

Introducing Huntly Carter

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Abstract:

The introduction summarises what we know of Carter's biography and sets out his intellectual trajectory. It discusses his contribution to modernism and his reception, and explains the rationale for the present special issue.

Keywords: Huntly Carter, modernism, theatre, periodicals, avant-garde

Huntly Carter and modernism

Many scholars of modernist studies will have encountered the work of Huntly Carter. He joined A. R. Orage's weekly, the *New Age*, in May 1909, first writing the 'Book of the Week' column,¹ and then a regular column on 'Art', which promoted cubist and Fauvist painting at a time when few examples had been seen in Britain.² The 'Picarterbin' controversy ignited by his art criticism was a key moment in the British encounter with modernist art a clear year before Roger Fry's more famous display of contemporary French art at the Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition (Figure 1).³ In the summer of 1912 he left the *New Age* in favour of Dora Marsden's journals *The Freewoman*, the *New Freewoman*, and *The Egoist*, more appropriate homes for his Bergsonian, anarchist-individualist criticism, which appeared there regularly until the *Egoist's* demise in 1919.⁴ Over the course of his career, Carter

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Fig. 1. Tom Titt (Jan Stanislaw de Junosza Rosciszski), Cartoon of Huntly Carter, *New Age*, 10.10 (1912), p. 240. The mandolin and lettering refer to the Picarterbin debate.

also published prolifically in other outlets for modernism in literature and art (*Apollo*, *Colour*, *Drama*, the *English Review*, *Forum*, the *Little Review*, *The Outlook*, *The Ploughshare*), as well as in theosophical journals (the *Aryan Path* and the *Herald of the Star*), left-wing journals and newspapers (*Labour Monthly*, the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Sunday Worker*), high-circulation general reviews and papers (the *Contemporary Review*, the *Fortnightly Review*, the *Observer*, the *Review of Reviews*, *Today*, *T.P.'s Weekly*), and many specialist journals (the *Architectural Review*, *The Builder*, the *Drapers' Organiser*, the *Kinematograph Weekly*, and the *Sociological Review*). Though interested in all the arts (and indeed in the unity of the arts), theatre became his particular focus, and the first of his six books, *The New Spirit in Drama and Art* (1912), was a lavishly illustrated and widely reviewed analysis of theatrical experiment in Europe that called for similar reform in Britain (Figure 2).⁵ His second, in 1914, focused on one of the key inspirations for that reform, the German theatre director, Max Reinhardt.⁶ During the nineteen twenties, he was well known and oft cited as an expert on Soviet theatre

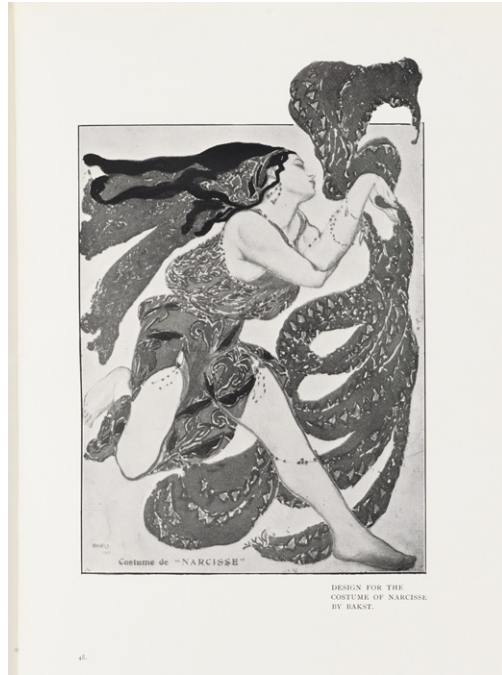


Fig. 2. 'Design for the Costume of Narcisse by Bakst', in *The New Spirit in Drama and Art* (London: Palmer, 1912)

and cinema, and he was active in the Workers' Theatre Movement in Britain during the same period. He was, at various points, a theosophist, a Bergsonian, a Nietzschean, a vitalist, an egoist, and a socialist. Caricatures of him appeared in the *New Age* and *Rhythm* (Figure 3). He was a member of the Fabian Society and the 1917 Club.⁷ He would seem to have, in short, a very strong modernist C.V.

