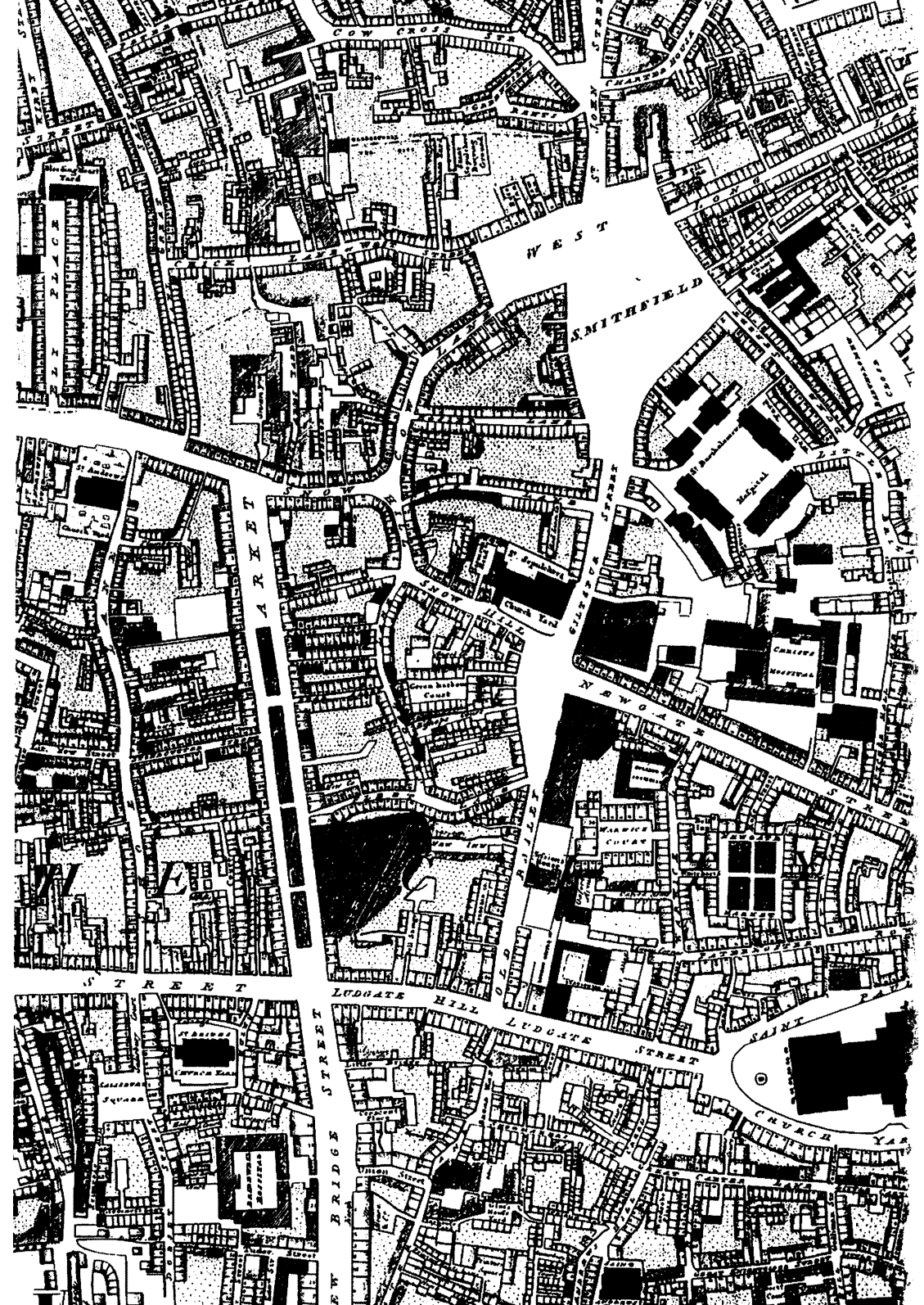


# KING MOB ECHO



FROM GORDON RIOTS TO SITUATIONISTS & SEX PISTOLS  
**TOM VAGUE**





# KING MOB ECHO

FROM 1780 GORDON RIOTS TO SITUATIONISTS  
SEX PISTOLS AND BEYOND

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BY TOM VAGUE

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INCOMPLETE WORKS OF KING MOB

