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1 Radical Chic? Centre 42, the Roundhouse and How Culture

2 Countered Wesker in the 1960s

3 Lawrence Black

Centre 42 (C42) was Arnold Wesker's 1960s BIB-068 odyssey – preoccupying his 4 5 emotional and creative energies, and in the end ultimately draining them. The fame Wesker found in *The Trilogy* (1958–60) gave a platform to launch a bold cultural-6 7 political initiative. The Trilogy depicted working-class life and segued Jewishness, political belonging and socialism. Arguing that art and culture were central to the 8 Labour movement's progress in a 1960 Trades Union Congress (TUC) motion 9 10 (no.42), Wesker's initiative ran local festivals in 1961 and 1962. In 1964, it inherited the Roundhouse in North London, which became its spatial and symbolic home. By 11 1970, C42 came to the end of the line - struggling to synthesize and enhance 12 working-class cultural life, failing to secure funding from the unions and Arts Council 13 of Great Britain (ACGB) and superseded by other popular and counter-cultural 14 15 activities at the Roundhouse.

Exploring C42's diverse activities and volatile narrative is itself a social
history of the 1960s. In the opening piece of *Radical Chic & Mau-Mauing the Flak Catchers* (1970), Tom Wolfe's account of a Black Panther gathering with the liberal
elite of Manhattan society at composer Leonard Bernstein's apartment in 1970 is
suggestive of the same contradictions inherent in C42 (Wolfe 1970BIB-108). There was

a similar air of 'radical chic' to C42: a socialist playwright wanting to take art to the
workers but marooned in a London post-industrial building which it envisaged as its
national base, together with a glamorous cast of (sometimes) supporters and
(supposed) political and artistic allies. The argument here is that whilst C42 nurtured
varied cultural activity, it was thwarted by countervailing tastes, practices and policy
agendas. The wider culture artistic, but also political, financial, personal and popular
also countered Wesker's vision.

8 Wesker's 1960s: Cultural and Political Context

Wesker's sixties celebrity was notable. He was close to Arts Minister Jennie Lee and 9 Prime Minister Harold Wilson as well as a member of the government's Youth 10 11 Service Development Council from 1960 to 1966. Tatler profiled him in 1965 and by 1967 Roots was an A-level text. During the tumultuous summer of 1967, Wesker was 12 offered and declined a CBE. *Roots*² off-Broadway run in 1961 had critics comparing 13 14 Wesker to Clifford Odets (Anon. 1961bbiB-002). His play Chips with Everything was a Broadway hit in 1963 - 'as rollicking as Sgt. Bilko' and casting Wesker as part of 'the 15 British invasion² (Anon. 1963cBIB-006). The buzz was such that Wesker sold the film 16 rights for $\frac{1}{2}$ 10,000 in 1964 to kick-start the Roundhouse appeal by sponsoring a pillar 17 and some bricks (AW 1963bbib-080). 18

19

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Wesker was the personification, a *cliche* even, of the 1960s radicalism. Active in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) and a founder of the Committee of

100 in 1960 along with Doris Lessing, Lindsay Anderson, Shelagh Delaney and John
 Osborne, Wesker marched to Aldermaston, was arrested on a sit-down protest and
 served a month in Brixton Prison in 1961 (AW 1960abiB-068; Wesker 1995biB-064: 610,
 619). While critical of the Soviet Union, Wesker visited Cuba in 1964 and 1968, and
 although he condemned Castro s persecution of homosexuality, the British-Cuba
 Association headquarters was situated at the Roundhouse (Wesker 1969biB-060: 15,
 21).1

8 C42 and the Roundhouse were part of the 1960s' DIY ethos of social 9 innovation and underground entrepreneurialism (Curtis & Sanderson 2004BIB-028: 1) 10 and the stages for the dramas and debates about popular, elite and counter-cultural 11 content: London and the regions, the role of the state and the post-industrial use of 12 buildings. Longer-term, it can be argued that they became the model for arts centres 13 and for forging culture as a political terrain.

In another register, C42 cast itself as a cultural wing of the New Left – an 14 15 intellectual-activist political formation that from 1956 proposed an alternative vision of socialism to both social democracy and Soviet communism. Culture was the New 16 Left's keyword, and C42 assumed that culture, in both content and practice, should be 17 political. Yet, most accounts of the New Left point to a waning of this ideal in its 18 second' generation, where it turned from 1962 to theory rather than such practice as 19 the Soho Partisan cafe, Left Clubs, new wave cinema or Wesker plays at the Royal 20 Court (Rustin 1989BIB-053: 117–28). 21

1	This relationship can be found in the May Day Manifesto movement (1967
2	68), a revival of the first generation New Left – Wesker was a signatory of the
3	original 1967 New Left May Day Manifesto (Ponnuswami 1998 BIB-049: 138). Yet,
4	despite being edited by Raymond Williams, it said little about culture. This extended
5	to its critique of 'Labourism', in which it argued that it wasn't just a hostile culture
6	that marginalized the left in national life, but that the British Labour Party and trade
7	unions by comparison with European social democracy were too narrowly focused on
8	parliament and wages, lacking a broader presence in civil society or ideological
9	strategy for cultivating this. Yet, Jennie Lee as Minister for the Arts (1964–70),
10	1962's Festival of Labour (Black 2016BIB-024) and modernizing Labour MPs like Tony
11	Crosland and Roy Jenkins in culture indicate that it was not lack of interest, resources
12	or will but rather popular cultural preference and the wider political culture that
13	constrained Labour's cultural progress (Black 2007ыв-022: 149-62).
14	The Labour Party, like Wesker, were firm believers in a cultural hierarchy that
15	it trusted Britons might be enticed to ascend. As with much of the permissive
16	legislation enacted in the 1960s, arts policy was at odds with popular opinion;
17	distinctively, it endeavoured to not only modernize traditional arts but also promote
18	access to it, particularly in the regions. Jazz, much in evidence at the Festival of
19	Labour and made eligible for Arts Council funding in 1967, was about as modern as
20	its tastes ran to. Lee's 1965 Arts White Paper extolled how 'in the world of jazz the
21	process has already happened; highbrow and lowbrow have met? (Cmnd. 2601

1965BIB-025: para. 71). This agenda was challenged by self-made commercial pop
 culture, not to mention the counter-culture that emerged in late 1960s Britain.

