

Yorkshire Modernisms and Yorkshire Theatres: Edith Craig (1869–1947) and the Leeds Art Theatre

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Abstract:

This article examines the Leeds Art Theatre (LAT), founded in 1922, as a significant but overlooked centre of modernist theatre practice in Yorkshire. Drawing on new research into digitised regional and national newspaper coverage, this article reframes the history of the LAT by restoring Edith Craig (1869–1947) to her central role as the organisation's Art Director. Previous scholarship, principally Tom Steele's account via the Leeds Arts Club, largely overlooked Craig's formative influence. I argue that Craig brought to the LAT a rich legacy from women's suffrage theatre ecologies—inclusive, community-oriented, and open to amateurs—that fundamentally shaped the organisation's aesthetic ambitions and regional reach. The article traces the LAT's evolution through press coverage, its collaborative network across Yorkshire cities, and the landmark 1924 production of Hofmannstahl's *The Great World Theatre* at St Edward's Church, Leeds. It also examines the mechanisms by which Craig's contributions were systematically marginalised in contemporaneous reportage. Situating the LAT within broader debates about modernism, regionalism, and the politics of theatre practice, I make a case for recognising Yorkshire's place in the modernist landscape and undervalued role within it.

Keywords: Leeds Art Theatre, Edith Craig, Yorkshire, amateur, women's suffrage theatre

Leeds seems to be possibly the least known centre of modernism but, as Michael T. Saylor has noted,¹ it was in this city in the north

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of England in 1922 that the Leeds Art Theatre (LAT) was founded. Like many other spectacular modernist initiatives, it had enthusiastic aims and met with various obstacles along the way. The LAT story, its evolution, reception and legacy, are significant features to consider in the present focus on Yorkshire Modernisms and are symptomatic of the marginalisation in modernist studies of theatre and the performing arts generally. As Penny Farfan argues:

The stakes are not simply inclusion within an expanded canon or a more accurate understanding of the specificities of modernist theatre, drama, and performance as distinct from other forms of modernism, but a more precise accounting of how modernities are mediated, and of how such mediations enact political and cultural relations among and across the multiple modernities that have been and continue to be expressed through the global modernisms that a "planetary" modernist studies must necessarily seek to engage.²

I will argue that even less widely known is the profound impact that the eclectic, collaborative, versatile practices of the women's suffrage theatre in Britain had on literature, the arts, and theatre practice in the 1920s.³ In particular, for the LAT, these influences were brought about through the leadership of a former women's suffrage director of plays and pageants: Edith Craig (1869–1947), who is used here as a starting point for the reinterpretation of what has so far been written about the LAT.⁴ New research on the press coverage of the LAT now establishes more precisely how this organisation evolved, what roles various individuals, including Edith Craig, played, and how significant the LAT was in different contexts, at regional, national, and international levels.

It has been through its connection with the Leeds Arts Club that the LAT has attracted any attention. In the principal published source of information about the LAT, *Alfred Orage and the Leeds Arts Club 1893–1923* (1990), Tom Steele outlines the evolution from the Leeds Arts Club of the Leeds Civic Playhouse, and the Eyebrow Club.⁵ Steele's perspective on the LAT, based on extensive research on archives and an interview with a former LAT actor, is therefore the context of the earlier Leeds Arts Club and the artistic and cultural innovations in Leeds as well as broader influences from the cultural criticism of Ruskin, Carlyle, and Morris; spiritualism and theosophy; Nietzschean theories; and Fabian social democracy.⁶ Steele notes the Leeds Arts Club as having been somewhat resistant to new media, notably film and photography; hostile towards commercialism, it was interested in experimentation, new ideas about citizenship and opportunities for women, and the changing social structure with 'newly emergent

professions'.⁷ Steele notes the three principal leaders of the LAT were Charles F. Smith, 'its inspiration and almost certainly its financial backer'; the 'business manager, L. B. Ramsden', and 'Edith Craig [who was] engaged as artistic director'.⁸ Craig is mentioned only very briefly and not specifically in the role of 'Art Director', as she was consistently designated (in initial capitals) in the extant LAT programmes and publicity.⁹ Steele introduces Craig by quoting an interview that she had given in the *Yorkshire Post*, as 'the daughter of Ellen Terry and the sister of Gordon Craig [who] was very impressed by the quality of the people she had to work with'.¹⁰ The role of director in the theatre, still often designated 'producer' in this period, was a role that Edith Craig specifically had established as a woman and had even published an article on this very topic.¹¹ Steele's brief observation about the Leeds Arts Club's interest in the changing place of women as citizens in society can therefore be fully substantiated now by considering Edith Craig's role in the LAT and by restoring her to the centre of its development. The significance of the form of organisation adopted by the LAT, attributed by Steele solely to the Incorporated Stage Society,¹² and the implications for the relationship with audiences, are clarified by analysing them in relation to Edith Craig's London-based Pioneer Players (1911–25) play-producing subscription society.¹³

This article also presents new insights from newspaper coverage in national, regional, and theatre newspapers: details emerge about the evolution of the LAT, and the leadership and artistic direction of the LAT, the specific roles that individuals held, as well as the strategic direction, creative contributions and attitudes towards the amateur. An increasing volume and range of digitised newspapers provide a rich source of additional information and nuances; the shifts in tone, slippage of terminology that are subtle and at times more explicit; and the diverse voices, anonymised or named, from correspondents to the editor's letters page to formal interviews with those involved. The complex evolution of the LAT is discernible from newspaper coverage because journalists uniquely monitored the pulse of contemporaneous critical reception and wider debates about cultural practices in Leeds and the wider region. Craig's achievements with the LAT, documented in her own archive in correspondence, publicity and promotional materials, and press cuttings, have been analysed elsewhere.¹⁴

Edith Craig brought to the LAT a rich body of experience and skills from her earlier achievements in various theatre companies over the previous thirty years, including extensive and internationally renowned women's suffrage theatre-making in Britain. She was founder-director of the Pioneer Players play-producing subscription

society, known for politically incisive and dramatically innovative plays, and translated drama during the First World War. It maintained a very fine balance for survival with limited resources, a fluctuating membership from several hundred members and borrowed or hired venues for the single productions. Most significantly, perhaps, the Pioneer Players supported acting members with a lower membership fee and included amateur actors alongside those who acted for a living.¹⁵ For a much shorter period of time, Craig provided the directorial expertise at the Everyman Theatre, Hampstead (1920–21). This was founded by Norman McDermott who was enthusiastic but lacked experience in theatre practice and relied instead on several directors, including Craig, whom he hired on a short-term basis until he had learned from observing them at work.¹⁶ With the British Drama League (1919), an umbrella organisation with an aim to promote theatre-making nationwide, Craig acquired experience of committee work. Some very scant but informative documentation demonstrates how determined she was to collaborate and to work in a way which was not disrupted by individuals' personal ambitions for acclaim.¹⁷ These are not mentioned here as stages in her career but instead as evidence of how she worked, the forms of organisations with which she had been involved and how she had to negotiate a complex series of re-framing what the LAT's aims and objectives became under her leadership. It mobilised actors and audiences in a way that enthusiastically supported amateurs in a democratising context as noted by Matthew Franks,¹⁸ but also, as I argue here, drew deeply on cultures of women's suffrage theatre where amateurs were mobilising forces for a future democracy that embodied women fully as citizens and men as supporters of a transformed egalitarian society.

