940s led by the Green Gang. However, they were no longer prosperous. After

the founding of People's Republic of China in 1949, the remaining Green Gang members either escaped from the mainland, or *jingju* was reformed by the new government, and gradually declined. All theatres became state-owned. However the shift of rulers in Shanghai has not completely transformed its culture. Some plays produced around 1930 became classic and are still restaged, while some became representative embodiments of a particular aesthetic style, thus leaving a tangible legacy to *jingju* in South China.

Notes

1. See Andrew Maunder, "Introduction," in *British Theatre and the Great War, 1914–1919*, ed. Andrew Maunder (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 9.
2. See Andrew Maunder, ed. *British Theatre and the Great War, 1914–1919* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); L. J. C. Collins, *Theatre at War, 1914–1918* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998); Gordon Williams, *British Theatre in the Great War: A Revaluation* (London: Continuum, 2003).
3. For instance, Tony Howard and John Stokes, eds., *Acts of War: The Representation of Military Conflict on the British Stage and Television since 1945* (Aldershot and Brookfield: Scolar Press, 1996); Jenny Hughes, *Performance in a Time of Terror: Critical Mimesis and the Age of Uncertainty* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2011); Julia Boll, *The New War Plays: From Kane to Harris* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
4. Michael Balfour, ed. *Theatre and War, 1933–1945: Performance in Extremis* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001); Michael Balfour, James Thompson, and Jenny Hughes, *Performance in Place of War* (Greenford: Seagull, 2009).
5. *Performance in Place of War*, 21.
6. Ibid., 21–22.
7. Ibid., 5–6.
8. The existence of concessions lasted until 1945.
9. For details of those wars, see the online handbook of Shanghai at http://www.shtong.gov.cn/Newsite/node2/node2247/node4571/index.html.
10. According to the census results, in 1865 there were 133,042 Chinese and 5,589 foreigners in the concessions. See Chen-i Wu, *Qingmo Shanghai Zujie Shehui* [*Society of Late-Qing Dynasty Shanghai Concessions*] (Taipei: Wenshizhe Chubanshe, 1978), 2–7. By the 1930s, there were more than 150,000 foreigners and approximately four million Chinese living in

Shanghai. See Niv Horesh, *Shanghai, Past and Present: A Concise Socio-Economic History, 1842–2012* (East Sussex: Sussex Academic Press, 2014), 5.

11. Ibid., xxiii.
12. Xiaoqun Xu, *Chinese Professionals and the Republican State: The Rise of Professional Associations in Shanghai, 1912–1937* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 85.
13. See Brian G. Martin, *The Shanghai Green Gang: Politics and Organized Crime, 1919–1937* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1996), 82.
14. Ibid., 35.
15. Ibid., 5.
16. See Frederic E. Wakeman, *Policing Shanghai: 1927–1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 30–34.
17. See Martin, *The Shanghai Green Gang: Politics and Organized Crime, 1919–1937*, 116.
18. Huang Jinrong's status in the concession had a lot to do with his capabilities of helping the French authorities to deal with local threats because of his wide associations. For details, see Martin, *The Shanghai Green Gang: Politics and Organized Crime, 1919–1937*, 66–68.
19. See Zhenshi Huang, "*Wo Suo Zhidao De Huang Jinrong* [My Impression of Huang Jinrong]," in *Jiu Shanghai De Banghui* [*The Gangs of Old Shanghai*], ed. The Work Committee of Historical and Literary Materials of the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe, 1986), 173.
20. For instance, Du assumed the following positions: "advisor to the Military Commission of the Nationalist government, member of the Legislative Body of the Municipality of Greater Shanghai, member of the Supervisory Committee of the Chamber of Commerce of Shanghai, and chairman of the Executive Committee of the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company". See Perry, *Shanghai on Strike: The Politics of Chinese Labor*, 97.
21. For details, see Yong Shao, *Zhongguo Mimi Shehui, 6: Minguo Banghui* [*Chinese Secret Societies, Vol. 6: The Republic Era*] (Fuzhou: Fujian Renmin Chubanshe, 2002), 171–180.
22. See *Shen Bao*, 4 March 1927, 9; 16 June 1927, 13; 18 June 1927, 13; 23 June 1927, 9; 1 July 1927, 13; 10 July 1927, 13; 16 August 1927, 15; 3 October 1927, 10; 7 November 1927, 13. As most historical sources of this chapter come from newspapers such as *Shen Bao* [*Shanghai News*] 申报 and *Luobinhan* [*Robin Hood*] 罗宾汉, the following citations will take this format by highlighting an article's date and page without mentioning the author or the title.

23. The Shanghai government demanded a donation from the entertainment industry to help war refugees from Northeast China since 1931.
24. See *Shen Bao*, 7 November 1924, 10; 7 August 1928, 15; 18 June 1929, 15.
25. For instance, in times of curfew, theatre activities would be prohibited. See *Shen Bao*, 16 April 1927, 13.
26. Such as Wang Hongshou's 王鸿寿 (1850–1925) investment in Yucheng Theatre 玉成茶园 in 1903 and Huang Chujiu's 黄楚九 (1872–1931) operation of Xinxin Theatre 新新舞台 opened in 1912.
27. The Huang Jin Grand Theatre is still in use.
28. See Choka Tsuji, *Jupu Fan Xindiao* [*Chinese Opera*] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang Guji Chubanshe, 2011), 114.
29. See Xingjie Xu and Shicheng Cai eds., *Shanghai Jingju Zhi* [*Gazetteer of Beijing Opera in Shanghai*] (Shanghai: Shanghai Wenhua Chubanshe, 1999), 311–323.
30. Xu was a renowned theatre manager and owner. He played a significant role to make it possible for Mei Lanfang to tour several times in Shanghai.
31. See Anonymous, *Shanghai Zhinan* [*Guide of Shanghai*] (Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1908).
32. See *Liyuan Gongbao*, December 1928.
33. See *Luobinhan*, 5 December 1929, No. 353.
34. See *Shen Bao*, 18 April 1924, Supplement, 2.
35. A report in 1930 showed that, among seventeen executive members of the STA, seven came from Gu's Tianchan Theatre operated by the Green Gang. In 1940, the STA was further controlled by the Green Gang. Among all 38 executive members of the STA, eighteen were from Grand Theatre, Gong Theatre and Huang Jin Grand Theatre owned by Huang Jinrong, a chieftain of the gangs. See *Luobinhan*, 17 January 1930, No. 367, Tatsunosuke Masutani, "*Ershi Shiji Sishi Niandai Zhongqi Shanghai Jutan Yu Banghui De Guanxi* [Relationships between Shanghai Theatre Circle and Gangs in the Mid-1940s]," in *Da Xiju Luntan, 3* [*Theatre Forum, 3*] ed. Huabin Zhou and Xingguo Li (Beijing: Zhongguo Chuanmei Daxue Chubanshe, 2007), 108–109.
36. See *Shen Bao*, 21 December 1923, 8.
37. See *Luobinhan*, 22 January 1927, No. 16.
38. See *Luobinhan*, 21 November 1928, No. 224.
39. See Cunren Chen, *Yinyuan Shidai Shenghuo Shi* [*Life Story in the Age of Silver Dollar*] (Guilin: Guangxi Shifan Daxue Chubanshe, 2007), 42.
40. See *Shen Bao*, 5 November 1926, 15.
41. See *Luobinhan*, 4 January 1927, No. 10.
42. See *Luobinhan*, 12 February 1927, No. 21.

43. For more details, see *Shen Bao*, 25 November 1917, 10; 28 January 1918, 11; 21 May 1918, 10; 6 November 1918, 10; 29 October 1920, 11; 12 November 1922, 17; 6 January 1923, 17; 10 October 1923, 12; 29 June 1925, 11; 13 January 1926, 17; 2 July 1926, 14; 12 July 1926, 22; 1 November 1926, 10; 25 November 1926, 11; 30 June 1927, 14; 12 November 1927, 20; 26 November 1927, 16; 22 December 1927, 17; 11 September 1928, 15; 21 September 1928, 27; 11 January 1929, 16; 22 June, 1929, 14; 4 January 1930, 20; 17 January 1935, 14; 19 April 1936, 13.
44. See *Shen Bao*, 9 July 1925, 15.
45. See the news in *Luobinhan* from 17 March 1929, No. 267 to 8 April 1930, No. 392.
46. For details, see *Shen Bao*, 18 May 1928, 15.
47. See Huang, "*Wo Suo Zhidao De Huang Jinrong* [My Impression of Huang Jinrong]," 187.
48. See Xu and Cai eds., *Shanghai Jingju Zhi* [*Gazetteer of Beijing Opera in Shanghai*], 441.
49. See Ximeng Yang, "*Shanghai gongren shenghuo Chengdu de yige yanjiu* [An Investigation of Workers' Living Condition in Shanghai]," *Minguo Shiliao Congkan* [*Journal of Historical Documents in the Republic of China*], vol. 774 (2009): 92.

CHAPTER 9

Patronizing the National Stage: Subsidies and Control in Wartime Britain

Anselm Heinrich

The introduction of state subsidies to the performing arts in Britain happened almost overnight in early 1940. This was not a minor detail in government policy but a fundamental shift in British politics and testament to a major change in the perception of the arts and their role in society. It was also the inception of cultural politics in Britain—a term which did not even exist at the time.[1] The Arts Council of England was a direct outcome of this development as is the current culture portfolio within the UK government. Given that official policy until 1940 had been largely characterized by Lord Melbourne's famous 1834 dictum of "God help the minister that meddles with art" the "invention" of state subsidies was nothing short of a revolution and has to be seen in direct relation to Britain's war effort.[2] It is surprising, therefore, that this important aspect has been largely overlooked in the literature. Standard histories of the Arts Council tend to neglect the organization's important early history during the war and start their accounts in 1946, and the innovations introduced to wartime theatre more generally have equally been sidelined.[3] In a typical summary of British theatre during

A. Heinrich (✉)
University of Glasgow, Glasgow, UK
e-mail: Anselm.Heinrich@glasgow.ac.uk

© The Author(s) 2017

V. Emeljanow (ed.), *War and Theatrical Innovation*, Palgrave Studies in Theatre and Performance History,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-60225-1_9

the war Dennis Kennedy has recently asserted that "the most obvious effects of the conflict on London theatre were physical".[4]

Until the outbreak of war in 1939, successive British governments did not want to get involved in the arts, and state subsidies were unimaginable. In Germany, by contrast, since the turn of the nineteenth century, playhouses had increasingly been turned into municipal or state theatres. By the mid-1920s around 80% of German theatres were fully funded by the taxpayer. This approach had not been adopted in Britain where the performing arts were either commercial or amateur. "All good theatres must function commercially", Harcourt Williams claimed in 1930.[5] *The Era*, Britain's leading theatre journal, summarized in view of the preferred business model for the performing arts, that "free trade is good in the long run whatever people may say".[6] It is hardly surprising then that West End managers saw their theatrical enterprises as part of an "entertainment industry". Running times of shows were relatively short and could easily be sandwiched between dinner and a late supper for the peckish patron. In this environment the prime distinction of a successful play was not its literary quality nor its dramaturgical or aesthetic possibilities but that it "could pay its way".[7] Interestingly, many practitioners did not want to receive subsidies either. They cherished their independence and rejected subsidies as a means of political control.[8] Being subject to economic constraints seemed an altogether lighter burden. Crucially, state subsidies were also regarded as an un-British concept. John Hollingshead, manager of the Gaiety Theatre, alluded to the "the English suspicion of institutionalized bureaucracy in state-funded theatres".[9] When Herbert Beerbohm Tree opened Her Majesty's Theatre in 1897 this was praised as an example of the superiority of the English model of running theatres over alien central European concepts.[10] Instead of putting up a building which "rivals the parliament house, or the cathedral as a public building [like] in some Continental cities", Tree had not only kept the costs down but had also built "quite the handsomest theatre in London [which] must go altogether to the credit of Mr Tree's public spirit and artistic conscience".[11]

Not surprisingly, therefore, the initial reaction of the British government *vis à vis* the theatre in September 1939 was in line with a tradition of benign neglect. All places of entertainment were closed down with immediate effect. After an outburst of protest, however, the government performed a remarkable U-turn.[12] The fact that theatres were allowed to open again after only one week illustrated a realization on

the government's part that the solution was not to prohibit theatrical performances but to make use of them.[13] The government increasingly engaged in cultural politics, recognized the arts' propaganda potential and claimed that they were "part of the system for which we are supposed to be fighting".[14] The initial impetus for the introduction of state help to the arts in January 1940, however, was more *ad hoc* and related to a fear of an uneventful winter and low public morale. A co-operation between the government and the Pilgrim Trust led to an attempt to preserve artistic activity during the war with the establishment of CEMA (the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts).[15]

Whereas the foundation of ENSA (the Entertainments National Service Association) with its focus on entertainment for the forces was in line with efforts made during World War 1 and did not represent a radically new departure (although one might argue that it performed a social role not necessarily in evidence before),[16] CEMA's mission was different and directed at the home front.[17] The two organizations also differed in their political agenda as CEMA's aim to foster the arts through state support pointed beyond the end of military action.[18] Its initial objective was to give financial assistance to performance societies finding it difficult to maintain their activities during the war. This approach to spread the funding to support a significant number of amateur as well as professional groups changed relatively quickly to funding a select few leading ensembles with bigger sums of money. At first CEMA was jointly financed by the Pilgrim Trust and the Treasury with the trust's grant of £25,000 being matched by a government subsidy of the same sum. Two years later the Trust withdrew and the government accepted full financial responsibility for CEMA.[19] It is noteworthy that despite a lack of experience and no institutional precedent, CEMA developed and established elaborate funding models over the years. Its relation to theatre companies and music ensembles varied from full financial responsibility to no financial connection at all. In between there were block grants, loans and limited guarantees against loss.[20] Even if CEMA did not pay any subsidies, however, it frequently offered "moral sponsorship" to companies which agreed that any profits they made were at the disposal of CEMA; in return, since CEMA encouraged only work of a "cultural" kind, these companies usually benefited by gaining exemption from the Entertainments Tax.[21] By 1945 the Treasury to CEMA grant had risen to £235,000,[22] and the overall sum spent on CEMA and the Arts Council between 1940 and 1950 reached over £2m.[23] This financial

backing not only meant that the state for the first time in British history had become a patron of the performing arts, but also that CEMA's work was approved as being of national importance.