By contrast, C42 was less permissive and more prescriptive, defending folksyproletarian culture as well as elite forms such as classical music. Contemporary critics such as John McGrath and later critics like Mulgan and Worpole felt that for C42 the problem was of taking existing art to the workers, not trying to create new forms of art¹ (Mulgan & Worpole 1986_{BIB-047}: 28–29).

8 Roots and Knots

Wesker's animus and the impetus behind C42 was that theatregoing was a minority 9 pursuit compared to mass audiences for cinema and television. 'Is anybody listening?' 10 11 (Wesker 1970BIB-061:13) he wondered in The Modern Playwright or O, Mother, Is It Worth It?, the 1960 pamphlet he sent to every Trade Union leader. In this, Wesker 12 railed against the industrial relations satire film *I'm Alright Jack* (1959) and 13 condemned the Labour movement for offering little alternative to cultural habits - a 14 neglect [...] almost immoral' (Wesker 1970BIB-061: 17) – and instead focusing its 15 efforts almost entirely on material improvement for its members.2 For Wesker this 16 was an impoverishing outlook, since fif we are not to be materially exploited neither 17 should we be culturally exploited². Wesker saw exemplars of cultural well-being in 18 the Gorkis, Chekhovs, Millers, the Balzacs and Steinbecks, the Beethovens and the 19 de Sicas, the Van Goghs and the Louis Armstrongs² (Wesker 1970_{BIB-061}: 18). 20

Socialism, for Wesker and the writers of his generation (Rebellato 1999BIB-052: 11),
 meant not merely an economic organization of society but a way of living? (Wesker
 1970BIB-061: 17), and Labour and the unions were perpetuating the fragmenting of
 work and leisure.

5 The birth of Centre 42 is well documented (Black 2010BIB-023). At the 1960 TUC, a motion drafted by Wesker and Bill Holdsworth, active in the Hemel 6 7 Hempstead Left Club, called for the involvement of trade unions in cultural activities (Wesker 1960cbiB-058: 67). The motion was moved by Ralph Bond, who told of 8 attending an International Confederation of Trade Unions Film Festival, featuring 9 Scandinavian, West German, Austrian and American films, but not a single British 10 contribution, he was 'sad to say' (TUC 1960BIB-054: 435). When a speaker backing the 11 motion was interrupted by the Congress President -^II hope delegates will be brief as I 12 want to take the economic section after this $\frac{1}{2}$ this served to demonstrate the motion's 13 critique of dominant materialist outlooks and coalesced support for it (TUC 1960BIB-14 054: 438). 15

16 C42 posters proclaimed, All Art should be Free it is an experience not a 17 commodity and reasoned that the principle of free art, like free education and 18 medicine, would be accepted within a couple of decades (AW n.d.a). Novelist Doris 19 Lessing told the first C42 council of management how [u]nder the glossy mask of 20 false prosperity which is the face of Britain now, people are being starved [...] 95% of 21 the people are educated away from art (AW 1961cBIB-073). Wesker proved relentless

in urging Harold Wilson to consider the arts as a way of improving Labour's image 1 during the 1964 election campaign (AW 1964cBIB-083). Wilson responded that his 2 famous 1963 white heat' speech had really been about technology generating the 3 potential for leisure (AW 1964dBIB-084). Jennie Lee, the Minister for Arts and Culture, 4 initially endorsed Wesker's brave idea' that if politicians and economists had failed 5 to rescue us from the torpor of a subtly totalitarian culture, the only thing left is to 6 give the poet his chance' (Lee $1962_{BIB-041}$: 95–96). 7 Yet, Wesker and C42 were often seen as patronizing to working-class cultural 8 tastes. Wesker once told the Finsbury Theatre Society in 1963 that the British public 9 was philistine² (Anon. 1963aBIB-004); in 1970, John McGrath, founder of the radical 10 7:84 theatre company, and briefly a member of C42's council, condemned Wesker's 11 crusade, claiming that the idea [...] that culture is a product to be sold by culturally-12 13 conscious (therefore superior) artists and intellectuals to a culturally starved (therefore inferior) workers, is based on the bourgeois concept of culture' (McGrath 1970BIB-044). 14 Such attitudes were implicit in C42³'s cultural repertoire and preferences. 15 Wesker's pet hates included the furore around the Beatles and intellectuals who 16 ⁴pretend to like Elvis² (Wesker 1971 BIB-062: 5). In Youth Service Magazine, he 17

18 explained: that the music of Bach is superior to the music of Elvis Presley $[\dots]$ an

19 indisputable fact that Presley himself would admit² (Wesker 1964_{BIB-059}). In *Chips*

20 *with Everything* (1962), we see the Wing Commander's chagrin when the men chose

folk music in preference to Elvis – an echo of Beattie in *Roots* trying to educate her
 mother to appreciate Bizet.