As part of the continuing project of new work in modernist studies and regional studies of the north of England, the present lens of Yorkshire Modernisms brings art theatre in Yorkshire into a timely focus: as a moment to intervene and reinsert the LAT in local, national and international histories accompanied by more of an understanding of the part played by women such as Edith Craig. The circumstances surrounding the development of the LAT, its achievements and struggles, and how it has been represented subsequently, highlight some significant issues that are rarely acknowledged: some persistent prejudices against the north of England; assumptions about the influence of canonical theatre directors and theorists; and an undervaluing of the impact of women's suffrage drama and performance generally and on theatre practitioners and theatre-goers during the 1920s in the UK in

particular. Theatre-making, culture and education were highly valued as restorative social forces in Britain in the decade that saw the founding of the Labour Party (1922) and the first Labour governments (1924 and 1929). The post-war commitment to restoration was evident in the field of education, in the Newbolt Report (1921) and it included the teaching of drama as well as literature, implemented through the initiative of the British Drama League (founded in 1919) to foster amateur theatre in the post-war regeneration of communities.¹⁹ The centrality of 'art' to the activities of the LAT was indicative of its positioning not just in the UK but also internationally. Craig's Pioneer Players theatre society had already established itself as an art theatre from 1915 and was winding down just as the LAT was founded. The connections between the LAT and the Pioneer Players were noted by one drama critic: J. T. Grein, the entrepreneur most notable for promoting the drama of Ibsen in Britain. Grein expressed the highest respect for the directorial skills of Edith Craig, as former founder-director of the Pioneer Players and her role in the LAT, not just as producer, but very specifically as its Art Director.²⁰

Tracing the Leeds Art Theatre in the Press

The LAT was attentively reported in regional newspapers, the *Yorkshire Post* and *Leeds Intelligencer*, the *Leeds Mercury*, *Yorkshire Evening Post* and the *Halifax Evening Courier*, as well as the national, specialist theatre newspapers, *The Stage* and *The Sketch*. This episodic newspaper coverage documents the unfolding insights and responses: a series of moments in the precarious and uneven evolution and development of the LAT.

Although Tom Steele outlines the circumstances in which the LAT evolved, he does not mention that the new initiative was launched in a letter to the local newspaper: a public announcement in the *Yorkshire Post* and *Leeds Intelligencer* of 20 July 1922 by E. Kitson Clark, Chairman of the Leeds Repertory Committee. According to Steele, Michael Sadler had had discussions about the 'launch of a repertory theatre' in 1921 'but they came to nothing'.²¹ This letter to the local newspaper under the heading 'The Leeds Ars [sic] Theatre was explicit about the venue, the scale of the project in terms of frequency of productions, gave an indication of the 'repertory' form of the LAT, and crucially named its director: 'Under the direction of Edith Craig [...] The scheme presents the advantage of a repertory work in the form of a series of plays produced at monthly intervals'.²² A liaison secretary, Mr F. E. Harrison, had been appointed to work with the LAT secretary.

This public announcement in the form of a letter to the paper,²³ makes it explicit how these organisations were planning to work together at the outset. The strategy of collaboration is significant. Steele claims that the invitation to Edith Craig to become 'artistic director' of the LAT had come from Charles F. Smith who had been inspired by having seen Craig's production of Bernard Shaw's *The Shewing Up of Blanco Posnet* for the Leeds Repertory Theatre in November 1921.²⁴ So it seems that although Michael Sadler's ideas about a repertory theatre 'came to nothing', as Steele claims, and the Repertory Committee had been formed some years earlier, a repertory theatre did emerge with Edith Craig and Charles F. Smith as leaders.

The venues used by the LAT have been recorded in programmes and publicity material as well as newspaper coverage, but more details have come to light. The Albert Hall, Cookridge Street, Leeds, was previously the Mechanical Institution and Literary Society built in 1865 by the same designer of the Leeds Town Hall. The circular lecture hall was named the Albert Hall, later the Civic Theatre, was noted by Dame Ethel Smyth as the venue for Edith Craig's successful LAT production of Smyth's opera, *The Boatswain's Mate*.²⁵ Now the building is the Leeds City Museum in Millenium Square (renamed from the former Cookridge Street). It seems that some time in 1923 Edith Craig had given advice on the purpose-built stage in the Assembly Hall in the YWCA in Cookridge Street, where the LAT had moved in 1924.²⁶

The extent to which the Leeds Art Theatre was rooted in the city of Leeds has been somewhat taken for granted. Was it regarded as a Leeds metropolitan organisation or a wider hub for regional theatre activities? Studies of Englishness in this period have identified a tendency for innovative cultural mobility to be directed one-way, from the London metropolis to the other English regions, and in such a scenario, the north is homogenised as an undifferentiated territory in need of southern enlightenment.²⁷ Any assumptions about an asymmetrical north-south cultural relationship in which the authoritative leader was assumed inevitably to be based in London, are challenged here. Theatre and performance have a history of mobility and forms of organisation which differentiate it from other cultural practices. The British Drama League was founded in 1919 in the midlands, at Stratford-upon-Avon and had a broadly British and regional reach. Edith Craig's experience, as one of the original leaders of the British Drama League, predisposed her to take a regional, collaborative, and community-based approach and she regularly travelled for work although she was usually based in the

south of England (a flat in Covent Garden, London, and a cottage in Tenterden, Kent).

