Resistance and Place:

Performative Critique of Conventional Histories of Contemporary Limerick

Setting context for research directions for art-based outcomes.

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Abstract

The premise of my practice-based research centres on the reception the city as a destination for the international counterculture in the period 1966-1973, how the ethos was translated in a local context and how the legacy of this factors as contemporary critique. This research recognises how generational lines factor and focuses on how interlinked acts of non-conformity constitute resistance. Such activity represents how the presence of an alternative modernism in the period featured in contesting the Irish Establishment's programme of post-war modernism that arose in the Programme for Economic Expansion introduced in 1959 by Sean Lemass.

My research underlines the importance of 1966–1973 as a time of transition for a generation who came of age questioning the hegemony of the Irish church state as it featured in the post-war programme of modernism. It explores a legacy of protest that was present in society when the church state was confronted by acts of unconformity. This legacy takes into account how the international counterculture of the period was translated locally, how unconformity was acted out as a form of resistance and what contemporary definitions of place can be drawn from this legacy[1]. In her paper, *Challenges to Social Order and Irish identity?* Carole Holohan comments on the class nature involved in the unconformity where 'anxiety about the activities of working youths in the late fifties and early sixties, was replaced by unease at the "counter culture" of middle class university students' (Holohan, year, p.40). Working class youths also engaged with the conditions of Irish modernity by using unconformity critically in a generational context. This was a socio-political turn that differed from the anti-social 'unease' of the fifties.

In a manifesto *The Creation of an Alternative Society*, published by the International Times in 1968 the Counterculture was described by psychiatrist and 'radical educator,' Joseph Berke, as 'a collective name for a series of youth-led social experiments that would demonstrate ways and means of breaking down the structure of the middle class both externally and internally'

A counterculture is 'a set of norms and values of a group that sharply contradict the dominant norms and values of the society of which that group is a part'. Within a society, these groups tend to oppose authorities and systems that legitimise the dominant norms and values. Sometimes the opposition is defiant, and simply refuses to participate within the system, while other times the opposition is confrontational and demands change (Yinger, 1982).

Aspects of how contemporary countercultural conditions featured for Limerick are often subsumed as asides to a dominant narrative of the sixties as a transitional time. A review of how acts of countercultural-led unconformity performed in that period is to recognise that the type of modernity managed by the church state was challenged by a cohort of youths who practiced what can be described as alternative modernism. A focus on the timeline of 1966–1973 directs this research and collects radical directions for review. It also considers the mission of the counterculture as unfinished and contests readings of popular history that are used for commercial ends to normalise situations from the period under review, that is, when the legacy of a place is edited for commercial ends.[2] It rejects any conception of a politics of space that is nostalgic or inward looking.

1 The term 'counterculture' featured for commentary relating to the protest era by 1971.

2 An example being the edit of sixties pop cultural history that functions as part of the brand of Carnaby Street in London.

Using outcomes designed as a form of emotional mapping I recognise that the unfinished mission as represented by the counterculture can be accessed as a resource. Such mapping questions how an alternative legacy of place can operate for contemporary settings and asks what can elements of this understated legacy bring to the city by focusing on locations once associated with unconformity.

Through art-based outcomes these locations are received as conceptual nodes, points of reference which foreground protest legacies. Where possible, contributions including testimonies from participants active in the period should feature in this process. Testimonies foreground the voice of the citizen and contest any type of socio-historic mapping that edits elements of unconformity from the full narrative of place. In all art led directions that access psychogeography, the socio-political content inherent in lines of desire are acknowledged when outcomes are sought from specific sites. These outcomes demonstrate how a focus on psychographic led cartography maps meaning and how subsequent narratives reactivate particular sites.

Alternative mapping for art-based outcomes are political. They interrogate a definition of place that, in the words of the profile seventies artist and critic, Lucy Lippard represents, 'a condition which emerges from the excavation of forms of local knowledge that are physically embodied and "written in the landscape" or place by the people who live or lived there.' Lippard states that that if space is where culture is lived in, then place is a result of their union.

Practice outcomes based on this research feature for two projects, *Making the Cut* and *Cor·don Sa·ni·taire 2004-*. The outcomes are drawn from an ongoing Limerick based art practice that uses workshops, walks, publications and exhibited artworks that mark the territory of the city to introduce unconformity as a cartographic element for a process of social mapping. Strategies involved reference 'the situation' for the urban space that was introduced by the Situational International in the sixties. The situation being the existential framework in which individuals have an active role to play in the understanding of a territory.[3] Considered together, both projects explore the conditions inherent in how alternative modernism was practiced in Limerick in the period 1966–1973 and how this legacy features in contemporary dialogue.

1(a) *Making the Cut* is a performance participant based work. It explores music-led non-conformity in Limerick in the period 1966 - 1973 and focuses on how resistance, taken from the legacy of the counterculture, is positioned for contemporary youth. A publication referencing the underground press of the period was produced for this and it was performed in one of the original youth spaces as part of EVA international June 2014.

1(b) This work also accommodates 'A Commemorative Portrait of the Irish Artist Robert Ballagh Imagined as a beat Music Star for the remnants of Limerick's Original beat club (Club a Go-Go 2013)' which is a permanent installation of a commissioned portrait of the artist Robert Ballagh in Cummins Framers, Post Office Lane, Limerick. It physically commemorates the unrepresented and influential sixties social space called the Go-Go

3 See exhibition statement by the artist Katia Kameli (2014), available at:
<http://dailyserving.com/2014/05/katia-kameli-the-situationist-effect-at-taymour-grahne-gallery/>

Club. Documentary images and statements are exhibited in Limerick Printmakers for 'The Act of Portrayal.' Artists interpret works from the National Portrait Collection July 2013.

1(c) Another addition, *Mod Intentions*, is an information panel commissioned by the Limerick Civic Trust in September 2014. This outlines the Limerick beat music scene and how those participants contested the hegemony of the Irish church state by creating self-regulated youth-based environments. It is permanently installed in Limerick's Milk Market close to Ellen Street where politically active youth congregated in the early seventies. A fanzine containing the text was made available as part of the installation and this outreach is continued as the panel is designed to distribute relevant historical material on an ongoing basis in the form of a notice board.

1(d) *Generational Resistance* is a one hour radio documentary on the elements that were assembled in *Making the Cut* and broadcast on RTÉ radio in March 2015. Participants from the period 1966–1973 were interviewed on the subject of how generational resistance factored in the translation of the international counterculture of the period. The programme was co-produced for Lyric FM with Peter Curtin and was nominated for a PP1 national broadcasting award for best Irish music documentary.

2 *Cor·don Sa·ni·taire 2004-,* is a photographic print and edition of 100 postcards with prepaid postage. This ongoing work states how conditions resulting from the 1970 visit of President Nixon to Limerick reflects the ongoing strands of resistance that remain from a reception of the counterculture. I propose that the territory from Limerick City to Shannon Airport is politically prescribed by this condition in that sovereignty can be adjusted at will by American imperialist concerns. I hold that this is an extension of the issues that engaged the original protestors of Nixon's visit. *Cor·don Sa·ni·taire 2004-* was first shown as part of the exhibition 'What Has Been Shall Always Never Be Again' in Ormston House in August 2013 and again in the Claremorris Open Exhibition 2016.

Figure 1
Mural of Che Guevara, Kilkee, Co. Clare, 2013.
A citizen response to an earlier removal by the town council of a similar mural after complaints by American tourists.

There is a dignity in Limerick, a place bearing vestiges of history, marching and counter-marching, worn smooth by being in the track of the history of Europe for its little space.
SEAN O'FAOLAIN. LIMERICK, 1940.

The intention of this thesis is to acknowledge the existence of an understated narrative of non-conformity manifested in a series of disparate social-political situations in Limerick City. These are protest-based and engage with the concept of resistance, as delivered by successive cohorts of Limerick Youth since 1966. The subject matter investigates the legacy and ongoing potential of resistance in an urban environment. The framework of counter-memory and counter-narrative will be used to challenge the conservative narrative commonly deployed to describe a civic identity for the city. This critique accommodates a particular narrative using a combination of art-based, documentary and ethnographic methodologies for outcomes that position the counter-historical narratives of Limerick City, both understated and active, as forms of resistance. In investigating the relationships of power that have been played out in the city since 1966, this critique will argue that ongoing civic interaction by Limerick citizens is based on a unique dynamic of non-conformity that is often under-represented or discussed as a side-line to conventional historical narratives. A representation of this ethos remains in the city in informal and informed oral histories.. A contemporary consideration of these in formatting the histories as a counter-narrative can incorporate them as a resource.

Framed as such, these social acts of resistance continue to contest dominant ideologies. Some participants that took part in events categorised as non-conformist still contribute to contemporary social and community activities. In this they maintain a trajectory of resistance that can be considered as a long-standing form of social practice when revisited in the present. When alternative histories are linked as such they invite a process of creative intervention that can shape and affirm contemporary notions of community. Any art-based responses that draw on understated Limerick events of the past, particularly in the years between 1966 and 1973, are intended to define the terms "resistance" and "place" as they stem from this era in the context of the city.

The initial subject matter that benefits such a process of social mapping concerns the ongoing influence found in the generational resistance instigated in the city by Limerick teenagers (circa 1966–1973.) The significance of this is based on a consideration of the alternative modernism that resides in the Irish music scene. This progressive youth-owned movement was internationalist in outlook and as recived itself as reactionary. By the very nature of seeking to physically establish a youth-based agenda in the city, its legacy of modernism includes resistance to the social restrictions imposed by the Irish church state and their imposition of the Irish Dancehall Act of 1935. This act was a significant social boundary in regards to the operation of the church state authority. In leading a 'Mod' insurgency based on outward looking self-identity these teenagers can be culturally classed as being part of a vanguard that sought a modernism apart from the dominant religious-political one managed by the authorities. In this environment, the Limerick chapter of the Irish beat movement sought to establish a music-based platform that signified non-conformity. The beat legacy in this regard is slight, due to

details of its history being subsumed into a standardised cultural narrative associated with the mid-sixties. Details of the Limerick beat archive overlaps with a sentimental history that has come to be associated with the Limerick dance scene since the late 1950s. In this critique, the concept of a counter-memory is used to separate the two scenes and to refocus the internationalist leaning of the beat scene to give a progressive cohort of Limerick Youth their proper cultural standing. Following on from this questioning of identity, understated events and the consequences of how non-conformity is recognised, as resistance for the city, will be examined. This questioning will also investigate how the physical environment factored in mapping the city for non-conformity.

When focusing on youth resistance and its links to generational politics in the mid-1960s and early 1970s, the subject of Limerick sovereignty arises. An understated legacy of political protest may be found in the history of the reception of visiting American president's state visits. It identifies the visits of John F. Kennedy in 1963, Richard M. Nixon in 1970 and George W. Bush in 2004 as key examples that have invited questioning on the consequences of relinquishing territory, even temporally, to a foreign state. Resistance in this instance characterises the anti-imperialist protest outside Limerick's nearest airport, Shannon Airport, as the begining of an ongoing longstanding protest marked by Nixon's 1970 visit. That visit might be described as a crucible. One moment where the narrative of an international counterculture collided with the local.

In 1970, a rarely referred to demonstration against the Nixon visit by young Limerick leftists highlighted Nixon's imperialist war mongering and renowned anti-youth agenda. This protest questioned both the acceptance of American foreign policy and the authoritarian distrust of young people by Irish authorities. As a consequence of this protest, counterinsurgency measures to neutralise protests were jointly implemented by both countries under the auspices of security, with the severity of these measures most evident during the 2004 visit by President Bush. The contentious and physical nature of the protest that greeted his stay has now led to the presence of a long-standing anti-war camp based in Shannon. The activity by those who were originally anti-Iraq war supporters remains in 2016 and has strong links to an ongoing, worldwide, anti-war movement. By the presence and ongoing protest of their group, Shannon Watch, the Limerick route to Shannon can be regarded as an open monument of protest and a continuation of the legacy of those who, in 1970, decoupled the Irish-American myth of the US president being above such criticism. The actions of the contemporary protestors also represent a continuation of the resistance that began with Nixon's visit and acknowledges 1970 as the beginning of the process where sovereignty is suspended on the occasion of a visiting American president.

Any perspective sourced from a scrutiny of historical texts via an agenda of resistance must foreground a questioning of place. The above examples seek to visualise the quotient of tension that can factor in defining places of conflict. A suitable definition of place for this critique may be found in anthropology. Setha Low uses the term 'place attachment' to describe the symbolic relationship that exists when individuals develop a cultural response to a particular space. Therefore they share an emotional and

affective relationship to that space, which provides the basis of an individual and group understanding of their environment (Low, 1992).

The persistent identification of a particular place with a specific community as an automatic given is also questioned here. In a 1993 collection, Mapping the Futures, the Marxist geographer Doreen Massey advocated the concept of place as a process. She states, 'If places can be conceptualised in terms of social interactions, which they tie together, then it is also the case that these interactions themselves are not motionless things, frozen in time. They are processes' (Massey, 1993 p.)

A collective acceptance of the dynamics that shape the identity of a city does not, of course, guarantee that all agendas are equally represented or held in equal regard. The hierarchal constructs of power will affect how the city functions in regard to class and consumption. This is the "Spectacle" in the situationist philosopher Guy Debord's classic definition, a functionality that supports 'a network of socio-cultural economic forces with a vested interest in keeping people in permissible routines' Debord regarded himself primarily as a strategist whose commentary on 'the spectacle' was intended to offer a series of tactics to facilitate a questioning of all aspects of the spectacle. In this form, he encouraged strategies of resistance based on assessing the 'value of the forces aligned on any available territory'. A contemporary reactivation of the lateral strategies of Debord and the Situationists supports current work on the representation of place. It recognises that research can be led by new experiences in space and time focusing on contentious situations. The reconfiguration of urban space in Limerick the era of the Celtic Tiger circa (2006) is one example where the combination of power visualised by its own culture in the ecology of a city affects responses by its citizens to the city. It affects 'the bond between people place or setting' (Tuan, 1974 p.). In Limerick the level of this response, in aesthetic terms, is notable for diverse commentaries that are frequently expressed through physical marks on the streets, referred to by Alison Young as 'situational'. Professor Young's term accommodates the overlap between art related markings and temporary marks that are directly political in character (Young, 2014). These are the physical consequences of interventions that confirm Debord's characterisation of such strategic commentaries as anti-monuments. Any vernacular commentary that is hosted in this way should be in a position to question dominant narratives associated with place.

If art-based interventions are led by the theme of under recognised resistance then the concept of the anti-monument reformats the space for contemporary outcomes. Reformatting positions interventions as those acts that seek to contemporise a critique of the linear fantasy of capitalism.

This critique sees the period of 1966–1973 as unique in respect to presenting a fractured modernism for investigation. Examples will question the fractured narrative that links the shaping of the place of Limerick, starting with how the city processed Establishment modernism in this period and speculates that the socio-cultural consequences of this are latent. The reconfiguration of the boundaries of the city by the Celtic Tiger economic boom of 2003–2008 being one example.

International Time – a finality that binds things together by communication.
THE INTERNATIONAL TIMES, FEBRUARY 1968.

Nothing is more instructive than a confusion of time frames.
JOACHIM KOESTER, 2009.

Between 1966 and 1973 a generation of Limerick Youth was presented with a set of new social and cultural aspirations. It allowed them to a question the Church-regulated authority that surrounded the post-war programme to re-imagine the nation. As this programme of industrial modernism was undertaken according to the guidelines of a Catholic-defined traditionalism, it created cultural conditions very distinct from those being engaged by the youth in England. In an Irish context, the dominant moral authority monitored suggested political agendas seen delivered via 'foreign' youth culture. The rationale of the moral authority attempted to normalise social conditions under Catholic guidelines to provide society with young adults instead of unregulated autonomous teenagers.[4] This was intended to guarantee an uncomplicated transition of youth to adulthood to assist the national project of economic growth. Such a Catholic project was political, in that by regulating activity to maintain normative conditions, it foregrounded what it saw in the permissive nature that surrounded foreign youth culture.[5]

In 1966, those who sought to resist generational rules and explore unconformity for a culture that gave a voice to the youth looked towards the English Mod scene. Rebellious agendas manifested initially by established Mod and then 'hippie' culture celebrated unconformity, and as a generational protest, this allowed a cohort of Limerick Youth to register anti-authoritarian intentions locally as countercultural resistance. The emergence of an aesthetic in countercultural strategies in the sixties defined what constitutes this definition of resistance. The search for authenticity was key and encouraged the ideal of self-management and an ethos of, what Chantel Mouffe called, 'an anti-hierarchical exigency' (Mouffe, year p.).

When the set condition of the Irish young adult was questioned by those engaging with Mod culture it drew from the 'collective expressions of the "underground," or an "alternative" identity as distinct from the "mainstream," boundaries which had been defined by the UK Mod scene' (Bennet, 2004 p.). Mod was recognised as an ideology that 'made a statement about what looking good should *mean*' (Mason, 2014 p.33). By 1966, disruption associated with the English Mod's resistance to the dominant order meant as a generational statement caused, what Stanley Cohen registered as, 'moral panics' (1972 p.). This allowed authorities to contain youth activities under the banner of public disorder; this necessitated in some cases a suspension of civil liberties (Cohen, 1972).

As a generational mission, there was a unique character in how Irish Mod culture established itself. Practicing to be a classless Mod was a generational response that had political overtones as it required one to engage with a community of one's peers by creating a relational space. The conditions of this would be determined by Mod's self-

4 Due to the influence of the Church in youth matters, the authority of the Irish Establishment is referred throughout as the Church State.

5 This narrative can be primarily mapped in the licensing laws for dancehalls.

determining ideology. This required imagining an inclusive urban environment instead of just inheriting a space left to them. In 1966, this ideal would never be fully realised in Limerick (or other Irish urban areas) but the potential of it was played out on the street and in various outposts.

As the nation sought to implement the version of modernity that accompanied the official re-imagining of the state it was contested by an alternative version contained in the ambition for the young to design a space to congregate as themselves. A fantastical element remains in the design of this ambition as it meant channelling foreign examples. All Irish Mod activity augmented the absent space of London. The imagined alternative space was speculatively mapped on an Irish urban environment that was transitioning from post-war conditions much slower than its English neighbour.

However, this activity, real and imagined, was never to attain full recognition within the international Mod culture of its day. Nor is its presence in terms of defining cultural boundaries for Limerick Youth fully recognised outside what is usually packaged as an Irish strand of the 'Swinging Sixties.' There remains no general reference or go-to central source that collates the Mod and Hippie activity in the period 1966–1973 or acknowledges them as a transformative chapter in the city's history. Nor is there any official agenda promoting the city that positions that activity as being significant for a contemporary public.[6]

An exploration of Limerick's beat music scene circa 1966 positions unconformist directions as acts of cultural resistance and generational resistance. The term 'beat' applies to the community that formed around Mod influenced bands that played 'a rhythm heavy music by young people *for* young people' (O'Halloran, 2006 p.). This activity mapped the city as youth practiced protest style by seeking social spaces to meet and practice music, which is, engaging in the socio-political responsibilities of an underground movement.

By 1966 in England there was a sophistication and complexity in regards to how the Mod ideology was developing as an independent classless social movement. (Savage) But as Irish youth explored the self-reliant attitude associated with Mod culture this alone resonated enough in an Irish context enough to constitute resistance. The beginnings of a national conversation on what would be described as the 'generation gap' existed by 1966 but the concept of a standalone youth-led voice to feature as part of the programme of re-imagining was not accepted.

In reading both the English and Irish press, Irish adults were aware of the moral panics associated with some of the activity by the English youth, but their teenage offspring in urban areas processed the same information in magazines that, in the language of the day, celebrated the same activity. By 1966, Mods were the most identifiable English youth subculture. They were the post-war generation who had decided that they 'wanted to enter into manhood using a different set of semiotics' (Townsend, 2011 p.62). As Irish Modernists they accelerated the language of popular culture and encouraged an ideology that was internationally led and practiced a rapid turnover. This was communicated to their Irish peers in Limerick via pirate radio and London-based magazines; FAB 208 and RAVE in particular were essential blueprints. The

6 Something akin to how the history of Carnaby Street is edited for a commercial agenda that portrays the style-led practice of British youth of the period as being solely consumerist orientated (Equally a sanitised hippie history of Height Asbury, playing on an exotic image of resistance is inserted into the general identity of San Francisco).

‘pop’ attitudes of defiance found in these magazines circa 1966 may have seemed innocent or quaint by English standards but they resonated deeper when considered as generational blueprints in an Irish context. In 1966 there was a political agency for the youth in the length of hair and skirts as Irish youth continued to negotiate the social guidelines laid down by the Catholic Church.

This surveillance was a continuation of an anti-jazz agenda instigated by the church and conservative politicians of the 1930s who were concerned about ‘loose’ morals they saw imported in foreign popular culture. An agenda of censorship created the Catholic-led adult boundaries and generational guidelines that were challenged in the sixties. The anti-jazz agenda focused on the necessary supervision required to contain any threat to the ‘settled conditions’ that followed the end of the Irish Civil War. An unpublished report from 1931, called the Carrigan report, operating under the remit of monitoring secular morality, mentions that:

> There is a loss of parental control and responsibility during a period of general upheaval which has not been recovered since the revival of settled conditions. This is due largely to the introduction of new phases of popular amusements which being carried out in the Saorstát in the absence of supervision, and of the restrictions found necessary and enforced by law in other countries, are the occasions of many abuses baneful in their effect upon the community generally and are the cause of the ruin of hundreds of young girls, of whom many are found in the streets of London, Liverpool and other cities and towns in England. The “commercialised” dance halls, picture houses of sorts, and the opportunities afforded by the misuse of motor cars for luring girls, are the chief causes alleged for the present looseness of morals (Kennedy, 2000 p.354).

An attempt to regulate foreign cultural product by setting Catholic guidelines for social congregation in cinemas and dancehalls resulted in the government passing of the 1935 Dancehall Act.[7] Commenting on this in 2011, Cathal Brennan (2011) comments that instead of dealing with the real underlying factors leading to sexual immorality in Ireland, in passing this act, the state preferred to use the church as an agent of social control.

As there were no indigenous forms of Irish versions of progress to make the case for a separate youth culture, it stood to reason that after 1931, Catholic-led authorities built on the idea of youth culture as a foreign threat. To counter this, the authorities instead managed chaste versions of the youth agenda that they regarded as acceptable in the form of the Irish showband, whose clean image sanitised, or even neutralised, the rebelliousness that could be found in foreign music.

A traditional Irish fiddle player from County Clare, Junior Crehan, comments that the beginning of Irish dancehall culture was tied to heavy-handed monitoring of the Gardai of the traditional dance in the house. Crehan calls the death of this dance a key factor in emigration, ‘the country house dance was gone, and the country-man did not fit in with the jazz and the Foxtrot, so it died away. And a world of fellas left for England. They

7 The Anti-Jazz Campaign of 1934 was undertaken by a coalition of cultural nationalists the Catholic Church.

had no social activity at all, nothing here for them and they got fed up, so they went off' (Crehan, 1996 p.149).

After conceding that a controlled social space for the youth could be a solution to unregulated house dances, the dancehalls remained a fixation amongst the Catholic hierarchy in regard to how they were to be controlled. They were identified on several occasions as the 'most dangerous source of corruption in the country' (Gibbons, 1996). In 1925, the bishops' statement on the evils of dancing was read quarterly from the pulpit and the sentiment was echoed in the conservative media (Bourke, 2002). As such, the replacement of the Temperance Hall with a dance hall, independent of church control and influence, was considered an institutional challenge.

From 1935, the territory of any social space facilitating the congregation of youth was one that was to be to all extents monitored. There was a special focus on the preservation of Chastity. In this context any sixties Irish youth who professed allegiance to The Rolling Stones, whose manager once publicly proclaimed his band to be the Anti-Christ, could not but be pertaining of a revolutionary act.

By the sixties, dancehalls monitored by the 1935 act were recognised as acceptable spaces for youths to congregate with entertainment being provided by showbands. With their unthreatening adaption of acceptable elements of country and western, folk, and traditional Irish songs (and comedy), a (mainly rural) culture associated with the showbands and the dancehall arose. As a successful product, showband culture was seen as facilitating the transitioning of the state as part in upholding the ideal of the responsible young adult and operating as an industry in itself as the nation moved forward. As distinct from Mod culture, the chaste culture of the showbands represented the desired international image of 'Irishness' sought by the national programme of industrial modernism.[8] The musicologist Gerry Smyth describes how 'the success of the Royal Showband in this could be seen as a "cultural counterpart" of the government's economic policies' (Holohan, year p.395).

By 1966, the moral environment regulated by the church state in regards to how popular culture featured in the programme for re-imagining, accentuated generational boundaries to the extent that the alternative codes found in Mod culture operated outside an acceptable definition of Irish cultural space. The introduction of a national TV station in 1961 symbolically opened up the possibility of exposure to the international cultural avenues already being broadcast on pirate radio.[9] Jim Lockhart of Irish psychedelic rockers *Horslips*, describes how listening to pirate radio in the sixties fed into a desire by his band to clarify a cultural space for themselves based on the overlap presented to his generation, 'We had absorbed Radio Luxemburg and we had also absorbed the traditional music surrounding us. So we were living in overlapping cultural universes which did not have any meeting point and we were trying to find some solid ground, somewhere in the overlap between these two cultural constructs' (Lockhart, 2012 p.53).

Irish Mod culture, with its core generational beliefs, was never destined to be accepted as mainstream. Throughout the sixties it remained committed to a concept of personal freedom that was to resist the constraints of what was expected from

8 In what they described as the Culture Industry. Adorno and Horkheimer, pop culture as an instrument of economic and political control, enforcing conformity behind a permissive screen. This offered the freedom to choose what is always the same' (author, year p.).

9 Significantly Pirate Radio played records sometimes banned by Establishment Radio.

the church-family matrix. As an outsider movement, any examples that reinforced generational boundaries were seized upon as threating the stability of the 'settled conditions' the Establishment sought to process for Ireland to take its place internationally. In a 1966 interview with Pete Townsend of the profile Mod band *The Who*, Townsend told an Irish magazine that to smoke marijuana or take 'pills' was 'like having a glass of bitter to the bloke down the road.' The impact of this type of generational statement was much more inflammatory in an Irish context suggestive as it was of unregulated behaviour and the hint of a normalisation far removed from a culture where the male hierarchy held in the Irish pub moderated social ability. The threat held in the statement by *The Who*, speaking to an Irish audience is an example of how the generational issues were foregrounded in the Mod agenda, Townsend (1966) said, 'There was a great Establishment energy, a negative energy that tried to contain us. Adults thought, this shouldn't be allowed, young long haired fellows with make-up and taking pills." They were completely impotent. And we were dealing in the language of impotence, with disenfranchisement.'

By 1966 the UK version of this conversation had progressed politically to the extent that the likes of profile members of the culture, such as Mick Jagger of *The Rolling Stones* were being interviewed as cultural representatives of a generation who questioned participation in agendas often seen to be obsolete. In the 1950s similar engagements for praxis referencing international directions by the youth, that is, the revolutionary contours of continental existentialism in the 1950s, would have been discussed mainly in academic circles as it related solely to philosophy. There would have been no concrete avenues for praxis through Irish politics, culture, or popular culture. Also, the 1950s youth would also not have been the economic actors that their peers in the 1960s were. The European crossover between the high and low ends of a populist culture led by an avant-garde and tested by the likes of an underground beat movement did not come automatically or at the same pace as the English model,[10] While it was possible to access alternative material locally, its application and ability to generate conversation when facilitated through the arts or popular culture was not a given. To properly process social issues pertinent as loclly generational conditions they needed to confirm the ethos that would drive resistance by experiencing it abroad. The obvious destination for this was the nearest source of counterculture. London allowed them to draw upon a range of otherness then associated with the ideal of a city that held alternative communities. By 1966 some Irish youth rejected the forced auspices of emigration, which had become the norm alongside the post-war process of industrialisation. They modified the temporary leave instead to accommodate their presence in a city that suggested that perhaps the politics of a psychedelic experience should feature in the definition of an urban space.[11] How the Irish youth processed this experience and sought to contextualise it for their return recognises that a particular conduit between the two nations existed. It was based on a rejection of the norm of emigration active between Limerick and London from 1966–1973.

10 In 1950, Sean O'Riada was described, not as a Catholic, but as 'a follower of Sartre and a believer of black French existentialism who claimed that the absurd was at the heart of everything' (1950 p.14).

11 By 1969 the question posed by the culture was how much control the youth actually had regarding the culture they believed they owned.