But though Huntly Carter will be a familiar name to anyone who has worked on Orage's or Marsden's journals, or researched art, theatre or cinema in early twentieth-century Britain, he has received little sustained attention. This is not to say that he does not appear in scholarly studies; he has been frequently quoted in works that have shaped our understanding of modernism.⁸ Bruce Clarke, Laura Marcus, and Robert C. Williams have focused on his work directly, all three drawing attention to the way his writing and career made connections between movements and ideas that later narratives of modernism have occluded.⁹ This special issue builds on their work to place Huntly Carter centre stage.

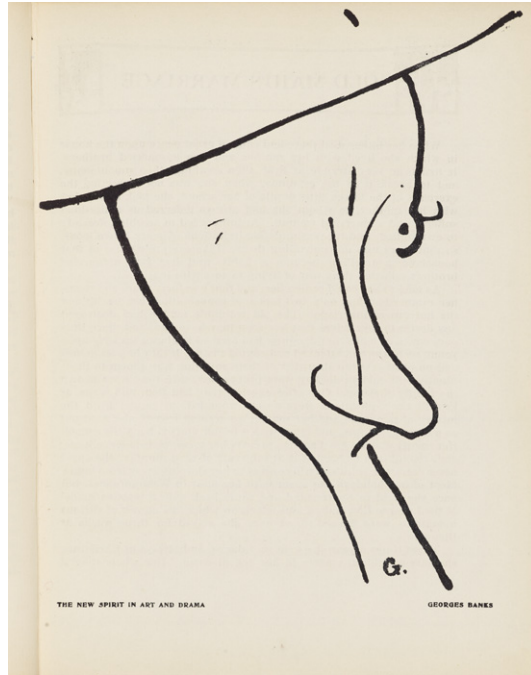


Fig. 3. Georges Banks (Anne Lavinia Cameron Banks, also known as Dorothy or Dot Banks), Cartoon of Huntly Carter, *Rhythm*, 2.12 (1913), p. 339.

‘A mystery to his acquaintances’

Carter claimed to have no records of his birthplace or date of birth, ‘no memory of the facts requested, and no one to remind me’.¹⁰ On his application forms to the Royal Literary Fund for a Civil List Pension, he gave a variety of dates of birth between 1868 and 1875. He provided his birthplace variously as ‘Westminster’, ‘London’, and ‘at or near London’—though in a 1937 letter to one of his contacts in the Soviet Union, he wrote, ‘I was born in Scotland where all barbarians live’.¹¹ It is equally difficult to confirm the details of his early life. Carter provided some information in a series of articles for *The Egoist* in 1914 that set out his aesthetic philosophy. There he wrote that both his parents were artists and that he ‘was free from the first from conventional forms of education and faith’.¹² By the time he was twelve, his parents had died and ‘he had voluntarily cut myself off from all blood ties and associations’.¹³ He tells us that he travelled to the Pacific islands with a ‘celebrated anthropologist’ for two years, then from the age of fourteen to seventeen worked for an art dealer, after

which he ‘wasted some precious months’ sheep-farming in the Falkland Islands, and subsequently travelled through South and North America and India. Aged twenty-one, he changed his name and began a career in the theatre. He had, he wrote, ‘a fortunate series of engagements under the most prominent actors and actresses—English, French, German, Italian and American, among them, Irving, Tree, Wyndham, Forbes-Robertson, Mansfield, Coquelin, Craig, Poel, Granville Barker, Bernhardt, Duse, Rêjane, Pat Campbell, Ellen Terry, Ada Rehan’. He was not only an actor, but was forced by economic necessity ‘to fill every position both in “front” and “behind” the “house”’. During ‘resting’ periods in London, he ‘lived the life of an art student in Chelsea’, ‘studied medicine, psychiatry, biology and psychology’, and finally ‘plunged into sociology and civics’, working with the social evolutionist and city planner, Patrick Geddes. A ‘breakdown in health’ was followed by two years of ‘utter neglect and isolation’.¹⁴