Commentators like Richard Hoggart were similarly wary of American mass 3 culture. Yet, C42 also exhibited what, in The Uses of Literacy (1957), Hoggart 4 warned was a 'middle-class Marxist' tendency found in the early New Left type: 'a 5 nostalgia for those "best of all" kinds of art, rural folk-art or genuinely popular urban 6 7 art, and a special enthusiasm for such scraps of them as he thinks he can detect today [...] part-pitying and part-patronizing working-class people' (Hoggart 1958_{BIB-035}: 5). 8 In this sense, Wesker's C42 could be seen as practicing radical chic, *nostalgie de la* 9 *boue* as Wolfe also terms it, romanticizing exotic primitive culture. C42's politically 10 progressive, culturally traditional amalgam exalted indigenous national cultures in 11 highly selective ways. It aimed to recover 'authentic', traditional working-class 12 experience just as this was reckoned to have evaporated or mutated. Significantly, the 13 multiculturalism of 1960s Britain only faintly registered on C42's radar. C42 was an 14 exercise in cultural defence against new forms of popular culture as much as against 15 elitism – anti-establishment, but at the same time defending traditional authentic 16 forms and struggling to rival mainstream commercial culture. Its only non-classical 17 musical tastes, folk and jazz, were of the 'trad' (acceptable American) type, 18 countering electric pop – although at the start of the 1960s, there was a revival in 19 both, with popular and radical resonance (McKay 2007; Horn 2009BIB-037; Mitchell 20 2014BIB-046). 21

1	The activities for which the Roundhouse would become controversial and
2	(in)famous later in the 1960s were very different from the early offerings at C42
3	festivals between September and November 1962 in Nottingham, Birmingham,
4	Leicester, Bristol, Hayes and Southall and (in 1961) Wellingborough. Standard C42
5	fare included: pub and workplace poetry readings from Dannie Abse, Laurie Lee and
6	Christopher Logue (AW 1962cBIB-076); folk music from Ewan MacColl, Peggy Seeger
7	and A. L. Lloyd and art and sculpture displays (including Barbara Hepworth and L. S.
8	Lowry) in shops and community centres. The National Youth Theatre performed
9	Hamlet (Shakespeare's Jimmy Porter' as festival pamphlets dubbed it), and a theatre
10	folk ballad The Maker and the Tool (1962) was constructed by Charles Parker from
11	workplace recordings (Watt 2003BIB-055: 43–46). Wesker's short play <i>The Nottingham</i>
12	Captain (1962) was written for the festivals with ACGB funding and dealt with the
13	defeat of the 1817 Pentrich Luddite rising. It was scripted to a part-jazz (by David
14	Lee, later musical director on BBC TV's That Was the Week That Was) and part-
15	classical score (ACGB 1962BIB-018). Jazz came from the Fortytwo Big band, led by
16	Tommy Watt. The sixteen-piece's repertoire included the 'TUC twist' and 'Wesker
17	Jumps In ² and was well enough regarded to record with Columbia Records in 1964
18	(Green 1962BIB-033: 1).

Yet, this folksy, nostalgic cleaving to some authentic workers¹ culture did not
impress all. Playwright Shelagh Delaney, admired by the New Left and initially a
supporter of C42, increasingly wondered why it seem[s] to think that 100 years ago,

1	everybody was speaking poetry in pubs (Anon. 1962BIB-003). Working-class artists,
2	such as Ron Dellar in New Left Review, felt resentment when portrayed as romantic
3	misfits whose works could only be $[\dots]$ appreciated by an $[\dots]$ upper middle class
4	minority as much as when they had to debase their art by contributing to glossy
5	magazines' (Dellar 1961 BIB-029: 60).
6	C42's answer to such concerns was to organize itself as a vanguard, 'a cultural
7	hub in London which by its approach and work will destroy the mystique and
8	snobbery associated with the arts?
9	
10	If we do not succeed an army of highly powered commercial enterprises are going to
11	sweep into the leisure hours of future generations and create a cultural mediocrity
12	[] a nation emotionally and intellectually immature, capable of enjoying nothing,
13	creating nothing and effecting nothing. This is not an idle prophecy; it is a fact in the
14	making.
15	(AW 1962a)
16	
17	In addition to creating a space to nurture the best professional artists (AW 1962abib-
18	074) and a new popular audience for the arts (not vice versa), C42 rethought spectators
19	as more active participants. Wesker believed that given the right opportunities, art
20	will return as the natural function of any community; without it a community is

soulless and in the end easily exploitable; a vote in a democracy may be the
 individual's weapon against political abuse, but [...] art can strengthen a man's
 personality against spiritual abuse! (AW 1962bBIB-075). There was a clear theory to the
 nomenclature of a *Centre* 42 prior to the Roundhouse.

5 Roundhouse: The Rise and Fall

Built in 1847 by Robert Stephenson as a turning house for locomotives, developments 6 in rail design eventually rendered the Roundhouse obsolete. From 1869 until fashion 7 tycoon Louis Mintz acquired the leasehold and gifted it to C42 in 1964, it was a liquor 8 warehouse (Foster 1971 BIB-032: 43). In 1954, it was categorized as a Grade II listed 9 building. Plans for the Roundhouse, once it was acquired in 1964, were outlined by 10 Wesker in the Allio Brief. This provided French theatre designer René Allio and 11 architect Paul Chemetov with guidelines for redesigning this former railway shed as a 12 13 multipurpose, state of the arts centre. Allio had worked on Roger Planchon's Théâtre de la Cité in Lyon and Malraux's Centres Dramatiques. Chemetov led the *Atelier* 14 *durbanisme et darchitecture* in Paris and had worked on the new French Communist 15 party HQ (Joly 1973вів-039: 58–63). 16 The Allio Brief evoke[d] the atmosphere (Wesker 1970BIB-061: 52) and 17

aesthetics of C42's vision. Architectural excellence was imperative; C42 artists ought
to be 'warlike, audacious, gay, courteous, brilliant – and no doubt drunk' and the
Roundhouse 'a place of pleasure and marvelous revelation' and 'efficient, effective,

