

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, NORTHRIDGE

Theatre in Isolation: The Enduring Traditions of Theatre and Its Role in Lifting the  
Spirits of Detainees in a Civilian Prison Camp in Germany During World War 1

A graduate project submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement

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in Theatre

By

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## Abstract

# Theatre in Isolation: The Enduring Traditions of Theatre and Its Role in Lifting the Spirits of Detainees in a Civilian Prison Camp in Germany During World War I

By

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Masters of Art in Theatre

This graduate project examines how war affects theatrical development in an enclosed society by comparing it against theatrical development in an open society during World War One. To accomplish this goal I chose to examine a civilian prison camp in Germany where the detainees were mainly comprised of British civilians caught in Germany at the onset of war. The detainees at the camp comprised of non-German nationals that fell into one of several categories: student, vacationer, businessman, or transplant.

My introductory chapter provides a brief overview of conditions at the camp to illuminate the difficulties detainees faced while exerting enormous amounts of effort and time preparing, rehearsing and presenting productions. Chapter 2 provides a brief introduction to what led to the First World War and the decision to imprison non-German nationals. I also examine the initial formation of the camp and its use prior to becoming a

civilian prison. Chapter 3 establishes current trends in theatre in Great Britain and compares their further development against development of theatre in the camp by using camp magazines; *Camp Ruhleben* and *In Ruhleben Camp*, to piece together a chronological order of productions, gain insight to detainee reactions to production by analyzing play critiques and production articles, along with original playbills, posters, and photographs. Chapters 4 and 5 delves further into human resources and production resources. For insider information, I used camp detainee Joseph Powell's book *The History of Ruhleben: a record of British organization in a prison camp in Germany*, along with Ruhleben camp magazines, to gain information on rehearsal practices, creation of roles, and use of materials for characters and sets. For progress outside the camp, I used L. J. Collin's *Theatre at War, 1914-1918* to monitor wartime rationing and the recruitment of theatre personnel and how theatre managers dealt with having to replace their actors and crews with non-professionals.

The conclusion explains up until the release of Camp detainees, the German guards still respected their rights and did not confiscate supplies even though the Germans were facing starvation. I then conclude that material chosen in the camp not only reflected conditions faced by the prisoners, but also their need to escape from the dreariness of their incarceration. Whereas material chosen outside of the camp during the war reflected the desire for patriotic unification by the British governments and the need to drum up recruits. And at the conclusion of war, to distract the soldiers until they could return to England

## I. INTRODUCTION

World War I, or simply The World War as it was known at the time, has not received the same diligent attention as its successor, World War II, when it comes to documenting theatre life in the trenches or in the prison camps of Germany. In 2015, as the 100-year mark since the war passes, society is in danger of losing original historic accounts of theatrical productions in prison camps and at the ‘front.’ Camp detainees have passed and their theatre memorabilia is making its way into the hands of collectors who do not the story behind such evidence and what it was like to produce theatre in a prison camp or how detainees received it.

At the declaration of war on July 28<sup>th</sup>, 1914, German soldiers rounded up all non-nationals, either civilian or military, and put them into prison camps. A majority of civilian detainees would end up in Ruhleben for the duration of the war and face great hardships and deplorable conditions. Acting Commandant Baron von Taube, the German officer in charge of the camp, ordered the detainees split-up into groups according to race, nationality, and religious affiliation. Most notable was the segregation of the Jews who were asked to step forward under the false pretense that the Germans wanted to provide them with Kosher meals. They were removed from their barracks, some two hundred and fifty men, and sent to live in the Emigrants Railway Station just outside of camp as the Germans prepared a Jew only barrack. Camp detainee Israel Cohen recalls the conditions of his temporary home as containing a “stench [that] was overpowering partly owing to sweat, partly to the smoke of bad cigars, and partly to the steam from some under-garments which some Russian Jews had washed and were drying on the

stove” (Cohen 42). When the men were finally moved back into camp, they found their new living quarters, barrack VI, to be among the oldest and dirtiest camps. Covered in dung and dirt, men were assigned six inmates to a horse-box that only measured ten feet square and contained no furnishings. In comparison, the Britons were assigned four men to a horse-box that contained modest furnishings, including two military bunk beds. The segregation wouldn’t last the full length of the war and eventually Cohen and the rest of the Jewish prisoners were integrated back into the rest of the camp in 1917.

The Jewish prisoners were not the only group to be separated from the rest of the prisoners. Baron von Taube instructed all those who self identified as being a pro-German to step forward. Baron von Taube decided “the pro-Germans were to be kept from the contamination [of the other prisoners] by being herded in separate barracks at the far end of the camp” (Powell 32). The pro-German detainees stepped forward in the hopes of receiving special treatment in the camp and eventual release. The recognition and segregation of the pro-Germans caused unrest in the camp and a growing resentment against them could be found amongst the non pro-Germans. Baron von Taube’s commanding officer, Count Schwerin, noted “that unrest appeared to have been augmented by the erroneous impression that the segregation would be taken as a basis for the granting... [of] release or leave of absence” (Powell 33). They were instructed by their German captors to swear allegiance to Germany and vow to enlist in the military in hopes of securing their release. As time went by, many pro-Germans regretted their decision to single themselves out because they found their situation in the camp worsened as time went by because not only did they not receive help from the German officers, but they also had to endure the animosity of their fellow non-German detainees. Most

prisoners relied on care packages from home, especially during the initial settlement of the camp, due to them only being able to take with them what they could carry at the time of their incarceration. Before an established society was in place with organized businesses and a way for prisoners to earn money, detainees relied on each other for support, charity from charity from fellow Britons back home, and relief from the American government. Since pro-Germans falsely believed by singling out their supporting for the German government that they would receive support, Britons back home were not compelled to provide them with support. “The philanthropists in England who ‘adopted’ Ruhleben prisoners did not see their way to adopt any prisoner who gave a pro-German address” (Powell 37). And since the German government did not recognize the pro-Germans detainees as citizens, they were also not compelled to provide any relief or special treatment. Many of the pro-Germans regretted their decision to self-segregate and tried to mend lost friendships with fellow British detainees. The performance of several German based productions by both non-German and German nationals, at least ten by my count, suggest the eventual acceptance of the pro-German prisoners by some British detainees.

To make conditions worse in camp, the German military did little in regards to making the Camp hospitable by not providing adequate medical care and proper nutrition through meals. Camp prisoner and Committee Captain Joseph Powell describes in his book, *The History of Ruhleben: a record of British organization in a prison camp in Germany*, written in 1919, bleak camp conditions where the German military only supplied the men with a horse blanket, a wash cloth and a tin bowl for food. Any items such as soap and utensils had to be purchased by the prisoners themselves in the canteen

by means of funds they brought with them into the camp. Those who lacked the funds to purchase these items had to wash with plain water and eat with their bare hands and drinking water was obtained by sticking their heads under the tap.

The German military didn't honor wartime etiquette of not interning the sick. Men, including numerous amounts of wealthy invalids, suffering from mild to serious illnesses, were taken from their hospitals beds and thrown into the camp without following through with proper medical care. Once in the camp, men suffering from ailments such as tuberculosis, bronchitis, kidney disease, and cancer found themselves confined to their beds and at the mercy of the kindness of strangers for meals and bathroom breaks. In the early stages of war, detainees would face severe bouts of ptomaine food poisoning, diarrhea, Spanish flu and German measles. "All, or nearly all, the prisoners felt the general physical and mental strain of internment, and most succumbed to ill-health that one time or another during their captivity at Ruhleben" (Stibbe 73). Even the separated pro-German prisoners didn't receive adequate health care. Arguments with German officials about inadequate medical care would continue to fall on deaf ears until prisoners could find a practitioner amongst themselves willing to push for doctor privileges. Faced with horrendous living conditions, camp detainees, primarily British, started to band together to pool their resources and improve living conditions at the camp; creating a sort of British Colony that would include paying jobs for the prisoners based on either what they used to do on the outside or what they were willing to do inside the camp to earn a living. Considering the Germans only provided the bare necessities, it was inevitable that the men would create an economic system that would allow for the colony to function as its own mini-government. The prisoners were

expected to find a way to supplement their meager supplies and food by their own means if they were to survive their internment at the camp. The sheer determination of the men in camp to not just merely survive, but to thrive, and cause them to have the upper hand over their wardens by the time the end of the war was near in 1918, as is evidence of the camp being raided for its good by the Germans at the moment of departure by the Ruhleben prisoners.

Prisoners were allowed to receive care packages from home and, up until the camp was able to get on its own feet, the American Embassy took over British relief work and provided funds for the prisoners to put toward improving camp conditions. The camp eventually developed its own post office for efficient delivery of goods, provided instructional classes in Russian, German, French, etc., and history, amongst others. Other services such as shoe repair, barbering, cleaning services could be found at the camp, along with an advertising department devised for promoting upcoming events on the camp. Several societies formed, including a music society, horticultural society, sports clubs, languages clubs, and the dramatic arts, which contained four distinct societies: Ruhleben Dramatic Society (English), French Dramatic Society, German Dramatic Society, and the Irish Dramatic Society. All the societies and clubs had clear set of rules that everyone in the camp took seriously. While my research into the camp would lead me to books documenting the overall quality of life in the camps and general explorations into the various activities, I was not able to find works that went into any great detail as to how theater was produced and received by audiences. For insight into how theatre was produced and how prisoners perceived it would come from articles written in camp publications: In Ruhleben and Camp Ruhleben, from documents and pictures purchased

from Maurice Ettinghausen, a librarian-antiquarian of London. Through those documents it is possible to identify at least one hundred and fifty-four productions from 1915-1918 through the various Dramatic Societies and independently by camp detainees.

By studying camp magazines, photographs, playbills and fliers, I was able to put together a comprehensive lists of productions, and use articles describing elements of the productions, such as how the female roles were created, productions were received via letters to the publisher, to illustrate what it would have been like to experience camp productions. To better understand the type of performances being produced, I sorted through four years of flyers, playbills and photographs to piece together the best I could a chronological order of events and assigned categories such as, drama, revue, musical, opera or comedy. For basic information on the camp's formation and how detainees, prison guards, and dignitaries received the productions, I will use books detailing life in the camp written by former prisoners Israel Cohen and Joseph Powell, along with camp magazines' articles. I am confident my findings will show theatre in Great Britain and Germany changed from being produced for pleasure to use as a means for propaganda and recruitment of troops, while camp detainees at Ruhleben were less concerned with producing patriotic materials and chose to concentrate on variety shows and comedies.

## II. FORMATION OF CAMP RUHLEBEN

On June 28, 1914 Yugoslav national Gavrilo Princip in Sarajevo assassinated

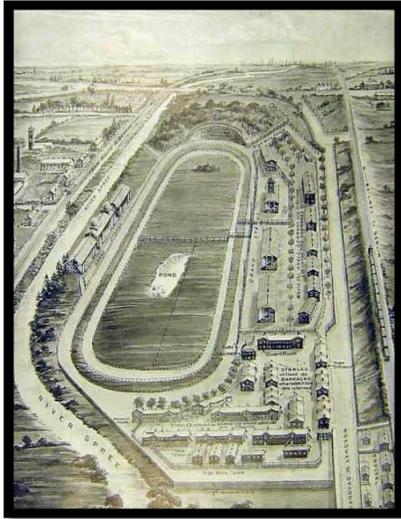


Figure 1 Drawing of Camp Ruhleben

Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria, heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, and his wife Sophie. This incident triggered the activation of several alliances between various nations and one month later, on July 28<sup>th</sup>, the First World War was declared. “On 17 October 1914 an important meeting took place in Berlin between representatives of the Prussian Ministry of War, the Foreign office and Reich Office of Interior, the federal states and the deputy general

staff and admiralty... Most of the participants supported an earlier proposal made by the deputy general staff to begin an immediate internment of all British males of military age” (Stibbe 1) and from 1914-1918, all males of serving age would eventually find their way to Ruhleben Camp on the outskirts of Berlin, Germany and what is now split between the districts of Spandau and Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf. “The actual process of internment took place reasonably smoothly and was completed within a three-week period. All over Germany British civilians were arrested... and held in local police stations or prisons before being taken by train to Berlin” (Stibbe 41). The detainees were allowed to take a few personal items, anything they could carry themselves on the final walk from Berlin into Ruhleben Camp. The round up of all non-German nationals didn’t stop with the able-bodied. The German military also saw to it that German hospitals were

cleared of all non-Germans regardless of their physical health and the danger of moving the sick posed to their lives.

### *Early Conditions of Camp*

The POW camp for civilians at Ruhleben was a defunct horse racetrack. The German military did not have adequate time to convert the space before prisoners started to arrive and camp detainees were faced with less than hospitable conditions. The camp was extremely filthy and lacked appropriate accommodations and the stables had to be used as barracks. Spaces were converted from stables to barracks on a need basis when welcoming new detainees. “The stables or housing barracks were less than welcoming homes. Each barrack contained an average of twenty-seven horseboxes and an overhead loft for the storage of hay. Ten feet square, each stall was expected to house six men. The horseboxes were luxurious, however, compared to the loft spaces overhead, which housed up to 200 men” (Camp Layout). New men entering the camp came with an optimistic disposition, not fully understanding what awaits them. It was only when they saw the gloomy looks of men interned just two months prior did they realize laughter and jokes were not the way to make a first impression on their new bunkmates.

After the initial settlement period, the prisoners quickly got organized to improve conditions at the camp. An ad hoc government was formed to organize camp needs and eventually conditions began to improve. After the initial set-up of camp the German soldiers in charge of keeping order in the camp allowed the detainees organize their own sort of British colony. Commandant Baron von Taube instructed each barrack to elect a captain who would act as their representative. Any grievance would have to be lobbied through the barrack captain and anyone violating the string of command would be

punished. The barrack captains were quick to elect assistants and this created a chain reaction that would lead to the organization of the British prisoners. “The camp was a society in microcosm... There was a madrigal choir, an orchestra, and theatre for both music hall and drama. The theatre was considered important because, apart from the most obvious reasons, it was a money-making institution” (Collins 120-121).

The Camp also contained libraries, a literary and debating society, sports facilities, post office, internal affairs, and entertainment that furnished music, poetry, Journal, and theatre to weary prisoners. This camp in particular produced several publications in various languages ranging from English, French, and Italian. These facilities were financed and ran by the prisoners themselves and this allowed them to not only fill their abundance of free time, but made it possible to earn a wage and supplement packages received from home. All affairs were overseen by an Entertainment Committee comprised of the prisoners in Ruhleben and seem to follow two forms of thinking: “one group of men looked to the theatre only for amusement; to another group it was the most serious of all the arts, and the handmaid of the Churches and the Schools” (Powell 180). Regardless of the production mounted, the limited shelter provided by the Grand Stand was sought out not only by the entertainment committee, but also by anyone looking to get out of the weather and ply his trade or pastime.