You have no real control over your life, over your mind, over your culture, so what are you going to do about it? Do you care? Do people around you care? Have you asked them? You have the power to control your lives smash the system and ultimately create a society that exists for us and not for them.

HANDOUT AT THE FREE CONCERT HOSTED BY THE ROLLING STONES IN HYDE PARK, LONDON 1969.

Each new environment makes the old one visible: what is psychic becomes explicit only after it becomes obsolete. The present environment is never seen. We respect its laws without being conscious of them. We are conscious only of the obsolete and we value it because it appears manageable, subject to conscious control this makes it splendidly attractive. *(Carpenter, 1970p.).*

This bohemian artistic ambience was very different from a neighbouring area like Kilburn with more of a dash of lyrical-talking Irish and a proper respect for the Irish poet. Their work was looked on as a central, inescapable necessity: the curse of Adam which even rivers of Guinness after work could never cleanse the memory of. And where laid-back Notting Hill, trying to do as little as possible, was simply a stop on the number 31 and 28 bus routes where engaging weirdo's hung out. (Author, 1988 p.).

Throughout the sixties and up until the eighties the ongoing traffic to England, with its associated social rituals, confirmed a reality that the population of Ireland, outside Dublin, was one shaped by emigration (Foster, 1988). This was the normality that was acknowledged by Sean Lemass when he addressed 'the historical task of this generation' The release of the 1956 census figures confirmed that 'in no other European country was emigration so essential a prerequisite for the preservation of the nature of the society' (Foster p.774). By 1968 the post-war rebuild of London processed a steady amount of Irish youth as labourers on its sites and hospitals. However, in the sixties this generation was to appreciate the English capital in a relevant cultural capacity and this included the city's alternative culture, which existed in outlying communities. As the decade progressed, directions to these would be made in the official and unofficial media in articles that referenced both straight and alternative scenes.[12]

The most radical cultural opportunities presented to the Irish would be engaging with self-defining communities. Word of mouth orientated the committed to seek out spaces that had no Irish equivalent in Ireland. Independent spaces populated by dissenters represented an environment that was doubly progressive in regards to anything regarding Irish socio-cultural progress (Savage, 1966). Spaces such as Notting Hill represented a commitment by alternative communities to provide communal examples to accelerate the ambition suggested by official progress. In the sixties, the English Labour government had undertaken abortion law reform, homosexual law reform, and presided over the end of capital punishment, yet the Establishment still provided many opportunities for protest. Still, the communes of Notting Hill asked more of the structures of reform. But for the young Irish arriving in London exposure

12 In England, at the time of the branding of London as 'swinging' in 1966, it created a demand for information on jobs and accommodation as the English youth sought to participate in the ideal portrayed; the media provided this on occasion.

to a modernism that addressed the likes of homosexual law for example was immense. Throughout the sixties the existence of this socio-cultural gap in itself fuelled non-conformity for transient Irish youth.[13]

An essential rebel destination in London to practice unconformity was Notting Hill. It was close to the main Irish enclave of Kilburn but possessed a much more diverse cultural mix.

> In Powis Square in the 1920s, the first Black members of the community settled' amongst the existing multi-ethnic mix of Russian and Polish Jews, Irish and British immigrants from "depressed areas": "people who made their names folk myths; eccentrics, madmen, political radicals, poets and artists; Chicago Kate (who lived in Basing Road – now street), the Englisher (a British born Jew), the Presser (the quiet communist theoretician), Schmooser, the best dancer in Notting Hill. Stallholders in Portobello Road for generations, many of them still represented; Rosie, an Irish woman who kept a vegetable stall and who spoke fluent Yiddish... (International Times Issue 30).

By 1967, activists promoted the area as a multi-cultural environment, a space where cultural outcomes centred communally on themes of resistance in a variety of overlapping situations.[14] Unconformity in a host of transient acts collectively represented attempts by the English underground to solidify the practice of alternative modernism. Concrete outcomes that arose from this activity resulted in the likes of the London Free School (- 'not political, not radical, not intellectual, not religion, not a club' (Grunenberg and Harris, 2005 p.77) [15] which was founded and managed by activists who had decided to channel the ethos of the American concept of free universities in an area of London, within, yet conceptually outside the city and its post-war re-imagining.

> "Free communications" and counter-media; anti-universities – all attack major ideological institutions of this society. The assaults are specified, localised and relevant. They bring the contradictions out into the open. (Mitchell, 1971 p.32).

In Notting Hill forms of agitation theatre merged with workshops and music-based events that were designed to create a space described, by the activist John Hopkins, as an 'interzone' (Hopkins.). Engaging with the space of Notting Hill in this alternative manner, participants and visitors accepted the responsibility manifested in the links between community projects; music-based scenes and the anarchy hinted at a new art-led practice of the happening.[16] The situations featuring freeform music, poetry, and light shows were designed and owned by the participants and developed as outsider practice. Gillian Whiteley refers to the 'complex politics' created by these new situations, 'whatever their limits, they benefited from emerging at a time when it was greatly more possible to operate "outside" or on the fringe of society and create radical alternatives which resisted institutional incorporation and com-modification' (2011, p.115).

Alongside these alternative (utopian) endeavours were the long-standing unregulated activities that operated in the illegal drinking dens that hosted 'blues' dances. In existence since the fifties, these social spaces were mainly run by the Jamaican community but in structure had much in common with the Irish sheebeen as an apolitical after-hours space were outsiders gathered to socialise around music. Reminiscing in 1996, an Irish psychedelic traveller, the musician and artist Tim Goulding, Notting Hill sound tracked by the music of the San Franciscan Steve Miller, said, [17] '1968. Notting Hill Gate. Smoke filled rooms. Vestal virgins on their way to the

13 See Days in the Life: Voices from the English Underground 1961-1971. Jonathon Green.

14 Radical elements of alternative education were embodied in community spaces such as the London Free School founded in 1967. Founders included Black activists Courtney Tulloch and Michael X, the poet Michael Horovitz, John Hopkins, and the psychiatrist, R.D. Laing.

15 LFS 'more of an idea than a school' (Grunenberg and Harris, 2005 p.)

16 The practicalities of fundraising for projects such as the LFS and its newsletter The Grove necessitated events that, due to the interdisciplinary nature of those involved, generated art-based performative outcomes.

Figure 2

Powis Square, London 1968.

Notting Hill 1968 The People's 'Centre Open the Square' graffiti.

17 Note: specifically 'Song for our Ancestors.' (Miller, 1968).

coast etc., although some stayed behind. Was it just the bright eyes of youth that made the present so present, that identified the B flat of the taxi horn and its perfect counterpoint in the 'd' of the bat-winged American matrons call of "you betcha"' (1996 p.139).

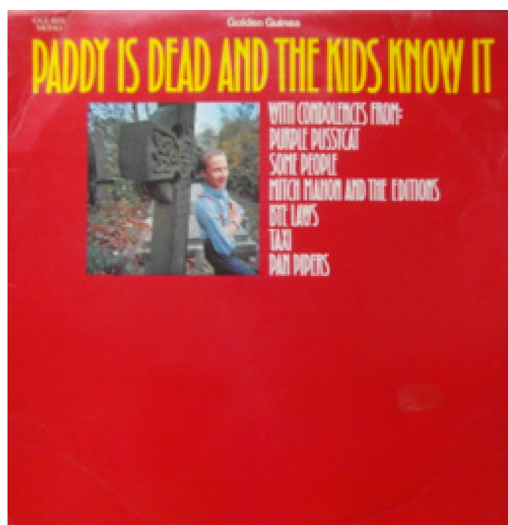
The critical reception accorded to Goulding's progressive folk band *Dr Strangely Strange* in the UK (1967) exemplifies the commonality that existed when the youth fashioned tradition on their own terms (folk being regarded then as authentic as a form of contemporary expression that recognised no borders). Generational issues were also evident in another example to be found in the sleeve notes of a 1969 Irish record album produced in London. This was as a compilation of Irish beat bands titled *Paddy is Dead and the Kids Know it* (Trend Studios, 1969). 'Paddy is Dead,' was an attention grabbing title that was backed up with a photo of a young boot boy sacrilegiously leaning up against a Celtic cross, an uncompromising design that encapsulated Irish unconformity at its strongest. Conceptually it challenged the double standards of an emigration-based state by pressganging the image of an English boot boy and placing him in sacred Irish Ground, the graveyard with its Celtic cross.

The sleeve notes state, For far too long the Irish image has been one of donkey carts, pigs in the kitchen and Paddy's. Today a new scene is happening so Paddy is gone... a new generation are making the scene in Ireland. Young people who want to hear and sing the songs of to-day, and not the songs their father's (sic) sang.
(Trend Studios, 1969)..

Figure 3

Paddy is Dead and the Kids Know it.

A Compilation of Irish Beat/ Psychedelic bands 1969.



As this generation was more receptive to cultural change than those previous, they came to question the symbolic notion of home in an English context, particularly the psychic condition of 'dwelling in displacement'. This term describes the unstable Irish identity that existed as a suspended state abroad. Dwelling in displacement is a recognised condition for the Irish emigrants who remained in limbo as long-term residents. They were the 'traditional or native Irish abroad' *(Hail Mary's and Miniskirts, June 2014)*. Many from the generation of 1968 who took the boat to London refused to see themselves as such as they sought the opportunities offered by London's new alternative environment. That priority broke with the peripatetic habits maintained by previous generations who perpetrated an 'Irishness' in areas like Kilburn and Crouch End.

The London Irish communities that had grown since the fifties sought no cultural stake in the rebuild of the city outside facilitating its construction. Being close knit and unreceptive to a deep engagement with the city, the London Irish in general nurtured a culture that mirrored the rituals of home. Some new arrivals in 1968 thought differently, and in their first act of generational resistance, they made a point of avoiding the established Irish enclaves. They avoided the guidelines offered by the 'embassy' of the London Irish Centre, the location of which (in Maiden Lane near Covent Garden)[18] prompted the English writer and jazz musician, George Melly, to comment that 'it was the maximum distance one could carry two suitcases from Euston Station after coming from Ireland' (Melly, 2004 p.9). The undertones of this comment suggest that the path of the traditional emigrant were well worn and designed to assimilate new arrivals into the established communities. The choice to not take this path would have registered as a statement of protest within the established Irish abroad.

18 Note, the London Irish Centre opened in 1954. It remains an integral part of the Irish community of London. 1968 print ads for the centre show a single woman with suitcase outside its premises. The text promises that the centre 'helps newly-arrived emigrants to find their feet and lifts up those who have lost their feet' (Author, date).

There were social networks for the 'native' Irish in England in place since the fifties and these took the form of County Associations where Catholic-led 'socials' or dances welcomed newcomers into the established communities. Moral guidelines remained elsewhere if newcomers socialised in the circuit of commercial ballrooms, which catered for the diaspora at weekends. Some of these dancehalls held visual reminders to emphasise the in-between space the Irish found themselves in. Ron Ryan, a musician who played that circuit, remembers a large Irish hall called the Gresham on the Holloway Road where the bar held a huge board where over the course of the night 'all the names of the counties in Ireland would come up in lights' (Cowley, 2011 p.214). The English owned these spaces had their own version of the Catholic code they enforced to manage crowds for what was standardised as an Irish weekend.

By the sixties, Irish-dominated spaces remained as strong as ever in London. Comprising of a matrix of the parish church, pub, dancehall, as well as GAA grounds, these were the established nodes that processed thousands of Irish every year in one landscape transposed on another.[19] This type of continuum encouraged many to process their experience of home abroad as a simulacrum. Those that rejected this model of community abroad saw the social boundaries of these communities as an extension of the church state those living in displacement left behind. It was important that the Limerick Youth who saw themselves as returning ambassadors for their generation, and schooled by their alternative experience, did not recognise the

19 Over decades some merging between the metropolitan English and the Irish may have marked unique points worth noting. Well established meeting points perpetrate the London experience as a continuum of home. A notable example was Ward's Pub of Piccadilly possibly originally constructed as Victorian public toilet. From the sixties to the eighties it was a subterranean space divided into a Munster and Leinster Bar and a Connacht and Ulster Bar selling Irish beer and Irish cigarettes; an underground space frequented by Navvies who mixed with journalists and actors.

cultural compromise that existed in the dominant narrative of emigration. The cultural restrictions that maintained the traditional boundaries of home, where home exists as suspended time, were those that kept foreign culture at a distance.

In a study of emigrant letters, David Fitzpatrick states that the process of evoking home when abroad supports 'an alternative world of recollection and imagination where social activities abroad shape memories and future plans to the extent that these desires themselves create a culture' (1996 p.137-8). Home, according to Fitzpatrick's research, was both a real and imagined location. There was emotional investment in this. It encouraged the ideal of the spiritual home waiting for the returned emigrant; a romantic version of the home country nurtured abroad, a symbolic home that is 'the touchstone of both politics and religion. The thread that bound Catholicism and Nationalism together' (Fitzpatrick, 1996, p.137-8). Versions of this mainly rural vision was polished and re-imported back into the country for decades particularly by the fifties generation. It was a version that maintained a traditionalism, which suited the 'possessing classes' who managed power in Ireland.

The release valve of emigration was a significant feature that managed stability throughout the national programme of re-imagining. In a 1956 report titled *Reservation to the Majority,* Alexis Fitzgerald states that 'High emigration, granted a population excess, releases social tensions which would otherwise explode and makes possible a stability of manners and customs which would otherwise be the subject of radical change' (Fitzgerald, A., 1956 p.) This outline continued with a statement surrounding the practically for and adequate standard of living on the Island but it underlines an assumption of unquestioned traditionalism, 'Why we should so cultivate or resources that as many Irishmen was possible can live their lives in Ireland this should not be done in a manner or to the extent of imperilling the imponderable values and liberties of our traditional society' (Lee 383) This, according to Professor J.J. Lee, is 'a rationalisation of a viewpoint that was widespread among a defeatist political and professional elite, spiritual collaborators in the mass eviction process that drove more than half a million out between 1945 and 1960' (1989 p.). Lee states that these figures stand as 'a permanent commentary on the collective calibre of the possessing classes' (1989 p.).

According to an editorial in The Leader newspaper of 1953, 'if emigration were to be stopped tomorrow conditions favourable to social revolution might easily arise' (Leader, Christmas 1953).

The progressive Irish youth of the sixties of this generation were conscious of not framing their experience there as part of a 'paddy' continuum or compliant to the third-way economy attempted by the Irish State under the stewardship of its leader Eammon De Valera. Also, it can be said that these particular youth had less of a desire to return home with funds that bought them a stake in the deal of the New Ireland if it was still managed by the church state. The post-colonist third way, originally envisioned in Eammon De Valera's tenure as leader, sought to manage a modernism that was supported by the institutions of the church which assisted this programme in the capacity of a non-state. This allowed the Irish economy to function (under his rule) somewhere between agriculture and autarchy. In this, the constant stream of emigration was an important factor that kept population levels and a liberal agenda in check.

Home is where you hang your hat

True or false?

False.

Home for you is Galway, or Dublin, or Tipperary. Or thereabouts.

And no doubt you've often thought about upping, and packing, and leaving for home. Right?

Fine!

But when the fateful day arrives, the last thing you'll want to worry about is money. You'll need your money, on hand, the instant you step back on Irish soil.

Here's the simple answer. Open a deposit (savings) account with us. (We're AIB: the only Irish Bank group with branches in England.)

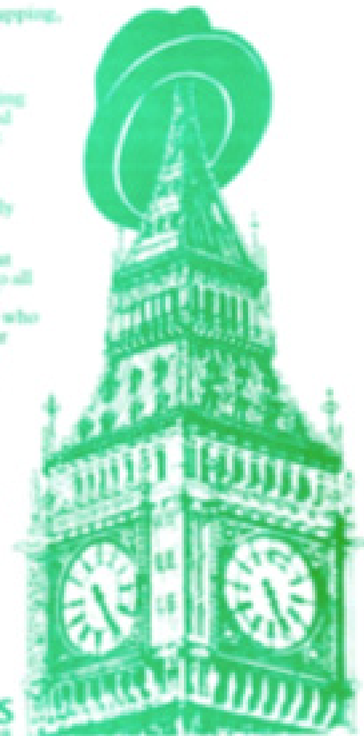
What will you get? For a start you'll get that old-fashioned thing called service. (We give it to all our customers—free.) You'll be in the hands of people who think the same way as you do. And who speak the same language. They'll carry out your instructions to the letter. And from time to time they'll credit your account with a little interest. So you'll end up with substantially more than you put in. Which is a nice arrangement from your point of view.

What's more, you could have a healthy nest-egg waiting for you when you arrive. So you wouldn't need to hang your hat anywhere but home.

Make a new friend at home—with Allied Irish Banks.

Write today for details of all our 440 offices in Ireland.

AIB—8, Burlington Road—Dublin, 4.



Allied Irish Banks

Munster & Leinster Bank, Provincial Bank, Royal Bank

Figure 4

Image from Archive of the Irish in Britain.

Independence for South Africa, Scotland, Ireland, Wales – and Ladbroke Grove.
GRAFFITI IN NOTTING HILL CIRCA 1973.

In London the ideal of the counterculture, as manifested in the happenings and protests of the era, encouraged more open engagement that challenged the rules of place that were validated by the authority of the Establishment. From 1965, the street was mapped by the underground press. These points of sale operated as liminal points of contact for likeminded individuals, as well as operating as recruitment points for sellers. These papers of the free press, notably the *International Times,* challenged the Establishment with an anti-imperialist, non-conformist, and anti-authoritarian agenda, and propagated the necessity of a permanent revolution on evolving generational agendas. The instigator of the *International Times,* Jim Haynes, said that he had a vision for a London-based paper that would function as a vanguard to establish an international consensus, 'It would be a European paper which would try to create a kind of underground consciousness throughout Europe. We'd get writing from Warsaw, Stockholm, Paris, Berlin, what have you. To a certain extent that happened. People reporting on what they were doing and trying to bring people together' (quoted in Green, 1998 p.122). Alternative papers and included Irish issues such as the War in the North[20] and the consequences of Vatican 2 in an anti-imperialist fashion. This slant would have resonated with the newly arrived Irish.[21]

An important issue of *International Times* remains the 'Interzone' issue of May 3rd, 1968. Dedicated to mapping the alternative environment under construction outside the boundaries of the London rebuild, *International Times* (issue 30) that the mix of

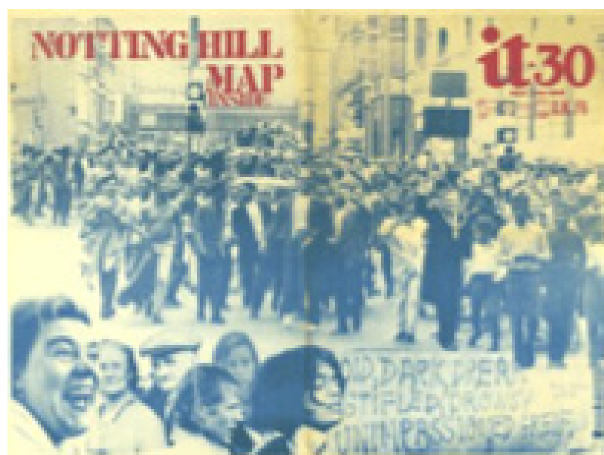


Figure 5
International Times Issue 30.
Graffiti on the bottom left is by the English Situationist group, King Mob.

20 After civil rights marchers were attacked in Derry on the 5th October, 1968, Irish exiles in Britain organised to support the civil rights movement. The Irish Civil Rights Solidarity Campaign (contd.) (ICRSC) consisted of the Irish Workers Group and the London Branch of the Peoples Democracy (PD), together with British far left organisations principally the International Socialists (later called the Socialist Workers Party) and the International Marxist Group (IMG) (Purdie, year).

21 In the sixties and seventies, sellers hawked Irish political newspapers or 'tracts' around the Irish enclaves. Even the tradition of the ballad monger was kept alive as men sold 'recitations' written to celebrate or eulogise men who featured in the Irish scheme. The Kennedy Assassination would have been a contemporary example of such a recitation.

community programmes practiced in the workshops and gatherings of Notting Hill defined it as an alternative international space constantly evolving from a mix of non-conformists and immigrant communities.[22] The interzone issue acknowledged this mix conceptually. The instigator and producer of this issue, the activist John Hopkins, designed it as a psychographic statement that recognised the three villages of Notting Hill as an autonomous zone,[23] to be mapped by 'a combination of William Blake, William Burroughs, situationist psychogeography and local history' (Vauge, 2007 p.16). Hopkins stated that 'if you want to take the territory then you publish the map (and) the first place we want to seize is Notting Hill' (Vauge, 2007 p.16). 'The 'Interzone' followed the 31 bus route that runs down to World's End, Chelsea, and came up through Kensington and Notting Hill to Swiss Cottage and Chalk Farm. We called it the fertile crescent – which is a phrase from archaeology, from Mesopotamia' (Hopkins, 1968/1969). The disciple of biogeography defines an interzone as an area characterised by a particular set of organisms whose presence is determined by environmental conditions, but Hopkins would have been familiar with the countercultural use of the term from (the then infamous book) *The Naked Lunch* by William Burroughs. Here, The Interzone stood for a place where law and national identity was suspended, granting the inhabitants an invisibility in a 'Composite City where all human potentials are spread out in a vast silent market' (Burroughs, 1959 p.). Early issues of the International Times had published articles by Burroughs who was 'using the platform to work out ideas' (Baird, 2009). These were ideas concerned with how power was manifested and the overthrow of the State (Baird, 2009).

> Dig the vibrations in and around Notting Hill, perhaps the only area in London where through the differing enclaves of experimental living, a free-form and ingenious communal life-style could really burst forth… Now there are signs that a real underground community is alive, and especially in the village around Portobello Road. (Tulloch, 1968).

The experimental layout of issue 30 mapped the alternative scene over a series of two-page spreads. Agitational slogans photographed on the walls of Notting Hill, reports of community activists reclaiming public space, and general cultural events were styled by Hopkins and his staff to reflect the appearance of a manifesto (Issue 33 mentioned that *International Times* functioned as a 'community memory bank' with a 'a machine for processing, collecting, and publishing information. (International Times, 1968)) The offset litho design work for this issue created a looser scrapbook style that referenced an awareness of the psychographic layout used by the French situationist publication *International Situationniste,* primarily the cut up of a map of the city of Paris published by Guy Debord as *The Naked City* in May 1957. If this type of map functioned as a political graphic it suggested that discussions on the concept of a new unity could only happen after separation (points reorganised on the map, areas reduced and enlarged to signify their alternative possibilities) had been visualised. The basis of *The Naked City* highlighted the cultural significance of small urban areas versus territories of power

22 'In the early 70s there seems to have been a demo in Notting Hill virtually every other day while All Saints Hall hosted at least one community action meeting a night. By then, the People's Association consisted of various sub-groups covering the main local issues: housing, play, education, unemployment and police' (Author, year)

23 The area is synonymous in British culture for the beginnings of radical Black culture due to resistance by the residents to institutional police harassment circa 1969. The early manifestations of British Black Pride were protests that were visualised as empowerment in the Notting Hill Carnival.

managed by the Establishment. The public act of using this type of map was to ignore established paths of power manifested in the modern city and make the public acts of reclamation predicated on the denial of authority in the act of drifting. The intention of the *Situationist International* was to subvert the conservative ideology of the Western World, undermine the powers of state, bureaucracy, capital, and imperialism, and let citizens decide what spaces and architecture they wanted to live in and how they wished to live in them; this was to be the revolution of everyday life.

In essence, Hopkins was encouraging the example of Notting Hill to be replicated elsewhere in branding the space as a physical manifestation of the counterculture. The process of mapping the interzone can be seen as a lateral extension of the Pre-Norman English custom of 'boundary beating'. This was community walk, led by a priest, who would walk the boundaries of an area to share its knowledge and bless the space. The community would include children in the walk to ensure the knowledge continued as long as possible.[24]

Where a city such as London creates dense conditions of overcrowding and claustrophobia, the necessity of a social space becomes not just a geographical phenomenon, but also a psychological phenomenon, particularly when different classes, cultures, and ethnicities live close together. The writer Jim Fearnley describes any psychogeographic research on self-determining activities emanating from these areas as resisting what he calls 'phantasmagoric capitalism'. Irish youth coming to London as researchers and cartographers would be struck by the open invitation given by the free press to participate in new communities.[25]

As an aside, a report on the street distribution of the *International Times* in the paper itself describes the impact of the free press on what appears to be a member of the 'old' Irish. Titled 'The Constant Flux' the report documents the reception from a previous issue whose cover featured the image of a generic longhaired 'hippie' that was mistaken for Christ:

> It seems we have gained quite a few new readers who thought we were selling a new religious newspaper although one woman was put off as 'it doesn't look like him'.... Apart from the expected comments, one street seller had two nuns trying to get him arrested for blasphemy: Marie was attacked by a drunken Irishman waving a knife and screaming sacrilege: Keith was threatened with hellfire and most of our street sellers learnt more about religion than they ever did in their Sunday School days.' (International Times, year p.)

The meta-narrative of Irish Catholicism was firm in the established enclaves with priests delivering Sunday sermons on the moral dangers of London.[26] Mapping of the path that existed in conduit between Limerick and London takes account of the conceptual territory that contrasts the fixed Irish nationalist conceptions of 'home' with its attachment to land and a church-controlled matrix of fixed relations and the ideal of communal life held in the potential of Notting Hill.

24 A Notting Hill boundary house is mentioned in an article in Wonderful London magazine in 1926.

25 The free press called out to the 'aware people' that congregated around Notting hill and Ladbroke Grove.

26 RTÉ archives hold an interview of a young priest in Slough outlining these dangers circa 1965.

Figure 6

International Times Issue 103, May 6-20 1971.

A psychic convergence between the rigid social spaces held by the native Irish in London and the city's alternative community occurred in December 1966. The significance of this is understated as an aside to the history of English countercultural communities, but it is valid for an alternative historical perspective that focuses on the legacy of an emotional space associated with the Irish in London. A consideration of emotional or psychic place interrogates the radical nature of how the English underground in 1966 initiated a discussion of place and community based on a psychedelic reception of space and time. The event in question can be seen to mark a moment in time where the ideals of alternative modernism intersected with the sense of tradition maintained by the Irish living in displacement.

Figure 7
The Blarney Club at the Gala Berkeley cinema.

The event UFO (Unlimited-Freak-Out) – NIGHT TRIPPER took place on December 23rd, 1966 in an Irish owned venue called *The Blarney Club,* located at 31 Tottenham Court Road. The UFO event was conceived by Notting Hill activists Joe Boyd and John Hopkins as a situation that 'catered for the psychedelically minded' (Savage, 20146 p.539). The event also sought to promote the necessity of maintaining the channels opened by the *International Times* as it was the principle medium by which the ethos and values of the counterculture were communicated to the youth. Four years later, the *International Times* registered the coming together of the counterculture in this Irish space as the 'focal point for the emergent British Underground' (1970). The same year *The Observer* (1966)[27] referred to the underground as 'the New Society' with this 'New

27 The layouts in The Times supplement were an important source of underground design, according to journalist David May (Green, 1998 p.225)

Society' having not a single cultural or political agenda other than resistance. By 1966 the *International Times* was 'a member of the Underground Syndicate, a Global Strategy and a repository for those who sought to act on those ideas and impulses within them that were triggered by a fleeting identification with an idea larger than themselves' (Green, 1998 p.126).

The 'Irish' space for the alternative happening of the UFO was described by the *International Times's* Mick Farren as, 'this old Irish showband ballroom with a revolving mirror and stuff' (Green, 1998 p.132). *The Blarney* was an underground space with a low ceiling underneath the Gala Berkeley cinema. Farren was the archetypical non-conformist, activist, participant, and his dismissive description of *The Blarney* would have been intended to emphasise the impact of how the take-over by the UFO participants changed the space and its straight associations.[28] One could not have had a more dramatic contrast between the freedom of expression sought by the alternative community and a venue that represented a Victorian past embodied in the unchanging rituals of an Irish dancehall. All Irish ballrooms in England stood in the shadow of the famous Galtymore club in Kilburn. For decades, these unchanging social spaces corralled the working-class Irish together at the weekends in vast numbers for decades.[29] The entertainment in the likes of the Galtymore featured visiting Irish artists such as Larry Cunningham, whose uncomplicated 'homestead songs' communicated the unchanging social conditions of the Irish enclaves as a version of home; these were hugely popular songs. 'Michael Murphy's Boy', sung by *The Chessmen* in 1966, was a pathos-driven account of a young boy forced to emigrate to England.

