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The House that Tommy Built 'somewhere in Greece': pantomimes produced by the 85th Field Ambulance in Salonika 1915-18¹

This article examines the pantomimes produced by the 85th Field Ambulance (3rd London) of the 28th Division while stationed at Salonika on the Eastern Front between 1915 and 1918. Examination of the extant scripts, theatre ephemera, photographs and press reviews shows that in addition to their entertainment value these pantos helped to diffuse tension between the ranks by providing a rare licence for servicemen to express their frustrations and grievances about conditions at the Eastern Front. Despite inadequate clothing and accommodation to survive in such a harsh environment, malaria and influenza epidemics, and paucity of leave, the British Salonika Force was depicted in the British popular press as the 'gardeners of Salonika' since the campaign in Macedonia was considered by many to be a 'side-show' due to the apparent lack of activity there compared to the Western Front. Annual revivals (1921-31) in London of the 85th Field Ambulance pantomimes again provide evidence of a much-needed figurative 'home' for many ex-soldiers of the British Salonika Force who missed the comradeship and security of army life and typically felt lonely and alienated as forgotten heroes of the Balkans campaign. Martina Lipton is a Research Fellow (Australia) at the University of Warwick and Honorary Associate Lecturer at the University of Queensland.

Keywords: pantomime, Salonika campaign, World War 1, female impersonators, 85th Field Ambulance

The Christmas pantomimes, *Dick Whittington* (1915),² *Aladdin in Macedonia* (1916)³ and *Bluebeard* (1917),⁴ were produced by the 85th Field Ambulance (3rd London), a mobile front-line medical unit under the command of the 28th Division, stationed at Salonika on the Eastern Front between 1915 and 1918. The first of these, *Dick Whittington* was produced in a makeshift transportable theatre that toured from Divisional Headquarters to each of the 28th Division's three brigades, which included twenty-two artillery and infantry regiments, and front-line support units.⁵ The following Christmas it was performed by various companies in France, Egypt, Malta and at the Base in Salonika.⁶ The subsequent pantos were produced in a converted barn at Kopriva, called the Kopriva Palace Theatre. These 'houses,' and the pantomimes produced therein, offered a physical escape from the war, a symbolic safe haven. In addition to delivering much-needed entertainment to war-weary troops, they provided servicemen with a common nostalgic connection to home, with a relatively free rein to share their grievances and experiences of their home-away-from-home on the Front and their hopes and desires to return to civilian life.

J. G. Fuller's examination of popular troop entertainment during WWI identifies a paradigm that at the time associated war with masculinity and peace/home with femininity.⁷ Jonathan Bollen notes that in the context of theatrical production these traditional alignments become convoluted and entangled.⁸ This is certainly evident in the Salonika pantomimes with their twin-focus on home: in Greece at war and a nostalgic vision of England in peace time. The highly-charged signifier 'home' with its multivalent meanings is evident in a notice explaining the procedure for vacating the Kopriva Palace Theatre in the event of an emergency (see Fig. 1), which states that after evacuation in the absence of any orders, soldiers should 'go Home.' It is this home-away-from-home that the British Salonika Force (BSF) attempted to recreate in its reunions when the annual postwar pantomime revivals by the 85th Field Ambulance, between 1921 and 1931, again provided a much-needed figurative home for many ex-soldiers who missed the comradeship and security of army life and typically felt lonely and alienated as forgotten heroes of the Balkans campaign.

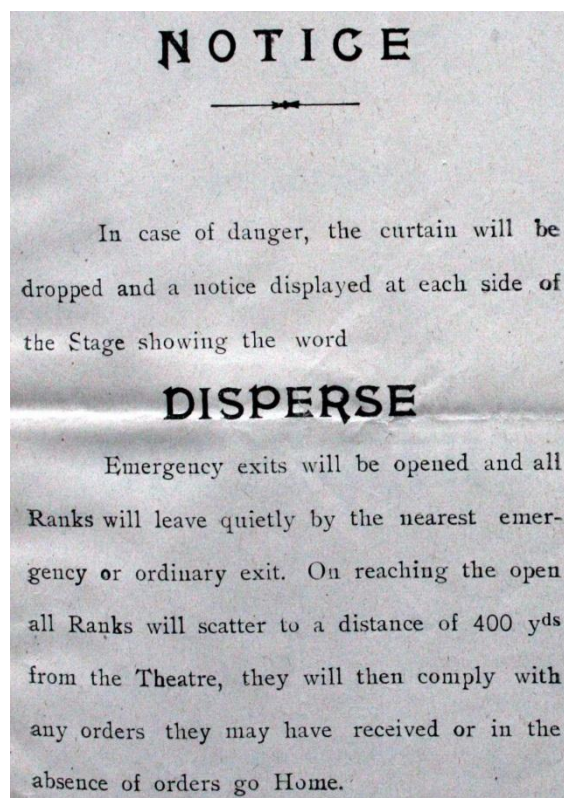


Figure 1. "Notice." Bluebeard: A Pantomime in Two Acts by Members of the 28th Division. By G.G. Horrocks. Theatre programme. Kopriva Palace Theatre, Kopriva. Second season, 1918. (Courtesy of King's Own Royal Regiment Museum).

Salonika

Anglo-French troops landed at Salonika in October 1915 and by December they had begun transforming it into a vast military encampment since the decision had been made to fortify and hold it rather than withdraw troops from the Balkans (see Fig. 2).⁹ They focussed on making the Salonika position impregnable because its port in neutral Greece offered a large, deep-water harbour with easy access to the Mediterranean.¹⁰ The British hoped that the initial landing of Allied Forces, which had been transferred from Gallipoli, would deter Bulgaria from joining the war against Serbia.¹¹ The British Salonika Force spent its first five months constructing a seventy-mile-long chain of defences to protect the vital port from capture by the Bulgarians.¹²

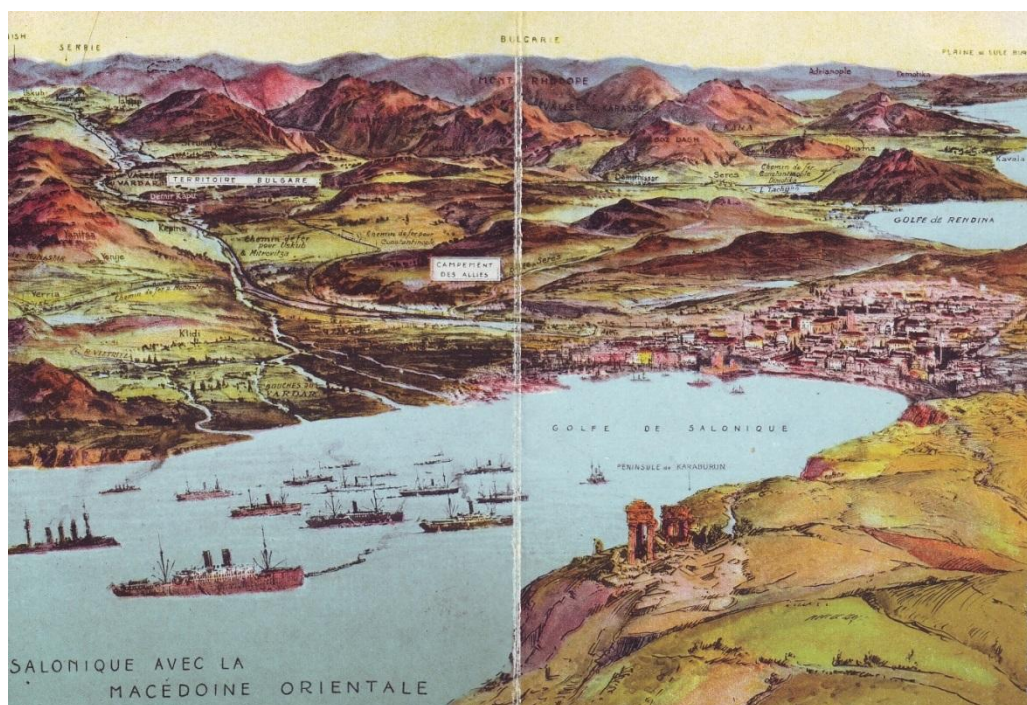


Figure 2. Postcard WWI map of Salonika. (Author's collection).

Troops spent their first Christmas either at the base area around Salonika or in the foothills north of the city, living in tents in the hills and ravines, enduring severe weather conditions, rocky terrain and a lack of tools and engineering supplies.¹³ Dr Leahy, who was with the medical corps in Salonika, writes that “we have had such a lot of fog lately, nine consecutive days following on a blizzard...it was a horror – snow, frost, and a hurricane of wind, with visions of one’s tent-pegs pulling out and having to get up at night and go out and drive pegs to make it safe.”¹⁴ In *Aladdin in Macedonia*, Private Wandsworth comments with some irony that “route marches frenzy our souls with delight, while fatigues evoke roars of good humour, and life on the Struma is just one perpetual joke.”¹⁵ In addition to the hostile landscape and environment, many of the soldiers in the first landing at Salonika were unfit since poor sanitation and inadequate water supplies at Gallipoli had resulted in a high incidence of dysentery. Frostbite also became a significant health problem due to the freezing conditions they experienced when they took up position in the mountains of southern Serbia around the Kosturino Pass.¹⁶ The impact of climate and disease on the British Salonika Force is described in the humorous monologue *Who Won the War, and Why*, which was performed by Private Laurie Sweetapple in Salonika after the Armistice in 1918 (see Fig. 3).