During gloomy weather, several events took place simultaneously under the Grand Stand: Three different bands practicing, a cobbler banging away fixing shoes, a barber shaving patrons, various small cards parties, and athletes practicing their sport. This made it near impossible for theatre practitioners. Only warm weather would remedy this chaotic scene and push athletes out onto the field and alternative accommodations

were made for the musicians and businessmen. “Under the auspices of the committee, by the hard work of many collaborators, the hall underneath the grand-stand was gradually transformed into a theatre and concert-room. It had previously been a refreshment room for race-goers...” (Powell 168). Time was carved out that would allow a certain amount of privacy when rehearsing a concert, play or gathering for meetings. Naturally, The Dramatic Society and Music Society worked closely on several projects as audiences enjoyed musical productions and variety shows. The warming of the weather for summer months also meant sports and recreation could be moved out onto the open grounds.

### *Detainees*

Camp detainees consisted of anyone who the Germany government deemed to be non-German. This would include not only the British, Irish, blacks, and Jews, but also any German born person who lived outside of Germany for any amount of time or anyone who was not born in Germany regardless of heritage or age they set-up residency. “Between November 1914 and November 1918 some 5,500 Britons were imprisoned [in Ruhleben], with a population ranging from 4,273 in February 1915 to around 2,300 at the time of the armistice” (Stibbe 2). Prisoners came from all over Germany and included university students and professors, businessmen, hospital patients, and vacationers: sailors and ship passengers close to German ports. “[Ruhleben] inmates were an extremely diverse group, and included people from all social classes and all corners of the British Empire. There were fishermen from Hull and Grimsby, black sailors from West Africa and the West Indies, Jewish tailors and music hall artists from the east end of London, professional football players and golfers...” (Stibbe 2). The Germans feared these men would return to England or their respected homes and enlist in the military and

join the war on the opposite side of the Germans. “Famous inmates included ...George Merritt (actor on stage and screen who starred in 1960s British TV classics like *The Avengers* and *The Prisoners*; Nico Jungmann (artist and designer); Robert Smyllie (a Scots-born journalist who went on to become editor of the *Irish Times* from 1934-1954) who wrote two original camp plays and act in several others; Cecil Duncan Jones (a writer who had just published his first novel)” (Stibbe 3) and other notable athletes, politicians, and writers, such as Yiddish actor Max Gusofsky and British journalist Israel Cohen who would pen original plays during his internment at the camp. Though the Germans were prepared to incarcerate all non-Germans, they were not prepared to provide for them.

Most men were not equipped to handle the harsh winter conditions at the camp. Many men arrived with only what they could carry and the barracks were fitted with hay for horses, not beds for men. “What struck us as most remarkable was that there were also several men who were quite lame, with a club-foot or deformed leg, and who could not, even by the wildest stretch of imagination, have been regarded as possible recruits for the British Army” (Cohen 37). The barracks were freezing cold and it would be a few months before the Germans would see fit to provide boilers for heat. Conditions at the camp were “sad until the American Embassy sent in large consignments of underclothing, sweaters, corduroys, socks, caps, and head protectors, and protectors for soles” (Cohen 78) with money raised in the camp and by the British Government.

### III. PRE-WAR and WAR TIME THEATRE

Theatre in Germany before the war generally had permanent acting troupes, long rehearsal periods and performed pieces on a rotating basis. Theatre in England was just beginning to move in this direction leaving behind the ‘star’ system and contract based productions where actors had shorter rehearsal time and only performed one piece several nights at a time. “Before 1918 the states played a very limited role in supporting theatres. The Prussian government only funded a few theatres considered to be significant in shoring up German culture in culturally contested border regions” (Carnwath 44). “Prior to the war there was ... discussion within the profession regarding the creation of a National Theatre. This artistic movement, however, came to an abrupt end in the summer of 1914” (Collins 2). In England the move towards producing more meaningful material was temporarily halted for propagandist material that relied on star power to maximize recruitment for the war efforts.

In Germany, British Journalist Israel Cohen struggles to hold onto the last remaining moments of his freedom. At liberty in Berlin he notes, “[t]he theatres, music-halls, and cinema palaces were crowded as ever they were before... orchestras were...churning out Viennese waltzes, without too frequent alternations in the form of patriotic melodies.... witness[ing] an amusing revue at the *Palast Theatre am Zoo...*” (Cohen 17). Afraid to draw attention to himself, Cohen stuck with German newspapers to gather information on the impending war; all reports point to a swift victory on the part of the Germans. Tensions between Germany and England continued to heat up as reports were reaching Germany concerning their citizens being rounded up by the English and

placed into camps. England refused to yield to German threats and Cohen found himself at Camp Ruhleben. In the early hours on November 6<sup>th</sup>, Cohen awoke to German police telling him he was under arrest. Upon glancing at the morning paper, Cohen read the following: “[a]ll British subjects between the ages of seventeen and fifty-five, throughout the German Empire, were to be arrested by the local police and transported under either police or military escort to the Concentration Camp on the Ruhleben Racecourse” (Cohen 24).

At the commencement of war, it was soon realized that a creative outlet would be helpful for all of those involved in coping with something of this magnitude. Theatre productions for the fighting soldier and “by the soldiers involved underlined the importance of theatre entertainment, and there was a growing realization by those in authority that recreation was a necessary and integral part of the convalescent process, both for the physically injured and the battle-wary serviceman” (Collins 113). A great source of information on wartime entertainment can be found through the YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association) as it pertains to ‘trench’ theatre. “In its early history, YMCA programs and services were commonly referred to as “welfare” work, especially during the [First World War]; but the word is used in a somewhat different context today, and contemporary YMCA work with military communities is described as human services. Its goals, however, are the same as they were during that war to help develop the spiritual, mental, and physical strength of service men and women and military families” (Blachard). But does that mean prisoners in Ruhleben had the same needs? It became rapidly clear that theatre served two very different psychological needs during the war: in England theatre was used for propaganda in recruiting efforts and plays were

very patriotic and reassured audiences that everyone needed to do their duty and either enlist in the war or continue with promotional efforts to get others to enlist. Patriotic productions included *In The Trenches*, and *The Flag Lieutenant*. Actors performing in these productions were always on the look out for pro-war women whose patriotic duty was to encourage men to enlist and taunted the men with the dreaded 'White Feather'. The White Feather was a wartime symbol used by the women to let men know they were thought of as cowards and not worthy of their admiration. In the Ruhleben prison camp, theatre was used to keep prisoner's mind off of the war and ease their incarceration by concentrating on comedies: *As You Like It*, *The Importance of Being Earnest*, *The Silver Box*, variety shows: *The Ruhleben Follies* and *Ruhleben Empire*, and original camp revues: *Legs and the Woman*, and *Don't Laugh*.

#### *War Time Theatre in England and Germany*

A great surge in recruitment efforts taken by the British Army to strengthen numbers needed for the war. Heavy losses meant an increase in the needs for recruitment. The British government stepped up efforts to campaign for recruits and looked towards theatre to help with their efforts. The age of enlistment was raised to fifty and height restrictions were lowered and a plea to married men to enlist went out. "The result felt both corporately and individually. In the corporate sense theatre companies lost a considerable number of male employees. Individually, artists and musicians felt like many other people, duty bound to respond to 'the call' and hence voluntarily enlist" (Collins 6). Not all theatregoers were eligible to enlist. Their call to duty was to help out in the factories and convince those who were eligible to fight to enlist. Initially, theatre management did not want to change their theatrical material to contain highly patriotic

themes and actively try to encourage British men to enlist for fear of offending foreign patrons. “The many new plays dealing with the current conflict were written and produced in haste, and it is difficult, if not impossible, to separate recruitment from patriotism...” (Collins186). So while theatre’s main job during the war in England was to promote the war efforts in a positive manner, theatre in Ruhleben camp was designed to take detainees’ minds off their incarceration and provide meaning to their lives, especially for those assisting in the productions.

As the war progressed, the list of casualties climbed and the British military stepped up their efforts to recruit any and all able body men for their cause. In the winter of 1915 the British military tried to entice ‘pledges’ to proclaim their duty to go to war if the challenged was thrown to them. Known as the Derby scheme, the military promised to call up men in regards to their grouping: unmarried, married, old, etc. According to Collins, this created a unique problem for actors, managers and theatrical agents.

First, some agents became reluctant to book attested actors as they (the agent) feared that a loss of commission would result. Secondly, as one actor complained in the theatre press, a manager actually sacked all the men of his company who were eligible for enlistment in order ‘to save himself the trouble of getting new men and rehearsing them when the others were called up.’ (23)

One glaring injustice to this plan was that while actors had to give notice before they quit, managers were not obligated to give any type of notice. The controversy of the Derby scheme was short lived as in 1917 the British military enacted the national conscription. The change in recruitment resulted in a shortage of qualified actors on the British stage. This adjustment in recruitment meant that more and more theatre

professionals were leaving theatre to enlist in the war, thus creating a deficiency in qualified personnel on and behind the stage. The gap in the theatre workforce was being filled with unqualified actors and crew. Management would threaten to report actors and crew to the military if they spoke out against working conditions or wages. Increasing pressure from the audience and government meant a new generation of ghastly under qualified personnel on the stage in England during the war years.

Productions were also an important part of camp life for POWs who were looking for a way to escape the realities of camp life and at times, believe it or not, to stave off boredom. Since access to theatre talent on and behind the stage was limited, theatre produced at Ruhleben would be more in line with repertory theatre since their actors would be first time professionals and not have an established career in place to help with promotions of the productions. And while theatre practitioners at Ruhleben often had to rely on their own creativity when it came to making sets and costumes and props were often fashioned with wire and fabric remnants, Collins notes the camps Division Concert Party was often run by former theatre professionals who could use their connections to gather the necessary props and costumes needed for the performances.

The initial goal of entertainment was to provide a way to alleviate tension of the battle weary and injured soldiers. Lena Ashwell, British actress and acting manager, was the first to provide and organize large-scale entertainment for the men. “The dramatic side of the entertainment work increased gradually. The servicemen had become used to the music hall styles, and this had become the accepted norm, but in 1915 Lena Ashwell decided to increase the scope of entertainment on offer” (Collins161) and began offering one-act plays with the help of actress and playwrights Gertrude Jennings. Later, British

actress Penelope Wheeler dared to offer the Greek classic, *Electra of Euripides*. Surprised by the overwhelming positive response to the production by servicemen, Ashwell continued working with Jennings in producing classic dramas, Greek plays, and miracle play *The Three Shepherds*. Just as with the prisoners at Ruhleben, prisoners dealing with the stress of wartime rationing or fighting wanted something a little bit more substantial than variety shows and revues. But unlike soldiers at the front and in the prison camps, theatre back home in England were highly focused on patriotic themes and the creation of plays that bordered on melodramatic. Original plays produced in Ruhleben, such as *Mock Trial*, focused on 'mild protests' of conditions in camp or, as in the case of plays such as *Mrs. McGinty's Lodger* and *Mr. Preedy and the Countess*, produced nostalgic feelings for home and the family life.

The YMCA not only helped entertain soldiers at the front, they also did what they could to help those in the prison camps. Neutral bodies such as the American Embassy and the International Committee of the Red Cross were allowed to visit the camp from time to time as a show of good faith by the German officers. However, the YMCA could only do so much since access to the camps was limited by and at the mercy of German officials. Ruhleben fared better than most camps because of its non-military status. Prisoners at Ruhleben were allowed care packages from friends and family, which allowed for incoming prisoners gain assistance from settled detainees until their care packages start arriving. "The War Office in acknowledgement of the music halls' effect wrote, in September 1914, to the managers of the major variety theaters asking them to including such songs as *Fall In!* in their repertoire... with a view to encourage enlistment" (Collins 10).

Audiences attending performances in England were mostly made up of ladies and men who were obviously too old or injured in some way to enlist in the war. Actors on stage and crews behind the curtain were mostly amateurs and the audience would immediately make it know if they were displeased if they perceived someone working in the theatre to be eligible to enlist in the war. “Partial blame for the vilification of actors was placed on the shoulders of theatre managers who did not make it apparent to the public exactly who, and how many, of the theatre’s staff had enlisted; nor importantly, why those left behind were unfit for military service” (Collins 21).

### *Ruhleben Camp Theatre*

Before the formation of the R.D.S., the formation of the Arts & Science Union (ASU) was created to organize classes, readings, lectures, and debates, followed by the Ruhleben Camp School where over fifty different types of classes were offered on a wide range of topics. On the Arts & Entertainment: Introduction page of the Harvard Law Library online website, the following conclusion based on materials donated to the Ruhleben: A Digital Collection website project was determined:

Organized in January 1915, the Camp School started with a questionnaire addressed to the internees to gather the topics they would like to study. 1,100 forms were returned and pointed to a wide variety of educational interests. The resulting curriculum ranged from elementary level education to university work and beyond. Within six months of its founding, some 500 men were taking some 50 classes. The school grew quickly with over 200 teachers and an estimated enrollment between 1,000 to 1,400 students in 1916. (N.P)

This desire for detainees to remain busy and create art, music, theatre, and engage in sports created a frenzied atmosphere. A vast majority of camp prisoners turned to the theatre to ease their interment. “For as many actors as there were on stage, there were a greater number of internees working in the background... building the sets, making costumes, and promoting shows... At its height, the Ruhleben Dramatic Society ran four shows a week” (Arts & Education: Theatre). All this activity created a heavy demand for space under the grandstand and a plan was devised to create two division, one for sports and one for entertainment, and instruct them to elect representatives to speak on their behalf when it came to reserving

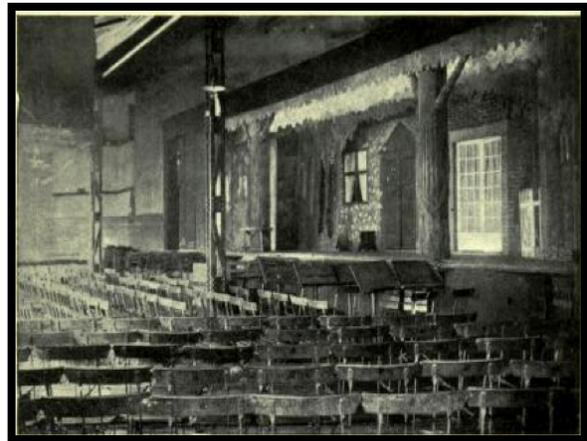


Figure 2 The theatre at Ruhleben Camp. From *The History of Ruhleben* by Joseph Powell

rehearsal or practice time in the space. Furthermore, the entertainment department decided to take it one step further and divide themselves into four divisions. They are as follows:

1. Ruhleben Dramatic Society: Sir Timothy Eden.
2. French and German Dramatic Societies: Mr. Bell.
3. Irish Dramatic Society and Debating Society: Mr. John Boyd.
4. Musical Society: Mr. Bainton

I was able to obtain a copy of the *Rules of the Ruhleben Dramatic Society* from the Harvard Law Library website and would like to summarize them as follows:

A committee comprised of three 'ex officio members' and eight ordinary members oversees the Dramatic society. The ex officio members are: the Chairman, the Secretary, and the Dressmaking Superintendent. The committee shall have power to coopt (appoint) members. If a vacancy on the committee should occur, the society will elect through general meeting a replacement. As for casting, the producer of the particular productions will choose his own cast, but the committee shall choose the play and the producer. Any new potential member must meet one of the following cast criteria: 1. The ability to interpret some part of the play selected by the candidate (done to test candidates degree of understanding of familiar material), 2. The ability to adapt to the play selected by a candidate to which the potential new member is not familiar with (done to test flexibility on part of the potential candidate). Anyone not a member of the society can not take a leading role, but can only perform in minor roles or walk-ons and only after all other members of the society have been considered first. Also, a member can't participate in a play in which he is producing. Once a producer and a play has been selected, the producer will call a meeting with the cast and crew to give them a reading of the play and give them a general outline of his concept before any rehearsals are to take place. The producer will meet with each actor to discuss relevant part until an actor has been chosen. The stage designer shall have full control and responsibility for the design of the set, including directing the construction and lighting of the stage. The set carpenter will work with the stage engineer to ensure proper construction of the set. This description of the society rules is only partial of the requirements needs to be met when producing a play under the Ruhleben Dramatic Society. Any producer or member found

in breach of the rules would be brought before the society and face either censure or expulsion.

