

The Secret Listeners

Pascal Theatre Company

Edited by Julia Pascal and Thomas Kampe

'The project set out to investigate little known events that happened during World War II at the large mansion house in Trent Park

What was the particular history that had been hidden for so long?'

'A site-specific investigation, a series of interviews with refugees and locals, a learning process and training for volunteers, a film, a public discussion, a new research document, a website, a book and much more.'

Julia Pascal

'The performance event central to this heritage educational project was conceived as a site-responsive tour, as a promenade-like immersive experience for the spectators as active, emancipated participants.'

Thomas Kampe



pascal
theatre
COMPANY

The Secret Listeners

The Secret Listeners

Pascal Theatre Company

Edited by Julia Pascal and Thomas Kampe

pascal
theatre
COMPANY





The Secret Listeners

Pascal Theatre Company

Edited by Julia Pascal and Thomas Kampe

A Brief History	7
Julia Pascal	
From Black Box to Open House What is Political Theatre?	11
Julia Pascal	
Listening as Learning	21
Thomas Kampe	
An Emerging Vision: Secret Listeners Working Methods	23
Thomas Kampe	
Partnerships	41
The Wiener Library and The Jewish Military Museum	
Research and Future Questions	45
Sally Mijit	
A Trent Park History	67
Melvyn Keen	
Reflections	73
Jonathan Meth, Mark Norfolk, Del Taylor, Susannah Kraft Levene, Wayne McGee and Lesley Lightfoot	
Credits	86

Julia Pascal **A Brief History**



This book gives an insight into a heritage arts educational project undertaken in 2012-2013 by Pascal Theatre Company. *The Secret Listeners* was made possible by a grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF). The project set out to investigate little known events that happened during World War II at the large mansion house in Trent Park, and from that exploration, several strands of educational work, which ran parallel to different activities during 2012 and 2013.

What was this particular history that had been hidden for so long? Several German and Austrian refugees, many of them Jewish, who had left Nazi

Germany before WW2, were recruited by British intelligence to spy on Wehrmacht Nazi prisoners in Trent Park.¹ The listeners all signed the Official Secrets Act and most never disclosed their part in this covert work. We wished to pay homage to these men for their massive contribution. They were our inspiration for this multi-layered project, engaging with a variety of generations and groups over the life of the project in 2012-2013.

Educationalists held workshops with young people, sharing with them the intriguing history of the work that went on at Trent Park. Oral historians trained volunteers to interview members of the public who were connected in some way with the history or the site. We interviewed and recorded, amassing a great deal of material to be left as a legacy for future students, researchers and curious members of the public. And, as we continued to

delve more deeply into the archives and memories of those connected to Trent Park or the WW2 refugees, we were surprised at how this buried history continued to fascinate us. In fact, we began to see links in the most disparate of stories, which contributed to our own intelligence gathering, as evidenced in Sally Mijit's chapter.

To document our findings, we organised two interviews with secret listener Fritz Lustig: one was audio and one was film. He seemed to embody the drama of the secret listeners and could provide us with details and atmosphere which allowed young volunteers, as well as audiences of all ages, to fully engage. What became clear, as we heard his voice and understood the context of his experience, was that the refugees provided vital information not only as a result of their extensive knowledge of the German language but also of cultural traditions. Through him we had a sense of what it was like to be a German Jew listening in on Nazis. Of course, some of the listeners were Germans who had fled for their very lives from the Nazis and their position as listeners here during the war had a certain political irony.

For the event at Trent Park, we used extracts from Sönke Neitzel's book *Tapping Hitler's Generals*². Neitzel uncovered the fact that the transcripts still existed, a considerable number in The National Archives. What Neitzel's transcripts showed was that many of these Generals knew of the atrocities and of the genocide. It was clear that some had witnessed scenes of mass murder. Despite the postwar myth that the Wehrmacht (the Army) had behaved honorably, Neitzel's evidence proved otherwise. Still, no guilty party was ever punished as a result of evidence collected at Trent Park.

¹ For the history of the Trent Park Mansion see Melvyn Keen's chapter on the history of the building before WW2.

² Neitzel, S., 2007. *Tapping Hitler's Generals – Transcripts of Secret Conversations, 1942-1945*. Barnsley: Frontline Books.

³ <http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/history/nazi-war-criminals-got-away-with-atrocities-because-of-evidence-hidden-in-uk-and-us-archives-8640776.html>

⁴ Sue Bowers. The Heritage Lottery Fund press release: 15 May 2012

In her chapter, Sally Mijit reveals that not all the transcripts have been made public and that, even decades after WW2, there is still secrecy. Neitzel said, 'It is regrettable that the intelligence services in the UK and the US did not make use of the documentation and did not pass it on to the German war crime investigation authorities in the latter part of the 20th century, before many of the suspects had died'.³

For us, the question was how to present this shocking material to new audiences. Thomas Kamp's chapter on Artistic Practice explores the philosophy behind the solution that was found. It was thrilling to all of us that we were able to use the actual site where such a secret history had happened for *The Secret Listeners* at Trent Park in July 2012. For this project PTC,

working with Middlesex University, The Jewish Military Museum, The Jewish Museum and the Wiener Library, trained twenty young volunteers to undertake the research needed to present this story as a series of guided tours over the weekend of the 22/23 July 2012.

The ensemble of those involved grew continuously. Young people were recruited from among students and graduates at Middlesex University and London Metropolitan University, as well as volunteers from the North London Jewish Community and Westminster Kingsway College. More followed from schools and other universities. They were given access to transcripts of the original recordings held in the National Archives, as well as to material from The Wiener Library and the Jewish Military Museum.

After the weekend of performances at Middlesex University, a subsequent event was held at The Jewish Museum on 20 January 2013. This was Mark

Julia Pascal

is a playwright and theatre director. She was the first woman to direct at the National Theatre. Her works have been seen internationally. They are published by Oberon Books. Pascal's Theatre Archive is housed at The University of York. She has written for *The Guardian*, *The Observer*, *The New Statesman*, *The Times*, *The Independent* and broadcast for BBC Radio. She was awarded a Fellowship by the National Endowment for Science and the Arts. www.juliapascal.org

Norfolk's movie of our processes and his filmed interview with Fritz Lustig; a panel discussion and a showing of new work by young people from Edgware District Reform Synagogue. A permanent record of the project will be available at The Wiener Library, The Jewish Military Museum and Middlesex University.

For the Heritage Lottery Fund, Head of HLF London, Sue Bowers said, *'This is a fascinating but little-known slice of national history which underlines the vital contribution made by this group of refugees. The young people taking part will help ensure that the story is much more widely known while at the same time gaining a range of valuable skills'*.⁴

This book offers an overview of the research, educational work and artistic processes that formed this innovative heritage project.

PTC continues to work with The Jewish Military Museum, The Wiener Library and The Jewish Museum to develop future links and to share the educational programmes.

Julia Pascal

From Black Box to Open House. What is Political Theatre?



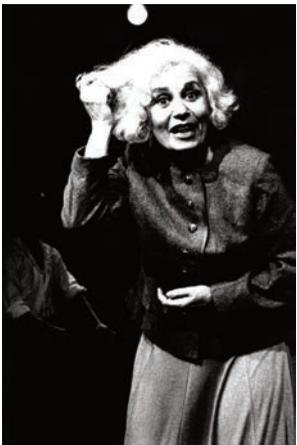
Pascal Theatre Company's history is rooted in the experimental stage play that is housed in a Black Box Theatre. Our techniques have been a radical use of text, movement and music as a way of exploring war in the twentieth century but the productions have mostly been in theatres and occasionally in community centres, schools or halls. The exception to this rule was a performance in Breitenau, Germany, where we performed *Theresa* in a former concentration camp.⁵

Though the plays have defied any naturalistic form, and have often been worked and reworked to challenge expectation of such staging, the receiving venue has usually been part of a British and continental European touring network dedicated to the 'traditional' or avant-garde stage play. The dramatic structures used by the team have deliberately explored how to stretch theatrical expectations. This began in 1990 with the production of *Theresa*. Our first London performances were at the Oval House Theatre where the audience was mainly young black women. I had thought they would not relate to an event rooted in The Third Reich and in wartime Guernsey. I was wrong. They understood this story of loss of identity and what it was like to be a refugee and responded to it as if it were the history of their own families. Sitting in the audience with them taught me that theatre can have its particularity and, if the work has authenticity, it crosses cultural boundaries. 1990 was also the moment when I began my artistic collaboration with the

performer/choreographer Thomas Kampe who performed in and choreographed *Theresa*.

Inspired by the history of Theresa Steiner, a Viennese music student who, with the collaboration of the Bailiff and Channel Island police, was deported from Guernsey to Auschwitz, the text for *Theresa* used a deliberate mixture of different theatre styles to tell a story which had massive political implications.⁶ Shockingly, it revealed British collaboration with the Nazis on the Channel Islands and, implicit in the work was the question, would the mainland have also willingly delivered its Jews to the Nazis as the collaborating Channel Island government did? The play was highly successful and was performed for over a decade in Britain and continental Europe even though it was banned in Guernsey.

Theresa's structure was not that of the political drama with a linear narrative but it moved from Expressionism, Music Hall, Living Theatre, satirical use of dance and music and a multilingualism to disturb audiences in a Brechtian manner. It also aimed to suggest how language loss can suggest displacement and exile. This theatre piece featured Ruth Posner, herself a survivor from the Warsaw Ghetto. Her presence brought

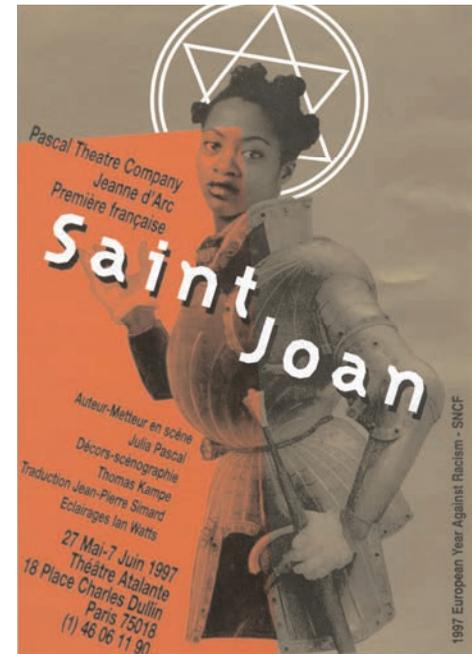


a historical and dramatic authenticity to the stage as a result of her lived experience as an escapee. She transmitted a silent atmosphere which clearly affected audiences. That Posner was an actor, whose English voice was clearly inflected with Polish, an older woman able to add moments of her own life to the text and to evoke an era which emanated from her own body, was to push audiences into a totally new experience.

Other ways of challenging audiences were explored in *A Dead Woman On Holiday*, set in the Nuremberg

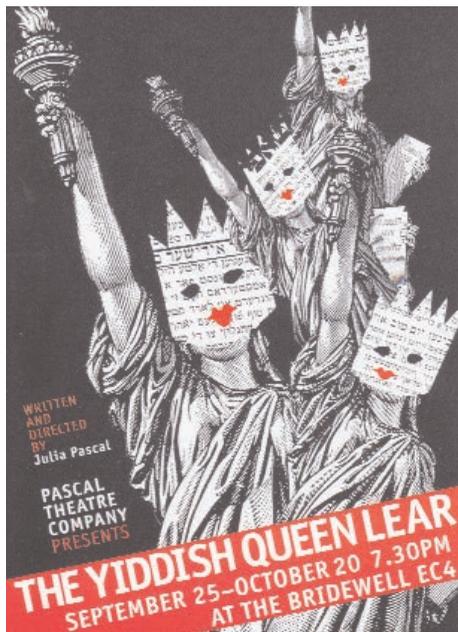
Trials, and again using moments of cabaret, absurdism and multilingual testimony to engage audiences by changing genres, while exploring how far the boundaries could be pushed by mixing many different styles. In the postmodern version of *The Dybbuk*⁷ where fragments of the original Chassidic legend are unwillingly retold by five starving Jews in an East European ghetto, kabbalah is an essential part of the structure; jumping from Rough Theatre⁸ to an almost cinematic gothic in a crazy dance of death influenced by Michał Waszynski's 1937 Yiddish film. There was poetry and absurdism in the satirical play *St Joan* where a Black Jewish Londoner dreams herself to be Joan of Arc. The aim of all these texts was to evoke moments of history in a fresh way and to challenge the idea that theatre cannot explore Holocaust imaginatively and without exploitation, sensation or sentimentality. With *St Joan* in the repertoire, we were able to look at Holocaust experience and slavery through testimony, and transform it into a provocative experience for new audiences.

Many of the texts were inspired by live witness. In *Woman In The Moon*, memories of French, Austrian and German elderly men, who had been adolescent slave labourers in Camp Dora, were the source of many monologues⁹. In order to also honour women's lives, interviews with Eugenie Dodd (née Rosenberg)



who had been a baby hidden underground in Krakow, offered rare glimpses into images and events from a girl's memory. My specific aim was also to explore girls' and womens' memories of the Holocaust, as so much of this history has been neglected. I was influenced by my reading of *Women In The Holocaust* which also explores this area.¹⁰

If theatre is essentially a moral tool, then the Company has used living memory as source material provoking an examination of histories that have been buried to avoid certain contemporary moral issues. In *Woman In The Moon*, the morality of using scientific research gained through Nazi slave labour fuelled the interrogation of the leading character, former SS scientist Wernher von Braun. His media image is that of the brains behind the 1969 Moon Landing; as a US hero. But he achieved this because of the work (and deaths) of slaves in Camp Dora. The play links the two experiences and questions the morality of science which benefits from Nazi war crimes.