It's a hell of a country, excuse me,
 When I thinks of all I've gone through,
 In the country they calls Macedonia,
 Well, my language, it ain't fit for you.
 We stewed in the sun in the summer,
 We froze in the cold winter nights,
 At a hundred and four with 'dingey,'
 We didn't enjoy ourselves quite.

And each day we read in the paper,
 How the boys out there in the West,
 With their tanks, and 'planes, and gas shells,
 Were spoiling old Fritz's rest,
 While we out in Macedonia
 Were doing ourselves real fine,
 Yes, with dysentery dingey and suchlike,
 M. and D., Castor Oil and Quinine.

Figure 3. Morris, Jim. Who Won the War, and Why. Salonika, 1918: 3. (Author's collection).

The 85th Field Ambulance didn't wait until Armistice to air its complaints about food rationing, poor health, living conditions and serving under the officer class in the Balkans: indeed *Dick Whittington* is one of the first examples of such voiced experience in Greece. The 85th Field Ambulance adapted the template of pantomime produced by servicemen for their comrades, created as early as December 1915 in France (see Fig. 4). Divisional theatrical concert parties there had begun entertaining the troops and performing Christmas pantomimes which were adapted to suit military audiences and provide them with an antidote to the drabness, hardship and misery of soldiering, the ever-presence of death and appalling living conditions.¹⁷

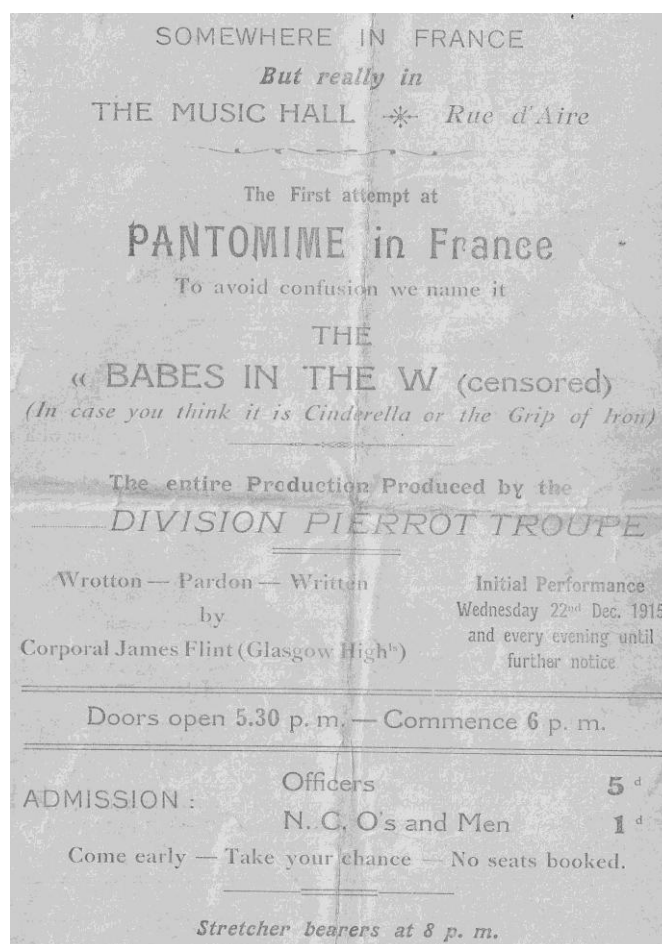


Figure 4. Babes in the W (censored). Theatre playbill. Music Hall, Rue d'Aire, France. (Author's collection).

The 85th Field Ambulance pantomime troupe intended *Dick Whittington* to be festive entertainment solely for its own men but it was destined to reach a far larger audience,¹⁸ and it became the model for subsequent pantomimes produced by them and other divisional units in Macedonia. Despite the ubiquity of censorship, the Salonika pantomimes reveal troops' anxieties about their living conditions, leave entitlements, health issues and hopes for the future. *Dick Whittington's* central theme is the quality of food and its rationing. This motif is continued in *Aladdin in Macedonia* in tandem with nostalgia for home and complaints about the lack of leave. *Bluebeard* focuses on the impact of malaria in Salonika and the desire to return home. Given the almost non-existent leave and rare opportunity to meet women in Salonika, *Bluebeard* also pointedly provides a vehicle for more female impersonators than the previous pantomimes.

Although these pantomimes embraced traditional fairy-tale narratives they differed radically from those produced in British theatres during war time. The latter were sites for jingoistic propaganda and recruitment of troops based on the patriotic spectacle of war.¹⁹

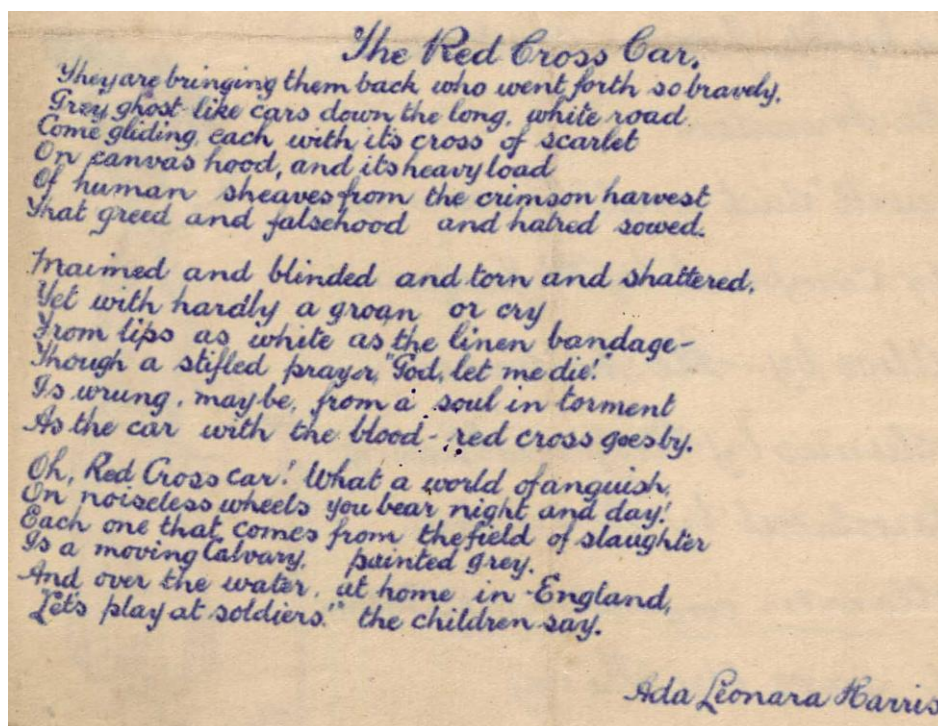


Figure 5. Harris, Ada Leonara. "The Red Cross Car." Dick Whittington. By Frank Kenchington. Theatre programme. HMS Lord Nelson, Salonika Harbour, 5 Apr. 1916. (Courtesy of West Sussex Record Office, Jaques MS 20476).

The poem "The Red Cross Car" by Ada Leonara Harris (see Fig. 5), reproduced on the cover of the theatre programme for the 85th Field Ambulance's performance of *Dick Whittington*, is significant since it epitomises the harsh reality of war albeit presented as black humour, parody and satire in the Salonika pantos. In comparison, pantomimes on the home front were characterised by flag-waving spectacle and jaunty, patriotic music-hall songs that overtly glorified King and Empire.²⁰ Harris's focus on the rescue from the battlefield by field ambulance personnel of slaughtered and maimed young men is in stark contrast to jingoistic imagery of soldiers' heroism and victory on World War 1 battlefields idealised in children's play, and in pantomimes playing at Christmas throughout England.

The work of the 85th Field Ambulance in Salonika



Figure 6. Illustrated War News, 20 March 1916, 4.

Field ambulance units in Macedonia were each equipped with thirty cacolets (double mule-panniers), fourteen travois (drays), fourteen litters, and 120 mules to provide transport for sick and injured men (see Fig. 6). Initially patients were evacuated to hospitals in Malta, Egypt and Britain but this practice was significantly impaired by German and Austro-Hungarian U-boats, operating from bases in the Adriatic, which targeted and sunk shipping in the Mediterranean. Furthermore, the supply of rations, equipment, ammunition and personal correspondence from home was also interrupted, isolating troops and adding to their misery.²¹

Macedonia was very much a foreign land with its barren countryside and harsh climate. Even the city of Salonika proved to be a culture shock for the majority of servicemen because it was closer to an eastern rather than a European city with its antiquities and minarets.²² Lieutenant E.A. Bobbie noted that "Salonika (among the Greeks is my home)...we English know so little about the Eastern life and its structures that it fairly amazes us when we come in touch with them."²³ The city's cosmopolitan population of 250,000 comprising Turks, Bulgars, Greeks, Slavs and Spanish Jews was also unfamiliar to the British soldiers and made "the city a vibrant, if unpredictable place."²⁴ However, visits to Salonika were a rare event for the common soldier.²⁵ G. Ward Price, the Official Correspondent with the Allied Forces in the Balkans, posits that "the official title, 'Salonika Army,' has led to the notion that our force on the Balkan front spends its time sitting in cafes in Salonika itself. By far the great majority of the men have never seen the place except as they passed through it on their way up-country, a few hours after setting foot on the quay."²⁶ Similarly, Dr Leahy writes that "we are camped on a flat-topped hill about three miles from the town which is out of bounds to the military except on business and a pass is hard to get."²⁷