Soon after, the Ruhleben Dramatic Society (R.D.S.) was formed and full-length plays, in addition to variety shows, were produced. The society had very specific rules for the creation of theatre. Members of the society elected the committee, the producer would select the piece he wants to direct, every play is to be sanctioned by camp authorities, and members get first priority in casting. More rules existed in regards to rehearsals, set construction, the right to censorship, etc., but the main point being the society did not give the producer supreme authority to act on his own during the rehearsal and production process. The producer and Society had certain obligations towards their members and actors. Even though the new organization meant more elaborate productions could be mounted almost weekly, there was still a steady schedule of variety shows that would allow productions on almost a monthly basis. A photograph of Acting Manager Bert Bernard and Stage Director John Roker standing in front of the Ruhleben theatre: a banner depicting all the productions mounted by the Ruhleben theatre from 1915-1917 hangs in front of the theatre, allowed me to create an initial chronological order of events produced by the R.D.S. Additional information was added from production flyers and playbills uploaded to the Harvard Law Library online database.

The R.D.S. noticed “two dramatic societies ... form[ing], one animated by the spirit of education and the other by the spirit of amusement. They were offered comedy and tragedy, farce and problem-play, pantomime and melodrama, comic opera and revue” (*Music and Drama in the German Prison-Camps*). In a sense, it was the Horatians against the Aristotelians. Prisoners interested in the educational aspect of theatre were those

coming from a higher education and followed the belief of theatre's purpose was to educate and entertain, while those interested in finding comedic relief, or catharsis, came from the idea theater was designed to emit an emotional release; a purging of fear, longing, or hatred of their internment. Since wealthy prisoners insisted on abiding by the pretenses they were still living life as if the war had never occurred, it makes sense that they would want to insist on a 'higher' caliber of theatre than those who come from lesser means. Serious productions included: *Androcles and the Lion* by Shaw, *Strife* by Galsworthy, and *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* by Yeats, amongst others. But it was popular theatre that received the most attention by camp detainees looking to stave off the realities of camp life such as cramped quarters, food rations, and loss of female comforts. Proponents of the dramatic side camp were: Cecil Duncan Jones, Leigh Henry (student under Gordon Craig), H. S. Hatfield, and Norman G. Kapp. Proponents of the lighter side of theatre comprised of less educated prisoners who felt life was difficult enough without the added heaviness of serious theatre.

In addition to the Ruhleben Dramatic Society, three other societies formed: German Dramatic Society, French Dramatic Society, and the Irish Dramatic Society. Time placed upon R.D.S. was greater than other societies due to the nature of their work. Productions took more time to rehearse and needed to be performed over several evenings to ensure everyone in camp had ample opportunity to see the productions. On occasion the R.D.S. would assist other societies in preparation of their productions. The Irish Society, in particular, is interesting due to the traditionally cantankerous relationship between the two groups. The Irish Society happened by chance when R. Maire Smyllie, future Honorary Secretary of the Irish Society, saw a flyer inquiring if anyone in the

camp would like to meet in celebration of St. Patrick's Day. Smyllie decided to inquire into the author of the flyer and they decided to call a mass meeting of all the Irishmen in the Camp. The result of the first mass meeting is summarized by Smyllie in a pamphlet from *The Ruhleben Irish Players First Annual General Meeting*:

The meeting was held, and as is usual on such occasions, nothing was done. A concert was suggested, and I well remember a little wiry, bright-faced individual, whose identity I need not disclose, remarking, "What's the good of a concert without a sketch?" ... A committee, the personnel of which I no longer remember, was formed, and Peter Jackson and I returned to our Barracks to think out a sketch. The result was "The Night of the Wake." (5)

*Night of the Wake* would quickly blossom into a full play and the society would miss their St. Patrick's Day deadline, performing on April 10, 1915. "The success attending the maiden effort was considerable and the play (it would be disrespectful now to term it a sketch!) had twice to be repeated" (*The Ruhleben Irish Players First Annual General Meeting* 7). Unfortunately, I did not discover any material explaining the formation of the German and French Societies and can't comment on the philosophy behind producing plays in the Camp.

This next section of my graduate project will focus on how many productions and what type of productions were created each year by the R.D.S., Irish Society Players, German Society, and French Society. I will also make special note of any original productions created by camp detainees, as I was able to identify over twelve productions (I will not include sketches from variety shows in charts for the breakdown of production

types). Camp writers included, Robert Maire Smyllie, C.H. Brooks, R.C. Carton, R.L. Anderson, and Hugh Miller.

*Ruhleben Theatre Productions 1915*

The first full year of productions produced by camp detainees showed a variety of interest in material, but dramas only account for ten out of the thirty-nine productions. Though an impressive amount of productions were produced, that didn't mean they met with great success. I chose to break down productions by genre, language, and nationality to create a better picture how choices were made each year. The first full year of productions would also include six original productions: *Mock Trial* by Israel Cohen and H. F. Hamlyn, *Mrs. McGinty's Lodger* and *The Night of the Wake* by R. C. Carton, and Christmas pantomime *Cinderella* and revues *Legs and the Woman* and *Don't Laugh* by C. H. Brooks.

	Comedies	Varieties	Revue	Dramas	Opera	Musical Comedy	Christmas Pantomime	
Total	12	8	2	11	4	1	1	39
Language	8 English 1 German 3 French	8 English*	2 English	11 English	2 German 1 French 1 English	1 German	1 English	31 English 4 German 4 French
Nationality	7 English 1 German 3 French 1 Irish	8 English	2 English	3 English 5 Irish** 2 Scottish 1 Norwegian	1 English 2 German 1 French	1 German	1 English	22 English 4 German 4 French 6 Irish 2 Scottish 1 Norwegian

\*One variety show was a minstrel show

\*\*One night contained three short Irish Plays for a total of seven plays over four nights.

The first variety show performed at the camp was called “The Gaiety Variety Theatre.” On January 28<sup>th</sup>, 1915. A variety show such as this would have been easier to arrange than mounting a full-length play. The event itself was probably a great unifying tool since the prisoners were still getting used to their new accommodations. It would have also had a greater chance of amusing the masses since the quick skits would have an

easier time of keeping their attention and if one doesn't like what he sees, then he only has to wait mere moments before a new scene or act would appear to appeal to his senses. The poster was hand drawn, unlike posters from proceeding productions, and focused on comedic performances such as a wrestling contest, songs, and some sort of 'American' auction for a camp relief fund. This seems to be a production mounted before the creation of the R.D.S. Following the "The Gaiety Variety Theatre" in January, camp detainee Israel Cohen makes mention in his book, *The Ruhleben Prison Camp: A Record of Nineteen Months' Internment (1917)*, of a night with poet Burns during the end of Winter/early Spring in the Grand Stand Hall called, *Burns Nacht*, where prisoners were treated to Scottish songs, poetry readings, bagpipes, and a lecture on Burn's works. Cohen also mentions collaborating with H. F. Hamlyn on his original piece titled "Mock Trial." This piece speaks to the condemnation of British citizens at the camp. Another original work produced the first year was by camp detainees by R. C. Carton, *Mr. Preedy and the Countess*. Carton would go on to write several other plays during his incarceration at the camp, until his release in 1918 at the end of the war.

The next two variety shows mounted by the society were met with less than warm feelings. Two flyers titles "Ruhleben Empire Music Hall: April 1915" "Ruhleben Empire Music Hall: May 1915" featured the exact same line-up, and seems to indicate they refer to the same variety show played two months in a row. An article titled, "The Second Variety Show," indicates the second variety show contained a line-up from a flyer titled, "The Ruhleben Empire Co." The first variety show featured contortionist, knife manipulator, a dancer, a comedian, etc. The second variety show listed the same types of performances in their flyer, but, according to an article in the July 1915 edition of the *In*

*Ruhleben Camp* magazine titled, “The Second Variety Show,” refers to specific acts that match the “The Ruhleben Empire Co.” flyer. The second variety show featured a ventriloquist, puppets, dancing ‘girls,’ Pierrot entertainers, and animal costumes. Both shows were mounted by a Mr. Tapp: the second seemed to have fared better than the first as noted in the article by writer, C. H. Brooks. Brooks, who wrote the book for the 1916 Camp production of the Christmas pantomime *Cinderella* and revues *Legs and the Woman* and *Don’t Laugh*, notes that in addition to the ventriloquist act not being up to par, the gentlemen were unable to play convincing women as noted by their too masculine performances. Brooks notes:

The Sketch was an inconsistent trifle. It began with the broad elemental fun, which still, thank God, delights all normal persons; but it tailed off into a rather clumsy exploitation of the erotic and expired confusedly on a side-track... Harry Stafford, as the assistant barber, was extremely funny... Archie Welland was clever, but in his Salome-Dance his appeal to the audience was too masculine and insistent; he amused, but failed to charm. Underwood was a seductive little flapper. (43)

It is unclear the importance of the role the critic played in the camp as all plays were heavily attended in the Camp regardless if successfully received. Other skits included a lion in *The Explorer & the Lion*, *The Tumbling Tennis Players*, *King of the Roller Skates*, *The Mashers and the Maid*, and comedy sketch, *The Hairdresser*.” Other variety shows mounted during the first full year of productions would boast knife manipulators, contortionists, ballooning, American dancers, and lunatic bakers. In addition to variety shows and comedies, audiences were treated to dramas.

After the first few performances mounted at the camp, the first full-length play produced by the R.D.S. was *Androcles and the Lion* by George Bernard Shaw. This play speaks to the clashing of different cultures, the Romans and the Jews as in the play, but perhaps the R.D.S. chose this play in response to the clashing of the British with the German. For every drama produced by the camp, two-three comedies in the forms of variety shows, comedies, and revue were thrown in for a healthy dose of laughter to relieve camp detainees of their miserable existence. In his book, *The Ruhleben Prison Camp: A Record of Nineteen Months' Internment (1917)*, Cohen shares his impressions of the first full-length play produced at the camp:

...our Dramatic Society, which for weeks had been rehearsing Bernard Shaw's *Androcles and the Lion* in a dilapidated shed, at last ventured to present its efforts in the Grand Stand Hall on a stage that had been developed by cunning carpenters out of a refreshment buffet, and that was properly equipped with footlights and curtains. A crowded and sympathetic audience declared the performance, especially of the women's parts, a brilliant success, and the production, which was well staged and costumed, had a three nights' run. (87)

The production of Shaw's *Androcles and the Lion* marked the first time ever this play was produced in English on German soil. Many productions to follow were well received, but pieces such as *Strife* by John Galsworthy were "too somber for the majority of the Camp" (Cohen 161) and, interestingly enough, Shakespeare would be met with caution as producers worried it would not appeal to the masses. The first attempt at Shakespeare was reproducing the forest scenes from *As You Like It*. No matter how aesthetically pleasing the scenes were, audiences did not enjoy the production and

Shakespeare would not be revisited again until his Tercentenary was celebrated the following April of 1916, to at which time *Othello* and *Twelfth Night* were produced with great success. It was not made clear in production reviews as to why the second attempt at producing Shakespeare was successful. Perhaps later success was due to the amateur actors having additional time to hone their craft and greater attention to the production on a whole.

Following Shaw was the 'revue,' *Legs and the Woman*. Producers of the show in good humor decided to create characters modeled after camp personalities, but the title of the piece was misleading and "disappointed the luscious vision certain hot-blooded youths had formed" (Cohen 87). Cohen also contributed to camp productions by writing *Mock Trial* with fellow detainee, H. F. Hamlyn. Their play discusses the issue of breach of promise when a Ruhleben prisoner returns home and is sued by a young woman (presumably for not following through on his promise to marry her due to his incarceration at the camp). Cohen describes the piece as a "glorious note of merriment of our own creation" to combat the dreariness of life during the first winter in camp.

In addition to Shaw and Shakespeare, two other productions enjoyed great favoritism amongst the detainees: the 'revue' *Don't Laugh* and Christmas pantomime *Cinderella*, both books by C. H. Brooks. "The 'revue' was in eight episodes, and its distinguishing feature was a 'beauty chorus,' which was a tribute to the wondrous power of costume, paint, and powder in transforming a number of athletic youths into a bevy of alluring beauties" (Cohen 162). The 'revue' also included the number "Has anyone here seen Mr. Jackson?" alluding to Mr. Jackson from the American Embassy in Berlin who would make frequent request on behalf of the camp prisoners. While performed in jest,

the prisoners did have valid concerns to their treatment and lack of food and provisions while in the camp. The December 27, 1915 pantomime production of *Cinderella* was modified to reflect life at Ruhleben featuring bits such as, *It's a long way to walk to Spandau* and *Ruhleben Girl*. The following is an excerpt of a song from the *Cinderella* playbill called *Stewed Prunes and Prisms*:

Verse: I've studied beauty and I've got a plan. By its correct application I can make a real beauty of every man. Look what I've made of myself! Gentlemen all in the Ruhleben Camp need to have mouths of a much smaller stamp: that is quite easy, it's done this way. Just screw your lips up together and say

Refrain: Stewed Prunes and Prisms. Stewed Prunes and Prisms. That will make your mouth so small. People won't know you've a mouth at all. Don't stop to study 'Ologies or 'isms. Place your lips like a solar eclipse and say... Stewed Prunes and Prisms!