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

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IN TWO VOLUMES

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DARK STAR

LONDON

2000



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# SUPPLEMENT TO KING MOB ECHO

**ENGLISH SECTION OF THE SITUATIONIST INTERNATIONAL**

**POP REVOLUTION SPEED HISTORY**

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## **ADDITIONAL RESEARCH BY DEREK HARRIS AND MALCOLM HOPKINS**

Illustrations: 'The Riots in Moorfields' (cover), 'The London Riots', 'at Langdale's' by 'Phiz' Hablot K. Browne, Horwood's 1792-9 'Plan of London', 'The Great Rock'n'Roll Swindle', 'Oliver Twist Manifesto' by Malcolm McLaren. Vagrants and historical shout outs: Sandra Belgrave, Stewart Home, Mark Jackson, Mark Saunders, Joe D. Stevens at NDTC, Boz & Phiz, J. Paul de Castro, Blue Bredren, Cockney Visionaries, Dempsey, Boss Goodman, Lord George Gordon, Chris Gray, Jonathon Green, Jefferson Hack, Christopher Hibbert, Hoppy, Ian Gilmour, Ish, Dzifa & Simone at The Grape, Barry Jennings, Joe Jones, Shaun Kerr, Layla, Lucas, Malcolm McLaren, John Mead, Simon Morrissey, Don Nicholson-Smith, Michel Prigent (pre-publicity), Charlie Radcliffe, Jamie Reid, George Robertson & Melinda Mash, Dragan Rad, George Rude, Naveen Saleh, Jon Savage, Valerie Solanas, Carolyn Starren & co at Kensington Library, Mark Stewart, Toko, Alex Trocchi, Fred & Judy Vermorel, Warren, Dr. Watson, Viv Westwood, Jack Wilkes, Dave & Stuart Wise Soundtrack: 'It's a London Thing' Scott Garcia, 'Going Mobile' The Who, 'Living for the City' Stevie Wonder, 'Boston Tea Party' Alex Harvey, 'Catholic Day' Adam and the Ants, 'Do the Strand' Roxy Music, 'Rev. Black Grape', 'Drunk on the Pope's Blood' Birthday Party, 'Firestarter' Prodigy, 'Police and Thieves' Junior Murvin, 'Babylon's Burning' Ruts, reggae 'Marseillaise' Serge Gainsbourg, 'Ghetto Superstar' Refugee Camp All-stars, 'Something in the Air' Thunderclap Newman, 'Dancing in the Street' Martha and the Vandellas, 'Heatwave' The Who, 'Paris' Malcolm McLaren, 'We are all Prostitutes' The Pop Group, 'Hard Knock Life (Ghetto Anthem)' Jay-Z, 'Bitter Sweet Symphony' The Verve, 'Under the Bridge', 'Pure Shores' All Saints

'When tumult lately burst his prison door, And set plebeian thousands in a roar, When he usurp'd authority's just place, And dared to look his master in the face; When the rude rabble's watchword was – destroy, And blazing London seem'd a second Troy.' William Cowper 'Table Talk' 1781

'I wander thro each dirty street, Near where the dirty Thames does flow, And in every face I meet, Marks of weakness marks of woe, In every cry of every man, In every voice of every child, In every voice in every ban, The german forged links I hear, But most the chimney sweepers cry, Blackens oer the churches walls, And the hapless soldiers sigh, Runs in blood down palace walls.' William Blake 'London' 1792

'Cramp and paralyze them and those who worship Babylon and deal in iniquity... Chant down Babylon kingdom, Burn Down Vatican City, Yeah.' Dillinger 'Buckingham Palace'