Figure 7. Photograph of members of 85th Field Ambulance Pantomime Company²⁸ (Courtesy of WSRO, Jaques MS20476)

The 85th Field Ambulance Pantos

The 85th Field Ambulance of the Royal Army Medical Corps (RAMC) cast itself as Karno's Ambulance, which is apt since Fred Karno was the stage name of the comedian and music hall impresario, Frederick John Westcott (1866-1941). When Mrs Whittington tells the men about her brother in Karno's Ambulance who instead of tending the sick and injured is kept busy all day long with fatigues such as "sweeping the grass with a broom, or digging stables for the horses and filling them in again," she is relating an experience that many men could personally identify with since they were often given meaningless tasks to perform to alleviate boredom.²⁹ Similarly, they would have empathised with her brother who rarely had time to write to her and when he did "more than half of it is usually crossed out in blue pencil by a man they calls the Censor."³⁰

Dick Whittington and His Cat is an English folk tale about triumph over adversity for a poor boy who seeks his fortune in London. He befriends a cat, which helps him to succeed as a merchant and eventually become the Lord Mayor of London, as a consequence of its ability to rid the capital of a plague of rats.³¹ Its London connections made it an appropriate choice as debut pantomime to be adapted by the 85th Field Ambulance (3rd London), which opened on 24 December 1915 and ran for twenty-eight performances. Private Frank Kenchington wrote the script in less than two weeks with assistance from Lancelot V. Gibson and G. Gibson Horrocks, and the music was composed by Norman H. Hadfield and Charles Henry Buxton Jaques, the latter was also costume designer. Kenchington's Dick Whittington is a private soldier who rises to become a sergeant and then a "proud full-blown" Assistant Director of Army Medical Services and marries his sweetheart, Alice, Alderman Fitzwarren's daughter. The pantomime's action takes place in war time and focuses on military life. It begins in Fitzwarren's store in Chelsea, where he is an

unscrupulous Government contractor; the cast is later transported by ship to Salonika, where the panto concludes outside Fitzwarren's canteen in the mists, on the mountains, 'Somewhere in Greece.' The chief villains are not the Bulgars; instead they are Count Maconochie and Sir Joseph Paxton, who are profiteering from supplying inedible army rations and jam to the forces in Macedonia. Kenchington in his preface to *Dick Whittington* appears anxious to apologise to the manufacturers of the Tickler and 'Sir Joseph Paxton' brands of jam. He affirms that no "hidden malice was intended by reference to the characters of Count Machonochie and Sir Joseph Paxton since they were conceived in a spirit of mock seriousness."³²

Norman Hadfield reports that the company was away for five weeks on the *Dick Whittington* tour, staying about ten days at each Brigade, and for one of the performances a party of sailors came up from Salonika harbour and in return they were invited to give shows on two of the battleships, one of which they slept on afterwards. He states "it takes but little to make folk laugh out here, but at first one was nervous that it might not appeal to the Tommies in the Infantry, there being a great deal in it that was more or less peculiarly referring to this unit."³³ However, Kenchington confirms that "very few alterations in the play were found necessary to adapt it to the various audiences." A few topical gags, applicable only to the particular regiments present, were inserted every evening for the audience of about five hundred men, "who used to come tramping over the hills, sometimes through the deep snow, to the little temporary theatre nestling in some sheltered hollow, and every night the 'house' was crowded to its utmost capacity."³⁴



Figure 8. Horrocks, G.G. *Bluebeard: A Pantomime*. London: C. Jaques, 1918. 71.

Due to the scarcity and value of timber in Salonika, the temporary theatre was constructed from two canvas hospital tents (see Fig. 8). These marquees were placed together to form a T shape, one serving as an auditorium and the other as a stage. A pair of blankets suspended in front of the proscenium acted as curtains, with a pulley system adopted for their opening and parting. Twenty-five jam tins fitted with candles and painted black on the exterior and brightly burnished on the inside were adapted to make footlights.³⁵ The proscenium opening was contrived by raising the centre of one side of the stage marquee, and the portions of the latter which extended beyond the sides of the auditorium were used as dressing-rooms.³⁶ The majority of the audience sat on the ground in an auditorium that had been lowered by digging it out, while the excavated earth was used to build up the stage and to raise the back of the auditorium. Officers sat in stalls at the front made from digging out three rows of trenches, which were half-filled with straw to provide seating.³⁷ Fuller notes that troop entertainment typically sent up the officers as targets of humour³⁸ and their presence at the front of the auditorium should have increased the men's pleasure of watching and hearing their responses. All the costumes, props and lighting were locally sourced and made in-house by the panto company from army and ambulance supplies, while the modest orchestra comprised a piano, violin and piccolo.³⁹

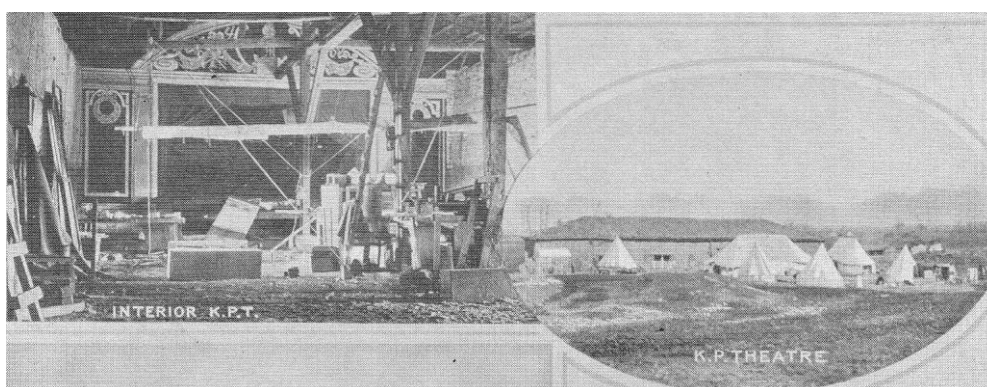


Figure 9. Horrocks, G.G. *Bluebeard: A Pantomime*. London: C. Jaques, 1918. 71.

Aladdin in Macedonia, first produced on 21 December 1916, was a far more ambitious enterprise than *Dick Whittington*, running for about fifty performances to nightly audiences of 700 to 800 men in the 28th Division, stationed on the Struma front. It was produced in a Divisional Theatre (see Fig. 9) converted from a barn in Kopriva, a deserted village within range of enemy guns, separated from the nearest main road by several miles of muddy track in which the mules very often ploughed knee-deep, and fifty miles from the nearest town, with no railway in the vicinity.⁴⁰ Whereas *Dick Whittington* was characterised by raw improvisation, *Aladdin in Macedonia* was far more sophisticated with a theatre, including orchestra pit, lime-and-foot-lighted stage, seated auditorium and licensed bar.⁴¹ Some materials were purchased in Salonika, native costumes were procured from a village captured from the

Bulgars, and an orchestra was enlisted for the duration of the season from the Welsh Regiment Band of the 23rd Battalion.⁴²

Aladdin and His Wonderful Lamp exists in many different variations but its titular hero is typically the incompetent son of a poor laundrywoman, Widow Twankey, who in this rags-to-riches narrative finds wealth and marries the Sultan's daughter through the aid of a magic lamp and the assistance of its genie/s.⁴³ The 85th Field Ambulance pantomime, set in Macedonia, again focuses on military life in the Balkans and the desire for home. During World War I, 'Dear Old Blighty' was the term used by soldiers to express this sentimental and nostalgic longing for home and their pre-war civilian lives. The majority of the action in *Aladdin in Macedonia* takes place at a communal well, "one of those rare oases which are only to be found here and there in the otherwise barren Balkan hills" that supplies drinking water for troops and local villagers.⁴⁴ The presence of Sergeant Bluster and Private Bayswater quickly establishes tension between the ranks. Bayswater gains the upper-hand when he comes into possession of a magic lamp that Mrs Twankey drops in her haste as she's driven away from the well. The lamp reinforces his social superiority and with the assistance of its genie he sates his appetite with a feast of gourmet food and alcohol, and a visit from Kitty Fraser, "the girl from Blighty." Abanazar, "a majestic and dignified Turk" believes that procuring this magic lamp is "the only hope for brave Turks and indomitable Bulgars" to achieve victory.⁴⁵ Since a widow in Macedonia is known to have the lamp he devises a scheme to marry all the women in order to seize their goods.

Aladdin befriends Kitty and promises to help her return to England since the slave of the lamp has reported sick and his indolent replacement refuses to carry out orders. Aladdin takes her to his mother's house, where Mrs Twankey sells coffee. She tells the story of her marriage to Captain Twankey and his abandonment of her before the birth of their son. While Bayswater is at Mrs Twankey's house for coffee, Abanazar forces her to marry him. When she reveals that she has lost the lamp, Abanazar orders his wives to spy on the English and search their camps for lamps. Eventually, Mrs Twankey is reunited with her first husband and he is introduced to his son, who on discovering that he is an English boy enlists in "the crack corps of the Salonika Force – the Macedonian Muleteers."⁴⁶ Kitty admires his bravery since "the mule lines are ten times more dangerous than the trenches."⁴⁷ Aladdin and Kitty are now lovers, and Bluster and Bayswater are promoted for their bravery in apprehending Abanazar and his accomplices. Bayswater loses the lamp in a tussle with Aladdin's mule Ginger. The panto ends with Ginger giving the magic lamp to Aladdin who makes a wish on behalf of everyone that they unite in saying 'Blighty.'