Since Christmas pantomime requires the participants to integrate themselves and local happenings into the productions, participants can feel a greater connection to the piece. Local news and celebrities are integrated into the piece and allow theatregoers have a close relationship to the material being enjoyed. It seems logical that the detainee camp would be allowed a greater freedom in their Christmas pantomime s when it came to criticizing conditions at the camp. "Reports regarding the treatment of prisoners at Ruhleben are conflicting, but life for the civilian internees was less severe than that experienced by military prisoners" (Collins 120). For example, prisoners at Rennbahn were treated like slaves forced to work in salt mines for private companies. Even then,

the prisoners would somehow muster the strength to produce productions as a means to alleviate the mental and physical stress they were under. They were probably a little more caution in how far they would go with the jokes or in the very least, lessened how much the guards knew about their productions. Regardless of treatment of war prisoners in other camps, the prisoners at Ruhleben more than likely would not have been aware of conditions of the other camp during their incarceration and news of their plight would be of little consolation to them. Conflicting treatments of the prisoners by various prison guards allowed the detainees freedom of thought and a sense of security when ‘lightly’ complaining of conditions to outside officials, such as the American Ambassador.

Between writing original Camp productions, Brooks takes the time to reflect the success of a night of *Three Short Plays*, which consisted of *The Ghost of Jerry Bundler* by W. W. Jacobs and Chas Rock, *The Master of the House* by Stanley Houghton, and *The Ballad Monger* by Arthur Shirley:

The R.D.S. was scarcely recognisable in these three plays, the preparations were so quiet and unobtrusive that one lounged up to the Grand Stand patiently benevolent, expecting an evening of occasionally tilted boredom. "For if the R.D.S. don't think much of it," said someone, "then it must be pretty feeble."

(Three One Act Plays 33)

Brooks proceeds to call *The Ghost of Jerry Bundler* an ‘ordinary ghost story’ that was “mildly and pleasantly thrilling.” He also remarked that *The Master of the House* had “no cause to be proud,” but was pleasantly surprised by the excellent character acting by R. L. Anderson in *The Ballad Monger*.

*Ruhleben Theatre Productions 1916*

The second full year of productions saw a slight increase in productions, going from thirty-nine to forty-two, and continued the trend of comedies outperforming all other areas. While comedies almost doubled going from twelve to twenty-three, dramas only increased from eleven to thirteen. Varieties, revues, operas and musical comedies fared even worse. Varieties dropped from eight to three, Operas from four to two, and the elimination of revues, musical comedies and Christmas pantomimes all together.

	Comedies	Varieties	Revues	Dramas	Comic Opera	Musical Comedy	Christmas Pantomime	
Total	23	3	0	13	2	0	1*	42
Language	19 English 4 French	3 English	N/A	11 English 2 German	2 English	N/A	1 English	36 English 2 German 4 French
Nationality	17 English 4 French 1 American 1 Irish	3 English	N/A	8 English 2 German 3 Irish	2 English	N/A	1 English	31 English 2 German 4 French 1 American 4 Irish

\*Christmas Pantomime carried over from 1915 (included in count). No 1916 Christmas Pantomime.

Second year line up included three more productions of G.B Shaw were produced, along with a few Shakespeare, Pinero, and the unique selection of an ‘American’ farce by Englishman Jerome K. Jerome, and the morality play *Everyman*. And original plays and productions, such as *Liberty Hall* by R. C. Carton, *Breaking Ahead* and *Geordie* by Hugh Miller, *The Right Age to Marry* by Harold Tivey, and *What Happened to Jones* by George Broadhurst.

The R.D.S. would also revisit mounting Shakespeare since his Tercentenary celebration is in April. So enthusiastic were the men in camp, many lined up hours before tickets were to go on sale. Missing from last year’s lineup are ‘revues’ and ‘musical comedies’ and the traditional ‘Christmas pantomime.’ I found a note concerning making *Robinson Caruso* the second Christmas pantomime produced by the camp, but

due to objections by certain members of the entertainment committee the idea was scrapped. It seems the camp opted for producing the comic opera, *Mikado*, by Arthur & Sullivan. The opera satires British politics and may explain why detainees chose to produce it since it may have seemed their government was doing little to earn their release from the prison camp.

The addition of two German dramas: *Der Erbforster* and *Alt-Heidelberg*, and, what camp theatre critic H. M. calls an American farce, Jerome K. Jerome's *Passing of the Third Floor Back* were added to the line-up. This would be the only time an "American" piece would take place at the camp. *Passing of the Third Floor Back* entails a group of small-minded people and the arrival of a stranger who tries to redeem them. The play seems fitting given that numerous people in the camp would rather pay others to do chores they deemed beneath them than be frugal with their money. It seems certain groups of people in the camp were desperately trying to hold on to their social status when in reality the only person to have true power in the camp was Baron von Taube; the German outsider in a group of English prisoners condemned to live a restrictive life. But no matter to camp theatre critic H. M., who notes a certain amount of astonishment to audiences' reaction Jerome's play in the April 1916 edition:

I was surprised to find the stalls much more responsive to Jerome's serio-comedy, *The Passing of the Third Floor Back*, than that part of the hall most nearly corresponding to our native gallery. Have we no "gods" in Ruhleben? Or is the clue to the mysterious back benchers who, having come to laugh (on the understanding that the "Third Floor Back" was another wild American, farce) remained to scoff, to be found in the absence of women, and with their total

absence a comparative absence of that higher feminine susceptibility to semi-religious emotionalism of the type exploited in this play? (7)

It seems as though the men in camp were capable of enjoying productions void of the female form. Perhaps it spoke to the audience feeling they were left to their own devices and responsible for their own survival during the war? Either way it is too difficult to ascertain what went on in the minds of the prisoners since there is a lack of published material researching life in the camp and little feedback in terms of ‘letters to the editor’ in camp publications.

*Ruhleben Theatre Productions 1917*

The third full year of productions saw a slight dip in comedies, going from twenty-five to twenty-four, an addition of a revue, and the continuing decline of variety shows: going from eight in the first year, three in the second, and down to one this year. Some gain was made in dramas: showing an increase from eleven the first year, twelve the second year and fifteen this year.

	Comedies	Varieties	Revues	Dramas	Comic Opera	
Total	24	1	1	15	2	44
Language	19 English 2 German 3 French 1 Italian	1 English	1 English	15 English	2 English	38 English 2 German 3 French 1 Italian
Nationality	15 English 2 German 3 French 1 Italian 3 Irish 1 Greek	1 English	1 English	11 English 2 Irish 2 Russian*	2 English	30 English 2 German 3 French 1 Italian 5 Irish 1 Greek 2 Russian

\* One night contained two shortened Russian plays for a total of three plays over two nights

This year for the first and only time a classical Greek play was produced. *The Frogs* by Aristophanes is a story of Dionysus’s incompetent attempt to journey to Hades and bring playwright Euripides back from the dead. It is unclear as to why other classics

were not produced. It may have been due to classical style humor being lost on majority of men in the camp. This night also included J. A. West giving a reading on Aristophanes. It is unclear as to why this play and the addition of two selected works by Tolstoy, *The Cause of it All* and *The Man Who was Dead*, along with Anton Chekov's *The Seagull*, which relies heavily on subtext to tell the story of four romantically and artistically conflicted characters, were added to the line-up this year. In addition to German and French language productions, there was an addition of an Italian comedy along with a Greek comedy and Russian dramas (performed in English).

The final performance of the year was not a traditional Christmas pantomime as performed last year. Instead, following the controversy of performing *Robinson Caruso*, the play chosen to end the year was *The Gondoliers* by Gilbert and Sullivan. The comic opera centers on the case of mistaken identity when a drunken gondolier misplaces a young prince heir to the throne of the fictional town of Barataria. It is unclear as to why



Figure 3 Photograph -*The Gondoliers* -R.D.S. Production 1917 [Maurice Ettinghausen Collection]

the theatre committee decided against performing *Robinson Caruso*. For the most part, the detainees seemed to respond to the lighter side of productions that did not incorporate heavy political or patriotic themes. Audiences were more inclined to respond to performances that took their minds off of the war and allowed them to forget their situation and separation from their loved ones.

### *Ruhleben Theatre Productions 1918*

The last and final year of theatre production we begin to see a slow down of productions. Prior years averaged forty productions, but in the final year of the camp only thirty productions were mounted. During the first year of the role, detainees soon realized there would not be a quick end to the war and were able to settle in to their new roles in camp as theatre professionals. This allowed them to keep themselves busy and focused on producing a steady flow of entertainment. It seems this focus shifted during the final year of interment and the Americans entered the war in 1917 and efforts to end the conflict were being stepped up. An embargo was placed against Germany and severely cutting off supplies to German citizens and to Camp detainees. While the prisoners were able to ration their supplies, German officers overseeing the camp were late in their efforts and found themselves wanting for food and supplies.

Detainees began to see a potential end to the war and lost focus on producing in the early part of 1918. For the first time, the number of dramas is about equal to the number of comedies and variety shows. The British placed embargos on the German people and this greatly affected their ability to feed themselves and, for the first time, camp detainees felt the pinch themselves. Although supplies were increasingly harder to

come by, the detainees seemed to fare better than the German people and were for the first time better off than them on the whole.

	Comedies	Varieties	Dramas	Musical Comedies	
Total	11*	4	13	1	30
Language	9 English 2 French 1 Italian	4 English	9 English 1 German 3 French	1 English	23 English 5 French 1 German 1 Italian
Nationality	9 English 2 French 1 Italian	4 English	9 English 1 German 3 French	1 English	23 English 5 French 1 German 1 Italian

\*The Comedy *Jack Straw* was rehearsed but not performed due to the end of the war on November 11<sup>th</sup>, 1918.

For the months of January and February three to four plays a month were produced. In March, six plays were produced, but from April to May less than three plays a month were produced in anticipation of the end of the war in November.

Also, for the final year of productions, I only found one original play, *Mr. Hopkinson*, an original farcical comedy by R. C. Carton, and with stage direction by John Roker. The play is a comedy of high society, featuring Dukes, Earls, and ladies. The final play in development at the camp, *Jack Straw*, was abandoned at the announcement that the war had ended and thus did not make it to opening night. While the release of the detainees at Ruhleben camp meant production came to an abrupt halt, productions at the front continued due to the military's slow withdrawal getting the troops home. Growing unrest amongst the men created new difficulties for theatre professionals as the men were tired of patriotic productions and wanted to forget about the war and get back home to loved ones.

#### IV. ACTORS, COSTUMES, and CREATING A SCENE

Theatre in England at the front faced a shortage of men due to heavy recruiting efforts by the military. While productions outside of the camp suffered from a lack of men, that did not mean management shied away from producing plays containing men and often supplemented the parts by adding women in breeches roles. Similar to Lena Ashwell problems filling roles in productions such as Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, theatre director Cicely Hamilton of the repertory company at Abberville also faced similar obstacles when trying to mount productions such as Shakespeare's *Much Ado about Nothing*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, and Sheridan's *The School for Scandal*. Productions at home in England and at the front had the 'ubiquitous problem concerning lack of male actors meant the Sheridan comedy, like the Shakespearian dramas, had to be acted in scenes rather in full" (Collins165). Shortage of men outside the camp was the exact opposite problem in Ruhleben. In Ruhleben, all parts had to be played by male actors. A huge amount of talent went into creating a convincing woman that went beyond dresses and make-up. Designers and artists took their responsibilities seriously in representing the female form. Any lack of detail was swiftly pointed out by the audience and not appreciated.

Like so many other POW camps, civilian or military, theatre practitioners prided themselves with generating professional theatrical productions and advertisements that would rival any professional establishment, such as the Abbey Theatre in England. In total, the R.D.S, Irish Players, French and German Societies would produce, to various successful degrees, over 154 different productions during the war. According to Collins:

The reason for the success of the artist endeavors was that per capita there was more artistic expertise at Ruhleben than at any military camp. A number of professional actors and musicians... were stranded, or chose to remain... The result was they were collected, incarcerated and concentrated all in one place, on the Continent in 1914. This allowed the theatre to operate without hindrance on a repertory basis, and a new production was mounted practically every week. (121)

### *Actors*

The four societies not only each had their own committee captain who oversaw the society, but also acted in several plays. Author Israel Cohn points out that in camp “only a few of the actors had had any professional experience, though most of the amateurs, by the time they leave Ruhleben, will begin to feel like real professionals” (Cohen 180). This seems to point to either a lack of British actors working in Germany or that the Germans saw fit to let British actors return home seeing they posed no threat. Which ever the case may be there seemed to have been a growing appreciation for the developing talents of the non-professional actors. Especially for anyone who could make a convincing woman as the R.D.S. did not let the lack of females in camp hinder their choice of plays. Another interesting note is that in 1916 there was an actor strike. During the production of *Playboy of the Western World*, Smyllie comments, “It is unnecessary for me to enter into details with regards to the causes of the strike. Suffice it to say that we fell into line with other societies, and that the chief result... was the fact that Mr. John Boyd was offered a seat upon the new Entertainments Committee as our representative...” (*The Ruhleben Irish Players First Annual General Meeting* 11). According to a publishing in the *Camp Ruhleben* “Mr. Thorpe informed us that it was

never the idea that all bodies working for the entertainment of the Camp should be represented on the Committee and he thought that such bodies and the Camp as a whole might rely upon the fairness of the Committee in dealing with all questions which came before them without bias. He himself, for instance, was a member of the R.D.S., but that would have no influence upon his actions as Chairman of the Committee” (*Cheaper Entertainments* 3). Having Boyd act as the Irish Players representative on the Entertainment Committee would ensure a voice for the Irish in a theatre society dominated by the British. Following the production of *Playboy of the Western World*, the Irish Players decided to select George Bernard Shaw’s *John Bull’s other Island*. The selection of this play would induce the Irish players to make an exception to the casting of two Englishmen: George Merritt and John McLaren. Due to the success of the men in their roles, they were bestowed with an honorary membership in the Irish Players.