Though much of this information is difficult to verify, not least because Carter’s birth name is not known, a little more detail can be added from other sources. The most likely contender for Carter’s ‘celebrated anthropologist’ is Alfred Cort Haddon, a close friend of Patrick Geddes, who undertook research in the islands of the Torres Strait in 1888–1889. Carter wrote at some length about Haddon’s *Evolution in Art* (1895) in the *New Age* in 1911 and referred to it again in his last book, *The New Spirit in the Cinema* (1930). On that occasion, he described Haddon with the same phrase he had used in *The Egoist*—‘celebrated anthropologist’.¹⁵ But there is no evidence that Haddon was accompanied on his voyage by a twelve-year old boy.¹⁶ I have found no further information about the art-dealer, the sheep-farming, or the world tour, though Carter did refer to his Falklands sheep-farming again in 1915 in the *Little Review*.¹⁷ On Carter’s acting career: newspaper reports show that Carter was performing minor parts in productions by various companies, including those of Johnston Forbes Robertson and William Poel, between 1897 and 1902, and in a later review of his ‘principal activities’, now in the archive of the *Manchester Guardian*, Carter stated he worked in the theatre from 1895 to 1905.¹⁸ Carter’s work with Geddes is better documented: there are letters from Carter in Geddes’s archive at the University of Strathclyde, an article (probably his first) was published in the *Sociological Review*, and there are several later relevant articles and references.¹⁹ Finally, further information about Carter’s health is provided by his applications to the Royal Literary Fund. The first application, on 19 May 1914, states that he had ‘been seriously ill with a bad nervous breakdown for two years’, and his doctor’s letter

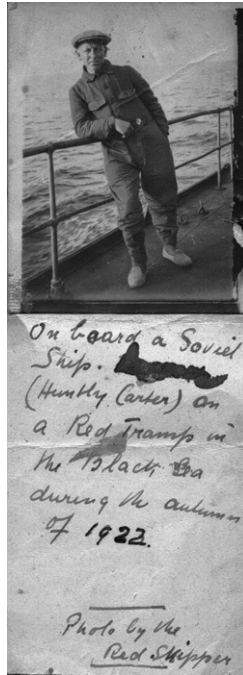


Fig. 4. Huntly Carter, 1922 [?], with note in Carter's hand. Huntly Carter Collection, SCRSS Archive.

confirms 'nervous exhaustion' but also 'heart trouble'. Letters included in the second (30 April 1915) and subsequent applications indicate that Carter was suffering from progressive deafness, which by 1930 was almost total.²⁰

From the beginning of the nineteen twenties to his death, Carter was financially supported by Joseph King (1860–1943), a former barrister and politician (first Liberal, then from 1919 Labour).²¹ Their correspondence in Carter's archive at the University of Notre Dame begins on 19 May 1921, with King making suggestions for Carter's planned trip to Soviet Russia and providing letters of introduction, including to Georgy Chicherin, Commissar for Foreign Affairs, and his deputy Maksim Litvinov, who King had known when they were in London.²² It appears to have been his visit during the summer of 1922, probably the second of around seven to Russia, that converted Carter from condemnation of Bolshevist violence to steadfast supporter of the Soviet project and regime (Figure 4).²³ During and after the war, Carter had deployed his earlier sociological training and published

three 'symposia' concerned with post-war renewal, on *Industrial Reconstruction* (1917), *The Limits of State Industrial Control* (1919), and *Spiritualism* (1920).²⁴ It seemed that Soviet Russia appeared to be inaugurating the social and spiritual renewal Carter longed for. What is more, Carter had long believed that the role of the arts, especially the theatre, was to bring about social and spiritual transformation through formal experiment rather than argument and explanation. Those he met in Russia and the Soviet Union, unlike the majority of his British colleagues, appeared to share that view. For the rest of his life, most of his writing—which included four more books—focused primarily on Soviet culture.²⁵