Crucially, though, and in terms of content, the government did not want CEMA to replicate ENSA's focus on light entertainment. Officials like Kenneth Clark stressed the fact that they were not interested in anything "of the film or music hall order, but something to occupy people's minds".[24] In diversified programmes CEMA brought classical music, visual art and drama to audiences across the United Kingdom, to isolated rural areas as well as big towns and cities.[25] The Old Vic company was sent out to play classical drama in the provinces, the Pilgrim Players took serious plays to village halls, and Sybil Thorndike toured Shakespeare through Welsh mining villages for several consecutive seasons.[26] In contrast to the experience of World War 1 other serious art forms met with significant popular acclaim, too. After having been seen as a rather un-English exercise with marginal audiences entirely concentrated in London for decades, ballet during the war developed a mass appeal and played to capacity houses all over the country.[27] Companies such as Sadler's Wells Ballet, Ballet Rambert and Ballet Jooss were sent out to tour factories, garrisons and hostels.[28] Opera, too, took on a new lease of life thanks to the support of CEMA, and Sadler's Wells toured the industrial towns of the north of England. Classical chamber music recitals were organized in factory canteens and symphony concerts were put on for war workers.[29] In what appeared to contemporary commentators as a revolution in the arts, serious plays and classical music were brought to the remotest places and found new audiences.[30] Commenting on the resurgence of serious theatre during the war, Laurence Olivier remarked that "no other moment has approached in splendour and achievement the glorious Restoration Period, when many notable talents and much vitality and enthusiasm were involved in the rebirth of our theatre. That is, no other moment until now."[31]

In terms of this volume's focus on theatrical innovation, two aspects of CEMA's work are particularly noteworthy— its educational mission and its focus on regional theatre. The performances of ballet, opera and classical drama referred to above had a clear agenda. Performances by companies associated with CEMA were not solely meant to boost morale in places not necessarily catered for by organized entertainment. Boosting morale could have been achieved by sending out concert parties with two-handers and popular songs. The establishment of the Old

Vic as a repertory company with a programme of classics, headed by Laurence Olivier and Ralph Richardson,[32] the future National Theatre, a prospect which after decades of opposition and fruitless campaigning re-emerged on the political agenda in 1942, and performances by the London Symphony Orchestra were to offer not just any kind of entertainment but "better" entertainment to audiences who may have never seen a professional symphony orchestra or listened to Shakespearian verse before.[33] Interestingly, however, and this is clearly an innovation when compared to the more traditional approach taken during World War 1, CEMA's educational mission did not entirely rely on the established canon but also supported performances of avant-garde ballet and pieces by contemporary composers, although no doubt many of these works must have been challenging for audiences. However, what would have been rejected as highbrow and patronizing a few years earlier suddenly attracted large audiences and received enthusiastic reviews during a war against a barbaric regime which seemed to represent the antithesis of culture. In 1944 alone the Hallé, the Liverpool and London Philharmonic orchestras "provided between them no less than 722 concerts to audiences totaling over a million".[34] Within a few years Sadler's Wells opera company had established itself as the country's leading ensemble with a permanent troupe, and CEMA planned to reclaim the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, as the national centre for opera and ballet.[35] And even serious continental dance (e.g. Kurt Jooss) and ballet was now performed on a regular basis.

The educational agenda behind these activities was no secret. CEMA openly stated that it hoped to create "permanent, educated audiences all over the country". In an interesting memorandum on Education v. Entertainment from 1943 CEMA's Tyrone Guthrie advocated

> a policy related as closely as possible to the educational life of the country, and distinguishing as much as possible from other theatrical enterprise; i.e. a declared policy of Education as opposed to Entertainment. … By and large the audiences for whom we cater will be intelligent enough not to be frightened by the label Education; and the audience in search of a spree will not go to Shakespeare etc. anyway. BUT we must be on our guard against the attitude that a classic is only uplifting if it is dowdy; and the devotees who always cluster round a movement of uplift. In other words, our social service must be oblique – it must not reek of social service, but show itself in artistic vitality.[36]

In a country where theatrical activity had traditionally centred on London, the attempt to diversify geographically is also noteworthy.[37] CEMA intended to establish independent repertory theatres, raise production standards and the quality of programmes.[38] From its new base in Burnley in Lancashire the Old Vic sent out companies to tour the provinces and played seasons of ballet, opera and classical drama at Burnley's local theatre.[39] Additionally, CEMA supported regional companies, acted as an agency, drew up funding schemes and encouraged the establishment of non-profit-making companies all over the country, a lack of which had been lamented before the war.[40] For these companies the Council further acted as sponsor with government departments and public bodies, "testifying to the value of the work done in the interests of national service",[41] and offered support for companies to obtain exemption from the Entertainment Tax for plays with educational value.[42] One of CEMA's biggest and most influential undertakings, however, was the renovation, opening and running of the Theatre Royal, Bristol, effectively turning it into the first state theatre in British history. CEMA also established a permanent repertory company at the Liverpool Playhouse, was instrumental in the foundation of Glasgow's Citizens' Theatre, and actively supported the foundation of the Council of Repertory Theatres.[43] A new Civic Theatres Scheme proposing that cities should be able to run municipal theatres jointly financed by local and state subsidies was submitted to Churchill in 1942.[44] Ernest Bevin indicated government willingness to support regional theatres at the inaugural meeting of the Provincial Theatre Council. He hoped that the theatre would become "one of our great national institutions to convey to the peoples of the world the real character of the ordinary British people".[45] At the heart of these initiatives was not only the belief that regional theatres could play an important role in the war effort but also a concept of municipal arts provision which pointed at the long-term future— of which the 1948 Local Government Act was a direct outcome: Section 132 of the Act empowered local authorities to provide and maintain civic theatres.[46] The effects on the British theatrical landscape not only extended to tours directly subsidized by CEMA but also to companies not receiving such funding who responded to the changed cultural and political climate. Repertoires at regional stages, for example, reflected the increasing nationalistic and educational impetus with a strong emphasis on Britain's dramatic heritage. Elizabethan drama and Restoration comedies, revivals of Sheridan, Jonson and Vanbrugh, and

modern classics by Pinero, Wilde and Shaw were performed alongside old favourites such as *1066 And All That*. Suddenly, and again illustrating a fundamental belief that Britain needed to save Western civilization against the Nazi onslaught, audiences were prepared to support serious modern drama as well. The same modern European classics, which would have guaranteed empty theatres in the 1930s, a few years later played to capacity houses.[47] The productions of plays by Ibsen and Pirandello clearly have to be seen as part of this new educational concept. Ibsen's *Hedda Gabler*, which received its first production in York in April 1944, for example, was the best-seller of that season.

Apart from ENSA and CEMA there are other instances of innovative approaches within the British administration as a more proactive "theatre politics" began to take shape in 1940. The first issue concerned the question of the Sunday opening of theatres, which found increasing support not only in the theatre world but also among the general public.[48] In February 1941 the government agreed to allow performances on Sundays for the first time in three hundred years.[49] Although the motion was defeated in Parliament by a small majority of eight votes, the government had nevertheless proved how much it was willing to sacrifice for theatrical entertainment during the war—the resistance of the church had been especially substantial— and how highly it rated its contribution to the war effort.[50] Soon, however, Home Secretary Herbert Morrison wanted to go far beyond that. In a memorandum on public entertainments in wartime put before the War Cabinet on 27 February 1942 Morrison complained that his powers regarding entertainments were restricted to security and safety questions. He claimed that the Home Secretary should have additional powers to prohibit performances if they were detrimental to the war effort. Under point 16 Morrison asserted that it "therefore appears necessary that the Government should be empowered to prohibit or restrict entertainments on the ground that they are inimical to the war effort, irrespective of the degree of risk to those present, and that the Defence Regulations should be amended to give control of entertainments in circumstances where the efficient prosecution of the war is in issue". The cabinet agreed to Morrison's far-reaching memorandum in March 1942, and only two weeks later the King signed the relevant amendment of the Defence Regulations.[51] In effect, Morrison had at least in principle gained total power over the performing arts.[52] Although it seems doubtful whether Morrison ever used his new powers of direct control,

the importance of the fact that in theory he would have been able to do so can hardly be overestimated.[53]

Theatrical innovation and war were strongly linked during World War 2, and the primary result was closer ties between theatre and government, both concerning supporting performance as well as controlling it. Since Morrison never exercised his new powers of direct intervention to prohibit certain performances, the benign effect of government support through subsidies is what is being remembered to this day. They helped to create new companies and new theatres, set production standards, formulated expectations concerning a particular choice of repertoire, and led to further legislation and a Royal Charter for the Arts Council. Commentators during and after the war were ecstatic about what they perceived as a revolution in the arts. Wartime theatre had made audiences rediscover a sense of Elizabethan magnificence,[54] the "genuine greatness in acting and production of the classics" was matched with Britain's greatness on the world's battlefields,[55] and the Old Vic company had developed into an "emblem of national consciousness second only to Shakespeare".[56] Although populist theatre remained successful and Charles B. Cochran, Ivor Novello and others remained stars of the British stage, commentators remarked that wartime escapism had not resulted in "farce and swing" but in Shakespeare and Elgar.[57] Bernard Miles claimed that the fact that CEMA received Treasury funding "within four months of its foundation meant that for the first time in history the State recognized the drama as one of the sinews of the national soul, and this was the most important thing that had happened to the British theatre since the birth of Shakespeare".[58] Basil Dean asserted that the system of government support for the arts represented "the most forward step in the advancement of British culture that a British Government has yet taken".[59] Although official attempts to concentrate on British plays and British composers, on the development of a typically British style of ballet dancing, singing, painting and writing,[60] can hardly be labelled innovative, on an institutional level the focus on Britishness did have a lasting effect with the provision of funding and a permanent home for the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, for example, or the inception of Ninette de Valois' Sadler's Wells Ballet, which developed from a relatively small and obscure ensemble to a major national company.[61] Also, after having been dominated by non-British directors and dancers, the emergence of important new names such as Frederick Ashton, Robert Helpmann, Mona Inglesby and Margot Fonteyn resulted

in a new sustained interest in dance and changed public perceptions, and even led commentators to believe that "the British are once more a dancing nation".[62]

The changes in funding for the performing arts triggered by the war are particularly remarkable, when put into the context of wartime Britain with food rationing, blackouts and gas masks omnipresent and the production of peace time goods quickly changing to suit wartime needs. Theatres suffered from a shortage of paper and other raw materials, which made producing sets, properties and costumes increasingly difficult. Actors were called up, and replacements were hard to find. Against this austere background it is not only remarkable that large-scale funding was introduced at all but also that it was popular. Although Britain had to cope with the most desperate war effort in its history, only a minority objected to spending public money on the arts. A public opinion survey carried out in 1943 showed that 59% supported continuing government subsidy of the theatre after the war.[63] For the first time, the arts also showed real promise of voter appeal. Today, and although the voter appeal has disappeared, providing funding for the performing arts does not seem to be questioned in principle in the UK. The emphasis on educational repertoires, however, and their apparent popularity during the war is largely gone and mistrust against attempts at being educated seems to be reinstated. In fact the challenges Barry Jackson's visionary theatre in Birmingham faced in the 1930s may sound familiar today. Residents attributed a "sinister motive" to Jackson's activities and suspected him of trying to educate the public: "the Englishman has nothing against education but he thinks it should be kept in its place. He resents any attempt to mix it with his amusements."[64]

Still, the changes introduced during the war were significant and they succeeded in fundamentally changing the British theatrical landscape. In just a few years the British government had done more to commit itself to supporting the performing arts than ever before in the country's history.[65] After the war public demand for the arts continued to be substantial. It was so high, in fact, that neither the foundation of the Arts Council nor its need for a continual rise in post-war funding met with any substantial criticism—on the contrary, it was widely accepted and supported.[66] A legal framework was established which finally allowed local authorities to spend taxpayers' money on the arts. The 1944 Education Act had already legalized more permanent activities and enabled local education authorities to provide public entertainments. The 1948 Local

Government Act confirmed that local authorities were entitled to spend the sum of sixpence in the pound on an extensive array of entertainment services including municipal theatres, and this made a possible total of £8m available to subsidize the arts.[67] Plans for regional arts provision included the idea that every town of over 20,000 inhabitants should have its own subsidized arts centre for theatre, concerts and other events. Thus, the war led to legislation, which, with its focus on municipal arts provision, could have resulted in a network of publicly funded theatres across Britain. Although these possibilities were not taken up—as a 1958 report showed—on a national level some of the innovations brought about by the war were institutionalized with the Arts Council firmly in place and with increasing amounts of funding available. In a generous gesture Parliament in 1949 agreed to pay a £1m to build a National Theatre. Only ten years earlier such a decision would have been virtually unthinkable. For Britain this was indeed a highly innovative gesture.[68]

Notes

1. Even today the term has not entered some of the standard reference works. It may be argued that the British have traditionally shown an aversion for the term "culture", and a mixing of "culture" and "politics" to many commentators has appeared more than just a bit dubious.
2. Lord Melbourne's response to the painter Benjamin Robert Haydon (1786–1846) who had petitioned the leading politicians of his day to grant support to national art education and asked Melbourne "to establish a system for the public encouragement of High Art" (B.R. Haydon, *Autobiography*, Volume II (London: Peter Davies, 1926), 572). The report on ENSA issued in March made the provision of entertainment through the Association—and thereby state subsidies to the arts—an official policy (see National Archives [NA], T 161/1083, Treasury Board Papers: Interdepartmental Entertainments Service Board. First Report).
3. One key exception is Jörn Weingärtner's book although his main interest is policy-making and the history of the arts funding rather than the performing arts themselves (*The Arts as a Weapon of War. Britain and the Shaping of National Morale in the Second World War* (London: I B Tauris, 2006). For an older yet still valid account see Janet Minihan, *The Nationalization of Culture. The Development of State Subsidies to the Arts in Great Britain* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1977).
4. Dennis Kennedy, "British Theatre, 1895–1946: Art, Entertainment, Audiences—an Introduction", in *The Cambridge History of British*

Theatre, Volume 3, Since 1895, ed. Baz Kershaw (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 32. For a discussion of the existing literature of wartime theatre see Anselm Heinrich, "Theatre in Britain During the Second World War", *New Theatre Quarterly* 26.1 (2010): 61–70.