Figure 10. Photograph of men painting the set for *Bluebeard* (Courtesy of WSRO, Jaques MS20476).

Bluebeard, written by G. Gibson Horrocks, opened on 27 December 1917 at the Kopriva Palace Theatre and was seen by over 30,000 soldiers and hospital personnel during its five month season. Audiences comprised eighty per cent of the 28th Division despite impediments of communication over such a vast and barren terrain. It also toured to the Corps Headquarters, the Base, a neighbouring but distant division, a convalescent depot and the Divisional Supply Column before closing its run at the Kopriva Palace Theatre on 15 May 1918.⁴⁸ Horrocks' choice of sailors and nurses as protagonists suggests that he was influenced by the performances of *Dick Whittington* on battleships in Salonika Harbour.

Bluebeard is a mythical tale and its titular protagonist is variously portrayed as a king, wealthy merchant or sorcerer, who is also a wife-murderer.⁴⁹ Horrocks' panto adaptation opens in Bluebeard's house in Salonika where his guards reveal themselves to have much in common with their Allied enemies since they miss their comfortable pre-war lives and resent their commanding officer, Zogitoff. Bluebeard is furious when he discovers that his servant Sam has failed to protect his wives in his absence and two of them, Miramis and Natisha, are conducting a secret relationship with Midshipmen Dick Hilton and Gerald Moore, officers on a battleship in Salonika harbour. Bluebeard agrees to spare Sam's life if the latter can secure him Margery, an English nurse, to be his twenty-second wife before sunset. Margery and her older and unattractive colleague, Anne, are duped into entering Bluebeard's harem by a sign for English tea rooms. Bluebeard marries Margery before leaving her under the guard of Sam and Zogitoff. He makes her queen of the harem and gives her the keys but forbids her to enter the Blue Room. The nurses are rescued by Dick and Gerald, and their commander Lieutenant Jack Carruthers, who discover three murdered girls' heads hanging on the wall in the Blue Room. Bluebeard returns and is captured by the sailors, to be taken by ship to the British Consulate in England to get a divorce from Margery.

The cosmopolitan community of sailors, nurses, Bluebeard, Sam, Zogitoff, Plumstein (a German spy), Natisha and Miramis arrive at Jack's home village of Little Crowcombe, where they are greeted by his father (the Squire), Mopper (a publican and Mayor) and Stropper (a barber and Special Constable). A female land labourer has also recently arrived to work in the village. Bluebeard and Zogitoff are incarcerated in the railway waiting-room, while the rest of the party are entertained in the Squire's hall. Bluebeard conspires with Zogitoff, Plumstein and Sam to escape with Margery and some stolen money but the scheme fails. The Squire and Mopper, as magistrates, commit Bluebeard and Zogitoff to trial. Sam, disguised as the Ambassador of Neutralia secures their release and the return of their clothes and property. Margery, Miramis and Natisha are released from their marriages to Bluebeard. Bluebeard is revealed to be on a secret mission for the Turkish Foreign Office to arrange separate peace terms with Horatio Bottomley. However, such a mission was doomed since Bottomley, an influential journalist, "pressed for a more aggressive prosecution of the War by Great Britain and attacked anybody he deemed less patriotic than himself."⁵⁰ The panto concludes with the engagement of Jack and Margery, Dick and Natisha, Gerald and Miramis, and the hope of peace and a return home to 'Blighty' for the Salonika Force.

The three Salonika pantomimes, all set in war time, provide a circular narrative that begins and ends in England. *Dick Whittington* opens in London, and closes in Salonika with Alice and the chorus singing the 85th Anthem 'Ypres-I-Addy-I-Ay,' an adaptation of the song sensation 'Yip-I-Addy-I-Ay'⁵¹ that alludes to the Allies success at the battle of Ypres, France: "we'll stay here until peace is declared...I don't care what becomes of me – I'm perfectly safe in the R.A.M.C...I think that we've come here to stay/And though home may be bliss/ There are worse homes than this." Salonika is personified as Sal o' Nika, a siren luring Karno's Ambulance to her, "Where we yearn night and day/For a happy release." The pantomime ends on the optimistic note "Let's get back to Blighty/We shall get home one day...We shan't stop to shout 'Hooray!' /Full of esprit de corps/We shall bolt for the door."⁵²

Aladdin in Macedonia, as its title suggests, is set in the Balkans. Its use of Greek and French vocabulary, such as '*kalimera*'⁵³ and '*allez toute de suite*'⁵⁴ marks a familiarity and engagement with the local people and French allies in this joint Balkans campaign. Language is also used as a political weapon, for example, Mrs Twankey's reference to Abanazar as '*kamerad*' aligns him with the enemy.⁵⁵ Since home-leave is virtually impossible for the British Salonika Force, home is conjured up for them in the guise of the winsome Kitty, the girl from Blighty. The panto ends with a metaphorical return home when Aladdin wishes on the magic lamp and unites the cast and audience in a call for 'Blighty.' *Bluebeard's* opening words on the rise of the curtain: "*A Kardashlar kalkin!*"⁵⁶ again sets this panto in the Balkans. Indeed, the first act is set in Bluebeard's harem in Salonika but the cast is transported to the idyllic English rural village of Little Crowcombe, in summer, in the second act (see Fig. 11). The three pairs of lovers demonstrate that despite the war, love has conquered all since they declare their love and commitment to one another. Hope for peace is marked by

the imminent inter-racial marriages of Dick and Natisha, and Gerald and Miramis. The cast unites for the finale, which is dedicated to all those at home in Britain whom they love and are loyally serving to protect until peace can be secured for them forever.

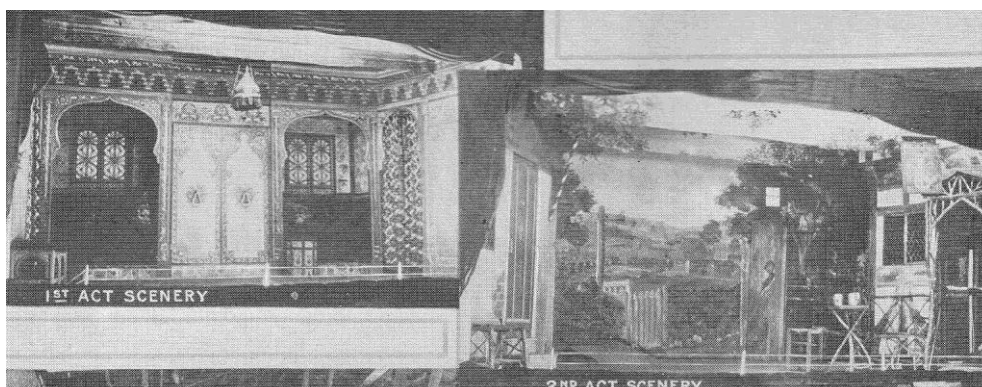


Figure 11. Horrocks, G.G. *Bluebeard: A Pantomime*. London: C. Jaques, 1918. 70-71.

The pantomimes set up a dialectic between Greece and the home front expressed through a model of landscape and environment. When Kitty Fraser, in *Aladdin in Macedonia*, is magically transported to ‘the wilds of Macedonia,’ she mistakenly believes that she’s been brought to a training camp on Hampstead Heath but is only convinced of her mistake when Bayswater points out that Hampstead Heath doesn’t have a well for drinking water or wild tortoises. Kitty is quickly made to feel vulnerable and threatened by this new environment when Bayswater points out “over there, behind yonder snow-capped peaks, lurk hordes of burly Bulgars.”⁵⁷ In contrast, the metropolitan cities and urban environs of England, which most of the British Salonika Force would have called home, aren’t represented in the pantos. Instead, Blighty is metonymically idealised as the pastoral village of Crowcombe in *Bluebeard*. Here the characters share a vision of postwar rural life, when the British Salonika Force will return by ship home. Once demobbed, the man will settle down to a life of hetero-normative marital bliss with their sweethearts. England now signifies safety. When Anne slaps Bluebeard’s face for some apparent insult, he responds ‘*Djendem jet Boudjana!*’ and she rebukes him, “Don’t you threaten me. You’re in England now you know.”⁵⁸ Bluebeard’s reference to Djendem, which means ‘hell’ and applies to the southern slope of Mt Botev, the highest peak in the Balkan mountain range in Bulgaria, and Boudjana, the highest mountain peak in Algeria, fails to intimidate Anne since she feels safe in the tranquillity and seclusion of Little Crowcombe.

The dyadic relation of masculinity-femininity is confused when Kitty and Aladdin dwell on what they’d do if they should come into possession of the magic lamp. Aladdin would party, making the Struma flow with wine before going to London with Kitty where they’d dine at a ‘swish hotel’ and do all the shows with no impediment of curfews. His dream of luxury and decadence is situated within Fuller’s definition of the feminine realm. In contrast, Kitty would act pragmatically and immediately send the lamp’s genie to Kiel to destroy the

traditional home of the German Navy and pressurise the Kaiser into proposing reasonable terms of peace. Whereas Aladdin's wish is to escape from the war and all that is associated with it, to return to the carefree heyday of pre-war London and its amusements, Kitty's practical wish to end the war by confronting the enemy in its own territory signifies masculinity.