Derek Dean, a singer in the Irish showband *The Freshmen*, recalls the type of limbo perpetrated by these spaces that lasted well into the seventies, 'The halls in London had been a meeting place for emigrants for decades and, in that environment, the music stayed rooted, in their minds and eyes, somewhere back in 1953. It was very simple, beautiful and profitable bit of nostalgia: a homesick reverie with musical accompaniment' (2007 p.126). In the early sixties, Cunningham and his peers would have travelled to the English halls during Lent, when the Catholic Church banned dances on national soil for six weeks. The ban was one of the most high profile manifestations of the social authority of the church in the affairs of the youth (O'Halloran, 2006 p.12).

The Blarney held its identity for decades amongst the Irish diaspora, where one generation initiated another into the social rituals associated with the space. As a venue with long established ties to the Irish community it had no intention of 'upgrading', entering, or acknowledging another social narrative outside the traditions associated with the Irish. In this hall, UFO was a temporary function either side of Christmas 1966, normal service accommodating the weekend Irish would resume after it subsided.

Posters gave the times as '10. 30 and out', a timetable that encouraged an environment where the 'human and social side was almost as important than anything else' (Green, 1998 p.137) and where experiences were to be unique to the night itself. There were to be no social conditions dictated by the 'straight' entertainment and fixed times associated with the usual events held in The Blarney. The transformed space

28 The Irish Farren refers to here would be to him simply a community unto themselves tied to the English establishment by deed of their anonymous labour.

29 The social clubs for the Irish middle class were more dignified meeting grounds.

placed the band's sound system around the venue to allow the sound to accentuate the immersive nature of the event and merge with the lightshows. This design completely covered The Blarney's strict 'no Jiving' signs that hung on the wall as a warning to the weekend Irish to behave. This reflected the management's fear of the Teddy Boy 'cult' infiltrating the Irish dance and to keep order they prohibited an excess of jiving or 'Rock 'n' Rolling'. Any representatives of English underground who held the hall for a night were of course exempt from these guidelines.[30]

Figure 8
Image of UFO in The Blarney Club.

Significantly the 'human side' of the UFO event would have contrasted with the regimentation of the 'men on one side and women on the other of the dance floor' that was embedded in the ritual of Irish dancehalls and practiced by the Irish in The Blarney. This act of crossing the floor and choosing a partner or a dance was completely at odds with new countercultural agendas. Alternative social events promoted them as being an appreciation of space where the public were active spectators.

'(UFO) was a club in the sense that most people knew each other, met there to do their business, arrange their week's appointments, dinners, lunches and hatch out issues of the *International Times,* plans for Arts Lab, Soma and various schemes for turning the Thames yellow and removing all the fences in Notting Hill. The activity and energy was thicker than the incense' (Henry *International Times,* 1968). The tropes of art-led actions that engaged participants to question their ownership of the space of the event, this being a familiar art-led practice in Notting Hill workshops. The experimental cross-disciplinary language that facilitated this type of engagement was already in place. In 1966, Jeff Nuttall, a Free London School associate, ran a performance in London streets called The People Show. Referencing the contemporary American happenings of the early sixties, he used artists, musicians, and performers to stage theatrical interventions that repurposed public phone boxes and public toilets as performance spaces. For many of these types of action performances Nutall chose a location and a time where the audience was not aware of the nature of the act.

There was an overarching political nature embedded in The Blarney event. The 24 hour programme, instigated by the *International Times,* promoted the idea that London

30 Certain Irish clubs also hired rooms for the underground to develop. In the early seventies for example, 'weird' English bands such as *Genesis* and *Roxy Music* experimented at a night called 'The Hobbit's Garden' in an Irish Club in Wimbledon.

should have an all-night transport system to encourage the potential of a 24 hour culture. *The International Times* constantly promoted the ideal of the open city, its manifesto was called 'Notes toward a 25 Hour City – Make London a 365 Xmas.' The *International Times* also printed technical information on city planning relevant to their cause referencing European city planners and architects (*International Times*, year). That called for an alternative time, one unshackled from the spectacle's 24 hour culture as maintained by the Establishment. This call contested the Establishment ritual of what the situationist Guy Debord described as 'dead time' (year p.), (regulated life).
All the participants in the UFO event signed up to resist the spectacle of the Establishment and dead time by designing an alternative network of socio-cultural-economic conditions to be based around temporary situations. 'The constructed situation would be ephemeral, without a future, passageways – a syntheses of sublime moments when a combination of environment and people produces a transcendent and revolutionary consciousness'.[31] The counterculture acknowledged that the distinction between work time and leisure time, in the specialised conditions of an industrial society, is a type of citizen control. Alienation, the product of these conditions was to be recognised and resisted.

UFO in The Blarney was one of the initial events that were designed to disrupt the ordinary, to focus on an uncorrupted every day and reaffirm civic consciousness. In 1966 non- conformity was the core element of resistance practiced by the counterculture, one that foregrounded a public transformation of the space that promoted the ethos of an open city. For its public UFO sought to reclaim the space between work and play (Debord, year p.105). The Situationists had already pointed to the sterilisation inherent in most of the modern programme of the London rebuild, which compressed any general sense of spontaneity or playfulness.[32] A 1964 proposal by the radical London architects, Archigram, for interconnected 'walking' cities imagined structures in 'a future in which borders and boundaries are abandoned in favour of a nomadic lifestyle among groups of people worldwide' This was an example of the alternative utopian directions mirrored in the UFO exercise by likeminded others who agitated to prevent the dominant form of modernism being represented as a sterile orthodoxy by the Establishment.

The radical implications of time as a commodity for a static workplace would have registered with the migrant Irish. The concept of around the clock shift work in the sixties was an understandable type of a 24 hour culture demanded by Establishment modernity. The American historian Herbert G. Gutman once noted that the emigrant Irish particularly 'clung to their traditional notions of time' (Delaney, 2007 p.60). In this context 24 hour leisure time was conceptually different and potentially radical. The idea of devoting a day to engage with a 'totally unstructured' (Savage, 2016 p.541) psychedelic event in an Irish dancehall with likeminded individuals and generating what John Hopkins called 'collective energy' (year p.) had no Irish precedent in any form. This concept was in the words of an *International Times* slogan 'International Time – a finality that binds things together by communication' (year p.). The flexible social concept of a description of time as revolutionary remained a staple in the editorials and articles of

31 http://archigram.westminster.ac.uk/project.php?id=60

32 Footnote to be added.

the *International Times* from 1966–1973. In issue 46 Joseph Berke, a psychiatrist and 'radical educator,' contributed a manifesto titled 'The Creation of an Alternative Society' (International Times, 1968). He urged the youth to 'locate themselves in time in order to comprehend and allow for the development and expansion of the struggle.… The movement of people into counter society and the erosion of social control will create a highly unstable and explosive situation. This will culminate in the taking of power from *Them*' (*International Times,* 1968).

The act of the UFO event taking place in The Blarney was unprecedented as the regulation of social boundaries in city venues was relatively strict. In regards to The Blarney, a form of progression making some concession to a time of change would have been briefly acknowledged there when the venue occasionally hosted Irish folk- type events (O'Neill 2011, p.280). On the two UFO nights the presence of heavy bouncers sometimes needed to manage the crowds of working class Irish around these events at the weekend were not needed. For both UFO nights drug use featured to enhance the experience of the films and light shows. LSD was prioritised over alcohol as a stimulant 'You'd drop acid, it was like descending into a subterranean world of dreams' (Fabien in Savage, 2016, p.531). For any young Irish present this alone would have made the UFO events memorable.

The Blarney would have featured in weekend social boundaries of the city. However, the distance between the drink culture associated with the working class Irish and the new psychedelic directions advocated by the drugs of the English youth were most evident at the transitional space of this psychedelic event. In its psychically transformed state, after the UFO, even the space of The Blarney would have suggested the possibility of a cultural cut from the established Irish rituals found in the Irish enclaves

UFO consequently moved to another venue, The Round House, before finishing as an event mid-1967. Reflecting in the *International Times,* (year) the editor Miles J. Henry presented charts that accounted for decreasing numbers based on the geographical location of UFO. This type of internal study by the paper confirms the people behind the counterculture had an agenda regarding the positioning of activity with a particular space in regards to the 'New Society' membership details which were held as data on cards by the UFO organisers. The editor remarked that the data that registered Notting Hill participants for The Blarney event (which would have included Irish youth) was minimal, as those participants would have already gained free entry. Miles was careful to outline how numbers and districts aligned to account for citizen participation, that is, where the counterculture featured in the landscape of the city. Other factors to be taken into account for UFO's closure included the increasing attention shown to the counterculture by the mainstream media and how the consequences of this commodification impacted on the 'underground' agenda. It was said that the 'scene' had become 'seen'.

In the same issue, Mick Farren commented on how the closure of UFO affected the economy of the counterculture now without a base and means of income for those who worked at the events. Farren also states that the underground 'lacks geographical focus' (*International Times,* year) and has no real foundation of a co-ordinated economy.

Again UFO was a radical change from the passive experience one would have encountered in the traditional space of the Irish hall and closed community of the Irish pub. Both in Ireland and England the dance hall held a pervasive sense of community where 'roles were set and explicit' and the notion of the family constituted 'a vast kinship powerfully supported by the great moral edifice of the Catholic Church' (Lee, year p.644).

An Irish participant who sought the environment of the UFO, the concept of exploring an alternative consciousness with likeminded individuals supported by a culture built by said individuals, was tradition breaking. It was possible that an Irish youth who was just familiar with the normal space of The Blarney, but came upon it as a transformed space, would have experienced a radicalisation from the space unknown to previous Irish audiences. Such chanced experience creates activated spectators from passive audiences (McCarthy, 1973 pp.219-20).

> The value placed on alternative consciousness in the counterculture reflected a belief that social change had to start with self- knowledge. It was difficult to imagine how society could change unless people changed, but it was equally difficult to see how people could become different unless societal structures allowed them space for growth (Lipsitz, 1994 p.218).

In September 2016, the Victoria and Albert Museum presented an exhibition, *You Say You Want a Revolution,* featuring displays based on the wide ranging socio-cultural changes of the sixties that were played out as a generational mission in alternative spaces. Significantly, the exhibition featured a 1960 streetscape, which includes a replica of the UFO nightclub in The Blarney. In a publicity statement for the exhibition, the director of the V&A, Martin Roth, stated that that the ambitious framing of late 1960s counterculture shows the incredible importance of that revolutionary period to our lives today. This exhibition 'will show how "the optimism, innocence and street-fighting rebellion of the late 60s curdled in the decades which followed' (Author, year p.) It will also feature '3D sound installations' created by the audio specialist company Sennheiser, to give visitors 'a taste of (UFO's) disorienting experience.' The V&A's commemoration of UFO in The Blarney registers this particular moment as historic. It marks the time when the suggestion of uncompromised freedom by the English counterculture intersected with issues of identity that were held in the social agenda of the diaspora. It is not inconceivable that when an Irish youth, freshly arrived to London, was confronted with the audacity of a freak-out in an Irish dancehall, it would provoke many questions relating to identity and the notions of community that one could cultivate abroad. Participation in structured alternative events that had no Irish equivalent contributed to a questioning of both living in displacement and rigid definitions of home immersive events like UFO which were first and foremost youth-based and highly suggestive. For that youth they exemplified an alternative which began with a challenge to the social rituals and regulated behaviour that was expected of the emigrant Irish at home and abroad (Victoria and Albert Museum, 2016-2017).

As teenagers, who had followed the mod scene in Ireland, walking down the street in London in 1967, we didn't look too different and we had the same attitude as those our own age that we passed.

JAMES HARAN, SINGER, LONDON RESIDENT 1966-67.

That was the big difference from Limerick of course, we immediately sought out all the spots where the bands would play and they would be full of like-minded people.

MICHAEL DONOVAN, LIMERICK CITIZEN AND TEMPORARY NOTTING HILL RESIDENT, 1969.

Figure 9
Michael O'Donovan, Limerick, in Notting Hill 1969.

When these returning Limerick workers described their exposure to multi-cultural events, communal living, and various situations of protest, they found receptive teenage audiences amongst their own peers. In spreading the reputation of Notting Hill as a purposeful destination for sixties Irish Youth, they were regarded as ambassadors for a new cause.

They made sure the tag of the returned London labourer with the one-dimensional experience of the work site tied to the London Irish communal social did not apply to them. Accentuating the cut between the new and the old experience of London, this generation would have responded to the countercultural graffiti in Notting Hill posted by the English Situationists King Mob 'Joyless work causes cancer' (Hopkins, 1968). Between 1966 and 1973, these youth imported an energy that ran through Limerick city centre. It coincided with the energy sprouting in the new estates that were a consequence of an Irish urban rebuild. By 1970, returning activity ranged in strength from (literally) shouting on street corners to a quiet sharing of the international free press that was promoted as revolutionary material. The maturity of the dialogue generated from this range of material differed in tone from what one would have previously gleaned from the pop magazines that were essential in supporting the early

Mod scene. Then bands such as The Rolling Stones appeared rebellious simply in the context of style, but after 1968 they began to be reported as dangerous, even as political rebels. The socially-engaged agenda of publications of IT and OZ would track these cultural transitions, and as the parameters of the performer became politicised, emphasise that socio-political participation in pop culture was a requirement for the youth.[33]

33 OZ magazine, in both its Australian and London versions delivered articles referencing a more historical, philosophic and universal view of the notion of an alternative society than the others.

Figure 10
Noel Mullvill a Limerick man at a march in London protesting Bloody Sunday, 1972.
Pictured in the issue of Time Out held in his archives.

Although there was a continuous readership of the English 'pop' press in Limerick City, by 1969 publications such as the *International Times* had made the cut from previous populist avenues by critically foregrounding pop and its transition to rock to emphasise its social context. One did not simply consume unconformity, now there was a responsibility in creating a setting and this was constantly underlined. With the tone of agitation contained in the free press, a more political type of participation in one's own locality was encouraged from its readership.[34] It was the presence of an underground narrative of protest held in the free press and related publications that assisted the lexicon of unconformity for this period in Limerick. Although such magazines as the *International Times* were available by mail order, they were subject to custom inspection where the shadow of the 1929 Censorship of Publications Act, which originally prohibited printed material whose content relied too much on crime, and even works that promoted the 'unnatural' prevention of conception. Receiving material that shaped elements of these in a youth context, accessed from a returned traveller circa 1968 had a *frisson* that acknowledged the contribution of this generation's unique conduit.[35]

Reflecting on the history of the countercultural movement in 1972, the long term socialist David Widgery reminded readers in OZ magazine that, 'Of all the intellectually property speculators of the 60s (the underground) made the most sizeable incursions into capitalism's ideological real estate, the family, school, work- discipline, the "impartial

34 1967 is notable for the Irish government's unbanning of work by figureheads of the counterculture such as Albert Camus. The 1967 Censorship of Publications Act now limited the period of probation of books to twelve years. The significance of this in the Irish media did not register this as anything other than a routine act of government action, but passing it did allow citizens access to 5000 books that were previously banned. These included the classic French novels of Gide and Proust, and contemporary works by James Baldwin, and Norman Mailer.

35 Irish censorship existed to the extent that the English feminist magazine Spare Rib remained banned until 1977.

law courts" and the British Broadcasting Corporation' (Widgery, year p.). Unlike previous movements of radical parties, it actually transmitted its mood of indiscipline to young people of all classes. Widgery celebrates the mission that 'stumbled' into being a force in which it is 'cheerful apoliticalism became a major trial of strength with the authorities simply for the crime of not being hypocritical' (Widgery, year p.).

Figure 11

A selection of material from 1966-73 found in the Little Catherine St Book shop Limerick. April 2016.

The lack of University status held by Limerick City before 1972 would also have contributed to an attitude of self-learning amongst groups once described as 'working class hippies.' It is significant that the reactionary self-knowledge generated by Limerick space was not shaped by any academic forum before the opening of the first version of a University for Limerick in 1970.[36] In and around 1970-72 Limerick Youth availed of the opportunities provided by the new grant schemes for third level education, whereby many spent time in the universities of Galway, Cork, or Dublin before returning to Limerick. This mix between a cabal of auto-didactic, non-conformists, new university graduates, and transients still sought to shape the city to represent generational concerns. Of course, Progressive Youth curious about the international counterculture still emigrated an in this maintained an alternative conduit.

The writer Kevin Myers wrote a biographical piece in a 1996 compendium called My Generation. He called the time around 1967 'the cusp between generations, between chronological cultures' (Myers, 1996 p.). In discussing the particularities of the Irish condition for those that lived in the country, he confirms that there were those of his generation who remained conditioned and bound to the past but there were others sought to leave it behind. Due to clear boundaries the rigidity of the old was supported with the authority of the church and any concept of the new by definition was limitless and without boundaries (Myers, 1996)

> We went over the edge of the waterfall, and nothing was the same. Some people I knew, the same age as me, were in the old culture and lost their virginity on their

36 In 1958 a pressure group was formed to lobby for a university for Limerick which resulted in the National Institute for Higher Education being established in 1970.

wedding nights, some tinkered a little bit and then married. But for a certain few of us, the old world was gone – socialism and sex were our future, our present, our everything (Myers, 1996 p.222).

Aishling Foster, a playwright and graduate of UCD, in the same compendium, sketches a Dublin college scene where 'draft- dodging students' were regarded as heroes to the Irish Youth who appreciated the breath of the issue. The Irish in UCD mixed with American students with Irish connections who had been sent to study in Trinity and UCD. No standalone data exists for numbers, but it was not uncommon for parents with Irish connections to send their children to study in Ireland during the war. Foster says of these times, 'we hated Johnson and then Nixon, (and) shouted 'Ho, Ho, Ho chi-Minh!' into the lenses of unmarked TV cameras' (Foster, 1996 p.). She references here a chant associated with international Trotsky supporters and heard often on the contemporary marches on the American Embassy in London (Green, 1998 p.246).

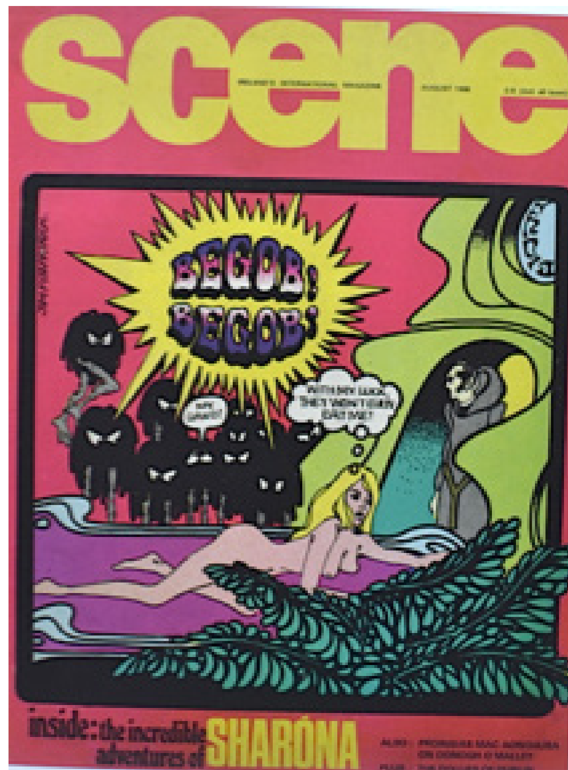


Figure 12
The Scene. Irelands International Magazine. August 1969.
(Brand New Retro. 2015).

In the early seventies, the Magic Mushroom Street gang who congregated for music gigs in the city around the Amharclann Na Féile venue on O'Connell Street. Walking the streets one day they were struck by a derelict building close to the venue and decided to refurbish it. They organised and paid for materials to clean and paint the façade themselves, an act which attracted the attention of the Guards who spoke to them on it. After being reprimanded they were told never do anything like that again.[37]

IN CONVERSATION WITH JOE DEEGAN, LIMERICK 2013.

One unique representation of the existence for the youth of an alternative conduit operating between London and Limerick was the LP walk. Circa 1970, this strolling around town with a record album in a particular fashion was a noted activity that resonated with the groups of young people who congregated in the city centre. The LP walk was a task that had to be physically undertaken on the street. As such, the act references the 'flâneur', one that strolls and celebrates the act of strolling recognising that the environment is temporally changed by this act. Change in this fashion references the situationist act of 'détournement' and a general strategy of play. In the essay, *Methods of Détournment,* Guy Debord and Gil J. Wolman describe two types of détournement, where interaction with the spectacle of everyday life involves incongruous interruptions where an object or act is recontextualised or 'reversed.' Objects or convention acts are deliberately given alternate meanings to change their determinant condition. An element of play was always to feature (Vaneigem, year). John Rodgers underlines the intent of such drifting as being revolutionary 'fact-finding missions for the transformation of urban living and society in general, for a revolution that was to come' (Author, date p.). Walks in this fashion challenged the concept of modern urban planning and its consequence (the organisation of universal isolation). The Situationists solution to this was to attack, to walk (Rodgers, year).

Through its association with the situationist movement in particular, this act, as a questioning of urban space, has frequently been regarded as an act of resistance, 'The middle-class flâneur has the potential for cultural "innovation", for example via "radical" art, or at the least the expression of a limited form of social freedom' (Fearnley, year p.).

The incongruous kaftan wearing longhaired youth strolling up O'Connell Street deliberately carrying a Bob Dylan or Mothers of Invention LP was a flâneur, fit for the purpose of mapping alternate routes that may be meta-physical. Circa 1973, one Limerick figurehead practicing this was called 'the long distance record carrier' (Author, year p.). The LP carrier would patrol the city centre before coming to rest in a recognised youth spot called the Continental Café inviting conversation on what he was carrying/listening to. Night time conversations could take place in city centre bars such as The Bailey, O'Malley's, and The Roundhouse. Those who participated in the LP walk were the equivalent to what were once described by the English mods (in an early sixties urban context) as 'faces,' that is, those who prominently paraded their agenda in an urban environment. Limerick's longhaired faces were distinct figures that held their particular standing amongst their peers as flâneurs, representatives of sales people for alternative routes. As innocuous as it may seem, this aimlessness parading of codes had no precedent, there was no generational equivalent.

The LP walk was enough to remind Limerick teenagers that the alternative generational agendas continued to be embedded in images and the street existed to provide a platform for the politics of representation. Such a visual exposition in its own

37 The Amharclann became the Belltable Theatre in 1981.

quiet way was guaranteed to provoke an older generation who saw, not a young man not following in his father's footsteps, but a non-conformist strolling for the sake of non-conformity. The LP walk in this contest evoked a performance that was foreign without any other Limerick precedent other than being the act of a wayward youth.[38]

The simplicity of the LP walk signified citizen allegiance with everything from foreign protests to folk rock, that is, everything that was not regulated by the conformity of an ordered trip to the barbers by ones parents. It kept the perception of difference public as strolling middle and working class longhairs represented a new agenda that signified difference that hinted at a danger of sorts. Such a provocation, mainly by young males, remained the most direct act of home grown rebellion available to the Youth, and since urban Ireland did not culturally process youth cults to the levels of London or Paris, the cultural impact of the longhair remained longer for the Irish street. By the early seventies the look became a catch-all uncompromising rebel code and instant signifier for those who just simply wanted to provoke their parents. Joe Boyd, a Notting Hill activist (and manager of the Irish band Dr Strangely Strange) said, 'It was impossible to be alive in the sixties, especially between 66' and 67', and not perceive that society was being affected by drugs, music, and youth style. It wasn't a question of belief; it was a question of observation. Depending on your view, you either viewed this development with horror or with pleasure' (1998 p.125).

The simplicity of the Limerick LP walk was a playful act appropriate to youth who were still processing the unconformity language of a pop culture that was becoming increasingly assimilated into a wider cultural spectacle. By 1967, the record corporations were busy co-opting traits of the counterculture in both mainstream and alternative advertising. In 1967, RCA record releases had the banner cry 'Youth Will Be Heard' printed above images of their product. 'The record companies were among the first to recognise the rebellion that was being articulated primarily through music. For example, CBS printed advertisements stating that they supported the revolution, implying that to buy CBS records would in some way help financially' (Author, year p.).

The act of the LP walk also shared street co-ordinates with political youth who would reference socialist, republican, and even a mix of both agendas on street corners. A *Limerick Leader* end of year photo supplement in 2011 mentioned a 'Speakers Corner' operating at the corner of Thomas Street and O'Connell Street circa 1971, the place for 'anyone with anything to shout about could do so' (Author, year p.). The supplement mentions that Saturday afternoons were 'very popular with young lefties' (Author, year p.). In *Resistance through Rituals*, Stuart Hall writes;

> 'A culture includes the "maps of meaning", which make things intelligible to its members. These "maps of meaning" are not simply carried around in the head: they are objectivated in the patterns of social organisation and relationship through which the individual becomes a "social individual." Culture is the way the social relations of a group are structured and shaped: but it is also the way those shapes are experienced, understood and interpreted' (Hall, year p.).

38 In the early 20th century, popular culture had associated the longhaired persona as one befitting an intellectual character or a middle class individual practicing at the top end of the cultural spectrum. In these depictions, Hollywood portrayed the likes of classical orchestra conductors appropriately coiffed quickly creating the establishment cliché of the brilliant, but unorthodox, composer or painter. A stereotype of European artists and bohemians would also have featured 'challenging' hair length as an identifier. Of course, these 'mad' geniuses had permission in that their practice was validated by the space of the Opera House or the National Gallery; the street validated only the rebel or the outsider.

The LP walk often surfaces as a vernacular marker in many Limerick period histories. It remains tied into an agenda where space was investigated and musical mentoring took place in a desire to develop places that mirrored the English experience.

'Saturday was a good day. Hung around the Wimpey bar with all the others teenage hippies. Spotting the young hippy chicks. We wouldn't be seen dead with a straight chick… The Hippy Triangle, bars where we all hung out as kids, Joe Malone's, O'Malley's Bar, and The Bailey' (Costelloe, 2014 Facebook).

The return from London of Limerick's premier psychedelic band, Granny's Intentions, played a major part in making real the possibilities of unconformity within an urbanity that was still under development. James Haran, of The Intentions, a leading Limerick Mod, remembers a version of the walk as drifting in style and how one looked contributed to an uncompromised urban identity owned by the youth, 'If I walked out ten miles from Limerick wearing what I used to wear and met a fella my own age on the road, he'd think I was an alien. There was that much difference between what went on in Limerick in 1966 and what was on offer in spaces outside the city' (Haran, 2013).

As provocation, the LP walk – with its ad hoc cultural boundary making – referenced an international definition of urbanity that channelled the situationist mapping of Notting Hill by John Hopkins for a local environment. From the perspective of social geography, Doreen Massey states that, 'if time is the dimension in which things happen one after the other, it's the dimension of succession, then space is the dimension of things being, existing at the same time: of simultaneity. It's the dimension of multiplicity. Space is the dimension that presents us with the existence of the other; space is the dimension of multiplicity. It means it is space that presents us with the question of the social' (Massey, year podcast).

In a sense, the city of London was channelled in the drift of the LP walk in Limerick as some actors began wearing versions of the afghan coat originally introduced on the cover of the Beatles 1966 LP 'Sgt Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band'.[39] Circa 1969–1973 these images merged with those of the long-haired youth protesting in the streets of Derry being then broadcast on TV. To an older generation, this appearance of aimlessness hinted at those who had returned 'changed' and bringing foreign agendas as they set out routes that possibly could be seen to address the history of the city centre streets themselves. Originally laid out from 18th century Georgian plans, the city grid was intended to map Establishment progress whereby the wide streets set the wealthy apart from the narrow streets (and poor) of the Medieval quarters. There could be provocation in the often flamboyant style of these walkers if they paraded this route in what were regarded as elaborate uniforms of dissent. This act echoed the original English act of rebellion where detourned versions of the style of the English officer gentlemen were paraded in both London City centre and working areas by working class youths who registered the antagonistic Teddy (Edwardian) Boy style.

The LP walk remains an understated intervention in Limerick's social history which channelled an alternative agenda as it mapped the city streets. In regards to cultural production, it reflected on imaginary social spaces and it introduced a local practice based on drifting which confirmed the classic situationist definition.

39 The coat was a recognised alternative uniform, and often a visual short hand for 'hippie protest' in TV drama.

Figure 13
A selection of books from the period 1968-73 found in Limerick 2012-2015.

Make hybrids, and you make revolutions (Leary, 1988 p.106).