When Carter died on 29 March 1942, alone, probably as a result of a fall, the *Manchester Guardian* described him as 'something of a mystery to his acquaintances'.²⁶ The supporting letters for Carter's Royal Literary Fund applications consistently portray Carter as an impoverished idealist, who—especially as his deafness increases—becomes increasingly isolated; there is a formality even to the letters with King, who would be named as the executor of Carter's estate. Scholars today, even the most sympathetic, routinely comment on the obstacles of Carter's writing: the abstract theorising of the *New Age* and *Egoist* articles, the inadequately digested detail in the later books, the frequently pompous and defensive tone. Some of his contemporaries agreed. When Rebecca West sent a critique of the material for the first *New Freewoman* to Dora Marsden in June 1913, she asked, 'By the way, do you really admire Huntly Carter? I mean, aren't you going to make him a constant feature? It seems to me so bad! A sentence like "I would define Art as an activity which is called vibrative force"—not only means nothing, but its meaningless hits you in the face!'²⁷ Reviewing *The New Theatre and Cinema of Soviet Russia* for the *Times Literary Supplement*, Carl Bechhofer-Roberts wrote that the book, 'besides much that is interesting, contains a good deal of ill-defined theorizing and inaccuracy'.²⁸

But many reviewers and readers, a surprising number in fact, were far more positive. Bruce Clarke quotes a letter from Mary Gawthorpe, introducing Carter to Dora Marsden as a potential co-editor, in terms which could not be more different from West's: 'I am sure he would be a great asset to you. Together you could quadruple present efforts. He would relieve you of the heaviest formalities of editorship and be glad to do it. He has a typewriter which he uses himself. He is a magnificent worker, also an all round student [...]. As a co-editor he would be able to make special use of his position in running a series of such valuable symposia as were printed in the New Age'.²⁹ The magazines

reviewer from the *Birkenhead News* wrote of the *New Age*, 'it is with undiluted pleasure that we read Mr. Huntly Carter's opinions on "Art" in the current issue. In an age of such oiled criticism his unblushing straightforward ideas will be read with eager appreciation. Few critics have the nerve (or is it the freedom?) to write as he does'.³⁰ *The New Theatre and Cinema of Soviet Russia* fared better in the *English Review* than it had in the *TLS*, even though the reviewer was not blind to its limitations: 'Mr. Huntly Carter has a genius for collecting and collating facts about his subject', which even if it 'tends to make something of a blue book of these three hundred pages of fairly close print, with their footnotes and appendices, [...] on matters upon which we have rather too much opinion and very little detailed information this scientific method is refreshingly enlightening'.³¹ Perhaps most strikingly, the death of this now obscure critic was noted in the *Manchester Guardian*, as we have seen, but also in the *Aberdeen Evening Express*, the *Belfast Telegraph*, the *Evening News* (with photograph), the *Halifax Evening Courier*, the *Hampstead News*, the *Hull Daily Mail*, the *Leicester Evening Mail*, the *Lincolnshire Echo*, the *Liverpool Echo*, the *Kinematograph Weekly*, the *Newcastle Evening Chronicle*, the *Nottingham Evening Post*, *The Stage*, the *Sunderland Daily Echo*, *The Times*, the *Times Literary Supplement*, the *Yorkshire Evening Post* – and the *New York Times*.³²

The 'New Spirit' in Theatre

This special issue is by no means a complete account of Carter's contribution to modernism. It lacks, in particular, discussion of his art and cinema criticism. But it is nonetheless the fullest account of Carter's career to date and aims to demonstrate his importance to debates about theatre and modernism in Britain. In recent years, studies by Katharine Cockin, Simon Shepherd, Olga Taxidou, and Claire Warden have rebutted the long-held view that Britain failed to produce an avant-garde theatre.³³ This special issue continues that investigation, with four articles exploring the relationship between the Ballets Russes and British theatre; the reception of German theatre; connections between early modernism and the British Workers' Theatre Movement; and the sources of post-war political theatre.