5. Harcourt Williams on Gielgud's departure from the Old Vic in 1930 (qtd. Sheridan Morley, *John G. The Authorised Biography of John Gielgud* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 2001), 79).
6. *The Era*, 8 June 1879.
7. W. Bridges-Adams, "Theatre", in *Edwardian England 1901–1914*, ed. Nowell-Smith, Simon (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), 370.
8. At the turn of the twentieth century Charles Wyndham and Henry Irving, for example, opposed the "fostering of a State nurse" (see letter by Wyndham to the *Daily Telegraph*, 26 March 1908).
9. Quoted in Richard Foulkes, *Performing Shakespeare in the Age of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 109.
10. See Foulkes, *Performing Shakespeare in the Age of Empire*, 132.
11. Bernard Shaw, *Our Theatre in the Nineties*, Volume III (London: Constable and Company, 1948), 117. As late as the mid-1960s W. Bridges-Adams began his discussion of theatre in Edwardian England with financial considerations and stated that a successful West End management was determined by its economic achievements, with "the prime distinction being that a play could pay its way". He demonstrated how Edwardian managers could expect substantial returns on relatively modest investments: "For a hundred pounds a week it was possible to rent a theatre of moderate size which had a nightly cash capacity of more than twice that sum" (Bridges-Adams, *Theatre*, 370).
12. Bernard Shaw called the closure "a masterstroke of unimaginative stupidity" and suggested that an "agent of Chancellor Hitler" was responsible for the fact "that we should all cower in darkness and terror 'for the duration"' (*The Times*, 5 September 1939).
13. See Dominic Shellard, *British Theatre Since the War* (London: Yale University Press, 1999), 6. In June 1940, while the war had disastrous effects on London theatres, the government "clearly indicated that the theatres should carry on" (David Fairweather, "Over the Footlights", *Theatre World* (June 1940): 125). See also NA, Ministry of Information, INF 1/260, Home Morale and Education During the Winter 1940–1941.
14. David Fairweather, "Over the Footlights", *Theatre World* (July 1940): 5.
15. The Pilgrim Trust was a charitable organization established in 1930 by virtue of a £2m gift from an American millionaire. For details about the initial meeting see "Cultural Activities in War-Time. Notes of informal Conference held at the Board's Offices" (Victoria and Albert Museum, Archive of Art and Design [AAD], EL 1/1).

16. ENSA provided jobs and security for many hitherto unemployed actors. There are also other differences when compared to theatrical entertainments provided during World War 1. ENSA was professionally run by the experienced producer Basil Dean, had its headquarters at the Theatre Royal Drury Lane, in the heart of the West End, and by the time it was wound up in 1946 had received state funding to the tune of £5m (see Anselm Heinrich, *Entertainment, Propaganda, Education. Regional Theatres in Germany and Britain Between 1918 and 1945* (London: University of Hertfordshire Press/Society for Theatre Research, 2007), 44–45).
17. For CEMA's development throughout the war see the "EL" at AAD.
18. In the course of the war CEMA's chairman Lord Keynes increasingly worked towards its continuation in peace-time, and in 1946 CEMA became the Arts Council.
19. CEMA itself was a relatively small body at first with members appointed by the Minister of Education, who was also responsible to Parliament for its work (see Robert Speaight, "Drama Since 1939", in *Since 1939*, ed. John Hayward, Henry Reed, Robert Speaight and Stephen Spender (London: Phoenix, 1949), 20). Soon, however, CEMA grew in size. In 1942 it had nine members with Lord Keynes as Chairman, an elaborated system of advisory panels of experts with executive power, committees in Scotland and Wales and ten regional offices in England (see Minihan, *Nationalization of Culture*, 218; Charles Landstone, *Off- Stage. A Personal Record of the First Twelve Years of State Sponsored Drama in Great Britain* (London: Elek, 1953), 66; CEMA, *The Arts in War Time. A Report on the Work of C.E.M.A. 1942 and 1943* (London: Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts, n.d. [1944]), 4).
20. See CEMA, *Arts in War Time*, 14.
21. See Allardyce Nicoll, '"In Association with CEMA'", *Theatre Arts* 28 (1944): 420.
22. See Eric Taylor, *Showbiz Goes to War* (London: Robert Hale, 1992), 118. In 1943 the Treasury grant was £135,000, in 1944 it rose by almost fifty per cent to £175,000 (see CEMA, *The Fifth Year. The End of the Beginning. Report on the Work of CEMA for 1944* (London: Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts, 1945), p. 4).
23. See Geoffrey Whitworth, *The Making of a National Theatre* (London: Faber & Faber, 1951), 215.
24. See NA, Ministry of Information, INF 1/260, Home Morale and Education During the Winter 1940–1941. Above quotes from page 14 of the file ("Extract from Minutes of Policy Committee, 26 July 1940").
25. In 1944 the Council organized fourteen tours, with 129 weeks' playing time (see Landstone, *Off- Stage*, 55, 59).

26. See Norman Marshall, *The Other Theatre* (London: John Lehmann, 1947), 133–136. Regarding Thorndike's celebrated war work and especially her Welsh tours see Sheridan Morley, *Sybil Thorndike. A Life in the Theatre*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977), 111–120.
27. From the beginning ballet in Britain was influenced by foreigners, especially by the Russian school of Serge Diaghileff and Anna Pavlova.
28. For a detailed contemporary account see Arnold L. Haskell, "Ballet Since 1939", in *Since 1939. Ballet—Films—Music—Painting*, ed. Arnold L. Haskell, Dilys Powell, Rollo Myers and Robin Ironside (London: Readers Union, 1948), 9–56.
29. In 1942–1943 CEMA provided over 4500 factory concerts, sometimes to audiences as large as 7000 (see Minihan, *Nationalization of Culture*, 220). The number of concerts given under CEMA auspices rose to over 6000 in 1944. It is interesting to note that an increasing support was offered by local councils to concert series of all kinds (see CEMA, *Fifth Year*, 8).
30. Among the biggest theatrical successes in the hostels for factory workers, for example, were *Twelfth Night* and *Hedda Gabler*. Regarding the new audiences found, commentators noted after the war that "some hundred centres are now enjoying regular concerts where, only ten years ago, nothing of the kind had ever been heard" (Thomas Russell, *Philharmonic* (London: Penguin, 1953), 123). In fact the public demand for "high" culture far exceeded any pre-war expectations (see Minihan, *Nationalization of Culture*, 218–220, 225).
31. Olivier in his foreword to Peter Noble, *British Theatre* (London: Knapp & Drewett, 1946), 3.
32. CEMA saved the Bristol Theatre Royal from demolition, restored it, placed it in working order and ran the playhouse on a lease under its direct management (see CEMA, *Arts in War Time*, 10). It is interesting to note that all this happened in September 1942, a particularly difficult month for the Allies with the fall of Tobruk, the German advance towards Stalingrad and Japanese supremacy in the Far East. Laurence Olivier and Ralph Richardson were both released from active service to take over the Old Vic. Lord Lytton, the chairman of the governors of the Old Vic, wrote to the First Lord of the Admiralty asking for their release. In doing so he used a dual strategy. Firstly, he stressed the close links between the Old Vic and CEMA, which, "I need hardly add, expresses the cultural policy of the Board of Education, and is financed by the Treasury." Secondly Lytton put forward artistic reasons as "the importance need hardly be stressed of having such a company in existence while the war is in progress", adding that "the many thousands of Overseas visitors in London make it highly desirable that British drama, and

particularly the Classics, should be presented in the best possible manner" (letter dated 15 March 1944, Victoria and Albert Museum, Theatre and Performance Archives, Charles Landstone Archive THM/201, Box 4).

33. For an account regarding its educational concept see CEMA's own Lord Keynes in a talk given at the re-opening of Bristol's Theatre Royal ("The Arts in War-Time. Widening Scope of CEMA. Re-opening of Bristol Theatre To-night." 11 May 1943, Victoria and Albert Museum, Theatre and Performance Archives, Charles Landstone Archive THM/201, Box 4).
34. Rollo Myers, "Music Since 1939", in *Since 1939. Ballet—Films—Music—Painting*, 107.
35. See CEMA, *Fifth Year*, 5–6, 9.
36. Memorandum sent to Lewis Casson dated 23 September 1943 (Victoria and Albert Museum, Theatre and Performance Archives, Charles Landstone Archive THM/201. Box 4).
37. In a monthly bulletin CEMA published a list of all the events it supported. If we take the Yorkshire as an example, the May 1944 bulletin lists 30 different events in Yorkshire alone including the London Symphony Orchestra's visit to Hull's Queen's Hall, a YMCA concert tour in the East Riding, chamber music in different Leeds factories, a production of *The Shoemaker's Holiday* by Walter Hudd's company in Huddersfield, a five-week tour of northern towns by Ballets Jooss and art exhibitions all over Yorkshire (see *CEMA Bulletin* May 1944: 4–5, 10–11, 14 and 17). See also the Regional Directors' Reports (AAD, EL 3).
38. Many commentators complained about poor standards at provincial repertory theatres. To improve this situation Landstone presented a scheme by which CEMA offered grants to repertory companies who decided to present a special play for a fortnight instead of only one week as usual. As this meant that the previous play would have to run for two weeks, too, and the takings in the second week were bound to be lower, CEMA paid the deficiency up to the average takings of the previous thirteen weeks. This "Landstone Plan" ran successfully for four years. The scheme was part of an overall effort to make two- or three-weekly repertory attractive to regional theatres. The envisaged effect was not only to raise standards but also to provide an incentive to produce the classics. Especially after the war these plans bore fruit with the establishment of regional touring circuits and subsidiary playhouses. York's Theatre Royal, for example, took a lease at Scarborough and Northampton played the Savoy Theatre in Kettering.
39. CEMA supported the Old Vic's move to the north financially (see Landstone's detailed accounts in Landstone, *Off- Stage*, 21–24, 28).

40. There were also numerous provincial theatres which now became associated with CEMA, including Dundee Repertory Company, Glasgow Citizens' Theatre and, perhaps most important, the Theatre Royal in Bristol. It is interesting to see that CEMA did not support these theatres and companies unconditionally. To be eligible for association with CEMA they had to become non-profit organizations and had to agree to certain obligations as the Council reserved the right to review their finances, plans and policies annually. In return they received support that ranged from full financial responsibility to limited guarantees against loss (see Minihan, *Nationalization of Culture*, 221–223).
41. CEMA, *Fifth Year*, 32.
42. See CEMA, *Arts in War Time*, 15–16. Speaight claims that this possible exemption from a great burden in fact "conferred a much larger financial benefit than anything CEMA could afford to give" (Speaight, *Drama Since 1939*, 22). As CEMA could not itself grant the tax exemption but had to apply at the Board of Customs, there were ongoing and increasing attempts to acquire control over this question especially during the later stages of the war. Ultimately, CEMA wanted to be in the position to cast the crucial verdict whether or not a play was educational itself, instead of leaving it to the Board of Customs. Although this change in legislation never materialized it shows how self-confident CEMA had become by the later stages of the war (see AAD, EL 1/7 min Meetings 21–37).
43. The first conference of the Council was held in Birmingham in autumn 1944, the second meeting took place in York at the end of 1944. By then the membership had already risen from the initial seven to ten theatres (see Landstone, *Off- Stage*, 104–105).
44. See *The Civic Theatre Scheme* (Victoria and Albert Museum, Theatre and Performance Archives, British Drama League).
45. Qtd. in Marshall, *Other Theatre*, 206.
46. See Whitworth, *National Theatre*, 234. It is interesting to note that a similar act in support for municipal museums had already been passed in 1845 enabling Town Councils to found and maintain museums from the rates.
47. See Heinrich, *Entertainment, Propaganda, Education*, 156. During the 1920s and early 1930s "the hatred of Manchester, Birmingham and Liverpool audiences for Hauptmann's genius was positively rabid" (Cecil Chisholm, *Repertory. An Outline of the Modern Theatre Movement. Production, Plays, Management* (London: Davies, 1934), 97).
48. Members of the Theatrical Managers' Association, the Society of West End Theatre Managers, British Actors' Equity, the Variety Artists' Federation and the Theatrical Trade Unions vigorously fought for Sunday openings "in the National interest". They made representations

to the Home Secretary and expressed their view that "entertainment is essential in helping to maintain the good spirits of the military and civil population" (letter from Horace Collins, the secretary of the Theatrical Managers' Association to Harold Butler, Regional Commissioner, Southern Region, Reading, 11 December 1940, NA, Home Office, HO 186 Air Raid Precautions, HO 186/1894 Entertainment). See also *Theatre World* (November 1940):101, and similar articles in the December 1940 and February 1941 issues.

49. "Over the Footlights", *Theatre World* (March 1941): 51.
50. Opinion polls carried out during the war show that a majority supported Sunday openings. In summer 1943 58% of those asked "Would you approve or disapprove of theatres being allowed to open on Sundays, just as they do on other days?" gave a positive answer, 33% disapproved and 9% did not know (see NA, Ministry of Information, INF 1/292 (Part 3), Home Intelligence Reports, July 1942–August 1943, 213–214. Appendix to a public opinion survey compiled by the British Institute of Public Opinion, presented on 24 January 1943).
51. Statutory Rules and Orders, 1942 No. 502, Emergency Powers (Defence), General Regulations. The amendment enabled Morrison to "prohibit or restrict … the use of premises … for the purposes of any entertainment, exhibition, performance, amusement, game or sport to which members of the public are admitted, in so far as such prohibition or restriction appears… to be necessary or expedient for any of the purposes enumerated in subsection (1) of section one of the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act, 1939" (NA, Home Office, HO 186 Air Raid Precautions, HO 186/742 Entertainment (1942).
52. Officials were quick to stress that the government did not intend to stop entertainments as wartime policy so far "has been to permit them to continue on a restricted basis in the belief, that, within reason, popular entertainments act as lubricant rather than a brake on the war machine" (NA, Home Office. HO 186 Air Raid Precautions, HO 186/1894 Entertainment (1944). Statement made by the Minister of Home Security in the House of Commons on 12 March 1942 (enclosure to H. S. Circular No. 74/1942)).
53. The reason for his refraining from any direct intervention was almost certainly twofold. Firstly, the vast majority of theatres did not offer him any opportunity for intervention, because their programmes hardly left anything to be desired. Secondly, the military situation for the Allies improved considerably in the course of 1942 and there was hardly any reason for critical remarks from the stage. In general, Home Intelligence Reports regularly showed how popular Churchill was as a military leader and how overwhelmingly the British supported the present war.