1	functional ² (Wesker 1970 _{BIB-061} : 55), including meeting rooms for local Co-ops, trade		
2	unions, church and youth groups. The building should relate the artist and the		
3	audience more intimately than in traditional theatres and result in developing a new		
4	and informed audience? (Wesker 1970 BIB-061: 58). Unlike Allio, Wesker liked the		
5	idea of sceptical youngsters lounging around in a building where there is music,		
6	theatre and debate in full swing ² and felt there ought to be ⁴ a jellied eel stall, the		
7	FortyTwo fish and chip shop, the bookstall And the drinking bar [] must be		
8	available [] as a pub throughout the day' (Wesker 1970BIB-061: 59). More militantly,		
9	the Roundhouse was to be the place where if artists were to		
10			
11	forge a new language that will make society recognize its responsibilities to the arts		
12			
	it should be here. If they are to acquire that confidence that will eliminate the artist		
13	it should be here. If they are to acquire that confidence that will eliminate the artistes nervous twitch of apology for his so-called inessential profession is should be		
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	nervous twitch of apology for his so-called inessential profession – it should be		
14	nervous twitch of apology for his so-called inessential profession it should be here. And if all this adds up to a cultural revolution and if this revolution has a seat		
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14 15 16 17	nervous twitch of apology for his so-called inessential profession it should be here. And if all this adds up to a cultural revolution and if this revolution has a seat it should be here. (Wesker 1970BIB-061: 60)		

1	C42's vision. The Roundhouse would not have happened so easily in a non-1960s
2	context, yet the same context also undermined C42. Whereas it foundered, other
3	politically engaged theatre companies developed away from London, for instance
4	7:84, Red Ladder and The People Show (Itzin 1980вив-038: 4–5). However, C42 was a
5	precursory model for numerous local arts centres and carrot-cake cinemas – such as,
6	variously, the Dagenham Roundhouse or Bristol's Arnolfini, which found its present
7	site in a former tea warehouse in the city centre docks in 1975 – often located in
8	regenerated industrial buildings.
9	Harold Wilson had gifted the Roundhouse George Hoskins (a coffee shop
10	entrepreneur and former civil servant) and Robert Maxwell, MP, already reputed for
11	his unscrupulous business practice (Anon. 1966BIB-009), allegedly to lend gravitas to
12	fund-raising initiatives (AW 1965aBIB-087). A DIY ethos remained from C422's
13	regional festivals, which not even the business nous of Hoskins and Maxwell could
14	dispel. In January 1967, the Greater London Council declared that the present
15	condition of the premises falls short of the required standard? (AW 1967aBIB-094).
16	Efforts to put things on a more commercial footing institutionally uncoupled C42
17	from the Roundhouse Trust. This saw the Roundhouse used variously for TV, adverts,
18	ice shows, Campaign for Real Ale festivals and a British Film Institute-Sunday Times
19	cinema city? exhibition, visited by Harold Lloyd and Gene Kelly.
20	Without secure funding or cultural roots, C42 and its property were also
21	overrun by popular and counter-cultural activities, far from the blend of high-end

1 culture or authentic-folk-proletarian culture Wesker envisaged. Dubbed ^tthe cathedral of the permissive society² (Anon. 1971_{BIB-015}), the Roundhouse was a trip through the 2 3 1960s. It hosted two key London counter-culture events: the 1967 Dialectics of 4 Liberation conference and the launch of International Times (IT) in 1966. Neither was 5 designed by C42, but its rates made the Roundhouse cheap to hire. Jim Haynes, an IT editor and founder of London's ArtsLab and Edinburgh's Traverse Theatre, argued 6 7 that Wesker's financial ambitions for converting the Roundhouse overrode C42's cultural output. At the same time as the Dialectics conference took place Wesker was 8 9 at a fund-raising tea party at Downing Street with political leaders and entertainment impresarios like Sir Billy Butlin and Lew Grade. This coincidence of the Dialectics 10 happening and the No.10 tea party encapsulated the cultural chasm between the vision 11 12 of C42 and the day-to-day life of the Roundhouse (Green 1988 BIB-034: 119; Cooper 1971BIB-026). 13

The 1960s Roundhouse was evidence of class, status and culture in flux as
new money and lifestyles, and new artistic forms, flourished. By 1971, performances
included a rock version of *Othello* and Peter Brook's trapeze interpretation of *The Tempest* (1968), bands such as The Doors and The Who and Andy Warhol's first
play, *Pork* (1971).

The Roundhouse, more soberly, was also a political venue favoured by 1960s
radicals. In 1967, it hosted the anti-Vietnam War Angry Arts week, sponsored by
Jonathan Miller and Vanessa Redgrave, featuring Ewen MacColl, Peggy Seeger and

1	Harold Pinter, and recorded as a TV documentary (Anon. 1967bbib-011). It was also
2	used by anti-Apartheid groups, Black Dwarf, and the Revolutionary Socialist Student
3	Federation conference in November 1968, addressed by Daniel Cohn-Bendit. The
4	schizophrenic nature of the venue was such that it also hosted 'high' cultural events
5	like the British School at Rome Painting Group and recordings of Beethoven by the
6	New Philharmonia Orchestra. There was a frisson to the Roundhouse – its radical chic
7	was encapsulated in the fact that it was a scene to be seen at and not where the
8	common herd frequented (AW 1971BIB-101: 27–31).
9	By 1969, the Roundhouse had become louche, a rowdy place. That year, the
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Away from such dramatic gestures, much of the story of C42, the Roundhouse and
Wesker was concerned with a running battle to win the argument for a particular
vision of culture and to win material support to practically enact it. Neither proved
easy. The six 1962 Festivals had left C42 £40,000 in debt, which made Mintz's offer