In addition to George Merritt, other popular players for the R.D.S., based on a

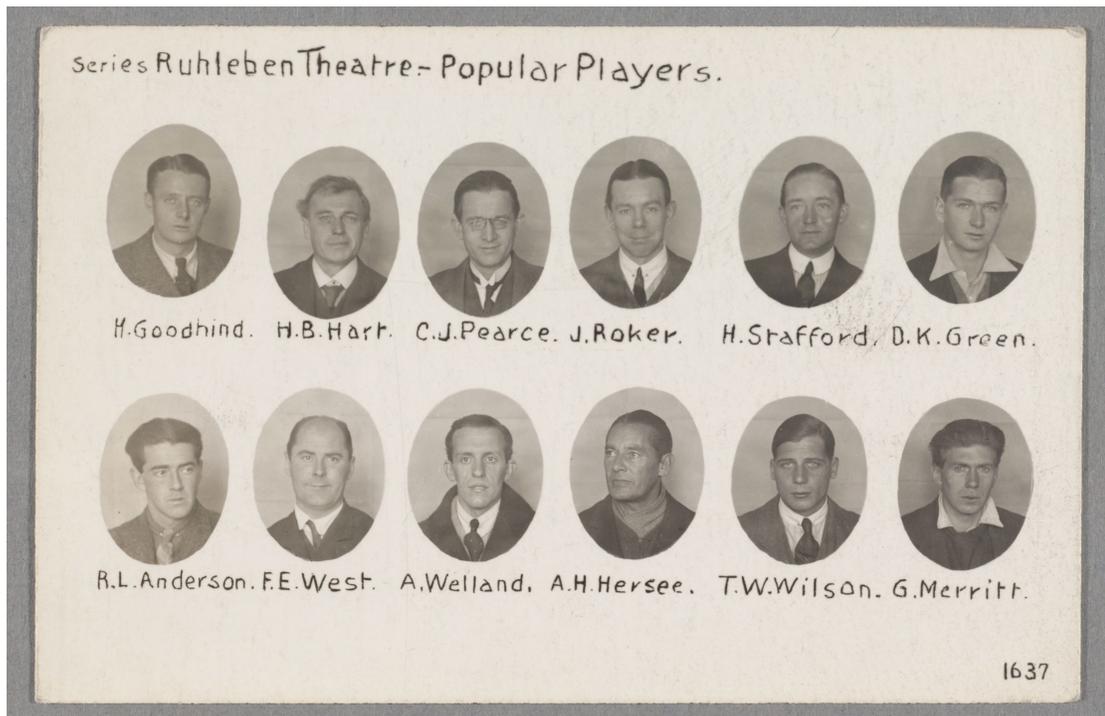


Figure 4 Ruhleben Theatre-Popular players [Maurice Ettinghausen]

photograph indicating the men as such, were: Harold Goodhind, H. B. Heart, C. J. Pearce, John Roker, H. Strafford, Desmond K. Greene, R. L. Anderson, F. E. West, W. Welland A. H. Hersee, T. W. Wilson, and Ruhleben Irish Players were: W. Jackson, H. B. Greenwood, H. H. Lee, H. H. Alexander, R. G. Buckley, B. McCourt, W. J. Bray, G. P. Russell, R. D. Carly, J. M. Boyd, A. G. Wilson, R. M. Smyllie, and Desmond K. Greene.



Figure 5 D. K. Greene as 'Dora' in *Diplomacy* [Maurice Ettinghausen Collection]

One prison detainee, Desmond K. Greene, stood out in his ability to transform into a woman and would participate in over fifteen productions. Not only was he a 'popular player' in the R.D.S., he was also a member of the Irish. Greene's busy schedule included five Irish productions: *Mrs. McGinty's Lodger*, *Playboy of the Western World*, *John Bull's Other Island*, *Conn The Shaughraun*, and *the Night of the Wake*, and at least nine 'English' R.D.S. productions, including: *Diplomacy*, *Dandy Dick*, *Betsy*, *The Brixton Burglary*, *The Tenth Man*, *Driven*, *Within the Law*, *The Magistrate*, and *Eliza Comes to Stay*, and one German production, *Das Konzert*. Smyllie refers to Greene as a local celebrity in the publication of the *Ruhleben Irish Players First Annual General Meeting*, along with actors Merritt, Stafford, and Wilson, he is quick to include the doubting remarks made by one local critic to the contrary of the society, and audience, opinion that the production of *John Bull's Other Island* was a success:

...having inadvertently found a premature finis in the preceding act. We, amongst other people, are still old-fashioned enough, to regard any love story in a play as the pivot about which the actions will turn and when the curtain falls on a mystic-political discussion, minus the heroine, we are apt to feel a little taken in. Much of the humour was well accented, especially... the scene between Merritt and Greene... It's a pity Greene cannot screw his voice up an interval: its rumble, pitched about an octave below that of any male character presented on the stage, is a trifle uncanny, and gives the lie to a most prepossessing appearance. (15)

It seems as though the society, and perhaps the public, did not take to seriously the critiques of others and found no reason to defend the society and the actors, nor their choice of plays.

Other names that came up constantly assuming female roles were Harold Goodhind, T. Luff, and Paul Shirvile who were members of the French society. Goodhind was in seven French productions: *La Petite Chocolatiere*, *Le Controleur des Wagons-lit*, *On Opere san Douleur*, *L'Anglais tel qu'on le parle*, *Mon Bebe*, *Mlle Josette ma femme*, and *Ma Tante d'Honfleur*, one German production: *Der Erbforster*, and was a 'popular player' with the R. D. S. and acted in over nine productions with them, including: *Mr. Preedy and the Countess*, *The Silver Box*, *Cinderella*, *The Importance of Being Earnest*, *The Right Age to Marry*, *Ann*, *Fanny's First Play*, *The Witness for the Defense*, *The Marriage of Kitty*,

Actors sometimes took on additional roles such as those of designer, producer or and manager. The multi-talented Robert Smyllie wrote two original camp plays: *The Night of the Wake*, in which he acted, *Mrs. McGinty's Lodger* and was in numerous

plays, including three Irish plays *Playboy of the Western World*, *John Bull's Other Island*, and *the Night of the Wake*, and one German society play *Die Grosstadtluft*. It appears as though it wasn't perceived to be a problem by cast and crew if the producer/director of the play also assumed one of the roles. Another example of theatre practitioners assuming multiple roles is author and actor H. A. Bell. Not only did Bell act in several of their productions in male roles, he was also committee head of the French and German societies. While some actors and crews may not see a problem arising from a producer assuming multiple roles, occasions also arise in traditional theatre situations outside of the Camp so it would make sense that they may have been people involved in productions who did not see those assuming dual roles as a good thing.

Standout performances were noted in the camp magazines, specifically those by producer and actor H. G. Hopkirk. An article written for *In Ruhleben* notes that "Mr. Hopkirk's rendering of Othello was a powerful and carefully thought-out study, which realised both as regards method and professional finish the expectations of those who had seen this accomplished actor in "*L'Enfant Prodigue*"(Our Theatrical Notes 33).

### *Costumes*

In regards to material documenting how the costumes, props and sets were created, I found very little material explaining processes taken by theatre artist. The photographic evidence is clear that great care was taken to create authentic costumes, props and sets that would not only sufficiently reflect the style of plays, but could also transform male actors into believable female characters and talented costumiers were found amongst the men in Ruhleben, most notably, that of Mr. Archibald Welland, Dr. Lechmere, and Mr. Pat Caleb.

Not only were the majority of articles published in camp magazines were vague when describing the looks of sets or how props and costumes were made, but one article in particular that was designed to explore the costume and prop making process failed to identify which productions the author was referring to. While cross dressing may fall into the popular theatre category, the gender swapping done for productions was done out of necessity to fill the female roles and the utmost care was taken to more than satisfy the requirements for the character. As noted in the July 1915 edition of the *In Ruhleben Camp* magazine, “A member enters blushing bearing two chemises... adorned with blue and red ribbon and a pair of petticoats... with frillies. These he explains his landlady packed in his bag by mistake” (Spintho 28).

The men took their roles very seriously and worked meticulously to get everything right from the costumes down to the hair and makeup. When on a particular production costumiers forgot to order hairpins, “the carpenter comes nobly to the rescue



Figure 6 Production of *Le Monde où l'on s'ennuie*, Ruhleben Theatre, Jan. 30-Feb. 3 1918. [Maurice Ettinghausen Collection]

and with his wire cutters and a Huntley and Palmer's biscuit tin, produces a dozen or so hair-pins-not exactly things of beauty, but they do hold the hair together and the heroin's coiffure is all the heart could desire" (Spintho 28). Through trial and error, the costuming department learns to properly tailor a dress for their leading 'ladies.' The men did not let their lack of experience in dressmaking interfere with them creating quality clothing for the cast. "The second Irish play, *Mrs. McGinty's Lodger*, was dressed by Mr. Pat Caleb, who despite the fact that this was his first attempt in dressmaking direction, turned out six charming frocks and petticoats and one cape. The total cost was M. 63, and it is Mr. Caleb's boast that not a single pin was necessary to aid his dresses in their sit." (Powell 186). Unfortunately, it was not possible to obtain photographs of this particular production, but as seen by *figure 7* on the preceding page the costumiers paid attention to every little detail and did not merely stop at constructing appropriate costumes for their actors. For the 'women', appropriate wigs were either sometimes made or obtained through outside sources, such as rental houses in Berlin or through donations from theatres back home in England, along with jewelry to complete an ensemble.

The try-on is disappointing for the skirt does not 'hang'. In our happy Camp fashion, the lady's figure is altered a little, taken down here, added to a little there. Just a touch or two of make up is irresistible for all are keen on seeing the finished article and there we have a blushing Christian maid of Nero's time, a little minx of a mill-girl, a robust lady of the middle class, a flighty society dame, a lady explorer or the darling of her old daddy's heart, as the case may be. (Spintho 28)

The 1915 December publication of, “In Ruhleben Camp,” mentions in “The Theatre” section a production of *The Prodigal Son* by Michel Carre, musical accompaniment by A. Wormser, is proclaimed to have met with great success, unlike some of the other productions being performed at that time. “Some of the people who enjoyed ‘Preedy’ [Preedy and the Countess] did not care for ‘My Pal Jerry’ and the majority of both audiences were bored to death by ‘The Master Builder’ but ‘The Prodigal Son’ appealed to all” (Barton 6). Though the article does not mention in detail how costumes were constructed, artist rendering of the production accompanied the publication for scrutiny. The skullcap depicted in *figure 7* suggests the portrayal of Jean-Gaspard Deburau’s incarnation of Pierrot, who “changed the robust simpleton of the commedia dell’arte figure Pierrot to the poignant character, dressed in baggy white costume, whose childlike manner, often as the optimistic but disappointed lover, charmed audiences and critics alike” (Jean-Gaspard Deburau). Unlike Deburau, the Pierrot pictured from the *Prodigal Son* does wear a frilly collar.

### *Creating a Scene*

#### The Grand Stand Hall

Theatre could accommodate about five hundred prisoners on the ground floor, plus a small raised area where military and prominent guests could sit. Cohen describes the theatre and cost for admission:



Figure 7 Artist rendering, “The Prodigal Son & the Fatted Calf”.  
Publication: “In Ruhleben Camp.” Issue: December 1915.

...a modest proscenium and adequate wings, and not only were there electric footlights, but lime lights-red, white, and blue-were flashed from a box suspended from the ceiling above the heads of the audience. All the seats, with the exception of a few, were numbered, and they were bought in advance at prices ranging from twenty to seventy-five pfennige... at the adjoin box-office, where plans of the stall, circles, and pits were shown. (158)

Acting Manager Bert Bernard and Stage Director John Roker, formerly ballet master at the Metropol Theatre in Berlin, oversaw much of the theatre productions. “[Roker] acted as ballet-master at Ruhleben instead, and gave the camp a genuine surprise by introducing a chorus of



Figure 8 Ruhleben Theatre Stage Director's Office [Maurice Ettinghausen Collection]

‘show girls,’ led by a chief soubrette in the person of Mr. Alex Underwood” (Powell 182-183). Many of the men pulled double duty: going from director, designer, and sometimes to actor. Leigh Henry, an associate of Gordon Craig, designed many shows including Shakespeare’s *Twelfth Night* where in August 1916 edition of camp magazine *In Ruhleben*, an opinion piece illuminates that “Mr. Henry’s scenic and costume designs projected atmospheres which were pure and transparent, being immediately felt without any troubling adjustment of the mind” (Our Theatrical Notes 33). The lengths designers and construction crews went to in order to create appropriate sets is unclear as most comments in regards to plays had to do with the success of the acting or play itself. Most



Figure 9 Ruhleben Theatre Prompt Corner & Switch Board [Maurice Ettinghausen

information on how the sets looked or what working conditions consisted of would need to be ascertained through camp photographs. Figures 9-10 prove that management though it important enough to carve out designated spaces for each task needed for a performance. Figure 9 illustrates that efforts were made to create appropriate lighting for each production and the use of a switchboard to perhaps attempt special lighting effects. But, Critic H. M.

passes his doubts to the audience in his review of *Passing of the Third Floor Back* to their appropriate use. H. M. declares the confusing pattern of lighting by designers was irresponsible and “seemed most of the time undecided as to whether it was sun-lit day or lamplit, evening: or were their antics of the red shaded lamp merely gratis supernatural effects...” (*Our Theatrical Notes* 7). H.M. also points out in his critique that management of the play changed hands shortly before the opening of the play and this might have lent to the lack of its success in his opinion. He continues to also critique the layout of the setting itself and commented that the set was “so crowded that crossings became lengthy labyrinthine windings, and several pieces, notably the table and the writing desk, were so inconveniently place that all the action about them was invisible to half the audience” (*Our Theatrical Notes* 7-8).



Figure10 Ruhleben Theatre Properties Department [Maurice Ettinghausen Collection]

## V. ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT

Every year, the Ruhleben Theatre put on an astounding number of productions. Averaging 39 productions a year for a total of 154 productions from 1915-1918. The productions were moneymaking events that generated incomes for hundreds of theatre professionals ranging from actors, managers, set designers, and advertisers. The advertising department at the Camp played a very important role in letting prisoners know what productions were in the works and currently playing. Each production took advantage of several different methods of advertising, ranging from flyers, playbills, programmes and posters. The attention to detail and level of execution displayed a great care taken by the advertising department and exhibited a level of skill that suggests real talent for the job.

The Ruhleben advertising department took great care in commissioning professional posters and paintings from talented artists in the Camp (*fig. 11*). The photo



Figure 11 Ruhleben Theatre - Advertising Department, Jan. 1918 [Maurice Ettinghausen Collection]

shows advertising executives proudly standing next to full size paintings advertising the *Ruhleben Follies* that were probably hung at the theatre or box office to promote interest in the productions. The collection communicates the various acts taking place during the follies and seems to heavily promote Pierrot characters in both male and female form, and would include dancing, singing, and animals acts. In addition to the posters, flyers or day of programmes were utilized as well as post card size advertisements that could be handed out prior to the performance and served as a reminder for prisoners to purchase their tickets.