54. See Basil Dean, *The Theatre at War* (London: Harrap, 1956). 212–213.
55. See George Rowell, *The Old Vic Theatre. A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 138.
56. Shellard, *British Theatre Since the War*, 4. See also Harold Hobson, *Theatre in Britain. A Personal View* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1984), 134–139; Landstone, *Off- Stage*, 151; Frances Stephens, "Over the Footlights", *Theatre World* (October 1944): 5.
57. See Haskell, *Ballet Since 1939*, 23.
58. Bernard Miles, *The British Theatre* (London: Collins, 1948), 44.
59. Dean, *Theatre at War*, 530.
60. At first most of the concerts featured the established classical repertoire. Soon, however, the fact that most of these works were by German-speaking composers rendered them inappropriate and contemporary British composers received commissions. Arnold Bax (*Work in Progress*), E. J. Moeran (*Overture to a Masque*) and Alan Rawsthorne (*Street Corner*), among others, wrote overtures especially for these occasions (see Dean, *Theatre at War*, 221).
61. See, for example, the 2014 BBC documentary *Dancing in the Blitz: How World War 2 Made British Ballet* (directed by Paul Wu, presented by David Bintley, BBC production 2014).
62. It was even suggested that male dancers should be exempt from conscription, "as their absence would jeopardise the existence of something precious for national artistic prestige in the future and useful for public morale in the present" (see Haskell, *Ballet Since 1939*, 23, 45. See also Audrey Williamson, "English Ballet, 1944", *Theatre Arts* 28 (1944): 733–736).
63. The survey compiled by British Institute of Public Opinion and presented to the Ministry of Information in May 1943 (see NA, Ministry of Information, INF 1/292 (Part 3), Home Intelligence Reports, July 1942–August 1943, 105–107).
64. Marshall, *Other Theatre*, 164.
65. Norman Marshall concluded that "when one recalls the hullabaloo in Parliament and the press before the war over a suggestion that a small grant should be made to finance the opera season at Covent Garden, it is remarkable how little opposition there was to CEMA being provided with some of the taxpayers' money to finance plays, opera and ballet" (Marshall, *Other Theatre*, 228).
66. In 1946–1947 the Arts Council received £350,000, in the next year already more than half a million (see Minihan, *Nationalization of Culture*, 228).
67. See note 46.

68. See Whitworth, *National Theatre*, 15. In a typical pre-war statement David Fairweather made his rejection of the National Theatre idea clear. He argued that if the nation really wanted a National Theatre it would have subscribed the needed one million pounds already. The fact that only half of that sum had been found was an indicator that the people did not want such a theatre. It is interesting to note that the idea of a state subsidy as a possible solution to the funding problem does not seem to occur to him (see *Theatre World* (January 1936): 3).

CHAPTER 10

'Make Do and Mend': Civilian and Military Audiences in Australian Popular Entertainment During the Pacific War of 1942–1945

Veronica Kelly

Popular entertainment has long been an avid early adopter of topical novelties and technological innovations: a feature of its production methods and audience outreach which belies the sometimes traditional and even archaic material which forms the characteristic spectrum of its popular appeal: bawdiness, comedy, community cohesion, anti-authoritarianism, glamour, reassurance and comfort. "Innovation", however, rather than being defined as trail-blazing introductions of completely new practices, can imply the recombination and diversification into new strategic configurations of existing practices, technologies and personnel to address temporary reception conditions and diversified audiences. These conditions particularly obtain during periods of conflict, which impose the redirection of material resources to war needs, stressed and anxious populations, disruption of gendered work practices, and—most relevant for

V. Kelly (✉)
University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia
e-mail: v.kelly@uq.edu.au

© The Author(s) 2017

V. Emeljanow (ed.), *War and Theatrical Innovation*, Palgrave Studies in Theatre and Performance History,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-60225-1_10

entertainment—its relative dearth of male performers. For Australian experiences of entertainment during the Pacific War, this chapter traces the inventive responses of the Tivoli Circuit: the nationally eminent stage variety organization. It formed variously advantageous mutual alliances with commercial and state-run radio networks and artistes. More crucially, it successfully conscripted itself as a quasi-formal military and governmental agency: a national entertainment quartermaster administering vital civilian and military morale from its straitened material supplies.

The driving forces of this period of entertainment innovation are the demographic circumstances of wartime which, seemingly overnight, introduced into the nation a large foreign population of military-age males as a commandingly significant new audience sector. During the peculiar and exceptional social conditions of the Pacific War, both the internal and incoming populations within Australia experienced unprecedented physical, social and psychic mobility. The heterogeneous audiences of this period's various forms of leisure and entertainment industries comprise men and women, service personnel and civilians, Australians and Americans, black peoples and white. Their frequently genial, sometimes hostile social encounters took place in established urban leisure and entertainment sites—theatres and variety halls, picture palaces and dance halls, grand hotels, cafés and brothels—and in domestic spaces, army camps, city streets. While war and national mobilization stressed Australian troops and civilians in a way hitherto not experienced, the American service personnel were particularly uprooted, anxious and homesick in an unfamiliar country whose common language concealed major social and cultural differences. To deal with this new environment and to maintain wartime morale, theatre organizations increased and diversified their activities for the benefit of urban-based civilians and servicemen. Also, travelling troupes of entertainers in trucks or trains worked the isolated rural army camps and hospitals that had mushroomed from the ground to house and train the Allied forces for actions in the South West Pacific battle areas. Audiences, entertainment groups and even performance sites were all on the move, experiencing fluid new forms of identity through their various forms of geographic and cultural displacements.

In social and cultural terms, this situation answers to Appadurai's concepts of the "ethnoscape" and its concomitant "ideoscapes" and "mediascapes".[1] The theatrical innovation typifying the Australian wartime "ethnoscape" involves the national re-assignment, repurposing and

redeployment of existing institutions and resources and the provision of many new ones. Touring theatrical troupes playing at the front lines, which were active in the 1914–1918 conflict, were also a pronounced feature in the Pacific War area, while concentrated populations such as prisoners of war devised their own entertainments.[2] This period shows Australia's governmental, military, commercial and volunteer institutions transforming themselves in effect into a nationalized umbrella for a diversity of official, commercial and informal entertainments. Existing peacetime enterprises gained a powerful new ally. Military forces, autonomously or in collaboration with civilian interests, could now organize and command entertainment as a national priority. Their material resources of "trains, trucks, aeroplanes, rations, warships, portable lighting and electrics, mobile stages or adapted spaces are potentially at the disposal of entertainers deployed in tandem with the progress and areas of the military operations".[3]

During this period, the actual genres —theatrical, orchestral, variety, cinematic, dance and popular music—did not greatly depart from prewar preferences. Rather, continuity between peacetime and wartime experiences with their homely familiarity was seen as equally vital for the morale of an expanded population of Australian civilians and service people as for the incoming American troops. All parties were in various degrees deracinated and relocated, so a sense of continuity was required to manage the hardships of conflict, mobility and material scarcity. In addition, established entertainment genres were offered as a basis on which Australians and their military guests might understand themselves as a newly forged community of common purpose. For theatrical practitioners, the innovations derive from the sheer scale of the enterprise, demanding of its caterers and consumers increased flexibility and ingenuity for the extension of peacetime operations to the furthest edges of the continent. For the duration of the war both dramatic and variety theatres in urban centres ran two or even three shows daily, and the cinemas exhibited continuous newsreels. "The war produced the greatest mobilisation of Australian show business in history. Soon performers became soldiers in greasepaint."[4] Civilian voluntary workers, and official military, civic and commercial bodies involved in theatre, broadcasting and music co-operated to cater for their expanded and comparatively wealthy uniformed patrons, who might be stationed in the southern capitals far from the conflict, or moving into battle, or returned to Australia for hospitalization or recreation leave. With northern Australia as its rearwards

base, these millions of Australian and American troops, whether seasoned professional soldiers or the citizen armies summoned through universal national conscription, flowed north along the Eastern seaboard in concert with the progress of operations in Papua-New Guinea, the Philippines and the Dutch East Indies.[5]

For the Pacific War period, financial documentation for the relationship between troop movements and professional response is the most detailed and informative in the case of one important theatrical genre, that of variety. Company records of the dominant Tivoli Circuit analyse the profits for its productions in the southern capitals of Melbourne and Sydney.[6] Their figures can be matched against the chronological patterns of military numbers in those cities: unsurprisingly, profits and troop presences correlate fairly well. However these Sydney and Melbourne business figures, while useful for surveying major urban commercial enterprises, are also anomalous in that for most of the Pacific War the bulk of the American and Australian troops were stationed throughout the vast northern state of Queensland, where informal mobile army and civilian entertainment units were best deployed. With this huge influx of deracinated males, the two northern port cities of Brisbane and Townsville became tough, vibrant and sleazy frontier towns such as had not been experienced in Australia since the time of the 1850s gold rushes, with many types of caterers anxious to separate servicemen from their money.[7] Some of Australia's wartime leisure and entertainment activities, whose civilian–services interactions were nervously blessed by official policy, realigned existing public and social practices such that their effects outlasted the war period.[8]

An Ethnoscape and its Mediascapes

During the four years 1942 to 1945 Australia presents an "ethnoscape" unique in its history. Paramount to this concept are its associated "ideoscapes" and "mediascapes": the archive of cultural experiences and competences, vocabulary, narratives and desires nurtured by social experiences and by popular entertainment in live and mediated forms. As Appardurai explains, at the base of the ethnoscape lies a "relatively stable" set of "communities and networks of kinship, of friendship, of work and of leisure, as well as of birth, residence and other filiative forms". This "relatively stable" base can, in this instance, describe civilian

peacetime Australia. Through this base typically flows a tide of "tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest-workers … and other moving groups and persons".[9] For wartime Australia, this greatly augmented "tide" comprised both American and Australian military and civilian support personnel, moving northwards and also transversely inside considerable internal distances. Army, airforce, naval and submariners passed through ports, camps and airfields on leave from the fighting, or were consigned to hospitals, or mustered for dispatch to the savage battles in the islands of South East Asia. In the case of the incoming American military who helped create this new mobile and heterogeneous "ethnoscape" which is Australia 1942–1945, it is unclear whether these newcomers, the majority of whom were young rural conscripts, knew much about Australia except that it had kangaroos, nor was being stationed in Australia part of their original expectations about their war.

Allied with this shifting social base is the "ideoscape": "elements of the Enlightenment world view" comprising "ideas, terms and images" such as "freedom", "democracy" and "rights", and it is this crucial layer of socialization that official propaganda sought to mobilize. While governmental discourse stressed common British racial heritage and traditions mustered in the defence of democracy, neither a common language nor a detailed and hearty appreciation of swing music nor Hollywood movies of themselves imply a common civic *culture*: the fundamental furnishings of the ethnoscape. They did supply, however, the fantastic archive of what Appardurai defines as the ethnoscape's complementary "mediascape": the globalized archive of technology, images and narratives. This is "[t]he distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information (newspapers, magazines, television stations, film production studios) … and to the images of the world created by these media".[10] This official wartime mediascape was subject to both Australian and American military censorship. As consumers and practitioners, the Australian parties were very familiar with American popular music, and possessed Hollywood narratives and imagery no less than British film output as furniture for their imaginative "ideoscapes". Yet both parties possessed their distinctive cultures, histories, loyalties and knowledges, sexual customs and linguistic idioms. From what might look like the standard furniture of a "common internationalized culture",[11] Australians derived their own uses and applications, Americans others. In cinemas, dance halls and live theatres, both parties could experience or

negotiate cohesive and consoling fantasies of communality and fellowship, or else sharply dispute and pugnaciously promote the values of their own mediascapes or ideoscapes.

The Americans' urban experiences of the Australian ethnoscape depended on the geography of war. They could take place in the cultured metropolis of Melbourne, the social whirl and physical beauty of Sydney, or the "country-town" informality and insularity of sub-tropical Brisbane or Townsville. Melbourne was briefly military headquarters, and there were lesser outlying naval bases in Adelaide and Perth. In the major urban centres, a high time could be had by moneyed troops in an assortment of theatres, variety venues, cinemas, hotels or dance halls. Financial power and military eminence weighted these encounters in favour of the incomers. But for many US servicemen, Melbourne was their first big-city experience. These were mostly young conscripts from rural areas or far smaller urban centres: only five US cities then had populations equal to or larger than Melbourne.[12] Sydney became the depot and administrative centre: the haunt of officers and the favourite leave city for Pacific combat troops.[13] However the bulk of the US and Australian military installations were positioned in the cities of Brisbane and Townsville, the principal staging places and supply ports of the South West Pacific Area (SWPA). Brisbane, whose native population was 340,000, became the pre-eminent American urban base and vibrated with a raw and violent frontier energy. In the northern port of Townsville, a major site of airfields, communications, hospitals and port facilities, the military outnumbered the locals and transformed it into an edgy garrison town.