Rather than restricting itself to Leeds, the LAT had a regional scope and initiated dialogue with other neighbouring theatre organisations in a reciprocal arrangement whereby theatre practitioners from Leeds, Hull, and Sheffield took their productions to visit each other's cities. In this case, the plays chosen were translated and reviewed in April 1923 under the heading 'Continental Drama' and indicating that this was not an isolated event: 'Following their custom of interchange of visits' the Sheffield Playgoers Society welcomed the LAT company with a production of Sudermann's *The Last Visit* and Chekhov's *The Proposal*,²⁸ and the review mentioned some of the actors including L. B. Ramsden, but Edith Craig, whose Pioneer Players theatre society had produced *The Last Visit* and *The Proposal*, is not named. Nationwide support for the LAT was sought in May 1923. The level of this support was indicated by the efforts made by leading theatre practitioners to travel to Leeds to attend the event at the Majestic Kinema. Edith Craig, having recently returned from filming in Egypt,²⁹ was one of several distinguished speakers at this event, alongside J. T. Grein, Barry Jackson, Henry Ainley, William Armstrong of the Liverpool Repertory Theatre, Clemence Dane, and Viola Compton. The explicit purpose of the meeting was to launch a campaign to put the LAT 'on a sounder basis', according to an article in *The Stage*, which reported that Lieut Col. Kitson Clark was in the chair for this meeting and had been the author of the original letter to the newspaper that had launched the LAT.³⁰

The regional focus of the LAT was gathering momentum in July 1923. LAT was not confined to the city of Leeds; it had a broader, regional focus. In an article headed 'The Leeds Art Theatre movement', a forthcoming second season of plays was to be taken by LAT to Skipton and had continued support from subscribers.³¹ L. B. Ramsden is named as organising these but again there is no mention of Edith Craig, indicating perhaps the regulation of press releases, a strategy of anonymity or the foregrounding of the Business Manager. This was a second visit to Skipton and was described, in colonial terms, as following on from the earlier 'missionary season' of LAT to Skipton and reinforced the perceived superior relative status of theatre in Leeds over that in Skipton.³²

By the autumn of 1923, the LAT evidently consolidated interest in theatre work regionally and formed a network of theatre practitioners. Contrary to possible assumptions about inevitable competition between individuals and organisations, the LAT hosted

other theatre productions from the wider region. In October 1923 the Hull Shakespeare and Playgoers visited the LAT and performed at the Albert Hall Granville and Helen Barker's play, *The Romantic Young Lady*, translated from Spanish. The reviewer for *The Stage* referred to the poor acoustics in the venue and lack of atmosphere.³³ Edith Craig apparently addressed these noteworthy challenges for the LAT and its visiting productions when she advised on the purpose-built stage in the new venue in the YMCA. Although the reviewer provides useful details about the next production being in November, the only personnel mentioned again were L. B. Ramsden as Business Manager.³⁴ The profile of the LAT would have been raised by a review in *The Stage* and by the association with distinguished authors such as Joseph Conrad, who apparently sent a letter to those involved in the production of the dramatisation of his novel, *The Secret Agent*: 'The promoters of the Leeds Art Theatre have received a message from Mr Joseph Conrad, whose play "The Secret Agent" they are producing next week in Leeds. Mr Conrad wishes "one and all the utmost personal success which I humbly hope there may be in it for artists of sincerity and courage"'.³⁵ However, an opportunity was missed by the LAT to associate itself with Edith Craig, whose work was so familiar to regular readers of *The Stage*.

In December 1923, J. T. Grein brought his own company to the LAT to produce Ibsen's *Ghosts* for four performances. This effort demonstrates the depth of commitment to the success of the LAT that Grein's attendance at the meeting in May earlier in the year had potentially indicated. Established theatregoers would have been aware of Grein's reputation for risk-taking and innovation in experimental theatre as the supporter of Ibsen in Britain from the first production of *Ghosts* with the Independent Theatre in the 1890s. In more recent memory, they may have been aware of the furore just five years earlier surrounding Grein's support of a production of Oscar Wilde's *Salome*.³⁶ Edith Craig's involvement with Grein at the time of the *Vigilante* scandal and in earlier years may have been known to Leeds and regional audiences as well as newspaper critics.³⁷ Endorsement of Craig's contributions to theatre was evident from Grein's article in 1925, in which he refers to Edith Craig as a 'capital producer' whose 'successful campaign' in Leeds was now moving to Letchworth.³⁸

The omission of Edith Craig's name from newspaper coverage of the LAT was typical, whereas the name of the Business Manager, L. B. Ramsden, was more consistently mentioned. By June 1924, the local coverage of the LAT makes it clear that there is a distancing from her influence. The forthcoming LAT season's programme (Nov 1924-April 1925) is varied and extensive but included Lady Gregory's

Mirandolina, John Masefield's *Philip the King*, Pirandello's *If You Think So* and although the *Yorkshire Post* article (28 June 1924) mentions the Leeds Dramatic Alliance and the LAT advisory group as having picked the plays, Edith Craig's advice would have been relevant for this choice of plays.³⁹ Craig's activities at this time were not confined to Leeds but the summer of 1924 seems to have been a turning point for the LAT leadership.

At the beginning of 1924, the LAT had a tremendous success with Edith Craig's production of Hugo von Hofmannstahl's *The Great World Theatre* in St Edward's Church, Holbeck, Leeds, that promised to put the LAT on the art theatre map and solicit financial backing to consolidate its work. It was spectacularly successful.⁴⁰ A private performance was the first, given on 5 January; it attracted the attention of local religious leaders and aristocrats, and raised questions about drama in churches and debates about the historical precedents.⁴¹ For the LAT, this production raised their profile on an international level. This first British production of the play aligned Craig with Max Reinhardt, who had staged it for the Salzburg Festival in 1921. The metaphor of the play of life, stage-managed by Death, would have struck a pacifist chord with audience members who were familiar with Vernon Lee's *Ballet of the Nations* (1915) and *Satan the Waster* (1920). The photographic review by *The Illustrated London News* provided some insights into scenography, accompanied by six photographs of actors in costume, portraying the Master, Death (the Stage Manager), Beauty, and Wisdom, and a brief plot summary:

The chancel was converted into a stage heavily draped with curtains, and the play opened in darkness, with ghostly figures gathered outside the 'Master's' door. Thither comes the World, arrayed in purple robes, followed by her minions, Curiosity and Death. A light appears within and suddenly the figure of the Master is revealed in golden radiance. He commands the World to prepare a play, and appoints Death to manage it. Darkness returns, and the characters are chosen from the disembodied souls, while the World gives out appropriate costumes.⁴²

