

A woman with dark hair pulled back, wearing a black, long-sleeved, textured dress with a ruffled waistband and large black earrings. She is standing in front of a large, abstract mural with geometric shapes and a figure's profile. The text is overlaid on the image.

British Art Studies

March 2019

**Theatres of War: Experimental
Performance in London, 1914–1918 and
Beyond**

**Edited by Grace Brockington,
Impermanence, Ella Margolin and
Claudia Tobin**

British Art Studies

Issue 11, published 25 March 2019

Theatres of War: Experimental Performance in London, 1914–1918 and Beyond

Edited by Grace Brockington, Impermanence, Ella Margolin and Claudia Tobin

Cover image: Film still, *The Ballet of the Nations*, 2018.. Digital image courtesy of Impermanence.

PDF generated on 15 February 2024

Note: *British Art Studies* is a digital publication and intended to be experienced online and referenced digitally. PDFs are provided for ease of reading offline. Please do not reference the PDF in academic citations: we recommend the use of DOIs (digital object identifiers) provided within the online article. These unique alphanumeric strings identify content and provide a persistent link to a location on the internet. A DOI is guaranteed never to change, so you can use it to link permanently to electronic documents with confidence.

Published by:

Paul Mellon Centre

16 Bedford Square

London, WC1B 3JA

<https://www.paul-mellon-centre.ac.uk>

In partnership with:

Yale Center for British Art

1080 Chapel Street

New Haven, Connecticut

<https://britishart.yale.edu>

ISSN: 2058-5462

DOI: 10.17658/issn.2058-5462

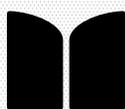
URL: <https://www.britishartstudies.ac.uk>

Editorial team: <https://www.britishartstudies.ac.uk/about/editorial-team>

Advisory board: <https://www.britishartstudies.ac.uk/about/advisory-board>

Produced in the United Kingdom.

A joint publication by



PAUL MELLON
CENTRE

YALE CENTER FOR BRITISH ART

Contents

London's Little Theatres, Grace Brockington and Claudia Tobin



London's Little Theatres

Grace Brockington and Claudia Tobin

Authors

Senior Lecturer in the History of Art at the University of Bristol

Cite as

Grace Brockington and Claudia Tobin, "London's Little Theatres", *British Art Studies*, Issue 11, <https://dx.doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-11/theatres>

“Chelsea, dotted with groups of studios, full of small streets, and cheap lodgings, is alive with artists and writers, and rich with memories of both.”¹ Thus wrote a young Arthur Ransome in his whimsical study *Bohemia in London* (1907). By 1914, Chelsea was well established as a cultural quarter. Over the decades, it had been home to artists and writers from Turner to Sargent, from Swift to Michael Field. Rossetti and Swinburne had shared a house on Cheyne Walk, where they kept a personal zoo. Whistler lived a few doors from Wilde on Tite Street and painted Wilde’s ceiling with a design of peacock feathers. By the time Ransome arrived in the neighbourhood, in 1901, it had “begun to deserve its reputation as a battlefield and bivouacking ground for art and literature.”² At the outbreak of the First World War, an influx of artists and writers from the provinces and from abroad gave the area a new lease of life, just at the point when the London art world was entering a phase of cultural reaction and the avant-gardes were breaking up in reaction to the conflict.

The artists, writers, and performers who gathered around the Margaret Morris Theatre on the King’s Road formed a close community. Morris lived at 1 Glebe Place, her partner, the artist J.D. Fergusson, at 14 Redcliffe Road. The Choric School operated from a “quaintly decorated house” on Royal Hospital Road, where Khori Torahiko and Fujita Tsuguji lived at different points during the war.³ The Armfields set up their Greenleaf Theatre in a studio on Glebe Place, a few doors away from Charles Rennie Mackintosh and Margaret Mackintosh. The Ballets Russes dancer Serafina Astafieva opened a dance school at 152 King’s Road. Vernon Lee and Geoffrey Whitworth lived on Oakley Street; George Plank lived on Cheyne Row. The Blue Cockatoo restaurant on Cheyne Walk, overlooking the river, was a favourite haunt, and close to Jacob Epstein’s lodgings and Edward McKnight Kauffer’s studio. E.O. Hoppé was a short walk away on Cromwell Place in South Kensington. Slightly further afield, there were significant locations near Covent Garden—Henderson’s Bookshop on Charing Cross Road, the Union of Democratic Control on Norfolk Street, the Pioneer Players on Bedford Street and, after the war, the Arts League of Service on Robert Street.

It was an actual community rather than an imagined one, formed by personal collaborations, social gatherings, and chance encounters in and around Chelsea and the Strand. Such familiarity shaped the nature of their work together and generated a sense of solidarity in the otherwise inhospitable cultural climate of the First World War. The map presented here, curated by Claudia Tobin, is intended to conjure up the *genius loci* that Vernon Lee evoked in her travel writing. It was made in 1913 by C. Smith & Son and is marked with key locations—homes, studios, libraries, theatres, and other places of work and entertainment. Many of these sites are linked to recent or

historical photographs, prints, or paintings to create a virtual tour of a neighbourhood which, even after a century of rebuilding, may still seem half-familiar.

The Margaret Morris Theatre

The Margaret Morris Theatre was central to the development of experimental theatre in London and became a gathering point for artists, writers, and musicians more widely during the war. It was opened in June 1914 by the dancer Margaret Morris (1891–1980) and her partner, the artist J.D. Fergusson (1874–1961), on the first floor of the Temperance Billiard Hall on the corner of the King’s Road and Flood Street.⁴ The couple had met in Paris in 1913, where Morris was visiting to perform with her “Dancing Children” and Fergusson lived as an avant-garde artist. At the outbreak of the First World War, he moved reluctantly to London where they both missed the Parisian café culture and set about trying to recreate it.⁵ The Margaret Morris Theatre became a substitute for the music halls, cafés, and studios of bohemian Paris. It staged productions by the Margaret Morris School and other little theatres, and hosted the Margaret Morris Club, which met thrice monthly for performances, debates, and social dancing. The Club was attended by many of the leading artists and intellectuals of the day, including the architect Charles Rennie Mackintosh and his wife, the designer Margaret Mackintosh, who moved from Glasgow to London in 1915; Vorticists such as Wyndham Lewis, Jacob Epstein, Edward Wadsworth, and Ezra Pound; the writers Katherine Mansfield and John Middleton Murry, and the artist Anne Estelle Rice, all of whom were involved in the modernist magazine *Rhythm*; composers such as Eugene Goossens, Cyril Scott, and Constant Lambert, and the photographer E.O. Hoppé. Many of these figures recur elsewhere in this exhibition as part of the closely involved network of little theatres and related projects operating in London during the war.

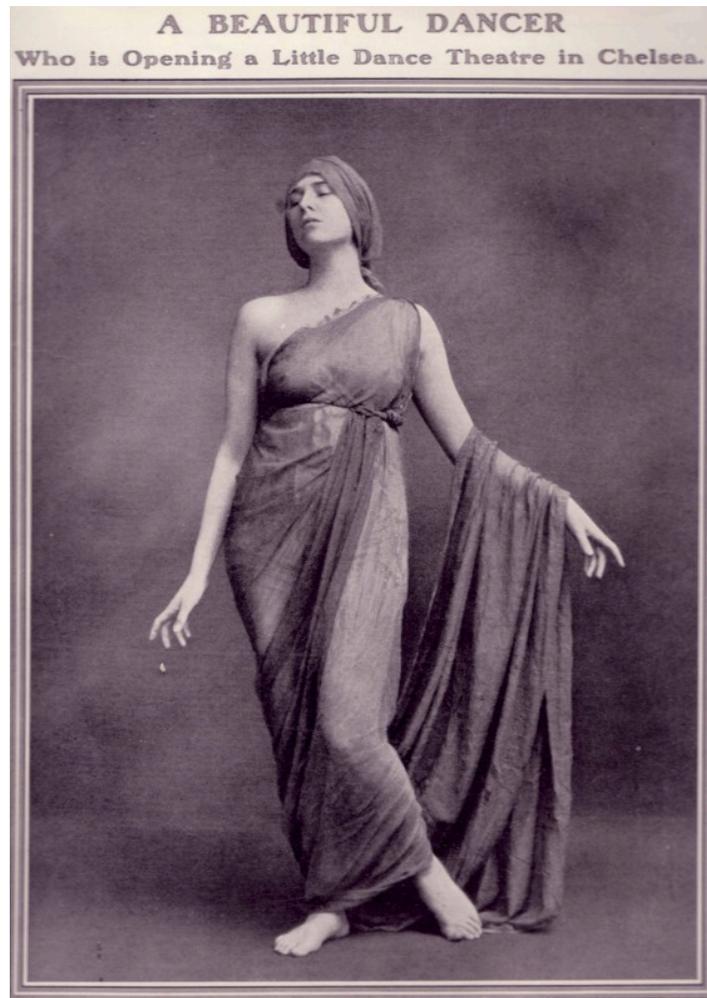


Figure 1.

Margaret Morris, "A Beautiful Dancer who is Opening a Little Dance Theatre in Chelsea", *The Tatler* 56, no. 725 (19 May 1915), 201. Digital image courtesy of Private Collection.

This photo portrait of Margaret Morris, advertising her theatre in the pages of *Tatler*, shows off the Grecian aesthetic that underpinned her dance method. She trained as a child in classical ballet but, like other dancers of the day—Isadora Duncan, Ruth St Denis, Loïs Hutton—she felt drawn to more natural systems of movement. She learned the basic positions of her technique from Raymond Duncan, brother of Isadora, who worked from Hellenic vase painting to recreate the dance rituals of ancient Greece.⁶ The "Margaret Morris Movement", as it became known, celebrated dance as a return to the idea of rhythmic movement rooted in religious ritual. Costumes were diaphanous and the dancers barefoot and often out of doors.

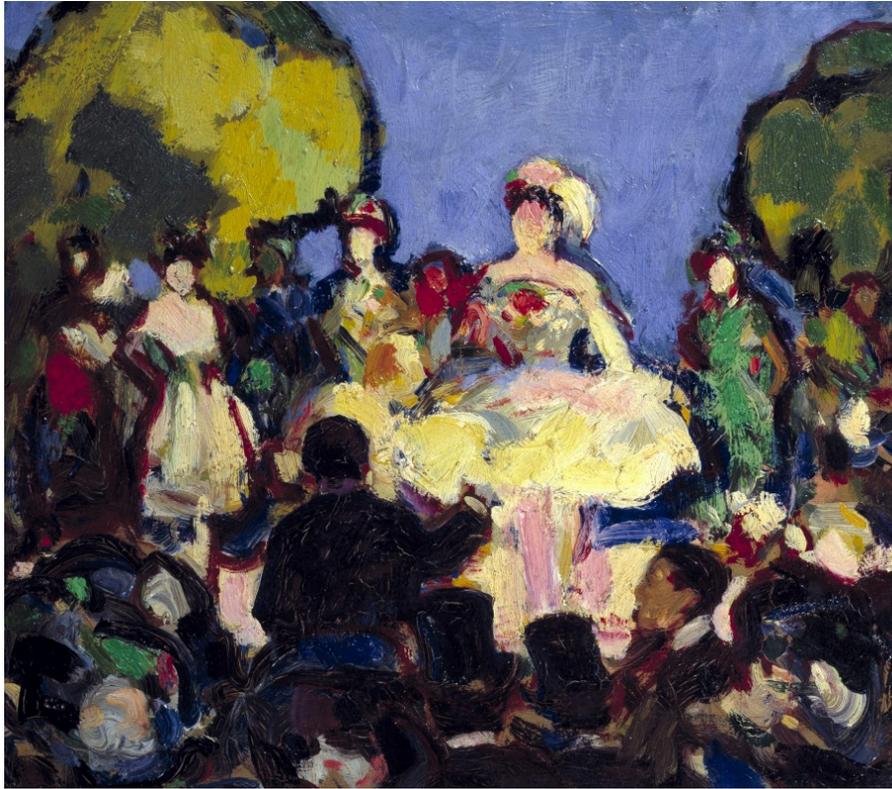


Figure 2.

J.D. Fergusson, *Café-Concert des Ambassadeurs*, 1907, oil paint on board, 37.5 × 41.3 cm. Collection of Tate (N05880). Digital image courtesy of The Fergusson Gallery, Perth and Kinross Council. Photo: Tate (All rights reserved).

Fergusson's painting of a Parisian *café-concert* tells us a lot about the culture that he and Morris were seeking to recreate in London during the war. The *café-concert*, or *café chantant*, was popular across Europe at the turn of the twentieth century as a place to meet, eat, and enjoy the entertainment, usually out of doors.⁷ Fergusson's painting conveys a vivid impression of one such establishment—the golden glow of light around the dancers against a bright blue sky, and the swirl of spectators in the shadowy foreground, who are themselves part of the spectacle.

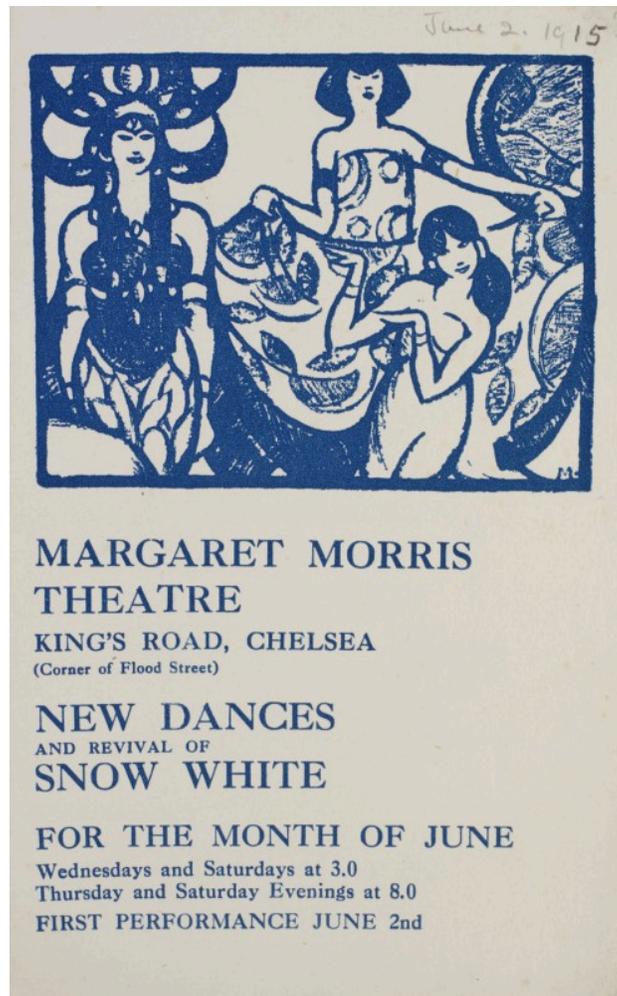


Figure 3.

Margaret Morris Theatre Programme, 2 June 1915, illustration by Margaret Morris. Collection of Margaret Morris Movement International Limited. Digital image courtesy of Margaret Morris Movement International Limited.