H. Collison Owen notes "take a likely looking young man and dress him up suitably and he makes quite a pretty girl...which all seems to show that English beauty is essentially masculine."⁵⁹ This tension is evident in the character of Kitty Fraser, who epitomises Blighty and ultra-femininity, yet we are reminded of her 'masculine' qualities, working as she now does in a previously male occupation as bus conductor, when she rejects Bayswater's courtship stating that his voice reminds her of the brakes on her bus. Kitty, as a man in drag, reinforces the personification of the new modern woman who had different expectations of postwar life. For example, she has no intention when war ends, of relinquishing her employment to the previous incumbent, Sargeant Bluster.

Pantomime's polysemic coding, its dialectic of *double entendre* and knowing humour, provided a physical and imagined space to voice troops' shared experiences that united all ranks. This exclusivity is noted in a *Times* review of *Dick Whittington* that states because it was written by a soldier for his cohorts it has "jokes you can make in Salonika which must not be reported in the London Press," such as making an officer's authority a target of humour. In *Dick Whittington*, Horlicks who is on leave in London from the Western Front spends his precious time attempting to recruit the staff in Fitzwarren's store. Fitzwarren rejects the notion of serving as an ordinary soldier since he can't sleep eighteen in a tent. When he enquires about prerequisite qualifications to be an officer, his abject lack of any is deemed to be splendid.

The officer class is again the object of satire in *Aladdin in Macedonia*. Sergeant Bluster is an overbearing, tyrannous bully, ambitious to improve his status while Kitty Fraser believes Private Bayswater to be the commanding officer since he is upper-class, well-educated and comfortable delivering orders. Both Bluster and Bayswater bolster their identities with pretentious speech. Bluster clumsily affects a well-educated, upper class vernacular, for example, he describes himself as "a hasset to the nation - callin' rolls an' janglin' keys, shoutin' 'Shun!' an 'Stan'-at-hease! T'aint work 'is hintellectual hoccupation." Similarly, Bayswater marks his superiority by the way he pronounces his name 'Bassister.'

Food rationing

Dick Whittington foregrounds the monotonous and inadequate diet of bully beef and bread or biscuits on which the British Salonika Force typically subsisted: "the barbaric stuff called Army stew – which soldiers find impossible to chew."⁶⁰ Idle Jack sings "I had an Iron Ration – to the best of my belief the bag contained five biscuits and a tin of bully beef... I 'lost' that Iron Ration when entraining at Béthune; I've never bothered since about indenting for a new 'un. I'd carried it a twelvemonth to no purpose and was fed. I daresay the thing was

iron, but it rather weighed like lead.”⁶¹ Although Salonika only offered rare opportunities to shop, soldiers typically found the prices to be extortionate since shop owners and street hawkers attempted to maximise their profits.⁶² In *Dick Whittington*, Vermi and Jelli, dressed as Lascars, offer to sell curry and rice, a shilling per plate, to the soldiers, but that’s more than the men, who have just left Marseilles, have between them.⁶³ Similarly, in *Aladdin in Macedonia*, Bayswater baulks at the cost of coffee but Mrs Twankey informs him that “coffee very dear in Greece, Johnnie.”⁶⁴ Mrs Twankey resents the English Army Canteen since it undercuts her prices and therefore is “prejudicial to the plenty profits of the Greek Canteen.”⁶⁵

Dick Whittington opens in Alderman Fitzwarren’s store in Chelsea where the hungry apprentice Idle Jack thinks he can smell eggs and bacon cooking for breakfast. Dick reproaches him for failing to perform his cleaning duties and tells him that he’ll never make a Quartermaster (a senior soldier who specialises in distributing supplies and provisions to troops), and his punishment is to be a Food Orderly for the morning.⁶⁶ In contrast to the imagined eggs and bacon, the other apprentices, Vermi and Jelli, prepare a very meagre breakfast for all the staff of biscuits and the latter sings, “we sits down at table with great regularity, and we cracks up the biscuits thrown to us in charity.”⁶⁷ While they share this repast Idle Jack reads a newspaper account of a ‘serious food shortage in Germany’ where people in Berlin have resorted to eating rats.⁶⁸

Mrs Whittington’s title of Cook is a misnomer since there is very little food to prepare. Instead, she has plenty of time to flirt with Count Maconochie, play cards and sing about an unscrupulous cook who waters down the food to make it go round while she gorges on all the rations of bread dipped and fried in bacon grease. When Fitzwarren asks if his staff have any complaints, Jack begins with the tea which Fitzwarren tastes and declares to be the same as that supplied to the Army. With some irony he states that “the Army never complains. At any rate, the complaints never reach as far as this.”⁶⁹ Jack then continues with complaints about the gritty jam with nasty sharp pieces in it, and the lack of bread and sugar.⁷⁰ Maconochie jokes to Paxton that the ten thousand tins of the new meat and vegetable ration that he’ll be supplying to Fitzwarren is only fit for feeding to the British horses but it will be sent to feed the British forces.

Food continues to be a preoccupation in *Aladdin in Macedonia*. Bayswater’s first command to Orosdi, the genie of the lamp, is to supply him and his friends with alcohol, cigars and gourmet provisions. When Kitty is invited to eat with them she states “I always thought soldiers on Active Service lived on such plain food. Why I’ve had letters from men I know at the front – and some that I don’t – to say they were half-starved and I have saved up all my pocket money to send them out parcels. But here you are living like lords.” Bayswater replies: “until today we haven’t had anything but bully and biscuits for months. If you don’t believe me, come down the ravine with me and I’ll show you the tins.”⁷¹

There wasn't a piped water supply outside Salonika township, so typically village wells, such as the one in *Aladdin in Macedonia*, were integrated into the military system as many were supplied by natural springs. When not stationed in a village or ravine that had its own water supply, troops had to be content with fetching their ration from centrally located water-tanks. Water held in these tanks was usually chlorinated as a precaution against possible bacteria.⁷² In *Aladdin in Macedonia*, Sergeant Bluster orders the men not to drink the water in the well until he has purified it, a process he doesn't understand, but the medical authorities deem to be necessary. The troops, however, didn't approve since they believed it made the water undrinkable.⁷³ When Kitty has been to the well and returned with a pitcher of water to make tea, Aladdin informs her "But we don't draw water down there for drinking. We leave that stuff for Ginger [his mule] and the English soldiers. We have our own supply up here." Mrs Twankey tells Kitty that the water will do for washing the laundry.⁷⁴

Food shortages in England are again highlighted in *Bluebeard* when the female land worker orders some chicken and tongue for lunch at the Crowcombe Inn, only to be informed that she can't have either despite their inclusion on the menu because it's "like the E.F.C. price list – you have to miss every sixteen items." The common fare of chicken and tongue is now referred to as 'fancy dishes' which aren't served nowadays.⁷⁵ Eggs and cheese are also not available. Eventually she is given a mouldy pork pie!

Female impersonation



Figure 12. Jaques, C.H.B. "Aladdin, Kitty and Widow Twankey." *Aladdin in Macedonia*. By Frank Kenchington. London: Andrew Melrose, 1917. 62.

The practice of touring theatre troupes, including female performers, to the Western Front did not extend to the Balkans. Accomplished female impersonators were therefore highly esteemed in all-male troop concert parties. In an allusion to Polonius' speech about acting, in *Hamlet*, a reviewer of Claude Pratt's role as the handsome hero in the Salonika pantos (see Fig. 12), notes that "An 85th Pantomime without his striking presence and delightful voice would be unthinkable. ('Daddy! What did you do in the Great War?' 'I did enact Dick Whittington. I was kissed in the Pantomime; Alice kissed me!')."76 Pratt also played Aladdin, and Lancelot V. Gibson mischievously notes that "in acting it's essential to *live* your part; if you're meant to be in love, well, be in love, it doesn't hurt, at least Claude tells me, and he's tried several leading ladies."77 There is a lot of kissing in the Salonika pantomimes; whilst this provided titillation for their sex-starved audiences, and an opportunity for humour, the female impersonators also fragmented the blurring of binaries between heterosexuality and homosexuality. For example, shortly after Kitty and Aladdin express their love and kiss, Kitty kisses Mrs Twankey 'warmly' and then she kisses Major Twankey who returns the compliment with interest and states "That's the first bit of fun I've had since I left England."78 Kissing is also the preferred currency of Abanazar's wives. When he asks them to search the English camps for lamps, they are adamant in their choice of kisses as payment, in preference to money, and they agree on "One lamp, one kiss. Plenty lamps, plenty kisses."79

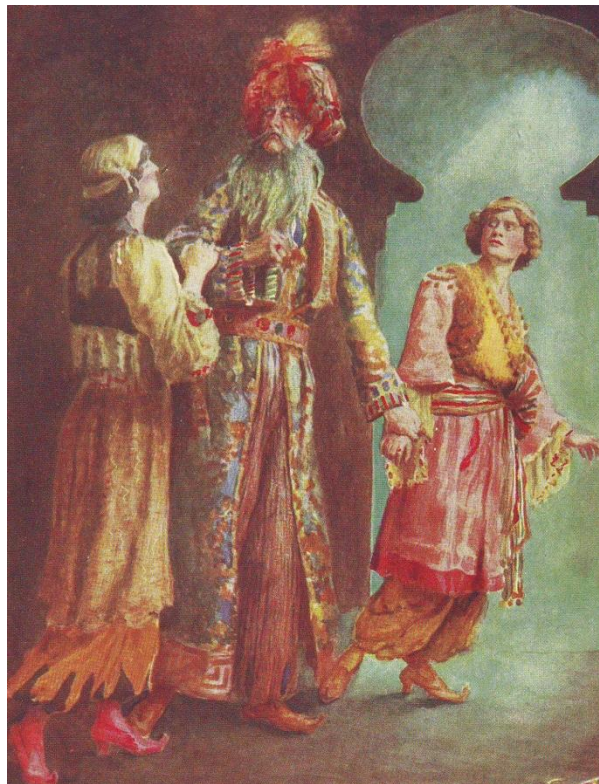


Figure 13. Jaques, C.H.B. "Bluebeard with Natisha and Miramis." Bluebeard: A Pantomime. By G.G. Horrocks. London: C. Jaques, 1918. Frontispiece.