1	of the Roundhouse particularly appealing in lending C42 not only an artistic space,
2	but also a permanent base. Yet, it also left C42 with the task of fund-raising to convert
3	the Roundhouse into a cultural hub. Lord Harewood (the Queen's cousin and director
4	of the Edinburgh Festival) launched the appeal at the Roundhouse in July 1964 in the
5	presence of Mintz, Wilson and James Callaghan, the Chancellor of the Exchequer
6	(AW 1964eBIB-085). Harold Pinter, John Osborne and the TUC's George Woodcock
7	and Vic Feather turned down invites (AW 1964fBIB-086). The target was £590,000
8	(approximately $\frac{1}{2}$ 11.3m in 2018) to be funded from national and local government, the
9	public, trade unions, charities and business.
10	Despite arguing in 1963 that trade unionism needed to address spiritual as well
11	as material poverty, Vic Feather (1963BIB-031:124), the TUC's Assistant General
11 12	as material poverty, Vic Feather (1963BIB-031:124), the TUC's Assistant General Secretary, proved a thorn in C42's side. According to the British Film Institute's
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1	C42 called on local authorities to contribute, as permitted by the 1948 Local
2	Government Act. However, with the London County Council (LCC) expanding into
3	the GLC between 1963 and 1965, many local authorities deferred such decisions. In
4	1966, Bromley Councillor Raymond Pope denounced C42 as a proletarian piffle and
5	any donation as throwing [] public money down the kitchen sink? (Anon. 1966ыв-
6	⁰⁰⁹). The GLC and LCC were minded to hear how the ACGB felt about C42 before
7	committing (AW 1963aBIB-079). Likewise, the ACGB's Chairman Lord Goodman was
8	keen to see match-funding for any ACGB support (AW 1966aBIB-091).
9	The Gulbenkian Foundation donated f 10,000 early in 1962 and f 3,000 in
10	1964 (ACGB 1964). Business patronage was also forthcoming from the ITV
11	Companies Association Committee of Review of Grants to the Arts and Sciences.
12	After 1964, business interest diminished as central ACGB funding and support
13	increased (ACGB 1968BIB-021). The Arts Council's Secretary General, Sir William
14	Emrys Williams, had suggested that 'Weskerism' was a 'false doctrine', premised on
15	mass interest in the arts and told Wesker that business would want to see that C42 was
16	a sound and sane organization ² (AW 1964bbib-082). C42 submitted four unsuccessful
17	bids to the ACGB by 1967. Ultimately, Goodman confessed his personal dislike of
18	the C42 project to the ACGB and LCC (ACGB 1965BIB-020).
19	Wesker's celebrity and charisma gave the movement early impetus, enabling
20	him to assemble union leaders Ted Hill, Frank Cousins and Bill Carron plus Doris
21	Lessing, Tom Maschler and Jennie Lee on C42's first Council of Management (AW

1 **1961b**_{BIB-072}). C42 was based on personalities as much as ideas long before its aspirations, directed to a primarily trade union audience, faded. Much energy was 2 expended on schemes like the 1965 Stars Committee fronted by John Lennon, 3 Vanessa Redgrave, Spike Milligan and Fenella Fielding (AW 1965bbiB-088; Anon. 4 5 **1965**BIB-008). If Wesker's abrasive personality attracted controversy, his core concept of a cultural hub was no less contentious since it implicitly questioned current 6 7 government policy and the dominant structures of artistic production. This explained why C42 was received so coolly by many otherwise politically or creatively 8 sympathetic. Doris Lessing spoke as early as 1961 about a great deal of malice being 9 spread [...] about C42 (AW 1961abiB-071). Lessing reported that George Devine, the 10 Royal Court's Artistic Director who had facilitated Wesker's breakthrough works, 11 ⁴seems to see this as an attack on himself². 12 Wesker's talent for ingratiating himself with the famous and the influential 13 meant the 'Friends of Centre 42' was bedecked with Lords, Ladys and Sirs as well as 14 the Countess of Albemarle and luminaries John Berger, Sidney Bernstein, Gerald 15 Gardiner, Peter Hall, Cleo Laine, J. B. Priestley, Alan Sillitoe, CP Snow, Kenneth 16 Tynan and Raymond Williams (AW 1971 BIB-101: 40–41). Most audacious was an 17 approach to Prince Philip. Wesker explained he would sooner have built 42 on the 18 pennies and pounds of many hundreds and thousands², but this was not forthcoming 19 (AW 1965cbiB-089). He visited Buckingham Palace in May 1965, where Philip blamed 20 government funding of sports and arts for reducing the interest of private or business 21

patrons. Wesker's request was rejected (AW 1965dBiB-090). In another instance
 Wesker simply pleaded for a millionaire to back him (AW 1966bBiB-092).