The Margaret Morris School of Dancing staged a number of performances during the war. This theatre programme, designed by Morris herself, shows off the distinctive costuming that characterised her productions. Morris is pictured on the left in an elaborate headdress and the dancer to the rear holds out an enormous skirt decorated with an all-over leaf-like pattern. The dancer to the front gestures in a way that was typical of the style of movement practised in the London little theatres at this time—wrists and elbows flexed and pointing hieroglyphically to one side.

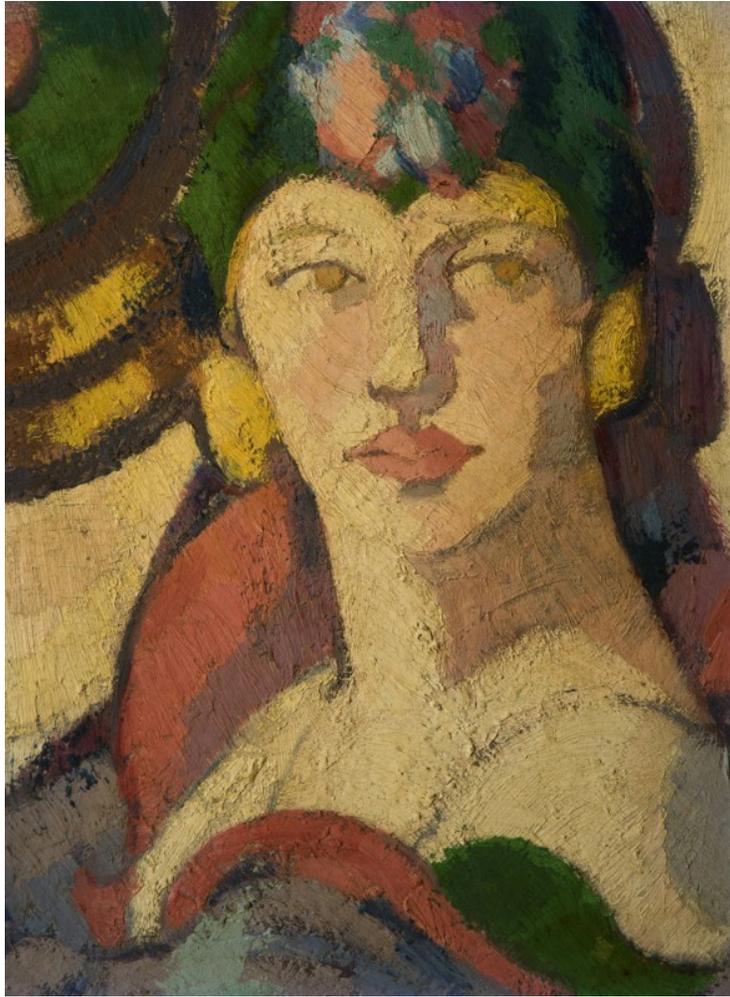


Figure 4.

Margaret Morris, *Kathleen and Mirror*, 1915, oil on card on board, 42.5 × 34 cm. Collection of Perth and Kinross Council (2011.31). Digital image courtesy of Margaret Morris Movement International Limited. Photo: Perth and Kinross Council (All rights reserved).

Margaret Morris encouraged her students to practise a range of art forms—painting, music, and writing, as well as dance—and to treat them all as aspects of a single, integrated practice. In this respect, her work drew on the idea of the total work of art that was promoted by other groups across Europe, from the Ballets Russes to Der Blaue Reiter. Painting at the Margaret Morris School was taught by J.D. Fergusson, Morris’s partner, and her portrait of Kathleen Dillon, shown here, recalls his fleshy, highly coloured, stylised modelling of the human figure. Dillon was one of Morris’s original “dancing children” and taught at the Margaret Morris School from 1917.⁸ She formed her own group, the Choric School, together with the dancer Hester Sainsbury and the poet John Rodker, and performed also with the Greenleaf Theatre.⁹

[mul]

The composer Eugene Goossens was a regular at the Margaret Morris Club, where he would “sit down and improvise on the piano and generate a real excitement”, as Morris later recalled.¹⁰ Two of his wartime compositions explore ideas of play and puppetry that were important to the little theatres: *Four Conceits* (1917), which includes “Dance Memories” and “The Marionette Show”; and *Kaleidoscope* for piano (1917), a set of twelve miniature compositions which follow a child’s day from “Good Morning” to “Goodnight”. “March of the Wooden Soldier”, “The Punch and Judy Show”, and “The Clockwork Dancer” are among the entertainments, while “Lament to a Departed Doll” picks up on the elegiac associations with toys and puppets that were prevalent at this time.¹¹ Both sets of music were taken up by members of the Ballets Russes after the war. In 1919, Diaghilev used *Four Conceits* as a “Symphonic Interlude” for the Ballets Russes season at the Alhambra Theatre. In 1920, Goossens orchestrated “The Hurdy Gurdy Man” from *Kaleidoscope* for the prima ballerina Tamara Karsavina.¹²

[mul]

The Greenleaf Theatre

Constance Smedley and Maxwell Armfield founded the Greenleaf Players when they moved to London in early 1915 as a step towards joining the little theatre movement in the USA.¹³ Their involvement in theatre had begun some four years earlier when they lived in Minchinhampton, in the heart of the Cotswolds, and staged the *Gloucestershire Historical Pageant of Progress* (1911) as a rural extravaganza starring hundreds of local people from the surrounding villages.¹⁴ It led to the formation of their first company, the Cotswold Players, which toured the village halls in an effort to reach audiences as widely as possible—beyond a conventional theatre-going audience. Their style of production was inspired by the holistic “art of the theatre” promoted in Edward Gordon Craig’s journals *The Mask* and *The Marionette*.¹⁵ They saw themselves working in the tradition of the medieval troubadours, much as William Morris sought to revive the artists’ guilds of the Middle Ages. The style they wanted to achieve was harmonious, ritualistic, and anti-naturalistic—folk and fairy tales performed against simple, portable sets, using strictly choreographed movements and a carefully scripted, chanting intonation. When they started up in London, they were exhilarated to find other groups striving for a similar effect. “I shall never forget,” wrote Smedley in her memoirs,

the thrill of wonder and rapture when the curtains drew back and we beheld for the first time the drama of our dreams: voice and movement and picture accurately synthesized, depending on the rhythmic pattern for charm and interest instead of on the emotional exercise of the players' personality. ¹⁶

This section of the exhibition focuses on Armfield's illustrations, particularly those for his play *The Minstrel*, which he staged in Chelsea in summer 1915, as a crucial link between the London little theatres, the peace movement, and the publication of *The Ballet of the Nations*.

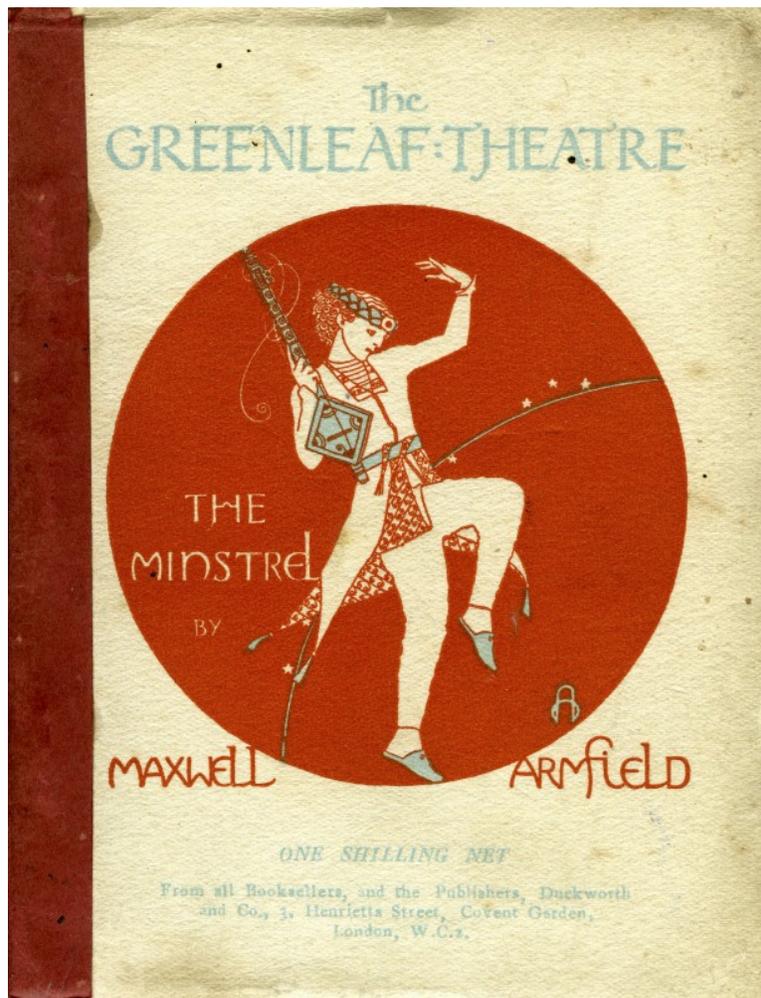


Figure 5.

Maxwell Ashby Armfield, *The Minstrel*, written and performed ca.1915 (London: Duckworth, 1922-1925), cover design. Collection Tate Archive (TGA 976/7/1/12).

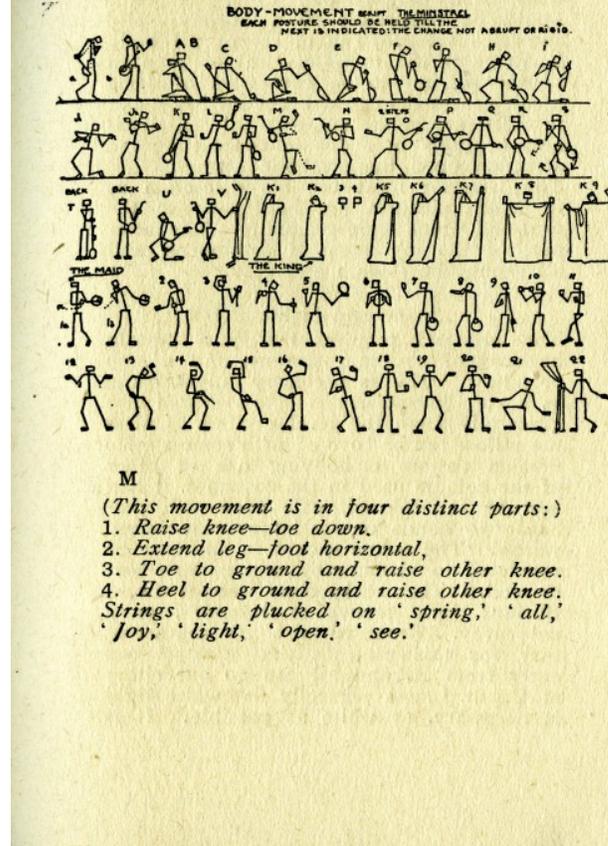


Figure 6.

Maxwell Ashby Armfield, *The Minstrel*, written and performed ca.1915 (London: Duckworth, 1922-1925), page 15 featuring "Body-Movement Script". Collection Tate Archive (TGA 976/7/1/12).

Maxwell Armfield's play *The Minstrel* tells the tale of a wandering musician who finds a country ravaged by war and whose music restores it to peace and plenty. It is a coded reflection on Armfield's own sense of himself as an artist and pacifist, choosing to spend the war working in theatre but under increasing pressure to enlist—conscription came into force in Britain in March 1916, shortly before the Armfields left London for New York. After the war, they brought out their plays as a series of miniature pamphlets with cover designs that related closely to the Greenleaf aesthetic. The "body-movement script" which prefaces the text of *The Minstrel* shows how they sought to impose a strict choreography on productions of their work. It was most probably drawn by Smedley—Armfield states that her method was to make "hundreds of small drawings of movements and groupings, crystallising the continuous rhythmic structure of the play."¹⁷ Smedley herself claimed that

The Minstrel was the first play “to be completely worked out in formalised drawings, interpreted by the actors as musicians might interpret a score, or dancers a formal dance.” ¹⁸



Figure 7.

Unknown photographer, Maxwell Ashby Armfield with Phyllis Holt and Joyce Holt as the King, the Minstrel and the Maid, in Maxwell Ashby Armfield, *The Minstrel*, staged at the Maxwell Armfield studio, Glebe Place, London, 1915, photograph, 11.6 × 8.8 cm. Collection Tate Archive (TGA 976/6/4). Digital image courtesy of Tate Archive and The Estate of Maxwell Ashby Armfield.

A remarkable set of photographs survives from the Greenleaf Players' production of *The Minstrel* in 1915, demonstrating a direct connection between Armfield's "pictorial commentary" on *The Ballet of the Nations* and the ideas about theatre that he was exploring at this time. The photographs are compiled in a home-made album labelled "London 1915", stuck onto coarse blue paper and each surrounded by a hand-drawn, brightly coloured frame. Several of them are strikingly close to pages from *The Ballet*. The image shown here, for example, evokes a scene of conversation among the female nations of *The Ballet*, in its juxtaposition of seated and standing figures, the patterned, archaic costumes, and the gesturing of the hand, palm upwards. In her memoirs, Smedley described the production which took place first in the Armfield's own studio, then by invitation at the Margaret Morris Theatre, where they "cleared the expenses and divided the profits among the actors, who received five shillings each!" (£25 in today's terms). ¹⁹ Her account situates the performance within the little theatre network:

“Geoffrey Whitworth was again an enthusiastic colleague, and we found two delightful girls, Phillis and Joyce Holt, who were keen dance-students, working out their own old dances from scripts in the British Museum [...] Included in the framework of verse was a tribute to Hester Sainsbury, who had foreseen our vision and had been carrying it out while we had been struggling in the Cotswolds.” ²⁰

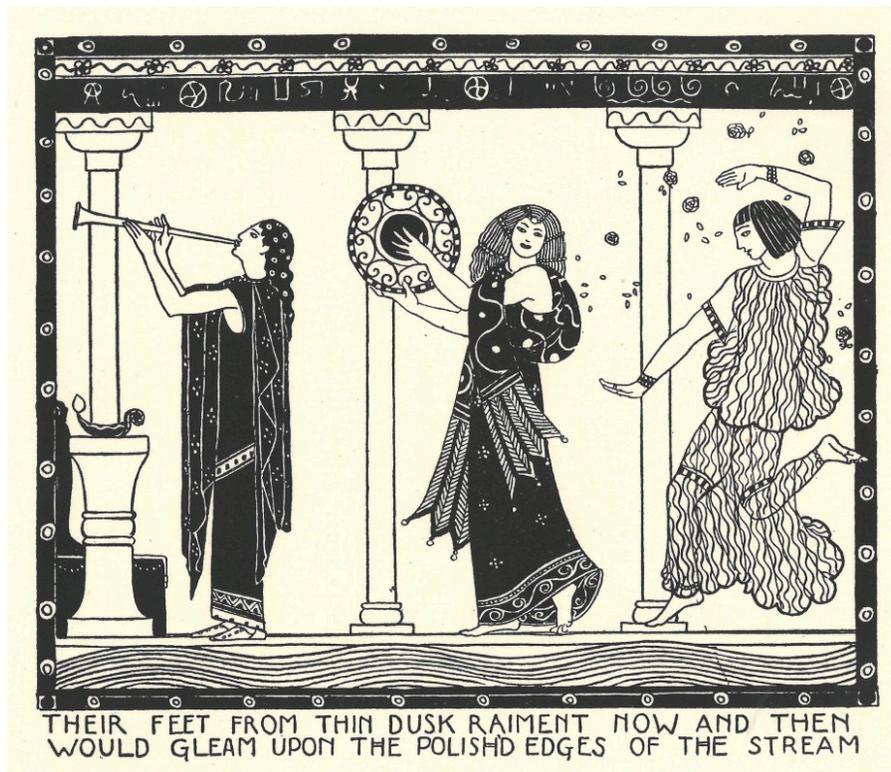


Figure 8.