These articles are followed by three shorter pieces designed to increase the visibility of Carter's archive and its wealth of material on early twentieth-century theatre. The first describes the collaboration in 2023 with Menagerie Theatre Company to explore Carter's legacy, which was the genesis of this special issue. The second and third

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consist of accounts of Carter's archives in Britain and the United States. The Society for Co-operation in Russian and Soviet Studies (an organisation in which Carter played a leading role) holds a large collection of Carter's photographs, mainly relating to Soviet theatre, at its premises in Brixton. The University of Notre Dame holds most of Carter's very substantial archive: it contains a wealth of programmes, newspaper clippings, and photographs relating to European theatre between the wars, as well as Carter's correspondence and unpublished papers.

Despite increased attention in recent years, connections between modernist studies and theatre studies are still under-developed. Kirsten Shepherd's call, in the first issue of *Modernist Cultures*, for a 'new history of modernism' that would overcome its historic neglect of theatre, is still relevant:

A new history of modernism that gives Munch's collaborations with Max Reinhardt on productions of Ibsen the same weight as a Picasso or a Pound, would give a fuller picture of the developments of modernism across the arts. It would also provide valuable illustrations of the intense cross-cultural theatrical activity during this period—during which the theatre was extraordinarily 'cosmopolitan' as the site of heavy traffic across national borders and languages. Finally, throwing new light on the richly interdisciplinary nature of modernist theatrical performances would validate the claims to interdisciplinarity that have characterized so much of the modernist movement and its historiography.³⁴

Huntly Carter, who published a book on Max Reinhardt in 1914, introduced Picasso to readers of the *New Age* in 1911, locked horns with Pound over imagism in the *New Freewoman* in 1915, and advocated a 'national drama' comprising 'rhythmic conception of play, player, decoration, and music', provides the ideal focus for a review of British modernism's relationship with theatre.³⁵

Notes

1. Carter's first 'Book of the Week' column, a review of H. E. Sampson's *Progressive Creation: A Reconciliation of Religion with Science* (1909), was published on 20 May 1909, though his first contribution to the journal had been a letter about the establishment of a co-operative movement in Battersea, published on 28 March 1908.
2. Huntly Carter, 'Letters from Abroad: The Post-Expressionists', *New Age*, 9 (1911), 617–18.
3. Huntly Carter, 'Letters from Abroad: The Post-Expressionists', *New Age*, 9 (1911), 617–18, Huntly Carter, 'The Plato-Picasso Idea', *New Age*, 10.4 (1911), p. 88, 'A Study by Picasso [*La Mandoline et le Pernod*]', *New Age* (Art Supplement), 10.4 (1911). On Picarterbin see the *New Age* letters pages between 23 November 1911 and