On March 12th 1973, the British psychedelic, 'acid rock,' band *Hawkwind* performed in Limerick's Savoy Theatre/Cinema. *Hawkwind* were profile ambassadors for London's counterculture who embodied the ethos of Hippie Modernism in music based around science fiction concepts. A brief note of their visit to Limerick can be found in a short piece on the history of the Savoy in the *Limerick Historical Journal.*

> The Hawkwind show, which they called Space Ritual, was particularly notable for an elaborate lights display including strobe lighting. Also eye catching was the presence on stage of Stacia, the exotic dancer – this was not the kind of thing the young people of Limerick would have had too much exposure to in 1973! (Maguire, 2010 p.35).

Hawkwind were different to the standard rock groups then visiting Limerick in regards to how they presented their conceptual material as an event, a quasi- mystical experience, very suggestive of the countercultural desire for alternative environments. The group's reputation in promoting this mind set preceded them and their presence was a significant event for a cohort of Limerick Youth who saw them as outsiders, or 'space travellers.' The band promoted this bond by creating unique fan material promoting the idea of a separate universe that mirrored the ideal of the alternative society suggested by spaces such as Notting Hill.[40] Travelling as a small community they were received as theatrical ambassadors representing the ethos of these spaces.

The packaging of the record, *Space Ritual*, which was the basis of the Savoy

40 The singer on the night was 'Lemmy' Kilminster who had a substantial solo career. His nickname being a reference to the BBC Radio series Journey into Space broadcast in the late 50s and 60s.

performance, was an elaborate art deco composition. The album cover offered six panels that when opened up displayed a mix of Edwardian erotica with scientific graphics (including a foetus floating amongst stars) amongst band photography. The album's designer, Barney Bubbles, extended the theme of the past and future merging for a psychedelic present in a publication that the band provided at the concerts. This magazine was to function as a type of primer and it is esoteric/hippy ethos drew from the design of the free press such as the *International Times.* This type of non-linear design signified the representations of systems of consciousness also found elsewhere in key countercultural texts such as the Whole Earth Catalogue. Such visuals encouraged the reader to 'decrypt ideology' (Castillo, 2015 p.99).

Bubbles referred to this document as a 'logbook' for the crew of the Hawkwind spaceship. According to Garry Healy, a member of the Limerick audience on the night, this logbook, signifying the essence of a journey or 'trip,' was placed on each seat of the Savoy for the audience. Healy also confirms that Stacia, Hawkwind's 6 foot 2 inch tall 'exotic dancer' was 'forced to keep her clothes on' (Healy, year p.).

The profile of Irish-born Stacia Blake, who interpreted the music of the group while dancing in body paint, was well remarked on in the media at the time but not in the context of an issue that would invite censorship as in Britain. Catholic Ireland operated under stricter guidelines and it is most likely the presence of Stacia would have been an issue for these Irish performances in 1973. Assurances would have needed to be given before the tour commenced that she would be appropriately clothed. The Limerick performance also featured what another audience member, the musician Ger Costelloe who attended as a 16 year old, described as 'a mime artist.' Costelloe says the overall event was 'jaw dropping' and 'very spacey' for someone his age (Costelloe and Healy, 2015 Facebook).[41]

In 1970, Richard Neville, the publisher of OZ magazine, stated that the 'Counterculture is the brainchild of the new technology. Light shows require sophisticated electronic equipment, from adjustable stroboscopes to multi-injector projectors finely synchronised with the rhythms of rock and roll. And just as rock depends on a group, so products of the new culture are symbiotic, they work better together' (Neville, 1970 p.).

In terms of an understated event that had a discernible influence in representing elements of the London counterculture for a local audience, the 1973 Hawkwind performance is significant for any exploration of how elements of the international counterculture were received in Limerick. The concert, in its ambitious use of performative elements that visualised the otherness of a countercultural society, tied into the intellectual process that some Limerick Youth were assembling through music and literature for themselves in the city. Another attendee at the Savoy, Greg O'Shaughnessy, states that the event had a small but committed turnout (the large space of the Savoy rendered some crowds that way). He mentions that the group's reputation as a troupe of 'acid heads' drew what represented the local acid/LSD population to the event that night. According to O'Shaughnessy acid use was not unknown in the city by this time.

In experiencing such an event in a city, monitored by the church state, Hawkwind's

41 Tender. May. The Brotherhood of Eternal Love. http://www.druglibrary.net/schaffer/lsd/books/bel3.htm

ritual gave committed fans substance that validated their local subcultural endeavours. Even in the slightly compromised form of a conventional rock concert the event transmitted a necessary *frisson* for the hippie modernists of Limerick who supported the potential of an alternate society. In *The Art of Looking Sideways* (2001), the author Alan Fletcher advocates an appreciation of space as a substance in itself and mentions the Japanese concept of negative space (Ma) which references the space one experiences between musical notes underlining the proposition that it is the interval between the notes that gives shape to the whole composition (Fletcher, 2001 p.370). An awareness of Ma can give substance to an exploration of the complex relationship between people and objects (De Kerckhove, 2005 p.157).
The week after the Hawkwind event, its direct antithesis took place in the Savoy cinema. According to the *Limerick Leader* (March 20th, 1973) the public was invited to a talk organised by the scientific council for the Mid-West region on the topic of drugs. The talk was framed as a health concern and the context in that respect was politically neutral. Although open to the public, the issue of LSD use and its socio-political identity did not appear to be tabled for this presentation.

Figure 14

Limerick Leader March, 1973.

Learn about drugs on Monday next

WITH THE growth of drug addiction and general use and abuse of drugs by teenagers, it is felt that many parents and students in the region will wish to be informed on this growing problem.

With this in mind, members of the Scientific Council for the Mid-West Region have invited Mr. C. S. O'Connor of the College of the Pharmaceutical Society to present an illustrated lecture at the Savoy, on Monday night next, at 8 o'clock.

Mr. O'Connor will deal, inter alia, with the following points: (1) Explaination of the [illegible] categories of drugs [illegible] alcohol, barbiturates, [illegible] pills, cannabis, L.S.D. [illegible] interest in experimenting with drugs amongst youth.

Danger

In terms of actual deaths, barbiturates are the greatest danger as they contain two types of risk:

(a) Middle aged people, especially housewives, become dependent on them through increasing the prescribed dose. This type of dependence is very hard to cure.

(b) Abuse of barbiturates is increasing among teenagers who inject the contents of capsules intravenously. Mr. O'Connor suggests that the drug nitrazepan be substituted as far as possible for barbiturates in medical practice.

Thanks to the action of the Minister for Health in banning them, amphetamines are not a problem in Ireland.

Cannabis and L.S.D. are not stocked by pharmacists and are not used in medicine.

Popular

However, [illegible] the most popular drugs [illegible] in Dublin, where they are smuggled into, and their availability has reached an alarming stage.

L.S.D. is one of the most potent substances. Possession of this drug is an offence, but importation or "pushing" the drug is not an offence, and the legal position with regard to this drug is completely unsatisfactory, says Mr. O'Connor.

Other types of drug will also be dealt with in what promises to be a most interesting talk.

Admission to non-members will be 25 pence, and for students, 10 pence.

Storm clouds are gathering over

The interval between two events recorded in the space of the Savoy embody distinct generational boundaries for the period 1966–1973. One event is understated, but a significant marker in the under-recorded history of unconformist activity. The other is held in an undistinguished fashion in an Establishment archive. An ethnographic exploration of the two sides of this interval (even conceptualised as a historical record) should involve assigning a weight to both events for contrast, to fix points on an

alternative historical map. Such a consideration would allow outcomes which account for elements of the legacy of unconformist activity that is understated, unrecorded, and misrepresented even as unrespectable behaviour.

A focus on the conceptual measurement of the gap in the week of March 1973 allows information to be pulled together for an insight into how Limerick stood in regards to how the counterculture was translated for the city. An outline of the socio-political history of LSD is pertinent for setting context for an alternative historical map in relation to how the translation of the confrontational narrative that grew up surrounding its banning was being discussed in 1973. By then, the very letters LSD functioned as outsider shorthand for individuality and by default, anti-authoritarian protest.

In 1968, after LSD was declared illegal by the US congress and forced underground, its outlaw status began to generate a dialogue of protest delivered in speech, print and song. These documents of unconformity were curated by the counterculture and distributed by the free press in aid of the ideals of a counter society. Now, if the language of protest that is associated with the cultural legacy of LSD is retrospectively explored in this local context, it includes how conditions represented the ethos of the counterculture locally were processed in the period 1966–1973.

The American ethnobotanist and writer on psychedelic culture, Terence Kemp McKenna, speculated that the labelling of psychedelics as dangerous by the Establishment arose after 1966 when the American authorities saw individualism threatening a spectacle that needed to be maintained. In his book *The Archaic Revival* (1991) he speculated psychedelics were rendered illegal 'not because it troubles anyone that you have visions,' but because, 'there is something about them that casts doubts on the validity of reality.' McKenna observed that democratic and especially 'dominator' societies refused to accept them and branded them as a threat; the Establishment being of course a dominator society (McKenna, 1991).

There was still cultural currency in the transcendental language used by those who the supported LSD and who recognised the failure of the utopia it was supposed to usher in. One could discern this language in the metaphorical directions taken by Hawkwind who would have supported the versions of transcendence that were still active in countercultural activity.

The potential for positioning archival work that supports evidence of alternative modernism (1966–1973) for inclusion in a contemporary history of Limerick remain. Elements for the period that reference unconformity can remain contentious particularly if archives based on the period support a benign or surface reading of the period (or a reading that regards the complexities of outsider histories as problematic an unsubstantiated). This expanded legacy contributes to a conceptual mapping of the city that embraces a fragmented timeline of unconformity based on the period 1966–1973. A critical juncture appears when it is possible to consider a moment when the space of the Savoy hosted two related events that were most likely unaware of each other. A repositioning of the Hawkwind event in tandem with the public meeting on LSD links both for a legacy of how Establishment structures overlapped with subcultural activity and how this activity represented alternative modernism in an Irish context.

Thousands of teenagers angered by recent allegations that drugs were being passed in Beat clubs paraded through Dublin on Saturday afternoon in protest. Led by a convoy of motor cycles and a horse drawn milk dray, they carried banners and placards emblazoned: "We are not drug addicts", "We do not drink"; "Don't crush the clubs: Leave the kids alone" and "It's a Mod world."

THE IRISH INDEPENDENT, MONDAY 17 OCTOBER, 1966.

The teenagers of 1960s Limerick were most conscious of a generational discrepancy between their own and their fathers' time. Such a changing of the guard is a natural process but in the early sixties the intense cultural gap it brought with it felt more acute. In the early sixties a young Limerick man, James Haran, registered this lack as something to be acted upon. As neutral Ireland's isolationism changed to meet modern necessities, a generation specific to that time arrived seeking their own space with a realisation that it may have to be constructed anew. The platform for this was the Irish beat scene.

As situations of resistance based around the Limerick beat scene progressed to include revolutionary activity and random, public expressions of the zeitgeist by youth gangs in the seventies. Overlaping agendas were reflected in disparate intersections that included industrial protests emanating from the Shannon industrial zone, soccer gangs, and even the beat groups themselves who were sometimes set against each other by venue owners.

Any music-based activity that sets itself against a church sanctioned and rural leaning dancehall culture could not help but draw rebellious support in urban areas and achieve a righteous identity in the process. The beat venue club a Go-Go is seminal for Limerick in this respect; a self-regulated territory for teenagers who saw themselves as teenagers first. This was a community who looked outside parental-set identities and who refused to adhere to the nationalist social boundaries sound tracked by 'native,' that is, traditional Irish reels or the sanctioned populism of the variety show type showband scene.

In 1965, James Haran was one of the founder members of the Limerick beat band The Intentions who eventually became known as Granny's Intentions. The recorded legacy of the band is in four singles and one LP of original material recorded for Deram Records in London (1967–1968). A fuller legacy of the band takes is embedded in their role as the organised teenagers who led Limerick's Mod movement before going professional as a beat band. This was a significant achievement by a group of teenagers as the concept of 'working' as a beat musician was exotic had no Irish precedent and did not register as a trade.

The beat scene was conservatively received as a populist strand of the standard voice-guitar-drums musical package that musicians dabbled with, but it was the genesis for radical directions. Not only did Haran and his peers sign up for this future, they insisted on promoting it within Limerick.

As the pace of social interaction in the sixties remained mediated by Church-regulated authority through the moral administration of youth clubs and adult

Figure 15
Granny's Intentions, 1967.
Left to right: Johnny Hockedy, Jack Costelloe, Guido de Vito, John Ryan, James 'Cha' Haran, Johnny Duhan. Photograph by Deke O Brien.

dancehalls, Haran and his peers focused on this space to resist the Catholic hegemony. This was a revolutionary act in directing a social environment in Establishment-vetted social spaces via the countercultural English stance of the Mod or beat follower in an Irish context. The Irish term 'beat,' as in 'beat group,' was adopted to channel both the influence of the Beatles, who visited Ireland in 1963 and the American beat movement. Historically, Irish 'beats' are unique and not specifically tied to any fifties beat philosophy, but the term functioned as a countercultural shorthand long after falling out of favour elsewhere and it continues to hold significance.

An interaction with the politics of place held in social space was necessary not least as the evolution of the commercial dancehall was tied to the social narrative of a post-war environment. There were no commercial dancehalls before the ratification of the treaty and those that existed in this respect did so under the auspices of local committees. The old *Limerick Journal* of 1985 (Vol 8) underlines that 'these were the urban counterparts of the rural crossroad platforms' (Author, 1985 p.), De Valera's famous (year) phrase of responsible 'maidens dancing at the crossroads' epitomised how 'native Irish' social gathering were to be structured throughout the sixties.
The dominance of Church-regulated social activities was not only uninviting but the Irish clergy's moral supervision of the dancehall appeared inappropriate for a period of international change that had brought the challenges of the counterculture to Pope John XXIII and the Second Vatican Council.

The Irish Mod style was without the transitional history and reference points of its English counterpart and it is this that registers it as unique to Limerick. Being a Mod in Limerick confirmed what Stuart Hall described as the 'double articulation of youth' (year p.), a reference to British teenagers who participated both in their parent's and the dominant culture.

Figure 16
Image of John Lennon and George Harrison in Dromoland Castle, Limerick. Easter, 1964.
Source: Rare Irish stuff.

Ireland did not have the class template for an equivalent appreciation of the urban English 'Revolt into Style.' Yet a rudimentary acquaintance with the attitude embodied in imported rock and roll culture was enough to allow a template for music-led rebellion to encourage Irish youth (who would not be regarded as teenagers in the international sense until the late 1970s) to seek out city space for authentic expression. In promoting a youthful manifesto for this ideal they insisted it was sound tracked by the noise of American soul music, as this put revolutionary space between them and the conservative dancehall. McLaughlin and McLoone (2012) identify that the patterns of resistance adopted by those who created the Irish beat scene were sourced from soul music from Black America

.

> The beat scene was viewed at the time as a 'minor rebellion' against conservative Ireland and attracted the scruffy non-conformists to their tight and smoky venues. The historical significance of that scene is that it was the first subculture to be centred on specifically popular musical identification, structured around sounds styles and attitude. (McLaughlin and McLoone, 2012 p.27).

When translated in an uncompromised fashion for an Irish context, the otherness of Black American soul music felt transgressive, particularly as it was not mediated fully through national media channels but mainly through pirate channels. It could even be described as in terms set out by Paul Nettl, a bohemian musicologist, who described

dance music as *'Gebrauchsmusik'* or 'utility music,' sound that spoke for a function in a language still under construction from the youth (Nettl, 1921 p.).

The influence of non-national radio and British publications cannot be stressed enough, as access to the culture of a virtual peer group was through the commercial medium- and long-wave broadcasts of Radio Luxembourg (1933–1992) and Radio Caroline (1964–1969) were essential. Radio Caroline in particular had the desired *frisson* due its 'pirate' image and the fact that its owner, Ronan O'Rahilly, was Irish. O'Rahilly once told the International Times that the ability for pirate radio to unite the youth was the equivalent of a 'human-be-in' (year, p.).

After 1962, both Irish and British state radio observed that an American dominated era of swing and rock and roll had been superseded by a pop cultural scene that was London centric and more participatory. The trajectory of change and the reception for a youth-orientated product that was music-based was unlike anything experienced before and the official channels were reticent to acknowledge this. Change, as reflected in the marketplace where music featured, was been acknowledged but state radio in Ireland held its stake in the chaste music of the fifties well into the seventies playing, as the musician Paul Brady once described as, 'music from the other side of the fence' (year p.).

Rebel radio in Limerick had precedent. In 1930, the audacious illegal radio transmissions of two Limerick teenagers calling themselves Billy Dynamite and Al Dubbin were briefly broadcast citywide. It was well received in the city pubs that put it on each evening for their customers. The youth played the underground sound of their day: jazz. Until they were caught they broadcasted using the title of the 'City Broadcasting Service' (Author, year p.).[42]

Magazines such as the *New Musical Express* and *Fabulous* covered the social movements that were constantly dealing with the dynamic of international pop cultural movements. These magazines were essential style guides for kids who wanted to be different. Fabulous cost the most at a shilling but was the most desired in Limerick as its coverage and content was designed to, as Jon Savage commented, 'introduce a more direct rapport between the stars and their keenly attuned audience' (*The Guardian*, 2009 p.). Youth was, in the whole press of the period, a powerful but concealed metaphor for social change; the compressed image of a society which had crucially changed in terms of basic lifestyles and values changed, in ways calculated to upset the official framework, but in ways not yet calculable in traditional political terms (Hall and Jefferson, 1993). *Fabulous* ran theme issues such as an edition called 'Gets the Vote', which looked at pop stars and politics (in regards to the October 1964, UK general election). This referencing of the wider society amongst the magazines flexed boundaries by introducing 'news' items tailored for a teenage audience. In the Irish media such boundaries remained fixed. Politics were an adult concern and the Irish teen was regarded as a powerless transitional being, a 'young adult.' In transmitting a tone of urgency, coverage in the UK teen press communicated the power of tribal behaviour representing a vital urban-based demand that constantly verged on the self-sufficient. The teenage movement (and its spending power) appeared to shape an environment to

42 Conversation with Shane Curtin Limerick 2014. Until the 1980s the idea of developing platforms in the media and national broadcasting to operate as outlets for youth-based culture were not a priority. TV and radio existed primarily for news and entertainment and was regarded officially as separate and conventional for an adult audience. Previous to the establishment of the youth-orientated radio station RTE 2 in 1979, there was an average of only three to four hours of youth-orientated music a week, none of which could be described as representative of the international youth. Instead this lack of state recognition regarding contemporary sound was dealt with in the social space of the dancehall. The role the dancehall offered was a place for people to hear contemporary sounds translated note by note or sanitised by showbands.

the extent that teens became additions to but not full stakeholders in the economy.

Environments were shaped by the use of outside locations for photoshoots in the magazines (particularly *RAVE* magazine) with the design of this act serving to put the location itself of on par with an event. As the locations became iconic as a consequence of this design the process does register as place-making. Locations such as Portobello Road or Covent Garden had never featured in the context of fashion or style before, now they became youth designated backgrounds hosted in the images by models their own age. The pose of this generation pointed at the redundancy of the traditional fashion pose where aspirational glamor was regulated by class and came at a price. The new attitude foregrounded youth style that was immediate and even disposable. The location was part of this attitude. English television shows also drew heavily on the aesthetic of what was being internationally received as the pop art movement. The sets on the Mod show Ready Steady Go referenced the changing art styled windows of London boutiques leading the consumption of style to appear participatory. The windows of Carnaby Street appeared anointed by the television as the youth sought out the styles previously broadcast.[43] In a generational context, the association of location as a signifier implied contested territory. A quote from a 1966 article on pop culture in art and artists proclaims that, 'The corridors of power are no longer in Westminster but in Carnaby Street' (Wolfram, 1996 p.31).

UK magazines were essential documents for the Irish scene to the extent that they replicated their mission in their small ads where other magazines and event descriptions were to be found. This contrasted with insular social material delivered in the equivalent Irish publication *Spotlight* (1963–1979), a popular publication that averaged weekly sales in Ireland of 50,000. Though not totally averse to covering the radical beat scene, *Spotlight* proudly advertised itself as 'The Showband Magazine' whose regular readers prioritised a rural-based culture over the potential possibilities of an urban outlook. By promoting certain social gatherings *Spotlight* regulated a measured pace for its readership. Its coverage recognised the dominance of a church-supervised rural-based version of social progress and adjusted its social content accordingly. *Spotlight's* contribution to the moral authority was most evident in the chaste advice and warnings that it gave to the young women who wrote into its problem pages.

Haran describes the necessity of the practice of following the progress of the Mod scene in UK magazines in tandem with the 'international listening' of pirate radio as 'essential' (year p.). Channelling the foreign sounds of soul in the bands they created for themselves and their peers saw them create confrontational agency in a common symbolic space inspired by a London vanguard. It is no coincidence that Haran and his band originally called themselves 'The Intentions.' The band understood that any Irish translation of this futurism must respect progress. Haran knew that a cover of 'Not Fade Away' undertaken by the showbands would have rendered it, in the format of American-tinged light entertainment, as unthreatening. It would exist as a safe translation just to confirm its position in the UK's hit parade with none of the aesthetics of confrontation suggested by a rawer version by The Rolling Stones. Haran mentions recognising how versions of the same song could serve different agendas as formative. In his preferred

43 For examples see. Pop as Mod by Eddie Wolfram. Art and Artists Vol 1 issue 1 April 1966 p30.

interpretation, The Intentions were committed to communicating the Mod urgency they had divined in The Rolling Stones version, highlighting the cultural currency held in the amalgamation of sound and vision provided by the Stones; it was new and it should be heard live. A young Haran thought, 'Why not a Limerick interpretation? Why should a Limerick audience not engage with what the Stones offered without having to dismantle the generational gatekeeping of the showbands each time?' By 1966 The Intentions focused on the look and sound of UK bands (working class) The Kinks and (middle class) The Rolling Stones and The Who, whose agenda was predicated as much by how they looked as how they sounded (Haran, year p.).[44]

A type of translation that illustrates the complexity then involved in positioning material in an Irish context was mirrored in an example by renowned Irish folk singer Luke Kelly. In 1966, Kelly (described by fellow Dublin singer Brush Shields as a 'communist singer' (2014)) subscribed to an influential New York folk magazine called Sing Out, a magazine then publishing the poems and lyrics of a young Bob Dylan. However without the transcription of music to guide him, Kelly adapted Dylan's words instead to Irish airs. Only later did he find out that Dylan himself had used the same Irish airs after being exposed to the singing of the famous Clancy Brothers who successfully brought their version of Irishness to New York (Fallon, 1996 p.89).

These links come to be mentioned as asides when the wider narrative of the social impact of popular music (particularly the history of modern folk music) is discussed. Yet, for a consideration of how countercultural elements were translated in the Irish process of re-imagination, recognition of the dynamics involved in subcultural overlapping that interrogated what was held as traditional is significant.

In 2014, the renowned English folk singer Martin McCarthy recalled that a visit by Dylan to England in 1962 saw him perform his anti-war classic 'A Hard Rains Gonna Fall.' On hearing it McCarthy was struck by the familiarity of the first line,

'Where have you been, my blue-eyed son? / Where have you been, my handsome young one?' He recognised it as being taken from the well-known British border ballad 'Lord Randall' which was a staple in British folk circles. However, Dylan just sung that line and then carried on with his own lyrics. According to McCarthy 'that line was where the similarity to 'Lord Randall' ended. He just took off on this great song, 'Hard Rain'. And in 1962 that song was revolutionary' (year p.). Dylan himself speaks on the depth of emotion held in the transposed Irish ballads that he had heard the Clancy Brothers sing in White Horse Tavern in Hudson Street, New York, 'The rebellion songs were a really serious thing. They weren't protest songs though they were rebel ballads. Even in a simple melodic wooing ballad there'd be rebellion waiting round the corner' (2012 p.83).[45]

Kelly and Haran were committed to an authentic representation of the rebellious ethos of an alternative modernism they saw being processed by Dylan and The Rolling Stones who adapted the noise of protest they heard in American roots music. If their translations interacted with or questioned elements of the 'modern' Irishness that was being shaped by the Establishment, then their acts cannot to be said be said to fit in with the international alternative mission. Haran's act is two-fold as he had to both

44 In 1964 the first American styled Jukeboxes arrived in Limerick facilitating a soundtrack that focused on the upbeat and foreign for the beat youth who congregated in the likes of the aptly named Continental Café in Patrick Street.

45 NB: By 1966 Dylan's agenda was received as agitational folk linked to a universal cause. It became more than popular music. Transgressing race for a militant mission The Black Panther leaders Huey Newton and Bobby Seale used 'brother Bobby's' music as essential listening as they prepared the first edition of the Black Panther newspaper.

translate the sound of 'Not Fade Away' and perform in the sense of an avant-garde. By being so engaged in the responsibility of this task he acknowledged and questioned the spectacle at the same time. In the sixties the safe Irish image of the Clancy Brothers for example was much celebrated as an uncomplicated presentable voice for a suitable modernity. The Irish package embodied in seeing the Clancy's as ambassadors suited the national projected image of the national programme in the mid-sixties. Before the War in the North and the oil crisis of 1973, the Irish Establishment was selling an unspoilt uncomplicated environment rich in folklore but ripe for industrial development. So successful was the package of the Clancy's representing a safe version of Irishness through song circa 1969–1973 that they institutionalised the format.[46]

Figure 17
St. Patrick's day,
Limerick, 1964.

> The KRUPS workers made the everyday: domestic appliances such as mixers, food processors and weighing scales. The mother in the home became the worker in the factory producing these convenient, automatic machines representing consumption and modernization. They replaced the time-consuming traditional processes such as mixing and weighing for baking bread. These appliances are the processors of redefinition from the traditional era to the modern era. (Text from Limerick Civic Trust display panel, 2014).

As the congregated space of the church was represented in the structure of the dancehall, some rituals there were deemed obsolete by Haran's generation, particularly the design of chaste music for courting embodied in the 'slow dances,' where couples were encouraged to 'leave space between each other of the Holy Ghost' (author, year p.). This signified a desire by the Establishment to maintain a staid, safely managed, traditionalism for a generation groomed to reap the benefits of a modern state.

46 So much so that it was easier to promote the few progressive Irish rock bands that toured North America as acts that represented the UK rock scene. American-Irish audiences as a whole were comfortable with an uncomplicated version of home (Conversation with Brush Shields regarding his 1969 tour of America. 2015).

This overstatement may seem excessive, but the moral self-regulation of the dancehall was an entrenched social fact ever since the instigation of the 1935 Dancehall Act. This act, a version of which remains currently in force today, initially castigated types of dance music, particularly jazz as being detrimentally 'foreign' (Author, 1935 p.). The act was intended to reserve cultural space for traditional Irish music and dance while acknowledging space for contemporary socialising. The desired balance involved managing the act through the monitored social space of the dancehall. A self-regulated code enforced itself. This became recognised, promoted, and managed by the suited performers of the showbands. Early versions of this scene were advertised as 'Band Shows,' the title alone suggesting boundaries were in place for regulated and socially acceptable entertainment.

The 1935 Dancehall Act was one of the first pieces of social legislation passed by Fianna Fáil after they took power in 1932. On its enactment it reflected the dominant thinking by Church-led authorities on the alien threat of amorality smuggled in through the format of mass entertainment. Its remit, as practiced by the authorities, included the breaking up of dances at crossroads and houses. As early as 1922, a statement speculating on the threat of the foreign appeared in the *Freeman's Journal.* It explicitly calls for 'broadminded sensible men of different ages, women also, and some of the clergy who understood the atmosphere of the cinema and the theatre "to be the Catholic guardians of public space."' The report states that 'everything contrary to Christian purity and modesty should be banned mercilessly' (Author, year p.). Ominously, it states that 'the personnel of the censorship was an important matter.' By 1925 statements from the Catholic hierarchy castigating the dancehall were common and this message was reinforced and spread by the conservative media. If left unsupervised these places could be the 'most dangerous source of corruption in the country' (Gibbons, 1996 p.).

Before the introduction of the Act, a cohort of hard-line 'Gaels' firmly held the attitude that the influence of detrimental foreign culture epitomised by 'jazz' should be held at bay and it was the responsibility of those of Fianna Fáil to enforce the policing of these boundaries. A letter to the *Anglo-Celt* newspaper by such a Gael warns of lax policing in this regard. He lists the increase of 'jazz affairs' in Catholic College reunions, diocesan dances, and dances in connection with business houses (*Anglo-Celt,* 1982 p.).