This was fairly neutrally presented apart from the concluding treatment of the Rich Man: 'The figure of the Master appears again in the final scene, and blesses the players, except the Rich Man.'⁴³ This was Hofmannstahl's German version of Calderon's 17th century play but it had topical resonances. The brief details indicate the sudden revelation of characters and the suspense that would be generated by taking the audience through darkness to light. The play applies the metaphor of illumination for creation from Genesis to the theatrical

spectacle. Craig's skills were consistently noted by reviewers, and the *Daily News* provided a rare, detailed description of the scenography:

Edith Craig, the producer, had made a semi-circular stage of steps with a gangway and the beautiful screen acted as a background. The openings of the screen were covered with curtains for some scenes, and in others attendants held a background of cloth which hid the screen [...] at the end the chancel was filled with light, and the reredos glowed with gold. The whole was framed, as it were, by the screen which was dark at that moment.⁴⁴

The *Yorkshire Evening Post* article collated quotations from several newspaper critics from the *Manchester Guardian*, *Times*, *London Daily News*, and *Telegraph*, who had attended the final rehearsal and responded very positively, and drew attention to this in its subheading, 'unanimous praise for art theatre venture'.⁴⁵

The production kept Edith Craig busy for a month. Unfortunately, in spite of the scale and success of this production, the LAT's financial basis was not consolidated, and from this point Edith Craig moved her efforts elsewhere in Yorkshire and south in Letchworth. Meanwhile, C. F. Smith was persevering in a nearby city.

'The Little Theatre in Yorkshire'

Seven months after C. F. Smith left the LAT, a new venture was launched: the York Everyman Theatre. It was announced at the beginning of October 1924 in the *Yorkshire Post* in an article by C. F. Smith who emphasises the influence of the LAT and its leaders in Yorkshire. In an article entitled 'The Little Theatre in Yorkshire',⁴⁶ Smith provides some revealing insights into Craig's role and his perspective on the regional activities in theatre organisation. Smith describes the big event at the Station Hotel York where subscribers and supporters were invited for the York Everyman Theatre and attendees included a leader in regional theatre experimentation, Nugent Monck of the Norwich Elizabethan theatre, and Hubert Griffiths, drama critic of the *Observer*.⁴⁷ This public meeting came 17 months after the Leeds Kinema meeting that had so optimistically called for support to make the LAT sustainable.

The *Yorkshire Post* coverage of Yorkshire theatre developments and their leadership is significant and reveals the newspaper's appeal to women readers in this period. The extensive article by Charles F. Smith, entitled 'The Little Theatre in Yorkshire', is serendipitously juxtaposed with the regular feature, on the same page, headed 'Women

of To-day', which mentions Edith Craig. Smith begins his report in this article of the meeting at which the speakers included Edith Craig, 'our great director', and it is specifically from his co-production with Edith Craig and William Poel, of the *Everyman* at the Guildhall in York that Smith attributes the idea having arisen for a new York Everyman Theatre: 'Experience gained in the formation of the Leeds Art Theatre was particularly useful, and I personally felt it was the realisation of an old ambition which visualised Edith Craig at the head of a circuit of Yorkshire "little theatres"'.⁴⁸ The terminology used by Smith to describe this venture has nuances that may easily be overlooked. The 'little theatre' movement was a phenomenon in the US as well as the UK and was associated with theatres that were rooted in a particular community, with limited resources. The use of the term 'circuit' is perhaps more surprising. It has the older resonances of eighteenth-century touring theatre companies that had an established route that took them from one theatre to another at a regular time of year. At a national level, Craig was a catalyst in sparking new theatre enterprises through her sustained but understated leadership for the British Drama League. However, here Smith unreservedly conceptualises her work more specifically in regional and personal terms, in that Craig was envisaged 'at the head of a circuit of Yorkshire "little theatres"'. Smith readily accepted Craig as leading such theatre enterprises and named her in this role whereas the press coverage of LAT generally tended not to name the director. Craig tended to have a collaborative approach to theatre practice that focused on the production rather than individuals and consequently was not always named for her work.⁴⁹ Smith also discussed Craig's achievements here independently of her brother, as did many of the newspaper articles on the LAT. Craig's family relationships and their involvement in theatre may have been presumed knowledge of readers. This seems to be an ironic context to his 'Informal Interview' with Craig in 1923, where Smith emphasises repeatedly throughout her family members, her reticence about writing or speaking about her ideas and ironically constructs the interview she was reluctant to give and that might never have been recorded but for his persistence. Smith positions himself as Craig's advocate and collaborator, an attentive audience for her considerable knowledge and experience. Smith quotes Craig on 'the duties of an audience' to have an 'open mind' and her emphasis on experimentation in different genres: 'Indeed, a "Little Theatre" or an "Art Theatre", might well be an "Experimental Theatre"'.⁵⁰ What is not immediately made explicit and is a somewhat unspoken element in Smith's article is that Craig (and the LAT) required advocacy; that the expertise, the strategic plans and aesthetic innovation needed to be

presented persuasively to a local, regional readership from which the LAT's audience and subscribers would be drawn. As a woman in the field of theatre leadership and as a director, Craig was acknowledged in this same regional newspaper, although elsewhere she had faced extensive obstacles.

Edith Craig, 'For Women of To-day'

Adjacent to Smith's article on the page 'For Women of To-day' is another segment, anonymously authored, with reference to Edith Craig and the Yorkshire Everyman:

As a rule she keeps very much in the background at both meetings and performances connected with her work but she was induced, at York, to make a speech, which, although it was very short, was very much to the point.⁵¹

In the period of the first stage of enfranchisement of women in Britain it may seem odd that a woman who had been so instrumental in women's suffrage theatre to promote the campaign should have been so reticent.

This evidence reinforces the unevenness of the documentation of theatre productions in their acknowledgements of individuals and women in particular. The mechanisms for writing someone out of history are perplexingly crude: stylistic and terminological shifts, nuances, inconsistencies, damning with faint praise, and misdirection are all typical strategies. The scrutiny in this article of these accounts of the LAT was prompted by my unexpected discoveries of what Edith Craig had faced at the Everyman Theatre Hampstead in the years immediately before she worked for the LAT. Edith Craig's resistance to making a claim for her own work made it susceptible to erasure and appropriation.