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- 7 March 1912, Rebecca Beasley, *Ezra Pound and the Visual Culture of Modernism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 85–87, and Faith Binckes, *Modernism, Magazines, and the British Avant-Garde: Reading Rhythm, 1910–1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 60–62. For a discussion of modernist art in this period, in which Carter’s importance is clear, see Mark Antliff, *Inventing Bergson: Cultural Politics and the Parisian Avant-Garde* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 67–105.
4. Carter’s first article for *The Freewoman* was ‘The Circle of Intelligence: The Resurrectionists’, *Freewoman*, 2 (1912), 325–26.
 5. Huntly Carter, *The New Spirit in Drama and Art* (London: Frank Palmer, 1912).
 6. Huntly Carter, *The Theatre of Max Reinhardt* (London, Palmer, 1914)
 7. The 1917 Club was founded by Oliver Strachey and Leonard Woolf: see Leonard Woolf, *Beginning Again: An Autobiography of the Years 1911–1918* (London: Hogarth Press, 1964), p. 217, and Douglas Goldring, *Odd Man Out: The Autobiography of a ‘Propaganda Novelist’* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1935), pp. 267–75.
 8. Leaving aside the works of the contributors to this special issue and those referenced elsewhere in this introduction, one might cite amongst many examples, Willard Bohn, *Apollinaire and the International Avant-Garde* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1997), David Cottingham, *Radical Art and the Formation of the Avant-Garde* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2022), Maggie B. Gale, *A Social History of British Performance Cultures, 1900–1939* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), Susan Jones, *Literature, Modernism, and Dance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), Esther Leslie, *Hollywood Flailands: Animation, Critical Theory, and the Avant-Garde* (London: Verso, 2002), Caroline Maclean, *The Vogue for Russia: Modernism and the Unseen in Britain, 1900–1950* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), Laura Marcus, *The Tenth Muse: Writing About Cinema in the Modernist Period* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), Chris Mourant, *Katherine Mansfield and Periodical Culture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019), Paul Peppis, *Literature, Politics and the English Avant-Garde: Nation and Empire, 1901–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), Raphael Samuel, Ewan MacColl, and Stuart Cosgrove, *Theatres of the Left, 1880–1935* (London: Routledge, 1985), Simon Shepherd, *The English Theatrical Avant-Garde, 1900–1925* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2022), Morag Shiach, *Discourse on Popular Culture (Discourse on Popular Culture: Class, Gender and History in Cultural Analysis, 1730 to the Present* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989).
 9. Bruce Clarke, *Dora Marsden and Early Modernism* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1996), pp. 141–46, Laura Marcus, *Rhythmical Subjects: The Measures of the Modern* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), pp. 138–48, Robert C. Williams, ‘Theosophy and Revolution: Huntly Carter and the “New Spirit” in early Soviet Theatre’, *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 63 (1977), 395–404. Williams’s is the only article I know that takes Carter as its subject, and the only work to engage with Carter’s archive before the publication of its new finding aid by the University of Notre Dame in 2014. See Natasha Lyandres’ article in this special issue.
 10. Huntly Carter, application to the Royal Literary Fund, 20 August 1930, Loan 96 RLF 1/2927, Western Manuscripts, British Library.
 11. Huntly Carter, applications to the Royal Literary Fund, (21 May 1914, 30 May 1915, 23 June 1926, 20 August 1930, 19 April 1932, 21 May 1938), Loan 96 RLF 1/ 2927: British Library; Huntly Carter, letter to I. D. Pliner, 19 February 1937, folder 8, Huntly Carter Papers, University of Notre Dame.

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12. Huntly Carter, 'The Public Ownership of the Artist', *The Egoist*, 1.2 (15 January 1914), 32–34 (p. 33).
13. Huntly Carter, 'Art-Passion, Patronage & Pay', *The Egoist*, 1.3 (2 February 1914), 58–59 (p. 58).
14. 'Towards a Human Æsthetic', *The Egoist*, 1.10 (15 May 1914), 197–199.
15. Huntly Carter, 'The Recovery of Art and Craft', *New Age* 18.13 (26 January 1911), 306–307; Huntly Carter, *The New Spirit in the Cinema* (London: Shaylor, 1930), p. 23.
16. Anita Herle and Hude Philp, *Recording Kastom: Alfred Haddon's Journals from the Torres Strait and New Guinea, 1888a and 1898* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2020), A. Hingston Quiggin, Haddon, *The Head Hunter: A Short Sketch of the Life of A. C. Haddon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1942), Ciarán Walsh, *Alfred Cort Haddon: A Very English Savage* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2023). In a relevant but inconclusive 1932 letter to Patrick Geddes about the importance of cinema to sociology, Carter wrote that 'this morning I got a kind and encouraging letter from Dr Haddon in which he expresses the opinion that there is not the slightest doubt that the Cinema has the greatest value. I am surprised to learn that he took some pictures of the Torres Straits as far back as 1909': Huntly Carter, letter to Patrick Geddes, 8 February 1932, Patrick Geddes Papers, Collection T-GED, University of Strathclyde Archives and Special Collections.
17. Huntly Carter, 'Poetry Versus Imagism', *Little Review*, 2.6 (1915), 27–37 (p. 27).
18. 'Sweet Lavender', *The Stage*, 25 March 1897, p. 23, 'The London Theatres', *The Era*, 27 March 1897, p. 10, 'Provincial Theatricals: Bournemouth', *The Era*, 26 August 1899, p. 22, 'Elizabethan Society', *The Stage*, 5 July 1900, p. 10, *The Stage*, 24 October 1901, p. 10, "'The Stage" Diary', *The Stage*, 4 September 1902, p. 13, "'Mice and Men" in Cheltenham', *Gloucestershire Echo*, 14 October 1902, [n.pag.]. Carter referred to his time as a member of Sarah Bernhardt's company again in 'Sarah Bernhardt' (letter to the Editor), 22 July 1934, p. 14. See also 'Memorandum of the Principal Activities of Huntly Carter, 1900–1935', p. 2, *The Guardian* (Manchester Guardian) Newspaper Archive, GB 133 GDN/A/C22/5a, John Rylands Research Institute and Library, University of Manchester.
19. Patrick Geddes Papers, University of Strathclyde; Huntly Carter, 'Sketch Plan of a Civic Museum for London', *Sociological Review*, 3.1 (1906), 237–40. Carter contributed further articles to the *Sociological Review* between 1918 and 1928, and continued to refer to Geddes throughout his career, notably 'The Garden of Geddes', *The Forum*, 54 (1915), 455–71, 588–95, and *The New Spirit in the Cinema*, pp. xxx, 27, 37–38, 354.
20. Huntly Carter, applications to the Royal Literary Fund, 19 May 1914, 30 April 1915, 23 June 1926, 20 August 1930, 19 September 1932, 21 May 1938, Loan 96 RLF 1/2927: Huntly Carter, Western Manuscripts, British Library.
21. King had been a Liberal politician until 1919. See Alun Wyburn-Powell, *Defectors and the Liberal Party, 1910–2010: A Study of Inter-Party Relationships* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), pp. 34, 40.
22. Joseph King, letter to Huntly Carter, 19 May 1921, folder 1, and Manuscript by Huntly Carter about his post-war travels, folder 285, Huntly Carter Papers, MSE/MN 5000, University of Notre Dame Rare Books & Special Collections. As Natasha Lyandres notes in her essay for this special issue, it seems that Carter was not able to enter Soviet Russia in 1921.