The first flyer created for Ruhleben Theatre was for a “The Gaiety Variety Theatre” in January 1915, just a few short months after the camps inception. The flyer shows great care taken by the artist to create a fun and enticing advertisement for the variety show. The following information is what I could glean from it. It appears the artist chose to use colored pencils on a white piece of paper expressing locations and

types of acts that will be showcased. The poster is primarily done up in colors of red, blue, white, and black and exhibits a dancing clown in the upper right hand corner wearing baggy pants, a ruffled collar and a conical cap hanging precariously from his head. Bottom left, the haunting image of a beheaded man stands holding his own head in one hand and a bloody machete in the other. Acts listed include “Egyptian Mysteries,” a wresting contest, songs, and a circus act. And the time and place is

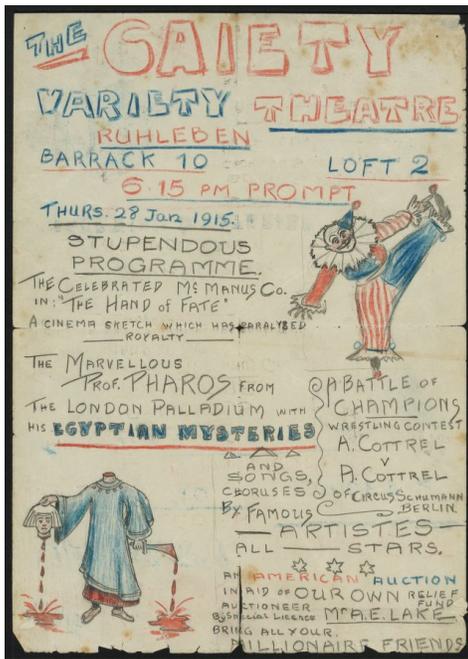


Figure 12 Flyer for *The Gaiety Variety Theatre* 1915 [Maurice Ettinghausen Collection]

listed on the upper left corner. The event must have been a great success because starting in March that same year; almost monthly variety shows were produced. The very first flyer made was colorful and hand-drawn and seems to have been created with crayons or colored pencils. For the most part, flyers that followed were typed and contained simplistic drawings of either black or blue ink. Any color used came from printing on colored paper. An exception came from the original comedy, *Mr. Preedy and the Countess*. The flyer only contained one drawn picture

of a crown, but also contained what seemed to be hand written production information in various colors, such as purple, blue, and yellow. Another programme for the August 1915 *Ruhleben Empire* Variety Show (fig. 13) is also a colorful advertisement, but instead of using colored pencils it seems to be prepared this time with watercolor paints in an attempt to appear more sophisticated. The programme uses rich colors of blue, purple, and yellow, but doesn't contain any figures such as clowns as we saw in the 'Gaiety' poster. Also,

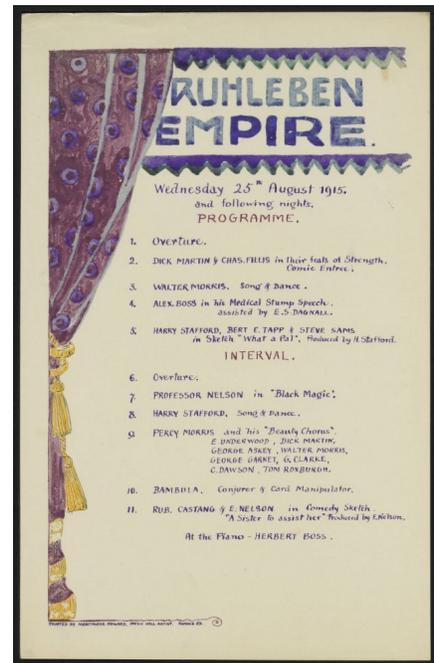


Figure 13 Programme for the August 1915 *Ruhleben Empire* variety show. [Maurice Ettinghausen Collection]

the fonts are more simplistic and easier to read than the handwritten 'Gaiety.'

Programmes for the variety shows (fig. 12) were notably different in the proceeding years; they contained typed information and simplistic drawings showcasing the night's lineup.

Even though the majority of flyers were simplistic in nature and lacked the colorful artistry of the 'Gaiety' flyer, that does not mean they were completely void of

artistic merit. The one sheet flyers, referred to as ‘programme’ on many of them, seemed to pull double duty; announcing the show and providing basic information, such as: actors, characters, producers, and designers. From what has been made available on the Harvard Law Library website, it seems that only productions including songs or unfamiliar material would warrant a more in depth playbill for the evening’s events.

Also, each production would utilize different forms of advertising. *Figure 14* is a flyer or leaflet printed two handouts to a page and designed to give basic information of a production, *Mrs. McGinty’s Lodger* in this case, in an early attempt to start drumming up interest. *Figure 15* would more than likely be handed out at the time of the performance as it gives further information, such as the actors and roles they are to play, but doesn’t do into depth in regards to biographies or scene information. *Figures 16 and 17* (example of a multiple page programme) are more recognizable as traditional playbills that would be handed out during a performance. It contains information regarding scenes and a short description of locations along with the same information as provided in a programme. The reason as to why the two different programs may stem from *Mrs. McGinty’s Lodger* being the only performance undertaken on that night in comparison to a programme for a night of three Irish plays: *Spreading the News*, *The Rising of the Moon*, and *Cathleen Ni Houlihan*. Whatever the case may be, there is adequate proof that the advertising department hand its hands full coming up with various marketing materials for each and every production.



Figure 14 Flyers or post cards advertising The Irish Players performance of Mrs. McGinty's Lodger [Maurice Ettinghausen Collection]

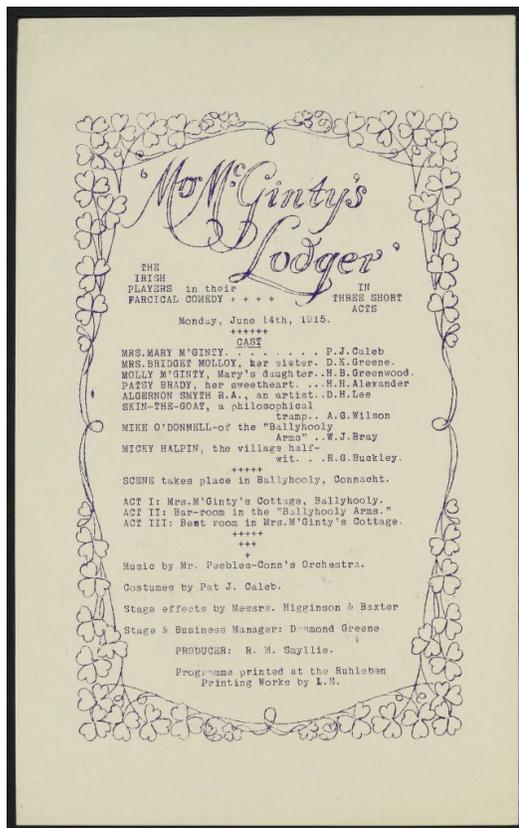
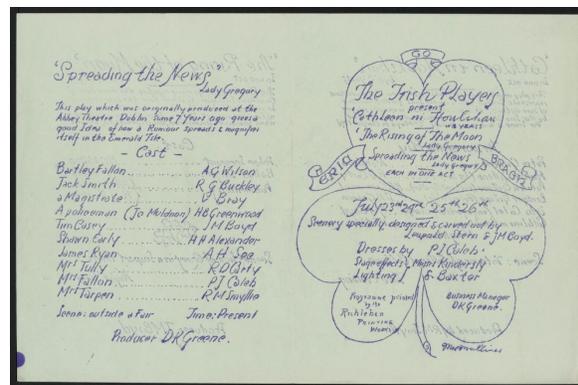
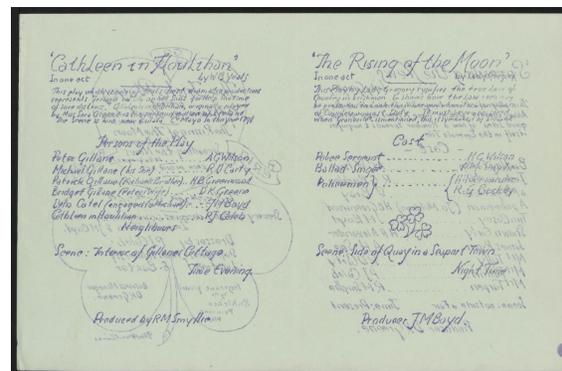


Figure 15 Programme for Mrs. McGinty's Lodger [Maurice Ettinghausen Collection]



Figures 16 Playbill for the Irish Players performance of a night of 'Three Short Irish Plays' 1 of 2. [Maurice Ettinghausen Collection]



Figures 17 Playbill for the Irish Players performance of a night of 'Three Short Irish Plays' 2 of 2. [Maurice Ettinghausen Collection]

## CONCLUSION

In April 1917 the United States declared war on Germany and officially entered the war. As a result of their involvement, the welfare of the Camp fell to the Netherlands Minister, Baron Gevers. The Dutch would take their position just as seriously as the American Ambassador and life in the Camp would continue to run smoothly until the end of the War in November of 1918. In July of 1918 management within the Camp became unsettled and Camp Captain Joseph Powell tendered his resignation. The Dutch minister quickly jumped in to aid in the settlement of unrest amongst the prisoners and his aid, a constitution for the prisoners was drafted, a unique occurrence in the history of war. “The new articles were accepted by the camp, the German military authorities, and the Netherlands Legation acting on behalf of the British Government...” (Powell 223). The Minister’s role would be short lived. This would be the time when an embargo was placed against Germany in the attempt to see an end to the war. For the first time the prisoners in the camp would begin to feel the pinch of war and support from home would come to a stop as all goods would be forbidden to enter German land. Detainees, annoyed by the situation, would make do by rationing supplies for the first time since entering the camp. In just a few months, in November, the war would come to an end and the Camp Ruhleben would be no more. With the mass exodus of the inmates, Germans quickly moved into the camp and pillaged whatever supplies they could find.

Theatre produced during the war in England was designed to raise money and increase enlistment rates for the military. Actors and practitioners were expected to do their duty to support the war efforts and were often asked to perform for free. At the end

of the war, many soldiers found themselves ‘stranded’ at the front due to the slow retreat by the military and efforts to get the men home. Now that the threat of imitate death was removed, the soldiers found themselves with nothing but entertainment to occupy themselves as they try to remain patient while waiting to be reunited with their loved ones back home.

The detainees in Ruhleben Camp prove there will always be a need for theatre. Human nature seems to dictate that no matter what predicament we may find ourselves in, we will find a way to express ourselves. The need to emulate imaginary characters, sing, dance, act out our inner most fears and desires will always be present and we will always somehow manage to find a way to reach a mere moment of peace regardless of how long it may last. While researching for this project, I quickly realized that I would need to organize the best I could all of the dates and names of the productions undertaken at Ruhleben during the war. I realized that there is not one single prescription for what cures an ailing soul. By delving into past publications from the camp, I got a strong sense of who the detainees were and just how important their theatre was to them. Not only did the publications list upcoming productions, but they also commented on what it took to make the costumes, transform male actors into females, and give honest criticism in regards to how successful the actors where in their roles. Although scarce in numbers, letters to the editor also proved to be just as informative and theatre goers were well versed in what they were seeing and gave honest and critical feedback that was sure to be of some influence when it came time to select upcoming pieces. I do know all productions were greeted as a welcoming distraction to life in the camp. There were also a lot of serious or proper comedies such as *Maria Magdalena* and *The Importance of*

*Being Earnest*. At this point, it would be difficult to determine if the detainees benefited more from traditional shows or from popular shows. What I can say for certain, whatever the type of production the camp was mounting, the Dramatic Society of Ruhleben would always put their best foot forward and create the best productions they could with what limited resources they had available to them at the time.

The pattern of production selection both inside and outside of the camp points towards theatre being dependent on sociological, economic, and political issues being faced at the time of production. For the people in England during the war, theatre served a patriotic and propaganda role creating patriotism in the audience and promoting the enlistment of men. Once war was in full swing, theatre was used to keep the spirits of those left behind and trying to survive rationing and bombings to remain positive that their side would prevail. Similar efforts were being made at the front where soldiers were concerned. The fear of death and the missing of loved ones, theatre served to keep the men motivated and strong. For the prisoners in Camp Ruhleben, theatre served to give them meaning and act as a distraction to the mundane routine of their daily lives and help them forget about not knowing when they would be able to return home.

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## Appendix A: Production Schedule for 1915

No.	Year: 1915	Name	Author	Type
1	Jan. 28 <sup>th</sup>	Gaiety Variety Show	Various	Variety
2	March 26 <sup>th</sup>	Mock Trial	Israel Cohen and H.F. Hamlyn	Original Drama/Comedy?
3	March 28 <sup>th</sup>	Androcles and the Lion	G.B Shaw	Drama
4	April 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Legs and the Woman	C.H. Brooks?	Revue
5	April 5 <sup>th</sup>	Drawing Room	Faircloth, Roberts & Maurice	Minstrel Show
6	April 17 <sup>th</sup>	Strife	John Galsworthy	Drama
7	April 17-20 <sup>th</sup> 1915 Appx.	The Night of the Wake	Robert Maire Smyllie and William Jackson	Original Irish Drama
8	April 23 <sup>rd</sup>	As You Like It	Shakespeare	Comedy
9	April 24 <sup>th</sup>	Ruhleben Empire Music Hall	N/A	Variety Show
10	May 8-11 <sup>th</sup>	Don't Laugh	N/A	Revue
11	May 15 <sup>th</sup>	Captain Brassbound's Conversion	G.B Shaw	Drama
12	May 27 <sup>th</sup>	Phipps The Fifth Commandment The Dear Departed	Short plays by Stanley Houghton	Drama
13	May?	Ruhleben Empire Music Hall	N/A	Variety Show
14	June 1 <sup>st</sup>	Der Fidele Bauer	Viktor Leon	German Operetta- musical comedy
15	June 7 <sup>th</sup>	As You Like It	Shakespeare	Comedy
16	June 14 <sup>th</sup>	Mrs. McGinty's Lodger	Robert Maire Smyllie	Original Comedy
17	June 24 <sup>th</sup>	Ruhleben Empire Co.	N/A	Variety Show
18	June 30 <sup>th</sup>	The Speckled Band	A. Conon Doyle	Drama
19	June?	The Merry Peasant	Viktor Leon	German Musical Comedy
20	July 3 <sup>rd</sup>	The Speckled Band	A. Conon Doyle	Drama
21	July 8 <sup>th</sup>	The Private Secretary	Charles Hawtrey	Farcical Comedy
22	July 15-18 <sup>th</sup>	Der Graf Von Luxembourg	A.M. Willner and Robert Bodanzky	German comic Operetta
23	July 20-21	An Evening with Dickens	Charles Dickens	Drama
24	July 25 <sup>th</sup>	Three Short Irish Plays -Cathleen Ni Houlihan -The Rising of the Moon -The Spreading of News	W. B. Yeats Lady Gregory Lady Gregory	Drama
25	August 4 <sup>th</sup>	The Silver Box	John Galsworthy	Comedy
26	August 11-12 <sup>th</sup>	Doktor Klaus	Adolph L'Arronge	German Comedy
27	August 25 <sup>th</sup>	Ruhleben Empire	N/A	Variety Show
28	Sept. 2 <sup>nd</sup>	Ruhleben Empire	N/A	Variety Show
29	Sept. 23 <sup>rd</sup>	Mr. Preedy and the Countess	R. C. Carton	Comedy
30	Oct. 4 <sup>th</sup>	My Pal Jerry	Unknown	Music Hall Sketch
31	Oct. 28 <sup>th</sup>	On Opere Sans Douleur		French Comedy
32	Oct. 28 <sup>th</sup>	L' Anglais tel Qu'on Le Parle	Tristan Bernard	French Comedy
33	Oct. 23 <sup>rd</sup>	Ruhleben Hippodrome	N/A	Variety Show
34	Nov. 11 <sup>th</sup>	L'enfant Prodigue	M. Carre André Adolphe Toussaint Wormser	Grand French Opera Comedy
35	Nov. 18 <sup>th</sup>	Trial by Jury	Gilbert & Sullivan	English Comic Opera
36	Nov. 25 <sup>th</sup>	Master Builder	Henrik Ibsen	Drama
37	Dec. 2 <sup>nd</sup>	The Importance of Being Earnest	Oscar Wilde	Comedy
38	Dec. 9 <sup>th</sup>	La Petite Chocolatier	Paul Gavault	French Comedy
39	Dec. 28 <sup>th</sup>	Cinderella	Book by C.H. Brooks	Original Christmas Pantomime