A range of different motives will have influenced those involved in these theatrical enterprises. A commitment to the development of theatre by experimenting with new drama, styles of performance and staging was a strong force behind many different theatrical organisations that prioritised the aesthetic quality over the commercial imperative. Tensions arose from the significant costs involved: the payment of actors, costumes, lighting and scenery, and venue. Without patronage or government funding, theatrical performances have been supported by voluntary work, donations and subscriptions, and cleverly budgeted productions that were rotated in the repertory system. Edith Craig had considerable experience of dealing with these issues in the Pioneer Players society where Acting and Ordinary

Members were asked to pay different amounts in a way which supported actors and invited Ordinary Members to pay more to subsidise the enterprise. This made more explicit the scale of funding and its acknowledgement of the different means available and it was recorded in the Annual Reports the payment of fees to actors became a priority once their funds improved.⁵²

Edith Craig's theatrework was focused on the audience. For the LAT she had involved the community by giving lectures on stage makeup as well as judging a competition on makeup in the Chapter Hall, Church Institute in Leeds. What was described as a 'novel' feature of this event was that attendees were invited to bring their own makeup and make themselves up at the event. The prize for this competition was a make-up box.⁵³ The focus of this lecture is evidence of a practice orientation in her teaching. In this period, Edith Craig took what I have described elsewhere as a pedagogical turn.⁵⁴ The teaching of theatre and performance skills applied to political activism in the women's suffrage movement: promoting confidence and agency from public speaking and selling newspapers in the street. Apart from her role as a director and her influence on the selection of plays, Craig had broader aims in sharing her expertise with the wider community of potential if not already seasoned theatre-makers. This extensive reach is typical of women's suffrage theatre ecologies and the openness to working with amateurs was a common feature of women's suffrage cultural practices in the visual arts, as Lisa Tickner established in her ground-breaking study.⁵⁵ Craig had extensive experience of directing women's suffrage plays with amateur as well as professional actors. Subsequently she was committed to fostering amateur theatre and was active in giving lectures, adjudicating competitions in theatre productions and elocution, in the spirit of inclusivity and promoting theatre activities as socially beneficial. These values were also embedded in the British Drama League, for which Craig was one of the national leaders. So she had the authority and esteem of this organisation in addition to her own impressive experience of theatre practice while she worked for the LAT.

Craig believed in the potential for a theatre production to transform the audience and her success in having this impact was noted by reviewers. The production of *Everyman* at the York Guildhall, for which she was acknowledged as having assisted Charles F. Smith, was reviewed in the *Yorkshire Evening Post*: "The spectator, in thought, becomes a performer in the drama, and sees in the pilgrim "Everyman" as he wrestles with the changes and chances of this mortal

life, the striving solitary traveller in his own heart'.⁵⁶ The ideological dimension of such a change is typical of political theatres but there was an additional spiritual dimension to the power for performance, the collective endeavour and commitment to collaborate in that time and space for the duration of the performance. Clearly the audience was understood to have a role; in the LAT, Charles F. Smith and Edith Craig seem to have shared a sense of the audience having agency. Craig had an affinity with the community within which the Yorkshire little theatre movement was developing so the strategically southern-metropolitan gloss put on her work in Yorkshire would have generated considerable antipathy. The potential for regional empowerment and cultural innovation was therefore understood by Smith and Craig. Craig had extensive successful experience as a theatre practitioner and political activist of engaging with different communities. Such enterprises entail the risk of audiences feeling patronised or alienated.

By December 1924, events were being cast in a way that fitted a preconfigured narrative that was provocatively alienating to the LAT Yorkshire readership and audience. A detailed interview with Edith Craig in the *London Daily Chronicle* entitled 'Bringing Art to Dull Towns' (4 December 1924) nevertheless provides a valuable insight into her views about the little theatre movement internationally, the development in Britain in various cities with support from, for instance, the Rotary Club in Bristol, the value of the involvement of business folk and the desirability of plays which differed from the regular productions of Gilbert and Sullivan.⁵⁷ The subheading 'stimulating intelligence' and the strategically paraphrased emotive terms from Craig's interview, used for the title of the article itself ('Bringing Art to Dull Towns: A Chat With Miss Edith Craig') reduced Craig's argument to a linear project and a discourse of deficit. The end of the article quotes Craig by way of conclusion: 'Little Theatres, I believe (concluded Miss Craig) have come to stay, to increase and multiply, brightening and vivifying the often dull and dreary conditions in commercial centres, and eventually spreading to the smaller towns and countryside'.⁵⁸ The geographical scope of Craig's analysis of the little theatre movement (including the US prairies), the complexity of finding funding and venues, and the choice of plays are rich parts of the interview. Her own recent activities in Leeds and York are mentioned and generate an implicitly north-south trope with Craig as the agent, patronisingly bringing new theatre insights from the vibrant south to the dull north.⁵⁹

The Amateur and Women's Suffrage Theatre Ecologies

Edith Craig's personal circumstances are relevant for an understanding of her activities with the LAT and her strategies in the region. She had begun her unusual career with the Lyceum Theatre, London, learning about performance, costume design and making, aspects of scenography, and the practicalities of staging and touring. She had toured with her mother, Ellen Terry, and acted as her stage manager. In the period before state subsidy and a national theatre, the theatre enterprises from which Craig acquired her skills in theatre practice were both commercial and strove for aesthetic quality. Women's suffrage organisations had recognised Craig as a leader and innovator; she directed plays in theatres and public halls, orchestrated street processions and advised on performative strategies for selling newspapers on the street. In all of the cultural practices of the women's suffrage campaigns, activists who were effectively amateurs worked enthusiastically with practitioners and professionals in various fields: literature; visual arts; theatre; and journalism. Craig's leadership in these campaigning activities went beyond the typical work of a theatre producer or director and they provided extensive experience of working with groups of diverse levels of theatrical knowledge and aptitude. Staging and performance skills were urgently required by the LAT. She had valuable, direct experience of seeing the social and political changes that could be achieved by engaging audiences, potential supporters and patrons, by collaborating with performers from diverse backgrounds: from the world of commercial theatre, volunteers, and willing amateurs. In order fully to appreciate how significant Edith Craig's role as Art Director of the LAT was, it needs to be acknowledged that she accepted the post only a few years after the first stage of enfranchisement of women in Britain. The LAT therefore benefited from the rich and complex *ecologies* of women's suffrage theatres. With reference specifically to amateur theatre, Helen Nicholson, Nadine Holdsworth and Jane Milling have explained, 'The term "ecologies" is intended to capture the ways in which amateur theatre is a situated practice, sited in places or communities, and rooted in its local environment.'⁶⁰ The different conceptualisations of the amateur in women's suffrage ecologies are evident in Craig's reaction to the initial reception of the LAT's achievements. Although some critics referred to in the regional newspaper coverage discussed below were surprised that the LAT could achieve such high-quality productions because they were amateurs, Craig was, for her part, surprised by that reaction. She was familiar with a diverse range

of experiences and skills in the body of collaborators, members of the public and political activists, with whom she had worked during the women's suffrage movement. Such expectations informed Edith Craig's outlook that had developed over a long period of successful productions and this predisposed her to consider an eclectic range of drama in style, form, and period, as well as to promote the experimental and innovative.