'I don't want a holiday in the sun, I wanna go to the new Belsen, Now I wanna see some history.'  
Sex Pistols 'Holidays in the Sun' 1977

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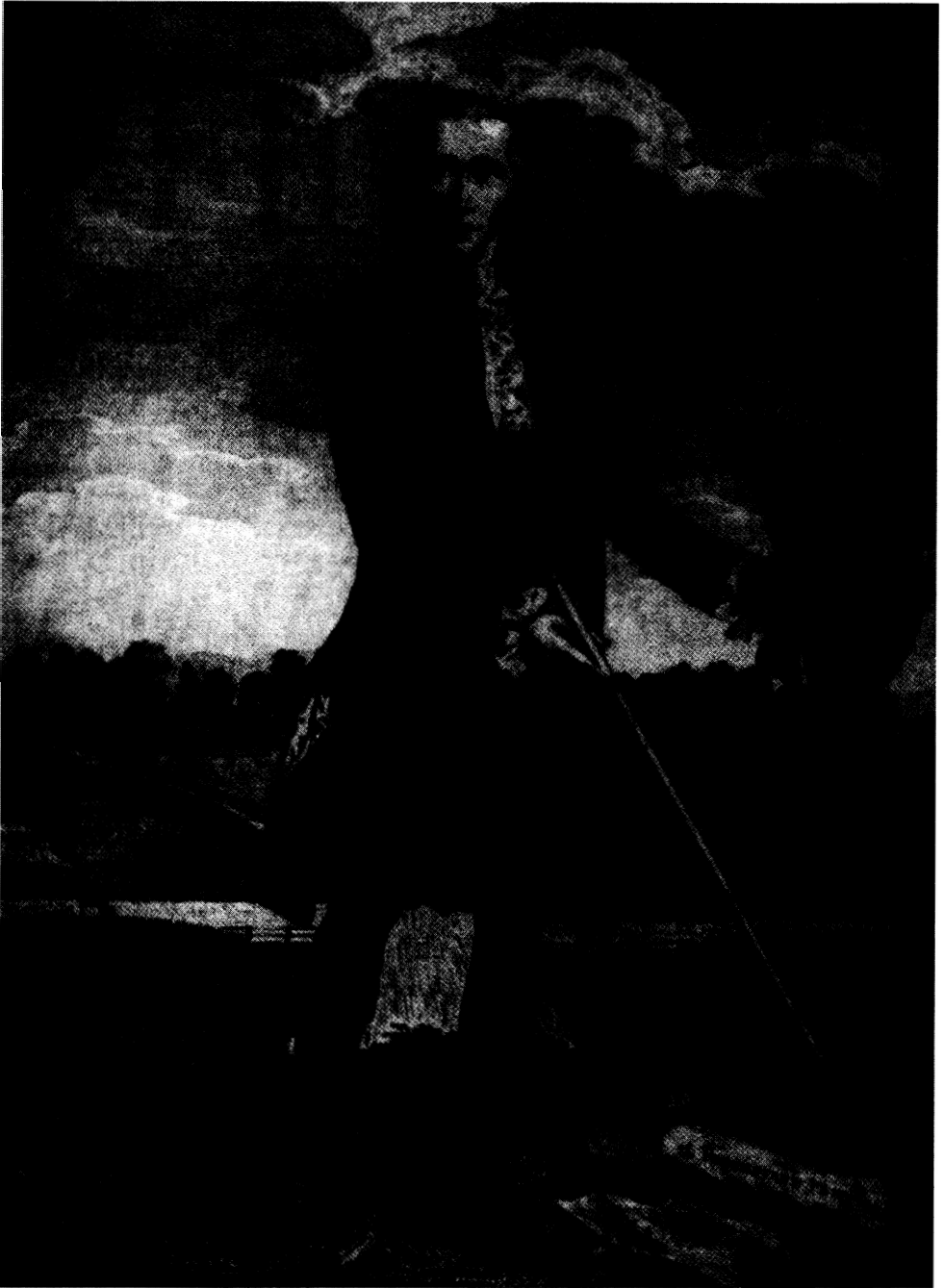
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KING MOB ECHO PROJECT: LEAVING THE 20th CENTURY  
LONDON PSYCHOGEOGRAPHY ASSOCIATION WEST LONDON SECTION  
FIGHTING FOR THE RIGHT TO UNEMPLOYMENT  
IN NORTH KENSINGTON**