Maxwell Ashby Armfield, “Their Feet from Thin Dusk Raiment Now and Then Would Gleam upon the Polished Edges of the Stream”, in William Morris, *The Life and Death of Jason* (London: Headley Brothers, 1915), opposite 274.

Armfield’s illustrated edition of William Morris’s epic poem was published in the same year as *The Ballet of the Nations* and uses the same visual language. His prefatory “Note on the Drawings” articulates his approach to book illustration at this time in a way which is strongly reminiscent of *The Ballet*:

“No attempt has been made in the drawings to convey an impression with line similar in kind to that conveyed by the words of the text [...] This point of view must consider the embellishment not so much as *illustration* proceeding *from* the text as a continuation of the binding and page purposing to *present* the text to the eye; or as a commentary on certain aspects of the matter not necessarily touched on at all by the author.” ²¹

The edition brings together two artists who were important to Armfield’s work: William Morris as the leader of the Arts and Crafts Movement, and Edward Gordon Craig, whom Armfield evoked when he explained that:

“The persons are represented by broad types moving if at all with a sort of hierarchic precision reminiscent of the more dignified marionette, the broad simple ideas being conveyed not with eye and eye-brow, but with the gesture of the entire body.” ²²

The copy of the book from which this image is taken is inscribed to “Mr and Mrs Haddon Squire with best wishes for 1916 from Maxwell Armfield”. Haddon Squire was a neighbour on Glebe Place who featured in the life of the London theatre network as a member of the council of the Arts League of Service.



Figure 9.

Maxwell Ashby Armfield, Edward McKnight Kauffer, 1915, oil on canvas, 29.8 × 35 cm. Collection of National Portrait Gallery (NPG 4947). Digital image courtesy of Estate of Maxwell Armfield / Bridgeman Images. Photo: National Portrait Gallery (All rights reserved).

Armfield's friendship with the artist Edward McKnight Kauffer (1890–1954), or “K” as he called him, was important to his experience of living in Chelsea during the war.²³ Kauffer encouraged him as he worked on his illustrations for *The Ballet of the Nations*, and the two would go together to Chelsea Library and “pore over the journals in which were reproduced all the best Continental designs”, particularly—and, in the context of the war, controversially—those from Germany.²⁴ When Armfield moved to the USA in 1916, Kauffer continued to send him art publications from Britain, including issues of *Colour*, which was a journal of some significance to the little theatre network in London.²⁵ Like several of those who feature in this exhibition, Kauffer moved to London at the outbreak of war in 1914, where he clearly felt at home with the pacifist avant-garde. He lived in Chelsea, sold his drawings at Roger Fry's Omega Workshops, and worked for the Arts League of Service.²⁶ Armfield's portrait of his friend standing against the trunk of a Californian pine points to the New World, which the Armfields hoped shortly to join. The depiction of the head in profile was characteristic of the hieratic style of portraiture which Armfield drew from various European sources, including ancient Greek vase painting.

[mul]

Greenleaf programmes consisted of small plays in a “connected tracery of song, dance, poem and antick”, a formula which was also used by other little theatres.²⁷ The Armfields favoured composers such as Edward Elgar, Percy Pitt, and Roger Quilter, then at the cutting-edge of British music, whom they appreciated for their “unusual harmonies”.²⁸ They also drew on traditional melodies at a time when Cecil Sharp was leading a revival of English folk song. Constance Smedley made her name as a music critic in the 1890s,²⁹ and music was important to the way that she thought about theatre as a form of rhythmic performance.³⁰ Her own Greenleaf plays were structured like sonatas, she explained:

“Allegretto, Andante, Largo, Trio or Scherzo, etc., the metre changing and the general structure of the different parts; this making a form that was satisfying in itself and which gave a curious sense of satisfaction to the audiences, quite apart from the dramatic content of the plays.”³¹

The relationship between song and movement was carefully mapped out. “Wander Song” was published together with a “movement script”. “The Green Tree”, which featured alongside *The Minstrel* when the company performed at the Margaret Morris Theatre in June 1915, was a “gesture-song”.³²

“The Artist’s Precept”, which prefaces *The Minstrel*, was supposedly written by a Chinese poet called Pai Ta-Shun. Armfield noted his “indebtedness to the translator of his poem from the Chinese, whose identity he has so far been unable to discover.”³³ In 1917, the mystery was solved. Pai Ta-Shun was unmasked as Frederick Peterson (the surname was simply transliterated), a white American physician and student of Chinese poetry—a flagrant case of the mixture of fiction and scholarship that characterised the invention of the Orient.³⁴

[mul]

[mul]

The Choric School

The Choric School, sometimes known as the Clarissa Club, started in summer 1913 and remained active in Chelsea throughout the war.³⁵ Those involved included Hester Sainsbury (1890–1967), who led the group; Kathleen Dillon (1898–1990), one of Margaret Morris’s original “dancing children”; Evelyn Sainsbury (1891–1927), Hester’s friend and sister-in-law; and John Rodker (1894–1955), a poet of the Whitechapel Boys.³⁶ Their method was distinctive. Rodker described how “a party of young women in an old house in Chelsea” were “striving hard to take the art of dancing a step further ahead” through performances that were “marionette-like but with the dolls speaking and behind all a strong artistic reason.”³⁷ Sainsbury wanted to achieve what she called “a purely conventional method of representation both in acting and dancing” in order to express emotion, unadulterated by “impure” realism or “the equally destructive element of the performer himself.”³⁸ As an observer, Constance Smedley emphasised the ritualistic quality of their rhymed plays in which every element was “accurately synthesised, depending on the rhythmic pattern for charm and interest instead of on the emotional exercise of the players’ personality.” Their habit of performing in contemporary dress, she remembered, gave their productions a “curious modern flair, like the decorative fashion drawings of *Vogue* or *Vanity Fair*.”³⁹

By 1915, the group had established a base at 71 Royal Hospital Road, Chelsea, where Evelyn Sainsbury kept a studio.⁴⁰ Their soirées were “a great antidote to war weariness”, according to the society weekly, *The Sketch*: “One dances a few fox-trots, one smokes while gazing at the Futurist ceiling”, and it was there that one could “meet all the young artists who keep London humming like the big black beehive that it is.”⁴¹ The house was, notably, a meeting place for Japanese expatriates, and as such provides a link between the London little theatres and the experiments in Noh theatre which W.B. Yeats and Ezra Pound were conducting around this time.⁴² The painter Foujita (Fujita Tsuguji) lived at no. 71 during 1916.⁴³ From 1917, the playwright Kori Torahiko, who worked with Yeats, was also resident, after he and Sainsbury became partners; and the dancers Michio Ito and Kumé Tamijiro were regular visitors. Others included the illustrator Edmund Dulac, who made masks and costumes for Yeats’s play *At the Hawk’s Well*; and the sculptor Jacob Epstein, who, like Pound, was also a member of the Margaret Morris Club, and who designed the décor for a production at the Plough Club in 1919.⁴⁴ John Rodker, however, was compelled to leave Chelsea due to the precariousness of his position as a conscientious objector. He spent much of the war in hiding and then in prison on Dartmoor—an experience which he described in his pacifist testimonial, *Memoirs of Other*

Fronts (London, 1932). There is no trace of the Choric School after the end of the war, although its members continued to do interesting work: Sainsbury as a wood engraver, Dillon as a dancer with the Arts League of Service, and Rodker as a writer and publisher.



Figure 10.

Sherril Schell, Photograph of a Performance by the Choric School, undated [1913-1915]. Digital image courtesy of Private Collection.

As a visual record of little theatre in Britain in the early twentieth century, this photograph is a rare survivor. It was taken by the American photographer Sherril Schell, who kept a studio in London between about 1910 and 1915.⁴⁵ In 1913—the year that the Choric School began—he made a set of photographs of the poet Rupert Brooke that become iconic after Brooke died in active service in April 1915.

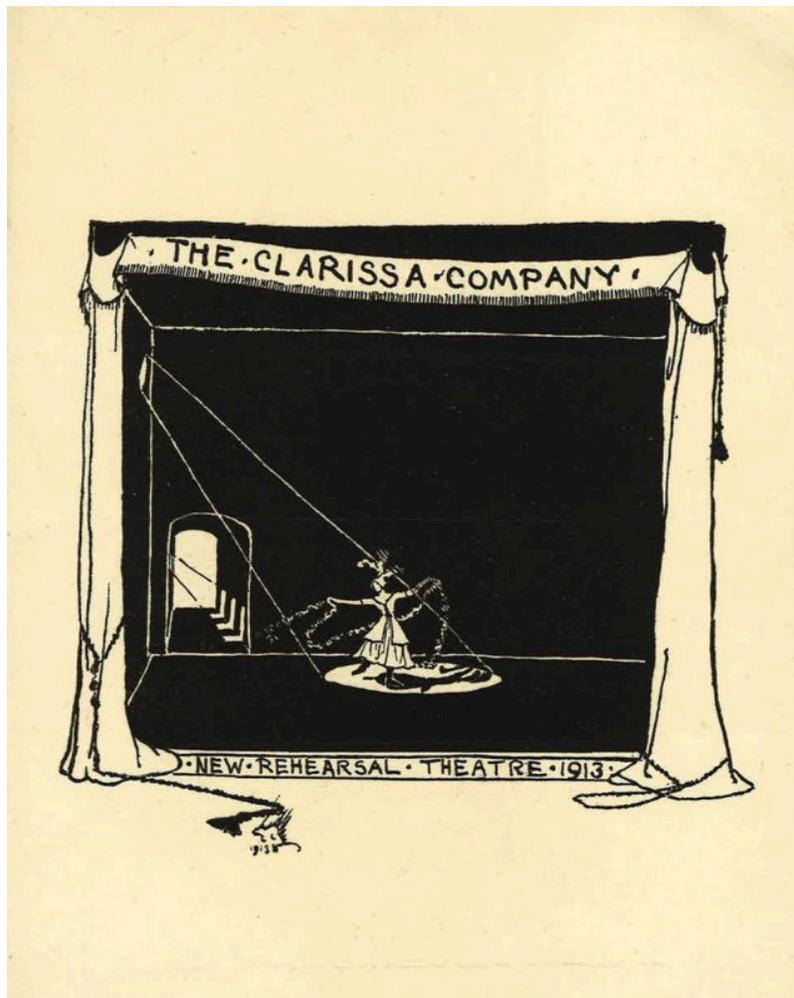


Figure 11.

Choric School programme, *Four Dramatic Poems and Sylvius—A Pastoral*, New Rehearsal Theatre, May 1913, front cover.
Collection London School of Economics and Political Science
Women's Library Collection (7HFD/A/03/26).

This programme for a run of performances by the “Clarissa Company” (another variation on their name) is a rare survival of their work before the First World War. The cover design is particularly interesting because it conveys a sense of their visual aesthetic, with minimal scenery, simple but dramatic lighting, and an emphasis upon expressive movement rather than the actor’s personality. The entertainment featured four dramatic poems—“The Idol”, “The Coquette”, “Mammon”, and “Venus and Adonis”—and a play titled *Sylvius—A Pastoral*. Hester Sainsbury was very much in charge of operations—she wrote and staged all the items herself and sold the tickets from her home at 52 Wimpole Street in Marylebone. It seems likely that she also designed the cover as she was an accomplished artist and is now better known for her work as an illustrator.⁴⁶ Tickets were

priced at 5s., 2/6, or 1s.—that is £28, £14, or £5.60 in today's currency. Four evening shows were scheduled between 13 and 17 May at the New Rehearsal Theatre, Maiden Lane.

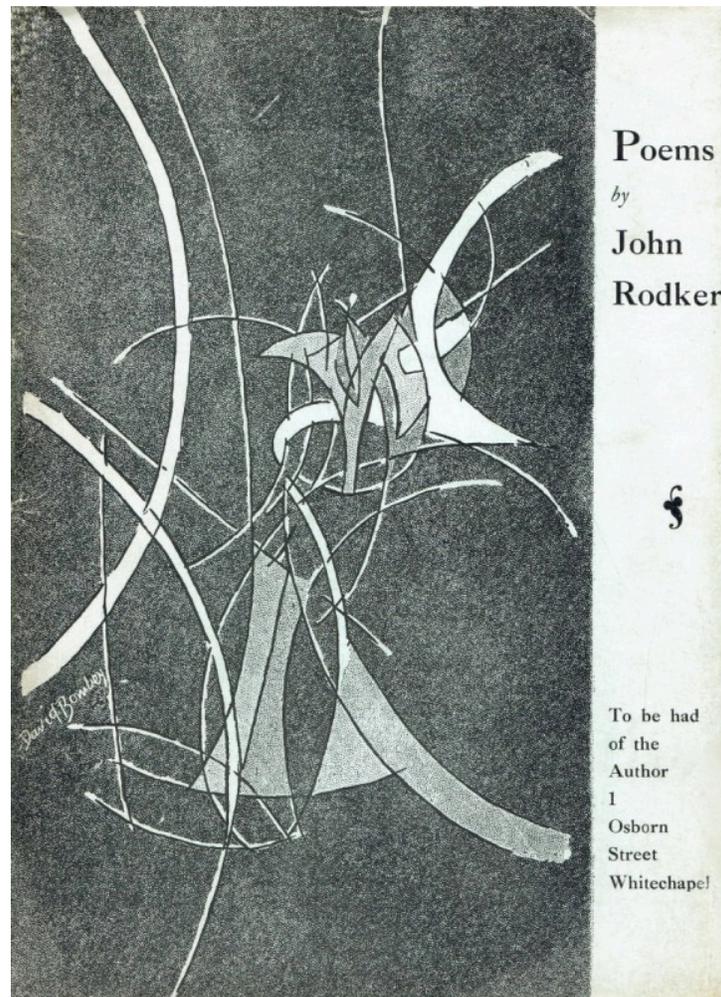


Figure 12. John Rodker, *Poems*, (London: Ovid Press, 1914), cover design by David Bomberg. Digital image courtesy of Private Collection.