C42 always generated as well as hosted cultural debate – and amidst the 3 4 evidence of putative or fleeting friends and the uncertainties induced by its aura of 5 radical chic, it is worth noting there were plenty who not only ignored but were downright hostile to either Wesker's vision or the workings of the Roundhouse. Noel 6 Coward, a critic of the 'dustbin school of drama' (Anon. 1961abiB-071), disparaged 7 Wesker's efforts in 'all those dreary English towns organizing dreary festivals for 8 those dreary people' (Anon. 1964BIB-007). Other cultural warriors saw C42 as more 9 sinister. In 1968, Mary Whitehouse drew attention to the headquarters of the left 10 wing organization "Centre 42", adding that the Roundhouse is used for activities of 11 the "anti-university" and had hosted a conference on the "dialectics of liberation" 12 [...] whose neo-Marxist ideas have kindled much of the present unrest in Europe 13 (NVALA 1968BIB-048). 14

But even C42's relationships with its friends were fraught. Wesker's hostility to pop music, including the Beatles, has been noted, but Lennon's association was keenly sought. Peter Sellars was listed amongst the Friends of C42, but *I m Alright Jack* was regularly cited as unworthy of the Labour movement because it suggested trade unionists were self-interested, cynical and lazy. Impresario Jack Hylton was also a Friend, but Wesker dubbed him a cretinizing cultural influence (Green 1962BIB-033: 7) and told Goodman he would prefer to have Hylton's assurances in the bank

1	(AW 1962ebiB-078). On the eve of the No.10 tea party, Wesker enjoined the
2	Gulbenkian's Jim Thornton: flet us hope that the industrial thugs who gather at
3	Downing Street will be touched with your enlightenment? (AW 1967dBIB-097).
4	The New Left was as unforthcoming with ideological sustenance as the TUC
5	or ACGB. Relations had been close – Wesker wrote in the first New Left Review
6	(Wesker 1960abiB-056) and touted his project as another focal point of activity
7	(Wesker 1960cbiB-058: 47) to match CND. Yet, actress and later Labour MEP Janey
8	Buchan wrote to Wesker in 1960 explaining she had prodded Stuart Hall and NLR
9	until I m sick to participate in the burgeoning fringe at the Edinburgh Festival (AW
10	1960b BIB-069). She despaired of the New Left's Londo-centrism and felt that <i>NLR</i>
11	need their heads looking at because they could have the most tremendous stage ready-
12	made for them ² .
13	Relations with Lee also faltered (Hollis 1997 _{BIB-036} : 246–96). Although Lee
14	noted that Wesker agreed with me that an urgent priority is to try to set up counter-
15	attractions to the influences of commercial television, betting, drugs? (AW 1967CBIB-
16	096), Wesker's outburst at June 1967's Labour Arts and Amenities group meeting
17	sealed the fallout (JL 1967BIB-042). The group chair told Lee: C42 is suffering from
18	Jenniecide [] Arnold is under the delusion that you are conspiring with Ted
19	[Willis] to kill the C42 project (HW 1967abiB-106).
20	Goodman then undermined C42 with the Prime Minister. He had the result of the second s
21	much enthusiasm for the project, since it was

	[
1	<u>!</u> !
2	in direct contradiction to a policy [] cultivated by Jennie and myself [] that we
3	do not impose our views or any central views on the local regions and [] that pre-
4	packaged London culture dispatched all over the place is the exact reverse of what
5	we are trying to establish.
6	(HW 1967bbib-107)
7	
8	The July 1967 tea party at 10 Downing Street came a month after Wesker's
9	accusations against Lee. Donations totalled almost £80,000 (AW 1971BIB-101: 41-42).
10	This amounted to a survival rather than a development package, confining C42 to a
11	virtual entity, existing in name and imagination alone.
12	Wesker's suspicions that C42 had ended up as tenants of the Roundhouse,
13	rather than having a prior claim on it, $[\dots]$ hood-winked by tycoons, railroaded by
14	commercial imperatives and deserted by [] Lee and the TUC (Black 2010BIB-023:
15	167) were not unfounded (AW 1966cbib-093). Ted Willis, TV playwright and Labour
16	Lord, was a longstanding foe of C42. He had suggested that it merge with Unity
17	Theatre in 1963, and in a 1966 interview with Susan Barnes (partner of Labour MP
18	Tony Crosland) in <i>The Sun</i> , Willis berated Wesker for suggesting that to write for
19	television would be dipping his pen in mud. Willis felt Wesker suffered from a
20	messiah complex, seeing himself in shining white robes coming down [] the Old

Kent Road and converting everybody there to Bach and Beethoven². Such ¹hysterical
 sincerity² was ¹patronizing² (Willis 1966_{BIB-103}).

Other critics argued C42 was too profligate and that cultural output should 3 always precede the needs of funding and a permanent base. Again, Willis was among 4 their number, writing in *Tribune*: Wesker seems to think that he alone has the tablets 5 of stone [...] on art and the rest of us are either philistines or cheats. He insisted C42 6 needed to show us in deeds not words' (Willis 1967_{BIB-104}). For Mike Kustow, the 7 ICA (where he was Director from 1967 to 1971) was artistically superior and ArtsLab 8 more 'successful as a meeting place' (Anon. 1969bsib-014). In fact, the uncoupling of 9 the Roundhouse and C42 was apparent to most commentators from 1967 onwards. 10 *London Look* (Anon. 1967abiB-010) were wowed by the spectacle and presence of the 11 building but put-off by its ambitious funding demands and felt C42 was essentially a 12 landlord to other cultural providers. Jackie, the teenage magazine for girls (itself 13 evidence of how the Roundhouse was a fixture in popular youth culture), observed 14 that with its late-night bars and psychedelic lighting, the Roundhouse was a really 15 jumping scene² but during daytime reverted to ⁴ the rather solid sign of a social and 16 cultural arts centre' (Anon. 1967cBIB-012). 17

The popular reception C42 elicited proved equally constraining. C42's local
festivals met the uneven reception that the project as a whole encountered. J. B.
Priestley was supportive of Wesker's 'noble simplicity' and efforts to counter
admass' but imagined Halifax workers faced with C42's cultural fare remarking, 'ah

couldn't make head nor tail of it' (Priestley 1965BIB-051). For his part, Wesker saw in
 Priestley a popular touch which seems to have eluded me' (Wesker 1995BIB-064: 144).