**VAGUE 32**

# KING MOB



**THE MADNESS OF LORD GEORGE &  
THE GREAT LONDON RIOTS OF 1780**



**Lord George Gordon President of the Protestant Association**

**'The Gordon Riots made a profound impression on contemporaries. They took place at a time of acute political crisis, at the most dangerous moment of the American war, when the country, after numerous defeats and counter-alliances, found itself virtually isolated. At their height, on the night of June 7 1780, London appeared to onlookers to be a sea of flames. 'I remember', wrote Horace Walpole on the 8th, 'the Excise and Gin Act and the rebels at Derby and Wilkes' interlude and the French at Plymouth, or I should have a very bad memory; but I never till last night saw London and Southwark in flames!' Sebastien Mercier, in his 'Tableau de Paris', wrote 9 years before the attack on the Bastille that such 'terrors and alarms' as were spread by Lord George Gordon in London would be inconceivable in a city as well-policed as Paris...' George Rude, 'The Gordon Riots' (1955); 'Paris and London in the 18th Century: Studies in Pop Protest'**

**1688** After the Protestant Duke of Monmouth's west country rebellion is crushed by Judge Jeffreys' Bloody Assizes, James II's attempted Catholic revival results in the 'Glorious Revolution', and the Bill of Rights. In the Interregnum, between James running away and the arrival of William of Orange and Mary, London erupts in 'No Popery' riots. The apprentice mob (as first named from the Latin *mobile vulgus*) pull down Catholic chapels and houses, James II's Catholic literature is burnt, and Judge Jeffreys is committed to the Tower (at his own request).

**1710** During the reign of Queen Anne, the Church and Tory mob destroy Dissenting chapels in 'God Bless the Queen and Dr. Sacheverell' riots; stirred up by Tory parsons, at the time of Whig / Dissenting / Low-Church versus Tory / High-Church trial.

**1715** After the unpopular accession of the first Hanoverian, George I, the arrest of Tory leader, Robert Harley (for Jacobite intriguing) occasions further anti-Whig riots. With the Tories more in tune with pop culture, Sir Robert Walpole's Whigs pass the Riot Act (making it a capital offense for a mob, of more than 12, not to disperse within an hour of a magistrate reading the proclamation, 'in the King's name'). At the time of 'the '15' Jacobite rebellion, of the 'Old Pretender' (James II's son James Stuart), the Duke of Newcastle payrolls Whig 'Mugites' in election riots versus the Tory 'Jacks' – in which the Riot Act is only enacted on the latter.

**1733** In the reign of George II, Walpole's Excise and Gin Acts are accompanied by another series of riots. The Excise Act is swiftly withdrawn following a siege of Parliament, then there's more election and turnpike riots (with some cross-dressing) around the country.

**1736** As Lord Hervey says, 'the people showed a licentious, riotous, seditious, and almost un-governable spirit.' After west country food riots, there's anti-Irish cheap labour riots in London. Irish pubs and houses are pulled down in Shoreditch, Spitalfields, and Whitechapel, for 'King George and No Popery'. Another factor is the passing of the Gin Act, and Jacobite agents are said to exploit the situation in the 'mobbish part of town'. The Gin Act comes in, without much resistance from 'No Gin No King' mobs, and duly causes an increase in gin consumption. It takes 2 more acts and Hogarth's 'pictorial propaganda' to make any difference. Then Edinburgh has the Porteous riots, over the hanging of a popular smuggler. Captain Porteous orders his men to fire into the hanging crowd, killing several. For which he becomes subject to lynch-mob justice.