Lamenting that it seems that 'a Gael cannot go to any entertainment that is not all jazz' while fuming at the accusations of narrow-mindedness and bigotry, he is confronted with enduring the encroachment of dances other than Irish at Irish classes. His exasperation reaches a peak when he realises that a jazz event is to take place in Dublin under the auspices of Fianna Fáil on 'of all days in the year on the National Festival.' Of this final straw he asks, 'Is the encouragement of jazz dancing not against the constitution of Fianna Fail?' (*Anglo-Celt,* 1928 p.).

A report on a Ceilidh Mor in the *Donegal News* in 1944 further illustrates the threat of the outside embodied in foreign sounds and how this was managed by a reliance on Gaels in repelling the threat. The MC or 'Fear an Tioghe,' a Mr. Gallaher, paid tribute to the Gaels of Mount Charles who were available to be called upon 'when danger

threatened.' The paper reports applause at the end of the tribute where it was said that, 'The days of the negro jazz are practically numbered in this district, and the time is not too distant when "Jazz" and all the other denationalising and demoralising influences will be swept from our land' (*Donegal News*, 1944).

By the sixties, to form a group inspired by the likes of the anti-Establishment image of The Rolling Stones was to be aware that the territory of the traditional dancehall was firmly Establishment territory. New arenas representative of modern youth in the Free State would be required.[47] (The pop-cultural gap of the late 40s and early 50s between Donegal and its close (English) neighbour Derry was significantly wide. While Donegal held chaste dances, the Derry youth were able to access what was to be rock and roll through the conduit of Derry port. As a UK military port the American sailors contributed to a juke box culture held by local youth (McCafferty, 1996 p.178).

Haran was conscious of the lack of contemporary material representing his agenda on Irish radio. The impact of record singles in the sixties was a vital one. They were two and a half minute manifestos of style and attitude that could only be sourced on foreign airwaves and mail order. Although domestic record sales were healthy, the bulk of the product for an Irish audience would have supplied an alternative manifesto of conservatism in songs that merged Irish airs with the reassurance of conservative American country stylings.

The inherent parochialism in the domestic market was compounded by the long-standing trend and popularity of the place song. This was instigated by the singer Larry Cunningham whose song 'Lovely Leitrim' became a template for showband 'slow sets.' Domestic sales of ballads referencing townlands could often reach tens of thousands. These record singles were often available on the ticket desk of the dancehall appearing to be sold by the very singer on stage that night. Meanwhile in Limerick, domestic reel to reel tape recorders were used to record music from the pirate stations to learn the chords for when a constant wait for the record itself would prove too long.

By 1966 Haran was confident enough to begin to style the group himself to reflect the Mod ethos of claiming outside sources to contest conservatism in the social arena. In a calculated act of rebuke to the 'shiny suited' showbands, he dressed the band in the twenties style of American gangsters using pinstriped suits and hats sourced from Limerick's Army Surplus store. The coded message was understood by the youth who saw it as confrontation, but also appreciated it as Mod style. This sourcing of new uniforms from old was an established youth practice of dress for the English scene initiated mainly by the Teddy Boys who re-tailored Edwardian dress as gang style. This type of 'bricolage' or appropriation specific to this time is a recognised socio-political act by the way one form of commodities is subverted by symbolically placing them in a different context and stripping them of their designated 'straight' purpose.

In choosing this flamboyant apparel, Haran also played with the potent Irish image of the 'returned yank.' This celebrated figure usually embodied the returned emigrant and symbolised an entrenched romantic notion of making it abroad but never at home. Haran, dressed as half gangster and half Tammany Hall Irishman, was constructing a parody of this worn yet potent narrative.

47 Quote: The Freemans Journal February 6 1922. From storify.com/ Limerick 1914/Ireland-s-attitude-to unmarried-mothers. Published 18 June 2014.
Gibbons, L. (1996) Transformations in Irish culture. Notre Dame, Ind.:Univ. of Notre Dame Press. Quoted in Class Conflict in South Leitrim Stephen Ryan P 22. Also (Clergy and a Hall, 1928).

Figure 18
Cha Haran. Limerick, 1965.
Cha Haran archive.

The English critic and style historian, Peter York, states that the significance of bricolage is embedded in resistance, 'if all that you owned was your threads and your music then you could "work with that" (year, p.). York is referring here to an outsider as a public image not tied by conventional uniform to an institution. In post-war fifties London the very act of walking in full Teddy boy dress alongside a group of tradesmen or bankers was fraught with contention. The Teddy boy dress was the complete repudiation of this. Patrolling the urban public area with a non-conformist agenda held its impact in its original London setting until the concept was commodified in the late sixties and became a British export in music and cinema.

York makes the distinction between the fashion statements of the working class and the choices made by the rebel fashions of the middle class. This reclamation differs from Limerick examples that would be referencing a version of youth rebellion that was not class-based. Yet a version of the Teddy boy patrolled Limerick in the sixties and inevitably this Irish Ted took an instant dislike to the Irish Mod.

Haran confirms this was part of the then rites of change. As well as a generational reaction by one tribe to another, it also involved a clash of identity and territory in regards to the general environment of Limerick. Street uniforms that signified allegiance to the specifics of change became necessary. The mods, as ever, were the most attuned outfitters.

To understand the complexity of this coding one had to be young and involved in generating variants of the style for yourself and the group. One example would be the English mods' adoption of the army surplus fishtailed parka. This distinctive cloak was a visual acknowledgment of the continuing American military presence in England as their cultural resource for imported music and style. Combining the parka with a sharp Italian

suit simply communicated the mods' respect for a combination of Black American soul and European modernism.

In Ireland, the few Army surplus stores did not register as a vital resource for 'gear' but their existence as a go-to spot for the times were essential all the same. In the mid-sixties the rural youth who frequented the dancehall would not have seen the surplus store as a place to visit to dress for the weekend. Their dress code held a respect for the embedded courting rituals signified in the 'Sunday suit' for the men and the 'best dress' for the women. The staged rigidity of posed women in features titled 'Beauties from the Ballrooms' was a typical feature in the Irish issue of Woman's Way.

Freelance photographers worked the city dancehalls at the weekends as it was expected that a record of the night would 'make a good picture' and there would be a demand for this. The conservative poses in these images legitimised one's participation in the night as being respectable. The social gap contrast between these 'classy' poses and the snapshots taken by Haran's peers in the Go-Go Club is wide. The former hold

Figure 19
Club A-Go-Go, 1966.

CLUB A-GO-GO UPSTAIRS1966 KEVIN FLANNAGAN,DAVE BROWNE,JOHN O'MAHONY[TULLA]

the appearance of social aspiration, while the latter document the social species of a time and place. The appearance of couples or 'young adults' in the classy images remained unchanged from the late forties to the late sixties until acceptable versions of the Mod look (the mini skirt for example) finally relegated the increasingly staged look as arch conservative.

As he developed a public persona on stage, Haran understood that the simplest visual redirection had impact and each performance was an opportunity for cultural commentary. As a modernist he confronted the codes that sought to extend the conservatism of the post-war social arena for another generation. He constantly sought to challenge the psychology of the conservative shrine embodied in the dancehall to

the extent that he designed confrontation as performance. Haran was instinctively aware of the nature of his art and how it could only be formed in a dialogue with an audience. Marshall McLuchan outlined this activity as an essential journey for identity, 'The quest for identity goes along with this bumping into people to find out "who am I?" "How much identity can I discover I possess by simply banging into other people?" It's a series of adventures and encounters that create all sorts of disturbances' (McLuchan, year p.). A musician, according to McLuchan 'sets a trap for your attention. That is the nature of art. Dialogue is an encounter with people and situations' (McLuchan, 1979).

On stage with his band Granny's Intentions in Cork circa 1966, on an early support slot for a showband, Haran chose to wear a Californian styled 'Hippy' poncho. This would have been a familiar counterculture reference for the bands' street followers, but alien to those night's showband audience who would have possible associated it with the image of a Native American. As such, Haran was playing the fixed image of the safe

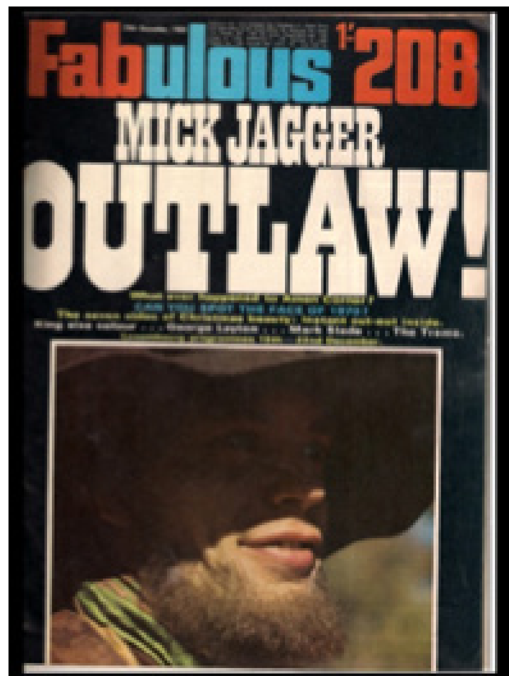


Figure 20
FAB 208 December 1970. *Mick Jagger in character in the film Ned Kelly of that year. One scene features a homecoming to "a wild Irish reel." Kelly was Irish-Australian.*

Hollywood cowboy (the showband star) the dangerous 'Red Indian' (the rebel Mod.) Attired as such, he vividly remembers the confusion created on the mixed crowd of young and old. Playing on this incongruity, The Grannies struck up the intro to a country and western Larry Cunningham anthem. This accentuated the confusion before the band sacrilegiously segued into a raucous English beat number such as The Kinks, *You Really Got Me* (Haran, 2014).

Sonically, the Irish modernism of The Grannies speaks volumes. In the cut of that short transitional performance the band presented an antagonistic and deliberate act

of confrontation. It brought to the fore the compliance of an unquestioning community trapped as such in the then culture of the Catholic dancehall. This was their intention and they repeated that provocation many times. Their 'bit of country' statement then existed to call out the prescribed nature of the country dancehall. The 'bit of country' routine was also a rebuke by the band to the practice of having to operate within the early 'scrap' slots tossed to the beat groups by the showbands. The evident dominance of the showbands within the entertainment business was manifest in the power to delegate rankings. The showbands and their managers had little interest in any revolutionary or overt social agenda hinted at by the beat bands. Music was a commodity that supported the social structure of the halls and this was a model that did not invite complexity. Showbands were content to own the national circuit and operate in partnership with the owners of the halls and recognise any church involvement if it came to the fore. Beat music fans regarded this conservatism as reductive and biased, if not somewhat corrupt. As underdogs, the beat audience supported any music-based broadsides against the Establishment as legitimate, and in regards to the status of the Catholic ethos embodied in the commercial dancehall, it became necessary to address the role of the showband personality, as demonstrated by The Grannies, even if it had to be parody.

By 1967 a surface reading of the new age by the showbands simplified the new age and commercialised it for audiences. In his biography, Derek Dean of The Freshmen showband reflects on a particular desire for the new age in the context of the ballroom:

> We looked across the Atlantic in awe as our American leaders spoke of the new dispensation of free love, the blossom bonanza – peace man, not war – and made beautiful music, all at the same time. What a winning combo. People were experimenting with altered states of the mind and new gurus arrived on the scene to preach and spread the gospel of love. Every town in Ireland vied with the Golden Gate city to host the love-fest, and in ballrooms all over the land, singers, including myself, were encouraging the wearing of hair flowers and as little else as possible (Dean, 2007 p. 186-187).

Dean's rudimentary assessment of a new era here was obviously not as politically determined as Haran's. It was a new age of simplistic opportunity packaged as fashion.

> It was the in thing to profess this new dogma, this cool theology of the hip. We didn't need governments of greedy politicians to steer the planet to survival: it would be done with a good mix of blow, speed, beer, melody, sex and liberation. This was all the healing you would ever need (Dean, 2007 p. 186-187).

The singer who most represented acceptable Establishment ideals is the renowned 'country and Irish' singer Larry Cunningham. This singer, from County Leitrim, more than any other showband figure represented the conservatism of the previous generation. Due to his immense popularity with a rural audience and the influence of his reductive

sound on the landscape he was a profile target for the beat agenda. He personified the cultural compromise and compliance of the audience within the dancehall. Cunningham's success as a performer lay in his transposition of the sound of romantic longing sourced from American country and western music. His sentimental rendering of the American cowboy ballad came to be internationally recognised as the sound of country and Irish. Updated versions of 'honky tonk' Americanisms continue to mutate but the core association of country and Irish with an unchanging rural conservatism remains.

In October 2012, at the time of Cunningham's death, a Limerick blogger called Bock the Robber contemplated his legacy. Bock pointed to the adoption of the commodity of the Irish-American translation of the sentimental ballad. 'It had a profound effect on the Irish,' he says, 'this attempt to render a nation childlike, pliable and unquestioning, and it had a side effect. It gave our grandfathers a deep affinity for the myth of the Old West that was under construction at the same time and for the same purpose: to hide the truth' (Bock the Robber, year).

In Ireland's case, the unwelcome truth was that adult, mature ideas existed in the wide world beyond our sainted borders, while in the American case, the truth was that the heroic Old West was built on genocide. Both truths needed to be obliterated" Cunningham had found the template for a sound that resonated with an Irish audience at home and abroad. He sourced Reeves's unknown 'cowboy songs' from scarce records and reduced their simplicity even further for a rural audience. The 'homestead referencing' low sung ballad was to have a huge consequence for post 50s Irish storytelling. On a visit to Limerick in 1964, Reeves was not billed in the Limerick press as a country and western singer, but simply as a 'western' singer.

These melodic reassurances became a trademark for the main performers such as Cunningham. In celebrating those who had seen off both the 60s and the declining classic showband era, audiences venerated Cunningham in the 1980s as a force of reassurance. His gentle songs, often referencing specific townlands, became reassuring anthems that functioned as a rural standard. These songs operated as type of social metronome that transcended the threat of change. His performance for the Irish diaspora in England was hugely popular in no small way to his repertoire of place songs (Gilmore, 2009).

A musical artefact that illustrates the desire for a never changing cultural landscape resides in the 1971 release of a cover of the 'traditional' song, *O Holy Night*, by noted Limerick showband singer Tommy Drennan. Drennan sings on the first verse as a boy soprano originally recorded in 1953 in Mount St. Alphonsus Church in Limerick, during Christmas carols. The second verse was recorded when Drennan was a dancehall star singing with a Limerick showband called The Monarchs. *O Holy Night* was the 1971 Christmas number one with its success wrapped in a very Irish type of commercial Christian symbolism. The unusual and perhaps unique nature of the recording functioned as a type of historical shorthand. The song evokes time standing still in its combination of a religious subject matter that is facilitated by a contained cultural package. It references the type of limbo that existed between the 1950s and the 1970s;

a pop-cultural stasis whose reassurance for traditionalists was welcomed on each hearing.

In the 60s Irish showbands staked a sole ownership of the dancehall heartland in uniformed 'Irish Palaces' built just for them. A sense of entitlement prevailed to the extent that the bond between the event, community and landscape allowed the practitioners to believe that their reductionism represented a type of authorised 'Irish music.' The noted participation of local councillors and public representatives who had a commercial stake in the dancehall trade encouraged reductionism for management purposes. A collective consensus was formed, 'a rural cocoon' according to Limerick-born broadcaster Terry Wogan. In a 1964 book on the Royal Showband, *The Brendan Bowyer Saga* by Gus Smith, Wogan states that, 'The truth of the matter is that the showbands are sensitive to criticism, mainly because they have grown up in what I like to describe as a protective laudatory cocoon and look perhaps upon those who criticise bands as 'knockers' and maybe worse, as anti-Irish' (1964 p.). The showband supporters are recorded addressing the issue of what constitutes contemporary music as evidenced in this excerpt from a 1968 letter to the RTÉ Guide, the house magazine of the national broadcaster.;

> I have never written to a newspaper before, and didn't think anything would ever move me to write. I regret that it should be in annoyance and not satisfaction that motivates me. Last week's television programme, 20 Minutes With Granny's Intentions, was disgraceful. I am as partial as the next (I am only twenty) to pop music, but I would emphasise the word "music" which is I presume what Granny's Intentions thought they were making in this programme. In last week's programme I could hear neither words nor music. The songs took second place to the gyrations of the lead singer in the intrusive, eccentric lighting of the set. Mind you, I am prepared to believe that the lighting man (or director) realised that Granny's Intentions were so bad they couldn't carry on the programme without gimmicks. What a pity (O' Halloran, 2006 p.168).

In 1964 a clash of cultures did occur between the old and the new. The ground was the influential *Late Late Show* in 1964 and the topic was the reputed drug culture being fostered in venues that hosted the new Irish beat bands. On this particular show a member of the GreenBeats, a popular beat group, accompanied by a beat club manager was pitted against representatives of the Irish Ballroom Owners Association. The format was the Establishment versus the hipsters with the ballroom owner's righteousness being the dominant tone. The imported beat clubs were drug dens and cleansing was needed. After a period of subjection, singer Jimmy Dunne of the Greenbelts turned to the host Gay Byrne saying 'You've just been subjected to a load of lies and rubbish that the public of Ireland are expected to swallow' (year).

A measure of Byrne's stewardship is not recorded but his choice in inviting the ballroom owners as the voice of authority suggests certain sympathies and awareness of his rural dancehall audience. An account of this incident is taken from Darragh

O'Halloran's comprehensive history of the Irish beat scene *The Green Beat.* The segment ends with Dunne's summary of the event 'drugs were non-existent (then). It was the ballroom manager's effort to kill off this rising thing' (year p.).

In 1969, the Cork band Dr Strangely Strange embedded a beat/psychedelic communiqué in their song *Donnybrook Fair.* Lamenting a platform for disenfranchised freethinking Irish youth, it appropriated some blame to a fictional showband called "The Mighty Cretin Showband". They sung of 'the pike men being led from the rear, while nobody notices the unicorn quietly standing there' (author, year). This was a pointed reference to Cunningham's 1969 band called The Mighty Avon's. Another beat broadside came from the Dublin beat psychedelic group Skid Row whose Irish album Skid (1970) contains the track, *Un Co Op Showband Blues.* In the song, the singer and writer Brush Shields equates participation within the confines of a showband as a type of slavery (McLaughlin and McLoone, 2012).[48]

The modernism inherent of the 60s Irish beat scene formed cultural lines that pitted the Establishment against a seemingly degenerate strain of anti-authority that it appeared to suggest. Gerry L'Estrange TD (representing Westmeath, the country and Irish music heartland) spoke in the Dáil castigating the nascent beat scene from a 'moral and health' point of view.

Contemporary commentary on the beat scene frequently positions its cultural importance and anti-Establishment artistry as socially significant. The singer Paul Brady, on the occasion of a commemorative portrait exhibition, 20 Men Who Brought Rock to Ireland, told *The Sunday Times* in 2009 that 'because we were on the fringes of society, both stylistically and musically, a lot of what went on was poorly documented, as if the mainstream media didn't pay it a lot of attention' (*The Sunday Times,* 2009 p.). In 2012 one of the original Irish punk bands, The Radiators, deemed it necessary to record an album of Irish beat songs due to their relative obscurity. In a supportive review, the writer Declan Lynch referred to the original impact of the Irish beat movement, 'Naturally, because the beat scene was good, official Ireland tried to destroy it' (Lynch, year p.).

By 1965, Haran was committed to the potential of what it meant to be an Irish Mod. He organised and played in Limerick beat bands and became ambassador for the Limerick scene. He played regularly in Dublin and Cork before moving with Granny's Intentions to Dublin. A turning point for Granny's Intentions was their support slot to a highly regarded Dublin Mod band called the Chosen Few in the Caroline Club in Glasthule, Dun Laoghaire. This a nightclub owned by Ronan O'Rahilly, the then young Irish owner of Radio Caroline. The significance of Radio Caroline and its reputation as a resource for Irish and British youth remained consistently high until its demise. O'Rahilly's club was one of approximately twelve clubs that comprised the city's beat circuit (this was the legacy of the 1963 Dublin visit by the Beatles.) These clubs had a privileged façade as they were hosted by suburban rugby or tennis organisations and contrasted with the grittier commercial city centre venues.

The Intentions, now Granny's Intentions, were regarded as serious contenders and ambassadors for the Irish Mod scene within with the community that followed the circuit. A description of them by a regular at the club has them confidently attired in

48 The 1971 footage of Brush Shields playing Un Co Op Showband Blues)https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qNyurzLGXU8 Accessed June 2014

'floral waistcoats and granny specs' channelling the prime English look as held by Mod royalty such as The Small Faces. In 1967 the band moved to London and gigged in the transitioning post Mod circles. There they embraced the dominant strand of Mod movement, which by now, and with American influences, had transitioned into what was recognised as the psychedelic movement (McLaughlin and McLoone, 2012 p.55).[49]

These socio- cultural consequences of the transition from Mod to psychedelic involved the negotiation of both a combination of consumerism and the introduction of more overt political themes. The American youth's transition from beat follower to 'hippie' impacted on the London scene as definitions of the politic of the self interacted with the internationalism of the civil rights movement.

Haran left Granny's Intentions and moved back to a relatively unchanged Limerick in 1968. With his wife operating as a clothes designer he opened one of Ireland's only clothes shop/boutique that was based on the contemporary London model. The shop was called The Little Ellen Boutique and was situated in Ellen Street in Limerick's city centre. The stock referenced the hybrid countercultural fashions of California via Carnaby Street, particularly the famed London boutiques Granny Takes a Trip and Biba of South Kensington Street. Some stock came from London but some items were bespoke Limerick created by Haran's wife Maureen who was inspired by the continuing conduit provided by the counterculture and documented in the magazines.

The Little Ellen quickly became a hub for an alternative street scene. The boutique was the first retail premises to include in-store music with a selection of contemporary sounds (a mixture of American and British psychedelic, music) being played on a record player that featured as part of the décor. The design of the space featured other deliberately conceptual touches, notably a minimal window installation commissioned from a Limerick artist Mick O'Sullivan who painted a ten inch by eight inches window white with blue light as an edging to give the impression of a huge television screen. A spectacular façade for such a premises was key and Haran referenced the ever changing dramatic London facades created by Nigel Waymouth circa 1966 for Granny Takes a Trip (Green, 1998 p.220). As it looked like no other retail space, its presence functioned as a beacon and a repository for the still evolving desire of the classic imported countercultural model. The look sold by the shop also accommodated the American rebel style that dominated in the seventies. This was a look familiar from record covers and TV as the longhaired fringed jacketed outsider had currency as a trope in the narratives of imported American police dramas. In the seventies, popular TV shows such as *Cannon* and *Kojak* often portrayed the outsider as countercultural detritus, anti-social characters. These TV shows perpetrated the workings of foreign systems of authority dealing with the outsider just as the previous cowboy shows did for Irish TV audiences of the early sixties. For the seventies, the binary systems of justice and power played out in these police dramas were simply transcribed Establishment territory to urban areas.[50]

Haran extended the shop's ethos further by staging an event associated with the shop in a traditional Limerick City centre theatre. For the event, he featured possibly the only psychedelic lightshow, along the lines of the ones done by the famed Boyle Family

49 The Chosen Few also made the journey to London. They changed their name to Eire Apparent and ended up being mentored by the psychedelic figurehead Jimi Hendrix.

in Notting Hill, ever seen in Limerick. The significance of this must include the fact that this projection was brought to Limerick for the night by two of the primary movers of Dublin's beat and rock scene: Phil Lynott of Thin Lizzy and Skid Row's Brush Shields. Regarded in English terms, a lightshow production at this level signified a 'hippy' led contemporary space such as Notting Hill. Haran wanted the physicality of the imagined meeting places one had read about in the magazines since the sixties for the event. With these tropes, his show was intended to suggest the ideal of countercultural space. Also Limerick, being a sole outpost for the counterculture at the edge of Europe, was physically the last such spot before America.

The unusual presence of Miss Ellen would have also registered in conventional civic conversation. This was an immediately successful retail space that functioned on a foreign ethos and was run by a returned emigrant who represented a full engagement with the countercultur. That in itself was both uncommon and unusual as it broke with the contemporary convention of the returnee of the time. As the 1955 Commission on Emigration stated, post-war emigration had become 'a part of the generally accepted pattern of life' (reference for Commission). This pattern is often described in reductive terms where the returned youth merges back into the landscape and continues as before. In returning as a practicing modernist, Haran reacted to the set role of the emigrant and the enforced concept of exile, 'this significant ingredient of Irish consciousness' familiar to his generation.

Figure 21
Pink Floyd and Granny's Intentions circa 1968.

Haran continue to play to this day in Limerick (2016) and occasionally seeks to reopen the original club spaces created by his generation to reintroduce the attitude of community inherent in those times for a present generation of youth. He also maintains a network of contacts with other members of the original scene for occasional collaborations. As a youth-centred modernist he recognised a system of international references for application for Limerick space and in the application of these references he transcended the spatial and temporal boundaries of his influences. In that sense the cut that Haran and others made with post-war Ireland was not wholly generational in

50 One of the most popular US serials actually depicted the adventures of a Texas Marshall, on horseback, solving crime in New York. The actor Dennis Weaver played Marshall Sam McCloud from 1970-1977.

that his template as inspiration remains for contemporary Limerick Youth.

The activity of 1968–1973, disparate as it seems in conventional retrospect, drew on the open-ended nature of an international counterculture to exercise agency for creative communication. In the Limerick of that era it can be said that such activity exercises what the political theorist Chantal Mouffe described as a condition of 'agonism' (as distinct from antagonism) where 'adversaries may share common symbolic space, within which conflict can take place' (2006 p.151-171 and De Certeau, 2001).

In contemporary terms, social acts of resistance that contest dominant ideologies are a form of social practice in which creative intervention shapes and affirms specific communities. Creative responses are therefore political documents validated by the response of the citizen.

Looking at the space of Limerick as key, the case should be made that the resonance from this era's activity is a distinct part of the city's cultural identity. Limerick in 1968–1973 is not a stop on a road where the retrospective fashionable re-shaping of psychedelia is positioned as a colourful backdrop for utopian wishing associated with understanding that era. Psychedelia and beat related activity were tools for Limerick Youth to make the cut, not only with their previous generation's social habits, but also with the promise of a specific future.

Registering all of this invites a re-visiting of an amount of under-represented activity that is focused through the lens of 1968–1973. Material gleaned from such representation can be directed towards the creation of new archives, as well as re-animating contemporary discussions on the weight and forms of resistance that reference an underground perspective specific to Limerick space.

In April 2014 at a Making the Cut workshop, veterans of the Limerick 1968–1973 scene spoke to a group of contemporary youth on how the styles of non-conformity may change but the ethos of non-conformity will always transcend style. Greg O'Shaughnessy reminded the youth that 'this conversation is not about how one generation reacted to Limerick back then versus how today's teenagers react to Limerick now. It's not a generational thing at all it's about a universal process of identity that must always question what is in front of you and do you want it to be there' (year p.).

Figure 22
Student Protest,
Limerick, 1968.
Limerick Leader archive.

All that revolution in Paris in '68? I honestly thought it would spread.
MICHAEL DONOVAN, LIMERICK CITIZEN AND RESIDENT OF NOTTING HILL, 1969.

Drawing various strands together, in Limerick an understated historical attitude of cultural resistance along European lines did emerge in the era 1968–1973. It continues to influence succeeding generations of youth as a type of resistance described by the French theorist Michael de Certeau in his book *The Practice of Everyday Life* as a 'silent production.' Here, this type of production encourages users to adapt the dominant cultural economy for their own 'rules' and create 'the network of the anti-discipline' (year p.).

For Limerick, networks of anti-discipline remain in disparate links between actions unique to the city, particularly as its youth sought to process the accelerated possibilities of the counterculture. For its revolutionary potential this foregrounds the necessity for silent production in any understated incident circa 1968–1973.
An example that illustrates the importance of silent production in this context is one that considers a psychogeographical reading of Jean Luc Goddard's 1969 film *Sympathy for the Devil* (also known as *One on One*). The showing was an event organised by the Limerick Art College then situated in George's Quay. For the invites, care was taken in how they were disseminated, as participation in this event was framed as a significant happening instead of a conventional 'pop' cinematic experience. Underlining Goddard's revolutionary intention, this was a call to 'those in the know' (year p.). In *One on One/Sympathy for the Devil* incidents of dramatic tableau featuring preaching revolutionaries were set against the documentary recording of The Rolling Stones in the studio crafting their song, *Sympathy of the Devil.*[51] *One on One* was not a commercial success on release but it and another film that featured London as an alternative backdrop, *Performance* directed by Nicholas Roeg (1968), was of interest as psychographic points for an underground map of Limerick representing points on a map referencing a translation of a changing counterculture before 1973.