These works were an interrogation of major twentieth century crimes and were written and produced to challenge conventional responses within conventional settings. It was only with *The Secret Listeners* that there was a huge shift in the way we worked.

What we were doing that was new for us, was taking authentic evidence as sourced from material in The Wiener Library, the Jewish Military Museum and through Sönke Neitzel's edited transcripts, and re-imagining it in the very place where it had

happened. In this venue, a variety of texts and images were presented as a montage between the walls where the POWs were overheard by the refugees, once destined to be their victims. This gave an added poignancy to the material that audiences were sharing in the 2012 event. This bitter-sweetness was emphasised in Del Taylor's educational workshops. Of course we, and the audience, were aware that the young volunteer performers were speaking some of the actual text spoken in



Trent Park by The Generals who later walked free. Their words suggested that some POWs were an active part of the mass murders. Why were they never put on trial? Was this because, after 1945, the British authorities found a new enemy? The Soviets. And, as British intelligence were using the same listening techniques

to spy on the Russians, MI5 realised that news of secret listening at Trent Park and other listening sites, would have revealed their spying techniques. For this reason the action was hidden for over 60 years. Also, by 1945, the post-war mood for punishing Nazi criminals was fast disappearing to be replaced by the desire to reconstruct German democracy and improve British-German relations. None of this was stated by our performance but such questions hang in the air for students of this history. Sally Mijit details this research in her chapter which takes our project forward into a new territory for researchers.

In fact, there is a connection between the recent revelation that the secret listeners at Trent Park heard about Peenemünde¹¹. To my surprise there was a circularity here. PTC's production of *Woman On The Moon* written ten years earlier also exposes the V1 construction in Peenemünde.¹² This was written through research but without the knowledge that the intelligence was

gathered at Trent Park through the secret listeners. Only now has it been revealed that the listeners at Trent Park overheard talk about Peenemünde and that their revelations played an important part in assembling the whole story.

In recent British theatre history there is a tradition of the drama documentary, particularly at the Tricycle Theatre. However, our work has been defying the court room style drama in an attempt to push theatrical styles away from any association with television news. We have now moved out of the Black Box and dared to open up history and heritage in the very space it occurred but not through any attempt at realism. Through this site specific work we have changed the Company's direction and extended past experience into another form. If the previous performances were based on testimony but constructed into a fictionalised drama this one was quite different. While *The Secret Listeners* at Trent Park was deliberately not a documentary, it was an atmospheric living performance where the unusual performance spaces were as much an attraction as the performers. Whereas previously I was the writer/director with control of the text and physicality, here I was the producer supporting a director and team. I was aware that we were far from Black Box thinking but in a panoramic vision of multiple sounds, images and texts, being played out in several rooms simultaneously as described by Thomas Kampe. My supervisory role was seeing the big picture rather than focusing on the minutiae of theatrical detail. Other major differences, apart from the audience's participation as walking spectators, was that our previous work was only performed by professionally trained actors. In *The Secret Listeners* it was supervised by professional theatre practitioners but carried out by student volunteer performers from Middlesex University, London Metropolitan University and Westminster Kingsway College. New to us was the way these spectators were part of the performance. Also

new was the immediate emotional work of healing between generations and histories. I witnessed this watching Thomas Kampe, whose own father had been in the Wehrmacht and had also been a prisoner of the French in North Africa, hold hands with elderly German Jewish survivors who experienced *The Secret Listeners*.



There was a double urgency to our work at Trent Park. The immediate one was that Middlesex University was to sell the building, as described in Melvyn Keen's chapter. There was also the time pressure. Fritz Lustig, was in his 90s and, therefore, it was vital for us to record his living testimony. Our volunteer performers were made aware of the importance of a fast response to the brief time we could inhabit the building. As a consequence of their learning, as described in Thomas Kampe's chapter, they realised that their work was invested with the weight of this heritage and the success of the event was overwhelming. We had more visitors than we could accommodate. However, we were aware that Middlesex University was on the eve of evacuating the building. We were surrounded by packing cases which emphasised that we had to move with speed. As Lesley Lightfoot details in her chapter, this was the final opportunity to present this performance at Trent Park with the University's support.

After the event we had time to reflect. The Company was able to analyse the amount of work that had been carried out by the team by watching Mark Norfolk's film of our work processes. We offered this reflection as a presentation at The Jewish Museum in January 2013 allowing new audiences to see our work and to speak with Fritz Lustig and the Company members as well as the educational team and new volunteer performers from Edgware District Reform Synagogue.

To our surprise the project continues to attract participants, interviewees, researchers and the press. In 2013 Fritz Lustig's son, the former BBC journalist Robin Lustig, mentioned the performance in the *Radio Times*¹³.

⁵ Breitenau, near Kassel in Germany was used after WW2 to assemble 'delinquent' girls.

⁶ Theresia Steiner was a Viennese Jew who came to England to escape the Nazis. She found work here as a domestic. Her name was often written as Theresa Steiner in official British documentation. The anglicised version of her name was used for the stage text and in the BBC Radio Play *The Road To Paradise* broadcast 1996.

⁷ Pascal, J., 2000. *The Holocaust Trilogy*. London: Oberon Books.

⁸ Brook, P., 1968. *The Empty Space*. London: McGibbon & Kee. In his chapter *The Rough Theatre*, Brook describes a style that is often satirical and also engaged with social change.

⁹ Pascal, J., 2001. *The Yiddish Queen Lear/Woman In The Moon*. London: Oberon Books.

¹⁰ Sonja M. et al (eds), 2010. *Sexual Violence Against Jewish Women During the Holocaust*. Hanover and London: UP of New England.

¹¹ Peenemünde was a secret slave camp where the V1 rockets were being constructed.

¹² Pascal, J., 2001. *The Yiddish Queen Lear/Woman In The Moon*. London: Oberon Books.

¹³ *Radio Times* 29 June-5 July 2013.

It is clear that creating a new work which has been enriched by years of previous study, writing, performance and production, in a building with such a dense history, takes us on a different journey. We were happy to offer our findings to those who are not traditional theatre goers but new audiences. On that hot July weekend in 2012 the participants were diverse. There were local families, war and military students of all ages, researchers, those who had lived through WW2, local historians and groups of curious spectators who wanted to get into this special building. It has now been sold and may never have the same open access. We seized the opportunity to take over the building for a weekend and show it in a way that was a radical departure in our performance history. The Company took an experimental direction which owes much to the many participants, supporters and audiences who commemorated the work of the secret listeners.

This book has been constructed to reflect the practice and observations of the many involved.

Thomas Kampe, as director, reveals his journey into working on the material and offers this as a blueprint to others questioning how to make performance from a troubling historical legacy in a highly charged location. Melvyn Keen brings us a picture of what it was like to work at Trent Park



and to feel the history transmitted on its walls as well as sharing his surprise at learning the details of its military importance during WW2. Del Taylor allows us to understand how historical transcripts can fuel workshops and creative responses from young people, and film director Mark Norfolk explains how recording this process took him to a new teaching arena. Mike Tsang's involvement and photos give us an idea of how an artist outside this particular history can be seduced by its complexity. And a whole team of volunteers from Middlesex University, London Metropolitan University and Westminster Kingsway College brought their own visions and reactions, making this a truly diverse project at every level. Of course the audience was

also part of the activity and their thoughts are also chronicled here. To complete the book Sally Mijit traces her research which led her into an international arena and opened up questions that are still unanswered.

We thank the Heritage Lottery Fund for their total support of this far-reaching and exciting project which may seem to be drawing to an end and yet always appears to be just beginning.

***The Secret Listeners* Project entailed:**

- A site specific performance at Trent Park
- A showing of work at The Jewish Museum
- A film of the process and performance as well as an interview with Fritz Lustig by Mark Norfolk
- The training of oral historians
- Workshops with young people from Jigsaw, Edgware District Reform Synagogue
- Interviews with refugees connected to Trent Park and others conducted by a team of volunteers
- Legacy & Documentation
- DVD of processes and interviews lodged with The Wiener Library, The Jewish Military Museum, Middlesex University. Film by Mark Norfolk (57 mins)
- Tapes and manuscripts of these interviews lodged at The Wiener Library and The Jewish Military Museum
- The book of *The Secret Listeners*
- Research and sound clips on www.secretlisteners.com.

Thomas Kampe **Listening and Learning**



The Secret Listeners was conceived as an educational and artistic response to a specific historical event during WW2. Listening. Refugees, conscripted by the British, to listen to the conversations of German officers, were working as a form of resistance against a barbaric regime. Our Heritage Lottery-funded project offered a multitude of levels of listening and learning: a listening to recordings and stories from the past – to forget such stories would be barbaric – a complex process of training for the interviewing of children of displaced Holocaust survivors, demanding sensitivity and skill, and a live event that brought together a diverse group of people to

listen to recorded sounds and narratives by performers. This event included an active embodied listening, as an act of empathy between people who had never met before, who brought their expectations, fears and desires to develop a new understanding of history through educational and artistic processes.

Over the past twenty three years, PTC has exemplified models of good practice of cultural transformation through performance events presented throughout Europe. A performance in the ex-concentration camp Breitenau, near Kassel in Germany, that had its dark secrets exposed through the critical journalism of the young Ulrike Meinhof, brought together actor and Warsaw Ghetto escapee Ruth Posner with groups of German teenagers. Posner told her story of surviving to the silent group of school

children, and she notes that this moment of collective listening brought trust, hope and potential personal resolution as cultural healing back into her life.

The performance of the play *Theresa* in the French city of Maubeuge (1991) brought the performers together with a group of survivors of the first transport from the French transit camp Drancy to Auschwitz. These survivors gave a talk in la Salle Sthrau – in French – about their experience in Auschwitz. I listened to and, incredibly, understood. Yet I speak no French. It seemed that, briefly, my habitual mode of listening was suspended.

Afterwards I waited at the exit to thank the men. But what language to choose? The group spoke no English. When the survivors passed by I offered my thank you in German. 'Oh, you speak German?', the man opposite me asked. I hesitated,

Thomas Kampe PhD has collaborated with Julia Pascal since 1990. He has worked as an artist and educator for the last 30 years and currently works as Senior Lecturer for movement for actors at Bath Spa University. His work is driven by a commitment to collaborative practice, experimentation, social inclusion and the politics of subversive embodiment. He is a practitioner of The Feldenkrais Method.

www.thomaskampe.com

apprehensive of what he would say next, recovering from moments of deep cultural shame. 'We had the privilege to learn German in Auschwitz', the man explained with a smile. We spent the whole afternoon together, eating and speaking about the unspeakable. These were the men who survived the ovens because it was their task to break the gold teeth from the corpses' mouths, because it was their task to push their dead fellow human beings into the abyss of the crematorium. We never got to talk about how they learnt German in hell.

I guess they must have been good listeners.

Thomas Kampe

An Emerging Vision: Secret Listeners' Working Methods



In his seminal essay *Education after Auschwitz* (1966) Theodore W. Adorno suggests that the only education of any relevance must be an education towards self-reflection, criticality and empathy. He directs us to cultivate a self-awareness that includes a capacity of the autonomous individual to make informed ethical and critical choices as a form of cultural resistance. The scientist Moshe Feldenkrais (1904-84) developed an embodied educational practice that provides the participant with tools for developing such awareness,

autonomy and critical facility. Feldenkrais asks the learner to become both observer and questioner, to become listener to patterns, differences and nuances inherent in personal habitual behaviour. Awareness, facilitated through internal listening processes, becomes key to learning. Self-education becomes key to personal and social transformation. Listening, and subsequent change of behaviour, puts established self- or world-knowledge into question. Criticality cannot emerge without crisis, disorientation, a making strange. Performance sociologist Gabriele Klein (2011) argues for the potential of art to provide society with a *Krisenraum* – a safe space for crisis. Our artistic project aimed to provide conditions for *fundamentally different existential relations* between individuals and their reading of historical causalities through lived experience (Marcuse 1987).

There are two overarching patterns in my collaboration with Julia Pascal over the last 20 years. Firstly, most of our theatre works have been concerned with examining and re-imagining

European historical and political events, closely associated with resonances of WW2 and the Holocaust. Our work is artistically embedded in shared socio-political and educational concerns. Secondly, most of our works treat a given play text or historical fact as starting point for artistic investigation – an open-system¹⁴, where staging, design, action and interaction are discovered, juxtaposed or even exposed through devising processes. Such discovery inevitably leads to creative problems, ruptures and dissonances which spark off new problems, ideas, the need for re-writing the given. Creating the performance event *The Secret Listeners* was no different. The givens were: the particular listening history, a large amount of recorded texts and the site – Trent Park.