Rodker produced this, his first collection of poems, in early 1914. Like much modernist literature, it was a modest publication—small, privately printed, “to be had of the Author 1 Osborn Street Whitechapel”, and no doubt of limited circulation. As an object, it stands out for its cover design by the Vorticist artist David Bomberg, also a “Whitechapel Boy”, who used the subject of modern dance as a way of investigating the new drive towards abstraction in the visual arts.⁴⁷ His design drew on studies that he made of Rodker’s girlfriend, Sonia Cohen—to whom the book is dedicated—dancing

with Margaret Morris. ⁴⁸ Cohen's later account of the episode is worth quoting for what it tells us about the connections between different groups at this time, and between abstraction and its real-life inspirations:

"In 1913, when I went down to Southbourne to join a summer school dancing out-of-doors on the cliffs with Margaret Morris, Bomberg followed me down there with a few friends. He was in here with me at the time, and thought it a great lark to watch us all cavorting around in the open-air camp. The "Dancer" watercolours came out of his interest in all this, and I think you can see the bodies' movement clearly in the designs." ⁴⁹

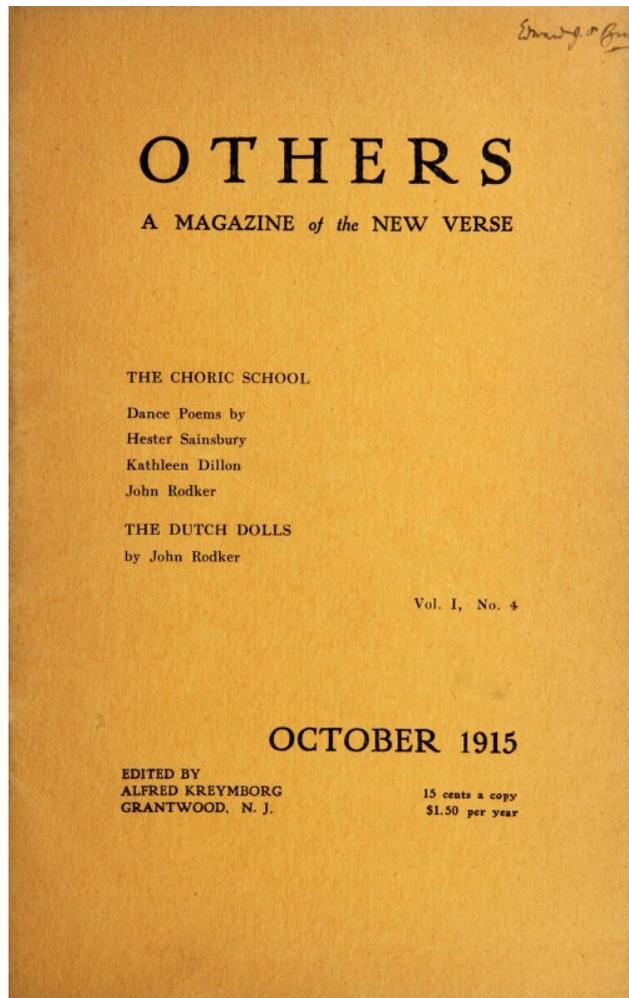


Figure 13.

Alfred Kreymborg (ed.), *Others: A Magazine of the New Verse*, 1, no. 4: "The Choric School" (Grantwood New Jersey: Alfred Kreymborg, 1915): cover. Digital image courtesy of The Modernist Journals Project, Brown University and the University of Tulsa.

In October 1915, the New York modernist, Alfred Kreymborg, devoted a whole issue of his little magazine *Others* to the Choric School, with a Foreword by Ezra Pound. It contained a selection of "Dance Poems" written by Sainsbury, Dillon, and Rodker, and Rodker's play *The Dutch Dolls*. Pound was drawn by the "aroma" of their work, which to him seemed "sensuous and naïvely sophisticated." He felt that the pairing of word and movement in their performances had the potential to "reanimate" modern poetry, just as dance song had transformed European poetry in the Middle Ages. ⁵⁰

[mul]

"[I] consider it is a wrong idea that dance must be assisted by music. A dance can be equally successful with metre used as time and words as melody", declared Hester Sainsbury. ⁵¹ For Ezra Pound, her practice of dancing to spoken verse was revelatory because it fused word and movement together into a total work of art. Indeed, he only began to understand their poetry when he saw Sainsbury and Dillon perform: "I then understood the curious breaks and pauses, the elaborate system of dots and dashes with which this new group is wont to adorn its verses." ⁵²

CLARISSA CLUB,
71, ROYAL HOSPITAL ROAD,
CHELSEA, S.W.

March 23rd 1915

Dear Mr. Cornfield - Next
Tuesday is an entirely "by invitation"
affair - no tickets or anything like
that! Our paying performance
was in Mar. We so much enjoyed
seeing you and your husband
on Sunday and I don't
believe we said a word about
much we liked and admired
the program. We shall love to
come to the Tempora show -
we shall only have about
~~half~~ half-a-dozen of our own
friends on Tuesday - so bring as
many as you like, perhaps
we had better ~~bring~~ make the
limit 12 as we want everyone to see
well. This is all right

Figure 14.
Hester Sainsbury, Letter to Constance Smedley, 23
March 1915.

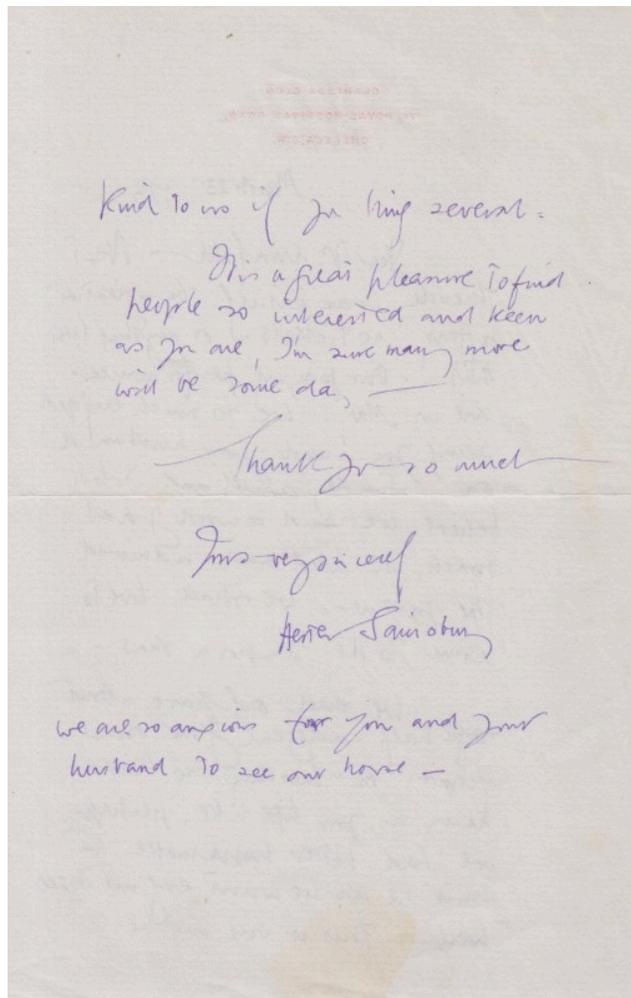


Figure 15.

Hester Sainsbury, Letter to Constance Smedley, 23 March 1915.

This note is important because it corroborates Smedley's later claim that the Armfields mixed with members of the Choric School on their move to London, and that they "co-operated by attending each other's theatres".⁵³ In the letter, Sainsbury invites the Armfields to a private viewing of a performance and suggests that they might help to attract an audience. She has enjoyed seeing their art and looks forward to an exhibition of Maxwell Armfield's paintings in tempera. She ends on a note of solidarity: "It is a great pleasure to find people so interested and keen as you are, I'm sure many more will be some day."⁵⁴

For their part, the Armfields remembered the Clarissa Club as "the most entirely thrilling and 'different' of the various experimental dramatic groups" in London at that time.⁵⁵ Smedley created what appears to be a fictional version of the group in her wartime novel, *Justice Walk* (written 1915,

published 1925), in which she imagined two innocent, pretty, idealistic young women setting up a children's theatre in Chelsea where they perform "poetical plays" of their own invention.⁵⁶ Their home is painted like a stage set (the ceilings in "fantastic colours"), they dress flamboyantly ("stockings patterned in broad rings of emerald and white"), and they "melt out of one movement into another as instinctively as their voices melt from one note to another in a sort of speaking tune."⁵⁷

The Plough Club

The Plough Club was established in December 1917 "for the purpose of stimulating interest in good art of an unconventional kind".⁵⁸ Like other experimental theatres, it was inspired by ideas of aesthetic synthesis and encouraged a collaborative approach amongst all those involved in making a performance. Its programme aligned it with the symbolist aesthetic and dissident politics that characterised the wartime little theatres more widely. The repertoire included works by Émile Verhaeren, the Belgian symbolist poet and pacifist, who moved to England at the outbreak of the war; Maurice Maeterlinck, including the first English-speaking production of his play *Joyzelle*, with stage designs by Charles Rennie Mackintosh; Khorī Torahiko, the Japanese playwright who was instrumental in bringing Noh theatre to European modernism; and Miles Malleson, a conscientious objector, who worked for the No Conscription Fellowship, and whose pacifist plays were seized by the police.⁵⁹ Seasons at the Plough alternated plays and music, and the concert repertoire gives us a flavour of the sort of music that was favoured by the little theatres—Frederic Austin, Granville Bantock, Arnold Bax, Eugene Goossens, Julius Harrison, Gustav Holst, and Cyril Scott amongst contemporary British composers; Claude Debussy, Maurice Ravel, Igor Stravinsky, Joseph-Guy Ropartz, Nikolay Karlovich Medtner, Isaac Albéniz, Joaquín Turina, Gabriel Grovlez, Roger Penau, and Alexander Sergievich Tanieff amongst the Europeans.

The Plough was the brainchild of the Scottish architect Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the German photographer Emil Otto Hoppé. The organising committee included eminent representatives from the worlds of music (Granville Bantock, Eugene Goossens, Arnold Bax), literature (Clifford Bax, Laurence Binyon), theatre (John Drinkwater, George de Warfaz), photography (Alvin Langdon Coburn), and the fine arts (Jacob Epstein, Glyn Philpot). The membership for 1918 reveals a lot about the club's demographic. Of the 188 members, 116 were women; most worked in the arts. The next most significant group was the aristocracy, suggesting that the Plough had a certain social caché—Hoppé would have worked his connections as a society portraitist. Those titled members included several patrons of the avant-garde: Baroness d'Erlanger, who supported Sergei Diaghilev; Lord Howard de

Walden, who financed the bohemian Crab Tree Club and was “blessed” in the Vorticist magazine *Blast*; and Lady Maud Warrender, one of the foremost music patrons of the early twentieth century. Other members stand out because they offer us a glimpse of the causes of the day: Havelock Ellis, who wrote pioneering studies of homosexual and transgender identities; Marion Halsey, who promoted women’s Freemasonry; and Louis Garvin, the newspaper editor who campaigned for a fair peace settlement with Germany. There is much overlap between the Plough and other little theatres in London: Mackintosh and Hoppé were members of the Margaret Morris Club; Khori staged Noh plays with the Pioneer Players; Epstein had links with the Choric School; Drinkwater was a friend of Maxwell Armfield; Goossens worked closely with Margaret Morris from 1915 onwards; and the Pioneer Players and the Margaret Morris School collaborated in a Plough Club production of *The Sneezing Charm* (June 1918).⁶⁰ The Plough flourished into the early 1920s but then “died of its own vitality”, as Hoppé put it, as its members left to take up other work.⁶¹

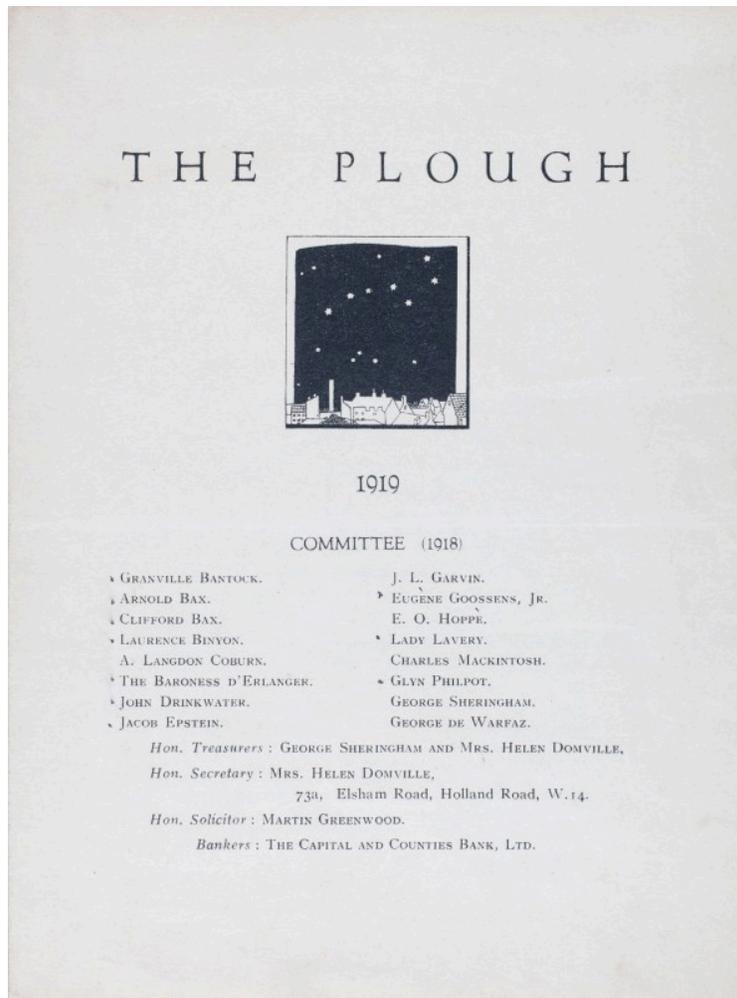


Figure 16.

Prospectus for the Plough Club, 1919. Collection of E.O. Hoppé Estate Collection and Curatorial Assistance Inc. Digital image courtesy of Hoppé Estate Collection and Curatorial Assistance Inc. (All rights reserved).

Few records of the Plough Club survive, so this leaflet provides important evidence of its constitution and activities. The name, we discover from the frontispiece drawing, comes from the constellation. The leaflet outlines the aims—to promote “unconventional” art of “merit and originality”—and it enables us to measure them against the programme of events that took place in 1918-1919. We learn also that members paid two guineas per annum to attend six performances—about £50 in today’s terms—and that concerts and plays were equally weighted. Events took place on a Sunday at irregular intervals, suggesting that the programme was somewhat improvised.

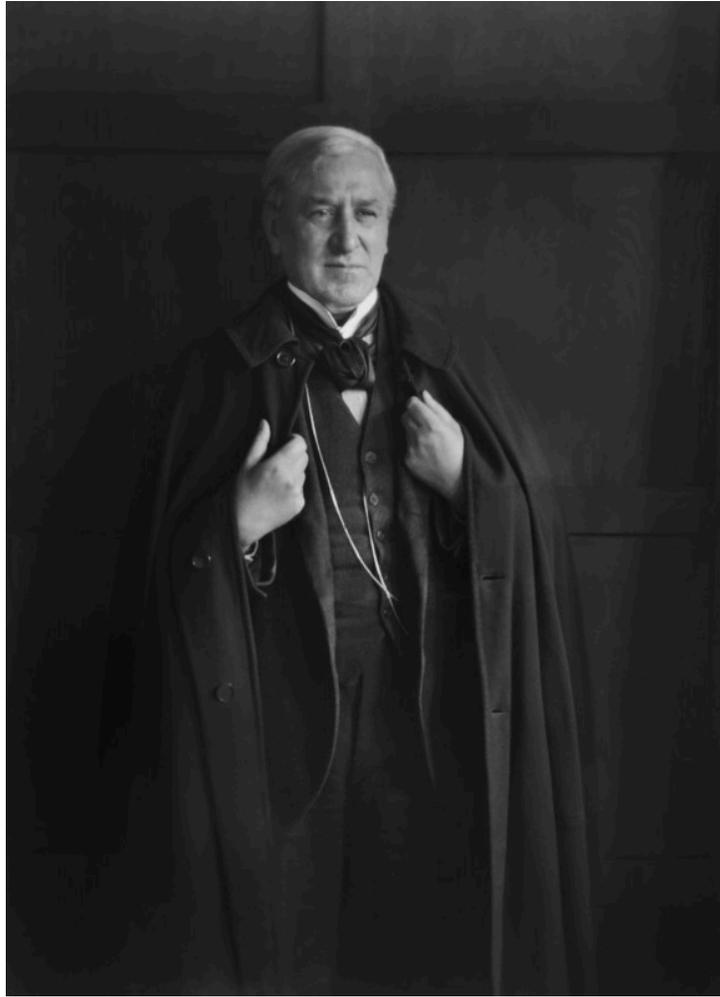


Figure 17.