**1739** A combination of the popular masses, the City, and William Pitt, force Walpole into war with Spain, and out of office. In the unillustrious war, Admiral Vernon takes Portobelo in Panama, and the Road is duly named – in Tory celebration of the end of Walpole.

**1745** The Jacobites take advantage of the War of the Austrian Succession, to launch the 'Young Pretender' Bonnie Prince Charlie rebellion. In which they take Edinburgh and get as far as Derby, before retreating to the Highlands, to be massacred at Culloden.

**1751** Lord George Gordon is born in Upper Grosvenor Street, off Park Lane, the 6th off-spring of the recently departed, Cosmo George, 3rd Duke of Gordon. 'They were, and are, all mad,' says Horace Walpole of the Gordon family. George's mother, the outrageous Lady Catherine, Duchess of Gordon, discovers Robert Burns and gets the young George to shoot arrows at the King of Poland – with whom she's infatuated – before re-marrying the American Major, Staats Long Morris. Clan Gordon are out in the '45, though not under Cosmo, and are involved in various Scots plots and feuds, down through the centuries (usually on the Catholic Church and King side). Ever since the 14th century Sir Adam, Lord of Gordon, takes ('It is not for glory, riches or honours that we fight, it is for liberty alone') Declaration of Arbroath to Rome, to get the Pope to recognise Robert The Bruce.



**1761**

The beginning of the reign of George III, sees the King's friend, John Stuart, Earl of Bute, at the helm as First Minister, and Pitt the Elder enthusiastically pursuing the 7 Years War with France. When the French form a pact with Spain, Pitt urges Parliament to declare war on them too, but gets vetoed by Bute. 'The First Great Commoner' Pitt resigns to mob acclaim, and Bute is pelted with mud. In the City, William Beckford (the slave trader father of the Gothic novelist) calls for a 'more equal representation of the people in Parliament.' Thus the Tories revive 17th century popular protest movement ideas, of 'freeman's suffrage' and the 'common rights of man', first propagated by the Levellers, Diggers, Commonwealth and 5th Monarchy Men.

**1763**

The 7 Years War is brought to a close by the Treaty of Paris. Pitt opposes the peace and Bute is forced to resign, after being burnt in effigy, to be replaced by George Grenville, Pitt's brother-in-law. Enter John Wilkes, Hellfire Club Member for Aylesbury, and editor of the Pittite 'North Briton' paper. Wilkes accuses Bute (effectively George III) of lying that the peace is honourable; which gets him banged up in the Tower, then swiftly released because he's an MP. 'North Briton' No. 45 is condemned as seditious libel, to be burnt by the hangman in front of the Royal Exchange. Instead the 'Wilkes and Liberty' mob burn another boot (Bute) effigy, Wilkes wins an action against the Secretary of State for unlawful arrest, and does a bunk to France. In his absence there's further agitation for freedom of the press, and from press gangs and general warrants, along with more anti-Irish cheap labour riots in Covent Garden, some Spitalfields weavers industrial aggro, and on-going nationwide food riots. When the Stamp Act is dropped after riots in Boston, Grenville says, 'it's clear that both England and America are governed by the mob.'