Working with history: wrestling with truth, accuracy and artistic freedom

In past collaborative projects with PTC the logic of staging, movement direction and design followed a non-linear pattern that was not designed to simply serve and drive the text. A



major feature of set and movement in *The Dybbuk* (1992/2010) was a series of ladders that formed an ever changing moveable environment for the actors and spectators. This design concept came about as an instinctual impulse rather than through a rational idea. Similarly, *L'Année Zéro / Year Zero* (1994) mainly featured as series of 13 moveable walls, *St Joan* (1997) was

staged through de- and re-constructing a gymnastic vault, *Daniel Halbermensch* (1998) found its form between a series of moveable projection screens. Such staging, through set and



action, was not chosen in order to represent text, historical period, or social condition accurately or truthfully, but to create a dynamic environment that allowed for dialogue and rupture within rehearsal process and staging. The potency and success of such strategy has been most fruitful when collaborators – performers and directors alike – wrestled or discovered meaning by experientially engaging with environment and others within the devising process. New York-based writer M. Molofski (2010), who reviewed our 2010 New York production of *The Dybbuk*, identified

such dynamic engaging with the staged environment through *the power of bodily experience, where performers don't "act"...but move and become, as an extremely powerful modality.*

Working with site, reversing the flow

The performance event central to this heritage education project was conceived as a site-responsive tour, as a promenade-like immersive experience for the spectators as active, emancipated participants. This concept was an organic move forward from the use of staging and experience in past PTC projects. Previously stage sets were deliberately mobile, designed to shift and to provide varying environments for performers and spectators to encounter. Here the set was inevitably static – a large mansion in a beautiful park. Consequently, strategies for imagining a dynamic staging had to be reversed. Now, a key task for the director was to find, imagine, define and refine the dynamics of

the spectators' active journey. Developing such an immersive

format, where an experiential narrative is constructed by the performance-makers and tour-participants, offered an opportunity to create conditions beyond passive spectatorship. Here participants are *able to enter a new relationship with themselves and the world* (Fischer-Lichte 2009:207).

Found objects : Observation, patterns, empathy

Such process demanded observation skills and an ability to identify, articulate, and enhance existing patterns, atmospheres and textures as resources and constraints for creative practice. It also relied on a trust in empathy, imagination, and an ability to associate the real with the imagined. What am I experiencing in this particular space? What atmosphere and sensations occur on this particular journey through or in between spaces? How do I want to modulate the environment and experience? What might the participating spectators experience? What happens if a text/situation is placed into this environment?

Operating the Site

Theatre theorists Aston and Savona (2002) provide a useful framework to help the performance maker to navigate within the organisation of complex environments. They identify 'four levels of operation' of set and stage props in theatrical contexts. I would extend this model to the use of sound, text, and movement:

Functional – Atmospheric – Symbolic – Socio-Metric

Such framework can provide a helpful grid and point of reference within the always rushed creation process.

Functional – Here health and safety questions need to be asked consistently.

How can groups enter and exit spaces?



Which spaces can hold large groups, where are the spaces that can only be accessed by small groups? Where do groups clash on their journey? What are the time constraints for each journey to make the event smooth? Is there disabled access? Are there elderly people in the audience? Will the performers be too tired, and need a break for drink and food?

What is the most convenient transition from one space to the next?

Where is the access to electrical power etc?

Such practical questions have an impact on all other aspects of the project's realisation. Consistently returning to ask functional questions, beginning to 'read' the site and to imagine the project through the lens of functionality, was key to the successful shaping of the emerging ideas. Within this project, the role of the assistant director was largely concerned with scrutinising directorial decisions in relation to functionality and communicating between director, performers and production team. The spectators had to be divided into three separate



groups for each of the four tours during the performance day. There were areas in the basement where each of the three groups had to be divided into two subgroups. The complexity of the tour, and the complexity of the rehearsal process, which involved a large cast of performers with

mixed abilities, demanded a constant monitoring of functional issues and revision of ideas.

Atmospheric The director's task was to find ways of identifying, enhancing, modulating, and organising the existing rich atmospheres, colours, shapes and textures offered in each location within Trent Park and then to build situations, texts, soundscapes or visual designs around these. The most striking difference in atmospheres within the spaces of the site were the differences in colours and space-size between the large and light-coloured rooms of the ground and first floor, and the dampness and darkness of the low ceiling basement rooms and

corridors. It was important for me that the spectators made a journey from the grandeur of the ground floor into the basement, not the other way around. By having large, light spaces placed before entering small cramped spaces, by constructing a slow journey of climbing down a steep staircase before entering a large, dark low ceiling basement area, the atmospheric impact of the darkness of the basement was enhanced. The basement was also used as sound-canvas where



artist/composer Nick Ryan developed a sound score that became increasingly more disturbing as the audience penetrated the basement. Such construction created a feeling of struggle against adversaries, a journey from harmony into dissonance. It was vital for me to end the tour outside, surrounded by nature. The colours, scale and warmth of the park environment seemed necessary as a healing recovery period from the harrowing stories that had been told, as well

as from the oppressiveness of the architectural surroundings of the basement and surrounding outside corridors.

Symbolic The main tour guides of the project were dressed either in uniform-like clothing to symbolise Army personnel, or as nurses who would provide help for the participants. However, most of the costume and staging choices were deliberately kept ambiguous.

It was remarkable that many spectators had questions about the nature of symbols created throughout the piece. Although clear symbolic choices had been made, many others emerged coincidentally. Groups of students pulling and pushing each



other's supine bodies on a glass roof above the basement entrance clearly symbolised dead bodies, perhaps pushed into a mass grave. The actions created by a performer on a metal grid covering glass bricks in the same area might represent a person persecuted, tired, stumbling. Witnessed from below, the sound created by the shoes of the performer on the metal grid, and amplified by the sound artist, suggested explosions or gun shots. To create such double coding, to create ambiguity where an image would switch meaning between victim and aggressor, became a key strategy. Other symbolic, archetypal characters were created by chance through interaction with the environment.



A performer sitting on a windowsill with their back to the audience might suggest suicide, However, she was there to wait for the audience to enter an outside space so that she could tell her story. This waiting would become a Brechtian 'Gestus', 'a silent scream' that symbolises a social condition.¹⁵

A woman speaking in erratic Polish in front of a metal door in the basement becomes a prison inmate for moments, a young woman covered in a coat becomes a dead soldier, women in white dresses reciting shame-filled confessions of Nazi Generals in front of large air conditioning fans become angels, representing innocence or a whitewashing of history.

Socio-metric This level of operation of staging goes beyond symbolic representation. It asks for the use of props, objects, or site to suggest a distinct historical or class location. The Generals were of a certain class and this was respected in their time at Trent Park. They had batmen and were served by doctors, nurses and outside personnel. We removed most contemporary furniture to create a canvas for costumed action and the delivery of historical texts. Here, particularly the collaboration with the costume designer and video artist was crucial.

While the production team decided not to literally re-enact Nazi Generals, or Holocaust victims, we had to be historically accurate. We would use the Brechtian epic style¹⁶



The aim of these various elements of performance was to produce a complex montaged whole, with multi-dimensional levels of meaning.

with a minimal design and a clarity of theatrical intention revealing the constructedness of the performance.

Women in army coats speak of mass starving and shootings of Russian prisoners. This is taken from a German General's conversation. Are the performers speaking from the German or Russian point of view?

Added to this there is yet another level of ambiguity for the spectators. These are women enacting a male experience.

'The Art of Making Strange': subverting the functional – montage and juxtaposition.

This project, with its performative and educational elements, was created through processes of collaboration. This allows the director to share the burden of construction.

There are two major formal construction principles that drove the production of this project:

De-familiarisation and Montage

Inevitably, as a result of multiple input, including volunteer performers, this leads to a montage of visions, where the director becomes coordinator, facilitator and even the agent who disturbs, counterpoints or strips back ideas.

Both principles, most clearly articulated in the works of the early Modernist artistic avantgarde¹⁷, challenge habitual ways of perceiving the world and create ambiguity in the reading of the artwork. Such an approach, not only seeks to produce art that asks questions but, most importantly, it is literally concerned with making space for questions, and therefore with education and learning.

De-familiarisation as a strategy of 'making strange' is a process of stylisation. It was first identified and theorised by Russian formalist Viktor Shklovsky (1893-1984) in his essay 'Art as Techniques' (1917). Shklovsky saw the main function of art as challenging the onlookers' habitual perception of

the world. This performance project was constructed through a series of de-familiarisation devices, such as:

Fragmentation to reveal only a series of small elements of a text or situation – here, to use text fragments of recorded conversations rather than to give the whole conversation;

Repetition to reiterate or reinforce ideas and to make time for transformation and change of a presented idea. In the basement

sections, fragments of texts are repeated and condensed while the performers create rituals of repetitive game-like actions; ideas might be looped into series of repeatable events.

Exaggeration and the slowing down of ideas On the ground floor, just perceptible at the window and behind the blinds, were moving tableaux of performers creating a slowly changing image, distorting the familiar scale of action and time.



In the basement, the use of sound was entirely based on the principle of amplification – distorting recorded sounds to nearly unbearable levels.

Standing in front of the mansion, at the end of the performance, actors in army greatcoats recite fragments of a letter to Churchill written by The German generals. Their collective

body, in the bright sunlight, makes a vocal choir speak-singing in a victorious shout of liberation.

Disorientation and a changing of perspectives This project lived through its multi-dimensionality in staging by abandoning frontal, proscenium staging. At times, spectators surrounded performers, or vice versa. Sometimes they were nose to nose. In the upstairs bedrooms, performers acted out emotional responses to stories of WW2 atrocities. Cupboards, staircases and alcoves became performance spaces. Spectators experienced events at times simultaneously surrounded from three dimensions – in the courtyard outside the basement, performers would tell stories lying in between the audience, sitting in windows or standing on the ground above. Spectators were constantly asked to shift focus and attention to different spaces during the event.



As a director, I deliberately chose unusual and 'difficult' spaces. Each of these was slightly problematic, difficult to access or view. Entering a tiny bedroom was a tight squeeze. A steep staircase required great care. A dark, damp narrow outside-corridor demanded the audience hold on to one another or

that they be supported by the 'nurses'. These spaces were areas of transition and areas of discovery to challenge the spectators' senses and haptic level of interaction. The experiential 'problems' and dis-orientation were understood as a psycho-physical stimulus for the spectators. They too also became actors depending on circumstances provided. Therefore the project provided not only an abstract learning of 'facts' about the secret listeners, but facilitated a holistic learning through dynamic embodied enquiry and memorable experience.

Montage

The overall form of the performance event was constructed through principles of Montage. At its most basic level, montage means a pasting together of objects or events that are unrelated to one another in time or space. Such montage can create a complex layer of compound imagery or events which are staged simultaneously and allow the spectator to interpret a broad range of meanings into a single event. The montage might also be constructed in episodic, sequential ways, where seemingly unrelated events are staged one after the other, each conclusive in their own right.



Working on the macro level, the structure was forged through a combination of simultaneous and sequential montage. On the micro-level, individual scenes, events or series of images were composed using similar techniques including radical juxtaposition. This made the overlapping performance whole, with elements that contrasted with one another in scale, socio-political connotation, texture or atmosphere. Our key concern was not to create linear, chronological narratives but to create an open form that allowed for a broad range of readings that stimulated questions and debate about the encountered narratives and location, and allowed for personal, perhaps visceral responses by the spectators. The montages were at times created through chance and coincidence. At other times they were



deliberately constructed to subvert habitual connotations and expectations. Videos of endless streams of Nazi soldiers marching and of allied bombs being released on German cities, edited by Mark Norfolk, were played as a backdrop to a talk by historian Inge Weber-Newth.

A woman dressed in a night gown in the officer's bedroom is telling a story of Nazi atrocities from a German General's perspective. This visual image appears to make no sense. Abandoning visual logic forces us to pay more attention to the narration of the text and to the kinaesthetic experience of



sharing this tight space with this agitated woman. The image is created through juxtaposition. Her woman's body evokes qualities of vulnerability, intimacy, sensuality and domesticity, in harsh contrast to the reporting of mass shootings of Jews on the Eastern Front. Here the woman-figure 'becomes' the memory of the officer who tells the tale, perhaps representing his 'female self'

as critic of the atrocities committed by a dominant patriarchal culture of war, perhaps mirroring the outrage of the women spectators?

Performing Montage

In a scene performed simultaneously in the 'neighbouring bedroom', a narrator speaks from the inside of a cupboard. While the cupboard door is gently opened by a 'nurse', the narrator, a man in evening dress emerges reciting texts about gas chambers



originally spoken by German Generals. The figure in the walk-in wardrobe becomes, through the use of bodily posture, for one moment a person pushed into a confined space, then, while exiting and addressing the surrounding spectators, transformed into an outraged General speaking to his peers. The scene concludes with the male figure sliding off the bed which is being lifted by two nurse/military characters. He slumps to the

ground resembling a corpse thrown into a mass grave. The nurse then asks the spectators to leave the room.



Chance and Coincidence

Not all compound images were created through conscious decisions or with pre-determined meaning. The scenes described above were originally to be accompanied by recorded sounds of children playing in water. The sound track created by Nick Ryan, which referred to the swimming pool overlooked by the bedrooms on the first floor, was reused by Ryan on small MP3 players hidden inside alcoves in one basement room. It turned out that the text fragments, read out aloud by the performers squashed into these tiny spaces, referred to groups of children being led together with their mothers to their execution.

Trans-generational Learning

During rehearsals, director, production team and performers met regularly to discuss scripts, site and imagery. We explored analyses around the socio-cultural contexts of selected texts and references made within them. These were familiar to me as a German born after WW2 but not to young volunteers. As I was able to draw from personal experience, revealing parts of my own family's WW2 trauma, this helped vitalise historical texts and make them present. Young participants learned about the treatment of Russian POWs by the Germans: that millions were



deliberately starved to death. New to them also was how Jewish refugees were treated by the UK authorities, that the UK had quotas for Jewish refugees and that some young Jews were preparing for a life in Palestine. In one scene a group dressed as refugees read telegrams (sourced from The Wiener Library) from exiled children writing to their parents.