E.O. Hoppé, Charles Rennie Mackintosh, 1922, photograph. Collection of E.O. Hoppé Estate Collection and Curatorial Assistance Inc. Digital image courtesy of Hoppé Estate Collection and Curatorial Assistance Inc. (All rights reserved).

Hoppé's portrait of Mackintosh, silver-haired and magisterial, testifies to their joint venture in setting up the Plough Club. At the time, Hoppé was the more successful of the two artists, although the situation is very different now. When Mackintosh moved from Glasgow to London in 1915, his career as an architect was at a low point. Connections that he made through the Plough led to several commissions and helped to revive his fortunes.⁶² Hoppé, by contrast, was a celebrity whose work has recently been rediscovered after a period of posthumous neglect.⁶³ He photographed many leading figures of his day from the arts, politics, and high society, and his work acts as a thread that connects the sections of this exhibition.



Figure 18.

George Sheringham, Mesaur the Chief Executioner, costume design for *The Sneezing Charm*, Royal Court Theatre, June 1918. Collection of Victoria and Albert Museum, London (S.1709-1986). Digital image courtesy of Victoria and Albert Museum (CC-BY-NC-ND 3.0 [Unported]).

One of the first productions at the Plough Club was Clifford Bax's *The Sneezing Charm* (Royal Court Theatre, 9 June 1918): "an Arabian Nights Fantasy in rhyme" designed by George Sheringham and with music "expressly composed" by Gustav Holst.⁶⁴ Several of Sheringham's costume designs survive, including this sketch of the Chief Executioner who was played by the Indian actor, H.B. Bushra.⁶⁵ "Mr. George Sheringham's costumes and scenery were quite the up-to-date thing in beauty," reported the theatre critic Herbert Farjeon, himself a conscientious objector during the First World War. "What our drama needs, above all things, is the quality of delight; and the Plough merits our thanks for endeavouring to supply it."⁶⁶

[mul]

Gustav Holst composed the incidental music to Clifford Bax's play *The Sneezing Charm*, which was performed by the Plough Club on 9 June 1918. He then adapted the score for a ballet titled *The Perfect Fool*, which was first performed in 1921.⁶⁷ The ballet music falls into four sections: "Invocation" (Andante), "Dance of the Spirits of Earth" (Moderato-Andante), "Dance of the Spirits of Water" (Allegro), and "Dance of the Spirits of Fire" (Allegro Moderato-Andante).



Figure 19.

Colour Magazine, 8, no. 5, June 1918: cover design featuring *Summer* by J.D. Ferguson. Digital image courtesy of The British Library Board.

Colour was not intended to be a wartime magazine but, when it launched in August 1914, it became one. As an art journal, it stood out for the quality of its colour reproductions and its coverage of contemporary British art, including war artists. Through the appointment of E.O. Hoppé as art editor, it

also became a forum for artists who worked with the London little theatres, such as Maxwell Armfield, J.D. Fergusson, and Anne Estelle Rice. It is striking that the magazine was prepared to publish Armfield's article "Art and Patriotism" (March 1916), which made the case for art as a form of anti-war service—evidence of a dissenting current within the journal, although the editorial line overall was not pacifist.⁶⁸ This cover image by J.D. Fergusson signals the magazine's decision to promote him as a leading artist on the British scene.

The Pioneer Players

The Pioneer Players was founded in 1911 by Edith Craig, who was famous in her own right as an actress, designer, and producer, and by association as the daughter of Ellen Terry and the sister of Edward Gordon Craig. Her aim at the outset was "to produce propaganda plays" on a range of progressive issues—principally women's suffrage, but also censorship, prostitution, workers' rights, housing, vegetarianism, and Polish independence.⁶⁹ Indeed, in its early years, the company was accused of making feminist tracts rather than dramatic art, a criticism that Craig shrugged off by arguing that the suffrage movement was in itself intrinsically dramatic.⁷⁰

It is something of a puzzle that in 1915 the company began to reinvent itself as an art theatre, experimenting with new techniques of production, staging foreign-language plays in translation, sometimes for the first time, and responding to the challenge of the European avant-garde—symbolism, futurism, expressionism—in ways that were deliberately eclectic; all this alongside plays which continued to explore topical problems such as desertion from the army and accidental bigamy.⁷¹ The change began in March 1915 with a triple bill of symbolist plays by European dramatists and a declared intention to "create a dramatic atmosphere by means of colour, form and lighting".⁷² Critics made much of the lighting effects: the backdrop to Isi Collin's play *Sisyphus and the Wandering Jew*, which showed "the bleak summit of the hill with a gnarled tree outlined against the shifting colours of a sunset sky"; the use of lights and gauzes to simulate the nudity of a dancing girl in Pierre Louys' *The Girl and the Puppet*; faces looming out of intense darkness behind "a glowing red space which appeared to pulsate owing to an effect of light" in Nikolai Evreinov's *The Theatre of the Soul*.⁷³

The historian Katharine Cockin has argued persuasively that the Pioneer Players' shift to art theatre and foreign plays was a gesture of political defiance against the cultural conditions of the war, which the society's Annual Report described feelingly as a "khaki-clad and khaki-minded world".⁷⁴ She points out also that the society was an open church which actively

promoted freedom of expression; the apparent inconsistencies in its repertoire, and the range of opinion represented by its membership, manifested deep political commitments. ⁷⁵ The present exhibition brings another explanatory context to bear on the question of why the Pioneer Players embraced art theatre in the middle of the war, by situating them in the network of the free-thinking London little theatres. There are multiple connections: Margaret Morris and Eleanor Elder danced in *The Theatre of the Soul*, while the Margaret Morris Theatre was used for a Pioneer Players' AGM; ⁷⁶ the Pioneer Players took out a subscription to the Plough Club, and several of its members performed in a Plough Club production of *The Sneezing Charm*; ⁷⁷ the playwright Torahiko Khorī, who staged two plays with the Pioneer Players, also worked with the Choric School; ⁷⁸ and Henderson's Bookshop was the publisher of choice for the Pioneer Players as for other artists and writers involved in the little theatre network. ⁷⁹ By 1920, the Pioneer Players was failing. It was incorporated into the British Drama League—itsself an offshoot of the wartime little theatres—and, apart from a single performance in 1925, ceased to operate. ⁸⁰

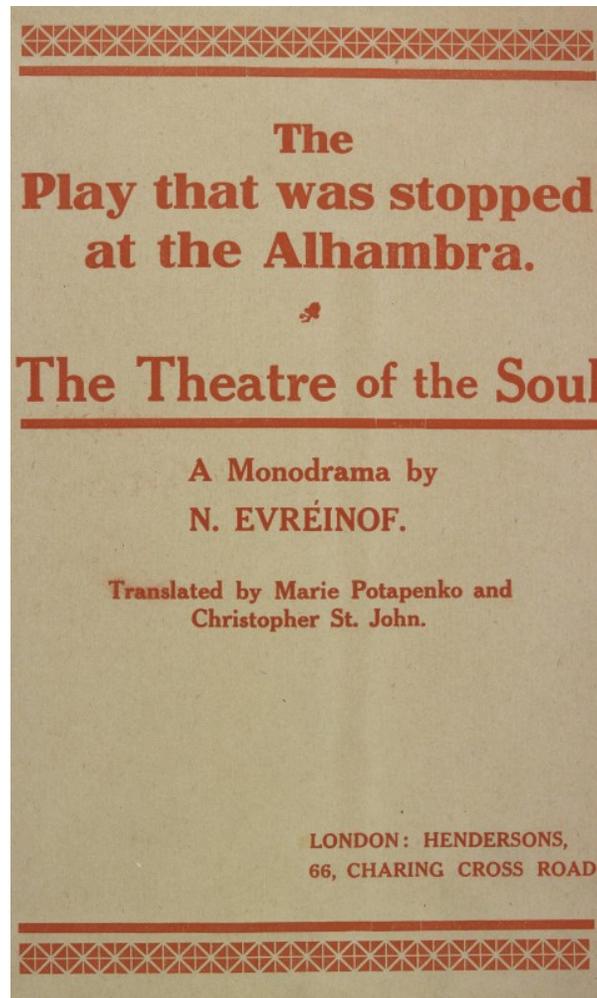


Figure 20.

Envelope for the sale of Nikolai Evreinov, *The Theatre of the Soul*, (London: Hendersons', 1915). Collection of The British Library. Digital image courtesy of The British Library Board.

A production of Nikolai Evreinov's symbolist play *The Theatre of the Soul* was scheduled to take place at the Alhambra in November 1915 as part of a royal matinée celebrating Russia's Day.⁸¹ The production was particularly important to the Pioneer Players, signalling as it did their commitment to new and experimental work by foreign playwrights.⁸² Yet it was cancelled at the last moment for no apparent reason except that it was unsuitable for an Alhambra audience.⁸³ The Pioneer Players objected vociferously but made the most of the scandal by advertising it on the envelope for their edition of the play which was published by the radical bookshop Henderson's.⁸⁴ They were already known for their resistance to the institutionalised practice of stage censorship.⁸⁵ The setback at the Alhambra reinforced their reputation for controversial work.

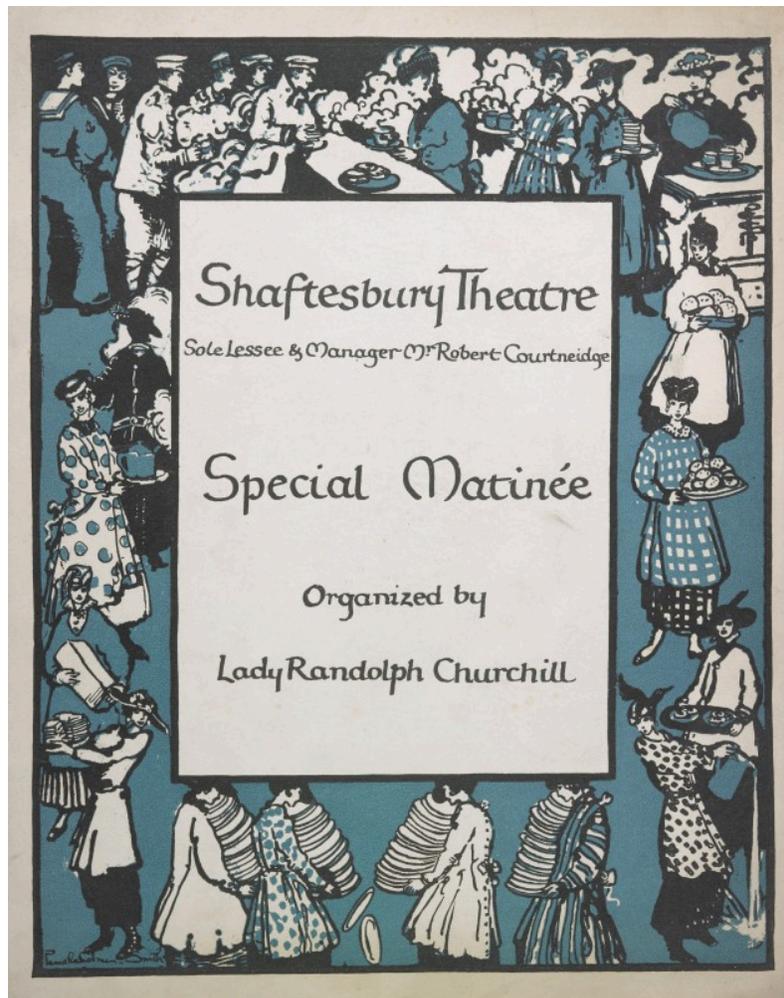


Figure 21.

Pamela Colman Smith, Cover design for the programme of a special matinée at the Shaftesbury Theatre, 3 December 1915. Collection of The British Library. Digital image courtesy of The British Library Board.

The artist Pamela Colman Smith was closely involved in theatre and a particular friend of Edith Craig and her circle.⁸⁶ Her illustrations for Ellen Terry's *The Russian Ballet* are shown elsewhere in this exhibition. With the Pioneer Players, she designed costumes, illustrated programmes, and sat on the Executive Committee.⁸⁷ Her cover for this charity matinée programme shows women hard at work, carrying trays of food and plates, piled precariously high. The list of those serving at the event was distinctly aristocratic, yet here they all pitch in. The Pioneer Players used the occasion to restage *The Theatre of the Soul*—redeeming the recent cancellation at the Alhambra—and to printed a statement of their new direction as an arts theatre.



Figure 22.

George Plank (costume design), E. O. Hoppé (photograph), Far More Merry than Deadly: A New Musical-Comedy Star in "The Merry Death", recently Produced by the Pioneer Players, *The Tatler*, no. 772 (12 April 1916): 43. Collection of The British Library. Digital image courtesy of Illustrated London News Group and The British Library Board.

The American artist George Plank is best known for his iconic cover illustrations for *Vogue*. He was a friend of Edith Craig and her family and, after his move to Britain in 1914, worked with the Pioneer Players, designing costumes, serving on the Council, and even taking his turn on the stage.⁸⁸ His design for Cicely Hamilton's costume as Columbine in Nikolai Evreinov's *A Merry Death* (2 April 1916, Savoy Theatre) has much in common with his *Vogue* covers, as does Hamilton's pose in this portrait by E.O. Hoppé. Extravagant skirts—"Columbine is arrayed—one might almost say, incarcerated—in a voluminous flounced skirt of the crinoline type," as *The Sketch* reported—feature also on the April 1916, August 1916, and June 1917 issues of the magazine.⁸⁹ There are other connections between *Vogue* and

the London little theatres. Elspeth Champcommunal, the first editor of the British edition which launched in September 1916, was a member of the Margaret Morris Club; and Hoppé, who co-founded the Plough Club, supplied the magazine with photographs, including the frontispiece of the first British issue. ⁹⁰



Figure 23.

George Plank, Cover design for the programme of "Smokes for the Wounded", Savoy Theatre, 7 April 1916. George Plank Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Digital image courtesy of Yale University.

George Plank's cover for the programme of *Smokes for the Wounded* (Savoy Theatre, 7 April 1916) follows the pattern of his designs for *Vogue*. For this charity event, the Pioneer Players repeated their production of Evreinov's *The Theatre of the Soul*.