Many Americans in staff or support positions were based there for the duration. At one end of their scale of authority were administrators and military supremos who commandeered the best city hotels and accommodation, while at the other was the strictly segregated 8% contingent of black service and construction battalions. These servicemen were mainly stationed on the edges of cities, and in the far reaches of western Queensland and the Northern Territory where they constructed roads and airstrips and drove supply trucks over vast distances. Rural black construction battalions were placed on the western outskirts of these cities, or established camps through these remote northern areas. Many Australians, despite their own official subordination of Aboriginal peoples and long-standing White Australia immigration policy, were intrigued by and felt warmly towards the incoming black soldiers and happy to socialize with them in domestic or public spaces. The US military authorities, whose shock troops were the Military Police,[14]

were concerned that white civilians did not understand how real "Jim Crow" was supposed to work, and feared too that the black experience of relative acceptance and welcome in cities, homes or dance halls would undermine these troops' unquestioning post-war return to US segregation. Hence, by military fiat, the cities of Sydney and Brisbane were geographically segregated, resulting in brutally enforced black no-go areas with their own brothels, cafes and dance halls, while the US Red Cross maintaining race-segregated blood supplies.[15]

The American visitors, for their part, brought with them remembered elements of their own varied and mostly rural ethnoscapes, but in their transferred spatial and chronological forms, removed from the geographies of peacetime shaped by neighbourhoods, women and families, these could appear atypical and defamiliarized. As the civilian identities of the "doughboys" were re-formed through the rigours of military training, combat experiences and cultural deracination, the transplanted American ethnoscape became also unfamiliar to itself. The vast majority of the incomers were male, adding a peculiar sexual tension to this foreign "occupation" and putting prevailing concepts of masculinity and femininity under intense pressure. In the sphere of racial and gendered relations within Australia, conflicting socializations and expectations caused considerable frictions, particularly in questions of relative military prestige, economic inequality, social manners and sexual relationships: potential centres of conflict which mass entertainment might exacerbate as readily as manage.[16] For entertainment enterprises, it is axiomatic that to attract patronage of comparatively wealthy males, women must be able to attend as audience as well as being prominently displayed onstage. Under the circumstances of universal work conscription for both sexes, the presence of displaced female audiences, in or out of uniform, also required that their needs be catered for. In the case of the Tivoli Circuit, something of the logistical problems of their heterogeneous attendees and of its performers and entrepreneurs will be examined below, offering a reasonably detailed picture of its audiences and spectacles, its production management and financial logistics.

The Yanks Arrive

Compared with World War 1, the Pacific War produced for Australian citizens and their military forces alike the uncomfortably novel situation of being close to the front line. For the first two years of the second global conflict, the Sixth, Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Divisions

of Australia's professional Imperial Force (2/AIF) once again fought abroad in North Africa and the Middle East, and were severely damaged in the German invasions of Greece and Crete. For civilians at home during these initial actions, the scanning of casualty lists and censored campaign reports from remote battlefields repeated the remembered anxieties of 1914–1918. But events following the strike on Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941 brought war much closer home. When the Japanese simultaneously attacked and shortly occupied Thailand, Malaya, Singapore, Hong Kong, the Dutch East Indies, the Philippines and Papua New Guinea, Australia was brought under direct military threat. The Sixth, Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Divisions were recalled by Prime Minister John Curtin to fight in Australia's defence. The country was transformed into an American–Australian supply and training base, whose cities, towns and regions experienced their "occupations" in their specific ways: military presence fluctuating in composition and duration as the tide of battle pushed northwards to retake the South West Pacific territories.

The first Americans to arrive in Australia after the events of December 1941 appeared without prior warning and during the official media blackout. Shortly after Pearl Harbor, a convoy of seven troop transports accompanied by the cruiser *Pensacola*, originally destined for Manila, were obliged to sail the Pacific in circles until on 12 December orders were received to proceed to an unfamiliar southern harbour, there to re-arm to support Douglas MacArthur's besieged Philippine forces. "Brisbayne, where's that?" "Are they on our side?" asked the crewmen.[17] The people of Brisbane awoke on 23 December 1941 to find an American fleet anchored in their river carrying 4600 tired and disoriented servicemen. With the AIF still fighting in Europe and Africa, and even then being slowly recalled to South East Asian theatres, it was a moment of intense relief and rejoicing. After the non-appearance over two years of any form of British naval or aerial support, at last a fleet of sorts had arrived. Then on 14 February 1942 the fall of the naval bastion of Singapore eliminated the Eighth Division AIF along with 80,000 other Allied troops. Four days later, Darwin was heavily bombed, though again the news was almost completely blacked out to retain civilian morale. Only three months later was the press ban lifted, and the Yanks had officially "arrived". To Australians it seemed a familiar Hollywood scenario come to life: the US cavalry riding to the rescue of the besieged settlers.[18]

MacArthur himself appeared unheralded in Darwin on 17 March 1942. As Supreme Commander SWPA, he initially located his headquarters in Melbourne but by August had moved to Brisbane. After the naval Battles of Midway and the Coral Sea in June 1942 effectively removed the invasion threat, America's "Fortress Australia" was organized into seven Base Sections for the purpose of administration, training and supply. The number of US troops in the country— military, naval, airforce and labour—peaked at 120,000 in September 1943, and was halved six months later as the war drove northwards. By the end of 1944 it was 24,000 and in March 1945 down to 14,700, still unevenly distributed, with the urban preponderance to be found in Sydney (in military Base Section 7), the major supply depot and HQ of the USA Services of Supply. By mid-1943 Queensland (Base Sections 2 and 3), had 67% of these total troops distributed in the ports and airfields of Brisbane and Townsville. By September it was 80% and in December 90%. But these figures do not account for the hundreds of visits to many cities from warships, the service battalions, troops on leave, or the Marine Corps and other specialized forces who trained in Queensland for jungle fighting. In all, over one million Americans passed through Australia between1942 and 1945 when its own population was seven million. By the end of 1947, over two million had passed through Brisbane.[19]

"Paradoxically, rigid restrictions were accompanied by greater physical, social and occupational mobility for men and women."[20] Despite rationing of food and clothing, transport restrictions and shortages of "luxury" items, the industrialized war economy created employment for civilians and a measure of relative prosperity after the economic rigours of the Depression. Above all, it brought women into the national workforce in unprecedented numbers, and they also joined the medical and armed services. The introduction of the Manpower (*sic*) Directorate early in January 1942 imposed universal industrial conscription for both sexes, funnelling them into the armed services and construction work or moving civilians from rural areas to urban manufacturing and defence industries. Under universal labour conscription rural workers flocked to the city, while some city dwellers were dispatched to work on rural food production and transport. Civilian women frequently worked exhausting double or even triple shifts: the main one in manufacturing, clerical or other mid-stream professional work; plus extensive voluntary labour; and finally tending their own families. All forms of entertainment from classical music to community singalongs were considered vital for maintaining

civilian morale, stressed by war anxiety, shortages, rationing and over-crowding of transport and accommodation.

Commercial entertainment organizations were overstretched but enjoyed an unprecedented boom, though they too had to restructure their personnel as male performers vanished into the armed forces. As early as 1941 the Tivoli Circuit, the principal purveyor of variety entertainment, mounted *Ladies First*, its first all-women show. On numerous occasions the management of the Tivoli chain, each of whose theatres mounted twelve shows a week, had to call upon their "friends in court" to release their technicians and scene-painters from the clutches of the Manpower, which eventually would classify all forms of live theatre as protected industries.[21] With business booming, the Commonwealth levied an Entertainment Tax on tickets from October 1942, but the relatively affluent civilians, not to mention the cashed-up Americans, were undeterred such that, as Darien-Smith writes, "theatres and cinemas dominated mass culture during the war".[22] This assessment, however, should be read alongside the penetrative reach of the medium of radio, with its own comprehensive national investments in live entertainment and use of musical and variety artistes for concert broadcasts and programmes.[23] There were also the troops' own entertainment units in remote camps or frontline combat zones, supported by Army resources with civilian co-operation.[24] Civilian social activities were mostly heterosexual in nature: dance halls, live swing music, orchestral concert and recitals, dramatic theatre, restaurant and hotel-going, picnics, sport programmes where Australians and Americans showed each other their national games, with visiting Australian families for homesick Americans. Free Sunday concerts were initially given for troops and their guests, while in Brisbane, which hosted a preponderance of American forces, Sundays became totally open for pastimes polite and otherwise which were eventually extended to both military and civilians.[25] In all cities, gambling, prostitution (Government-regulated or illegal), sly grog trading, black marketeering and blackmail kept the Vice Squads busy.

Variety Theatre in Wartime

The most significant records of a professional theatrical organization in this period are those of the Tivoli: the principal variety caterer. From these can be summoned some finely detailed evidence for how the strategic responses and initiatives of entertainment intersected with

the "mediascapes" and "ideoscapes" of civilian and military wartime Australian residents. As we have seen, given the popularity of films and radio, and the do-it-yourself ethos of civilian and troop entertainment activities, variety was by no means the sole theatrical genre fully patronized in wartime, any more than professional entertainments comprised the only available amusements. However the girls, glamour and low-brow comedians of variety offered a heightened experience within the Australo-American fused ideoscape. This involved an emotive melding of communal efforts aimed at victory; displays of unproblematic heterosexualized "normality" with the promise of an eventual resumed romantic security for both genders. Variety entertainment's lively and responsive houses were ideal in creating the desired experience of communal participation, articulating the ideoscape's determined optimism in the cathartic release of disrespectful and Bacchanalian laughter. The relatively small range of Australian-based comedians who provided unstinting service for wartime variety in fact enhanced morale and a sense of long-term sharing of a common predicament. These performers' constant appearances modelled stage–audience relations into personalized "families", identifying comedians and showgirls as "doing their bit" for the duration with no less dedication than the overworked civilians and troops in the audience.

Some glimpses of the anxieties of the Tivoli's actual audience during wartime, including the important female component, can be inferred from their programmes and their few but prominent commercial advertisements. As Glen McGillivray states of the study of theatrical archives, "Dealing, as we must, with tangible remains, performance scholarship tends to resemble archaeology which, similarly, tries to imagine a world from a pottery shard."[26] While he refers to the assessment of documents as performance evidence, theatre programmes in particular can be read as traces of the social and cultural worlds of audiences no less than of performers. As material artefacts, the wartime Tivoli programmes for Sydney and Melbourne offer significant evidence of the gendered social world of this time-bound Australian ideoscape. Printed on soft and fragile paper when this scarce resource was rationed, they display a small stock of recycled in-house personality photographs but plenty of cheaply done graphics: both of alluring and improbably near-nude showgirls and as pictorial elements within advertisements. These trace a shifting trajectory of audience concerns about sexuality and domesticity.

Ladies First (1941), when the war focus was still on Europe, shows the name "Tivoli" with an enlarged "V" and embellished with the Morse "V-for-victory" picked out in bullet holes. These early-war programmes dating from before the American troop influx are already liberally studded with barely discreet ads for abortion remedies, described as "regularity pills" (*We're in the Navy Now*, 1941). "Nurse Kay's Painless Female Pills" offered "results guaranteed" (*Black Velvet*, 1941); and for "extremely difficult overdue cases" there was Dr Du Pont's "Three Day Wonders" at £1/1/- per bottle (*The Radio Round-Up*, 1941). Similar advertisements can be found in the daily press. While contraception was officially forbidden, servicemen were supplied with prophylactics. But women who had unfortunate romances, or who wished to limit their families due to chronic overcrowding and lack of domestic space, were faced with some unsavoury options. These early adverts suggest a home front where social conditions, for women in particular, were nervy, stressed and hazardous. By 1944, when a fair contingent of "over-sexed" American troops were still "over here", the programme advertisements seek to signal the anticipated return to gendered normality by offering discreet services for domestic problems. The just plain "lonely" could contact Helen's Happiness Club; more ambitiously, Holt's Friendship Bureau offered "marriage, home and happiness"; while the generally "nerve wracked" could resort to Alfaline Tonic Pills (*Best Bib and Tucker*, 1944). Although by late 1944 immediate affluence was not in evidence, the normalized presence of a male household head now was. One graphic shows an anguished man in civilian clothing who confronts a snowstorm of bills ("If you're short of a pound/And you gaze all around/And don't know which way to turn…") being promised rescue from his plight by a lending agency (*The Sky's the Limit*).[27]

The Tivoli's business papers now take us from the vociferous auditorium into the drab backrooms of the organization's directors, managers and shareholders. These records, though incomplete and partial, allow us to track audience attendances, profits and the genre of shows offered. For the crucial war years of 1943–1945 there are business and financial records and memoranda of internal debates, analyses of problems and solutions, and identification of future priorities. This account draws upon Wallace Parnell's "General Manager's Reports to the Board" for the dates 31 January, 18 February and 25 July 1944 in the Nettlefold papers in the State Library of New South Wales, which includes also running reports on the Tivoli partnerships with various theatre managements in

Adelaide and Brisbane. These papers also contain internal correspondence between Board member Ernest Nettlefold and Parnell and his eventual successor David N. Martin.[28] They provide a useful generalized indicator of the pattern of attendances in Sydney and Melbourne during and subsequent to the peak period (September 1943) of the American military residence. In July 1944 Nettlefold summarized the implications for live theatre of the sudden influx and gradual winding-down of this relatively affluent sector: the Americans affected all of show business in the same way in that business jumped by 50%—but in the case of the Tivoli, so did the expenses.[29]

It is useful to match this pattern of troop movements through the major cities with the annual net profits recorded in the Tivoli business papers. The annual turnover for 1942–1943 was £107,000.

Year	July 1942–June 1943	July 1943–June 1944	July1944–June1945
Net profits	£23,454	£47,012	£7,122
US troops in Australia		120,000 (Sept) 60,000 (March)	24,000 (Dec) 14,000 (March)

Figures are also given for the crucial Christmas period in the two major southern major cities, of which those for Sydney are as follows:

Christmas (Dec–Feb) SYDNEY profits	£12,292	£7,671[30]

A comparison between the profits for Melbourne and Sydney for 1944–1945 shows Melbourne initially slightly ahead but steadily dropping. Unfortunately there are no such figures available for the major garrison city of Brisbane. While paying the Tivoli £50 per week for the use of its famous name, the lessees of the Cremorne Theatre ran their own independent production operations regardless of the attempted scrutiny of southern management, and their entertainments were more raucous and convivial than those staged in the southern cities. In Adelaide, Harry Wren ran his own mini-empires in loose association with the Tivoli Circuit, buying or borrowing their shows and using local favourites.[31]

A semi-open-air timber and canvas structure built in 1911, the Cremorne, was no lavish venue like the metropolitan picture palaces or southern-states variety theatres. Besides the shows staged in the Cremorne, barracks entertainments toured throughout the state to

the many remote army camps helped pump up the overall fortunes of Queensland variety.[32] The Cremorne was situated in South Brisbane, the designated black area of the racially segregated city. Few if any black American troops attended the Cremorne's variety shows, though after May 1943 their own Doctor Carver Service Club in nearby Grey Street offered the best music and jitterbugging in town.[33] American troops were entertained by their compatriot Will Mahoney's musical speciality act where he danced out tunes on a "xylophone" and the favourite American singer Evie Hayes. With Mahoney's old performance partner Bob Geraghty, this trio had run the theatre during the lean 1930s. Like all entertainers, Mahoney and Hayes worked even more tirelessly throughout the war: in remote camp concerts, Victory Loan rallies, Red Cross Concerts and radio spots. For Americans who had barely heard of Australia, Will and Evie provided a familiar home from home: an unofficial R and R base.[34] Brisbane is still doing well, Wal Parnell conceded in his Report of 18 February 1944, but since military HQ is being moved even further north there is no cause for complacency about how the company overall will manage in 1945.