During her work with the LAT she had given a rare public speech (at the Station Hotel meeting in York) and press interviews about her aesthetic and indicated her profound commitment to theatre-making in Leeds and a wider hub for regional activities. Just one week after Charles F. Smith's letter to the local newspaper to announce his departure from the LAT, Edith Craig's response to the LAT production of *Ambush* was reported in the *Yorkshire Evening Post* under the heading, 'Misused word "amateur": Miss Edith Craig Regrets its Connotations', where she praised the acting as 'splendid' but took the opportunity to address some topical issues:

I rather regret the use of the word 'amateur'. It has come to have a wrong meaning and is associated in people's minds with the very laudable efforts of young people to raise money for charity by means of inefficient performances. That kind of thing is absolutely different from the work of such a society as the Leeds Art Theatre, behind which is a real artistic endeavour, similar to the beginnings of the Abbey Theatre or the Birmingham Repertory.⁶¹

Craig described her extensive experience of amateur performances and an annual competition for which she acted as judge, where she found that there was a loss of 'zest' in the girls' acting after they moved from the amateur to the professional class.

In comparing the LAT with the Abbey Theatre and the Birmingham Repertory Theatre, with which present readers will be much more familiar, Craig uses as rationale the unifying factor as being the 'artistic endeavour' behind it. It may be significant that she uses the term 'society' for the LAT instead of any reference to 'repertory'. However, it is not the form of organisation, the use of amateurs, or regional/community connections that reflects Craig's own priority but crucially it indicates her belief and commitment to the realisation of that 'artistic endeavour' within any constraints that were financial or related to the experience of her collaborators. Fifteen years earlier she had, after all, successfully staged nationwide productions for women's suffrage fund-raising events of Cicely Hamilton's *A Pageant of Great*

Women with a huge cast of amateurs so her expectations of repeating that success in Leeds was grounded in extensive evidence.⁶²

After the LAT

LAT publicity for 1925–26 explicitly refers to Craig having moved on at the end of the previous 1924–25 season: ‘She feels, as a pioneer, that now that the Theatre is firmly established, her work may be said to be complete’.⁶³ This formal acknowledgement of her contribution and valediction, raises some question about the sustainability of these organisations as well as the pressures on Craig’s own livelihood. In Craig’s archive, correspondence shows that Charles F. Smith had resigned in 1924,⁶⁴ and the issues related to a disagreement with L. B. Ramsden. Charles F. Smith wrote a short letter to the *Yorkshire Evening Post* mentioning the ‘open secret’ that he and L. B. Ramsden were the founders of the LAT but he felt he should announce that their relationship had come to an end.⁶⁵ He also mentioned the new Advisory Committee for the LAT. By making such a public announcement, Smith took the formal step of recording the changed arrangements and separating himself from Ramsden. Smith went on to found the Leeds Civic Playhouse in 1925. It was organised and funded differently from the LAT. The Leeds Civic Playhouse did not charge for entrance but invited donations from the audience. According to Tom Steele, it had 5000 subscribers in Leeds and 2000 in Bradford, and by 1927 the LAT was described as ‘a hitherto private organisation [that] has been turned into a limited company’ grown from 120 to 15000.⁶⁶ Edith Craig was involved in the Leeds Civic Playhouse in productions in May 1930 of *Back to Methuselah* by Bernard Shaw, toured to Huddersfield and Bradford and with *The Dybbuk* by Ansky.⁶⁷ Sybil Thorndike and Lewis Casson attended a public meeting of supporters in 1929, where Thorndike addressed the idea that professionals might regard amateurs as a threat. She rejected this idea and argued that amateurs ‘should be pioneering in things for which the commercial theatre cannot find a public’ such as to ‘interpret the great plays from other lands’.⁶⁸

In 1931 when Craig was interviewed in the *New Age* (Alfred Orage’s publication) on amateur theatre, she mentioned her ambition to use her mother’s house not only as a museum but also a place to study drama and the history of drama.⁶⁹ By this time, although the Leeds Civic Playhouse had great potential, Craig’s own health was restricting her movements and she became more focused on the Barn Theatre and the Ellen Terry Memorial Museum. In December 1938

Craig returned to Leeds to speak at the Leeds Women's Luncheon Club. In the *Yorkshire Post* she was quoted: 'The Repertory Theatre had come to say,' she said. 'All over England we have repertory theatres doing fine work—the work of the old stock companies, in fact. The Repertory Theatre is a tremendous move in the right direction.'⁷⁰ In mentioning 'stock companies', Craig echoes the words of Charles F. Smith's 'old ambition which visualised Edith Craig at the head of a circuit of Yorkshire 'little theatres'.⁷¹

In retrospect, Craig's commitment to teaching provided the rationale for her involvement in theatre productions with amateurs. As I have noted elsewhere, Margaret Webster, the renowned director in the US for such productions as Paul Robeson's *Othello*, recalled Craig's pedagogical style.⁷² The response to the LAT *The Great World Theatre* production was even more positive given the expected level of competence of the participants. In this context, one reviewer noted: 'It is an entirely amateur society'.⁷³ The criteria were not recalibrated to encompass amateurs as well as professionals.