Later we knew that those parents died in the Holocaust. This historical knowledge informed the young actors' performance

Beyond the disciplines

This project can be located within a contemporary trend towards 'Trans-Disciplinary' arts practice and research. At a simple level it could be understood as 'artistic research that combines the aesthetic

product and the creative process with questions and topics from broader areas of life' (Borgdorff 2007:76). This project aimed to link artistic and scholarly work to real life situations – here a trans-generational learning that facilitates a shared experience beyond disciplines, cultures and generations and that transcends divisions between separated modes of knowledge exchange. It aimed to respect the voices of the past and of the present and to create meaningful cultural experiences for participating



creators and tour-participants. This project acknowledges the complexity of political and personal historical resonances on present and future generations and seeks to find a form of contemporary story-telling that bridges artistic practice with inter-generational heritage education.

Performance as social re-imagining

Trans-disciplinary performance practice that moves beyond formalist representational experiment can challenge hierarchical ways of collaborating and interacting with the world. The performance-sociologist Gabrielle Klein assigns a key function of twenty-first century performing arts as a process of 'world-making' (2011). In this way, collaborative and critical performance practice can produce innovative micro-models for cultural exchange and social interaction and governance. This project offers an example of such experiments as a cultural healing process between different generations, by critically embracing the past through collaborative and creative practice. Interrogating European history as histories of crises, violence, genocide, failure, growth and reconstruction must be part of contemporary heritage education. Such education contributes to a much needed culture of listening.

¹⁴ Cillary (2005) refers to 'open systems' as *systems that live within a constant exchange with their environment* (Cillary in Birringer 2005:121).

¹⁵ 20th-century theatre pioneer Bertolt Brecht developed a methodology which asked the actor to be able to communicate and critique social conditions through movement or vocal gesture. Famous examples of such 'social gestus' can be found in Brecht's film *Kuhle Wampe* (1932), or in his stage play *Mother Courage and her Children* (1939). In the 1949 performances, Helene Weigel, in the eponymous role, included the now famous 'silent scream', as a non-verbal device with her mouth gaping wide open, to depict the character's desperate involvement in the horrors of the war. A similar use of such silent grimace and posturing to critique social conditions can be found already in the solo dances of anti-bourgeois Grotesque Dancer Valeska Gert, particularly in her dance *Death* (1925).

¹⁶ Brecht developed the 'Epic Theatre' principles as set out by collaborator Erwin Piscator (1893–1966). He developed these as key aspects of his political aesthetics aimed at educating the critical spectator through non-representational set design, montage techniques and defamiliarisation devices – *Verfremdungseffekte*.

¹⁷ The European Modernist arts avant-garde of the first half of the 20th century is generally understood as groups of experimental visual artists who challenged Realism as the dominant mode of presentation and representation. Expressionism, Cubism, Futurism, Dadaism, Surrealism, Constructivism and The Bauhaus are seminal movements of this period. The radical visions of the Modernist avant garde influenced dance, literature, music and theatre throughout the 20th century.

Bibliography

- Adorno, T.W., 1966. *Education Art after Auschwitz*. [pdf] <http://ada.evergreen.edu/~arunc/texts/frankfurt/auschwitz/AdornoEducation.pdf> [accessed 20/07/13]
- Aston, E. and Savona, G., 2002. *Theatre As Sign System*. London: Routledge
- Birringer, J. and Fenger, J., 2005. *Tanz im Kopf/ Dance and Cognition*. Bielefeld: Lit Verlag.
- Borgdorff, H., 2007. The Mode of Knowledge Production in Artistic Research. In: Gehm, S., Husemann, P., von Wilcke, K (eds), 2007. *Knowledge in Motion*. [transcript] Bielefeld.
- Brecht, B., 1964. Short Description of a New Technique of Acting which Produces an Alienation Effect. In: Huxley M. and Witts, N., 2002. 2nd edn. *The Twentieth Century Performance Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Castoriadis, C., 1998. *The Imaginary Institution of Society*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Feldenkrais, M., 1992. *Awareness Through Movement: Health Exercises for Personal Growth*. 2nd edn. New York: HarperCollins.
- Fischer-Lichte, E., 2009. *The Transformative Power of Performance: A New Aesthetics*. London: Routledge.
- Klein, G. & Noeth, S., eds. 2011. *Emerging Bodies: The Performance of Worldmaking in Dance and Choreography*. [transcript] Bielefeld.
- Marcuse, H., 1987. *Eros and Civilization*. 2nd edn. London: Routledge.
- Molofski, M.(2010) Review of "The Dybbuk". [pdf] Available at <http://ifpe.org/Reviews/Play-01.pdf> [accessed 24/06/10].
- Shklovsky, V., 1917. Art as Technique. In: Lemon, T. & Reiss, M., 1965. *Russian Formalist Criticism: Four Essays*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Kat Hübschmann and
Toby Simpson

Partnerships: The Wiener Library and The Jewish Military Museum

Roz Currie



The Wiener Library

Working at Britain's largest Holocaust archive brings with it the privilege of meeting extraordinary people and encountering powerful artefacts. Yet often the most involving, affecting and surprising histories only reveal their meaning gradually, after looking closely or listening intently. Taking time for looking and listening isn't something that can be taken for granted in our culture of rapid consumption of live images and text. The more we do take the time, however, the more we become aware of the differences between glancing at something and really looking; between the momentary impression of a noise or a phrase half-understood, and the impact of an unexpected or revealing utterance.

Looking and listening properly does not require the deconstruction of a sentence to unpack its every connotation. Even so, historians and librarians can often become nervous about things being misunderstood, taken out of context, consumed superficially. There is a healthy side to this attitude, which puts a degree of responsibility on the people who provide access to challenging

histories like the Holocaust. If we are going to talk about the murder of millions of innocent people – even indirectly – we have to do so with a degree of transparency about what we are trying to achieve and how we are going about it. The risk of not

doing so is the risk of thwarting the person who has come to look and listen, and also disrupting the inherent potential of the past to speak powerfully and truthfully to the present.

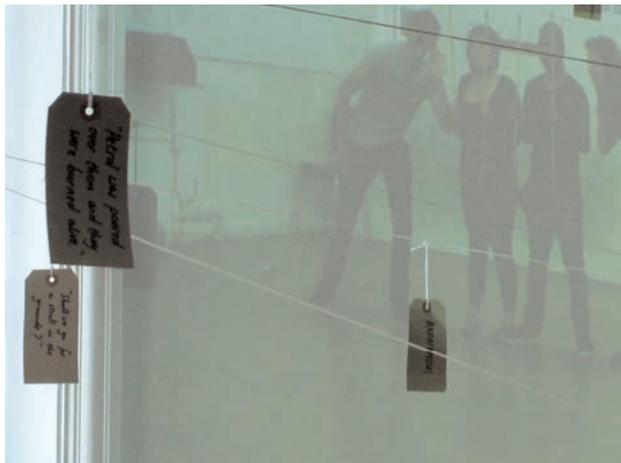
The Secret Listeners posed several questions about the past: what happened in the country house at Trent Park during the war? What were the Nazi Generals who were imprisoned there saying? Who was spying on them? In the first phase of the project members of the public were invited to take the time to look and listen at the Middlesex mansion itself, where a site-specific installation was displayed on Sunday 22 July 2012. The Wiener Library contributed materials for this event as well as a small Travelling Exhibition in an upstairs Learning Room.

The atmosphere created downstairs by Pascal Theatre Company's young actors was eerie and intriguing. The audience was large and their curiosity and engagement was impressive. Upstairs, working on the educational material, we were a little removed from the highly active main event, but those in the audience who came to see us were fully engaged by the performance and

were keen to know more from our input.

The aims and methods of history, theatre and art do not always come together, but we hope that the collaborative work initiated by *The Secret Listeners* Project will encourage people to pursue questions about historic sites in the UK

that touch on the history of the Holocaust. The issue of what remains when an historic building closes – when the people and



contents move on – is close to the heart of The Wiener Library. Following fifty years in Marylebone, the Library recently moved to a new and exciting location in Bloomsbury, an area of London which has had a long and complex relationship with refugee culture. We hope people who have now learned more about that old building in Trent Park will be more curious to ask questions about what happened in the former home of the Wiener Library in Devonshire Street, and we hope that they might also want to come and find out what is happening now in the historic building in Russell Square where we work. Nobody has a definitive answer to many of the questions we ask about the past but looking and listening carefully is a good start.



The Jewish Military Museum

The Jewish Military Museum chronicles the role that Jewish people have played in the British Armed Forces over the last three centuries. We tell personal stories of Jewish men and women, from those who served with Nelson to the conflict today in Afghanistan. Jewish immigrants have fought for Britain for many years and in many conflicts, but never were they so urgently needed as during World War II where their knowledge was critical to securing victory.

The Secret Listeners Project gave us the opportunity to dig more deeply into the stories of the people who worked at Trent Park. As part of the installation, the Jewish Military Museum curated an exhibition on the background of those who listened in on the generals. Many individuals fleeing from the Nazis in mainland Europe were imprisoned as enemy aliens in Britain at the outbreak of war. Many then joined the Pioneer Corps who dug trenches, built airstrips and undertook other hard labour away from the fighting front-line. It was only later during WW2

that their skills in the German language were recognised and utilised by British Intelligence and within Special Operations. Re-telling this story, with real objects from the time, complemented the immersive performance, giving a space of contemplation. With the Wiener Library, we also ran an education room in the top of the building, helping to broaden the stories told there and explore wider meanings.

Since the event, volunteers on the project have been collecting stories of listeners, those in the Intelligence Services, refugees and those that remember Trent Park at the time. Together, their voices answer broader questions of what Trent Park meant during WW2, how it was perceived at the time, and how the horrors uncovered there were intrinsic in the eventual defeat of Nazi Germany. These stories will ultimately join the Jewish Military Museum archive, adding to our collection the voices of the remarkable people who listened.

Sally Mijit

Research and future questions



The Brief

I was tasked with researching the background to the secret listening at Trent Park during WW2. This has taken me on many journeys, some physical most metaphorical, on which I have asked many questions. Some questions are answered, some not yet, and more continue to be raised. Researching the past opens up a dialogue with past and present.

What to research?

We knew that secret listeners eavesdropped on prisoners' conversations at Trent Park from early 1940. Between 15 July 1942 and 19 October 1945 Trent Park housed captured German Generals and senior officers whose conversations were bugged. At the same time German and Italian prisoners of war were also monitored at two centres in Buckinghamshire. We initially knew of two living witnesses. Fritz Lustig had been a secret listener and was now living in Muswell Hill and willing to be interviewed. Eric Mark, another secret listener, lived in Belgium. Helen Lederer's late grandfather, Arnost Lederer, Adam Ganz's father, Peter Ganz, and the late Peter Hart had been listeners. Could we find more listeners alive or friends or relatives who knew their stories? Could we trace any of the officers who staffed the POW camp? What about the many support staff that enabled Trent Park to operate? Did any members of the local community have recollections of Trent Park during this period? This was my research.

CSDIC The Combined Services Detailed Interrogation Centre

Trent Park was initially requisitioned by the War Office after its owner, Sir Philip Sassoon, died in June 1939. It then became home to the Combined Services Detailed Interrogation Centre (CSDIC) when the centre moved from its accommodation in The Tower of London on 12 December 1939.

CSDIC had been proposed before the outbreak of war. It was granted a written charter in October 1939 authorising the interrogation of Naval, Military or Air Force prisoners of war or internees, by qualified officers. Initially operating under the title MI1h, in 1941 CSDIC (UK) became the responsibility of MI19, a new branch of the War Office. It continued operating until 7 November 1945.

The Story of MI19 and the background to CSDIC are documented in records housed in The National Archives at Kew¹⁸. These outline CSDIC's remit and detail its organisation, staffing and modus operandi. They summarise the types of interrogation employed and outline the function, organisation, staffing and the method of operation of 'The M Room', the main objective of which was to obtain intelligence information by indirect means, i.e. by the use of concealed microphones in the prisoner's quarters¹⁹. What did M stand for? Sullivan suggests that, the monitors' room had the letter M on the door and was known as 'Mother'. Mother was always listening! (Sullivan 1979:52). Others think M stands for microphone. In Ma'adi, Cairo, 'The M Room' was called 'Map Room'.

The archives also contain thousands of pages of transcripts of the conversations between the German Generals along with interrogation reports, surveys of CSDIC's work, war diaries, character studies of POWs and personnel reports.



Trent Park

CSDIC operated from Trent Park, (known as Cockfosters Camp or Camp 011) from 12 December 1939 until 15 July 1942 when it moved to Latimer House in Chesham. Trent Park was then converted into a long-term centre for senior German POWs, a purpose it fulfilled until its closure on 19 October 1945 when active interrogation ceased. Locals knew it was home to German POWs who had access to parts of the grounds and were escorted to the local shops. Neither they nor the Germans knew of Trent Park's role as a highly sophisticated intelligence gathering operation.

The choice of Trent Park, the building and location, was highly significant. The house was large but secluded, accessible to central London and near to essential facilities. Aadam Ali, Director and Co-founder of 'Trent Park Open House', and Oliver Leiva, have shared a bank of information collected through their own research and through guided tours around the property.²⁰ A 1946 plan of the building shows the layout of rooms, an

extension to the house that no longer exists and Nissen huts in the grounds. This plan would appear to indicate how rooms used by the German generals were partitioned, which were sound-proofed, and where parts of the house were blocked off. Most of the work converting the house was done by permanent staff of the Office of Works. Records have been destroyed. Is anyone still alive who worked on the site converting or maintaining the building for its very specific purpose?