**1768**

On his return from France, 'That Devil Wilkes' controversially sends a letter to the King, and stands for election as Middlesex MP, at Brentford Butts. His victory is celebrated by more extensive rioting; at the height of which his blue-cockade wearing supporters take control of London, chalking doors with 'No. 45', forcing every house to be illuminated, and smashing the windows of the Mansion House. Then Wilkes commits himself to King's Bench prison. MAY '68: Troops fire on the Wilkite mob outside King's Bench, in the 'Massacre of St. George's Fields'. While Wilkes is in prison, he's made an Alderman and elected MP for Middlesex, though the House refuse him his seat 4 times. Wilkes duly replaces Pitt (now the Earl of Chatham) as the mob hero, with pictures, busts, and riots round the country, for 'Wilkes and Liberty'. As a result of these City versus Government clashes, pop protest ideas spread, out of the City, to the 'middling sort', and the 'inferior set of people'. On Wilkes's release from prison, Lord Mayor Beckford comes up with a radical parliamentary reform plan, while the 'Junius' letters attack the King directly and hint at revolution.

**1771**

(George III lookalike) Lord North's new ministry, suffers its first humiliating defeat, over parliamentary report publishing, at the hands of Wilkes, the City, and the printers mob. After which Wilkes is elected Sheriff of London. Meanwhile, as a midshipman, Lord George Gordon gains the contempt of other officers, and the amused admiration of ordinary sailors. On leave in Jamaica he studies the social conditions of slaves and is as enraged by 'the bloody treatment of negroes', as he is impressed by America. The Admiralty consider him a 'damned nuisance wholly unsuitable for promotion.' So he turns to politics, first going on the campaign trail in Inverness-shire (dressed as a Highlander, with the McLeod lovely girls), at the time of the Boston Tea Party.

**1774**

As the Catholic tolerating Quebec Act is passed, Wilkes is made Lord Mayor and an MP again, while Lord George Gordon has the seat of Ludgershall in Wiltshire bought for him. Lord George soon establishes himself at Westminster, dressing in Puritan black, with tartan trousers, and long lank-hairstyle. He supports Edmund Burke against war with America (as do Pitt and Wilkes), but is too independent to be relied on by the Whigs. A joke goes round the coffee-houses that there's '3 parties in the country – the Ministry, the Opposition, and Lord George Gordon.' At the time of Tom Paine's 'Common Sense', Lord George's no sense makes sense. He thinks the aristo-Whig Opposition are just using the reformer Wyvill to gain power, and sees himself as neither Whig nor Tory, but of 'the party of the people'. His first speeches duly gain as much notoriety for their monotony, as his later ones do for their 'splendid splenetic fury'. In the House, he's considered vain, stupid, irritating, and rude, but outside he can be charming and gracious. He's not into gambling or hunting, but has as much enthusiasm (without discernment) for women as he has for political causes. Mrs. Montagu quips that if Lord George called the Archbishop of Canterbury the 'Whore of Babylon', he would be 'the only whore his Lordship dislikes.'

**1776**

JULY 4: The American Congress in Philadelphia issues Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence. The British proceed to re-take New York, and Philly, then General Burgoyne gets surrounded by Washington's rebels at Saratoga, and forced to quit.

**1778**

Mad Lord George returns to Parliament, from holiday in Paris and Weymouth, as his godfather, Mad King George, turns down Lord North's plea to be replaced by Pitt (who opposes American Independence shortly before his death). North duly repeats the tea duty, but things have gone too far for anything but Independence. New British commander, Sir Henry Clinton, has to fall back from Philadelphia to New York, while Benjamin Franklin goes to Paris, where not much encouragement is needed to get the French to join the Americans, against the British. A French and Spanish fleet subsequently threaten Plymouth, and the West Indies fall into enemy hands. With Warren Hastings also up against it in India, Lord George resumes his attacks on Lord North. Now utilising the traditional English fear of Roman Catholicism, as moves are made towards relaxing the 1699-1700 William III anti-Catholic act. Basically, so that Catholic priests won't be liable to imprisonment for teaching, or prevented from buying or inheriting land. The point of which is to enlist more Scottish highlanders to fight in America, and to stop the Irish emigrating there.