23. Compare Huntly Carter, 'The New Russia', *New Age*, 30.3 (17 November 1921), 27–28 and, for example, Huntly Carter, 'A Living Theatre', *Daily Herald*, 20 September 1922, p. 4. For his defence of the Moscow Trials and his lack of awareness of their impact on his friends and contacts, see Huntly Carter, letter to Joseph King, 11 March 1938, and letter to I. D. Pliner, 7 July 1936, folders 13, 82, Huntly Carter Papers, University of Notre Dame. Copies of the photograph reproduced as Figure 4 exist in both the SCRSS and Notre Dame archives, annotated with different dates in Carter's hand. In the former, it is dated (and looks to be corrected to) 1922, in the latter it is dated 'July 1923'.
24. Huntly Carter, ed., *Industrial Reconstruction: A Symposium on the Situation After the War and How to Meet It* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1917), Huntly Carter, *The Limits of State Industrial Control: A Symposium on the Present Situation & How to Meet It* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1919), Huntly Carter, ed., *Spiritualism, Its Present-Day Meaning: A Symposium* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1920). Carter had earlier published a similarly organised book: *Women's Suffrage & Militancy* (London: Palmer, 1912).
25. Huntley [sic] Carter, *The New Theatre and Cinema of Soviet Russia: Being an Analysis and Synthesis of the Unified Theatre Produced in Russia by the 1917 Revolution and an Account of its Growth and Development from 1917 to the Present Day* (London: Chapman & Dodd, 1924), Huntly Carter, *The New Spirit in the European Theatre, 1914–1924: A Comparative Study of the Changes Effected By the War and Revolution* (London: Benn, 1925), Huntly Carter, *The New Spirit in the Russian Theatre, 1917–28: And a Sketch of the Russian Kinema and Radio, 1919–28, Showing the New Communal Relationship Between the Three* (New York: Brentano's, 1929), Huntly Carter, *The New Spirit in the Cinema: An Analysis and Interpretation of the Parallel Paths of the Cinema, which have led to the present Revolutionary Crisis forming a Study of the Cinema as an Instrument of Sociological Humanism* (London: Shaylor, 1930).
26. 'Our London Correspondence: Huntly Carter's Death', *Manchester Guardian*, 1 April 1942, p. 4. After the inquest, the *Hampstead News* reported that Carter was found by house-hunters, who entered his studio thinking it was empty. The post-mortem examination found that he had died due to a brain injury, 'which could have been caused by falling to the floor', and that he had been dead for at least two days before being found: 'Mr. Huntly Carter's Death', *Hampstead News*, 9 April 1942, p. 3.
27. Rebecca West, letter to Dora Marsden, c. 15 June 1913, Dora Marsden Collection, MS C0283, box 1, folder 26, Special Collections, Princeton University Library. West refers to Huntly Carter's article, 'The Golden Age', *New Freewoman*, 1.1 (1915), 16–17 (p. 17). I am indebted to Thomas Haughton for alerting me to West's letter.
28. [C. E. Bechhofer Roberts], 'A Claim for the Soviet Theatre', review of Huntly Carter, *The New Theatre and Cinema of Soviet Russia* (1924), *Times Literary Supplement*, 26 June 1924, p. 398.
29. Mary Gawthorpe, letter to Dora Marsden, 29 September 1912, Dora Marsden Collection, MS C0283, box 2, folder 1, Special Collections, Princeton University Library, qtd in Clarke, *Dora Marsden and Early Modernism*, pp. 141–42.
30. 'The Magazines', *Birkenhead News*, 4 June 1910, p. 6.
31. 'Books: Drama and Poetry', review of Huntly Carter, *The New Theatre and Cinema of Soviet Russia* (1924), *English Review*, 39 (1924), 433–34. Carter connected his early training in sociology to his critical technique: 'I became a social organiser, I organised civic surveys, I formed committees of Labour representatives and learned from them, and so I came to think in terms of human values, and to seek such