Sailors' sexual promiscuity is the butt of much of the comedy in *Bluebeard*. When Gerald kisses Miramis she asks him "Do you realise that you are kissing a married woman?" In response, he fumbles for words and Miramis, in an aside, states "He's going to say something romantic" but instead he likens kissing her to "the dash of mustard with one's beef."⁸⁰ Sister Anne also has to remind Dick and Gerald that Mirimis and Natisha are married women (see Fig. 13). Margery states that "a sailor's said to marry wives on ev'ry foreign shore...sailors' hearts are made to carry love enough for three or four."⁸¹ Dick and Gerald invite Natisha and Miramis to travel with them to England where they are released from their marriages to Bluebeard, but the men then proceed to flirt with two female land workers until Jack ends the dalliance, scolding the 'two young bounders' and reminding them of their obligations to Bluebeard's ex-wives. While Mirimis and Natisha eagerly kiss Dick and Gerald, Margery spurns Bluebeard's love-making but when she kisses Jack she compliments him on his prowess, suggesting that she has had previous experience.



Figure 14. Jaques, C.H.B. [*Image of Corporal Edward J. Dillon as Alice*]. Dick Whittington: A Pantomime. By Frank Kenchington. London: [n.p.], 1916.

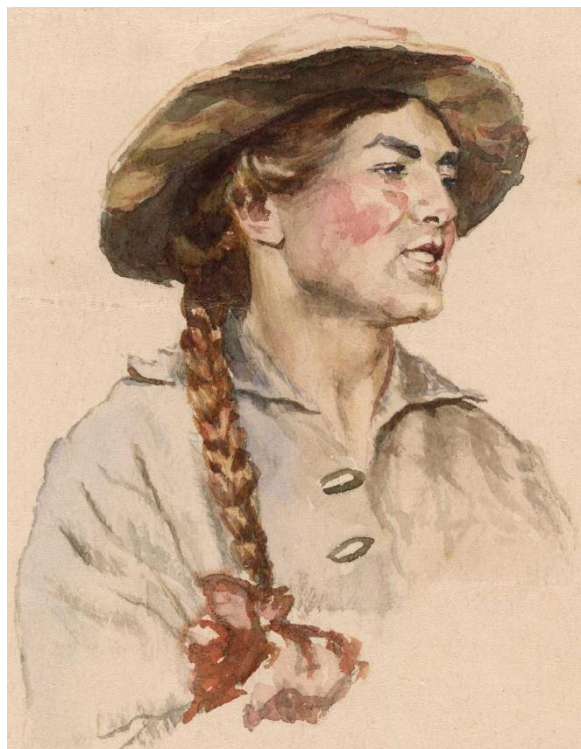


Figure 15. Jaques, C.H.B. [Image of Corporal Edward J. Dillon as Kitty]. (Courtesy of WSRO, Jaques MS20476).

Corporal Edward J. Dillon⁸² played the female protagonist roles as Alice in *Dick Whittington* and Kitty Fraser in *Aladdin in Macedonia* (see Figs. 14-16). Ward describes his Kitty as “the flapper of a dream – dainty, modest, with eyes, and a smile, and ankles that made it seem impossible, as you looked across the footlights, that she should be a corporal in a field ambulance who had been wrestling in the mud with refractory mules all day.”⁸³ A review in the *Balkan News* of his performance as Alice also describes him as:

too splendid for words – acting and looking a girl’s part to perfection. And not an ordinary girl, mind you, but a damned beautiful girl. Small ankles, delightful legs, fat, well-rounded cheeks, thin pencilled eyebrows, a tiny delicious mouth and the brightest of bright eyes. There wasn’t a man in the audience who wasn’t absolutely infatuated with her. And when in a charming love duet she tells Aladdin that “I think I’ll take my maiden kiss from you,” one just chokes with emotion, it’s all so splendid.⁸⁴



Figure 16. War Illustrated, 15 February 1916, 2135.

William Denton Mather worked as bookkeeper in 1918 at the Gaiety Theatre, Kalinova, Macedonia, and he states that the 'girls' were the main attraction of the revues produced by the 26th Divisional Theatre Company. To the sex-starved Tommies, they were simply known as 'FIs' (female impersonators) and opinion was always divided as to who was the most attractive. French officers visiting the show used to bring exotic gifts for their 'girl friends' and "those who took male parts and all our regulars had their special 'pets' and jealousy amongst the 'ladies' was, in consequence, rampant." Mather further notes that:

conditions were ideal for men making love and living together and I'm sure this was done extensively. According to reports, brothels were provided for troops of other nations but nothing was done for us and for many full-blooded men two years of enforced celibacy must have been purgatory."⁸⁵

Fuller's argument that female impersonators on the Western Front owed their appeal to an emphasis on glamour compared to local French peasant girls, who, working at manual chores in the absence of their menfolk, were often the antithesis of 'feminine'⁸⁶ is supported by the Salonika pantomimes. Whereas the female impersonators in such roles as Alice and Kitty represent an "idealised stereotype of soft and vulnerable romantic femininity," the local women in Greece are unflatteringly labelled in *Dick Whittington* as "not exactly no oil painting"⁸⁷ and the unnamed lady land worker in *Bluebeard* is described as wearing a "nice sensible kit."⁸⁸ In contrast, Bayswater, in *Aladdin in Macedonia*, extols Kitty Fraser as an archetype of English beauty since "there are no maids upon the mountains nearly so fair/There are no flappers on the plain with you to

compare.”⁸⁹ He proposes to her but she playfully rebuffs him and suggests that it’s time he was sent home on leave where once he’s back in town he’ll forget her in the excitement of taking girls out to Lyons tea house.

Kitty, ‘the girl from Blighty,’ is a metonym for an idealised home. She is magically transported from London to Salonika by the lamp’s genie when Bayswater laments “Give me one girl from Blighty and I am happy for life.”⁹⁰ Home leave was a rarity for those serving in the Balkans. In *Dick Whittington* it is described as an unconfirmed rumour expounded in the BSF’s own newspaper the *Balkan News*.⁹¹ Similarly, in *Bluebeard* a village yokel on seeing two soldiers exclaims, “Well, I’ve-a-zeen zome wunnerful zights in my time, but I never thought to zee soldiers on leave from Zalonika.”⁹² Wakefield and Moody report that “by June 1918, there were still 29,000 men who had had no leave for two and a half years and 2,300 men still waiting for the privilege after three years’ service in Greece.”⁹³ Bayswater asks for Kitty’s understanding when he tells her that he “hadn’t seen an English girl for two solid years, and if you only knew how we yearn sometimes for just one glimpse.”⁹⁴ However, war has changed English gals like Kitty, for they have joined the Land Army and are now working in men’s jobs. Bayswater accuses Kitty of running after a man’s job like the rest of them and she defiantly informs him that she intends to keep her position after the war. By coincidence Kitty has assumed Sargeant Bluster’s job as a conductor on the Shepherd’s Bush to Nag’s Head bus route and is more efficient, according to the bus driver, since she doesn’t interrupt the journey to frequent pubs.

Whereas Kitty is praised for her femininity and quintessential Englishness, “a fair maiden...like a sunflower in an English garden,”⁹⁵ Mrs Twankey, as the dame, is described as a “stout fellow,”⁹⁶ “an old woman in Macedonian garb.”⁹⁷ Act Two takes place outside Mrs Twankey’s cottage in Bali Bluma, a Macedonian village that’s Turkish rather than Greek. The scenic backdrop supports this staging with two graceful minarets soaring up into the blue sky. Mrs Twankey’s name ‘Sofia’ also links her to the landscape as she shares her name with the capital of Bulgaria. However, Mrs Twankey reveals that she too was once a beautiful and blushing young English flapper who fell in love with the haughty Captain Reginald Twankey. He soon abandoned her to join the Field Ambulance in Arabia where he was given a magic lamp by a native in recompense for medical treatment. The lamp’s genie made him wealthy but he longed for female companionship since “all English soldiers feel like that in time.”⁹⁸ He requests a ‘lovely’ English bride and on being fetched, Sofia willingly marries him although he soon regrets this and wishes that she be sent to the most awful place you can imagine, Macedonia. Since Mrs Twankey had no time to pack a ‘kit,’ her husband sends her off with the magic lamp and genie, which she fails to return.⁹⁹



Figure 17. Jaques, C.H.B. "Jack and Margery." *Bluebeard*. By G.G. Horrocks. London: C. Jaques, 1918. 34.