The fractured narratives contained in both these films partly acted as testimony for the Irish who used the conduit between the English capital and Limerick to develop 'hippie modernism' in a local context. Performance in particular was an alternative home movie for those who had not been. As the complexity of the counterculture, in regard to its increasing co-optioning for commercial ends, became difficult to translate, a film like Performance suggested how journeys through certain urban spaces become journeys of psychic space. This resonated in respect to the film's setting in the rebel enclave of Notting Hill. An act of resistance by the counterculture to co-modification remained the act of dressing up, of morphing identity in costume. Dressing up was seen as 'a form of self-performance available to all' (Author, 2005 p.109).

Both of these films starred Mick Jagger then transforming from entertainer to (sometimes unwilling) cultural spokesperson. In an interview at the time with a Danish counter cultural paper, *Politiken,* Jagger promoted the film in rebel persona and outlined plans by The Rolling Stones to donate some of the profits from an upcoming tour to fund revolutionary movements such as the Black Panthers.[52] For the mainstream media

51 An earlier film by Goddard La Chinoise (1967) had at its centre a young Parisian Maoist sect and had dramatised the French intelligentsia's modish adoption of the rhetorical appeal of Mao's language of violence as a revolutionary tool for western rebellion.

52 In Goddard's Sympathy for the Devil the actor Frankie Dymon plays a character blatantly called 'Black Power' and is seen reading an issue of the International Times.

he represented both a convenient countercultural cypher and traditional pop star, but for the youth he epitomised and continued to represent the outsider. So much so, that the occasional Limerick Youth who overtly mimicked his changing attire acquired the nickname 'Jagger.'

The film *Performance* arrived in Limerick with impeccable revolutionary credentials wrapped in an 'acid' wrapper and supporting a narrative based on 'the symbolic domains of psychic formation… the realms that the counterculture declares its presence' (Nannette, 2005 p.99). *The International Times* had glowingly reviewed *Performance* as 'an evil movie' and reported that its corporate film distributors, Warner Brothers, had issued a warning for people not to see it while under the influence of LSD (year, p.).

For Ireland, new perspectives resonated here for a cinema audience who came to performance in this instance on the strength of Jagger. Those who had appreciated the early rebellious noise of The Rolling Stones as a generational counterblast in Limerick and who remained made up one side, and those who left and returned after experiencing the London of the Rolling Stones in the mid to late sixties, made up the other side. Together, both groups watched the psychic space of London deconstructed in front of them on a Limerick screen. The latter used these occasions to discuss the ethos of Notting Hill. The psychic space of Notting Hill as depicted in *Performance* was by then, according to Gordon Carr, 'the centre for radical student drop outs and for anyone who wants to go to the extremes in social and political life without too much attention from his neighbours or the authorities… Living evidence of capitalist decay' (year). It was something they felt compelled to explain to those Limerick Youth who had yet socially to shape their own cut particularly in the seventies where generational complexity benefited from the London conduit. By 1969 the act of fragmented editing in films such as *Performance* hinted at psychedelic experiences but they also sought to portray the limitations of cinematic form when it came to conceptually recording what could be construed as psychic environments. Outcomes that questions the limitations blended a mix of fact and fiction in an attempt to disrupt or subvert conventional narratives. As a film *Performance* was a drama but on its original showing in an Irish context it had strong alternative documentary overtones. Significantly, the version shown in Limerick contained some cuts required by the Irish censor. 'You could tell,' remarked Joe Deegan, a Limerick musician who saw the film in the Savoy cinema at the time, 'Even though the style of the film was fragmented you could still see where the censor cut particularly if any sort of nudity appeared. This made a film steeped in London's counterculture even more relevant to us then' (2016).

Conceptually, the setting of the site where *Sympathy for The Devil* was shown in George's Quay is significant as it was close to the premises of what was briefly Limerick's first and only Maoist bookshop. Goddard features an absurd scene set in such a Maoist bookshop in his film and this mirrors the audacity of the group who set up the shop. Their leader was a 21 year old called Arthur Allen from Drogheda and they functioned under the name the Revolutionary Youth.

In 1969, Allen and two other youths arrived in Limerick as a vanguard to spread

Figure 23
Maoist Bookshop on Nicholas St 1970.

the message of Maoism. In an uncalculated and unintentional inflammatory affront to sensitive authorities, they based themselves in a small premises in Saint Mary's Parish, Nicholas Street, which was situated directly across from King John's castle. From this base, they followed the standard path instigated by European Maoists in delivering revolutionary tracts to citizens working in the industrial parks that surrounded the city. The Maoists took jobs in the Shannon Industrial Estate and began to write on the industrial conditions they experienced there from a workers' perspective for the workers. The un-jargonistic writing discussed the poor working conditions as well as issues relating to the town's medical dispensaries. This was a recognised anti-capitalist action practiced in France and Italy. Robert Lumley's study of the interaction of radical youth and the industrial class records the utopian possibilities of intergeneration action. 'We students refuse to be either tomorrow's agents of exploitation in the hands of the bosses, or to be exploiters ourselves… In the struggle against exploitation the most important role will be played by the working class… we want to know and discuss your problems so as to learn how to struggle against capitalism and to teach the lessons to the younger students' (Eco and Violi, 1976).[53]

Students had been the first to insist on grass-roots democracy based on general meetings, and on the effectiveness of direct action. Student activists perceived themselves in a variety of ways – as detonators, ideologues, leaders and even guerrillas, but never less than ever students. After the dramatic events at fiat during the industrial dispute of June/July 1989 when mass meetings involved thousands of workers and students, it seemed the overthrow of capitalism was a real possibility' (Lumley, 1990 p.133-135).

The Irish version of this international anti-capitalist mission was immediately associated with a variety of non-conformist danger. This subsequently infamous site in Nicholas Street became a beacon for Catholic protest led vigorously by the then Mayor, Alderman Stevie Coughlan.

53 The complexities of Maoism as an extension of Marxist directions and as processed by European revolutionary groups does not feature here. Writing in 1964, Isaac Deutscher in Maoism – Its Origins and Outlook, he says, 'Maoism was from the outset Bolshevism's equal in revolutionary vitality and dynamism, but differed from it in a relative narrowness of horizon and a lack of any direct contact with critical developments in contemporary Marxism. One hesitates to say it, yet it is true that the Chinese revolution, which in its scope is the greatest of all revolutions in history, was led by the most provincial-minded and "insular" of revolutionary parties. This paradox throws into all the sharper relief the inherent power of the revolution itself' (Marxist Internet Archive, 2012).

Figure 24
La Chinoise.
Jean Luc Goddard 1967.
(Image from en.unifrance.org).

Figure 25
Nicholas Street 2013,
near the site of the
Maoist bookshop.

Coughlan had strong ties to an influential conservative Catholic organisation in Limerick called the Arch-Confraternity. Run by the Redemporist order they maintained their conservatisms in light of Vatican II's efforts to modernise the order and acted, with Coughlan, as moral guardians for the city who attempted to have a monopoly on social and cultural activities. The complexities of Maoism and its type of Marxist ideology and European translation did not feature for Couglan who regarded the threat of its atheism and youth vanguard as a threat to the structures ruled in the main in the city by a Catholic hegemony.

For years the figure of Mao as head of state remained as shorthand for the complete

opposite of a Catholic state. A well-known history book on the official syllabus called *The Modern World* (1975) was often the first time Irish youth encountered the chairman; his smiling image below the sober one of John F Kennedy.

Figure 26
'Find out more about the three famous statesmen shown here. How many of them are still alive? Each is connected with a powerful nation. Can you name each of these countries? Which sides did each take during the Cold War?' (1975 p.167)

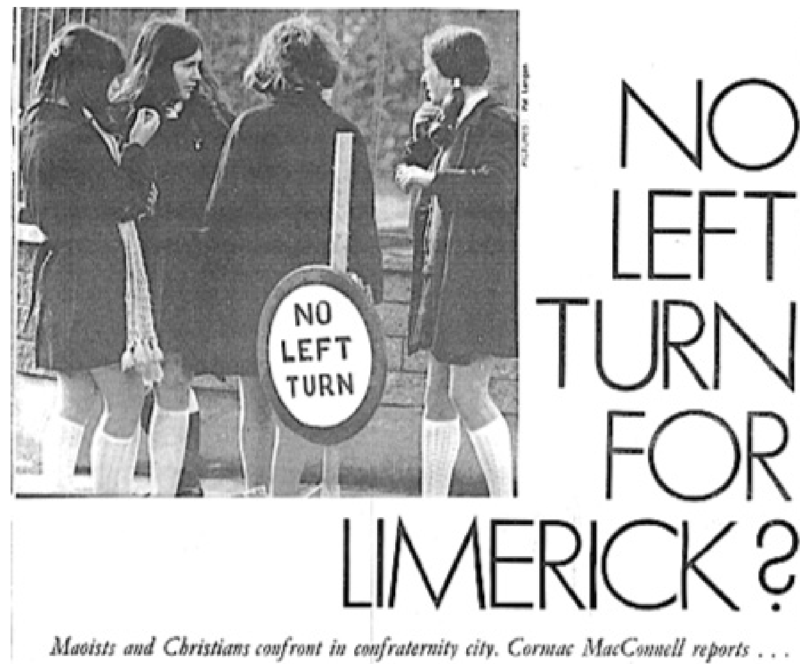


Figure 27
Report in (Insert Newspaper) year Source.

In a contemporary report on the Maoist presence, Deirdra O'Regan described an official environment concerned with youth and difference.

> Limerick has frequently suffered anti-immorality campaigns, when the blackthorn stick was vigorously utilised by priests to root out courting couples. In the 1950s vigilante groups were organised for cinemas by the Arch-Confraternity. These men lurked at the back of cinemas and pounced on necking couples. (One of these stalwarts was the renowned Sean South of Garryowen.) Four years ago when a discotheque was opened in the city the Teaching Orders, afraid that drugs were being passed at dances, ordered all pupils to publicly burn their membership cards. Those who refused were threatened with expulsion' (O'Regan, year p.).

The Mayor saw the very idea of the presence of an outpost for Maoism as encapsulating an international threat embodied in godless Marxism, Eastern religion, and gender politics. He publicly encouraged Limerick citizens to shun these corrupted youth and in this was assisted by the conservative local press. Both the Limerick Leader and the Limerick Chronicle began to publish a series of anti- communist articles epitomising, 'The local middle class which is deeply religious and conscious of its moral duty to act as a watchdog for the local working class' (O Regan, year p.).

Figure 28
1968 communist poster.
Found in Ballyclough, Limerick, 2011.

'The Maoist's, according to the Mayor, are looking way ahead. They are seeking to indoctrinate the 17–22 age group into a fairy-tale world, which they could create by tearing down the entire Irish cultural structure' (Curtin, 2013). Couglan also accused a Labour Movement member, Mr. Tony Pratschke, who was a vocational school headmaster, of distributing Maoist propaganda in his school and saw to it that parents should be made aware of the evil that threatened their children (the Maoists had being attending Labour meetings). Employers in the Shannon estate were then contacted to fire the Maoists.

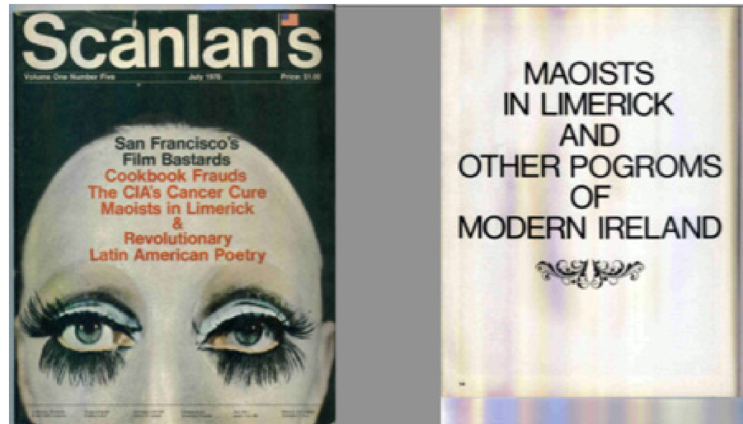


Figure 29
Scanlan's Magazine.
USA July 1970.

Fear of 'Red' propaganda infiltrating Limerick schools prompted a meeting of the city's Catholic administrators who publicly announced that they would implement a 'secret plan' should their fears be realised. An editorial in the Limerick Leader publicly dammed the Red threat, 'The people of Limerick must wake up to the threat that is facing them and they must unite to run all those connected with such a (Maoist) movement before serious damage is done to the community as a whole' (Limerick Leader, 1970 p.).

An anti-apartheid clash on the occasion of the visit of the South African rugby team, the Springboks, led a Jesuit priest to inform his class in school that he had been attacked and injured at the incident where the 'Maoists' threatened to 'destroy the Arch Confernity' (Source). This led to an editorial in the *Limerick Chronicle* (January 3rd, 1970) castigating the 'tin gods' of Maoism and stating that, 'Those in authority must not shirk in their duties now. Perhaps the greatest danger of all is the public display of Communist propaganda in a shop which the Maoists have opened in the city.' The pressure increased after a sermon in the Augustinian church specifically called for the removal of the Maoists and a group of Catholic women canvased for a march to forcibly evict them. While the clergy did not openly support this move, Couglan encouraged it by sending a letter to publicans in the city urging them to ban the, 'soft-talking pseudo intellectuals, in some cases strangers to our city, (who) should now cash in on the work of so many citizens, and use your premises to try and hoodwink and delude members of the general public' (Reference). He was then made aware that there was a young Maoist

in the Leaving Cert class in the Crescent College and demanded his expulsion. This was contested by the school prefects although it is said that the school rector, Father Hugues was inclined to acquiesce. Couglan responded by visiting all schools in Limerick and was allowed to deliver a fifteen minute lecture on the dangers of Communism while threatening expulsion to any student with Maoist tendencies who made themselves known to the authorities.

The student in questions signed his name as B (Brendan) Mulcahy and he was 16 years old. In conversation in 2014 Mulcahy says that a short article that he wrote for the school magazine on the topic of the witch hunt of the Maoists was brought to Mayor Couglan's attention when it went to print as a school magazine *The Crescentarian* in the *Limerick Leader.* Mulcahy mentions being influenced by the progressive strand of the Jesuits who practiced liberation theology in working closely with communities who processed socialist ideals. His article was a plea for reason on both sides and titled, *Controversy on Red Patriotism.* He calls for reason before challenging the Mayor's plan to 'run the Maoists out of town.' He wrote, 'Most of this regional "Red Patriot party" are Limerick boys who have not found that the opinions of Chairman Mao Tse Tung coincide with their own opinions of Communism, a right which no one can deny them. Of the small minority who do support the Maoist doctrine I say, congratulations on expressing your beliefs and risking your very position in your schools, maybe with fear of expulsion. However, one last word to the Maoists and the Authorities: respect one another's opinion always and then you may be confident of arriving at a proper compromise.'

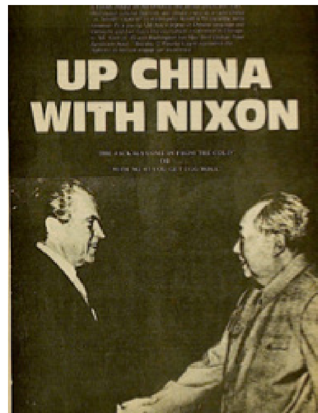


Figure 30
Karl Arpell print from 1968.
Found in Clare Street, Limerick 2012.

Figure 31
International Times..
Vol 1 issue 128. P 11. 1971.

The Maoist bookshop eventually succumbed to a violent closure that year when a shot by persons unknown was fired through the window.[54]

The Maoist bookshop was one space created and maintained by the youth including a small but dedicated amount of local youth. It epitomised an attitude of international defiance that functioned briefly in tandem with the music-based events that were supported by non-conformist youths marking a transitional time for the mission of the international counterculture. In the context of a Limerick ruled in part by the arch-confraternity, this outpost was a brief but unique base for that mission. This incident is a unique contribution to the era's understated countercultural narrative. It suggests parity with the politicised countercultural directions at that time and the incident forms part of a report on the Irish situation in the annals of the international free press. It featured in a long article for a 1970 issue of the high-end American counterculture magazine, Scanlans, under the headline 'Maoists in Limerick.'

54 It is said that the bullet was taken from the window and remains in the possession of a Nicholas Street local. (2016)

Crucible: A dramatic historical moment in which some kind of structure took form that determines future structures and actions-structuration.
Author, year p..

How is Marxist-Leninist theory to be linked with the practice of the Chinese revolution? To use a common expression, it is by 'shooting the arrow at the target.' As the arrow is to the target, so is Marxism-Leninism to the Chinese Revolution. Some comrades however are 'shooting without a target,' shooting at random, and such people are liable to harm the revolution.
MAO from The Red Book, 'Rectify the Party's Style of Work' (February 1, 1942).

The Hippies will do nothing until they are politicised.' Jean Luc Goddard in response to the question, 'Do you believe the hippies could be a force to purge Capitalism as the red Guards purged Soviet Communism?
Jean Luc Goddard talks to Herminie Demoriane. International Times. September 6th, 1968.

Limerick City has hosted five US presidents. Kennedy in 1963, Nixon in 1970, Reagan in 1984, Clinton in 1996, and Obama in 2012. The most overlooked, and contentious, of these visits remains the 1970 visit of the 37th US President, Richard Nixon. Historically, in terms of reception and significance, it is the antithesis of what was accorded to the 1963 visit of Kennedy in regards to how the legacy of the occasion remains. A radio documentary on this visit broadcast on October 2nd 2010 is titled *The Forgotten Visit* (RTÉ, 2010).

Figure 32
President Nixon in Shannon Airport, Ireland. *Display photograph installed in Shannon Airport 2016.*

In the space of a decade a template of an image-building visit by the American head of state to a nation seemingly on the cusp of modernism should have been as it

was intended. The visit was designed around functions to provide a series of simple photo opportunities to celebrate the president's Irish roots, as well as shaping them into political currency on his return. What is not prominently featured in the legacy of this visit is the incident of protest led by Limerick Youth. This incident hosted by Limerick (and mirrored in Dublin) remains overshadowed in the collective narrative of a constructed tradition. The myth by which an American president seeks their roots and to bond with an ancient culture unfettered by the complexities of international politics is engrained with the modern Irish State. This simplistic narrative remains bound up with the economics of tourism and foreign investment. It is a narrative of control, one in which subservience to that agenda is expected and any deviation from the script is seen as un-Irish. Yet, in 1970 a Limerick group, in solidarity with international youth, directly countered this subservience. Their protest was one that stood against imperialist war mongering and the anti-generational agenda then perpetrated by President Nixon.

The significance of this act of protest by Limerick Youth in attempting to question both the imperialism of American foreign acts and the subservience of the 'new' Ireland to American policy in this regard remains understated. On the occasion of the visit they sought to portray Nixon as a head of state acting as an imperial power and not in any sense a reborn Irishman baptized by complacent Irish authorities. In a series of brief, committed, and physical acts on the streets of Limerick on the day of his visit, Limerick Youth sought to represent their generation as part of an international cadre of generational protestors.

By October 1970, two years into his presidency, Nixon was en route to Paris to broker an exit strategy for the US in Vietnam. This was a war he had pledged to 'end with honor'; an intention that proved unfeasible. Instead, he came to represent for the counterculture a warmonger who was intent on pursuing a regressive strategy of bombing the Vietnamese into submission. In prolonging the war he became a universal figure of hate with protesting youth worldwide.

American youth-led protests multiplied after President Nixon intensified bombing areas of Vietnam and Cambodia in 1970. Domestic resistance to these acts by radical groups such as the Yippies intensified. Yippies adopted shock tactics drawing attention to what was being 'democratically' vented on the Vietnamese in their name as American citizens. A month before the Limerick visit, the Yippee leader Jerry Rubin told students at Kent State University in Ohio that the first part of the Yippee programme is to kill your parents, 'Until you are not prepared to kill your parents, you're not ready to change this country' (Lynsky, 2010 p.214).

In 1968, American social anxiety facilitated the militarisation of domestic police forces by the passing of the Safe Streets Act, which increased FBI funding for police training at its academy. This was to include riot control (McKnight, 1998).[55]

Nixon stopped off for a three day visit to Ireland at the behest of an Irish businessman, as all involved agreed that it would be good PR to shore up the Irish-American vote (Nixon had previously visited in 1966). The design of this was important. On reflection it was thought that if Nixon had previously emphasised any type of Irish roots previously

55 "Militarizing the Police: Officer Jon Burge, Torture, and War in the 'Urban Jungle'" by Julilly Kohler-Hausmann which appears in Stephen Hartnett's edited volume Challenging the Prison Industrial Complex. "Urban areas had long been constructed as foreign, racialized spaces; once they were in open revolt, their struggles with state authority were easily interpreted with the same rhetorical devices used for insurgent populations abroad. Thus, it is not surprising that over time, more and more voices called for the state to use the same tools and techniques employed overseas to subdue allegedly dangerous spaces. And so, by the mid-to-late 1960s, domestic law enforcement agencies had begun to interpret the conditions in inner cities as wars and had begun to turn for answers to military training, technology, and terminology (p. 48)." http://www.usprisonculture.com/blog/2011/12/28/jon-burge-torture-and-the-militarization-of-the-police/

for the 1960 election he would not have lost to John F. Kennedy.[56] That, and the fact of his narrow win in 1968, had created what commentators describe as the roots of his paranoia in achieving and keeping power. The itinerary for the 3rd to the 5th October visit took in Kilfrush House in Limerick, Limerick City, Timahoe in North Kildare, Kildare town, and Dublin city (Frank, 2014). Nixon's Mother, Hannah Millhouse's ancestor, Thomas Millhouse of Timahoe, Kildare emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1729. The Millhouse's were Quakers.[57]

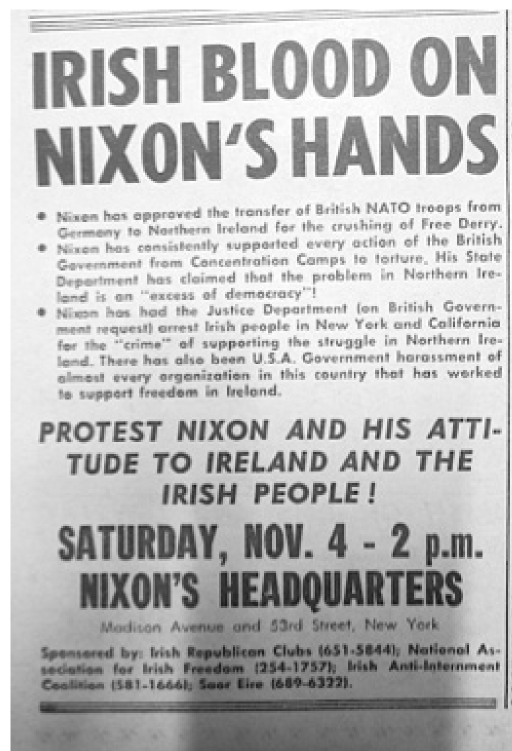


Figure 33
Ad in an Irish-American paper, 1971. Republican clubs in New York protest.

56 John F. Kennedy's great grandfather, Thomas Fitzgerald, emigrated to the US from Bruff, Co. Limerick in 1852. He took with him the family Bible, which was used for the swearing into office of JFK in 1961.

57 An invitation was made to Nixon by the Northern Premier Captain Terence O'Neill to visit the ground where his paternal ancestors had originated but this was not taken up.

After arriving in 1970, the visiting party was provided with the de rigueur Irish-isms of an 'Irish Cabaret.' This occurred in Kilfrush House, Limerick which was owned by the businessman, John A. Mulcahy. An official photograph (unpublished) from the night shows President Nixon surrounded by a costumed ensemble of dancers and singers, as well as a strangely nervous looking representative of the Irish State, the Taoiseach, Mr. Jack Lynch. The American party also featured Henry Kissinger who was part of the diplomatic team for the Vietnam talks. In 1971, Kissinger negotiated rapprochement with the People's Republic of China before the relations between the US and China were formalised in 1972.[58]

As well as stewarding the endgame of the Vietnam War and Watergate, President Nixon's legacy includes presiding over the atrocity of the Californian Kent State killings. On May 4th, 1970 four students in a crowd protesting against the Vietnam War were

58 In 2013, declassified tapes from the Lyndon B. Johnson Library showed that a diplomatic end to the Vietnam War was viable in 1968 but Nixon, as a then presidential candidate, convinced the South Vietnamese delegates that they would get a better deal under his presidency. The delegates withdrew and the war continued until the Paris Peace Accord was signed in 1973. Nixon was re-elected by a landslide in 1972 with himself and Kissinger jointly named that years' 'Men of the Year' by Time Magazine, before resigning in disgrace in 1974.

killed by state troops in an act instigated by the then governor Ronald Reagan. The protesting youth on the campus of Kent and particularly Berkeley were detested by Reagan who had fought with the educational Establishment on issues politicised by the youth since 1966. He exploited the initial discontent Americans felt with protesting youth at the beginning of the Vietnam War and castigated the youth as outsiders. He relentlessly criticised the faculty as being permissive and supportive of protesting Berkeley students. By 1970 he had no hesitation in using the Californian National Guard. Three weeks before the Kent state deaths Reagan remarked of the hubris, 'If it takes a bloodbath, then let's get it over with' (year p.).
In 1971, English and Irish youths were able to read the unedited manifesto of the radical American group the Weathermen. In an issue of the International Times, the Weathermen advocated armed force to reply to Nixon's acts against the youth of Kent and State and others. It said:

> the hearts of our people are in a good place. Over the past months, freaks and hippies and a lot of people in the movement have begun to dig in for the long winter. Kent and Augusta and Jackson brought to all of us a coming of age, a seriousness about how hard it will be to fight in America and how long it will take us to win. We are all beginning to figure out what Cubans meant when they told us about the need for new men and women (Weathermen, 1971).

As President Nixon's motorcade made its way through Limerick City, 4000 of its citizens lined the route to see him. They included a group of leftist protestors whose placards attempted to draw attention to American foreign policy. The *Limerick Leader* reports that a young man lunged at the presidential motorcade on Sarsfield Bridge and another was spotted on William Street waving a suspicious object before running from the Gardaí. Near Arthurs Quay, another group unfurled the Starry Plough, the flag of Irish socialism. Again the Gardaí gave chase. As the protest gained momentum Alderman Stevie Coughlan weighed in. Coughlan was a well-known anti-Communist and was reported as tearing up a protestor's placards as well as struggling with a Councillor Quinn who declared that it was a democratic country and he was entitled to speak. Pat O'Mahoney, who was part of the protest, describes a youth hurling a copy of the Maoist *Red Book* at the open-topped motorcade and actually hitting President Nixon with it as he travelled over Sarsfield Bridge. Another version recounted by a member of the crowd that day has a youth breaking towards the motorcade before being rendered unconscious by a Garda 'who used a knuckle to the lad's head' (O'Connor and O'Shaughnessy, 2014).

The *Red Book* was a potent anti-imperialist symbol for many European 1968 youth. In the introduction to *Mao's Little Red Book,* (2014) Alexander C. Cook described it as a 'spiritual atom bomb' (p.). Almost a billion copies were produced in official and unofficial print runs between 1961 and 1971. For nervous western establishments the presence of a revolutionary tract in such numbers worldwide literally evoked a 'red tide.' The book was originally produced for the Red Army and came in a distinctive red waterproof

cover symbolically hinting at a functionality associated with combat. If such a physical incident of protest by a 'red' Limerick Youth had literally connected with a head of a Western State and the volatile metaphor had made the international news, it would have been highly symbolic worldwide in the context of Nixon and the Vietnam peace accord (Gray, year p.).

The protesting youths active in the city on that day were part of an international youth anti-imperialist movement united in the belief that no country had the right to intervene in the affairs of another whose leader had been democratically elected, even if that leader was a communist. By 1974 there was no general agreement within the counterculture regarding strategy to counter American involvement in Vietnam.[59]

Nixon was a ruthless politician who detested the platforms created by radical questioning posed by the youth. He encouraged the perception that such questioning was an extension of a communist threat to a corporation sanctioned American way of life. He stood for what he called the 'good people,' the white middle-class who increasingly felt threatened by civil rights, protestors, intellectuals, and all who formed the liberal elite who practiced the participatory democracy of what is known as the 'New Left'. Appealing to the good people and at the same time castigating the Left, he spoke when elected in 1968 of the 'ugly harvest' that had been reaped from a succession of government aid programmes for the inner city poor that he deemed had been failures. This polarising language was reported worldwide and portrayed Nixon as the face of imperialist capitalism for international youth.[60]

Early in his career he was associated with strong anti-communist rhetoric effectively deployed for electoral purposes. One 1946 campaign leaflet (anonymously attributed to his team) mentioned the 'subversive Jews and communists who intended to "destroy Christian America and our form of government" (Source). The concept of an almighty Christian based leadership was paramount to Nixon and his administration.