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- values in human institutions, and sociological expression in art galleries, museums, and wherever it was likely to be found. I aspired to become the first sociological dramatic critic': see Carter, *The New Spirit in the Cinema*, p. 38.
32. 'Author Found Dead', *Aberdeen Evening Express*, 30 March 1942, p. 4, 'Huntly Carter Found Dead', *Belfast Telegraph*, 30 March 1942, p. 4, 'Dead in Studio', *Evening News*, 30 March 1942, p. 3, [Obituary], *Halifax Evening Courier*, 30 March 1942, p. 3, 'Writer Found Dead', *Hampstead News*, 2 April 1942, p. 5, 'Author's Death', *Hull Daily Mail*, 30 March 1942, p. 1, 'Writer Found Dead', *Leicester Evening Mail*, 30 March 1942, p. 8, [Obituary], *Lincolnshire Echo*, 30 March 1942, p. 4, 'Writer Found Dead', *Liverpool Echo*, 30 March 1942, p. 3, 'Long Shots', *Kinematograph Weekly*, 2 April 1942, p. 4, [Obituary], *Newcastle Evening Chronicle*, 30 March 1942, p. 4, 'Writer Found Dead', *Nottingham Evening Post*, 30 March 1942, p. 4, 'Chit Chat', *The Stage*, 2 April 1942, p. 4, 'Writer's Death', *Sunderland Daily Echo*, 30 March 1942, p. 4, 'Mr. Huntly Carter', *The Times*, 31 March 1942, p. 6, 'Obituary', *Times Literary Supplement*, 4 April 1942, p. 172, 'Here and There', *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 30 March 1942, p. 5, 'Fall Kills British Writer', *New York Times*, 1 April 1942, p. 4.
 33. See Katharine Cockin, *Edith Craig and the Theatres of Art* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), Shepherd, *The English Theatrical Avant-Garde*, Olga Taxidou, *Modernism and Performance* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007), Warden, *British Avant-Garde Theatre*.
 34. Kirsten Shepherd-Barr, 'Modernism and Theatrical Performance', *Modernist Cultures*, 1.1 (2005), 59–68 (p. 65).
 35. Carter, *The New Spirit in Drama and Art*, p. vi.