The LAT Legacy

By 1931, the financial situation had become precarious and problems arose including casting, and the choice of plays that were not commercial. No-one was named in this *Yorkshire Post* article of 1931 at all suggesting, perhaps, that leadership in the LAT had changed.⁷⁴ In 1934, the revival of *The Great World Theatre* by Charles F. Smith (fund-raising for the local hospital) was reviewed and references retrospectively made to Craig's designs for the 1924 production. Press coverage of the LAT continued into the 1940s. In April 1946 there were steps to revive the LAT.⁷⁵

There is very little evidence of local knowledge of the history of the LAT today. Leeds Playhouse, founded in 1968, describes its origins from the Leeds Playgoers Society in 1907 and the Leeds Arts Club, and notes that the Leeds Theatre Trust in 1968 was launched at the Leeds Town Hall with Peter O'Toole (born in Leeds), but no mention is made of the earlier phase of theatre-making in Leeds, including the Leeds Art Theatre.⁷⁶ Leeds Playhouse history goes back to 1964 when a group of thirteen people was keen to launch a 'professional civic theatre in Leeds'.⁷⁷ Perhaps the word 'professional' is significant in this longer history of theatre ventures in Leeds, including the Leeds Art Theatre, and it signifies the increasing distance from the unspoken 'amateur' that had hitherto been promoted in egalitarian post-war fashion by the British Drama League and the Little Theatre

movement of the 1920s. In the visual arts, theatre and literature of the women's suffrage campaigns, amateurs and professionals alike were significant producers, as Lisa Tickner's rigorous research established. By the 1930s participants in women's suffrage activism became reticent about their involvement in those earlier campaigns especially if they had been militant, as demonstrated in the published autobiographies of former women's suffrage militants. The institutional and financial infrastructure of theatre in Britain developed significantly in different ways during the period in which the LAT became dormant.

Conclusion

This history of the LAT raises some questions about modernism and theatre generally as well as women's contributions to theatre as practitioners and the unevenness of the records of their work. It reconnects the women's suffrage histories to the new ways of working in modernist Yorkshire. As a woman director, Craig experienced some instances of exploitation as her work was under-valued, or misrepresented. The directorial work she did in the Everyman Theatre Hampstead, immediately preceded her work as Art Director of Leeds Art Theatre but the circumstances were different. In the LAT, Craig's role was envisaged as reaching beyond Leeds to the region, beyond one city, one medium. It ranged across disciplines and was motivated by building an interest in art theatre and culture generally as an empowering force. A sustainable influence on Craig's leadership of theatre during this period with the LAT and other little theatre and art theatre initiatives was drawn from the women's suffrage theatre ecologies which were open to the involvement of a diverse group of collaborators united by a single goal. As a result she found herself more open and optimistic about limited funds and experience of the actors. The vicissitudes of the LAT would have been familiar to women's suffrage theatre makers: the tensions arising from an unpredictable pool of amateur practitioners and limited resources; the different motivations of those involved and the impact on the audiences of a proliferation of specialised groups formed by intensely driven leaders. The subtle differentiation of organisations and roles took on resonances of the demarcation of ideological as well as aesthetic positions. The evolution and relative longevity of the Suffrage Atelier, the Women Writers' Suffrage League, the Actresses Franchise League, the Pioneer Players and the Stage Society are part of a complex history of strategic redirections and fluctuating circumstances embedded in past cultural moments. In any survey of past enterprises a

tendency towards the canonical, documented, polarised positions and familiar landmarks can occlude messy stories: like that of the LAT and the little theatres of Yorkshire; and those dynamic pioneers like Edith Craig who were focused on achieving a goal and unfashionably chose not to take centre stage herself, as C. F. Smith demonstrated so wittily in the 'informal interview' which he had extricated from the reticent interviewee.

Notes

1. Michael T. Saler, *The Avant-Garde in Interwar England: Medieval Modernism and the London Underground* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 46; quoted in Katharine Cockin, *Edith Craig and the Theatres of Art* (London: Bloomsbury Methuen Drama, 2017), pp. 202–13, where I began this reconsideration of the Leeds Art Theatre in the context of modernism.
2. Penny Farfan, 'Modernism' editorial, special issue on Modernism, *Theatre Journal*, 65, 4, (2013): i–iv. See also Penny Farfan and Katherine E. Kelly, 'Staging Modernism: Introduction,' Staging Modernism, special issue, *South Central Review* 25, no. 1 (2008): 1–11; Olga Taxidou, *Modernism and Performance: Jarry to Brecht* (Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007); and James Moran, *Modernists and the Theatre* (London: Bloomsbury, 2022).
3. For a collection of essays on women's suffrage political activism with an explicit focus on different genres and media, see *Women's Suffrage in Word, Image, Music, Stage and Screen: The Making of a Movement*. Edited by Lucy Ella Rose (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis, 2021).
4. See Katharine Cockin, *Edith Craig (1869–1947): Dramatic Lives* (London: Cassell 1998); *Women and Theatre in the Age of Suffrage: The Pioneer Players* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2001); and for a detailed critique of Norman McDermott's account of the Everyman Theatre Hampstead, *Edith Craig and the Theatres of Art* (London: Bloomsbury Methuen Drama, 2017).
5. Tom Steele, *Alfred Orage and the Leeds Arts Club 1893–1923* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1990).
6. *Ibid*, p. 263.
7. *Ibid*, p. 262.
8. *Ibid*, p. 245.
9. *Ibid*, pp. 224–27.
10. *Ibid*. p. 246.
11. Katharine Cockin, 'Edith Craig', Ch. 27 in *Routledge Anthology of Women's Theatre Theory and Dramatic Criticism*, eds J. Ellen Gainor and Catherine Burroughs (New York: Routledge. 2023).
12. Steele, p. 248.
13. Cockin, *Women and Theatre in the Age of Suffrage*, p. 9.
14. Cockin, *Edith Craig and the Theatres of Art*, p. 204.
15. Cockin, 1998; 2001; 2017.
16. Cockin, *Edith Craig and the Theatres of Art*, p. 193–197.
17. *Ibid*, p. 100; p. 170.
18. See Matthew Franks' *Subscription Theater: Democracy and Drama in Britain and Ireland, 1880–1939* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020).