3 Conclusions

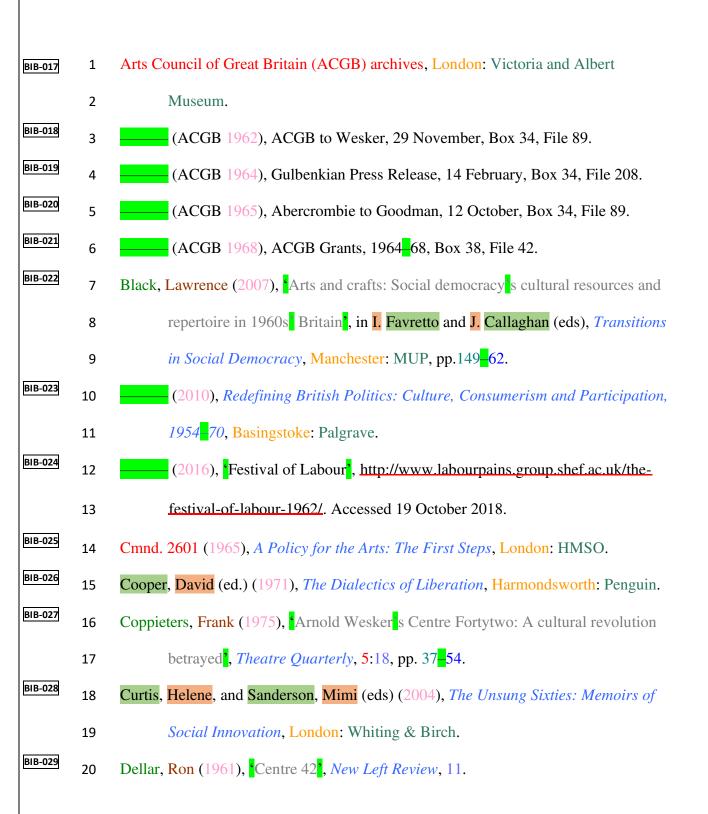
Interviewed by Catherine Itzin and Glenda Leeming for *Theatre Quarterly* in 1977, 4 Wesker conceded (indeed almost felt 'fulfilled' by) the suggestion that 'your earlier 5 career seems to be slightly overshadowing your later career² (Wesker 1985_{BIB-063}: 6 7 100). C42 and the Roundhouse were the buffers against this earlier success. Wesker at least thought that C42 had created a spirit and focused attention on the arts in a way 8 that has inspired' (AW 1968_{BIB-098}). Itzin reckoned that as fringe theatres and arts 9 centres flourished in the 1970s, C42 had ^ccome true, independent of its originators³ 10 and foreshadowed the heyday of radical theatre (agit-prop, avant-garde, feminist, 11 black, gay) in the 1970s (Itzin 1980BIB-038: 103-15). Wesker tended to look back in 12 anger. In 1967, he reflected: ¹I have been too charming or innocent in my dealings 13 with "the powers that be" (AW 1967bbiB-107). 14

Like many contemporaries, historical comment on C42 has tended to judge it harshly. For Coppieters, the idea of a Centre controlled by artists was radical enough to generate political unease, threaten commercial dictates and question artistic hierarchies its potential was betrayed by elite opposition and union antipathy (Coppieters 1975BIB-027: 51). By contrast, Marwick notes that efforts to transform the Roundhouse into a political theatre inevitably flopped (Marwick 1998BIB-045: 343). The terms of such perceived failure disclose much about the pattern, and limits, of the 1960s cultural revolution. Nonetheless, this chapter is argument moves beyond such a simple dichotomy to see Wesker as thwarted by wider cultural tastes and emerging practices, the broader political culture and by the project is own contradictions: in short, culture(s) countered it. In addition, whilst C42 fell short in its own terms, it served to inspire as a model for others after 1970.

7 What C42 lacked in cultural provision (once in the Roundhouse it is hard to envision precisely what C42's output was to be), it made up for with a vision. Its 8 legacy was here rather than in its own cultural turns in the 1960s – in modelling rather 9 than realizing the cultural turn. Wesker would return to Buckingham Palace to collect 10 a knighthood in 2006. By then the Roundhouse had undergone many changes: it had 11 12 remained culturally iconic but dishevelled in the 1970s (Preston 2005 BIB-050), failed in efforts to become a black arts centre with GLC support in the 1980s, became subject 13 to preservation by English Heritage in the 1990s and reopened in 2006 as a renovated, 14 15 bespoke arts centre, with private financial backing, as well as English Heritage and Arts Council support. Echoes of C42 and Wesker resounded: Pink Floyd offered 16 financial support, there was a sponsored brick scheme and a studio 42, whose first 17 play was the suggestively titled The Foolish Young Man by Jeremy Weller. Politics 18 was apparent in that it hosted US radical filmmaker Michael Moore's first UK stand-19 20 up performance, albeit one that ended in claims of Moore being short-changed by the venue and organizers (*Guardian* 2003). This all tied in with the 1990s' and 2000s' 21