Although "England's the place for pretty girls,"¹⁰⁰ *Bluebeard* opens in the same-sex erotic-exotic space of the harem, and provides a vehicle for significantly more female impersonators, as nurses, Land Army recruits and *Bluebeard's* wives, than the previous Salonika pantomimes. The distinction between female impersonator and dame is best expressed in the roles of the English nurses, Anne and Margery who are stationed on a hospital ship in Salonika harbour; the former is described as 'old, ugly and stout' while the latter is 'young and beautiful.'¹⁰¹ Margery's femininity is marked by her association with elegance and luxury as the converse of war¹⁰² when she notes that "I used to lunch at the Savoy and wear the latest fashions."¹⁰³ Her uniform (see Fig. 16), however, threatens to devalue her femininity since it is utilitarian, 'rather coy,' 'hardly smart' and situates her within the context of war and squalor, the reverse of glamorous chic that Fuller identifies as a potent fetish of peace.¹⁰⁴ Although Anne is seeking a mate and she asserts that beneath her uniform 'beats a loving heart,'¹⁰⁵ she is repeatedly marked as unattractive and ungainly. This is reinforced by her de-eroticised dame status and her mistaken belief that she is sexually attractive to other men: "my figure too, has been much admired. My patients simply adore me."¹⁰⁶

The wearing of service uniforms also suggests a problematic slippage between signifiers of cross-dressing and masculinity. When Zogitoff (Bluebeard's bodyguard) is reprimanded for contravening the rule that men are not allowed to enter the ladies' quarters, he responds "I'm not a man – I'm an officer."¹⁰⁷ Although he boasts about getting "among the fluffy flappers at the War Office,"¹⁰⁸ he proves to be sexually-inexperienced and an inept lover; for example, he fails to recognise that Orosdi Back is a brothel frequented by the men. In *Dick Whittington* there is slippage between the interplay of a fictive diegetic world and reality when Dick enters and commands "Shun! Orderly Officer!" and there's confusion at the breakfast table as to who is the senior man present. All rise together, including the cat. Jack thinks that Cookie (Mrs Whittington) is the senior man but 'she' responds "Stop your nonsense! I'm a wo-man."¹⁰⁹ David A. Boxwell's assertion that "the excess of male cross-dressing in mass troop entertainments flirted with the possibility of repairing schisms in the homosocial continuum in ways that were wholly untenable in the aftermath of war"¹¹⁰ is borne out by the Salonika pantos since the postwar revivals had females replace female impersonators in these cross-dressed parts.

Malaria

Disease caused more casualties than the enemy during the Balkans campaign, and malaria was the chief infection since Macedonia was one of Europe's malaria black spots.¹¹¹ Owen reports the total admissions for malaria to have been 29,594 between January and October 1916, 63,396 between November 1916 and October 1917, and 67,059 for the period November 1917 to October 1918.¹¹² In 1916 it was possible to evacuate the most serious cases, however, this stopped in April 1917 due to the introduction of unrestricted submarine warfare. Consequently the incidence of malaria soared as the infected men were compelled to stay in Macedonia. Although malaria was responsible for only one per cent of deaths of those admitted to hospital, the key problem was its wearing effect on manpower, largely due to re-occurrence of symptoms that did not require a subsequent bite.¹¹³ It wasn't until early 1918 that the British were again able to evacuate the worst cases, such as Maurice Taylor who was shipped to an English hospital in Liverpool where he was discharged in July 1919.¹¹⁴ Norman King, a member of the 85th Field Ambulance panto company¹¹⁵ was also one of approximately 30,000 men evacuated under the 'Y' scheme but many continued to suffer repeated relapses well after the end of the war.¹¹⁶



Figure 18. Photograph of soldiers in *Bluebeard* displaying a malaria chart. (Courtesy of WSRO, Jaques MS20476).

Malaria and the incidence of reinfection is a key concern in *Bluebeard*. When Lieutenant Carruthers proposes to take Bluebeard back to England, Sam states, “I’m coming too. I’ve had malaria five times.”¹¹⁷ Similarly, on rare home leave for two soldiers a villager asks them, “well Ted, have ‘ee brought any souvenirs with ‘ee from Salonika?”, and the soldier replies “Yes, this is what I got” and he displays a malaria chart much to the amusement of the village folk (see Fig. 17).¹¹⁸

Postwar panto revivals

Quasi-familial bonds with comrades, such as ‘dear old Daddy’ Meares,¹¹⁹ continued after the war with associations such as the 85th Club (the Old Comrades Association of the 85th (3rd London Territorial) Field Ambulance, RAMC) and the Salonika Re-Union Association, with its various branches throughout England. The 85th Club produced a twice-yearly magazine for its members and ex-members of the Salonika Forces, to share personal news and organise re-union dinners, outings and fund-raising activities. Annual consecutive revivals in London, between 1921 and 1931, of the three Salonika pantomimes by members of the 85th Field Ambulance also provided a much-needed mutual haven for demobbed soldiers from the Balkans who had been painted in the popular press as the ‘Gardeners of Salonika,’ following Georges Clemenceau’s criticism that the French and British in Salonika were digging roads and trenches instead of launching a Balkan offensive.¹²⁰ The campaign in Macedonia was considered by many to be a ‘side-show’ due to the apparent lack of activity there compared to the Western Front. Despite the censure of those at home, life in Macedonia was far from easy and the Allied army waged a long successful campaign in appalling conditions, which was ultimately overshadowed by victory on the Western Front.¹²¹ Revivals of the Salonika pantomimes offered a figurative ‘home’ for many ex-soldiers of the British Salonika Force who missed the comradeship and security of army life and typically felt lonely and alienated by their wartime experiences. H. J. Debenham states that “although you have given us Blighty (which we hope to be a permanent one) we still have need of your [Orosdi’s – the genie of the lamp]

services, and are not ready to give you the final 'Allez Toute de Suite,' Orosdi – not yet."¹²²

In 1929, *Aladdin in Macedonia* ran for three nights, with a receipt of £191 6s 5d from the sale of 1300 tickets, programmes and donations. H. J. Debenham reports that an attempt was always made to fill the various parts with people who originally took them abroad. Abroad of course the female characters were by necessity taken by men, but in the revivals they were typically played by women. Corporal Edward J. Dillon played the female protagonist role in two of the three Salonika pantos and "at the outset it was decided, and rightly, that in deference to the memory of poor Dillon – the best loved and most popular figure in the Ambulance, no male substitute should (or could) be found to take his place, and the parts which he created abroad in the various pantomimes have always been taken by a lady in their subsequent reproduction in London."¹²³ Debenham notes that "it has often been said that a truer 'flavour' of the original pantomime would be retained if the Ladies' Chorus were formed of men. This may be so, and it is certainly a debatable point, but there is no doubt that, from the producer's point of view, female impersonators would detract very largely from the aesthetic value of the picture."¹²⁴ In contrast, the Dame role, in postwar revivals, continued to be played by a man in drag. In 1929, Stewart Bramall was Widow Twankey "and again treated us to one of those complete little studies in characterisation that we have long learnt to look for from him."¹²⁵

Conclusion

The Times in its review of *Dick Whittington in Greece: A Soldier's Pantomime* notes that "the official military maps of the district bear the names of 'Fitzwarren's Corner,' 'Alice Lane,' and so forth; and who knows but that these names, and with them this pantomime, may go down in glory through British history?"¹²⁶ The 85th Field Ambulance pantomimes deserve to be glorified as more than mere entertainment for bored, war-weary soldiers since they provided a significant haven for the British Salonika Force to negotiate 'home' in the Balkans, with its concomitant lack of females, almost non-existent leave, harsh environment, disease and monotonous diet, and the desire to return to home to Blighty.

¹ The common soldier in the British Army began to be called 'Tommy Atkins,' or simply 'Tommy,' in the nineteenth century, and this nomenclature became particularly popular during World War 1. Salonika is also spelt Salonica.

² Frank Kenchington, *Dick Whittington: A Pantomime* (London: [n.p.], 1916).

³ Frank Kenchington, *Aladdin in Macedonia* (London: Andrew Melrose, 1917).

⁴ G.G Horrocks, *Bluebeard: A Pantomime* (London: C. Jaques, 1918).

⁵ Kenchington, *Dick Whittington*, xviii.

⁶ Frank Kenchington, "Introductory Note," Souvenir Programme for *Dick Whittington*, 85th Club Reunion, London, March 19, 1931. Author's collection. Kenchington, *Dick Whittington*, x.