19. See Cockin 2017; Helen Nicholson, Nadine Holdsworth, and Jane Milling, *The Ecologies of Amateur Theatre* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).
20. In Grein's appreciative commentary on Craig's standing in theatre at this time, it is significant that he did not associate her with her brother, Edward Gordon Craig, or in any way appear to endorse, rank, or evaluate her work by mentioning her family relationships, and also respectfully uses her full name, as did she, consistently, in public for work purposes. Only in private, informal correspondence and interactions was she designated 'Edy', a variant highlighted by the title of the festschrift, *Edy: Recollections of Edith Craig*, ed. Eleanor Adlard, (London: Frederick Muller, 1949). In this article, therefore, Craig refers to Edith Craig and not her brother.
21. Steele p. 245.
22. E. Kitson Clark, letter to the editor, *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 20 July 1922, p. 5.
23. Franks, p. 69.
24. Steele, p. 245.
25. See Arthur Lloyd, The Music Hall and Theatre History website. <https://www.arthurlloyd.co.uk> accessed 31 July 2025. Dame Ethel Smyth, 'Amateur Operatics: Production of New Works', *Northern Whig*, 10 March 1923, p. 10.
26. 'The Theatres. Dramatic Enterprise at Leeds', *The Times*, 4 August 1924; press cutting EC-G1372, National Trust's Ellen Terry and Edith Craig Archive, British Library. See also Cockin, *Edith Craig: Dramatic Lives*, Ch. 6. The Call of the Suburbs: The Little Theatre Movement 1920–28.
27. See Robert Colls and Philip Dodd, eds, *Englishness: Politics and Culture 1880–1920* (London: Croom Helm, 1985; revised ed., London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014).
28. *Sheffield Independent*, 7 April 1923, p. 1. The production consisted of Strindberg, *The Stranger*; Sudermann, *The Last Visit*; Quintero, *Reading and Writing*; and Chekhov, *The Proposal*.
29. The film adaptation of Conan Doyle's drama *Fires of Fate* was riding the wave of intense fascination in the archaeological discoveries of Tutankhamun's tomb and the rise of film as a cultural force and new medium.
30. *The Stage*, 3 May 1923, p. 19.
31. Conrad's *The Secret Agent*, plays by Eugene O'Neill, John Galsworthy, Oscar Wilde *Lady Windermere's Fan*, Henrik Ibsen, *Ghosts*.
32. *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 21 July 1923, p. 11.
33. Joseph Conrad, *The Secret Agent*; *The Stage*, 25 October 1923, p. 16.
34. Ibid.
35. 'The Morning's Gossip: Notes on Men, Women, and Matters of Moment', *Leeds Mercury*, 9 Feb 1923, p. 4.
36. In 1918 this production had sparked a sensational response from a politician who seized the moment to demonize the performer and the production in his magazine, *The Vigilante*, where he characterised all those involved as part of a wider network of foolhardy extremists who jeopardised the nation during wartime.
37. The Pioneer Players had produced *The Eternal Snows*, by 'Michael Orme', pseudonym of Grein's wife.
38. Grein's article, about changing audience behaviour in the latest theatre productions, gave as one example the adverse reaction of audience to the presentation of children at the bedside of their dying mother in *The Children's*

- Carnival* (1920), a production by Edith Craig for the Pioneer Players; *The Sketch*, 11 March 1925, p. 30.
39. Craig had produced Lady Gregory's adaptation from Goldoni of *Mirandolina* and Lady Florence Bell's *The Fog on the Moor* recently in Letchworth Garden City; *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 28 June 1924, p. 14. A detailed programme planned for 1924–25 is given in *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 4 August 1924, p. 10.
 40. Steele refers to the venue as St Thomas Church; p. 247.
 41. The Bishops of Ripon, Knaresbrough and Whitby, the Vicar of Leeds, the Earl and Countess of Harewood, the Lord and Lady Mayoress, the Hon. Edward and Lady Dorothy Wood, and Viscount Halifax.
 42. *Illustrated London News*, 12 January 1924, p. 71.
 43. *Ibid.*
 44. *Daily News*, 5 January 1924, p. 3.
 45. *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 7 January 1924, p. 5.
 46. C. F. Smith, 'The Little Theatre in Yorkshire,' *Yorkshire Post*, 6 October 1924, p. 6.
 47. *Ibid.*
 48. *Ibid.*
 49. Cockin, *Edith Craig and the Theatres of Art*, p. 170.
 50. C. F. Smith, 'An Informal Interview,' *Yorkshire Post*, 12 March 1923, p. 10. Steele attributes the LAT's objectives as an 'experimental theatre' to Smith; p. 247.
 51. *Yorkshire Post*, 6 October 1924, p. 6.
 52. Cockin, *Women and Theatre in the Age of Suffrage*, p. 9.
 53. *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 30 November 1923, p. 6.
 54. Cockin, *Edith Craig and the Theatres of Art*, p. 219.
 55. Lisa Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign 1907–14*, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1987).
 56. The reviewer (signed M.R.C.) mentions Smith as 'late of the Leeds Art Theatre' but does not include Craig in this way; *York Evening Post*, 27 March 1924, p. 7.
 57. 'Bringing Art to Dull Towns: A Chat With Miss Edith Craig', *London Daily Chronicle*, 4 December 1924, p.8.
 58. *Ibid.*
 59. *Ibid.* This interview is mentioned by the character 'Edith Craig' in Act One Scene 1 of David Hare's play, *Grace Pervades* (London: Faber, 2025), p. 7: 'Somebody once accused me of taking dull plays to dull towns, I said, 'I like that. Dull Plays to Dull Towns. That sums the Pioneer Players up perfectly. Can I use it in the advertising?' However this erroneously refers to the Pioneer Players instead of the LAT and implies that Craig endorsed a dismissive stereotype of the north whereas she was evidently committed to cultivating art theatre in Yorkshire as this article has demonstrated.
 60. Helen Nicholson, Nadine Holdsworth, and Jane Milling, *The Ecologies of Amateur Theatre* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), p. 12.
 61. 'Misused Word "amateur": Miss Edith Craig Regrets its Connotations', *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 25 March 1924, p. 7.
 62. See details of cast lists and participants in Katharine Cockin, 'Cicely Hamilton's Warriors: Dramatic Reinventions of Militancy in the British Women's Suffrage Movement' *Women's History Review*, 14,3, 527–42.
 63. See Cockin, *Edith Craig and the Theatres of Art*, p. 208.
 64. *Ibid.*

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65. C. F. Smith, letter to the editor, *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 18 March 1924, p. 5.
66. *Yorkshire Post*, 25 July 1927, p. 14.
67. *Yorkshire Post*, 14 February 1927, p. 6.
68. 'Amateur Players as Pioneers: Miss Thorndike as Scope of Civic Playhouse', *Yorkshire Post*, 11 November 1929, p. 4.
69. Cockin, *Edith Craig: Dramatic Lives*, 1998, p. 162.
70. 'Hopes for the Theatre: Miss E. Craig's Comment in Leeds', *Yorkshire Post*, 1 December 1938, p. 3.
71. C. F. Smith, 'The Little Theatre in Yorkshire,' *Yorkshire Post*, 6 October 1924, p. 6.
72. Cockin, *Edith Craig and the Theatres of Art*, p. 242.
73. *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 7 Jan 1924, p. 5.
74. *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 9 March 1931, p. 7.
75. *Yorkshire Post*, 22 April 1946.
76. See 'Our History' page of the Leeds Playhouse website. <https://leedsplayhouse.org.uk/about-us/our-history/>
77. Ibid.