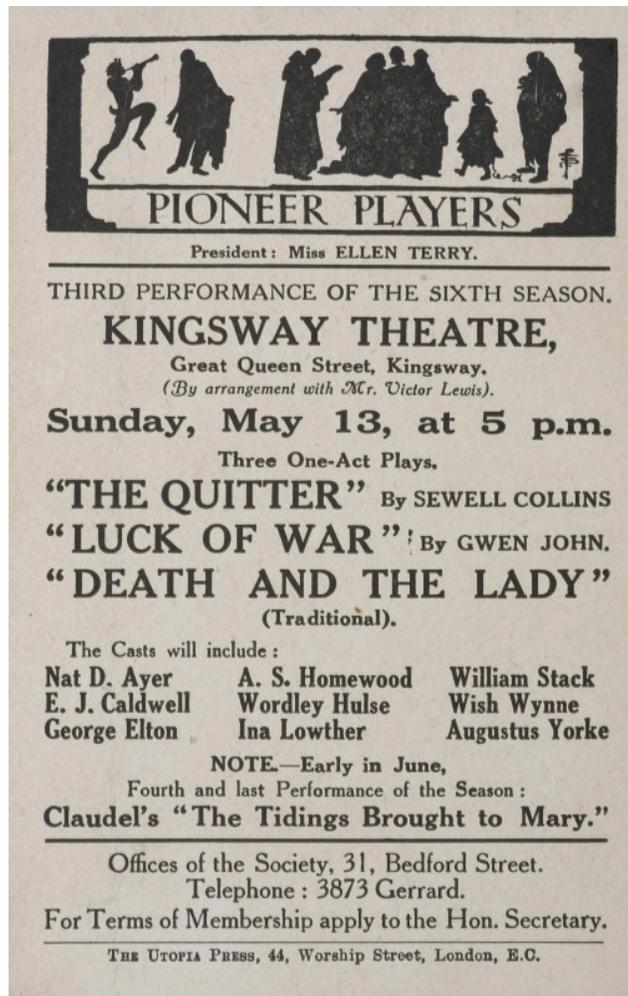


Figure 24.

Flyer for the Pioneer Players’ performance at the Kingsway Theatre, 13 May 1917, heading designed by Pamela Colman Smith. Collection of The British Library. Digital image courtesy of Illustrated London News Group and The British Library Board.

Pamela Colman Smith designed the Pioneer Players’ illustrative motif at the top of this flyer, as can be seen by her signature on the right-hand side. The programme for 13 May 1917 was distinctive because it featured two plays which tackled the moral and social problems of the war: Gwen John’s *The Luck of War*, which imagined a soldier returning home to find his wife remarried; and Sewell Collins’ *The Quitter*, which examined the experience of an army deserter. As Katharine Cockin shows, both plays are ambivalent in their treatment of these contentious subjects. ⁹¹

[mul]

Edith Craig was an accomplished musician, and as a director she was on the lookout for like-minded musicians to work with—“must be someone who knows about theatres”, as she noted to herself on the back of a flyer for the Pioneer Players.⁹² The composer Ethel Smyth was a close friend and collaborator.⁹³ Before the war, they campaigned together for women’s suffrage and, in the 1920s, Craig produced two of Smyth’s operas: *The Wreckers* (1902–1904) and *The Boatswain’s Mate* (1914).⁹⁴ The sample of Smyth’s music given here is taken from this second work, which was first performed in January 1916 at the Shaftesbury Theatre, London. Craig’s own production took place at Leeds Arts Theatre, as part of a double-bill with Beatrice Mayor’s play *Thirty Minutes in a Street* (1926).⁹⁵

Japanese artists in London

When W.B. Yeats discovered Japanese Noh theatre in London in summer 1915, it marked a turning point in his practice as a dramatist. This section of the exhibition shows how his experiments in Noh interlinked with London’s little theatres and how those theatres became a home for a diaspora of Japanese modernists. Yeats first saw Noh performed by three cosmopolitan Japanese: the dancer Ito Michio, the painter Kumé Tamijiro and the playwright Khori Torahiko, which inspired him to write his “Celtic Noh” play *At the Hawk’s Well* (performed 1916).⁹⁶ Six months later, Ito danced at the Margaret Morris Theatre under the direction of John Rodker of the Choric School.⁹⁷ It is through the literature on Khori that we discover that 71 Royal Hospital Road, home of the Choric School, was also a base for Japanese expatriate artists.⁹⁸ During the war, Khori lived there with Hester Sainsbury, the poet and dancer who ran the Choric School, and his partner until his death in 1924. The painter Foujita (Fujita Tsuguji) was also a resident when he spent a year in England in 1916.⁹⁹ While little is known about his London episode—other than that he painted a mural at an artists’ club in Chelsea—it is documented that when he moved to Paris in 1913, he was fascinated by the Greek dance revival led by Raymond Duncan and, like Duncan, took to wearing a toga in the city streets.¹⁰⁰ It seems likely that he would have been drawn to the Choric School and the Margaret Morris Theatre, where dance was based on the Duncan system.¹⁰¹ Ito and Kumé were regular visitors at 71 Hospital Road, as was Edmund Dulac, who designed the costumes and scenery for *At the Hawk’s Well* and composed the music.¹⁰² The first performance starred Ito as the Hawk, in which role he was photographed by Alvin Langdon Coburn, who joined the Plough Club when it opened in the following year.¹⁰³ Khori also brought Noh to an English-speaking audience through his play *Kanawa the Incantation*, which was staged by the Pioneer

Players in December 1917. ¹⁰⁴ Shortly afterwards, Khori was appointed to the society's Managing Committee, and in 1922, they staged his play *The Toils of Yoshimoto*.

These activities should be seen in the context of a wider community of Japanese artists, writers, and performers who gathered in London in the early twentieth century and who worked to bridge the divide between East and West. They included the writer Yone Noguchi, who challenged Yeats to study Noh theatre ten years before the production of *At the Hawk's Well*; the poet Komai Gonnosuke, whose book *Fuji from Hampstead Heath* (1925) described Japan from the vantage-point of London; the artist Yoshio Markino, who became something of an Edwardian celebrity through publications such as *The Colour of London* (1907) and *A Japanese Artist in London* (1910); and Matsuyama Chuzo, who exhibited regularly at the Royal Academy from 1916, and who volunteered for the local Red Cross, teaching drawing to injured soldiers. ¹⁰⁵ In Arthur Ransome's cultural history of Chelsea, the narrator calls on an old friend—a Japanese artist who has recently moved to London and shares rooms with an English actor whose buffoonery causes them both great amusement. ¹⁰⁶

To put this in perspective: the number of Japanese immigrants to Britain was small compared with most other groups, and the proportion of artists and performers amongst them even smaller. The 1911 census records about 500 Japanese nationals in the UK. More arrived during the First World War because of the increased trade between Britain and Japan and because of the conflict in Europe. ¹⁰⁷ Yet when a group of ten Japanese artists exhibited together at the Brook Street Art Gallery in July 1917, they comprised the majority of Japanese artists in London at the time. ¹⁰⁸ Nonetheless, the Japanese exerted considerable cultural influence in Britain, partly because of the residual attraction of *Japonisme*, and partly because of the unusual demographic of the Japanese immigrant community, which tended to be wealthy and educated. Their practice was to assimilate into British society, while serving as proud ambassadors for their country. ¹⁰⁹ The life of a Japanese artist in London was a balancing act between the need to satisfy a Western desire for the Orient, to fit in, and to remain oneself—that is, a Japanese cosmopolitan. ¹¹⁰ The Noh artists who collaborated with Yeats and the London little theatres managed just this sort of negotiation in their work and relationships.



Figure 25.

Alvin Langdon Coburn, Michio Ito as the Hawk in “At the Hawk’s Well” by W.B. Yeats, 1916, digital positive from the original gelatin silver negative, 9 × 12 cm. Collection of George Eastman Museum (1976.0154.4806). Digital image courtesy of George Eastman Museum.

The dancer Ito Michio saw Isadora Duncan dance in Berlin and trained with Émile Jacques-Dalcroze at the Hellerau School of Eurhythmics, Dresden, before moving to London at the outbreak of the First World War. His synthesis of traditional Japanese and modern European dance methods was instantly attractive to British audiences and he became a celebrity in the London dance world.¹¹¹ His relationship with Yeats was crucial to the poet’s creation of “Irish Noh”, particularly to the first staging of *At the Hawk’s Well* in April 1916.¹¹² Ito based his choreography on the motion of a hawk in flight. As the photographer Alvin Langdon Coburn recalled: “Yeats and Ito went to the London Zoo to study the postures of the Hawks there, and Ito amazed the visitors by performing a dance for all to admire, especially Yeats”.¹¹³ He drew also on the diverse cultural sources that inspired his dance: traditional Noh theatre, modernist Greek dance, and ancient Egyptian murals.¹¹⁴

[mul]

At the Hawk’s Well was Yeats’ first experiment in “Irish Noh”—a play which used the conventions of Japanese Noh theatre to recount the legend of Cuchulain, the hero of Irish mythology who features in the stories of the medieval Ulster Cycle. The play was written in 1915–1916, and first

performed on 2 April 1916 in Lady Cunard's drawing room before a small invited audience. Ito Michio designed the choreography, and the scenery consisted of a screen by Edward Gordon Craig. ¹¹⁵

[mul]

As scenographer and composer, Edmund Dulac worked closely with Yeats through the making of *At the Hawk's Well*. ¹¹⁶ His music "was in itself an exposition of method", Yeats explained, "for it was written after a number of rehearsals and for instruments that have great pictorial effect"—flute, harp, drum, and gong in different combinations, with voice singing or speaking through the music. ¹¹⁷ The effect was to reinforce the "idea of great simplicity of execution underlying the whole spirit of the performance" and "to emphasise the spoken word". ¹¹⁸ In some versions of the working draft, Yeats asked that the movements of the Old Man be marked by drum taps, so that he would appear to move like a marionette; ¹¹⁹ a nod, perhaps, to Edward Gordon Craig and his idea that sound and movement should work together in a total effect of puppet theatre.



Figure 26.

Torahiko Kōri, *Kanawa: The Incantation*. A Play for Marionettes, (London: Gowans & Gray, Ltd: Boston, MA: LeRoy Phillips, 1918), front cover. Digital image courtesy of Private Collection.

Khori first wrote *Kanawa: The Incantation* in Japanese as a modern version of the Noh play *Kanawa*, fused with the language and preoccupations of the European *fin de siècle*.¹²⁰ He then translated it into English with Sainsbury's help. In the prologue, which he recited himself at the play's first performance in 1917, he reflected on the significance of the puppet in this "play for marionettes", as he called it on the title page. The cultures of Europe and Japan are alien to one another, he reminded his audience, so much so that foreigners may sometimes "remind you of poor marionettes that dance and scream before you". He urged compassion towards his own "beloved marionettes", and for a moment of kinship between viewers and performers: "that the strings which handle their fortunes may catch and draw the marionettes that are in you too, that for a while we may all complain their woes and loves as if they were our own, let them be never so strange."¹²¹

Afterwards, he told Craig how proud he was of this “sincere effort at the unaffected interpretation of Japanese rhythm”, although he acknowledged that it may not have pleased the “dilettanti orient-mongers” in the audience. 122

The script of *Kanawa: The Incantation*, with Khori’s prologue and details of the first production, were published in 1918 in the fragile little booklet shown here. The paper cover is encased in a stiffer, semi-transparent Japanese paper on which is printed this striking design (artist unknown) of a demon mask against a fiercely contrasting black and red abstract pattern.



Figure 27.

Sato Takezou, Portrait of Gonnosuke Komai, reproduced in *Colour Magazine*, Vols 8-9, August 1918: 24. Collection of The British Library. Digital image courtesy of The British Library Board.

Images reproduced in *Colour* were sometimes accompanied by an editorial statement explaining their significance. The caption for Sato Takezou’s portrait of the writer Komai Gonnosuke makes explicit the universalising tendencies of *Japonisme* at this time. “This picture shows in a striking way

the affinity there is between Eastern and Western art the moment you get below the imitative realism which often obscures the latter," it states. "It is very 'Japanese', but leaving out the background, also very like Holbein." ¹²³ *Colour* began to publish the work of Japanese artists and writers in 1916. They used the journal to publicise their work and to reflect on—and shape—their Japaneseness; hence Yone Noguchi's article on "The Colour of London Seen by a Japanese Poet", (April 1916), and Komai himself on "Samurai Spirit of Japan" (September 1917).

The Most Charming Place in London—

FORMOSA OOLONG TEA ROOMS

36, PICCADILLY, LONDON, W.

Charges Moderate. Service Admirable. Music Daily.
Open on Sundays for Teas only.

LUNCHEONS, TEAS, and DINNERS.

Here you can obtain the world-famous

FORMOSA OOLONG TEA.

PURE per lb. 2/10, 3/10 BLEND per lb. 2/7, 3/4, 4/4

Formosa Oolong Teas (Pure and Blended) can be obtained at Ridgways, Ltd., London; R. Taining & Co., Ltd., London; and Andrew Melrose & Co., Edinburgh; and their branches and agencies throughout the United Kingdom.



Figure 28.

Advertisement for the Formosa Oolong Tea-Rooms, *The Tatler*, no. 783, 28 June 1916: 33. Collection of The British Library. Digital image courtesy of Illustrated London News Group and The British Library Board.

There were three main haunts for Japanese artists in London during the First World War: the Café Royal on Regent Street, 71 Royal Hospital Road in Chelsea, and the Formosa Oolong Tea-Rooms at 36 Piccadilly. ¹²⁴ The Tea-Rooms opened in 1912 under Japanese management, and were equally

popular with servicemen and their girls. “The Woman About Town” column in *The Sketch* called it a “rendezvous of khaki, blue, and petticoats—oh, we still wear them, though they are under orders to depart again.”¹²⁵ That clientele is addressed in this illustrated advertisement in *Tatler*, one of many which appeared regularly in the British press. It is noticeable that these featured Western customers with just an occasional glimpse of a waitress in a kimono.