The contents of these shows were dominated by comedians: Australian, English and American. Wartime was the golden age of reigning Australian comics—Roy Rene, George Wallace, Terry Scanlon and Buster Crabbe—who had already honed their vernacular larrikin anarchy and sense of social connection in front of Australian Depression-era audiences. The cessation of civilian shipping ensured that a relatively confined stable of "favourite" Tivoli performers dominated this period. The contracts offered to these artistes range from a standard £8–£10 per week for the seasoned Australian comics to £200 for the genial American star Bob Dyer, whose fifteen-minute radio show *The Last of the Hillbillies* attracted the highest rating in Australia.[35] One initiative to identify and cultivate fresh "ideas" was thus to tap the resources of the omnipresent "wireless", which for over a decade had programmed talent shows and grown its own "household name" studio stars, and was wartime's all-dominating medium of entertainment and communication. Harry Wren in particular realized the value of radio tie-ins and tailored his Adelaide shows to extend the reach of live variety. Singers like Evie Hayes became also tireless radio performers, while stage shows were devised to exhibit such Australian radio stars as Jack Davey along with fellow Americans like Bob Dyer. Tivoli patrons voted for the radio stars they'd most like to see, and from these performers were assembled three 1941 *Radio Roundup* s

hows with different casts for each city. Parnell tried to retrain the personalities native to the radio medium as stage talent, with mixed success.[36] Behind this intermedial activity lay the very real problems caused by the call-up of skilled theatre workers, so cross-promotions and collaborations were sought with the talent pool of other entertainment organizations. Parnell noticed only a small audience base common to Tivoli and J. C. Williamson's operettas and dramas, but set out to capture the latter with variety shows built around the favourite operatic singer Gladys Moncrieff and the suave English comedian Edwin Styles.[37]

Wal Parnell's three 1944 reports to his Board of Directors indicate how the multiple logistics of wartime variety were dealt with. Justification of his management of production and industrial concerns looms large: the seasoned international professional explaining the practicalities of show business to unsympathetic money men. He uses the *Naughty Nineties* show (Melbourne, 31 January 1944) as an example of the comparative drawing power of artistes and spectacles, with constrained ingenuity dressed up as glamorous nostalgia. The opening with the "old fashioned roller curtain" gets the audience in the mood. Gloria Dawn and her dancers are outstanding, and the first act closer "The Blue Danube" remains a great success however often seen. These lavish production numbers are actually the least expensive parts of the show, he insists, as dresses and stage draperies pay for themselves many times over: costumes for *Easter Parade* were re-used in *The Naughty Nineties* and *Black Vanities*. Pantomime is important to utilize the theatre spaces to the maximum and to recycle variety stars and spectacles to daytime "family audiences". Their two standards *Cinderella* and *Mother Goose*, which alternate between Sydney and Melbourne, are exhausted, so a new "Whittington" show must be phased in. As for the "Yanks", while they have caused a spike in public spending their presence in the southern cities cannot realistically last longer. Each centre must be prepared to deal with its own audiences, and while for legitimate productions a long Sydney or Melbourne run accrues prestige and interest, a vaudeville show is judged locally and purely on its merits. Even in 1944, he wrote, bad shows do badly, and the louche humour of Brisbane would fail in Adelaide, the "city of churches".

Behind the scenes, the Tivoli needed to refresh its shows, since while glamour was paramount to the success of the ideoscape, *matériel* was scarce. The stable of performers must keep the audiences from any impression of being offered stale material. This was a skilful exercise

in ingenuity: every lighting resource, piece of set equipment or costume had to be revamped to make it ever more glamorous, but there were costs: in September of 1940 the cellophane skirts of the ballet girls caught fire, with ensuing injury and deaths.[38] While its dance routines or *scénas* were ingeniously revamped from show to show, the Tivoli managers knew they were stretching the official wartime ethos of "make do and mend" to precarious limits.[39] Parnell stressed the value of what he called "produced variety": the use of (usually female) feeds to break up comic monologues; and troupes of costumed dancers, chorus singers and showgirls to dress up a solo song. Given the total running time of 160 minutes, using sixty of these for production numbers also saved artist salaries. But the usually male comedians were the star personalities. Onstage, they ventilated their anarchic talents and pushed the boundary with their unscripted comedy, and offstage took small heed of managerial dicta. So, claimed Parnell, the more lavish production numbers the better since it also combatted the "tyranny of comedians".[40] The showgirls and posed nudes (actually draped from the waist up in gossamer fabric) both suggest the masculinist world of wartime while offering mixed "family" entertainment. From Brisbane, reports reached the ears of the Tivoli's Sydney managers of the "crudity of the comedians' jokes" at the Cremorne, threatening to debase their brand. Furthermore, the boisterous army variety units with no formal connection with the Tivoli were touring their rude masculinized humour around the camps and bases of far North Queensland and the Northern Territory, and styling themselves, generically, as "Tivoli troupes".[41]

Logistical difficulties in *matériel*, labour and transport also required management attention. At the outbreak of war the Tivoli took care to be seen as an essential industry, and for the use of remote troops prepared a *Concert Party Manual* based on *Pleasures on Parade*, earning top brass recognition and goodwill. It is thanks to himself, Parnell claims (25 July), that when war broke out his was the only entertainment organization well stocked with carpets, velvet, carbons, mediums, electrical supplies, dress materials, reeds for woodwind and violin strings. As for rationing of fabrics and make-up, Parnell is ensuring that vital contacts who might ease these scarcities are "frequent visitors to our shows". However, the cross-deals with commercial radio stations aimed at placing Tivoli stars on the airwaves were thwarted by these stations' demands for exclusive use of their on-air talents, and that such performers should additionally secure commercial sponsorship. Equity had "just pulled a strike" in the J. C. Williamson organization so the Tivoli could expect

shortly a similar industrial wage claim for the hard-working chorus girls. The Manpower was getting worse: more skilled technicians were being called to civilian service. Parnell's principal logistical problems in 1944 involved transport between cities for artistes, backstage staff and scenery on highly restricted trains reserved for troops or war supplies. But, he declares, he now has the ear of Eddie Ward, the Commonwealth Minister for Transport, whom he will lobby about these restrictions which can only increase as the military counter-thrust gets under way.

The Tivoli's creative and pragmatic contribution to the Australian experience suggests that, within the fluidity of modernity, specific wartime theatrical ethnoscapes— and hence cultural ideoscapes—exhibit specific historical and regional characteristics whose analysis can increase our understanding of the multiple interfaces between war and theatremaking. In the relatively affluent post-war period, the war experience would become honoured in popular culture for its sacrifices and endurance, while its characteristic entertainments were rendered endearingly nostalgic, just as the Naughty Nineties had been to the 1940s. During the new age of television, the Pacific War's civilian sing-alongs, war bond drives, victory roll hairstyles and battered coal-gas cars in turn joined the rich popular archive of beloved and revered signifiers of the non-modern "past". The Tivoli's wartime policy of recycling, resource ingenuity and toleration of familiar material and faces would be soon be drastically altered by David N. Martin, who in June 1944 replaced Parnell as managing director. After mid-1945 he combed a newly mobile world to secure glamorous international variety novelties for Australian audiences.[42] We have seen how, in a war period characterized by unforeseen but generally accepted cultural exchanges between Australian and deracinated American audiences and performers, Australian-based stage variety performed and modelled popular entertainment's traditional communal interpellation of public fellowship and inter-cultural alliances. A virtuoso display of performative ingenuity and persistence was undertaken in order to model the desired response to this merged audience's universally experienced material difficulties and psychological wounds: focusing and performing the Pacific War's peculiar ideoscapic imperative of "make do and mend".

Notes

1. Arjun Appardurai, "Disjunction and Differences in the Global Cultural Economy", *Theory, Culture & Society* 7 (1990): 295–310.

2. For recent scholarship on this topic see Victor Emeljanow, ed., *Popular Entertainments in Times of War*, *Popular Entertainment Studies* 5.4 (2014). Autobiographical and selected memoirs include Basil Dean, *The Theatre At War* (London: Harrap, 1956); Gracie Fields, *Sing As We Go: The Autobiography of Gracie* Fields (London: Frederik Muller, 1960); Joyce Grenfell, *The Time of My Life: Entertaining the Troops: Her Wartime Journal*, ed. James Roose-Evans (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1989); Nadine Helmi and Gerhardt Fisher, *The Enemy at Home: German Internees in World War I Australia* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2011); John Graven Hughes, *The Greasepaint War: Show Business 1939-45* (London: New English Library, 1976); Michael Pate, *An Entertaining War* (Sydney: Dreamweaver, 1983); Eric Taylor, *Showbiz Goes to War* (London: Robert Hale, 1992); Terry Vaughan, *Whistle as You Go: The Story of the Kiwi Concert Party and Terry Vaughan* (Auckland: Random House, 1995).
3. Veronica Kelly, "Australasia: Mapping a Theatrical "Region" in Peace and War", *Journal of Global Theatre History* 1.1 (March 2016): 11.
4. Barry Ralph, *They Passed This Way: The United States of America, The States of Australia and World War II* (East Roseville, NSW: Kangaroo Press, 2000), 137.
5. From 1942 to 1947, an estimated 2,291,000 American service personnel passed through Brisbane. Raymond Evans, *A History of Queensland* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 187.
6. Papers of Ernest Nettlefold Concerning his Association with the Tivoli Circuit, 1943–1945, "Accounts 1943–1945", ML MSS 7159/1/4. State Library of New South Wales, Sydney.
7. Ralph (145) shows Brisbane had twenty brothels which could charge Americans £1 for three minutes.
8. One example of lasting impact was the disappearance of Melbourne's "Protestant Sunday" of almost total closure of transport, public buildings, shops and entertainment, leaving bored troops with little to do except riot. Ralph (125–126) cites a huge meeting in Sydney on 16 April 1942 between military chiefs, unionists, clergymen, Actors'Equity, the press, social welfare, and figures from broadcasting and theatre which addressed the new circumstances.
9. Appadurai, 297.
10. Appadurai, 298–299.
11. McKerrow, 13.
12. Kate Darien-Smith, *On the Homefront: Melbourne in Wartime 1939–1945*. 2nd ed. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2009), 218.
13. Wartime Sydney is recorded by the novel *Come In Spinner* (1951) by Dymphna Cusack and Florence James, set in a lightly disguised "Hotel South Pacific" (Hotel Australia), frequented by Sydney society and American officers.

14. The 813th and 814th Military Police Companies were based in Brisbane. "813th Military Police Company in Australia During WW2." Accessed 15 February 2016. *ozatwar.com*.
15. McIntyre, 457–500.
16. Peter Charlton, *South Queensland WWII 1941–1945* (Brisbane: Boolarong, 1991) surveys the acute animosities between US and Australian troops which culminated in the "Battle of Brisbane", a two-day all-in street brawl for troops and civilians (24–26).
17. Ralph, 29–30.
18. For general histories of Australia at war, see Michael McKernan, *The Strength of a Nation: Six Years of Australians Fighting for the Nation and Defending the Homefront in WWII* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2006); David Day, *The Great Betrayal: Britain, Australia & the Onset of the Pacific War* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1988).
19. John McKerrow, *The American Occupation of Australia, 1941–1945: A Marriage of Necessity* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 4–8; Evans, 187.
20. Darien-Smith, 50.
21. Wallace Parnell, "General Manager's Report to the Board, 25 July 1944," Nettlefold Papers, "Board Meetings 1943–1945," ML MSS 7159/1/3; Darien-Smith, 160.
22. Darien-Smith, 161.
23. For the history of Australian commercial and national broadcasting see Bridget Griffin-Foley, *Changing Stations: The Story of Australian Commercial Radio* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2009); Ken Inglis, *This Is the ABC: The Australian Broadcasting Commission 1923–1983* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1983).
24. See, for example, Pate, Vaughan.
25. Darien-Smith, 161–163.
26. Glen McGillivray. "The Performance Archive: Detritus or Historical Record?," in Glen McGillivray, ed., *Scrapbooks, Snapshots and Memorabilia: Hidden Archives of Performance* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2011), 18.
27. All Tivoli programmes from author's collection.
28. Wal Parnell, brother of Val Parnell of London Palladium fame, succeeded Frank Neil as General Manager in January 1940. In mid-1944 Martin succeeded in securing sufficient shares to oust Parnell.
29. Nettlefold, letter to Martin, 22 July 1944, Nettlefold Papers.
30. "Accounts 1943–1945", ML MSS 7159//1/4.
31. The entrepreneur Harry Wren (1916–1973) was active in Australian and New Zealand variety during the depression and war and the subsequent transition into television. "He operated his various enterprises … outside the auspices of J.C. Williamsons and the Tivoli Circuit, though often in tenuous alliance with them". Jonathan Bollen, 'Harry Wren', *Research*

on Performance and Desire, http://jonathanbollen.net/2011/02/12/harry-wren/. Accessed 1 December 2016.
32. Parnell, "General Manager's Report to the Board" of 18 February 1944.
33. McIntyre, 479.
34. John Crampton, *Evie Hayes: "And I Loves Ya Back!"* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1992), 112.
35. Nancye Bridges and Frank Crook, *Curtain Call* (North Ryde, NSW: Cassell Australia, 1980), 103.
36. Over the previous decade, radio had aimed at a "friendly" rather than "formal" vocal presentation which interpellated the listener as an individual (mostly female) isolated in private domestic space. Exuberant stage personalities like Bob Dyer or Gracie Fields were experienced in crowd handling, but many "wireless" performers had little training in performing to live houses. See, for example, Lesley Johnson, *The Unseen Voice: A Cultural Study of Early Australian Radio* (London: Routledge, 1988), 70–77.
37. Frank Van Straten, *Tivoli* (Melbourne: Lothian, 2003), 144.
38. Bridges, 115.
39. *Make Do and Mend* is the title of pamphlet published by the British Ministry of Information (1943). *British Library Learning Timelines: Sources From History* http://www.bl.uk/learning/Ttimeline/item106365.html. A slogan commonly heard during the 1930s Depression and war periods was "Eat it up, wear it out, make it do, do without". Its exact source is unknown. *The Big Apple*, Accessed 23 February 2016. http://www.barrypopik.com/index.php/new_york_city/entry/use_it_up_wear_it_out_make_it_do_or_do_without/.
40. Wallace Parnell, "General Manager's Report to the Board," 18 February 1944. The Tivoli entertainer Nancye Bridges (112) lists a Tivoli programme as twelve acts backed by a twenty-piece orchestra, with sixteen ballet girls, thirty-two stage hands, eight male dancers, six chorus singers, ten showgirls, six nudes and two ballets.
41. Parnell, "General Manager's Report to the Board," 25 July 1944.
42. The renovated Tivoli is surveyed in Veronica Kelly, "David N. Martin and the Post-war 'Acts and Actors' of Australian Variety," *Australasian Drama Studies* 67 (October 2015): 131–154.