PWIS Latimer House and Wilton Park

The Prisoner of War Interrogation Section (Home), (PWIS), was formed in 1940 to operate centres where prisoners could be questioned on army matters with those to be interrogated in further detail referred on to CSDIC. The unit eventually established nine distribution centres (cages) which acted as transit camps.

No1 Distribution Centre at Latimer House in Chesham opened on 15 July 1942 as the base for CSDIC, but also as a centre to hold up to 204 POWs. No2 Distribution Centre at Wilton Park in Beaconsfield opened on 13 December 1942, able to accommodate 142 prisoners. The former housed German, and the latter mostly Italian POWs. Both had 'M Rooms' and a team of secret listeners.

The Technology

The Post Office Research Station at Dollis Hill was built in 1933 with an underground citadel for use by the War Office. It was where Tommy Flowers and his team were working on Colossus, the world's first programmable electronic computer which was used to help break German codes. What were the links between Trent Park and the Research Station and what technological developments can be attributed to the listening programme?

A document dated 1945 entitled The Future of CSDIC (UK), held in the National Archives, lists a responsibility of CSDIC as *the*

development and use of technical aids to examine e.g. listening apparatus. It is interesting that the focus wasn't just intelligence gathering. The development of technology was important for military reasons, e.g. creating better radio transmitters/speakers/headphones. It also led to the development of the vinyl disc and improved hearing aids. Initially a private company, RCA Photophone Ltd, was responsible for the supply of equipment to Trent Park but their contract was revoked and the apparatus was subsequently replaced by the Post Office Research Station, which took over its maintenance. Once a record was cut, it was kept for two months then returned to the Research Station for re-conditioning and re-issue (although certain records, such as atrocity stories, were kept permanently). Have any of these records survived? Blank acetate discs have.



Signals from the Royal Corps of Signals looked after the equipment on site. Who were these men and what did they know? Fritz Lustig, who was recruited by CSDIC in 1943, can put names to some faces at Latimer House and Wilton Park. He recalls that although they obviously knew everything about the secret listening, they lived with the non-Intelligence staff at the Camp, and did not mix with us unless they had to, as part of their duties (Lustig 2013).

British Telecom has telecommunications archives with material on the Post Office Research Station at Dollis Hill. The Imperial War Museum (IWM) and Science Museum are information sources along with specialist websites.

The Secret Listeners

CSDIC reports document how difficult it was to find appropriate 'M Room' personnel; 100% knowledge of the colloquial idiom and

perfect hearing were prerequisites as was mental alertness. Also necessary was extensive knowledge of service slang, conditions and technical gadgets.²¹ We had believed that before 1942 commissioned British officers with language degrees from Oxford and Cambridge or ex-German refugees were taken on as listeners. However, Alex Lester, in researching her grandfather's role as an interrogator at Trent Park, traced a listener, Murray Wrobel, who was neither from Oxford or Cambridge nor a naturalised British citizen. Wrobel insisted that his colleagues in 1940/41 were neither Oxbridge graduates nor émigrés. They were veterans from WWI who were German officers with the required language skills (familiarity with accents, slang etc. learned from living in the country rather than at university) and knowledge of military ranks, weaponry and jargon. All secret listeners were male.

Unable to recruit a sufficient number of British officers, it was decided at the end of 1942 to consider suitable German and Austrian refugees. These were automatically made sergeants with the possibility of promotion to Campaign Sergeant Major and Regimental Sergeant Major. With the latter highest non-

commissioned rank came advantages such as the services of a batman. Lustig recalls his embarrassment, when promoted to regimental sergeant major, of being saluted by other officers but, not being an officer, being unable to return the salute. He states that all younger ex-German refugees or most people of my generation – I mean I was early twenties then – wanted to get

into fighting units (Lustig 2012). Many were frustrated at being restricted to the Pioneer Corps. However, on his first day at Latimer House, Colonel Kendrick, Commandant at Trent Park, explained that what [he] was going to do [...] was far more important than if [he] drove a tank or fired a machine gun (Lustig 2012).



The interview process was stringent and, as with all intelligence staff, recruits signed The Official Secrets Act. Most have gone to their graves without ever having spoken of their experiences, not even to family. Lustig met his wife-to-be, Susan Cohn, at Latimer House where she was an Auxiliary Territorial Service (ATS) Sergeant. When interviewed, he said, *she didn't know what I*

was doing for a long time. [...] We didn't talk about it to anybody but each other for many many years. I mean, my family, other members of my family, never knew what I was doing. When asked, we just said we were working in Intelligence and it was so secret we couldn't talk about it (Lustig 2012).

David Clark's father was an interrogator at Trent Park. In an interview for PTC on 24/1/13, recalling that his father read transcripts of German officers' conversations, his father told him he could use that information to tease out further information from the officers he was interrogating.

Intelligence Gathering

The object of the centres was to carry out comprehensive interrogation of prisoners. In practice, intelligence was gathered by direct interrogation, listening and recording conversations and the use of stool pigeons (SPs). The combination of these three methods was considered to produce the most satisfactory results. Additionally, at Trent Park and in 1943/44 at the White House, Wilton Park, an Intelligence Officer disguised as a 'Welfare Officer' mixed with prisoners to gain their confidence. R V Jones, Military Intelligence expert at the Air Ministry, illustrates both the close interaction between Intelligence Services and the combination of techniques used, in his book *Most Secret War*. On one occasion, when investigating

the Knickebein Beam, he telephoned Ft Lt Felkin, *because I knew that he now had prisoners from the bombers shot down [...] and briefed him about the information that I needed [...] He duly interrogated the prisoners without at first getting anything of value. But when the prisoners were alone one of them said to another that no matter how hard we looked we would never find the equipment. This could not have been a better challenge because it implied that the equipment was in fact under our noses, but that we would not recognise it* (Jones 1978: 94). This was the clue he needed.

By the end of 1940, four refugees were recruited as SPs with a further 49 later selected from prisoners. Who were they? Again it was found difficult to recruit men with the proper personality, intelligence, courage, outlook and memory, who were also good judges of people and had some knowledge of the world.²²

The detailed selection, training and preparation of SPs, and the careful planning of their every movement, reflects the complexity of the Intelligence operation. The SPs themselves

did not know they were being overheard. POWs trained to be SPs were repaid by preferential treatment and received family allowances but we do not know who they were.

The Intelligence Major at Trent Park is a mystery. Known as Lord Aberfeldy, he posed as a camp interpreter/welfare officer befriending prisoners and gaining their trust. So skilled was he that Generals often became unconscious SPs. Often they were anxious to please their friend the 'interpreter' and would clear up some moot point puzzling him but actually desired by the War Office or other Ministry. Who was Aberfeldy?

Sometimes careful selection of which officers were put together played a part in helping loosen tongues as officers from different services gave background detail to their experiences for the

benefit of their peers. Other strategies designed to generate discussion or provoke debate included taking the prisoners on long walks, showing controversial films and supplying them with falsified newspapers. Who wrote this bogus news?

The 'M Room' – Operation and Editing

Listeners worked in shifts here. Sitting in front of disc recorders and wearing headphones, they plugged into sockets to pick up conversations in bugged locations. In Trent Park, The Generals had freedom of movement but, in Latimer House and Wilton

Park, the prisoners were two to a room. Lustig states that the

authorities were careful to put two prisoners together into a cell who could be easily distinguished either because one was army and the other one navy or they were usually

different services or they came from different regions of Germany, they had different regional accents, or one had a much lower voice than the other (Lustig 2012).

This strategy could not be employed at Trent Park where the challenge for the listeners to identify speakers was great.

When something of political or strategic interest was heard, the listeners immediately recorded it. This was then transcribed in longhand, usually by the listener, and all reports were registered, passed to the service interrogating sections concerned, edited, translated, checked, typed, despatched for distribution and subsequently indexed and filed.²³

Each report was referenced according to the appropriate service. On average 80 copies of a report were made and distributed. The listeners kept daily logs and card indices recording prisoners' movements and companions. Wrobel remembered that in the early days at Trent Park there was, *an influx of lady clerks and typists so we didn't have to type things out ourselves ... very shortly afterwards they all disappeared and came back as ATS (Auxiliary Territorial Service) officers (Wrobel 2007).*

Subsequently, most of the clerical work and interpreting was performed by women recruited from the ATS with some WRENS (Women's Royal Naval Service) or WAAFs (Women's Auxiliary Air Force). Some, like Susan Cohn, (later Susan Lustig) were German émigrées, others British German speakers. These women never spoke of their work. Lustig, interviewed in 2012, said: We could only assume what jobs they did – nothing was ever discussed. One, who did get close to the prisoners though not to speak to, is mentioned in the interrogator, Geoffrey Forrest's journal. Forrest remembers taking prisoners to London from Latimer House and the driver was always an ATS girl ... She was known to us just as 'Carmichael'²⁴.

The Conversations – Intelligence and Interest

Some memories relate to highly significant military developments,

others to atrocities, others even to amusing anecdotes. In interviews and in memoirs listeners have reflected on what made a lasting impression:

Murray Wrobel Trent Park 1940-41 interviewed 3/3/2013

Knickerbein was rated – not rated because we didn't have ratings – but it became something we had to find out more about.

Fritz Lustig Latimer House (and Wilton Park) 1943-45 interviewed 23/11/2012

The only incident I remember clearly is after the Battleship Scharnhorst was sunk in December 1943 off Norway. [...] we got all the survivors and of course what they had to tell was of great interest to the Admiralty.

Eric Mark Latimer House and Trent Park 1944 interviewed 28/01/2013

The V1s had started coming across and the V2s had been promised and we had to try and find out what was actually happening. And if ever I heard the German word 'Peenemünde', my God that was immediately interesting [...].

Peter Hart Trent Park 1944-45 memoir Hart, P. (2003)

One day we heard that 'Heavy Water' was being produced in Norway and scientists would no doubt have been able to ascertain how near the Germans had come to have an atomic strike capability [...]. Then there was Peenemünde ... These reports were given top-priority (Hart 2003: 97, 104).

What were the listeners told to record and not record? Peter Hart talks of roving about to see if we could pick up any interesting conversation having relation to anything of importance in wartime (Hart 2003:95).

Fritz Lustig says, we certainly knew that if any of the people we were listening to referred to any atrocities that we had to record it (Lustig 2012). Important subjects ranged from damage inflicted on the enemy forces, resources, transportation and morale, to reports of new developments in technology; from strategies employed to crimes committed; from politics to economics. Information of no strategic importance was collected for propaganda purposes. As victory for the allies

seemed more certain, the figures of The Generals themselves took on greater significance. Before Germany signed an unconditional surrender, the British Government was already asking who could play a role in the reconstruction of Germany and who would be tried for war crimes.

The value of the recorded conversations is well documented. The great cost of 'The M Room' operation had to be justified. Among the archives are the responses to The Directorate of Military Intelligence questionnaires sent to different Intelligence departments requesting feedback on the reports issued by CSDIC (UK). All endorsed their importance. Information was always considered alongside that gained from different sources, e.g. signals intercepts, to support its veracity but, *involuntarily for the most part they [The Generals] became one of the most important sources of information for the British secret service: the lower ranks mainly for tactical and technical details, The Generals above all for their political and strategic assessments of military situations* (Neitzel 2007: 60).

Retrospectively, the protocols provide an insight into the operations of the Wehrmacht and their role in mass murder during WW2.

The Conversations – The Generals

Neitzel and Welzer discuss how extraordinary the conversations seem today following trains of association that mix the gentle with the horrific, peacetime normal with wartime abnormal. They remind us that the soldier's world is that of war, the brutality, harshness, and absence of emotion of war are omnipresent and it is this that is disturbing to us as readers who do not share this context. The soldiers, however, understand each other (Neitzel and Welzer 2012: 3-7).

Neitzel analyses the social profile of the officers considering age, religion and military background. This information provides a context for the conversations. It also addresses the question

of how representative were the protocols and the group of soldiers monitored (Neitzel 2007: 27-29).

CSDIC kept notes on individuals with remarks about their character, behaviour and political stance as well as military background. Mallett (2009) comments on the language used to refer to The Generals and remarks that British personnel did not appear to look beyond the prisoners' behaviour for possible motivations. Had they done so, they might have found mitigating factors, family concerns in particular (Mallett 2009: 145). The wording of many reports is certainly subjective.

In December 1944, Kendrick compiled a folder with the particulars and photographs of 59 of the German Senior Officer POWs who had passed through No 11 Camp and appeared in the CSDIC reports and this was forwarded to MI 6.

There is little mention of The Generals' batmen. Three were particularly unpopular and there is discussion of their removal. They must have been important observers, but their thoughts are not recorded.

'Disposal of Information'

CSDIC pulled together intelligence and shared information from the different services: Air Force, Army and Navy. Good communication channels were key to their operation and it was not only senior Intelligence figures who were circulated. Fritz Lustig recalls how all the reports recorded, which were published, were circulated within CSDIC, so we knew what was going on. I mean, we also saw secret naval reports which were issued monthly and other background secret intelligence material, which was useful for us to know (Lustig 2012).