Footnotes

- 1 Arthur Ransome, *Bohemia in London* (Chapman and Hall, 1907), 11.
- 2 Ransome, *Bohemia in London*, 33.
- 3 The quotation is taken from Marthe Trolly-Curtin, “Bouquet en Casserole”, *The Sketch*, 11 April 1917, 26.
- 4 Richard Emerson establishes the chronology of Morris’ use of the premises on the King’s Road in his book *Rhythm & Colour: Hélène Vanel, Lois Hutton & Margaret Morris* (Edinburgh: Golden Hare, 2018), 26–27 and 31–33. Morris rented the space as a dance school from December 1913, with the theatre opening six months later, and the club opening in 1915.
- 5 Margaret Morris, *My Life in Movement* (London: Peter Owen, 1969), 32–35.
- 6 Caradec and Weill, *Le Café-Concert (1848–1914)*, 20–21.
- 7 François Caradec and Alain Weill, *Le Café-Concert (1848–1914)* (Paris: Fayard, 2007).
- 8 Emerson, *Rhythm & Colour*, 563.
- 9 Constance Smedley, *Crusaders: The Reminiscences of Constance Smedley (Mrs Maxwell Armfield)* (London: Duckworth, 1929), 220.
- 10 Morris, *My Life in Movement*, 33.
- 11 Grace Brockington, “Puppetry and Ambivalence in the Art of Paul Nash”, in Kamil Kopania (ed.), *Dolls and Puppets: Contemporaneity and Tradition* (The Aleksander Zelwerowicz National Academy of Dramatic Art in Warsaw, 2018).
- 12 John France, review of *Goossens: Orchestral Works* (Chandos, 2013), in *Music Web International*, www.musicweb-international.com/classrev/2013/Apr13/Goossens_orchestral_CHSA5119.htm, accessed 21 January 2019.
- 13 See their memoirs: Constance Smedley, *Crusaders: The Reminiscences of Constance Smedley (Mrs Maxwell Armfield)* (London: Duckworth, 1929), 194–225. Maxwell Armfield, “My World and I—the Cotswolds and London in War” (unpublished, 1970), 26–36 and 40–53, Tate Archive: TGA 976/3/2/10.
- 14 Angela Bartie, Linda Fleming, Mark Freeman, Tom Hulme, Alex Hutton, and Paul Readman, “Mid-Gloucestershire Pageant”, *The Redress of the Past*, www.historicalpageants.ac.uk/pageants/1130/. While the literature on the pageant credits Maxwell Armfield as artist, Constance Smedley is not mentioned at all, although her memoirs indicate that she played a prominent part. Smedley, *Crusaders*, 201–208.
- 15 Armfield, “My World and I”, 28.
- 16 Smedley, *Crusaders*, 217.
- 17 Maxwell Armfield, “Illustrators Notes” to Shakespeare, *The Winter’s Tale* (London: J.M. Dent, 1922), 94. He reflects also on her practice in “My World and I”, 31.
- 18 Constance Smedley, “The Greenleaf Theatre”, *English Review* 35 (July 1922), 58. In her memoirs, she states that Armfield wrote the play before they left the Cotswolds for London; see Smedley, *Crusaders*, 217.
- 19 Smedley, *Crusaders*, 218–220. The casting for the play was different at each of the venues, with the Holt sisters performing at the Greenleaf Studio, and Eleanor Elder and Kathleen Dillon taking over their roles at the Margaret Morris Theatre.
- 20 Smedley, *Crusaders*, 218–219.
- 21 Maxwell Armfield, “Note on the Drawings”, in William Morris, *The Life and Death of Jason* (London: Headley Brothers, 1915), vi.
- 22 Armfield, “Note on the Drawings”, v.
- 23 Armfield, “My World and I”, 44–45.
- 24 Armfield mounted a defence of German design in his article “The Value of Art in the Community”, *Colour* 2, no. 3 (April 2015): 86—a provocation given the current conflict with Germany.
- 25 Edward McKnight Kauffer, letter to Maxwell Armfield, ([n.d.], but internal evidence suggests 1917 as the letter mentions Armfield’s article “Domesticated Mural Painting”, *The Countryside Magazine and Suburban Life* [February 1917]), Tate Archive: TGA 976.

- 26 Kauffer also contributed to *Original Woodcuts by Various Artists* (London: The Omega Workshops, 1918). For his work with the Arts League of Service, see Mark Haworth-Booth, *E. McKnight Kauffer: A Designer and his Public* (London: Gordon Fraser, 1979), 28–29 and 41.
- 27 Smedley, *Crusaders*, 188.
- 28 Smedley, *Crusaders*, 200.
- 29 Charlotte Purkis, “Fin-de-Siècle Fantasy as Performative Memoir in Gertrude Hudson and Constance Smedley’s Writings on Music”, unpublished conference paper presented at *International Conference on Nineteenth-Century Music* (Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, 29 June–2 July 2000). I thank Dr Purkis for sharing her paper with me.
- 30 Smedley, *Crusaders*, 220 and 250.
- 31 Smedley, *Crusaders*, 222.
- 32 Smedley, *Crusaders*, 220.
- 33 Maxwell Armfield, *The Minstrel* (London: Duckworth, 1922), 20.
- 34 Peterson published as Pai Ta-Shun in *Harper’s Weekly* from March 1914. The poems were collected as Pa Tai-Shun, *Chinese Lyrics* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh Ltd, 1916). The story is related in “Mystery of Authorship of Chinese Lyrics Solved”, *The New York Times Sunday Magazine*, 4 March 1917, 4, sourced here from the *Sunday Magazine* website: <http://sundaymagazine.org/>.
- 35 The Choric School first came to public notice in May 1913 when it gave four performances at the New Rehearsal Theatre in Bedford Street, London. The programme for this event is exhibited here. The performances were listed in *The Times*, 12 July 1913, and *The Athenaeum*, 17 May 1913, 552. In June of that year, they danced at the opening of the Margaret Morris Theatre. Wartime reviews in *The Sketch* place the Club at 71 Royal Hospital Road (22 March 1916, 248; 11 April 1917, 26) and at the Margaret Morris Theatre (1 November 1916, 90; 30 January 1918, 92). These references are given in Richard Emerson, *Rhythm & Colour: Hélène Vanel, Lois Hutton & Margaret Morris* (Edinburgh: Golden Hare, 2018), 33 and 494, nn 32 and 34. In the Ellen Terry and Edith Craig archive, there is a programme for a Choric School performance at the Margaret Morris Theatre on 19 March 1916 (EC-D46).
- 36 Rodker is now the most famous of the group. His contribution to British and European modernism has attracted increasing attention since the publication of Andrew Crozier (ed.), *Poems & Adolphe 1920* (Manchester: Carcanet Press, 1996). Hester Sainsbury’s career is described by Peter Tucker in “Hester Sainsbury: A Book Illustrator of the 1920s”, *The Private Library* 3, no. 3 (Autumn 1990): 112–136; and “Hester Sainsbury: Some Further Notes”, *The Private Library* 5, no. 2 (Summer 1992): 80–89. There is scant scholarship on Kathleen Dillon and even less on Evelyn Sainsbury, but note the article by Dillon’s daughter, Elizabeth Panegourias, “Kathleen Dillon Morrison”, *Margaret Morris Movement Magazine*, no. 22 (Autumn 1990), 41–44.
- 37 John Rodker, “The Choric School”, *The Drama*, August 1916, 439.
- 38 Hester Sainsbury, quoted in Rodker, “The Choric School”.
- 39 Constance Smedley, *Crusaders: The Reminiscences of Constance Smedley (Mrs Maxwell Armfield)* (London: Duckworth, 1929), 217–218.
- 40 Emerson, *Rhythm & Colour*, 35 and 494, n. 32.
- 41 Marthe Trolly-Curtin, “Phrynette’s Letters to Lonely Soldiers: Bouquet en Casserole”, *The Sketch*, 11 April 1917, 26; quoted in Emerson, *Rhythm & Colour*, 35–36.
- 42 The Japanese connection is outlined in Yoko Chiba, “Kori Torahiko and Edith Craig: A Japanese Playwright in London and Toronto”, *Comparative Drama* 30, no. 4 (Winter 1996): 431–451. The list of names given here is drawn from that article.
- 43 Sylvie Buisson, *T.L. Fouita: inédits* (Paris: À l’encre rouge Arhices artistiques; Fondation Nichido, ca. 2007), 62 and 66.
- 44 *Helen of Sparta* by Emil Verhaeren, listed in the Plough Club programme for 1919, E.O. Hoppé Estate Collection, Pasadena, CA.
- 45 Emerson, *Rhythm & Colour*, 494, n. 33.
- 46 Tucker, “Hester Sainsbury: A Book-Illustrator of the 1920s”; and Tucker, “Hester Sainsbury: Some Further Notes”.
- 47 See Jenny Powell (ed.), *New Rhythms: Henri Gaudier-Brzeska: Art, Dance and Movement in London 1911–1915* (Cambridge: Kettles Yard, 2015), 125.
- 48 See the Tate catalogue entry for David Bomberg, sketches for *The Dancer*, ca. 1913–1914, published in *The Tate Gallery 1974–6: Illustrated Catalogue of Acquisitions* (London, 1978) and online at <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/bomberg-sketches-for-the-dancer-t01961>, accessed 19 December 2018.
- 49 Sophie Cohen (later Sonia Joslen), interviewed by Richard Cork, quoted in Cork, *Vorticism and Abstract Art in the First Machine Age*, Vol. 2 *Synthesis and Decline* (London: Gordon Fraser, 1976), 392.
- 50 Ezra Pound, “Foreword to the Choric School”, in *Others: A Magazine of the New Verse*, October 1915, n.p.
- 51 Sainsbury, quoted in Rodker, “The Choric School”, 439.
- 52 Pound, “Foreword to the Choric School”.
- 53 Smedley, *Crusaders*, 220.
- 54 Smedley, *Crusaders*, 220.

- 55 Maxwell Armfield, "My World and I—the Cotswolds and London in War" (unpublished, 1970), 47–48, Tate Archive: TGA 976/3/2/10. Smedley corroborates his account in *Crusaders*, 217–220.
- 56 Constance Smedley, *Justice Walk* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1925 [1915]), 168. One of the young women is called Edith. In her memoirs, Smedley remembered that the Clarissa Club was led by Hester and "Edith" Sainsbury—surely a slip for Evelyn.
- 57 Smedley, *Justice Walk*, 156 and 163.
- 58 Plough Club prospectus, 1919, E.O. Hoppé Estate Collection, Pasadena, CA. Unless otherwise stated, information about the Club's aims, organisation, membership, and programme is taken from this document.
- 59 Verhaeren's play *Philip the Second* was staged on 29 September 1918 in translation by F.S. Flint, with designs by Glyn Philpot, music by Eugene Goossens and production by George de Warfaz. His *Helen of Sparta* was staged in 1919 with designs by Jacob Epstein. For the inclusion of Khorī, Maeterlinck, and Malleeson in the programme, see Thomas Howarth, *Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Modern Movement* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977), 206. Malleeson's prohibited plays were "D" *Company* and *Black 'Ell* (both 1916).
- 60 Margaret Morris names Mackintosh as a member of her club in *My Life in Movement* (London: Peter Owen, 1969), 34–35, where she also writes about her collaboration with Goossens; see 33 and 41–42. Epstein's association with the Choric School is mentioned by Yoko Chiba, "Kōri Torahiko and Edith Craig: A Japanese Playwright in London and Toronto", *Comparative Drama* 30, no. 4 (Winter 1996): 434. Letters from Drinkwater to Armfield survive amongst the Armfield papers at Tate Britain. For the cast of *the Sneezing Charm*, see Katharine Cockin, *Edith Craig: Dramatic Lives* (London: Cassell, 1997), 129.
- 61 Howarth, *Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Modern Movement*, 206.
- 62 Howarth, *Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Modern Movement*, 206–215.
- 63 E.O. Hoppé Estate Collection: "Biography", www.eohoppe.com/about, accessed 11 December 2018. Recent exhibitions of his work include *Hoppé Portraits: Society, Studio & Street* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2011), and *Rediscovered Fotos: Emil Otto Hoppé* (Helmond: The Gemeentemuseum, 2016).
- 64 Plough Club prospectus, 1919, E.O. Hoppé Estate Collection, Pasadena, CA.
- 65 Herbert Farjeon, "The Sneezing Charm", *Era*, 12 June 1918.
- 66 Farjeon, "The Sneezing Charm".
- 67 Further, he then converted the ballet into an opera, which was first performed in 1923. "Music and History: Gustav Holst", www.musicandhistory.com/composers/8028, consulted 19 January 2019.
- 68 Maxwell Armfield, "Art and Patriotism", *Colour* 4, no. 2 (March 1916), 55. The editorial immediately following argued that it was unpatriotic to employ German colour printers.
- 69 "'Little Interviews': Miss Edith Craig at the Pioneer Players", *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 13 April 1912, 12. The historian Katharine Cockin makes the point that the Pioneer Players promoted a range of causes in addition to women's suffrage, in *Edith Craig (1869–1947): Dramatic Lives* (London: Cassell, 1997), 108, 109, 111, 113, and 115.
- 70 *Pioneer Players Annual Report 1911–12*, 7–8, quoted in Katharine Cockin, *Women and Theatre in the Age of Suffrage: The Pioneer Players, 1911–1925* (London: Palgrave, 2001), 42. The review in *The Times* complained that "We had walked in so innocently, imagining that the pioneering of the Pioneer Players was to be dramatic, not (if we may be pardoned the ugly word) feministic"; see *The Times*, 9 May 1911, 13.
- 71 Various explanations for this change of direction are summarised by Cockin in *Women and Theatre in the Age of Suffrage*, 167–169. The Appendix to this book lists all the Pioneer Players' productions by season. Those which addressed the subject of war were: Gwen John, *Luck of War* (May 1917); Sewell Collins, *The Quitters* (May 1917); and George Bernard Shaw, *The Inca of Perusalem* (December 1917). Most of the foreign-language plays were translated from French and Russian. Paul Claudel, Nikolai Evreinov, and Anton Chekhov featured several times, as did the Dutch playwright Herman Heijermans.
- 72 The plays were: *Sisyphus and the Wandering Jew* by the Belgian playwright Isi Collin; *Two Pierrot* by the Frenchman Edmond Rostand; and *The Theatre of the Soul* by the Russian Nikolai Evreinov. The quotation is taken from the programme for *The Theatre of the Soul* (3 December 1915, Shaftsbury Theatre). Cockin argues that the principle of eclecticism was first stated here, signalling the company's change of direction: they wished to avoid "limiting their field of action to any particular school" and "refrained from proclaiming that revolutionary aesthetic formulae, as such, have any value"; see Cockin, *Women and Theatre in the Age of Suffrage*, 166.
- 73 "Theatres and Music. Varied Emotions. Four Curious Plays at the Little Theatre. Real Pioneering", *London Standard*, 9 March 1915, 9; *The Girl and the Puppet* from Cockin, *Edith Craig (1869–1947)*, 127; *The Theatre of the Soul* from Christopher St John, "Introduction" to the edition of the play published by Henderson's Bookshop in 1915.
- 74 Pioneer Players' Annual Report, 1914–1915, 8–9. For Cockin's analysis see "Edith Craig and the Pioneer Players: London's International Art Theatre in a 'Khaki-clad and Khaki-Minded World'", in Andrew Maunder (ed.), *British Theatre and the Great War, 1914–1919: New Perspectives* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 12 and 137.
- 75 As Cockin points out, attitudes to the war amongst members of the Pioneer Players varied enormously, from active pacifism to active support; see Cockin, *Women and Theatre in the Age of Suffrage*, 137–142; Cockin, *Edith Craig (1869–1947)*, 117; and Cockin, "Edith Craig and the Pioneer Players", 122. She discusses the Pioneer Players' commitment to freedom of opinion in *Edith Craig (1869–1947)*, 111.
- 76 Elder and Morris feature on programme cast lists. Cockin notes the AGM in *Edith Craig (1869–1947)*, 206, n. 61.