## Appendix B: Production Schedule for 1916

No.	Year: 1916	Name	Author	Type
1	Jan. 9 <sup>th</sup>	Cinderella	Book by C.H. Brooks	Christmas Pantomime
2	Jan. 10 <sup>th</sup>	Playboy of the Western World	John Millington Synge	Irish Drama
3	Jan. 19 <sup>th</sup>	Der Erbforster	Otto Ludwig	German Drama
4	Feb. 2 <sup>nd</sup>	The Great Adventure	Arnold Bennett	Comedy
5	Feb. 9 <sup>th</sup>	Local one-act plays -Breaking Ahead -Geordie -The Right Age to Marry	by Hugh Miller by Hugh Miller by Harold Tivey	Original Comedy?
6	Feb. 16 <sup>th</sup>	What Happened to Jones?	George Broadhurst	Original Farce
7	March 1 <sup>st</sup>	Ruhleben Empire		Variety Show
8	March 8 <sup>th</sup>	Passing of the Third Floor Back	Jerome K. Jerome	American Farce
9	March 15 <sup>th</sup>	John Bull's Other Island	George B. Shaw	Irish Drama
10	March 29 <sup>th</sup>	Alias Jimmy Valentine	Paul Armstrong	Drama
11	April 5 <sup>th</sup>	Le Contrôleur des wagons-lits	Alexandre Brissson (Bisson)	French Comedy
12	April 12 <sup>th</sup>	The Younger Generation	Stanley Houghton	Comedy
13	April 23 <sup>rd</sup>	Twelfth Night	William Shakespeare	Comedy
14	April 28 <sup>th</sup>	Othello	William Shakespeare	Drama
15	May 1 <sup>st</sup>	Artist Party? -L 'heure des Toiganes -Le Baron De Fourchevif	MM Labiche and A. Jolly	French Comedy
16	May 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Three Short Plays -The Ghost of Jerry Bundler -The Master of the House -The Ballad Monger	by W. W. Jacobs & Chas Rock by Stanley Houghton by Arthur Shirley	Drama?
17	May 17 <sup>th</sup>	Driven	E. Temple Thurston	English Drama
18	May 24 <sup>th</sup>	Mary Goes First	Henry Arthur Jones	Comedy
19	May 31 <sup>st</sup>	Liberty Hall	R. C. Carton	Original Comedy
20	June 14 <sup>th</sup>	Knight of the Burning Pestle	Francis Beaumont	Comedy
21	June 21 <sup>st</sup>	Betsy	F. C. Burnand	Comedy
22	June 28 <sup>th</sup>	The Brixton Burglary	Frederick W. Sidney	Farcical Comedy
23	July 5 <sup>th</sup>	Milestones	Arnold Bennett and Edward Knoblock	English Drama
24	July 12 <sup>th</sup>	Mlle Josette Ma Femme	Robert Charvay and Paul Charvay	French Comedy
25	July 19 <sup>th</sup>	Ruhleben Empire		Variety Show
26	August 17-19 <sup>th</sup>	Vaudeville		Variety Show
27	August 30 <sup>th</sup>	Pirates of Penzance	W.S. Gilbert	Comic Opera
28	Sept. 13 <sup>th</sup>	At the Barn	Anthony Wharton	Comedy
29	Sept. 16 <sup>th</sup>	The Twins	W. G. H. Carpenter	Original Drama?
30	Sept. 20 <sup>th</sup>	Alt-Heidelberg	Wilhelm Meyer-Förster	German Drama
31	Sept. 27 <sup>th</sup>	An Ideal Husband	Oscar Wilde	Irish Comedy
32	Oct. 4 <sup>th</sup>	Caste	Thomas W. Robertson	Comedy
33	Oct. 18 <sup>th</sup>	Mollusc	Hubert Henry Davies	Comedy
34	Oct. 25 <sup>th</sup>	Fanny's First Play	George B. Shaw	Comedy
35	Oct. ?	Everyman	Unknown	Morality Play
36	Nov. 1 <sup>st</sup>	Hindle Wakes	Stanley Houghton	Drama
37	Nov. 8 <sup>th</sup>	Mon Bebe	Maurice Hennequin	French Comedy
38	Nov. 15 <sup>th</sup>	Conn, the Shaughraun	Dion Boucicault	Irish Drama
39	Nov. 22 <sup>nd</sup>	Ann	Lechmere Worrall	Comedy
40	Nov. 29 <sup>th</sup>	Pygmalion	George B. Shaw	Comedy
41	Dec. 6 <sup>th</sup>	Dandy Dick	Arthur Wing Pinero	Comedy
42	Dec. 24 <sup>th</sup>	Mikado	Arthur Sullivan	Comic Opera

## Appendix C: Production Schedule for 1917

No.	Year: 1917	Name	Author	Type
1	Jan. 10 <sup>th</sup>	The Marriage of Kitty	Francis de Croisset	Comedy
2	Jan. 17 <sup>th</sup>	The Tenth Man	Somerset Mangham	Comedy
3	Jan. 24 <sup>th</sup>	A Pair of Spectacles	Sydney Grundy	Comedy
4	Jan. 31 <sup>st</sup>	Das Konzert	Hermann Bahr	German Comedy
5	Feb. 7 <sup>th</sup>	The Bells	Leopold Lewis	Drama?
6	Feb. 14 <sup>th</sup>	Lady Windermere's Fan	Oscar Wilde	Irish Comedy
7	Feb. 28 <sup>th</sup>	Eliza Comes to Stay	H. V. Esmond	Comedy
8	March 7 <sup>th</sup>	School for Scandal	Richard Sheridan	Comedy
9	March 10 <sup>th</sup>	All Scotch	Fred. Faircloth	Revue
10	March 21 <sup>st</sup>	General John Regan	George Birmingham	Irish Comedy
11	March 28 <sup>th</sup>	La Belle Aventure	G. A. de Caillevet	French Comedy
12	April 2 <sup>nd</sup>	Aristophanes and the Greek Comedy -The Frogs	J. A. West by Aristophanes	Greek Comedy
13	April 4 <sup>th</sup>	Good Friday	John	Drama
14	April 11 <sup>th</sup>	Yeomen of the Guard	Music by Arthur Sullivan and libretto by W. S. Gilbert.	Opera
15	April 25 <sup>th</sup>	Merry Wives of Windsor	William Shakespeare	Comedy
16	May 9 <sup>th</sup>	Mrs. Dane's Defense	?	Unknown
17	May 16 <sup>th</sup>	Peg O' My Heart	J. Hartley	Comedy
18	May 23 <sup>rd</sup>	A White Man	R. L. Anderson	Original Comedy
19	June 6 <sup>th</sup>	Lady Frederick	Somerset Mangham	Comedy
20	June 11 <sup>th</sup>	The Seagull	Anton Chekov	Russian Drama
21	June 13 <sup>th</sup>	Die Grosstadtluft	Oscar Blumenthal and Gustav Kadelburg	German comedy
22	June 20 <sup>th</sup>	A Country Mouse	Arthur Law	Comedy
23	June 25 <sup>th</sup>	Hamlet	William Shakespeare	Drama
24	June 27 <sup>th</sup>	Jane	Harry Nicholls and William Lestocq	Comedy
25	July 2 <sup>nd</sup>	Hamlet	William Shakespeare	Drama
26	July 4 <sup>th</sup>	Typhoon	Melchior Lengyel	Drama
27	July 11 <sup>th</sup>	Ma Tante d'Honfleur	Paul Gavault	French Comedy
///////	August	NO PRODUCTIONS FOUND		
28	Sept. 5 <sup>th</sup>	If I Were King	Justin Huntley McCarthy	Irish Drama
29	Sept. 12 <sup>th</sup>	His Excellency the Governor	Arthur Bouchier	Drama?
30	Sept. 19 <sup>th</sup>	Ruhleben Empire		Variety Show
31	Oct. 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Candida	George B. Shaw	Drama
32	Oct. 10 <sup>th</sup>	La Charrette Anglaise	Louis Verneuil and Georges Berr	French Comedy
33	Oct. 17 <sup>th</sup>	The Duke Killicrankie	Robert Marshall	Comedy
34	Oct. 24 <sup>th</sup>	Mr. Preedy and the Countess	R. L. Anderson	Original Comedy
35	Oct. 29 <sup>th</sup>	Tolstoi Evening: -The Cause of it All -The Man Who was Dead	Leo Tolstoy	Russian Drama
36	Oct. 31 <sup>st</sup>	Lady Huntworth's Experiment	R.C Carton	Original Comedy
37	Nov. 7 <sup>th</sup>	The Yellow Jacket	J. Harry Benrimo and George C. Hazelton	Drama about Yellow Fever
38	Nov. 12 <sup>th</sup>	Spiriti Oltra Moderni	Giulio Rinaldi	Italian Comedy
39	Nov. 14 <sup>th</sup>	Arms and the Man	George B. Shaw	Irish Drama
40	Nov. 21 <sup>st</sup>	She Stoops to Conquer	Oliver Goldsmith	Irish Comedy
41	Dec. 5 <sup>th</sup>	The Witness for the Defense	A. E. W. Mason	Drama
42	Dec. 12 <sup>th</sup> -16 <sup>th</sup>	Man and Superman	George B. Shaw	Drama
43	Dec. 12?	Within the Law	Bayard Veiller	Drama
44	Dec. 26 <sup>th</sup>	The Gondoliers	Gilbert and Sullivan	Comic Opera

## Appendix D: Production Schedule for 1918

No.	Year: 1918	Name	Author	Type
1	Jan. 18 <sup>th</sup>	Damaged Goods (Les Avaries)	Eugène Brieux	French Drama (dangers of venereal diseases)
2	Jan 12 <sup>?</sup>	When We Were Twenty-One	H.V. Esmond	Comedy
3	Jan. 23 <sup>rd</sup>	Mr. Hopkinson	R. C. Carten	Original Comedy
4	Jan 30 <sup>th</sup>	Le Monde ou "l'on s'ennuie"	Edouard Pailleron	French Comedy
5	Feb. 4 <sup>th</sup>	An Evening on Hermann Sudermann: Selections from <i>Rosen</i>	Hermann Sudermann	German Drama
6	Feb. 6 <sup>th</sup>	Ruhleben Follies		Variety Show
7	Feb. 8-11 <sup>th</sup>	The New Boy	Arthur Law	Farcical Comedy
8	Feb. 27 <sup>th</sup>	Ruhleben Coliseum		Variety Show
9	March 4 <sup>th</sup>	Georges Dandin	Moliere	French Comedy
10	March 6-7 <sup>th</sup>	Within the Law	Bayard Veiller	Drama
11	March 13 <sup>th</sup>	The Scarlet Pimpernel	Emma Orczy	Drama
12	March 21 <sup>st</sup>	A Tight Corner	Sydney Rowkett?	Comedy
13	March 24 <sup>th</sup> & 31 <sup>st</sup>	Coera cieca!	Gerolamo Rovetta	Italian Comedy
14	March 27-29 <sup>th</sup>	Mary Magdalen	Maurice Maeterlinck	Drama
15	April 4 <sup>th</sup>	Tragedy of Nan	John Masefield	Drama
16	April 13 <sup>th</sup>	The Dance of Death	August Strindberg	Drama
17	April 18 <sup>th</sup>	You Never Can Tell	George B. Shaw	Comedy
18	April 26 & 29 <sup>th</sup>	Ghetto	Herman Heijermans	Jewish Drama
19	May 2-3 <sup>rd</sup>	An Evening with Barrie: -The Will -A Twelve Pound Look -Rosalind	James M. Barrie (Peter Pan)	Drama
20	May 16 <sup>th</sup>	The Magistrate	Arthur Wing Pinero	Farcical Comedy
21	May 30-31 <sup>st</sup>	Ruhleben Follies -Nichts Neues		Variety Show
22	June 19 <sup>th</sup>	Diplomacy	Adapted from Victorien Sardou's Dora	French Drama
23	July 14 <sup>th</sup>	La Flambee	Henry Kistemaeckers	French Drama?
24	August 17-19 <sup>th</sup>	Vaudeville Concert		Variety Show
25	Sept. 20 <sup>th</sup>	The Clubmen	S.F. Austin	Musical
26	Oct. 1 <sup>st</sup>	Advertisement	Basil Hastings	Unknown
27	Oct. 12 <sup>th</sup>	Beauty and the Barge	W.W. Jacobs and Louis N. Parker	Farcical Comedy
28	Oct. 30-31 <sup>st</sup>	Maria Magdalena	Friedrich Hebbel	German Drama
29	Nov. 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Romance	Edward Sheldon	Drama
30	Nov. 13 <sup>th</sup>	Jack Straw (not performed: war ends on November 11th)	William Somerset Maugham	Farcical Comedy

## Appendix E: Original Camp Productions

No.	DATE	PLAY	WRITER	TYPE
1	1915 March 26 <sup>th</sup>	Mock Trial	Israel Cohen and H.F. Hamlyn	Original Drama
2	1915 April 17-20 <sup>th</sup>	The Night of the Wake	Robert Maire Smyllie and William Jackson	Original Drama
3	1915 June 14 <sup>th</sup>	Mrs. McGinty's Lodger	Robert Maire Smyllie	Original Comedy
4	1915 Dec. 28 <sup>th</sup>	Cinderella	Book by C.H. Brooks	Original Christmas Pantomime
	1916 Feb 9 <sup>th</sup>	Local one-act plays -Breaking Ahead -Geordie -The Right Age to Marry	by Hugh Miller by Hugh Miller by Harold Tivey	Original Comedy
5	1916 Feb. 16 <sup>th</sup>	What Happened to Jones?	George Broadhurst	Original Farce
6	1916 March 29 <sup>th</sup>	Jimmy's Last Crime	Unknown	Original Comedy?
7	1916 May 31 <sup>st</sup>	Liberty Hall	R. C. Carton	Original Comedy
8	1916 Sept. 16 <sup>th</sup>	The Twins	W. G. H. Carpenter	Original Comedy
9	1917 May 23 <sup>rd</sup>	A White Man	R. L. Anderson	Original Comedy
10	1917 Oct. 24 <sup>th</sup>	Mr. Preedy and the Countess	R. C. Carton and R. L. Anderson	Original Comedy
11	1917 Oct. 31 <sup>st</sup>	Lady Huntworth's Experiment	R.C Carton	Original Comedy
12	1918 Jan. 23 <sup>rd</sup>	Mr. Hopkinson	R. C. Carton	Original Comedy