CSDIC was obviously breaking new ground in its means of gathering intelligence. Running parallel to the Army Interrogation Section, and forming part of CSDIC(UK), was also

(c) Psychological Research (DSR)²⁵. Who were the medical officers and researchers who were experimenting and analysing? How were interrogation methods being developed? Where are their reports?

In addition, CSDIC (UK) worked with its counterparts in the US, becoming responsible for training American officers and NCOs and maintaining a permanent American presence at Latimer House. CSDIC (UK) reports were circulated to American Intelligence and, in 1942, an interrogation centre was set up at Fort Hunt Park, Virginia, modelled on Trent Park.

Other CSDIC Personnel

Names of senior CSDIC officers are listed in documents relating to CSDIC in the National Archives. Some key names including Major Norman R Crockatt, in charge of MI 9 and the new MI 19, Lt Col Rawlinson director of MI 19, T J Kendrick, Commandant at Trent Park, Ft Lt S Felkin head of Air Ministry Intelligence, among others, appear in reports and correspondence. Photographs put names to some faces of other Intelligence personnel. Many names are missing and, for those whose names appear, what exactly was their role? Who were the interrogators? Who advised on what specialist subject? Wrobel's comment that in the early days of the Trent Park operation, most of the senior officers had been passport control officers – that is to say MI 6 was a useful prompt (Wrobel 2007).

There are many war archives. The BBC's WW2 People's War (collected 2003–2006) holds reminiscences of CSDIC officers with names and blogs; The Imperial War Museum has a bank of audio recordings, diaries and papers.

Camp Administration

The staff at Trent Park were firmly divided between CSDIC and non-CSDIC personnel. Non-CSDIC staff were housed in the local

area, not on the premises. While CSDIC personnel did not know what each other were responsible for, what did non-CSDIC staff think? Surely the gardeners saw the bugging devices in the plants and the cleaners must have seen microphones in the light fittings and pool table. Certainly there was no leak, as the operation was so sophisticated that few of the German Generals were suspicious that they were being recorded.

Trent Park – Visits and Inspections

The transcripts include conversations in which the generals discuss their conditions and comment or complain about their treatment. They were held as prisoners of war although given freedoms and luxuries unusual for POWs. Details of the lax treatment of prisoners were hidden, so as not to anger the government or the public. Generals' complaints were often silenced by warnings that treats would be withdrawn. As a prisoner of war camp, Trent Park was monitored and inspected by the International Committee of the Red Cross. The prisoners were also visited by representatives of the Youth Hostel Association. A lack of impartiality by different inspectors is remarked on by Intelligence Officers but could not be raised, as it would have betrayed the secret listening. It is also telling that inspectors remained completely unaware of 'The M Room'.

The British Red Cross were unable to find records of Red Cross visits,²⁶ perhaps because many of the records of the Joint War Organisation of the British Red Cross and The Order of St John of Jerusalem were destroyed as a matter of policy shortly after the War.²⁷ Why? I had no reply to my request for information from the International Committee in Geneva.

The generals went on walks to the local shops. Some were taken on drives and visits to English gentry. They were taken to the dentist and the hospital. What did locals remember of these prisoners in their midst? Julian Barrett recalls a group of German

POWs under guard at mass on Christmas Day 1945:

During the distribution of communion they stood up and gave the most beautiful and moving rendition of Silent Night (in German, naturally) I had ever heard or have heard.²⁸

What do other members of the congregation remember?

Fort Hunt Park, USA

NARA, the US equivalent of the National Archives, holds documents relating to the POWs interrogated at Fort Hunt Park and the origin of the US interrogation centres.

Thanks to oral history interviews conducted by park rangers at Fort Hunt Park, the stories of the Fort Hunt secret listeners were collected in 2006³⁰. In October 2007, the US Congress passed a resolution honouring and thanking the soldiers who served the top secret units for the US Military Intelligence Service under the project name Post Office Box 1142. It is time the valuable work done by the secret listeners is recognised in the UK.

The dark side of interrogation

Staff at the National Archives suggested I research Lt Colonel A P Scotland, head of the Prisoners of War Interrogation Section (PWIS) of the Intelligence Corps. He ran The London District Cage, through which some Generals passed before being sent to Trent Park. Scotland's account of activities at The London Cage, written in 1950 after it was closed, reveal the use of psychological torture. The original publication was confiscated by the War Office and he was threatened with prosecution on the grounds that he was breaking the Official Secrets Act. In 1957, a revised, sanitised edition was published. Documents relating to the retention of the original manuscript indicating the activities deemed to infringe the Geneva Convention, together with a copy of the manuscript, are held in the National Archives. Not all relevant papers, however, have been released.

Another figure who emerges in the story of interrogation is Tin Eye' Stephens (in reference to the monocle he continually wore), infamous for the more brutal interrogation methods he was alleged to employ both at Camp 020³⁰ and Camp 74, Bad Nenndorf, where he was Camp Commandant. He is the author of *A Digest of Ham*, MI5's secret official history of Camp 020, which was declassified in 1999. Here he analyses interrogation methods and the turning of spies into double agents and details case histories.

After Trent Park

The Generals were kept at Trent Park while they were being interrogated and listened to, as long as they were useful in prompting others to talk. After this they were transferred to the US (until May 1945), Canada or the Near East, or different camps in the UK, e.g. Camp No 1, Grizedale Hall³², in the North West of England.

Post October 1945

Trent Park closed on 19 October 1945. It was then requisitioned (from Mrs Gubbay, Sir Philip Sassoon's cousin) by the Ministry of Education and became an emergency teacher-training centre for a time. Cash books, dated from the mid-1950s, show that some prisoners stayed on at the house during this period receiving wages for 'casual labour' on the farms and kitchen garden.

Latimer House closed on 31 August 1945 and Kendrick moved his offices to Wilton Park, which was taken over by the DPW (Directorate of Prisoners of War), and run as No 300 P/W Camp. Between 1946 and 1948 Wilton Park was used to house selected prisoners who were put through a re-education programme before being repatriated.

CSDIC UK's interrogation and monitoring of the prisoners'

activities and conversations ended immediately following Germany's surrender. Attention then turned to obtaining information on war crimes. Fritz Lustig and Eric Mark were transferred to Germany's Bad Nenndorf, CSDIC WEA, where they eavesdropped on political prisoners. Neither recalls any malpractice at the centre. Fritz remembers other colleagues being sent to Norway. In July, an urgent appeal was received from HQ British troops in Norway to assist with the screening and interrogation ... of surrendered German personnel in Norway.³³

The special lay-out of the camp, as suitable for 'pumping in' education as it was for extracting intelligence, continued to perform a useful function.³²

Peter Hart was transferred to Wilton Park. In his memoirs, *Journey into Freedom*, he describes how it was run along the lines of a university to re-introduce' the 'students' to democracy (Hart 2003: 101). Among other duties, he was responsible for taking a number of students to London each week to show them that the Nazi propaganda machine had lied when proclaiming that all of London was flattened. Other listeners were transferred to Farm

Hall near Cambridge, where scientists thought to have worked on Germany's nuclear programme were held and eavesdropped on in an operation code-named *Epsilon*.

In January 1946, London moved general officer prisoners to Special Camp 11 at Bridgend in Wales and by the summer of 1948 many general officer prisoners had been repatriated, except those who had taken the temporary contract to stay on in the UK or those wanted for war crimes.

War Crimes

We consider as of the highest importance the avoidance of anything which could draw attention to or make public the methods employed at CSDIC[...] Disclosure at War Trial of methods used for securing information would inevitably lead to their becoming public property and emphasising them to the extent of making them largely valueless – and the future must be considered. [...] There is, too, another aspect which must be

considered. The use of this information as evidence would of necessity in many cases entail the disclosure of the names of Ps/W. who have been actively working for us, which we are anxious to avoid at any cost. (Lieut. Colonel, G.S. MI 9/19 16 Nov. 45).³⁴

The transcripts of the secret recordings of The Generals' conversations were not used as evidence at War Crimes Trials though some did argue that they should be. This raises many questions.

It is of note that many Secret Intelligence documents have been destroyed and some remain classified. What did the authorities fear?

The opportunity for breaking silence was lost and the secret listeners kept that chapter of their lives closed. Lustig (2012) says he felt less reticent about talking about it when the first books about Bletchley Park came out, because then it became obvious that there were no longer any secrets about British Intelligence during the war. Colonel F W Winterbotham's book 'The Ultra Secret' (1974) prompted Bletchley Park veterans to start giving personal accounts of intelligence gathering at this site. However, it is only now that the connections between all these operations have been publicly recognised.

Our intelligence was audio transmitted to them [Bletchley Park], of course we did not know they existed at the time but it was very valuable to them what we heard because if we could corroborate what they knew from decoding then they could use it. If the decoding was the only source of intelligence they were unable to use it because it would give the game away to the Germans (Lustig 2012).

Sönke Neitzel's revelations (2005 and 2007) were the first published works to give more than passing mention to the secret listeners, stimulating massive interest among academics, military specialists and the general public.

Researching the secret listening at Trent Park, I was amazed by the sheer scale of the operation. It relied on unprecedented cooperation between the services and a sharing of information that reflected an inherent trust in both people and processes.

Between 1943 and 1945 approximately 1,000 staff were employed across the three sites, around 250 of which were employed in Military Intelligence. From three secret listeners employed at Trent Park in 1940, the numbers increased to 100 across the sites in 1944. From 1939 to October 1945, 10,191 German and 563 Italian prisoners of war passed through the three buildings. How did they all connect? R V Jones, writing from his perspective in *Scientific and Technical Intelligence* explained: *We all depended on the efforts of a great body of men and women whose existence in Lord Slim's words, 'is only remembered when something for which they are responsible goes wrong. [...] If any one of these many components had failed, our entire effort would have come to nothing (Jones R V. 1978: 94).*

This applied not only to individuals within a service or agency but also across the network of services and agencies. Jones relied on military intelligence from Bletchley Park corroborated

or supplemented by that from Trent Park, Latimer House and Wilton Park to achieve what he did. Credit must go to those in charge but also to every individual player. Gradually more details of the secret listening are being revealed but the jigsaw is far from complete. We hope more people will make contact to add what they know.

Sally Mijit

Chief Researcher is an ESOL and ALS lecturer at Westminster Kingsway College. In Xinjiang, China, she trained Kazakh, Uyghur and Mongol teachers. She has particular experience in researching the Uyghurs. The British Council Elton Award was awarded for her part in developing a Cultural Experience Course in London's museums and galleries. Her focus is on the breaking of boundaries between classroom and community.

Sources and Bibliography:

Archive Sources

The National Archives, London

FO 916/908 Foreign Office: Consular (War) Department, later Prisoners of War Department: Registered Files (KW and RD Series). Prisoner of war camps in the United Kingdom - reports 01 January 1944 - 31 December 1944.

WO 208/ War Office: Directorate of Military Operations and Intelligence, and Directorate of Military Intelligence; Ministry of Defence, Defence Intelligence Staff files 01 January 1917 - 31 December 1974.

WO 311/632 Combined Services Detailed Interrogation Centre (CSDIC) reports: use of as evidence in court 01 November 1945 - 31 March 1946.

Online Resources

BBC archive WW2 People's War
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/archive/keywords/65/2.shtml>

NARA
<http://www.archives.gov>

The Imperial War Museum Sound Archives
<http://www.iwm.org.uk/search/global?query=colle ctions%20sound>

A fuller list is available on
www.secretlisteners.com
www.pascal-theatre.com

¹⁸ WO 208/4970 'The Story of MI 19' and 'CSDIC Survey 3 December 1939 to 31 December 1940'

¹⁹ WO 208/4970 Appendix E

²⁰ Trent Park Open House
<http://www.trentparkopenhouse.com/index.html>

²¹ WO 208/4970 Appendix E

²² WO 208/4970

²³ WO 208/4970 Appendix F

²⁴ Forrest cited in Sullivan 1979: 54

²⁵ WO 208/4970 (a) Naval Component (b) Air Component

²⁶ FO 916/908 (French) records Red Cross visits but reveals little

²⁷ Correspondence with The British Red Cross 2012

²⁸ Barrett, J., *WW2 People's War*. WWII People's War is an online archive of wartime memories contributed by members of the public and gathered by the BBC. The archive can be found at bbc.co.uk/ww2peopleswar

²⁹ <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=93635950>

Printed Sources

Cobain, I., 2012. *Cruel Britannia*. London: Portobello Books.

Doerr, P., 2010. *We Have Ways of Making You Talk...World War II British Interrogation Tactics: A Historical Moral Study*. New Hampshire: St Anselm College Vol 8, Article 2010-3.

Fry H., 2007. *The M-Room – Secret Listeners who bugged the Nazis*. Self-published.

Hart, P., 2003. *Journey into Freedom*. Authors Online Ltd.

Hinsley, F. H. et al. eds. 1981. *British Intelligence in the Second World War: Its Influence on Strategy and Operations*. Volumes 1&2. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Jones, R V., 1978. *Most Secret War; British Scientific Intelligence 1939-45*. London: Penguin.

Kevin J., 2000. From the Horse's Mouth: Luftwaffe POWs as Sources for Air Ministry Intelligence During the Battle of Britain; *Intelligence and National Security* 15, no. 4 Winter 2000.

Kleinman, S M., 2002. *The History of MIS-Y U.S. Strategic Interrogation during World War II*. MSc Thesis. Joint Military Intelligence College Washington.

Mallett, D R., 2009. *Prisoners of War – Cold War Allies: The Anglo-American Relationship with Wehrmacht Generals*. Phd Dissertation. Texas A&M University.