- 77 The Pioneer Players feature on the membership list that is printed in the Plough Club prospectus, 1919, E.O. Hoppé Estate Collection, Pasadena, CA. Cockin notes the connection with *The Sneezing Charm* in *Edith Craig (1869-1947)*, 129.
- 78 The Japanese connection is outlined in Yoko Chiba, "Kori Torahiko and Edith Craig: A Japanese Playwright in London and Toronto", *Comparative Drama* 30, no. 4 (Winter 1996): 431-451.
- 79 For example, Nikolai Evreinov, *The Theatre of the Soul* (London: Henderson's Bookshop, 1915).
- 80 Cockin, *Edith Craig (1869-1947)*, 130-131; Cockin, *Women and Theatre in the Age of Suffrage*, 163-165; Cockin, "Edith Craig and the Pioneer Players", 137.
- 81 The programme is preserved in the Ellen Terry and Edith Craig archive: "Russia's Day Programme, 18 November 1915", D122.
- 82 Cockin explores the significance of the play in "The Pioneer Players: Plays of/with Identity", in G. Griffin (ed.), *Difference in View: Women and Modernism* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1994).
- 83 See Christopher St John's indignant account in her introduction to the published edition of the play.
- 84 The event was played up as a scandal in the press. For example, "Play Cancelled at Royal Matinée: No Explanation", *Daily Telegraph*, 19 November 1915, 9. Cockin describes the fall-out in *Edith Craig (1869-1947)*, 119-120.
- 85 Cockin, *Edith Craig (1869-1947)*, 11-13.
- 86 She worked closely with the Lyceum Theatre Group (led by Ellen Terry, Bram Stoker, and Henry Irving) and illustrated the work of Terry, Stoker, and W.B. Yeats. When Yeats and Edith Craig proposed to set up a new symbolist theatre called the Maskers in about 1903, Smith was also involved.
- 87 Cockin, *Women and Theatre in the Age of Suffrage*, 177-178.
- 88 Plank also designed Mrs Christopher Lowther's costume in *Death and the Lady* (13 May 1917, Kingsway Theatre) and served on the Council in 1919-1920; see Cockin, *Women and Theatre in the Age of Suffrage*, 178. In January 1919, he played St Crispin in *An Early English Nativity Play*; see Cockin, *Edith Craig (1869-1947)*, 128. His correspondence with Craig, her family, and friends is kept with the Plank papers at the Beinecke Library, Yale University, and his correspondence with the Ellen Terry and Edith Craig papers is kept at the British Library.
- 89 "Debenham—Not Free Body: A Skirt-Bound Columbine", *The Sketch*, 5 April 1916, 7.
- 90 Champcommunal is listed as a member of the committee of the Margaret Morris Club in the Club prospectus for 1918. Hoppé's portrait of Lady Eileen Wellesley appeared as the frontispiece to the first London issue.
- 91 Cockin, *Women and Theatre in the Age of Suffrage*, 145-148.
- 92 "Postcard handbill, 13 May [1917]", Ellen Terry and Edith Craig Database, reference EC-Z3,514c, www.ellenterryarchive.hull.ac.uk. Craig studied at the Royal Academy of Music and took piano lessons with Alexis Hollander in Berlin. Other musicians she worked with included Lady Maud Warrender and Christopher Wilson. See Cockin, *Edith Craig (1869-1947)*, 123.
- 93 Their relationship is detailed in Katharine Cockin, *Edith Craig and the Theatres of Art* (London: Bloomsbury Methuen Drama, 2017), 104-111.
- 94 Productions are referenced in the Ellen Terry and Edith Craig Database.
- 95 Ellen Terry and Edith Craig Database, EC-D196.
- 96 The literature on Yeats and Noh is extensive. See, for example, Sylvia C. Ellis, *The Plays of W.B. Yeats: Yeats and the Dancer* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1995).
- 97 Ian Patterson, "Writing on Other Fronts: Translation and John Rodker", *Translation and Literature* 12, no. 1 (Spring 2003), 94. The performance, which took place in January 1916, was praised by the theatre critic Huntly Carter in his article "Spontaneities", *The Egoist* 3, no. 2 (1 February 1916), 29.
- 98 Yoko Chiba, "Kori Torahiko and Edith Craig: A Japanese Playwright in London and Toronto", *Comparative Drama* 30, no. 4 (Winter 1996-1997), 434.
- 99 Fojita moved to London on 8 January 1916 and lived with Kumé until 26 April, when he moved to 71 Royal Hospital Road. In the summer months, he spent some time in the country, returning to Royal Hospital Road in September, and back to France in January 1917. Sylvie Buisson, *T.L. Fojita: inédits* (Paris: À l'encre rouge Archives artistiques; Fondation Nichido, ca. 2007), 62 and 66.
- 100 Buisson, *T.L. Fojita*, 54-56.
- 101 My grateful thanks to Sylvie Buisson for this insight. Email to the author, 7 January 2019.
- 102 Chiba, "Kori Torahiko and Edith Craig", 434.
- 103 Plough Club prospectus, 1919, E.O. Hoppé Estate Collection, Pasadena, CA.
- 104 The performance took place at the Criterion Theatre, Piccadilly, on 16 December 1917, as part of a triple bill with W.F. Casey's *Insurrection* and George Bernard Shaw's *The Inca of Perusalem*; Katharine Cockin, *Women and Theatre in the Age of Suffrage: The Pioneer Players, 1911-1925* (London: Palgrave, 2001), 202.
- 105 Keiko Itoh, *The Japanese Community in Pre-War Britain: From Integration to Disintegration* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 2001), 110-120.
- 106 Arthur Ransome, *Bohemia in London* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1907), 51-55.

- 107 Itoh, *The Japanese Community in Pre-War Britain*, 1–5. In 1915, a Japanese-language community monthly newspaper was launched, the *Nichiei Shinshi*, which provided a record of Japanese cultural activity until the paper folded in 1938.
- 108 Itoh, *The Japanese Community in Pre-War Britain*, 116.
- 109 Itoh, *The Japanese Community in Pre-War Britain*, 3–5, 11, 110, and 113–114.
- 110 Helena Čapková, “The Hawk Princess at the Hawk’s Well: Neo-Noh and the Idea of a Universal Japan”, in Charlotte Ashby et al. (eds), *Imagined Cosmopolis: Internationalism and Cultural Exchange, 1870s–1920s* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2019).
- 111 Helen Caldwell, *Michio Ito: The Dancer and His Dances* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1977), 37–41.
- 112 Masaru Sekine and Christopher Murray, *Yeats and the Noh: A Comparative Study* (Gerrards Cross: Smythe, 1990), 86.
- 113 Alvin Langdon Coburn, *Alvin Langdon Coburn, Photographer: An Autobiography*, first published 1966 (New York: Dover Publications, 1978), 70.
- 114 Carol Fisher Sorgenfrei, “Strategic Unweaving, Ito Michio and the Diasporic Dancing Body”, in Erika Fischer-Lichte, Torsten Jost, and Saskya Iris Jain (eds), *The Politics of Interweaving Performance Cultures: Beyond Postcolonialism* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 212.
- 115 Caldwell, *Michio Ito*, 37–54.
- 116 W.B. Yeats, edited by Andrew Parkin, *At the Hawk’s Well and The Cat and the Moon: Manuscript Materials* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010), xxxv–vi.
- 117 W.B. Yeats, *Four Plays for Dancers* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921), vi–vii.
- 118 Yeats, *Four Plays for Dancers*, 90.
- 119 Yeats, *At the Hawk’s Well and The Cat and the Moon*, 185.
- 120 For a history and analysis of the play, see Chiba, “Kori Torahiko and Edith Craig”, 438–441.
- 121 Torahiko Kori, *Kanawa: The Incantation: A Play for Marionettes* (London: Gowans & Gray; Boston, MA: LeRoy Phillips, 1918), 9–10.
- 122 Torahiko Kori, letter to Edith Craig, 19 December 1917. The Ellen Terry and Edith Craig archive: EC-Z3,405a.
- 123 Sato Takezou, “Portrait of Goneske Komai”, *Colour* 8–9 (August 1918), 24.
- 124 Chiba, “Kori Torahiko and Edith Craig”, 434.
- 125 “The Woman About Town”, *The Sketch*, 13 March 1918, 28.

Bibliography

- Armfield, M. (1915) “Note on the Drawings”. In William Morris, *The Life and Death of Jason*. London: Headley Brothers.
- Armfield, M. (1915) “The Value of Art in the Community”. *Colour* 2, no. 3 (April).
- Armfield, M. (1916) “Art and Patriotism”. *Colour* 4, no. 2 (March).
- Armfield, M. (1922) “Illustrators Notes” to Shakespeare, *The Winter’s Tale*. London: J.M. Dent.
- Armfield, M. (1922) *The Minstrel*. London: Duckworth.
- Armfield, M. (1970) “My World and I—the Cotswolds and London in War”. Tate Gallery Archives, Tate Archive: TGA 976/3/2/10.
- Bartie, A., Fleming, L., Freeman, M., Hulme, T., Hutton, A., and Readman, P. (n.d.) “Mid-Gloucestershire Pageant”. *The Redress of the Past*, www.historicalpageants.ac.uk/pageants/1130/
- Brockington, G. (2008) “Puppetry and Ambivalence in the Art of Paul Nash”. In Kamil Kopania (ed.), *Dolls and Puppets: Contemporaneity and Tradition*. The Aleksander Zelwerowicz National Academy of Dramatic Art in Warsaw.
- Buisson, S. (ca. 2007) *T.L. Fouita: inédits*. Paris: À l’encre rouge Arhices artistiques; Fondation Nichido.
- Caradec, F. and Alain Weill, A. (2007) *Le Café-Concert (1848–1914)*. Paris: Fayard.
- Carter, H. (1916) “Spontaneitics”. *The Egoist* 3, no. 2 (1 February).
- Chiba, Y. (1996) “Kori Torahiko and Edith Craig: A Japanese Playwright in London and Toronto”. *Comparative Drama* 30, no. 4 (Winter): 431–451.
- Cockin, K. (1994) “The Pioneer Players: Plays of/ with Identity”. In G. Griffin (ed.), *Difference in View: Women and Modernism*. London: Taylor & Francis.
- Cockin, K. (1997) *Edith Craig (1869–1947): Dramatic Lives*. London: Cassell.
- Cockin, K. (2001) *Women and Theatre in the Age of Suffrage: The Pioneer Players, 1911–1925*. London: Palgrave.
- Cockin, K. (2015) “Edith Craig and the Pioneer Players: London’s International Art Theatre in a ‘Khaki-clad and Khaki-Minded World’”. In Andrew Maunder (ed.), *British Theatre and the Great War, 1914–1919: New Perspectives*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cockin, K. (2017) *Edith Craig and the Theatres of Art*. London: Bloomsbury Methuen Drama.

- Cork, R. (1976) *Vorticism and Abstract Art in the First Machine Age*, Vol. 2 "Synthesis and Decline". London: Gordon Fraser.
- Crozier, A. (ed.) (1996) *Poems & Adolphe 1920*. Manchester: Carcanet Press.
- Ellis, S.C. (1995) *The Plays of W.B. Yeats: Yeats and the Dancer*. New York: St Martin's Press.
- Emerson, R. (2018) *Rhythm & Colour: Hélène Vanel, Lois Hutton & Margaret Morris*. Edinburgh: Golden Hare.
- Evreinov, N. (1915) *The Theatre of the Soul*. London: Henderson's Bookshop.
- Farjeon, H. (1918) "The Sneezing Charm". *Era*, 12 June.
- France, J. (2013) review of *Goossens: Orchestral Works* (Chandos, 2013), in *Music Web International*, www.musicweb-international.com/classrev/2013/Apr13/Goossens_orchestral_CHSA5119.htm, accessed 21 January 2019.
- Haworth-Booth, M. (1979) *E. McKnight Kauffer: A Designer and his Public*. London: Gordon Fraser.
- Howarth, T. (1977) *Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Modern Movement*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Kreymborg, A. (ed.) (1915) "The Choric School Number". *Others: A Magazine of the New Verse* 1, no. 4.
- McKnight Kauffer, E. letter to Maxwell Armfield, (n.d.) Tate Archive: TGA 976.
- Morris, M. (1969) *My Life in Movement*. London: Peter Owen.
- Pa Tai-Shun (1916) *Chinese Lyrics*. Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh Ltd.
- Patterson, I. (2003) "Writing on Other Fronts: Translation and John Rodker". *Translation and Literature* 12, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 88-113.
- Pound, E. (1915) "Foreword to the Choric School". *Others: A Magazine of the New Verse*, October.
- Powell, J. (ed.) (2015) *New Rhythms: Henri Gaudier-Brzeska: Art, Dance and Movement in London 1911-1915*. Cambridge: Kettles Yard.
- Purkis, C. (2000) "Fin-de-Siècle Fantasy as Performative Memoir in Gertrude Hudson and Constance Smedley's Writings on Music", unpublished conference paper presented at *International Conference on Nineteenth-Century Music*. Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, 29 June-2 July.
- Ransome, A. (1907) *Bohemia in London*. Chapman and Hall.
- Rodker, J. (1916) "The Choric School". *The Drama*, August.
- Rodker, J. (1932) *Memoirs of Other Fronts*. London.
- Smedley, C. (1922) "The Greenleaf Theatre". *English Review* 35 (July).
- Smedley, C. (1925 [1915]) *Justice Walk*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Smedley, C. (1929) *Crusaders: The Reminiscences of Constance Smedley (Mrs Maxwell Armfield)*. London: Duckworth.
- Troly-Curtin, M. (1917) "Phrynette's Letters to Lonely Soldiers: Bouquet en Casserole". *The Sketch*, 11 April.
- Tucker, P. (1990) "Hester Sainsbury: A Book Illustrator of the 1920s". *The Private Library* 3, no. 3 (Autumn): 112-136.
- Tucker, P. (1992) "Hester Sainsbury: Some Further Notes". *The Private Library* 5, no. 2 (Summer): 80-89.

Licensing

The Publishers of *British Art Studies* are committed to supporting scholarship on British art and architecture of all periods. This publication is made available free of charge at <https://www.britishartstudies.ac.uk>. We ask users to identify the use of materials made available through this website and to provide an appropriate credit to the author and the publication, so that others may find and use our resources.

Except where otherwise noted, this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 2.0 UK: England & Wales Licence (CC BY-NC 2.0 UK). To view a copy of this license, visit <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/2.0/uk/> or send a letter to Creative Commons, PO Box 1866, Mountain View, CA 94042, USA.

The Publishers fully support the protection of intellectual property and are committed to complying with, and strictly adhering to, all applicable copyright law. In many cases, copyright or other proprietary rights may be held by individuals or entities other than, or in addition to, the Publishers. If a work or a photographic image is still protected by copyright, you must cite the relevant copyright information when using the image and comply with all other terms or restrictions that may be applicable to that material.

In some cases, exceptions to copyright that permit limited use of protected works without the permission of the copyright owner may have been applied. We are confident that we have carried out due diligence in our use of copyrighted material as required, but we apologise for any inadvertent infringement of rights.

Digital copies of resources are made accessible for research for one of the following reasons:

- they are in the public domain;
- the rights are owned by the Publishers;
- we make them accessible under an exception or limitation to UK copyright law, as outlined in the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 (as amended);
- we have permission to make them accessible;
- or, there are no known restrictions on use.

If you believe that we have made a mistake and wish for your material to be removed from our site, please contact us at copyright@paul-mellon-centre.ac.uk.

Please include the following information with your request:

- Name and contact information, including email address and phone number.
- Identification of the resource for consideration of removal. Providing URLs in your communication will help us locate content quickly.
- The reason for the request.

The Publishers respond promptly, normally within 21 business days. We may remove the resource from our site while we assess the validity of the request. Upon completion of the assessment, we will take appropriate action and communicate that action to you.