By the sixties, evolving ethos of the counterculture as manifested in the media began to suggest an internal threat to the authorities and this preyed constantly on Nixon's mind. He wholly distrusted the citizen-based counterculture and any attempt by those outside the Establishment to reclaim the concept of freedom and peace for their generation. Establishment descriptors increasingly portrayed the protestors as outsiders who threatened post-war stability. In a 1965 summary of the Watts riots by the Los Angeles Chief of Police Daryl Gates, he described the streets of America as 'a foreign' country.

Highlighting the paranoia associated with the end of his presidency, the author Francis Wheen quotes Nixon in 1971 as saying, 'One day we will get them, we'll get them on the ground where we want them and we'll stick our heels in, step on them hard and twist, crush them, show them no mercy' (year p.). Nixon regarded the core values that surrounded the notion of freedom as the property of a centralised collation owned by, what his predecessor President Lyndon B. Johnson described as, the military industrial complex. As a threat of domestic conflict became apparent it was obvious that Nixon wanted to secure the cornerstones of managed freedom and for this it became necessary to portray non-conformist youth as alien, threatening, and in need

59 See *The Counterculture of the 1960s in the United States: An "Alternative Consciousness"?* Melisa Kediri. Masters thesis Année universities 2011-2012 Post – War American Politics and Culture. Chapter 1 p9

60 See *The Nixon Memorial* By Jeff Shesol. The New York Times. August 6 2014. Shesol observes that Nixon's legacy is embedded in contemporary American Republican policy particular in its distrust of intellectual elites.

of discipline. Force could be applied after the youth became demonised as 'the other.' If needed they could be eradicated for the greater good.

In the end, the impact of protesting youth did register. Before the end of the Vietnam War, Ricardo Lombardi of the Italy Vietnam Committee stated in the International Times that, 'Nixon has been driven out of his mind by the resistance of a small people against the military might of a powerful nation and by the rebellion of the American Youth' (Lombardi, 1972 p.).

The general assault on sacred values by the alternative culture of the sixties provoked a reassertion of 'exaggerated versions of conservative ideals.' History confirms that Nixon did indeed preside over the end of the utopian phase in which the counterculture sought to assert itself as a generational voice for democracy. The reclaimed the necessity of citizen protest that contested the notion that protest organised by the youth was never part of their post-war democratic progress. It reclaimed the concept of protest for the youth and resisted its portrayal by the Establishment as an aberration, personified by a generation of post-war educated, white middle-class citizens known as the baby boomers. To the conservative Establishment any act of non-conformity expressed politically by the 'New Left' became an aberration of democracy. Those that participated in such protests were not only class traitors but represented the enemy within.

> We call ourselves radicals, but the truth was… we were almost the only loyal opposition in the country. We joined a few Senators… in questioning the assumptions behind the United States' intervention in Vietnam. But our questions, which outraged so many of our elders, usually fell well inside the framework of America's global interests. Most of us still wanted to help run the country, not to become revolutionaries… (Cowan, 1967 p.)

Interviewed at the time of his visit, Nixon told the Limerick Leader that Ireland was 'his favourite place in the world for a break' (year p.). He was officially welcomed to the city by Councillor James D. Liddy who spoke:

> On behalf of the citizens of Limerick, as well as on my own behalf, I want to extend to His Excellency, President Richard Nixon, a very warm and a very cordial welcome to the city of Limerick. I think he has, by dropping off here to say hello to us, paid a very great honour indeed and we are certainly very indebted to him and we hope he will have a very happy stay in this country. Thank you.

Nixon responded:

> Mr. Mayor, I want to say that it is a very great privilege for me to visit, on my trip to Ireland, and come first to Limerick. This is the first city in Ireland I am visiting. Having heard of Limerick all my life, and recalling in the 18th century when the famous Irish Brigade was fighting all over the world, the song was, Will You Come Up To Limerick? and here I am. I am glad to be here, and I am glad I came. Thank you very much (Nixon, 1970 p.)

Descriptions of the youth protest on the day briefly featured in the *Limerick Leader's* coverage. There are no reports of any of the protesting youth being charged with public disturbance. In Dublin similar protests greeted Nixon but were better organised and more intense. The Dublin youth featured street theatre and created a mock trial complete with a burning effigy of Nixon. This time a group of determined protestors waited for the motorcade (with some clandestinely dressed as American tourists) and managed to score a direct hit with eggs that splattered the windscreen. One of those protestors, the noted Irish activist Mairin de Burca, recalls the ease of which they were able to register their act was in no small way facilitated by the local Gardai on the route, 'We had heard that the Secret Service had thrown themselves about so much that the Gardai had said: "Stuff this, let them look after their own president" type of thing' (Irish Examiner, 2010).

By 1970 Nixon's reputation as an imperialist figure of hate was in place. Reviewing Nixon's legacy 40 years after his resignation, Jeffery Frank in the New York Times quotes C. L. Sulzberger, a former Times correspondent, who canvassed opinion on Nixon a decade after his resignation. He says, 'To my surprise, despite the passage of time since the Watergate scandal, the fevered detestation seemed to continue unabated... This anger was, I found, astonishingly personal… It was the same kind of personal hatred that survivors of Hitler and Stalin in Germany and Russia felt toward their persecutors,' he wrote, adding, 'I cannot explain this extraordinarily venomous sentiment, this blind rage that focused its attention entirely on one man and displayed not the faintest sign of forgiveness.' Frank points to a generational rationale for this hatred and remarks that it was only when the generation who grew up protesting the Nixon era began to die out that this somewhat abated. He quotes Bill Clinton at Nixon's funeral in April, 1994, 'May the day of judging President Nixon on anything less than his entire life and career come to a close' (Frank, 2014 p.).

This opportunity for a symbolic indictment embodied in the throwing of the Red Book was never to feature in any Irish visit by an American president again. By the time of George W. Bush's visit to Dromoland Castle in 2004, the Irish government temporally ceded many sovereign powers regarding security to the Americans. On the occasion of Bush's visit space in Limerick Jail was reserved for anyone considered to be a threat to the president. In 2004, Limerick was an ad hoc base for many protesting youth where the subject was now the war in Iraq. Security policy by this time would have been informed by Ronald Regan's 1984 visit. Regan's Tipperary homecoming was in direct contrast to the reception he received in Dublin. By 2004 it would have been a given that any location to be visited by an American president could present potential danger. The management of security was now amalgamated with public image as the media focused on the now contentious and potentially flawed narrative of the returning son and the native soil.[61]

Even by 1974, the narrative that began with JFK extoling the American leader as 'the Irish Cousin, the vibrant leader of the anti-communists and Catholic Irish all over the world, the embodiment of all that was good, protector of the downtrodden, was never to return' had ended. Frances Condell, who was Mayor of Limerick at the time of Kennedy's

61 An exhibition of photographs on the Reagan Dublin protests taken by Rose Comiskey was held in The Culture Box, Temple Bar, Dublin in July 2014. This is the first time that the subject of the American president has been exhibited as a standalone subject of protest as distinct from the sacred returning son (*The Irish Independent*, July 15th 2014 p.19).

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visit, reflected on the seemingly necessary task it was seen to be to undertake a firming up of the bond between Ireland and the Land of the Free. In that respect, these visits became important platforms and eventually became brand trade-offs between the two nations. 'Sometimes we got the impression that the Americans were – they didn't care very much about us and that perhaps we weren't as forward in many aspects of life as you of America. And sometimes we felt that perhaps they, you know, their appreciation was given to us with their tongues in their cheeks' (Condell, year p.). The youth who obeyed their parents to pay tribute to Kennedy in 1963 were the direct opposite of those who set the agenda for his counterpart in 2004 (Shannon, year).

A list of the pre-security checks that were in place for the George W. Bush visit in 2004 indicates how a relationship between Ireland and America, that began as a type of united brotherhood, was changed by citizen protest to the extent that Ireland was willing to temporally cede sovereignty. The American-managed visit of 2004 insisted on the presence of a cordon around Shannon Airport, a controlled fly zone, dictated road works and snipers. But most contentiously, there was security vetting. The cordon was enforced before the visit and extended to residential areas and industrial units in Shannon effectively placing Irish citizens under American authority for the duration of the visit. Passes were issued based on security vetting only after where PPS numbers were sought from all who lived in the area. There were repercussions for citizens drawn into this zone. One example involved an Irish youth who regularly worked as a contractor for a branch of a multinational American company based in Shannon. He had once visited Palestine in a personal capacity as an anti-imperialist protestor. As the American processed the staff that worked in Shannon, the youth was told by his Irish managers that he did not have the required security clearance for the duration of the Presidential visit. He was told not to come to work until after Bush left the country. No explanation for this order was given. On his return he was told his services would not be required in future by the company (O'Connor, 2013). One of Nixon's last acts before resigning was ending the relationship between gold and the dollar. This created conditions for floating exchange rates worldwide. It is a key moment when international capital assented itself for the guarantor nation states. (*The Guardian,* 2014).[62]

Figure 34
Shop in Nicholas Street 2014.
Photo Paul Tarpey.

Activist Mapping and Positioning Legacy for Discourse

Commonalities of practice: re-contextualising historical situations of protest in the work of three artists.

If space is where culture is lived in, then place is a result of their union.
LUCY LIPPARD.

This research collates the work of three artists: Jeremy Deller, Mark Wallinger, and Stan Douglas, who each designed investigative methodologies to contemporise historical incidents of protest to highlight them as manifesting elements of ongoing resistance.

An appreciation of the interlinked strategies found in the work of artists Deller, Wallinger, and Douglas support structures for a variety of art-based critical interventions. The intention for my own practice led from these examples is to process particular histories of protest to archive, critique, and commemorate protest activities for Limerick City, activities that reference the significance of unconformity in the period 1966–1973. Situations that are referenced from a protest perspective are reframed for ongoing conversations on place.

Collectively, the outcomes of these three artists underline the importance of a definition of urban space as being citizen-led. Art-based outcomes that take into account past incidents of protest associated with the site are intended to interrogate how those conditions feature in a contemporary setting. An art-based critique under this guideline introduces the concept of a cultural pause for a consideration of place. According to Agrew and Duncan, place has three constituent parts:

- *Location:* an objective point in space.
- *Locale:* a composite of all traces in the area.
- *Sense of place:* the emotional, experiential, and affective traces that people experience in particular environments. (Definition in the book Cultural Geography to be inserted).

Legacies of protest become pivot points for these artists to contextualise social memory and foreground the significance of understated historical incidents to confirm the importance of citizen perspective in their legacy. New perspectives then exist to resist the empty abstractions of urban development. Capitalism encourages the reception of space as transient and a commodity, what Lefebvre has described as empty abstractions, the facades of urban space which reflect ongoing versions of a utopian legacy in industrial modernism. These artists contribute to how an art-led dialogue of resistance can be negotiated for this territory. Their methodologies balance macro and micro conditions:

Macro

- The curtailed mission of the alternative society and how the failure of utopian modernism features in deconditioning the city.
- Alternative communities and resistance and the management of protest histories.
- Traditional forms of protest challenging modernism and their legacy.

Micro

- The relevance of understated historical elements.

– The political histories that can be defined from social memory.
– How counterfactual and speculative material interacts with historical fact in an institutional setting and how they can contribute to an interrogation of institutional boundaries by the public.

Using diverse strategies for outcomes, the artists under review exemplify a critique of industrial modernism primarily addressing its subjectivity.

In a consideration of three works, *A History of the World, State Britain,* and *Abbot and Cordova 7 August 1971* explores how contentious socio-cultural narratives function as a form of antagonistic monument. These three examples operate as contentious points in space using the cultural license of fine art to interrogate urban sites where negotiated artworks introduce protest-based interventions as permanent markers (Creswell, 2004). When this process is validated by the Establishment sites of social memory now exist to question the subjectivity inherent in the managed urbanism, which manifests itself as a generative order of society.

There is a legacy of how protest was marked in urban sites from the sixties to the present. Histories of the situationist movement in Europe and the anti-war movement in the US feature for this. The physicality of that commentary in urban space (that is, the much referenced situationist graffiti 'Never Work!') remains (then and now) in the illegality of the act. Graffiti and the protest acts of marches are direct interventions that, in an illegal or semi-illegal fashion, temporally contest boundaries of power. Though dramatic, the material generated by these situations is not designed to have a presence outside the situation. All other types of art-based interventions that reference protest situations must now address the subject within the civic systems that manage these sites. The design of this is a key factor in the construction of the type of artworks exemplified in *A History of the World, State Britain,* and *Abbot and Cordova 7 August 1971.* The process of negotiation is an important part of how a site manages contentious material.[63] Outcomes should reflect how negotiation with the civic boundaries was conducted and brought into the work.

Collectively, the voice of the citizen is maintained in such outcomes; ones that focus on resistance in the transitional periods of the late 20th Century. When the intersection of methodologies evident in the work of Deller, Wallinger, and Douglas are considered together, they suggest the possibility of a collective strategy in parts for art-based research in this area. Practice that is led from this extracts protest elements from social memory for a contemporary public through art-based means.
An understanding of this intersection can function as a resource when disparate, under-represented, and contentious material is navigated for a contemporary dialogue of place.

It can be recognised that an intersection of the research methodologies suggested by these three artists is evidence of an art-based process that allows for an interrogation of understated examples of protest-based historical material in urban space. The critic Clare Doherty sees place as 'an intersection of mapped location, urban mythology, power dynamics and social interaction'(2008 p.). Collectively, the

63 The effectiveness of the conceptual weight of this exchange is most evident in the example of Wallinger's project *State Britain.*

commonality evident in these three examples, by these artists, highlights a process that encourages a contemporary audience to engage with material in an activist sense. By this, the audience is encouraged to properly identify with a sense of place that recognises that and understanding must incorporate a contemporary reading of contentious events of the past (Doherty, 2008).

1. Social Archaeology

An activist perspective in sourcing methodologies in this fashion allows for the contemporising of understated historical periods, which questions the public legacy of 20th century capitalism. Deller's conceptual mapping in this manner celebrates the dialogical possibilities held in under-represented historical situations. He balances archival research, oral histories, and vernacular design for diverse displays, which question the historical project of capitalism. This type of research defends the inscription of identity of the citizen evident in vernacular material. These displays focus on how the mission of capitalism and its neo-liberal legacy dominated the communal and traditional forms of life created by those who participated in it unevenly as workers. In designing performative outcomes, Deller recalibrates folk rituals to emphasise the voice of the worker, highlighting a deregulated communal narrative side-lined by the process of capitalism he sees disrupting the organisation of social equality. His recalibration of vernacular material generates perspectives for both the gallery and the museum through fine art outcomes that foreground the importance of social memory. These outcomes give plausibility to the myth, genealogies, and folk tales of the worker. As a curator, Deller is concerned about how information is preserved in certain genres and not others and this is a key starting point for research (Fentress and Wickham, 1992).

2. Action Research

A definition of this, in the context under review, refers to gathering material from those who participated in an event of protest to compile this material and contextualising it as evidence of resistance. The process of communicating material in this fashion is what has been described as 'history from below', a process that resists the cultural editing of history by systems of power. Assembling material with an activist focus involves establishing critical boundaries based on how past elements of citizen resistance function as being open-ended and ongoing. For example, in his work State Britain, Wallinger's exact replication of vernacular material from an actual protest functions as a cultural pause. It negates the possibility of cultural editing by foregrounding the process in which a particular protest was both castigated and legitimised by the authorities. Wallinger's repositioning of the actual material from the situation as cultural testimony insists that the audience engage with the subject of the protest as an ongoing conversation. In this example, such engagement highlight a definition of boundaries as being citizen-led.

3. How Psychogeographical Spaces are Defined to Feature as Critique

> This refers to the lateral process involved in sourcing of certain locations, that is, sites that channel past protest events as the basis for contemporary interventions. Such interventions seek to intersect the past with the present in an attempt to interrogate a narrow (modernist) reception of urban space. Based on a reception of psychogeography as a practice based on emotional mapping (the antithesis of a conventional recording of city space), a psychogeographical approach contests the given that the pathways of the city exist solely to facilitate commercial ownership. By the nature of its practice, psychogeography interrogates geographical space to reflect on how memory and culture connect to that space. Its premise is that places are contradictory and an appropriate research for art-based outcomes should align historical material that is speculative and counterfactual with history that is edited as normative.

Douglas designs performative based work that serves to resist the myth of progress by re-animating certain locations as 'psychogeographic spaces'. These are not specialised places or areas defined as standalone territories. Based on unacknowledged, disregarded places that may be censored by the mission or modernism, they fold the past and present and can function to correct meaning. He sees these locations as contentious due to their understated histories and as such they represent critical junctures cantered on ruptures.

The unacknowledged protest-related events that he maps for contemporary reception in artworks are ones that that embrace the site itself as a critical platform. He engages with the site to explore the structural displacements that are a consequence of the critical junctures he has identified for a definition of place. Outcomes that are led by psychogeographical practice now provide an imaginative topography for how past situations of protest feature in a contemporary reception of place. This is a focused political channelling of psychogeography which updates the initial reception as being a resource to defy the consumerist consequences visualised in the spectacle of late-capitalism, what the situationist, Raoul Vaneigm, called 'the colonisation of everyday life' (IS nos. 7, 1962-63). The core guidelines of psychogeography, as set out by the Situationist International in the 1960s, remain, that it is a particular process of mapping to explain situations that can be defined as occurring at the point where psychology and geography collide. The noted socio-cultural writer, Michel De Certeau, has states, 'What the map cuts up, the story cuts across' (1984 p.).

> Is history simply a matter of events that leave behind those things that can be weighed and measured – new institutions, new maps, new rulers, new winners and losers – or is it also the result of moments that seem to leave nothing behind, nothing but the mystery of spectral connections between people long separated by place and time, but somehow speaking the same language (Greil, 2001 p.5).

1. A History of the World by Jeremy Deller (1997)
Social archaeology

Using a combination of strategies, including social cartography, and social archaeology channelled through a pop-cultural sensibility, Deller's work is recognised as a diverse formatting of a citizen-led mapping of place. Such cartography emphasises the dialogical possibilities of under-represented historical situations and questions the historical project of capitalism, particularly its ongoing impact on communal and traditional forms of life.

Figure 35
A history of the World. Deller..

Much of his ongoing research highlights how relationships generated by working communities in a post-industrial society should be celebrated as unique histories in the context of folk archives. He refutes the idea that, by the nature of the vernacular construction of folk archives they are often regarded as a collection of un-validated de-politicised outsider histories operating with their own cultural boundaries. Deller promotes the communal responsibility that is inherent in the construction of these archives. He recognises that any participatory work (in collecting) that draws upon community history celebrates the importance of the cultural material produced from the overlapping of specific alliances. These alliances occur when communities come together. When the themes that are confirmed in these alliances are then processed in a fine art environment by Deller, it positions the vernacular as resistance. How material reflecting the culture of the worker is represented when the 'folk archive' is acknowledged in a fine art environment validated by the Establishment is pivotal here. Deller asks, how can the history of the individual be properly contextualised in a post-industrial environment without the possibility of nostalgia interfering? How can a worker's experience of history be presented in an appropriate fashion without compromising either the material chosen for this task? What eventually is communicated when vernacular history becomes framed by the Establishment?

Curatorial practice addresses these questions. Collaborating with both large and small institutions allows Deller to format a variety of outcomes allowing both artist and those he participates with to fashion new perspectives from storytelling, performance, and repositioned objects in new settings. A descriptor from the IHME Contemporary Art Festival in Helsinki (from 2015) is a useful descriptor for Deller's practice:

> 'The Artist as Curator.' How can the methods, the stages of production or the concept of the exhibition used in a curator's work in themselves also be tools of artistic expression? And, on the other hand, can a curator work like an artist, and what does that mean? (Deller, 2015).

For the Helsinki festival Deller offered a project called Do not Touch.

> … the artist will take exhibits from Helsinki's museums and present them in public spaces. For an instant, past and present are one, as people are encouraged to hold and examine anything from a piece of a meteorite to a packet of fake Viagra. (Deller, 2015).

Do Not Touch accessed a variety of locations in Helsinki including museums, shopping malls, and railway stations. In this balance of Establishment and commercial venues, Deller sought to unravel the complexity of capitalism's mission to normalise commodity-based environments as holding areas for consumerist communities. Deller 'sees past the fetishisation of civilization which produces our subjectivity', instead he desires to create 'stratigraphic records' of situations that refocus the voice of the citizen when new narratives are formed (Deller, 2013 pp.82-83).

The artist's most successful interventions are those that are regarded properly as being socio-affective, that is, when the outcomes properly reflect specific historical points of trauma. This is most evidenced in his definitive film work, *The Battle of Orgrave* (2001), a recreation of a 1984 conflict between protesting miners and an Establishment-representing police force. This battle challenged the narrative of Thatcher's England and signalled the end of the traditional power that the unions once had to represent the workers against the Establishment. As an artwork, *The Battle of Orgrave* delivers historical data in the form of an audio-visual monument. It commemorates a key transitional moment in British working-class history by focusing on the power and immediacy of the actual clash in Orgrave recreated with the participation of those who originally took part. Deller held that, in the historical balance of how the battle was to be filmed as artwork the voice of the citizen was to be a key element for a recreation of the battle.

The film as artwork also functions as a conventional documentary for how an industry was dismantled, one that supported vast communities who never recovered from the consequences of the 1984 strike. In the ongoing promotion of *The Battle of Orgrave*, both as artwork and conversation piece, Deller allows the subject to function as an art-based conduit led by the voice of the British working class. It is a significant design

linking both documentary and fine art responsibilities from an activist point of view. It is a reminder that the consequences of 1984 are ongoing as a subject of contention and even class war.

A useful comparison to *The Battle of Orgrave*, in regard to the subject being processed as art, is another film work. *The Miner's Hymns* is a treatment by the British multimedia artist Bill Morrison who shaped his artwork around a commissioned score by the composer Johann Johannsson in 2010. Morrison produces elegiac sequences that can be read to be at odds with the political matter, potentially rendering the project fixed and slightly sentimental, whereas Deller's factual/counterfactual documentary approach was designed purposely to be participatory and open ended (Cain, 2011). Deller is acutely aware that all contemporary artworks feature in an exceptional economy. The discourses that surround the means of production and exchange in this economy must be carefully considered before performative outcomes based on social memory are inserted into it.

Another work that shares a conceptual overlap with *The Battle of Orgrave* is James Coleman's *Linge de Foi* (1991). On residency in the US South, Coleman discovered that a famous Civil War print, *The Battle of the Bull Run*, by Curier and Ives was factually incorrect in that this particular battle was won by the South.

The print did not suggest this. Consequently, the incident was being subsumed in the general narrative of the North's winning of the Civil War. The piece originally used a slide projection designed to last the length of the battle where Coleman slowly overlapped the image of the print with a recreated image of the battle. Like Deller, he used a historical re-enactment society to recreate the actions need for imagery. Coleman's intention was to address the 'culturally infected nature of our own perception' (2016). The approach to the historical conditions differed from Deller as Coleman's outcome includes him being heard directing the actors to remain 'frozen' in the video version. A series of 'takes' are conducted as he fails to get the configuration between the 20th century photographic image and the 19th century print. The artifice involved in constructing the concept is a major component in focusing the subject. It provokes questioning on how meaning is constructed and how an image accrues meaning.

In a non-ideological fashion, the human legacy of the English industrial project is a central theme in a majority of Deller's work. Curiosity, and a responsibility to present subject matter in a contemporary light, demands that a variety of strategies are required if both fine art and civil outcomes are to be balanced in processing historical-based work without compromise. Research must be positioned to properly communicate if the core essence of resistance is not to be regarded solely as being presented as documentary. In regard to the north of England, a narrative of failure has been forced on certain historical periods to serve contemporary programs.

Deller negates the process of normalisation that can be associated with any reading of history that has been owned for political ends. Instead, he reveals the presence of negating activities, which constitute resistance.

The proletariat-as-negating-agent has taken different forms in different times; it can be the industrial worker, the mass worker, the multitude of the social factory, the masses

of the colonial world, and so on. Sometimes it is a matter of alliances, of worker and peasant, or later of worker and student. Sometimes it is a matter of agents from the sphere of reproduction rather than production, such as feminist and queer ant capitalist agency (Wark, year).

A key strategy fo Deller in mediating social memory is inversion. This allows for the reformatting of tropes of power by foregrounding the voice of the citizen. This can take place in a gallery, it being a cultural arena supported by the Establishment. Assessing material in this space he asks, what determines a true history? Who owns it and how can a history of the public be delivered for a local and wider audience and function properly as dialogue instead of description? Inversion is most evident in Deller's curatorial work where the vernacular conditions of folk artefacts are refocused alongside new work for a museum or gallery environment. The folk staple of the procession or carnival is also included in this. The carnival in particular offers opportunities for new dialogue by interrogating the conditions that come together in community-based processions. In prioritising these performative conditions Deller celebrates new configurations by encouraging radical changes in the design of street processions describing this as the 'inverted spectacular' (year p.). The term 'Social Surrealism' has been used to critically evaluate this type of work when speculative components are included (Ades, 2015 p.96).

Deller highlights the space between an increasingly contested notion of heritage and the ownership of history by the people. In this new dialogical space he critiques descriptors of heritage and history, questioning capitalism's ambition to format heritage into consumerist elements. Deller sees elements of resistance in folk art where the people reclaim their own history and refuse to let it be sold back to them. In carnivals and event-based work, folk history now becomes a disruptive force.
An important early work by Deller is the wall drawing *The History of the World* (1997). The drawing functions an ongoing artwork that is offered to institutions as a conceptual work, which requires it being constructed anew each time. It is a concise example of how a historical subject can support macro and micro outcomes when processed for a fine art environment. It remains a deceptively simple sketch of loose historical and cultural points, but embedded in this graphic is a critique of how youth resistance features in the landscape of the English industrial project and how the legacy of this draws on disparate, even counterfactual, points when it is to be represented. It inserts the vernacular contribution of a youth-based community as a cultural factor previously regarded as an aside overshadowed by the grand narrative held the collapse of the project of the Industrial Revolution and the legacy of conservative politics of the 1980's.

Amongst references to wider historical points, the drawing links understated points of subcultural resistance and celebrates the political consequences started by a community of young dancers in the north who came together in the late eighties. From 1986-1990 a youth-based community developed a unique dance-based culture based on the (then alien) imported electronic sounds communally known as 'Acid House' music. As befits the workings of a subculture, this community sought to remain outside the confines of capitalism by functioning as a separate social economy and

celebrated their outsider status initially in illegal events and weekend long parties. This is the complete reversal of adult responsibility where recreation is neatly packaged as a reward for a week's work. Deller recognises the legacy of Acid House as understated but has significant cultural capital when contextualised as an outside (and eventually outlawed) movement that existed in the North.

He recognised that by its nature the Acid House movement contested the 19th century concept of 'rational recreation'. This refers to the industrial programmes' ideal of workers making 'constructive use of leisure time meant to enrich the mind, cultivate one's critical faculties and ultimately help a human being become a proper and useful citizen' (author, year p.). Leisure, by the authorities, was seen as a contained component of the working week. The *History of the World* makes the case that by their subcultural standing alone, the Acid House community should feature in the context of resistance in a holistic review of the history of the industrial North.

The legacy of communal resistance and place embodied in Acid House revolves around the significance of the large gatherings of youth who appropriated vacant industrial space for communal and tribal means. It is the incongruity of a community redefining space via imported electronic music and incongruous fashion amongst the deteriorating landscape of the industrial north in the mid-eighties that is key for Deller.[64] He recognised that the colourful practice of 'raving' constitutes folk culture and as such it resisted a de-humanised conservative description of the North as a failed place marked by the ruins of the 19th century. Also, it was important to contextualise this activity as constituting a political act. The temporary appropriation of space by the youth instigated by the acid House movement featured heavily in bringing forward the UK Criminal Justice Act of 1994. For the Establishment, the use of abandoned or empty industrial spaces hosting large gatherings of unsupervised youth signified unconformity and rebellion featuring as anti-authoritarian resistance. The Criminal Justice Act eventually criminalised any unauthorized gatherings that were based on groups congregating in places where repetitive beats featured. This was a unique and unprecedented response to a youth-based movement and one that Deller was most conscious of being under-represented outside its own vernacular recording in the history of British popular music.