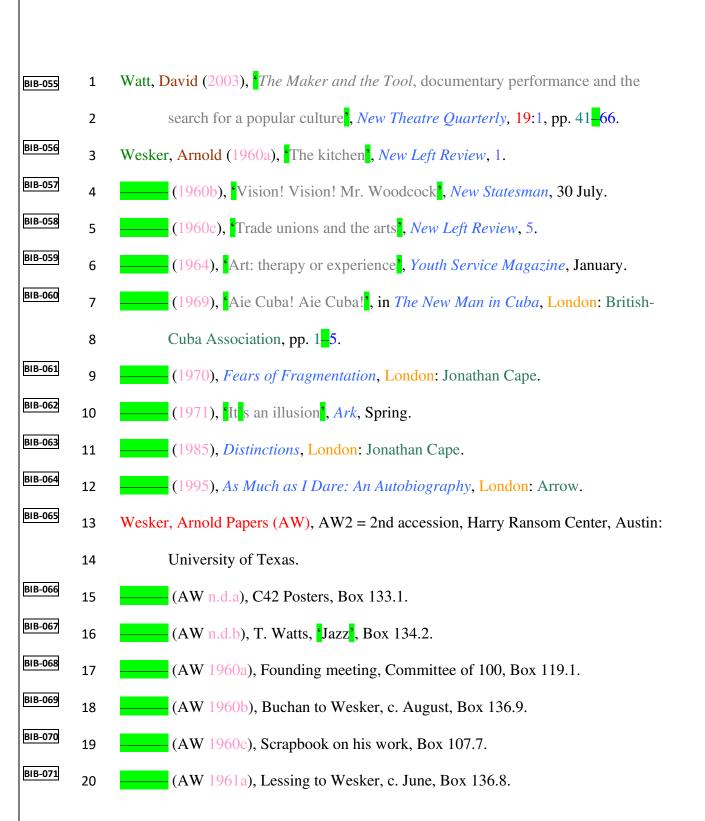
New Labour rhetoric of the creative industries. If this was a cultural revolution, it was
 not as Wesker planned or envisaged, and while he nourished and hosted it, he ended

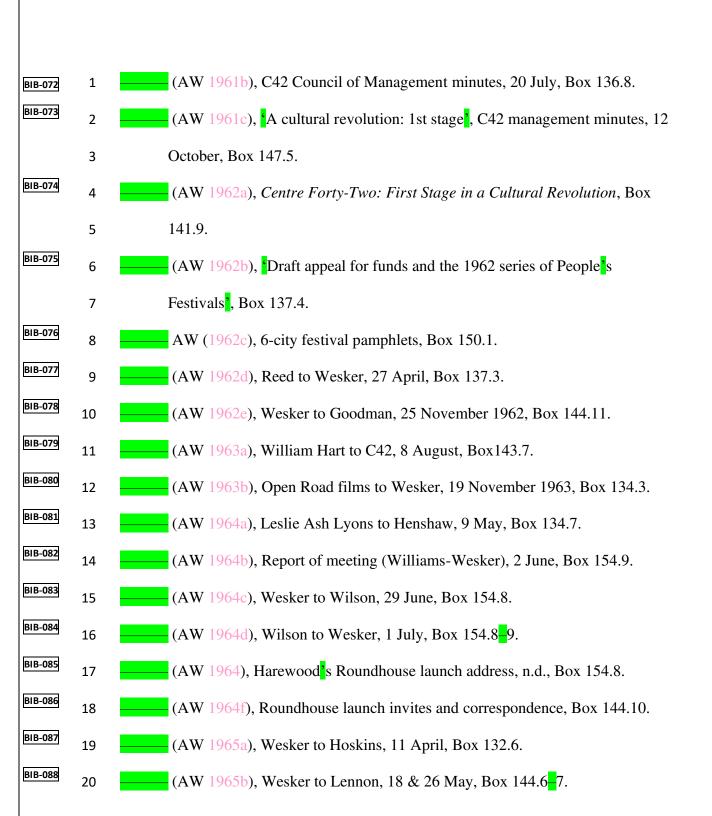
- 3 up being consumed by it. Radical, mostly; chic, definitely!
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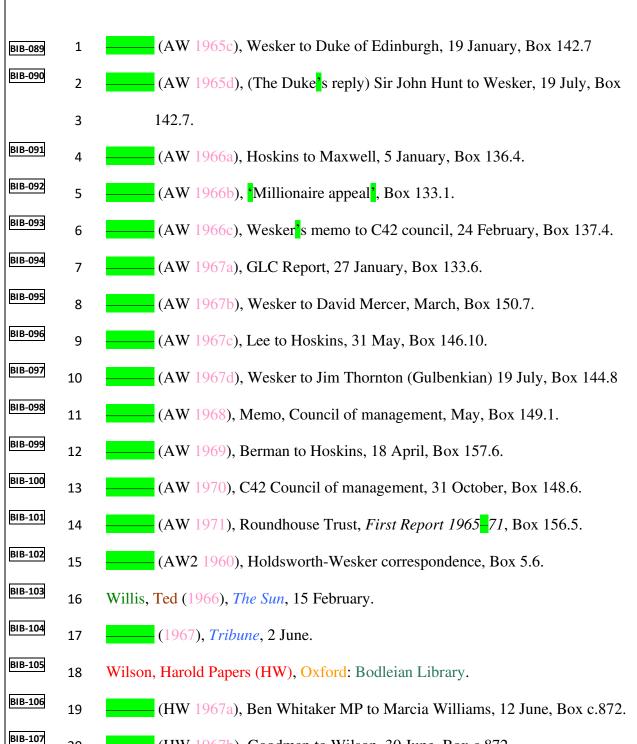


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Notes

BIB-108

- ¹ For critics like Bernard Levin, all this meant that on political matters? Wesker has a brain made of apfelstrudel? (Levin 1970BIB-043), a culinary reference borrowed from Wesker's *The Four Seasons* (1965BIB-087).
- ² In the original address to the 1960 Oxford Drama Festival on which the pamphlet was based, Wesker's rhetoric extends to calling the film 'a sick cultural manifestation' (see AW 1960c).

³ This animosity did not prevent Wesker from using Feather as one of the inspirations for the character of Victor in *Love Letters on Blue Paper* (1977).