## Appendix F: Ruhleben Dramatic Society Popular Players

\*Partial list of productions

R.D.S PLAYERS	PLAY	ROLE	M/F	YEAR	
Harold Goodhind	Mr. Preedy and the Countess	Joanna	Female	1915	
	The Silver Box	Friend of Jack	?	1915	
	Cinderella	Cinderella	Female	1915	
	Three One Act Plays: "Breaking Ahead"	Dolly	Female	1916	
	Three One Act Plays: "The Right Age to Marry"	Mrs. Bohem-Denhome?	Female	1916	
	Ann	Evangeline Lipacomb	Female	1916	
	Fanny's First Play	Fanny O'Dowda	Female	1916	
	An Ideal Husband	Mrs. Cheveley	Female	1916	
	The Witness for the Defense	Stella Ballantyne	Female	1917	
	Lady Windermere's Fan	Lady Windemere	Female	1917	
	The Marriage of Kitty	Kitty	Female	1917	
	Hamlet	Horatio	Male	1917	
	H.B Hart	The Importance of Being Earnest	Rev. Canon Chasuble	Male	1915
		Ruhleben Grand Stand: "Fooling"	Housemaid	Female	1915
		Cinderella	Ruhleben Player	Unknown	1915
The Mikado		Ko-Ko	Male	1916	
What Happened to Jones		Alvina Starlight	Female	1916	
Fanny's First Play		Mr. Gilby	Male	1916	
The Frogs		?	?	1917	
Lady Windermere's Fan		Mr. Dumby	Male	1917	
The Bells		Daniel	Male	1917	
Typhoon		?	?	1917	
C. J. Pearce		Androcles and the Lion	Lentulus	Male	1915
	The Private Secretary	Rev. Robert Spalding	Male	1915	
	The Speckled Band	Ali	Male	1915	
	Strife	Henry Thomas	Male	1915	
	As You Like It	Touchstone	Male	1915	
	Three One Act Plays: "Phipps"	Lady Fanny	Female	1915	
	Three One Act Plays: "The Dear Departed"	Abel Merryweather	Male	1915	
	My Pal Jerry	Counsel	Unknown	1915	
	Cinderella	Squire Vedabread	Male	1915	
	The Great Adventure	James Pearce	Male	1916	
	The Ruhleben Empire: "The G.P.O"	Postmaster	Male	1916	
	Mary Goes First	Mr. Tadman	Male	1916	
	Ann	Rev. Samuel Hargraves	Male	1916	
	Ruhleben Empire: "The Hotel Shuffle"	Col. Peppercorn	Male	1917	
	The Merry Wives of Windsor	Sir Hugh	Male	1917	
	A Pair of Spectacles	?	?	1917	
	Typhoon	?	?	1917	
	A Country Mouse	?	?	1917	
John Roker	Cinderella	Dandini	Male	1915	
Harry Stafford	Ruhleben Empire: "What a Pat"	Unknown	Unknown	1915	
	Ruhleben Empire Co.: "The Hairdresser"	Jimmy Penelopy	Male	1915	
	My Pal Jerry	Jerry Jackson	Male	1915	
	Cinderella	Peter	Male	1915	
	Ruhleben Empire: "Motoring"	Motorist	Male	1916	
	The Ruhleben Empire: "The G.P.O"	Perkins	Male	1916	
	Ruhleben Empire: "The Hotel Shuffle"	Thompson	Male	1917	
Desmond K. Greene	The Younger Generation	Hannah Kennion	Female	1916	
	Dandy Dick	Sheba	Female	1916	
	Betsy	Mrs. McManus	Female	1916	
	The Brixton Burglary	?	Female	1916	
	Driven	Diana?	Female	1916	
	Eliza Comes to Stay	Dorothy	Female	1917	
	The Tenth Man	Catherine Winter	Female	1917	
R. L. Anderson	The Silver Box	Jack Barthwick	Male	1915	
	As You Like It	Orlando	Male	1915	
	The Importance of Being Earnest	Lane	Male	1915	
	Ruhleben Grand Stand: "Fooling"	David Moore	Male	1915	
	Captain Brassbound's Conversion	Siai el Assif	Male	1915	
	Cinderella	Ruhleben Player	Unknown	1915	
	Three One Act Plays: "The Ballad Monger"	Louis XI	Male	1916	
	Driven	Captain ...?	Male	1916	
	Twenty-One	Mr. Adrian Cotsford	Male	1916	
	An Ideal Husband	Phipppo	Male	1916	



## Appendix G: Irish Dramatic Society Players

IRISH PLAYES	PLAY	ROLE	M/F	YEAR
A. G. Wilson	Mrs. McGinty's Lodger	Skin-the-Goat		1915
	Playboy of the Western World	Christopher Mahon		1916
	John Bull's Other Island	Cornelius Doyle	M	1916
	The Night of the Wake	Skin-the-Goat O'Toole		1915
	Conn the Shaughgraun	Conn		1916
W. J. Bray	Mrs. McGinty's Lodger	Mike O'Donnell		1915
	Playboy of the Western World	Old Mahon		1916
	John Bull's Other Island	Father Dempsey	M	1916
	The Night of the Wake	Squire Fitz Gerald		1915
Ronald D. Carty	Playboy of the Western World	Michael James Flaherty	M	1916
	Conn the Shaughgraun	?		1916
Desmond K. Greene	Mrs. McGinty's Lodger	Mrs. Bridget Molloy		1915
	Playboy of the Western World	Margaret Flaherty	F	1916
	John Bull's Other Island	Nora Reily		1916
	The Night of the Wake	Cathleen		1915
	Conn the Shaughgraun	Loya Dolar		1916
H.H. Alexander	Mrs. McGinty's Lodger	Patsy Brady		1915
	Playboy of the Western World	Shawn Keogh		1916
	John Bull's Other Island	Matt Haffigan	M	1916
	The Night of the Wake	Shamus		1915
Robert Maire Smyllie	Playboy of the Western World	Widow Quin	F	1916
	John Bull's Other Island	Peter Keegan		1916
	The Night of the Wake	Michael Murphy	M	1915
	Conn the Shaughgraun	Mrs. O'Kelly		1916
B. M Court	Playboy of the Western World	Philly Cullen	M	1916
	John Bull's Other Island	Aunt Judy	F	1916
	Conn the Shaughgraun	Father Dolar		1916
R. G. Buckley	Mrs. McGinty's Lodger	Micky Halpin		1915
	Playboy of the Western World	Jimmy Farrell		1916
	The Night of the Wake	Shawn	M	1915
H. B. Greenwood	Mrs. McGinty's Lodger	Molly McGinty		1915
	Playboy of the Western World	Sara Tansey	F	1916
	The Night of the Wake	Geraldine Flanagan		1915
V. McMahon	Playboy of the Western World	Susan Brady	F	1916
G. P. Russell	Playboy of the Western World	Honor Blake	F	1916
	John Bull's Other Island	Irish Peasant	?	1916
Dennis H. Lee	Mrs. McGinty's Lodger	Algernon Smyth R. A.	M	1915
	Playboy of the Western World	Nelly Collins	F	1916
	John Bull's Other Island	Laurence Doyle	M	1916
	The Night of the Wake	Molly Reilly	F	1915
	Conn the Shaughgraun	Capt. ?		1916
John McLaren	John Bull's Other Island	Hodson?		1916
George Merritt	John Bull's Other Island	Thomas Broadbent	M	1916
	Conn the Shaughgraun	Corry		1916
James Malloy	John Bull's Other Island	Tim Haffigan	M	1916
	The Night of the Wake	Tom Brannigan		1915
Harry Stafford	John Bull's Other Island	Patsy Farrell		1916
	Conn the Shaughgraun	Harvey Duff		
James Quinn	John Bull's Other Island	Barney Doran		1916
Peter Jackson	John Bull's Other Island	Irish Peasant		1916
W. H. Fletcher	John Bull's Other Island	Irish Peasant		1916
Frank Moran	John Bull's Other Island	Irish Peasant		1916
Patrick J. Caleb	Mrs. McGinty's Lodger	Mrs. Mary McGinty	F	1915
	The Night of the Wake	Biddy Murphy	F	1915
W. Jackson	The Night of the Wake	Brian Brannigan	M	1915
M. Sweeney	The Night of the Wake	Patsy Driscoll		1915
J. Carroll	The Night of the Wake	Patsy Brady		1915
M. Patchell	The Night of the Wake	Mick Molloy	M	1915
J. M. Boyd	The Night of the Wake	Eileen O'Connor	F	1915
J. Quirk	The Night of the Wake	Jimmy Murphy	M	1915
	Conn the Shaughgraun	Sullivan		1916

## Appendix H: German Dramatic Society Players

GERMAN PLAYERS	PLAY	ROLE	M/F	Date
Albert Short	Der Fidele Bauer	?	?	1915
	Der Graf von Luxemburg	Furst Basil Basilowitsch	Male	1915
	Flachmann Ais Erzierher	Prof. Dr. Prell	Male	1916
	Der Erbfoster	Weiler	Male	1916
	Die Grosstadtluft	Prince Basil	Male	1917
John H. Corlean?	Der Fidele Bauer	?	?	1915
	Die Grosstadtluft	Martin Schroter	Male	1917
	Das Konzert	?	?	1917
R. M. Smyllie	Die Grosstadtluft	Walter Lenz	Male	1917
James Goodman	Der Fidele Bauer	?	?	1915
	Alt-Heidelberg	V. Wedell	Male?	1916
	Flachmann Ais Erzierher	Franz Romer	Male	1916
	Die Grosstadtluft	Antonie	Female	1917
	Das Konzert	Frauline Wehner	Female	1917
A. Richardson	Der Fidele Bauer	?		1915
	Der Graf von Luxemburg	None		1915
	Doktor Klaus	Max V. Boden		1915
	Alt-Heidelberg	None		1916
	Flachmann Ais Erzierher	Claus Riemann		1916
	Der Erbfoster	Robert		1916
	Die Grosstadtluft	Fritz? Flemming		1917
	Das Konzert	Pollinger		1917
J. H. Thorpe	Der Fidele Bauer	?	?	1915
	Der Graf von Luxemburg	Grafin Stasa Kokozow	Male?	1915
	Doktor Klaus	Mariane	Female	1915
	Alt-Heidelberg	None	---	1916
	Flachmann Ais Erzierher	Betty Sturhahn	Female	1916
	Der Erbfoster	None	None	1916
	Die Grosstadtluft	None	None	1917
	Das Konzert	?	?	1917
Jarchow	Der Graf von Luxemburg	Angele Didler	Female	1915
Herbert Hassee	Der Fidele Bauer	?	?	1915
	Doktor Klaus	Marie	Female	1915
	Alt-Heidelberg	Frau Doerffel	Female	1916
	Der Erbfoster	Sophie	Female	1916
	Das Konzert	?	?	1917
Paul R. Shirville	Das Konzert	Fran Claire Floderer	Female	1917
Desmond K. Greene	Das Konzert	Eva Gerndl?	Female	1917

## Appendix I: French Dramatic Society Players

FRENCH PLAYERS	PLAY	ROLE	M/F	YEAR
H. A. Bell	L'Anglais tel qu'on le parle	L'Interprete	Male	1915
	Mon Bebe	Jimmy Scott	Male	1916
	La Flambee	Le Lt. Col. Pierre Felt	Male	1918
	Georges Dandin	Lubin?	Male	1918
	Le Monde ou "l'on s'ennuie"	General comte de trial	Male	1918
	La Charette Anglaise	Eugene Gondrecourt	Male	1917
	Ma Tante d'Honfleur	?	?	1917
Maurice Perrot	Mon Bebe	William Harrison	Male	1916
	La Flambee	Le Depute Marcel Beaucourt	Male	1918
	Georges Dandin	Georges Dandin	Male	1918
	Le Monde ou "l'on s'ennuie"	Monsieur Virot	Male	1918
	La Charette Anglaise	Gontran de Saint Hilaire	Male	1917
	La Belle Aventure	Andre d' Eguzon	Male	1917
	Mlle Josette ma femme	Andre Ternay	Male	1916
Ma Tante d'Honfleur	?	?	1917	
Harold Goodhind	La Petite Chocolatiere	Benjamine Lapistolle "la petite chocolatiere"	Female	1915
	Le Controleur des Wagons-lit	Lucienne	Female	1916
	On Opere sans Douleur	Madame Pipette	Female	1915
	L'Anglais tel qu'on le parle	Madame Pipette	Female	1915
	Mon Bebe	Kitty Harrison	Female	1916
	Mlle Josette ma femme	Josett	Female	1916
	Ma Tante d'Honfleur	?	?	1917
F. C. Milner	La Petite Chocolatiere	Paul Normand	Male	1915
	Le Controleur des Wagons-lit	Madame Charbonneau	Female	1916
	L'Anglais tel qu'on le parle	La Caissiere de l' Hotel	Female	1915
	La Flambee	Le Comte Bertrand de Mauret	Male	1918
	Georges Dandin	Colin	Male	1918
	Le Monde ou "l'on s'ennuie"	La Contesee de Ceran?	Female	1918
	La Charette Anglaise	Louis Janville	Male	1917
	La Belle Aventure	Valentin Le Larroyer?	Male	1917
	Mlle Josette ma femme	Theo Panar	Male	1916
	Ma Tante d'Honfleur	?	?	1917
T. Luff	La Petite Chocolatiere	Rosette	Female	1915
	Le Controleur des Wagons-lit	Rosine	Female	1916
	Mon Bebe	Maggie Scott	Female	1916
	Georges Dandin	Angelique	Female	1918
	La Charette Anglaise	Germaine Gondrecourt?	Female	1917
	La Belle Aventure	Helene de Trevillan	Female	1917
	Mlle Josette ma femme	Leontine	Female	1916
	Ma Tante d'Honfleur	?	?	1917
Paul R. Shirville	La Petite Chocolatiere	Julie	Female	1915
	Le Controleur des Wagons-lit	Madame Montpepin	Female	1916
	On Opere sans Douleur	Mademoiselle Truchet	Female	1915
	Georges Dandin	Mme. de Sotenville	Female	1918
	Le Monde ou "l'on s'ennuie"	La Dutchesse de Reville?	Female	1918
	La Charette Anglaise	Madame Gondrecourt	Female	1917
	La Belle Aventure	Mme. de Trevillac	Female	1917
	Mlle Josette ma femme	Urbain	?	1916
	Ma Tante d'Honfleur	?	?	1917