Index

A
Abdullah al-Maghribi, Abu, 107–108
Achilles, 8
Acting schools (Russia), 127
Acting styles (South Korea), 92–95
Actor training, 23–38, 125
Acts of transfer, performances as, 4, 10
Aerial photography, 52–54
  impact on camouflage design, 44, 45, 46, 56
Agamben, Giorgio, 104, 106, 114
Agent training. *See* Espionage
Agitprop (Spain), 68, 73, 77, 78
  puppet plays, 73
Alberti, Rafael, 65, 70, 72, 73, 75
Alibis, used by operatives, 37
Alliance of Antifascist Intellectuals (Spain), 71, 76
America. *See* United States of America
American impact on Australian audiences, 179–195
Andregg, Michael, 24–25
Anmu (ushers) (China), 148
Anti-communist themes
  in South Korean theatre, 83, 85, 88
  in Spanish theatre, 77
Appadurai, Arjun, 180, 182, 183
Appropriation and subversion of American culture by ISIS, 110–111
Aristotle, 13, 14
Army patronage of theatre (Russia), 121–135
Art as political action (Spain), 67, 70, 72
Art directors as camoufleurs (Britain), 41, 49–52
Arts Council (Britain), 161, 163, 168, 169, 170
Assassination of competitors (China), 153–154
Athenaeus, 9, 11, 13
Athens (ancient)
  harmonics, 15–16
  military structures, 4–6
  movement training, 10–12
  musical training, 12–14
  primary education, 6–10
Attic cup decoration, 8
Audiences during wartiem
  in Australia, 180–182, 189–190, 195

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2017

V. Emeljanow (ed.), *War and Theatrical Innovation*, Palgrave Studies in Theatre and Performance History,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-60225-1

and covert mimesis, 32–33
demand for the arts in Britain, 165, 167, 168, 169
desire for escapism, 151, 156, 168, 189
fighting in (China), 144
of ISIS propaganda, 105, 108–109, 111
role in espionage, 32
in Russia, 123–124, 128–130, 134
in South Korea, 88, 90, 94, 95
in Spain, 64, 66–68, 69, 73, 78

Auloi (double-flutes), 5, 8, 12
Australian popular entertainment during wartime, 179–195
Australo-American ideoscape, 189
civilian social activities, 188
cultural exchanges, 180, 183–185, 195
familiarity and continuity in theatre, 181
gendered social world, 185, 189–190
influx of American service personnel, 180
male performers, lack of, 180, 188
Manpower Directorate, 187, 188, 195
military entertainment units, 188, 194
theatre profits vs troop presences, 182, 191
wartime audiences, 180–182, 189–190, 195

Ayuso, Adolfo, 67, 74

B

Ballet, increased popularity of (Britain), 164, 165, 168
Banning of political theatre (Spain), 77
Bare life *(nuda vita)*, 104, 105–106, 114
Bare life ‘video-cruelty’ (ISIS), 105–108
Barkas, Geoffrey, 50
Bazhan, Mykola, 127
Beijing opera. *See Jingju* (Beijing opera)
Bel Geddes, Norman, 53–54, 55
Benavente, Jacinto, 65
Berardi, Franco ‘Bifo’, 105, 113–114
Berezil (theatre company), 122, 133–134
Bernard, Oliver “Percy”, 43, 44, 52
Bevin, Ernest, 166
Biopolitical tropes. *See* ISIS propaganda
Biovirtual propaganda. *See* ISIS propaganda
Bolsheviks. *See* Red Army, patronage of the arts
Bond, Russell A, 43
Bourriaud’s theory of postproduction, 108
Bourriaud’s theory of postproduction (ISIS), 108
British camoufluers, 42–44, 46–47, 50–51
British Civil Defence Camouflage Establishment, 46
Camouflage Development and Training Centre, 50
learning craft in France, 43–44
British espionage. *See* Espionage (Britain)
British subsidies to performing arts, 161–170
Arts Council of England, 161
ballet, 164, 165, 168–169
cultural policy, 161–170
cultural politics, 163

educational agenda, 164, 165, 167, 169
funding models, 163
public support for, 169
regional theatres, 166
state as patron of performing arts, 164
theatre politics, 167
wartime audiences, 165, 167, 168, 169
Burris-Meyer, Harold, 51

C

Camouflage and scenographers, 41–57
German, 44–45
hidden Army Air Corps hanger, 55
painting, 46–47
as performance practice, 23–38
scenographic, 44
shadows on a model, 54
as strategic deception, 43
USA guidelines on, 47–48
Camouflage Development and Training Centre (Britain), 50
Camouflage Society of Professional Stage Designers (USA), 48
'Camp X' (Canada), 28
Carnicke, Sharon Marie, 33
Casson, Hugh, 57
Catalan political puppetry, 64, 68
CEMA. *See* Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA)
Censorship, 77, 108–109, 129, 183, 186
Central Theatre Council (Spain), 75
Cervantes, Miguel de, 72
Chang Chunheng, 153–154
Chants, military (Greece), 14
Charity shows (China), 145, 149, 152
Chekhov, Michael, 38
Chesney, Clement, 46
Children
actors in ISIS propaganda, 105–108
audiences, 68, 82
Pyrrhic dance training, 9
Chinese *jingju* industry. *See* Green Gang and *jingju* industry (China); *Jingju* (Beijing opera)
Chistiakova, Valentyna, 127
Chorus, tragic (Greece), 10–16
dance training, 7–10, 10–12
Churchill, Winston, 25, 166
Citizenship, 5, 6, 10, 68
Civic Theatres Scheme (Britain), 166
Civilian audiences. *See* Audiences
Clandestine operations. *See* Espionage (Britain)
Clark, Kenneth, 164
Classical music (Britain), 164
Comedy
in Australia, 189, 192, 194
in Russia, 125
in Spanish puppet theatre, 73, 74
Command centres as theatre, 42
Commissariats of Enlightenment (Russia), 123–124
Communist regimes
in China, 142
in Korea, 83, 84, 85, 87–88, 93–94
in Russia, 131
in Spain, 73, 75, 77. *See also* Anti-communist themes
Conscription (Australia), 182, 187
Copyright, development of (China), 153
Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA), 48, 161–170, 163
geographical diversity, 166
support for modern works, 165
Tyrone Guthrie, 165

Cover stories and disguises (Britain), 29–30. *See also* Espionage (Britain)
Cremorne Theatre (Australia), 191, 192
Criminality and theatre (China), 139–157
Cultural camouflage, 26, 30–31. *See also* Espionage (Britain)
Cultural education (Greece), 12–13, 15
Cultural politics (Britain), 161, 163

D
Dance, as preparation for war (Greece), 10–12
Dance of war (Greece), 7–10, 8
Darien-Smith, Kate, 188
Dawn, Gloria, 193
Dean, Basil, 38, 168
Decoy. *See* Camouflage
Dewer, Michael, 43
Didó (puppeteer), 68
Dieste, Rafael, 71, 72, 73, 75
Digital environments and ISIS propaganda, 101, 111, 114–115
Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 14
Directing
  importance of, 95, 125
Disguises and cover stories (WWII), 29–30. *See also* Espionage (Britain)
Don Cristóbal (puppet), 64, 75, 76
Doona, Liam, 56, 57
Dorian modes of music, 13–16
Dovzhenko, Oleksandr, 130
Drones, used by ISIS, 110–111
Du Yuesheng, 142, 144, 145, 148, 152
Dyer, Bob, 192

E
Embodied skills, across disciplines, 12
Emeljanow, Victor, 103
Empathy, lack of (ISIS), 105, 106
ENSA (Entertainments National Service Association) (Britain), 48, 163, 164
Entertainment for recruitment, 41, 107, 111
Entertainment of civilian populations, 164, 179–195, 180–182. *See also* Audiences during wartime
Entertainment of troops
  in Australia, 179–182, 184–185, 188, 191–192, 194
  in Russia, 130
  in South Korea, 86, 87
  in Spain, 63, 64, 73
Entertainments National Service Association (ENSA) (Britain), 48, 163, 164
Entertainment Tax (Australia), 188
Entertainment Tax (Britain), 166
Ephebeia (military schools) and *ephebes* (young military trainees), 5–6, 7, 11, 12
Epic poetry, 3
Equity strike (Australia), 194
Escapism and wartime audiences, 151, 156, 168, 189
Espionage (Britain), 23–38
  alibis, 37
  'Camp X' in Canada, 28
  changing appearances, 35
  character past lives, 35–36
  character present lives, 36–37
  and Chekhov's methods, 38
  defined, 24
  disguises and cover stories, 29–30
  by natural citizens, 31
  role of audience, 32

and Stanislavsky training, 33–34, 34–38
Ethnoscapes, 180, 182–185, 195
Euripedes, 9
European drama, performed in South Korea, 91
Exception and rule, interconnection of, 106
Executions in ISIS propaganda, 105
Experimental theatre
in China, 156
in Russia, 123, 124, 126, 128, 135
in Spain, 65, 66, 77, 78

F
Faidella, Antoni, 68
Falla, Manuel de, 66
False identities. *See* Espionage (Britain)
Fascism, opposition to, 71, 74, 76
Finishing schools (Britain), 25, 27, 28
instruction manuals, 34–38. *See also* Espionage (Britain)
First Red Laurel Theatre (China), 146, 152, 153, 154
Foley, James, 109–110
Folis, Peter, 29, 31, 33
Foreign concessions (China), 141–143
Foster, Hal, 103
French camouflage unit, 43

G
Galician influence on Russian theatre, 131–135
Gangsters in China. *See* Green Gang and *jingju* industry (China)
García Lorca, Federico, 64, 65, 66, 74, 75–77
Gendered social world (Australia), 185, 189–190
Gender of performers, 150, 188
Generación del 27 (group of poets), 65, 71
Gengxin Theatre (China), 143–144, 145
Geraghty, Bob, 192
Germany
camouflage skills, 44–45
theatres, 162
Glove puppets. *See* Puppet theatre, political (Spain)
Goff, Harper, 53, 54
Goffman, Erving, 32–33
Goodden, Henrietta, 47
Gordin, Jacob, 125
Grand Guignol (theatre), 103
Grau, Jacinto, 65
Greek choral and military training, 3–16
Green Gang and *jingju* industry (China), 140–157
business management systems, 147–148
charity shows, 145, 149, 152
impact of, 154–157
monopolies, 140, 145, 146, 153, 155
production factors, 145–149
products, 150–154
rental contracts, 145–146
serialized plays, 150–151
Shanghai Theatre Association (STA), 148–149
theatre operations, 142–143
threats and extortion demands, 147
Groskin, Richard, 27
Groys, Boris, 114
Guthrie, Tyrone, 165
Gu Zhuxuan, 144, 145, 151
ordering assassination of rival, 154
Tianchan Theatre, 147, 148, 150, 154
Gymnastic training (Greece), 6

H

Hamlet, performed in South Korea, 81–82, 89–90, 94, 95
Han No-Dan, 90
Harker, Roland, 43, 46
Harmony, ancient Greek notions of, 15–16
Hayes, Evie, 192
Heraclitus, 3
Her Majesty's Theatre (Britain), 162
Holdsworth, Nadine, 27
Hollingshead, John, 162
Holmes, E W, 43
Homer, 11
Hoplites (foot soldiers), 4–6, 11, 12
Hoplomachia (military schools) and *hoplomachoi* (military trainers), 7, 9–10, 12, 16
Horner, Harry, 49, 50
Huang Jin Grand Theatre, 145
Huang Jinrong, 142, 143, 144, 153
  reactions to rivals, 153–154
  Rong's Gong Theatre, 145, 147, 150, 152
Huang Zhenshi, 154
Hyper-reality (ISIS), 113

I

Iakir, Iona, 126, 127, 133, 134
Iconoclasm (ISIS), 114–115
Identity, nationalist, enacted through puppetry, 63
Ideological beliefs of actors, 64, 76, 85, 88
Ideoscapes, 180, 182–184, 189, 195
Improvisation
  by operatives (Britain), 34, 35–36
  in political puppetry (Spain), 65, 69–70, 77
Industrial action, 155, 194
Innes, Christopher, 55
Intelligence. *See* Espionage (Britain)
Intercultural exchanges, 82–83, 89–92, 131, 195
ISIS propaganda, 101–115
  appropriation and subversion of American culture, 110–111
  audiences of, 105, 108–109, 111
  bare life 'video-cruelty', 105–108
  Bourriaud's theory of postproduction, 108
  lack of empathy in, 105, 106
  'media mujahedeen', 108–109, 114, 115
  media personnel, 107–108
  obscene state of exception, 103–105
  postmodernism and, 112–114
  rule and exception, interconnection of, 106
  swarmcasting terror, 108–110

J

Jackson, Barry, 169
Japanese *Sinpa* theatre, 93
Jingju (Beijing opera), 139–157
  legacy, 157
  mixed genders of performers, 150
  serialized plays, 150
  star performers, 150, 155
  visual effects vs plots, 156
  wartime audiences, 144, 150, 155–156. *See also* Green Gang and *jingju* industry (China)
Johnson, Loch K, 24
Jun Jee-Nee, 87
Jurkowski, Henryk, 75
Justice, veiled (ISIS), 113

K

Kennedy, Dennis, 162
Kepes, Gyorgy, 47
Khan, Elizabeth Louise, 43
Kim Dong-Won, 81, 94