The first iteration of *The History of the World* took the form of a speculative historical map. The North was dismantled in an attempt to register and connect the lineage of generational expression Deller saw both in the communal music of the brass bands of the 1880s and the music created by the Acid House producers of the 1980s.

This lineage established graphically by *The History of the World* suggests that the long-standing working class tradition of community embodied in brass bands was mirrored in the tribal gatherings associated with Acid House events of the late eighties. Though aesthetically disparate, Deller emphasises that both music-based communities share a commonality and a sense of place epitomised in how the environment forged the music that was produced from the North. Both the brass bands and the electronic expressions of the Acid House pioneers represent distinctly Northern identities that are now linked by how they manifest a community response to the environment and

64 The term 'interzone' as defined by the discipline of biogeography is pertinent here. It is an area characterised by a particular set of organisms, whose presence is determined by environmental conditions.

conditions of the North. The linking of both represents a cultural response and when recognised as such this functions as a reference for any conversation resisting a conservative reading of the North as a failed place. The link contests any remaining suggestion of the dominant identity of an industrial community being based solely on 19th century economic descriptors of the worker participating simply as a component.

As an art piece, *The History of the World* was originally intended for conventional gallery display but it is now complemented by a citizen-led performance-based work called Acid Brass which complements the artwork. After contemplating the connections made in the project, Deller contacted the Williams Fairey Band, a traditional colliery brass band, to score some of the most popular 'uplifting' music of the Acid House music events. This incongruous act of validating modern electronic music through traditional means was an unintended and welcome offshoot of the original concept that extended the cultural thesis into popular culture. It also linked the communal ethos of Acid House music with the longer legacy of community-based music held in the history of Northern brass bands. Such links, and the ongoing success of the 'Acid Brass project' (2006–?) confirm the propensity of music in the everyday and the importance in acknowledging its ability to affect social rhythms. *The History of the World* is a simple, direct, and necessary account of place in that it challenges the historical constraints that can feature in conventional timelines. Deller's correlation of the old and new is simple and direct, foregrounding the space of the factory as a pivot for contemporary linkage.

> Factories were a new world of moral chaos, extraordinary places, full of danger, where the youth of both senses were often in heated proximity, deafened by the noise of the machines that shook their buildings and their bodies. Just the kind of experiences sought out and replicated in clubs and warehouse parties – parties that for a short time in the late 1980s took place in the same buildings where the machines and workers, (possibly ancestors of the party's attendees) once laboured. (Deller, 2014 p.13).

Historical procedure, at this almost speculative level, is not designed to accommodate the vast gap that exists between the century old culture of mining that is represented in brass bands and the youth subculture that appropriated the space in 1986–1993.

In an uncomplicated highlighting of the link between the two Deller maps for alternative thinking, he uses keywords relating to place and contentious events to offer a lateral exposition of social memory. This resulting map (approximately measuring 30 foot by 20 foot) is activated with directional lines and subtexts relating to both phrases, interspersed with terms such as 'Advanced Capitalism', 'Civil Unrest', 'Privatisation and Civic Pride'. The viewer links events and concepts as they see fit, with the realisation that this is, above all, a non-linear political map of Northern England and a testimony to the endeavours of its inhabitants resisting descriptors enforced on the area by the rhythms of advanced capitalism. Deller's discourse here underlines the project's ongoing human legacy by inviting the audience to assemble their own narrative where

new ways of speaking contest the traditional historical boundaries that have come to be associated with the land of the North of England.
The map then became a template for a performance-based event. When the Williams Fairey Brass Band (from Manchester) play they extend the project for the commercial /populist arena (Deller, year). By the nature of its design and ongoing practice the performance Acid Brass, continues to celebrate community in terms of resistance that critiques the 'grim' narrative imposed on the North by those who seek to gain from portraying its landscape as a failed industrial space. The egalitarian insight of Deller's ongoing project is based on a reformatting of the historical conditions that are associated with the environment to create a trans-historical moment. Conceptually, this work can now be managed by both the public, who are invited to present the work both commercially (by booking the brass band), and institutionally (by showing the drawing.) When Deller promotes both these options as linked outcomes he reactivates dormant historical traces (represented by brass band) and mediates them through a speculative reading of place (the drawing) for an ongoing conversation. Such promotion recalls the Situationist International's concept of an 'Architecture of Play' as 'one that welcomes disorientation' (Simon, 1997 p.).

2. Representing the Work of the Activist
State Britian, Mark Wallinger

The social politics of site and the accompanying dialogue that occurs for the representation of activist-led fine art work is the basis of Mark Wallinger's 2007 work State Britain. This installation was first exhibited in the Tate Gallery, London (2007) and contained the contents of a protest on the Iraq war by British citizen, Brian Haw. Assisted by the public in his protest, Haw accumulated a vast collection of material filling 40 metres of pavement outside Westminster's Parliament Buildings from 2001

Figure 36
Need a caption for this.

until 2007. In 2007, the majority of the collection (and Haw's habitat) was officially removed under Section 132 of the Serious Organised Crime and Police Act, 2005. This ruling designates that permission to protest must be obtained if it takes place inside a one kilometre zone around the parliament buildings.

This restrictive legislation was to feature as a resource for Wallinger who had befriended Haw while documenting his protest. In tracing the evolution of the protest site, he recognised that the narrative of the protest itself encapsulated the issue of the Iraq War and the physical boundaries set by the law to manage an issue of freedom of expression. *State Britain* highlighted the invisible boundaries set by this directive by rebuilding Haw's protest structure inside the Tate. In deliberately foregrounding the zone in an institutional setting, this piece highlighted the Tate's institutional identity as a condition or the artwork as it fell within the circumference of the boundaries set by the authorities to manage the protest.

A meticulous reconstruction of Haw's protest material was installed in the gallery's Deveen Halls where it stood in stark contrast to its institutional setting. Wallinger designed the installation to run parallel to the halls long sides to take in both sides of the invisible boundary. This rendered *State Britain* half inside and half outside the border set by the authorities and established the conceptual basis of the work.[65] This positioning rendered it both illegal (in a civic sense) and protected (validated by the position of the Tate as an institutional Establishment) at the same time. This tension was accentuated by the horizontal layout of the installation in the gallery, which also introduced a monumental quotient to Haw's vernacular assemblage. Altogether, the layout emphasised that the concept of boundary was essential to an activist reading of the installation. Wallinger was very aware that the very idea of the monument is to create context for place.

In Wallinger's reframing of the material that confronted Westminster the viewer now reads Haw's collection of messages and protest slogans in the Tate in sequence. This is how one would process the material at the sites of official war memorials.[66] The visual rhetoric commonly associated for war memorial construction has come to be based on the horizontal. This is intended to signify the contemplative and is most associated with the Maya Lin's 1982 design for the Vietnam Memorial in Washington

State Britain also featured images of the artist's team remaking the banners and signs. This documentation added to the sense of reverence Wallinger felt for the project. It also confirmed that due care featured in shaping the work for a major institution. In an accompanying leaflet, echoing the polemic of Haw's banners, Wallinger's own text calls the government to order by combining quotations from Tony Blair and George Orwell on the subject of freedom.

The continuation of activist work of Haw, by the artist, lies in his exploration of the syntax associated with the notion of the boundary and its limits. In presenting a consideration of the underlining politics of legally regulated space when they intersect with the regulations of a state-owned gallery, he directs the conversation from the perspective of the citizen. The work addresses how the issue of freedom of expression in managed a public space.

65 A standard reading of the Serious Organised Crime and Police Act 2005 suggests its powers were designed purely to counter protests in the proximity of parliament.

66 Material left behind daily by visitors at the Vietnam Veteran's memorial is collected and stored in the Museum and Archaeological Regional Storage Facility creating an ongoing vernacular narrative at the site.

The limits of the official boundary and the delegated authority enforcing the law outside in Parliament Square were found wanting after being legally challenged by Haw himself. (The ruling in his favour stated that material three metres high, three metres wide and one metre deep did not fail conditions set by the police when they tried to implement its removal according to the law as it was set out and this remained). The issue of the activist versus aesthetic limit of the Tate reconstruction remained in its:

> ugly-ness as it took its place alongside the other exhibits. The cheapness of the cardboard signs were magnified in an institution setting magnifying as they did the ineffectual limits of the slogans written on the cardboard i.e. 'Love', 'You Lie Kids Die, Blair', 'My Country Right It's Wrongs' (Campbell, 2007 p.3).

Haw's traditional construction and desire for simplicity, assembled in part by the public, physically existed to make the lawmakers uneasy. He simply dedicated the last years of his life to bear witness and Wallinger correctly registered his vigil as a witness, as a historically significant act of activism. In becoming involved, the artist did not seek to extend the process of bearing witness, instead he sought to deal with the intangibility of the protest as magnified by the site itself. The protest was extended by how Wallinger negotiated the conceptual and physical material through the institution. Channelling the spirit of eighties political artists such Hans Haacke, *State Britain* addressed his integration of the site of the protest and the Tate not as separate static entities that came together, but a joint representation of the effect and context of specific social relations (Deustche, 2015 p.142).

In representing the erosion of civil liberties, Haw's citizen protest was framed in the Tate as cultural pause. Its presence there testified to the complexity of a wider process by which the original protest was both castigated and legitimised by the authorities. An awareness of this, in the context of an art piece, mirrored the complexity and double standards of the British government's stand on Iraq. Wallinger has guaranteed that *State Britain* now exists as a memorial for the dual standards that marked that situation and the subject itself will be referenced in this 'state' forever. *State Britain* contemporises the strained conditions of traditional protest in addressing it in a format that reactivates the specifics of the subject matter of civil liberties and the illegal invasion of Iraq each time it is displayed.

One could of course have focused on the slogans and vernacular artwork of *State Britain* as a continuation of Haw's protest, but the artwork was intended to function differently. It was not intended to extend the protest in the manner of how Haw had physically lived it. The work in the Tate was a reconstruction that inserted itself into the conversation begun by Haw and factored the politics of his departure into the work. Its presence in the Tate also queried the politics of reception surrounded by the creation of such fiercely analogue work in the digital age. Included in this were notions of boundary, the politics of territory, the reach of protest and its limits. Wallinger was able to present the issues of a traditional activist in the 21st century in a fashion that seemed to implement the Establishment via the institution of the Tate Gallery in Haw's protest.

Significantly, Haw assisted Wallinger with the construction of *State Britain* in an effort to maintain as much authenticity as possible. As a continuation of his own curtailed protest in 2007, he handed out photocopied maps to passers-by referencing the route between Parliament Square and the Tate.

3. Psychogeographical place

Abbott & Cordova, 7 August 1971. Stan Douglas, 2009

The expanded lens-based practice of Stan Douglas is built around a combination of film, theatre, and large-scale photographic projects.[67] As a Canadian citizen, many of his intricate projects are located in Vancouver and reference 20th century points of socio-cultural conflict.

A dominant theme for the artist is modernism's failed utopias and how social contractions feature in this legacy of failure. The artworks that result from these investigations tend to prioritise the viewpoint of the citizen who is depicted as an unwilling actor in dramatised situations of social compliance. Citizens in these performative constructs function as actors in constructed situations shaped by the dictates of corporate power. The still and moving images designed by Douglas focus on the paradox of modernism and visualise how forces of power manifest themselves in particular times.

In visualising the subtleties of conflict theatrically, often with urban backgrounds, he draws attention to the hegemonic patterns of modernism by which power hides in plain sight. The images of confrontation are sourced from hidden histories. Here, the activities of individuals as actors seem to challenge the 'normal' conditions dictated by

67 Douglas is adept at processing material through different genres; some which reference the tropes of classic Hollywood film are facilitated by obsolete technologies and are presented in theatrical fashion.

the myth of modernism. Douglas dramatises the tension embedded in these situations by suggesting the modernist façade of urban utopias can be challenged. His hyper-real images address the repression of the imagination of history by asking what determines the possibility of a self-articulating subject and how can this be represented (Watson, 1998).

In reactivating socio-political incidents for art outcomes he queries the construction of modernist boundaries. How did they come to reflect universal conditions of post capitalism and how can the territory of the city serve to interrogate this as an ongoing narrative?

Guy Debord described the spectacle as the accumulation of capital until it becomes and image. Griel Marcus extends this for a description of the modern world as being 'A never-ending accumulation of spectacles, a place where all communication flowed in one direction, from the powerful to the powerless. One could not respond, or talk back or intervene, but one did not want to. In the spectacle, passivity was simultaneously the means and end of a great hidden project, a project of social control. On the terms of its particular hegemony, the spectacle naturally produced not actors but spectators: modern men and women, who were thrilled to watch whatever it was they were given to watch' (Griel, 2001 p.92).

The ideal of modernism insisted on a singular existence of things where the citizen was often contained as a component and where place was a structured consequence of Establishment power. Situations of work, leisure, and protest were intended to function separately. There is an undoubted element of control in this and Douglas is aware that the understated stories of protest will always feature outside the dominant narrative for reasons of power. As an artist he identifies and visualises the critical junctures formed by protest as ruptures in modernism's grand narrative by magnifying these ruptures to interrogate elements of failed modernism that he sees having contemporary relevance. In the context of a conventional historical narrative, the entry points for this interrogation seem obscure but they are carefully chosen. The high-end results, which visualise the subject in a heightened stage of realism emphasise that the craft involved in creating the image is paramount. Large photo images and film work are the consequence of precise detailing in all aspects of the production including setting, location, and costuming and overall production design.

In 2009, Douglas created his first public artwork funded by the developers of a multi-million dollar site in downtown Vancouver. This was a significant coming together by a commercial body and an artist who had an international reputation creating work that questioned dominant public narrative associated with public space. Titled *Abbott & Cordova, 7 August 1971*, the work is a large-scale translucent photographic mural, measuring eight by thirteen metres on glass ten millimetres thick and tempered on both front and reverse. *Abbott and Cordova, 7th August, 1971* is a composite image dramatising the site of a 1971 countercultural protest known locally as the 'Gastown Riot'. It forms a dividing wall between a public plaza and an atrium linking four buildings that confirms the narrative of consumption embodied in commercial development.

In the early 1970s, a group of Vancouver citizens inhabited a space previously

occupied by a community that serviced local factories before a downturn affected the indigenous economy. This new 'hippie' community did not receive the blessing of the authorities in their attempts to change the space to reflect the alternate politics of the time. As official and unofficial agendas converged, the hippies prompted the authorities to act with force to re-establish Establishment boundaries of power. The occasion that provoked the Gastown Riot was a day event organised by the hippies to that promoted the legalisation of marijuana. The occupying inhabitants designed it as a 'smoke out'. The ensuing battle represented a critical juncture for the area as it led to the city authorities reclaiming the place and eventually zoning the area as strictly commercial. The significance in this moment was the decisive shift in the use and policing of public space in the city.

Drawing on a comprehensive collection of archival material, Douglas sought to reposition the site of the protest by designing a grand tableau based on the moment when the riot was contained by the authorities; the moment when resistance and the short-lived hippie boundary was dismantled. This commitment to authenticity required a full cinematic technical specification including 80 actors. Significantly, the contribution of artisans who had worked in the area in 1971 were employed for this recreation. Nine scenes were written for staged scenarios and the final image was digitally assembled in postproduction. The resulting artwork of the recreated riot is an image printed on glass that now towers over the shoppers and inhabitants of the commercial area. The artwork now features as both a testimony to the Gastown Riot as well as an architectural component that forms part of a daily shopping experience.

As a large-scale fixed piece of art displayed in a public arena, *Abbott & Cordova, 7 August 1971* is notable in regard to the subject matter depicted and in how it is positioned in a commercial zone. The artist stated that, 'The ultimate effects, the ultimate meaning, are something that happens when the work is in the public sphere and people start responding to it' (Douglas, 1971 p.). It is common for the subject matter of commissioned art pieces located in commercial environments to reference positive aspects of the site's history. Julia Lossau has written on the influence of artworks that affect an audiences 'geographic imaginations' and that artworks 'greatly matter when it comes to reinforcing the identity of a specific area with a new one' (2006 p.47). The commissioning process for large-scale public artworks is a studied and often cautious one, as institutional and civic authorities are mindful on the symbolic consequences that a treatment of subject can bring to bear on the identity of place; the management of this is often delicate. In the eighties the artist Hans Haacke confronted the issue of the function of art where ownership of the space where it was sited was contentious. In his work *Metro Mobile* (1985) he inserted a quote from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 'The Business of Good Art knows the Art of Good Business', as part of his art piece. This quote reminded corporations of the cost-effectiveness of non-contentious art where 'consumer relations may be a fundamental concern' (Leo, 2015 p.103). It remains that in this arena a proposal, which includes contentious subject matter, may be subject to rejection or editing. Douglas benefited from the full support of the developers who welcomed a major piece of art from an internationally recognised artist using subject

matter conceptually seeming at odds with the design of such consumer centres. The final artwork communicates this element to the Vancouver public and the commissioning process recognises that the developers acknowledge all aspects of how the artwork integrates with the day-to-day operation of the site. The rebuilding of Woodward's, a long-standing department store from the original site, was a significant conceptual pivot for the work. A consideration of this introduced the subject of gentrification into its reception. The final development of the store's site involved an issue when a homeless community had to be relocated. Keeping that in mind, the large image of the police in the seventies 'clearing' the streets can be read as a continuum, and not only related to breaking up the area's one and only hippie riot. The singular history of Woodward's store now functions as a conduit between eras and its site functions as a cypher for the area's contested history. This was something that was understood by the artist.

The finished work operates on a series of levels. It is a testimony to a rare form of collaboration between an expansive commercial practice and an art-based critical practice where an uncompromising addition to an area based on a contentious historical incident was the intended visual outcome. In the context of place, the structure and scale of the image bridges commercial and public space and insists that the subject matter of the riot is now embedded in the social fabric of the place as a conversation piece. The work is a historical marker with contemporary resonance operating between commercial and fine art boundaries. In regard to the work negotiating the tropes and recognised commissioning guidelines, Douglas was insistent that 'Public art can be more than just large scale decoration' (2010 p.), rather, it visually promotes a narrative of place that gives a voice to the forgotten 'incidents of social confrontation between local Vancouver police and members of the public at various times throughout the last century' (Liss and Rubenstein, year p.). The vast dramatic image commemorating citizen protest forcefully invites conversation on the non-place that the consumerist arena embodies, a space devoid of individuality and dominated by endless reflective surfaces.

The positioning of the work can be said to feature in an alternative conversation that has its roots in the concept of returning to the street that was promoted by the Situationists in the sixties who 'railed against the systematic and totalising perspective of the governing authorities' (Coverly, 2006 p.81). In a 1958 polemic *The Construction of Situations: An Introduction,* the Situationist International stated that:

> Constructing a situation means more than just bringing together and unifying a number of different artistic techniques in the creation of a single environment – however great the power of the environment may be. The situation is also a unified pattern of behaviour in time. What we consider to be a truly meaningful experiment lies in setting up, on the basis of desires, which are already more or less clearly conscious, a temporary field of activity, which is favourable to the further development of these desires. This alone can lead to the further clarification of those desires which are already conscious and to the first chaotic

> appearance of new ones – desires whose material roots lie in the new reality. In this way the elements out of which situations are to be built can be examined; as can projects to dynamise these elements (Grey, 1998 p.12).

This manifesto relates to a revolutionary critique of society by which Situationists in Paris and other European centres sought to reveal the true dynamic and shape of the city. This was to happen by encouraging citizens to resist social conditioning and create their own emotional maps of the city. In this, new forms of communication and deconditioning would function as a form or resistance to the dominant order. By 1971 the idea of such mapping as forming part of a wider revolutionary programme in a practical sense for first world cities worldwide had been overshadowed by an international crackdown on youth protests. Many authorities took their lead in his from what could be described as the anti-generational policies of Richard Nixon in America in regard to what the boundaries of protest represented in how city space was managed for progress. This is the critical juncture addressed by *Abbott & Cordova, 7 August 1971.*

The artwork exists as a point of departure for any conversation foregrounding factors of dissent and class conflict that arise in any regeneration process. Douglas has achieved this by designing a legitimate commemoration of the original protest through a process of negotiation that has inserted the legacy of the protest into ongoing issues of urban densification.

Factors of dissent in the form of street protest are a visualisation of community issues of place. Protest shows citizen concern when the process of commercial led regeneration appears to disregard or marginalise core issues of community. The reduction or absence of public representation in new developments reinforces a dominant capitalist narrative. This is an absence that seems to confirm the singular benefits of large-scale commercial development as utopian. In this regard, contemporary protest marches are performative events that test critical boundaries and directly contest a singular reading of place. Traditionally, these conflicts have been framed as transient incidents that deviate from the norm and from which order is needed to be restored. This reception reinforces a commercial narrative where the definition and ownership of the term 'order' is key.

Abbott & Cordova addresses a legacy of dissent visualised in the form of the demonstration. The artwork also asks how is the position of authority in the form of the police ever represented in these circumstances. When there is never any contentious documentation visualised as part of regeneration is to imply that the end result has been agreed by consensus? An absence of 'the big picture' implies that there was a righteousness associated with the process throughout and that the final result is the end of a particular linear narrative. In representing the conversation through the medium of a fine art commission and by inserting a contentious, almost contemporary, countercultural-related event in a manner more associated with that of a high-end commercial spectacle, Douglas has reclaimed both the event and site as a critical juncture. There is an awareness here that that the historical memory of this event has

now become an image that has been absorbed by the spectacle. This provocative element must also factor (Alberro, 2011).

Urbanism is contested here. Debord points out that urbanism reflected the class system by keeping the working class isolated in 'little boxes' as an architecture of power is traditionally reserved to satisfy the ruling classes for city design that promoted manageable structures, that is the factory town and contained shopping areas. This prioritises the use of land for profit. An answer to urbanism would be a reconstruction of territory according to the needs of the people, what Raoul Vaneigem conceptualised as The Revolution of Everyday Life.

The complexity of the construction of *Abbot and Cordova* allows this artwork to sidestep the traditional polemical guidelines associated with large-scale works as it remains slightly apart from its surroundings. It avoids any symbolism that could tone down its contentious history. This disconnect is evident and unnerving having the image of a riot contextualised in the setting of a shopping arena. Superficially, the depiction of the riot in a classical sense could be seen in the context of art history, particularly the polemical large-scale muralist tradition as practiced in the 1930s by Diageo Rivera, the socially active Mexican muralist. The large-scale polemical directions of socialist realism in the communist era would be another comparison. However in those traditions the work stood apart from its surroundings whereas the construction of *Abbott & Cordova* is designed to animate the social space of the commercial site. Douglas's choice to embed the riot in glass plays on the symbolism of the building materials that are associated with the spectacle of consumerism. On one level the transparency of the material fuses the image with the surrounding commercial architecture that surrounds another, the image is held as if fossilised or suspended in quartz.

In the *Society of the Spectacle,* Debord insisted that in the process of describing the spectacle we are obliged to 'use the spectacle's own language, in the sense that we have to operate on the methodological terrain of the society that expresses itself in the spectacle. For the spectacle is both meaning and the agenda of our particular socio-economic formation. It is the historical moment in which we are caught' (2009 p.).

A local commentator addressed *Abbott & Cordova*'s transparent qualities in relation to how its conditions continue to activate the concept, 'And every morning, condo dwellers will pass it on their way to work, their reflections gliding over the image like present-day ghosts' (Kamping-Carder, year p.)[68] This design subtly short circuits the spectacle of the shopping arena and inserts itself as a component into any critique of the consumerist spectacle.[69] This is the 'pause' that the geographer Yi-Fu Tuan describes in relation to space, 'If space is that which allows movement, then place is a pause: each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place' (1977 p.6). Douglas addresses the theme of alienation surrounding the space in siting the subject of a riot that occurred decades before in the actual space. In this way *Abbott & Cordova, 7 August 1971* functions as a structural displacement.

The public must address the fact that their presence in an art-based situation fixed in a commercial zone is premised on the consequences of an understanding of the site as

68 At The Gastown Riot Vancouver artist Stan Douglas reimagines a neighbourhood's troubled past.

69 In his study *Paris et l'Agglomération Parisienne* (1952) Chombart de Lauwe notes that 'an urban neighbourhood is determined not only by geographical and economic factors, but also by the image that its inhabitants and those of other neighborhoods have of it.'

an ongoing situation. The issue of what constitutes a contract between themselves and authority is offered by the artist as dialogue that must be addressed as they participate in the act of consumption. Primarily, the experience of *Abbott & Cordova, 7 August 1971* is designed to contest a fixed description of public space legitimised in this fashion. The artist offers conceptual resistance via an uncompromising image of how authority creates these arenas for profit. The dialogue exists as a monumental reminder of how power features in the nature of change, how conditions become owned and managed, how the legacy of resistance features in these settings and how space acquires identity.

In *A Power that Governments Cannot Suppress* (2007), the historian and activist Howard Zinn comments on history as being 'creative'. A creative history might disclose, 'Hidden histories of the past when, even if in brief flashes, people showed their ability to resist, to join together, and occasionally to win. The promise of the Future remains in the Past's fugitive moments' (quoted in Schneider, 2011 p.177).

Artists such as Deller, Wallinger, and Douglas who construct situations for socio-political art for outcomes that are manifested in a physical merging of the past and present cannot but reference the work of those who interrogated the urban environment as a modernist critique from the mid-sixties onwards. The critic Rosalyn Deutsche states that in the 1980s, 'City spaces were treated solely as aesthetic, physical or functionalists environments, economic forces shaping them were obscured in an enforced distinction between spatial forms and social processes' (2015 p.142). By the late eighties the concept of public art as existing independent of the specific forces that combined to shape the location of the work were questioned by artists such as Hans Haacke who, in his visualisation of systems-based interrogation artwork, sought to span the artificial gap created by the corporate of commercial ownership of urban space. The aura of public art suggesting social responsibility but confined by academic notions of site-specificity brought into question a comprehension of the real character and historical meaning of urban sites. By 2003, the Polish artist Krzysztof Wodiczko's political-based projections on public buildings were intended to 'foster a healthy antagonism and confrontation which in turn leads to healthy debates.' Wodiczko described his practice as 'symbol attacking' by which he creates a 'public psychoanalytical séance, unmasking and revealing the unconscious of the building' (2009 p.119).

The act of visualising the past to reactivate contention and refocus dialogue for the present, as evidenced in the works of Deller, Wallinger, and Douglas references Walter Benjamin's writing on territory and representation notably in his collection, *The Work of Art in the Age of Technological Reproducibility* and *Other Writings on Media.* The writer and critic McKenzie Wark points to Benjamin's theory of the reactivated fragment as being an entry point for any research on modernism's failed utopias and the resulting social contractions that surface as part of this particular legacy of failure:

> Benjamin thought that there were moments when a fragment of the past could speak directly to the present, but only when there was a certain alignment of the political and historical situation of the present that might resonate with that fragment. (Wark, 2015).

In a political representation of place, two key dialogical points can be considered. Firstly, outcomes directed by an art-based investigative process can recontextualise a site that the artist sees as embodying an under-represented critical juncture. Validation is established when the artist undertakes a socio-affective intervention by locating historical points of contention as subject matter that have micro and macro outcomes. Together they transgress conventional modes of commemoration.

Secondly, in regard to the ongoing social politics of site: the success of any dialogical outcome is determined by how much of the contentious aspect of the subject matter is managed in an uncompromising manner in regard to the site. There is a responsibility by the artist to present subject matter in a contemporary light for both fine art and civil outcomes. Project design and management should communicate the fact that the conceptual framework encourages trans-historical outcomes when an audience politically examines the sites sense of place, that is, in artworks that foreground the emotional, experiential and affective traces of particular environments.

How the social boundaries of the city are marked to register past and ongoing protest conversations are considered here. How to position testimonies and how they can be reactivated feature as do the intersections that happen between them.
The commonalities in these three artists are evident in the following:

- Curating under-represented social histories that highlight the politics of social memory.

- Value in the vernacular material that forms an integral part of the finished work.

- How protest histories are reclaimed and presented for a contemporary public to receive them as activated spectators.

- How counterfactual and speculative directions feature in assembling material to contest institutional boundaries.

- The curtailed mission of the alternative society.

- Foregrounding the revolutionary context of the Situationists as a continuing process of interrogation as the task of deconditioning the city remains.

- How the contemporary spectacle represents the failure of utopia sold by modernism and the dynamics of how the spectacle is maintained.

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