- ⁷ J. G. Fuller, *Troop Morale and Popular Culture in the British and Dominion Armies 1914-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 106.
- ⁸ Jonathan Bollen, "Remembering Masculinities in the Theatre of War," *Australasian Drama Studies*, 46 (2005): 11.
- ⁹ Alan Wakefield and Simon Moody, *Under the Devil's Eye: The British Military Experience in Macedonia 1915-1918* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 2011), 59.
- ¹⁰ *War Illustrated* 5 (1915): 1456.
- ¹¹ Wakefield and Moody, *Under the Devil's Eye*, 3.
- ¹² Alan Wakefield, *Christmas in the Trenches* (Stroud: Sutton, 2006), 59.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, 59.
- ¹⁴ *Poverty Bay Herald* (Gisborne), March 1 1916: 6.
- ¹⁵ Kenchington, *Aladdin in Macedonia*, 25.
- ¹⁶ Wakefield and Moody, *Under the Devil's Eye*, 166.
- ¹⁷ L. J. Collins, *Theatre at War, 1914-18* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), 110.
- ¹⁸ Frank Kenchington, "Introductory Note."
- ¹⁹ Gordon Williams, *British Theatre in the Great War: A Re-evaluation* (London: Continuum, 2003), 82-85.
- ²⁰ John Mullen, "Popular Song in Britain during the Two World Wars," University of Caen Conference, November 2007, <http://www.jcmullen.fr/twoworldwars.pdf>.
- ²¹ Wakefield and Moody, *Under the Devil's Eye*, 167.
- ²² Wakefield, *Christmas in the Trenches*, 63.
- ²³ *Poverty Bay Herald* (Gisborne), August 4 1916: 3.
- ²⁴ Wakefield and Moody, *Under the Devil's Eye*, 12.
- ²⁵ *Poverty Bay Herald* (Gisborne), August 4, 1916: 3.
- ²⁶ G. Ward Price, *The Story of the Salonica Army* (London: Hodder and Stroughton, 1917), 263.
- ²⁷ *Poverty Bay Herald* (Gisborne), March 1 1916: 6.
- ²⁸ This photograph includes Gordon Hills, Stewart Bramall Lancelot V. Gibson, Norman King, A. Marlow Lewis, Herbert Sharpe, Charles Henry Buxton Jaques and Oscar Bunyard.
- ²⁹ Price, *The Story of the Salonica Army*, 263.
- ³⁰ Kenchington, *Dick Whittington*, 4.
- ³¹ David Pickering, ed, *Encyclopedia of Pantomime* (Andover: Gale, 1993), 66-67.
- ³² Kenchington, *Dick Whittington*, x.
- ³³ Letter from Norman H. Hadfield to Mrs K. C. Goodyear, Rothsay, Plaistowe Lane, Bromley, Kent, April 17 1916, Greece. Author's collection.
- ³⁴ Kenchington, *Dick Whittington*, xix.
- ³⁵ Kenchington, "Introductory Note."
- ³⁶ Kenchington, *Dick Whittington*, xv.
- ³⁷ Kenchington, *Dick Whittington*, xvi.
- ³⁸ Fuller, *Troop Morale and Popular Culture in the British and Dominion Armies*, 102.
- ³⁹ "Dick Whittington in Greece: A Soldier's Pantomime," *Times* (London), July 15 1916: 11.
- ⁴⁰ Kenchington, *Aladdin in Macedonia*, vii-viii.
- ⁴¹ Nem, "The Greatest Pantomime that Ever Was," *Balkan News*, January 11 1917: 1.
- ⁴² Kenchington, *Aladdin in Macedonia*, ix-xi.
- ⁴³ Pickering, *Encyclopedia of Pantomime*, 5.
- ⁴⁴ Kenchington, *Aladdin in Macedonia*, 1.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 101.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 11.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 102.
- ⁴⁸ Horrocks, *Bluebeard: A Pantomime*, 13.
- ⁴⁹ Pickering, *Encyclopedia of Pantomime*, 26.
- ⁵⁰ Julian Simons, *Horatio Bottomley* (London: Cresset, 1955), 182.
- ⁵¹ "Yip-I-Addy-I-Ay," composed by John H. Flynn with lyrics by Will D. Cobb, was a huge hit in London and Paris before being introduced to America in 1908. It was included in the stage musical *Our Miss Gibbs* in 1909.
- ⁵² Kenchington, *Dick Whittington*, 47-48.

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- 53 *Kalimera* – Greek for good day
- 54 *Allez toute de suite* – French for go immediately.
- 55 Kenchington, *Aladdin in Macedonia*, 82.
- 56 *A Kardashlar kalkin* - Turkish for brethren arise.
- 57 Kenchington, *Aladdin in Macedonia*, 32.
- 58 Horrocks, *Bluebeard: A Pantomime*, 52.
- 59 H. Collinson Owen, *Salonica and After: The Sideshow that Ended the War* (London: Hodder, 1919), 121-22.
- 60 Kenchington, *Dick Whittington*, 13.
- 61 *Ibid.*, 23.
- 62 Wakefield and Moody, *Under the Devil's Eye*, 159.
- 63 Kenchington, *Dick Whittington*, 21.
- 64 Kenchington, *Aladdin in Macedonia*, 70.
- 65 *Ibid.*, 90.
- 66 Kenchington, *Dick Whittington*, 2.
- 67 *Ibid.*, 5.
- 68 *Ibid.*, 3.
- 69 *Ibid.*, 4.
- 70 *Ibid.*, 5.
- 71 Kenchington, *Aladdin in Macedonia*, 34.
- 72 Wakefield and Moody, *Under the Devil's Eye*, 140.
- 73 *Ibid.*, 140.
- 74 Kenchington, *Aladdin in Macedonia*, 63.
- 75 Horrocks, *Bluebeard: A Pantomime*, 49.
- 76 "Pantomime Pie: Another Brilliant 85th Success," *85th Magazine* 5.15 (1928): 8.
- 77 Lancelot V. Gibson, "Stage Hints to Amateurs," *85th Magazine* 5.15 (1928): 16.
- 78 Kenchington, *Aladdin in Macedonia*, 104.
- 79 *Ibid.*, 92.
- 80 Horrocks, *Bluebeard: A Pantomime*, 19.
- 81 *Ibid.*, 31.
- 82 Corporal Edward J. Dillon applied for a commission in the Royal Flying Corps in 1917 and after a period of training he served on the Western Front, before returning to England as an instructor at 7th Training Depot Station at Feltwell in Norfolk. He died, aged twenty-three, in a flying accident on 12 April 1918, and is buried in St Mary's Roman Catholic section of Kensal Green Cemetery. See *The Long, Long Trail: The British Army in the Great War of 1914-1918*, <http://www.1914-1918.net/>
- 83 Price, *The Story of the Salonica Army*, 264.
- 84 *Balkan News*, January 11 1917.
- 85 William Denton Mather, *Life with the British Salonika Forces 1917-19* (1974), 168. Contained in the Private Papers of W. D. (William Denton) Mather, MS12313. Imperial War Museum, London.
- 86 Fuller, *Troop Morale and Popular Culture in the British and Dominion Armies*, 106.
- 87 Kenchington, *Dick Whittington*, 56.
- 88 Horrocks 38.
- 89 Kenchington, *Aladdin in Macedonia*, 79.
- 90 Kenchington, *Dick Whittington*, 26.
- 91 *Ibid.*, 3.
- 92 Horrocks, *Bluebeard: A Pantomime*, 35.
- 93 Wakefield and Moody, *Under the Devil's Eye*, 145.
- 94 Kenchington, *Aladdin in Macedonia*, 32.
- 95 *Ibid.*, 46.
- 96 *Ibid.*, 72.
- 97 *Ibid.*, 61.
- 98 *Ibid.*, 66.
- 99 *Ibid.*, 67.
- 100 Horrocks, *Bluebeard: A Pantomime*, 33.
- 101 *Ibid.*, 26.

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- ¹⁰² Fuller, *Troop Morale and Popular Culture in the British and Dominion Armies*, 106.
- ¹⁰³ Horrocks, *Bluebeard: A Pantomime*, 29.
- ¹⁰⁴ Fuller, *Troop Morale and Popular Culture in the British and Dominion Armies*, 106.
- ¹⁰⁵ Horrocks, *Bluebeard: A Pantomime*, 29.
- ¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 26.
- ¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 18.
- ¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁹ Kenchington, *Dick Whittington*, 4.
- ¹¹⁰ David A. Boxwell, "The Follies of War: Cross-Dressing and the Popular Theatre on the British Front Lines, 1914-18," *Modernism/Modernity* 9.1 (2002): 4.
- ¹¹¹ Wakefield and Moody, *Under the Devil's Eye*, 168.
- ¹¹² Owen, *Salonica and After: The Sideshow that Ended the War*, 290.
- ¹¹³ Wakefield and Moody, *Under the Devil's Eye*, 168.
- ¹¹⁴ Maurice Taylor (28 December 1896 - 28 January 1971) was in the 2nd Battalion, The King's Own (Royal Lancaster Regiment), which was part of 83rd Brigade, 28th Division in Salonika. Paul Taylor, *Family Memorabilia*, May 3 2010, http://memorabilia.homestead.com/TAYLOR_BROS.html.
- ¹¹⁵ He later received a commission in the Irish guards attached to the 4th Battalion Guards Machine Gun Regiment and died, 34 years old, of wounds on 26 May 1918. He is buried in Doullens Communal Cemetery Extension No. 2. World War 1 War Graves. Doullens Communal Cemetery 2008, <http://www.ww1wargraves.co.uk/ww1_cemeteries/ww1_cemetery_d.asp>.
- ¹¹⁶ Chris Morton, *Salonica Expedition Overview*, July 31 2001. http://www.users.globalnet.co.uk/~cjmorton/service/ww1/salonika_overview.htm.
- ¹¹⁷ Horrocks, *Bluebeard: A Pantomime*, 33.
- ¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 35.
- ¹¹⁹ 'Daddy' Meares earned his nick-name because he was older than most of his colleagues. Alfred Skinner notes that despite Daddy's age he could usually be found carrying somebody else's equipment as well as his own during their long treks in Salonika. "Alexander Tyssen Meares," *85th Magazine* 16.35 (1938): 6.
- ¹²⁰ Georges Benjamin Clemenceau, (28 September 1841 - 24 November 1929) served as the Prime Minister of France from 1906 to 1909, and again from 1917 to 1920. See Alan Palmer, *The Gardeners of Salonika* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1965), 71.
- ¹²¹ Morton, *Salonica Expedition Overview*.
- ¹²² H. J. Debenham, "Production of *Aladdin*," *85th Magazine*, 6.16 (1929): 15.
- ¹²³ *Ibid.*, 12.
- ¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 13.
- ¹²⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹²⁶ "Dick Whittington in Greece: A Soldier's Pantomime," *Times* (London), July 15, 1916: 11.