Sinhyup style of acting, 92–93
Korean theatre during the Korean War, 81–95
acting style, 92–95
establishment of a national theatre, 83–86
Japanese influence, 83–84, 91
the Liberation, 81, 82, 84, 85, 86
Sinhyup acting style, 92–95
as spirit of resistance, 83–86
wartime audiences, 81, 88, 89
Western drama and pro-American culture, 83, 89–92
Kurbas, Oleksandr 'Les', 122–135
diary notes, 128–129
Kyidramte (theatre company), 122, 125–130

L
La Barraca (theatre group), 66, 74
Laches, 7
La Tarumba (theatre company), 74
Lawler, Lillian B, 11
Lazoryshak, Oleskii, 131, 134
Lea, Kathryn, 67
Lee Hae-Rang, 85, 88, 89, 90
and American theatre, 91, 92
on realism in Korean theatre, 93–95
Sinhyup acting style, 93
Lee Seung-Hee, 84
Legislative changes supporting the arts (Britain), 169–170
Lesaca, Javier, 111
Le Théâtre du Grand-Guignol, 103
Levin, Laura, 29, 32
Liberation from Japan (Korea), 81, 82, 84, 85, 86
Lim Young-Woong, 92
London Theatre Studio, 38
Luke, Tim, 42
Lyre playing (Greece), 13

M
Macbeth, 89, 124, 129
Mahoney, Will, 192
'Make do and mend' (Australia), 193–194, 195
Management of theatres (China), 147–148, 155
Manpower Directive (Australia), 187, 188, 195
Marching training (Greece), 9–10
Marionetes militantes (militant puppets), 74
Marketing and ticket sales (China), 148, 155–156
Marketing terrorism (ISIS), 111
Marrast, Robert, 74–75
Martin, David N, 191, 195
Material culture, puppets as, 65
Maunder, Andrew, 139
McArthur, Douglas, 186, 187
McCarthy, Jim, 70, 71, 73
McGillivray, Glen, 189
Media mujahedeen (ISIS), 108–109, 114, 115
Media personnel (ISIS), 107–108
Mediascapes (Australia), 180, 182–184, 189
Medley, Robert, 42
Mei Lanfang, 146, 150, 155
Mekhennet, Souad, 107
Messel, Oliver, 50–51
Michelson, Peter, 103
Mielziner, Jo, 48–49, 56, 57
Miles, Bernard, 168
Militainment, 111
Miller, Greg, 107
Mimetic realism, 29, 32
in espionage, 23–38
in puppetry, 65
Mises-en-scène, used by camoufleurs, 41–57

Misiones Pedagógicas (theatrical programme), 66, 71
Mixed gender performers (China), 150, 151
Model making, 48, 52–55
Moholy-Nagy, Laszlo, 47
Monleón, José, 76
Monopolies in theatre
  in China, 140, 145, 152–154, 155
  in Russia, 121
Moors (Spain), 72
Morale boosting
  in Australia, 180, 187–188, 189
  in Britain, 163, 164
  in South Korea, 88
  USA guidelines on, 48
Moral instruction to audiences (Spain), 64
Morrison, Herbert, 167–168
Movie makers, using models for propaganda, 53–54
Musical training (Greece), 12–14

N

National identity
  developed during the Korean War, 86, 87–89, 91
  enacted through puppetry, 63–64
Nationalists (Spain), 69
National Theatre (Britain), 165, 170
Nead, Lynda, 103
Neoptolemus, 8–9
Nettlefold, Ernest, 191
New audience. *See* Audiences
New Stage (China), 151
Nichols, Beverly, 51
Nicias, 7
9/11 terror attacks, 102
Non-Bolsheviks and the arts, 130, 132, 133
Non-dogmatic teaching, 10
North Korea, 82, 84, 86
  theatrical propaganda in, 88
Nuda vita (bare life), 104, 105–106, 114

O

Obscene state of exception (ISIS), 103–105
Obscenity as marketing, 113
Oenslager, Donald, 42, 48
Old Vic company (Britain), 164–165, 166, 168
Olivier, Laurence, 164, 165
Opera, popularity during WWII (Britain), 164, 165
Operators (espionage). *See* Espionage (Britain)
Orriols, Alvaro de, 71

P

Pacific War. *See* Australian popular entertainment during wartime
Painting, as camouflage skill, 46, 47, 49, 53
Pantomime (Australia), 193
Paradox of sovereignty, 104
Paramilitary schools for agents (Britain), 28, 37
Parking, Simon, 106–107
Parnell, Wallace, 190–191, 192, 193, 195
Passas, Nikos, 27
Passion for the Real, 102
Patronage of the arts in the Russian Civil War. *See* Russian Civil War, and arts patronage
Pearl Harbour, 49, 186
Phalanges, 5, 7, 12
Phrygian modes of music, 13–16
Picasso, Pablo, 66
Pilgrim Trust (Britain), 163
Plagiarism (China), 153, 156

Plato, 9, 12, 16
Plots vs special effects (China), 156
Plutarch, 11–12, 14
Political puppetry (Spain). *See* Puppet theatre, political (Spain)
Porras, Francisco, 74
Postmodernism (ISIS), 112–114
Postproduction (ISIS), 108
Potolsky, Matthew, 32
Power, military (Greece), 4–6
Pre-literate societies, 10
Prieto, Miguel, 74, 75, 76
Primary education (Greece), 6–10
Pronomos Vase, 10–11
Propaganda
  in Britain, 163
  by ISIS, 101–115
  in Korea, 81–95
  in Russia, 127
  in Spain, 68, 75
  USA guidelines on, 48
  use of models in, 53–54. *See also* Camouflage and scenographers
Proud, Peter, 52
Provincial Theatre Council, 166
Public support for theatre subsidies (Britain), 169
Puppet theatre, political (Spain), 63–78
  activating citizens, 66
  banned, 77
  inciting workers and soldiers, 67–68
  for rural education, 66, 67
  scripted vs improvised, 70, 71
  supporting war effort, 69
  used by Nationalist forces, 75
Pyrrhic dance (Greece), 7–10, 8

R

Racial segregation by the USA (Australia), 184–185, 192
Radio (Australia), 189, 192, 193, 194
Rawlings, Louis, 9
Realism, quest for, 37, 93–95. *See also* ISIS propaganda
Realist Korean drama, 84, 86
Reconnaissance photography. *See* Aerial photography
Recruitment through entertainment, 111
Red Army, patronage of the arts, 122, 124, 126–127, 129–130, 130–135
  Bolsheviks and the arts, 132–133. *See also* Russian Civil War, and arts patronage
Refugees and gangs (China), 142
Regional theatre (Britain), 164, 166
Reit, Seymour, 49, 50
Republican movement (Spain), 67–68, 68–69, 71
  allegiance encouraged through puppet plays, 73
Richardson, Ralph, 165
Rigden, Denis, 28, 29
Rong's Gong Theatre, 145, 147, 150, 152
Rong's Grand Theatre, 145
Ro Seunghee, 93
Ross, Bernie, 29
Royal Charter for the Arts Council (Britain), 168
Royal Engineers' Camouflage Development and Training Centre (Britain), 50
Rule and exception, interconnection of (ISIS), 106
Rural audiences. *See* Audiences
Russian Civil War, and arts patronage, 121–123, 125, 129, 130, 131–135
  as Golden Age of theatre, 130
  and local officials, 124, 126–128, 132, 133
  wartime audiences, 123–124, 128–130, 134

S
Sadler's Wells company (Britain), 164, 165
Sadovskyi, Mykola, 122–123
Saint-Gaudens, Homer, 45
Salaries, for actors (China), 146, 150, 155
Satire, through puppetry, 64, 73, 74
Scale models. *See* Model making
Scenographers as camoufleurs. *See* Camouflage and scenographers
Schechner, Richard, 102
Schmitt, Carl, 104, 106, 112
Second Republic (Spain), 64, 66, 69
Segregation, racial (Australia)
  enforced by the USA, 184–185, 192
Serialized plays (China), 150–151
Shahaida, Stepan, 130
Shakespearean plays, performed in South Korea, 81–82, 89–90
  as only available entertainment, 82
Shanghai International Settlement, 141
Shanghai *jingju* ticket prices and salaries, 146
Shanghai Theatre Association (STA), 145, 155
  charity shows, 145, 149, 152
  manipulated by Green Gang, 148–149
Shanhgai Green Gang. *See* Green Gang and *jingju* industry
Shanhgai in war time. *See* Green Gang and *jingju* industry
Shepperton Studios (Britain), 51
Shields (Greece), 8
Shulsky, Abram N, 24
Sinhyup. *See* Korean theatre during the Korean War
Sinpa theatre (Japan), 93
Smoke screens, as camouflage, 51
Smolych, Iurii, 130
Snuff films, 102, 105, 110–111. *See also* ISIS propaganda
Sobol (Red Army commander), 126, 128
Social media, exploited by ISIS, 101, 111, 114
Socrates, 7, 11, 12–13
SOE. *See* Special Operations Executive (SOE), (Britain)
Solomon, Solomon J, 43–45
The Sons of Jews (ISIS film), 105, 106–108
Sotloff, Steven, 110
Sound effects, as camouflage, 51
South Korea. *See* Korean theatre during the Korean War
Sovereignty, paradox of, 104, 112
Soviet theatre. *See* Russian Civil War, and arts patronage
Spanish Civil War, 63–78
  Catalan political puppetry, 64, 68
  civilian audiences, 64, 78
  wartime audiences, 66–68, 69, 73. *See also* Puppet theatre, political (Spain)
Spartans, 11–12
Special Operations Executive (SOE), (Britain), 25, 27–31, 33
  and Chekhov's methods, 38
  instructions and manuals, 34–38
  and Stanislavsky's methods, 37–38
St. Denis, Michel, 38
Stagecraft, military practice of, 41–42
Stahl, Roger, 111
Stanislavsky, Konstantin, 33–34, 37, 38
Star performers (China), 150, 155
State of exception (ISIS), 104, 106–107, 112, 114–115
Stereoscopy in camouflage, 52–53
Story-telling through models, 55
Strikes, 155, 194

Strophic songs and chants, 14
Strukhmanchuk, Iakiv, 126–127, 131
Subsidies to the performing arts (Britain), 161–170
Suburbs, artificial, 49–50
Sun Yat-sen, 148–149
Support for theatre subsidies (Britain), 169
Swarmcasting (ISIS), 108–110
Sykes, Stephen, 50
Symington, Lyndsay D, 43, 44
Szanto, George, 87

T

Takizawa, Osamu, 93
Taxes on entertainment, 166, 188
Taylor, Diana, 10, 114
Teatro de Urgencia (political theatre movement), 70, 71–72, 73
Teffi, Nadezhda, 131–132
9/11 terror attacks, 102
'Terrortainent' (ISIS), 110–111, 112
Theater Decorators' Union, 46
Theatre and criminality (China), 139–157
Theatre as political action (Spain), 67, 70, 72
Theatre designers as camoufleurs, 41–57
Theatre management development (China), 147–148
Theatre politics (Britain), 167
Theatre programmes (Australia), 189–190
Theatre Royal (Britain), 166
Theatrical propaganda. *See* Propaganda
Theatrical training, 10–16, 25–31
Threadgall, Derek, 51
Thrill of the Real (ISIS), 110
Thucydides, 5
Tianchan Theatre, 145, 148, 150, 151, 152, 154
  and copyright, 153
Ticket sales and marketing (China), 148, 155–156
Tivoli Circuit (Australia), 180, 185, 188–195
  business papers, 190–191
  theatre programmes, 189–190
Tozer, Harry, 68–69
Tragic theatre (Greece), 3–4, 10–16, 11
  as military training, 12
  as training for war, 3–16
Training camps for agents, 27–31
Training of actors, 23–38, 125, 127
Training of agents. *See* Espionage (Britain)
Training of military (Greece), 6–10
Tree, Herbert Beerbohm, 162
Trevelyan, Julian, 50
Triremes (war galleys), 4–5
Tropes, biopolitical (ISIS), 101–115
Tsuji, Choka, 145
Tuathail, Gearóid Ó, 42
Tychyna, Pavlo, 135

U

Ukrainian theatre, 123, 131–135. *See also* Kurbas, Oleksandr 'Les'
Ultraviolent propaganda (ISIS), 102, 103, 111
United States of America
  camouflage efforts, 45, 47, 48–50
  impact of service personnel stationed in Australia, 180, 182, 183
  influence on South Korean theatre, 83, 89–92
  movie makers, models and propaganda, 53–54
  troops' experiences of the Australian ethnoscape, 184–185, 192
  wartime guidelines, 47–48

Universal labour conscription (Australia), 187
Universal national conscription (Australia), 182
Unwritten forms of knowledge, 10
Ushers (China), 148

V

Valle-Inclán, Ramón del, 65
Variety shows (Australia), 180–182, 188–195
  importance of glamour, 193–194. *See also* Australian popular entertainment during wartime
Vasylko, Vasyl, 133
Vaudeville (Australia), 193
Veiled justice (ISIS), 113
Verguès, Antoni, 68, 70
Video games, appropriated by ISIS, 105, 108, 110, 111
Virilio, Paul, 41–42
Virtual jihad (ISIS), 108–109
Virtual reality, 102
Volytska, Iryna, 123

W

War refugees, entertainment of (South Korea), 87
Wartime audiences. *See* Audiences during wartime
Weapons (Greece), 8
Wees, Hans van, 7
West, Martin L, 14
Western drama, performed in South Korea, 81, 83, 89–92
Wiles, David, 12
Williams, Harcourt, 162
Williams, Raymond, 26, 31, 38
Williamson, J C, 193, 194
Wilson, Peter, 14
Winkler, John J, 12
Women entering workforce (Australia), 187
Women's anxieties during wartime (Australia), 190
Wren, Harry, 191, 192

X

Xenophon, 4, 5, 6, 11, 15
Xie Dejin, 154
Xue Yanqin, 151
Xu Shaoqing, 147

Y

Yoh Suk-Kee, 82
Young Theatre (Russia), 123, 125, 129
Yu Chi-Jin, 84, 85, 86, 91

Z

Zhang Xiaolin, 142, 152
Zhou Xinfang, 156
Žižek, Slavoj, 101, 102, 110, 112, 114