Neitzel S., 2005. *Abgehört: Deutsche Generäle in britischer Kriegsgefangenschaft 1942-4*. Berlin: List.

Neitzel, S., 2007. *Tapping Hitler's Generals – Transcripts of Secret Conversations, 1942-1945*. Barnsley: Frontline Books.

³⁰ Camp 020 was based in Latchmere House Richmond one of 4 camps (viz Camp 020, Camp 020R Huntercombe Diest (Belgium) and Bad Nenndorf (Germany) for the detention of spies. Secret listening was used at these camps. Fritz Lustig was at Bad Nenndorf and does not recollect seeing any malpractice.

³¹ Associated with Oberleutnant Franz von Werra whose escape from here and other camps was told in the 1957 film *The One That Got Away*. There was secret listening at Grizedale Hall.

³² WO 28/4970

³³ WO 208/4970

³⁴ WO 311/632

Neitzel, S. & Welzer, H., 2012. *Soldaten*. UK: Simon & Schuster.

Stephens, R. W. G. and Hoare, O., eds. 2000. *Camp 020: MI5 and the Nazi Spies*. Public Record Office.

Sullivan, M. B., 1979. *Thresholds of Peace: Four Hundred Thousand German Prisoners and the People of Britain, 1944-1948*. London: Hamish Hamilton.

Weber-Newth I. & Steinert, J-D, 2006. *German Migrants in Post-war Britain; An Enemy Embrace*. Oxford: Routledge.

Interviews

Lustig, Fritz

Interviewed by Julia Pascal for Pascal Theatre Company 2012 and 2013

Mark, Eric

Interviewed by Oliver Leiva and Aadam Ali for Pascal Theatre Company, 2013

Wrobel, Murray

Interviewed by Colin Smith for IWM 2007

Interviewed by Alex Lester for Pascal Theatre Company 2013

Melvyn Keen **A Trent Park history**



I've worked in many different places over the years but nothing has ever compared to Trent Park. Every morning, I would drive only two miles within the M25, through the gates off the Cockfosters Road into a country park. If I was nervous about potential stressful situations in the day ahead, when I turned right into all that greenery, past the public car park, past runners or dog walkers, into the avenue of trees, life became sweeter. At the end of the drive there was a sweep around an



obelisk, a fleeting glimpse of the Mansion and then a right turn into the staff car park. The walk to the house in spring was by a field of daffodils. My working day started when I crossed the imposing entrance taking the wide, red-carpeted staircase to the first floor to then sit at a desk overlooking lawns at the back of the house, which

swept down to a lake. I might look across the water up to the main obelisk at the top of the hill.

For students, I imagine being here was equally as pleasurable. Their journey would start at the less glamorous Snakes Lane entrance near Oakwood Tube Station, where a University bus would shuttle them into the campus. They too would sweep around the daffodil lawn and occasionally start their day in one of the grand downstairs rooms. Most, however, would find



themselves in the less functional concrete buildings across the campus, added as a result of lax planning regulations. In the popular campus Halls of Residence, students could take advantage of walks through the grounds. These still had some of the features laid out by Philip Sassoon and his predecessors: the Wisteria Walk, the ancient woodland, the Arboretum, the Long Garden or,

outside the University's central part of the park, up to the obelisk. Students wouldn't have been aware of the hints at the history of the place suggested by the building names: the ugly Jebb Building (after Sir Richard Jebb, who constructed the original Mansion), Halls of Residence named after Sassoon himself and his cousin (Hannah) Gubbay, and the Bevan building named after the family who previously owned the estate.



As to Sassoon, what were his impressions of the Park that he had inherited from his father? It wasn't his only home; he lived primarily in central London, had another country residence at Port Lympne in Kent and came mostly to Trent Park in the early summer and at Christmas. The Mansion looked very different when he first moved in, but he stripped it of its cloak of foliage, knocked off the corners that offended his sense of order and created almost a child's drawing of a mansion:

rectangular windows either side of a large front portico, with a tiled pitched roof and matching chimneys. This style repeats at the rear. He filled it with treasures from his other houses, bought statues as other homes, such as Stowe, fell on harder times, and threw weekend and fabulous Christmas parties. He built his own golf course (in and around the Mansion and the lake – not the one that exists next door), a pool and a runway to satisfy his flying passion. Royalty and politicians were

frequent visitors. He is said to have flown the Duchess of York (later the Queen Mother) around the estate; the Prince of Wales played golf there and, it is rumoured, used Trent Park Mansion to meet Wallis Simpson.



The history books write about the ancient place as a hunting lodge and the various incarnations of what we called the Mansion, but I was particularly enthralled by the times between the wars when the house was showered with Philip Sassoon's wealth. He was descended from a banking family who had established themselves in England



the previous century. The extent of this hit me when we unearthed an old family photograph album in the basement. It contained images of mansions and grand houses in Hong Kong, every one of them owned by the Sassoons.

Sassoon³⁵ was a man anxiously attempting to be part of the establishment but he was never truly accepted because he was a Jew. From what I've now read about Sassoon, particularly in Professor Peter Stansky's *Sassoon: The Worlds of Philip and Sybil*, he was a man constantly and desperately trying to be accepted by the great and the good of the time, who appeared never to quite accept his Jewish heritage. He could have led the life of a playboy, but he had a serious career: he was Haig's Military secretary in WWI, Lloyd George's Parliamentary Private Secretary after the war, MP for Hythe, and moved through the political ranks becoming Under Secretary of State for Air. I think he would have been



proud of the part that his house went on to play in the war after his premature death in 1939.

The picture facing The Generals was quite different. Trent Park was surrounded by watchtowers and the grounds had Nissen huts. Nevertheless the opulence still existed (after all that was the whole point) and the gardens were still glorious. What better location to spoil and tempt The Generals,

many of whom came from highly privileged backgrounds, into relaxing and revealing all? The irony of Sassoon having guests in his home who were ideologically opposed to everything he represented was clearly not lost on those in power.

My daily work started in what I later learned was one half of one of The General's bedrooms. I quickly fell in love, not so much with the building but with its history and its mysteries. The Mansion is not an architectural delight; it stamps down its identity in the park, rather than blending in as some of its previous incarnations had done. Many of the changes Sassoon made didn't quite work but that's what makes it even more attractive. There is the central staircase, which was brought from a house in central London, which does not seem quite deep enough for the space it occupies and ends in a sort of dais, interrupting the flow of the main corridor. The porticos at the front and rear, again brought up from London, are a little too tall and encroach over the bottom of the windows on the first floor. The windows are not actually balanced across either side of the entrances, three groups on one side but two on the other, and they vary in size and shape.

Despite its peculiarities it remained an extraordinary place to work. When time dragged during long, drawn-out committee meetings, the distraction of a particular piece of the wallpaper in the Drawing Room, or the pleasure of seeing the skill of Whistler's monographs and sea creatures in the Saloon, helped

alleviate any boredom. As I sat in the Blue Room, I imagined Winston Churchill painting by the window. Or perhaps a new colleague would ask a question about a particular feature and I could point out that the side door had been created when a previous college principal wanted quick access from his office to the pool!



What is amazing is that despite all the knowledge about the prewar years, until recently, the war years were a blank to all of us. I regret never going to talk to the late Mrs Dale who lived in one of the cottages in the park when I first arrived. She had worked for Mrs Gubbay when she moved into what is now the Vice Chancellor's House. How many people like her knew the secrets of Trent Park but, just as at Bletchley Park, kept those secrets forever?

It was generally known that Trent Park was a POW camp and rumoured that Rudolph Hess was taken there but nobody had revealed the real history of the Mansion during WW2. And I had lost any hope of ever discovering more until I received an email from a Professor Sönke Neitzel in 2005, explaining he had written a book about the listeners at Trent Park and elsewhere. He wanted to launch the English translation at the campus. I jumped at this opportunity and, on 19 November 2007, was proud to introduce Professor Neitzel to a large audience in the Mansion's Saloon. Most of the audience, listening to the author recount stories from his book, were either from the University, local residents or knew him, but there were some very special attendees as well. These were relatives of The Generals and, I think, a few listeners. I was their tour guide for the day and it was a privilege.

Unfortunately the University's estates strategy meant that we all had to move away from Trent Park. It was a terrible wrench even though I'd only been there for a few years. There was some mild last minute excitement when we were packing as we came upon an unused cupboard. I dreamed we might discover perhaps a trace of the wiring from the listening devices or another Sassoon photo album but all we unearthed were the minutes of long obsolete committee meetings.

During my time there I decided to contact the family to return the Hong Kong photograph album found in the basement and was delighted when Lord Cholmondeley, the grandson of



Sassoon's sister Sybil, said he would bring us some old photos. We already had a lot of shots from the 1930s published in *Country Life* and reproduced on the walls, but these extra images offered a new dimension in the Sassoon history.

There was Philip Sassoon himself, rakishly standing against one of his statues and there was a group shot of a golfing party, Sassoon at the back, the Prince of Wales at the front.

I looked at that photo again recently and was struck by the obvious similarity in poise, and indeed looks, these privileged individuals had to the high ranking generals strolling around the gardens just a few years later.

³⁵ Stansky, P., 2003. *Sassoon: the World of Philip and Sybil*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Reflections



Jonathan Meth Educational Director/
Dramaturg

The Secret Listeners was designed as a multi-disciplinary educational project. The central idea was that the documents revealing these war secrets were to be a platform for experiential, research-based and intergenerational learning around this history and geography.

What is oral history?

Our educational and artistic team developed strategies to train volunteers in oral history, interviewing skills and artistic devising skills. We recruited 15 volunteers to interview 20 people.

How do I conduct an interview?

How do I use the recording equipment?

Outcomes were concerned with developing transformative processes for knowledge transfer between experienced facilitators and volunteers, between researchers and interviewees and between

What do I do when the interview is over?

young, volunteer performers and participating audiences.

This also had the unexpected effect of connecting generations.

Most importantly, the project was also designed to generate an emerging document to access a nearly forgotten and secret history.

We also held workshops with young people from Jigsaw Youth Theatre, Edgware District Reform Synagogue and The Jewish Museum. These were led by Ariella Eshed, Del Taylor and Hannah Prior. We explored with them *The Secret Listeners* interviewees' testimonies, family heritage and a performance was devised.

Lines from transcripts

My father came back inside an urn of ashes. Colin Anson.

I refused to share my code name even seventy years after the war in case there are people alive right now who might be compromised. Ralph Clark.

I went back to Germany to show English civilisation to the Germans. Hanno Fry.

My father took me to my first opera, there was a big sign outside saying: Juden Nicht Erlaubt – Jews are not allowed.

Lore Robinson

I was told that the work I was doing was more important than firing a machine gun. Fritz Lustig.

I am a Bavarian Jewish Brit. Bea Green.

We worked with research from The Wiener Library and The Jewish Military Museum.



Audience reaction

I was surprised that you could present something that moved me after all I have seen and read about Germany 1900-1950.

This performance should be taken around the country, particularly in schools...

I never realised what was happening locally.

Brilliant, very moving and informative. Exceptionally moving and powerful performances (genuinely) by all.

I was on the Normandy beaches, then into Hannover and Belsen.

... wonderful image of the period by use of costume.

Fantastic, full on acting, far more instructive and emotional than I had expected.

The reality of actual clothes, uniforms and possessions made the experience multi-dimensional and deep.

The way we were guided through the narrow corridors made me feel like I was a prisoner at times. The sound in particular added to this. Excellent costumes and attention to detail.

Loved the movement, the technology – not too intrusive, but definitely intrinsic to the production.

Absolutely fantastic! The very best piece of drama I have experienced for years. The professionalism of your young actors was exemplary.



Volunteer Performers' reactions

Angie Goddard Surrounded by the walls, floors, ceilings and doors that were all used in the secret work made the experience

This experience that has truly enlightened my thinking and has had a great impact on me, both as a foreigner in England as well as a performer.

more authentic. I developed a great emotional attachment to the space, working creatively within it; in particular with a small section of glass flooring on which I danced between staircases.

Natasha Vasandi An excellent learning experience. It was great to be able to workshop the different texts as this enabled us to input our own ideas into each scene.

Agnes Funradi On the day of the show we saw 24 groups of audience, which meant I had to repeat each of my performances 24 times in a day!

Harriet Wakefield It was extremely interesting to learn about the history of my university campus. It brought the building to life in a whole new way. It was difficult to watch audience members in distress when listening to the texts. However, it was such a privilege to be among the first people to present these documents in public.

When signing up to this project I didn't realise how much the experience would touch me . . .

Angel Celestin Every time I would play the same scene it never felt the same. For the first time as an actor I can say that I wasn't acting. I was just doing what felt natural to me, the words of the story changed me. The stories will always be remembered and kept in my heart.

Mark Norfolk Film Maker/Trainer

That first meeting suggested the format of the work I was going to do. I decided on a documentary style, fly-on-the-wall filmed journal of the planning, instigation and final outcome of the whole project. This would serve as a learning tool to demonstrate the highs, the lows and the pitfalls of how a large and important project with

artists, academics, teachers and volunteers collaborating together could be implemented. As Video Trainer my job was to instruct and teach young volunteers, many who have never had their hands on a camera before, how to work with camera and sounds.



I began recording the development meetings and was able to see the early gestations of ideas from the director, Thomas Kampe, as well as those from sound designer, Nick Ryan. I witnessed how

individual artists with alternative visions came together to cooperate on a project with such wide-reaching historical significance. Logistical planning was hugely important. For example, recruiting the many volunteers and support workers, working with partner organisations and particularly working within Trent Park's Mansion on the eve of its evacuation. I was able to capture material from the project partners such as The Wiener Library, The Jewish Military Museum and a remarkable youth workshop from Jigsaw Theatre Group.

However, the most intensive moments were in the lead-up to the performance weekend. And it was pleasing to be able to hand the camera over to trainees so they could experience selecting which moments to shoot, and how to operate the camera in an unobtrusive way during high-intensity rehearsals. The performances turned out to be electric. Sold out performances: three tours at any one time with 'Guides' shepherding people of all ages and walks of life amongst energetic young performers amongst a kaleidoscope of sound and vision. This was one of the most remarkable events I have had the pleasure of working on.





Del Taylor Educational Team Leader

It is not often that the opportunity arises to work on a project where participants range in ages from their early teens right through to those in their nineties. *The Secret Listeners* has engaged with a great diversity of people and allowed them to learn about, explore and respond to this unique and relatively unheard of part of history, as well as experience other generations' responses. Volunteers included young people from the Edgware District

and Reform Synagogue, Jigsaw Arts and the First Girls' Brigade Southgate. These young people came from a range of social and cultural backgrounds and, through the project, were able to form cross-cultural links, and increase their understanding and knowledge of what happened in Trent Park during WW2.

None of the participants I worked with were alive during the war, and indeed neither were their parents. Yet they fully engaged with the secret listeners' stories and transcripts and were able to link them into their current understanding of WW2 and to their own family histories. During the session with Jigsaw Arts, a young woman broke down as the content of this previously unknown piece of history resonated with hers. Of



Turkish parentage, her grandfather was a victim of the Nazis. For me, this highlighted the personal connections the young people made with *The Secret Listeners* Project and the Holocaust.

When working with the young people we wanted to share some of the witness texts with them and allow them to find their own ways to present responses to these words, either through physical theatre and creating scenes or

delivering the text in their own context. This practical approach to the texts ensured a fresh vision. We also looked at images based around Trent Park and talked about the reality of life there during the war.

There was a sense of reverence towards the people spoken of in the transcripts and the suffering they endured.

All groups approached the transcripts with respect and were aware that the words they were reading and using as stimulus to devise scenes were the

authentic testimony. There was a sense of reverence towards the people spoken of in the transcripts and the suffering they endured. I believe the fact that we were working with individual personal stories allowed the young people to fully connect with this history. It wasn't always easy for them to work with this very dense, and often harrowing, material but they remained

totally committed and fully aware of the learning to be gained from it.

At other workshops, young people from the Edgware and District Reform Synagogue expressed a deep fascination with the subject matter and were keen to link in their new learning with recent project presentations they have been doing around the Holocaust. They made connections between the work of

The Secret Listeners and their knowledge of the war in a wider context. After their workshop at the Jewish Museum event, they



felt privileged to see and listen to Fritz Lustig talk directly about his experiences. He also answered their questions.

Performance Weekend at Trent Park

An installation was created in one of the upstairs rooms at Trent Park as part of *The Secret Listeners* performance day. The idea was to create a space where audience members could come and look through original transcript extracts, reflect on the performance they had been a part of, as well as see and explore some of the work created by young people we worked with on the Education strand of the project. The room was set up in a calm and bright manner giving space for visitors to think and



absorb. I felt it important to present the work that the young people had created themselves, work which used the transcripts as stimuli. I also wished to present their responses in a way that absorbed

the immersive nature of *The Secret Listeners* performance. In this way, the high quality and creativity of the work done by the young people could be seen.

A long string zig-zagged across the space representing the wires of communication *The Secret Listeners* used. This was to subliminally reference the links between the various listening locations. Hanging from the string were luggage labels with extracts from the transcripts. Further extracts were inked onto the windows. A film was projected showing some of the work created by members of Jigsaw Arts, set against a musical sound track. The film showed their physical and verbal interpretations of the transcripts. On a table at the front of the room was a

book containing many of the transcript extracts for audience members to see. There were also four peep boxes made by the local Girls' Brigade in response to the transcripts.

A major appeal was the privilege of hearing Fritz Lustig speaking at The Jewish Museum about his time as a secret listener and how it all came about for him. He had such energy and the most remarkable recall of events.

Set against the backdrop of a beautiful sunny day with perfectly manicured grounds visible through the windows, the idea was to present the audience with multiple versions of the transcripts recorded at Trent Park in order to highlight the history of the house. The aim was to offer space, calm and time for audience members to connect with the fact that the very room in which they were standing was probably a bedroom from which such conversations might have been recorded. Audience members fed back that it was important to have the opportunity to read through the extracts in a calm environment away from the performance.

The work of *The Secret Listeners* Project has been far reaching and has connected with people from multiple generations, cultural and social backgrounds. It has brought a relatively unknown piece of history to a whole span of participants who would perhaps never have accessed it without the project. I have relished seeing the young people I worked with treat this history with such respect, reverence and creativity.



Susannah Kraft Levene General Manager

We had a quite wonderful set of performers, volunteers, professional creatives as well as young people involved in Phases 1 and 2. To my surprise, my own son, who is a Sixth Form Student, expressed interest in taking part and became

attached to Mark Norfolk, who was not only filming the entire project but also had students linked to him to learn how to capture this on film.

Now, that truly is a legacy that Pascal Theatre Company has left with this project.

The project has had a shape and life of its own. From conception through to delivery, it has been exciting, nerve-wracking, moving, emotional and also sometimes funny. The tales and stories that have been unearthed are enlightening and educative. A major appeal was the privilege of hearing Fritz Lustig speaking at the Jewish Museum about his time as a secret listener and how it all came about for him. He had such energy and the most remarkable recall of events. Here was the essence of the project writ large: a man in his nineties who had been a secret listener sharing the stage with those who re-imagined the same events through a performance lens, thus offering an impression of history through artistic interpretation. And in turn, the words of the German Generals written down and translated all those years ago were dramatised in a simple form by young people from Edgware District Reform Synagogue. Now, that truly is a legacy that Pascal Theatre Company has left with this project.



Wayne McGee Assistant Director

I forged and transcribed a blueprint of thirty plus rooms built across two floors and a basement of Trent Park mansion. My task was to help assemble and direct an ebb and flow of around twenty-six performing volunteers for a six-week rehearsal period. I organised spreadsheets in order to navigate sixty audience members around three separate routes – to experience the retelling of secrets that the house carried.[...].The audience brought the installation to life[...].

The Secret Listeners taught me that together we can learn, and together we should teach.



Mike Tsang Photographer and Interview Trainer.

On the midsummer morning I took the train to Trent Park for the performance of *The Secret Listeners*, I thought about my role in the project. I had been asked to help in this important initiative as a result of my experience as an oral historian and photographer on *Between East and West* for Pascal Theatre Company. The focus for that project was the migration history and heritage of the British Chinese – a subject on which I am intimately well acquainted. However, the story of the Jewish members of British Intelligence in WW2 was new to me. *The Secret Listeners* certainly lived up to its name.

Much like a theatre piece, Pascal Theatre Company had created a world in which visitors were immersed.

As a documentary photographer, it has often been my privilege to keep a sort of distance from subjects to better capture the reality of the moment. To sit back and observe can allow me to capture magical moments that would otherwise go



unrecorded. But sometimes, as it was on that morning in Trent Park, there are events that do not allow for this artistic withdrawal. I could sense that this was such a day as I arrived at the site to see the beautiful mansion, so well preserved that it seemed transported directly from the wartime era. Better still, the perennial English fear of a washout had been allayed – the whole site was bathed in a sunlight that was unmistakably summertime in England. Visitors had already arrived, and performers were clearly playing their characters on site. Actors were dressed as

refugees, some were holding the costumes of German Generals, 1940s nippy waitresses were dressing a tea room with doilies and china cups.

The day was a delight to photograph and you will see in the stills in this book how people were enthralled by the performance. Much like a theatre piece, Pascal Theatre Company had created a world in which visitors were immersed.

I believe heritage projects best reach new audiences who know little of that particular history when the research is presented in an accessible manner. The two-hour tour of the mansion, with actor-led dramatic scenes drew our guests in an immediate and visceral manner. Speaking to people in the café afterwards, it was clear that they had been touched, as had I.

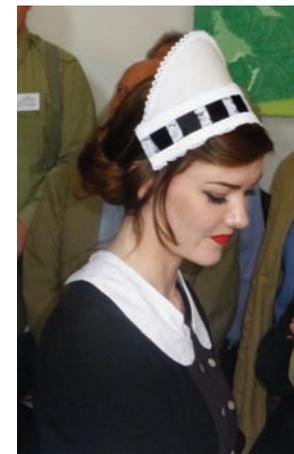


Lesley Lightfoot Educator/Costume Designer

The Secret Listeners at Trent Park, was a huge exercise in our teaching practices – a combination of Applied Theatre, Immersive Theatre, and Performance Art – a devised performance in response to a text producing a site specific experience.

The technical and design elements were realised by members of the Theatre Arts staff assisted by student volunteers. They were also performers, stage managers and tour guides. Bruce Allen led the sourcing of relevant props and furniture and gave technical support to the sound design, filming and visual technology. By collaborating with the director, Thomas Kampe, we made decisions for the concept of each space. How was it being used? What was it being used for? What relationship would the audience have with the space?

My responsibility, supported by student volunteers, was styling costumes for performers. Becca Chester and volunteers, designed



performance areas. In the basement, a room was strung with white clothing on wooden hangers. White nightwear and underwear became a projection screen to suggest the absence of those who once wore such clothing. In the cold, stone basement, a table, chair, radio, pen and documents suggested a secret listener's work station.

Through this project we were able to help students move from theory to practice. They implemented the Theatre Arts course's investigative teaching methods and, through a creative liaison with PTC professionals, produced a dynamic, educational event. *The Secret Listeners* was a thrilling last performance as we exited from this historic building.

Credits

Production Team

Julia Pascal Producer
Susannah Kraft Levene General Manager
Thomas Kampe Director
Sally Mijit Head of Research
Nick Ryan Sound Design/Training
Zoe Blackford Sound Assistant
Mark Norfolk Film Director/Trainer
Lesley Lightfoot Costume Designer/
Training
Becca Chester Set Designer/Training
Bruce Allen Production Manager
Wayne McGee Assistant Director/Training
Mike Tsang Photography/Interview
Training
Juliana Vanderdrift Interview Training
Juliet Simmons Marketing
Ags Irwin Administrative support
Nedyalka Dimitrova Composer/Pianist
Chris Corner Stage Manager

Educational Team

Jonathan Meth Educational Director/
Dramaturg
Ariella Eshed Youth work
Hannah Prior Team Leader
Del Taylor Team Leader and Educational
Room designer

Volunteers

Interviewers

Hilary Appel
Lorena Condrut
Matt Caro
Evgenia Dorofeeva
David Duchin
Aviva Ellis
Lola Fraser
Asya Geftor
Patricia Gomes
Oliver Leiva
Shana Laurent
Sally Mijit
Julia Pascal
Eleonore Pennini
Helen Pike
Isobel Stewart
Louisa Williams

Performers

Sinnead Ali
Antonio Aprea
William Bowden
Kathleen Ackerman
Angel Celestin
Helen Chadwick – Live Music
Angie Goddard
Rio-Chanae Halyes
Zakk Hein
Pete Maxey

Jessica Mann
Amy O'Donohoe
Sabaa Tariq
Agnes Panasiuk
Catherine Radford
Daniel Sado
Edward Smith
Charlotte Trotter
Gemma Tubbs
Jessica Mason-Wright
Ilona Molnar
Natasha Vasandani
Alice Amorim de Matos Vilanculo
Harriet Wakefield
Inge Weber-Newth – Historian

Volunteer Stage Managers

Henry Martin
Sophie Napleton
Martina Lawson

Nippy Waitresses

Daisy Miles
Emily French
Lizzie Gethings
Lesley Lightfoot
Becca Chester

Camera Trainees

Elie Kraft and Evgenia Dorofeeva

Chauffeur and Photographer

Alain Carpentier

Acknowledgments

Middlesex University

Frontline Books for allowing us to use texts from *Tapping Hitler's Generals* by Sönke Neitzel.

Ian Clark specialist in WW2 memorabilia.

Authors Online Ltd for allowing us to use excerpts of *Journey into Freedom* by Peter Hart

<http://ianclarkmusic.com> thanks for continual input about technology and contacts for the research.

Ben Barkow Director of The Wiener Library

Dr Joanna Newman

The Wiener Library

The Jewish Military Museum

Dr Lesley Main, Lorraine Sexton and the staff of Middlesex University

The Jewish Museum

Jonathan Simpson Camden Council.

NYU London campus,

Adam Ganz Artistic Consultant

Ella Abraham BA University of Leicester.



A Pascal Theatre Company Book

First published in the UK in 2013
by Pascal Theatre Company (UK)

©Copyright 2013 Pascal Theatre Company

All rights reserved.

No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored or introduced into a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without the prior permission in writing of the publisher. Any person who does any unauthorised act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

Design eugenie@typographics.co.uk
Print Blissetts, UK

Pascal Theatre Company
35 Flaxman Court
Flaxman Terrace
London WC1H 9AR

www.pascal-theatre.com
www.secretlisteners.com

pascal^{COMPANY}theatre



LOTTERY FUNDED