MAY 17: The Catholic Relief Bill is introduced to Parliament by Sir George Saville, to pass 3 readings and receive royal assent, for its not very generous measures (which only apply to Catholics taking the Oath of Allegiance; Catholics remain outcasts until the 1829 Emancipation Act repeals the William III Act). At first nothing much happens but, as the American War of Independence turns into World War – with France's Catholic ally Spain coming in – English Catholics are seen as part of an international conspiracy to do away with the Protestant religion, and English 'revolution principles'. Protestants, Methodists, Dissenters, C of E, and non-church people, are united in seeing Catholicism as a threat to the constitution and the liberty of the individual. The Pope is seen as the Satanic enemy of England, using France and Spain to return the English to the rack and Inquisition. People believe the King is a secret Catholic, and equally far-fetched rumours, like; 20,000 Jesuits in a tunnel network under Surrey Quays, preparing to blow up the banks of the Thames and flood London, and a gang of Benedictine monks poisoning flour in Southwark. Methodists and other Dissenters play on people's fears to inflame prejudices, even John Wesley warns of the 'chains forging at the anvil of Rome.' While pamphlets and cartoons are produced recalling the 1550s Marian Persecution, of 'Bloody Mary' I, and the 1572 St. Bartholomew's Day massacre of Protestants in Paris (in 'La Reine Margot' Isabelle Adjani film). Other Popery fears too are recalled in the English pop folk consciousness, from the 1588 Spanish Armada, through 1605 Gunpowder Plot, 1641 Irish massacre of English Protestants before the Civil War, 1678 Titus Oates 'Popish Plot', to Judge Jeffreys' Bloody Assizes and James II's 'Catholic army'. Thus the myth of the 'Freeborn Englishman' is reinforced, with his 'birthright and traditional liberties' – 'as in Good King Alfred's day' – not to have to put up with 'Popery and wooden shoes' (absolute monarchy and arbitrary government), like the poor French and Spanish. Revolutionary nationalism, which can turn into racist religious fanaticism, or support for radical causes, or both at the same time.

**1779**

The first anti-Catholic Relief riots break out in Edinburgh and Glasgow, after target missives are dropped pronouncing: 'Men and Brethren – whoever shall find this letter will take it as a warning to meet at Leith Wynd – to pull down that pillar of Popery lately erected there – read this carefully keep it clean and drop it somewhere else. For King and Country. UNITY.' Scottish Catholics write to Lord North begging him not to grant them relief, and the Ministry is forced to announce that the Bill won't apply in Scotland. For which Lord George gains a lot of the credit. Scottish Presbyterians appeal to him for advice, and greet him in Edinburgh as the returning local hero (though he's born in London, and his ancestors are Catholics and Jacobites). Then James Fisher, the secretary of the London Protestant Association, invites him to become president. Lord George accepts, trusting 'the attention of Parliament to the petitions of Englishmen... not to raise the apprehensions of the lower classes of the people... The Roman Catholics must know as well as we do, that Popery when encouraged by Government has always been dangerous to the liberties of the people.' Though Lord George isn't the anti-Catholic fanatic Dickens portrays him as in 'BARNABY RUDGE', like Sir Oswald Mosley, he's an aristocratic political adventurer, representing inflammatory views for his own ends. Unlike Mosley, he does it for the libertarian goals of American Independence and the downfall of the King's ministers. Nevertheless, he uses the Protestant cause to further his political career. London also has the Keppel riots, in which Charles James Fox leads the mob in support of the Whig Admiral Keppel.

1780

Lord George proceeds to collect signatures for the 'English appeal against the Popery Bill', at his open-house, 64 Welbeck Street, off Oxford Street (round the back of Debenhams). Leading Catholic Lord Petre puts in an appearance, to voice his concerns about backing such 'a mean set of people'. Which Lord George deflects, saying if he doesn't do it, another Wat Tyler could emerge and lead the country into (Stuart versus Hanover) civil war. As Burke and his other former allies distance themselves, Lord George doesn't deal too well with King George either, as he begins a series of audiences at St. James's (going over North's head as the son of a duke). In his last audience, Lord George oversteps the mark somewhat, reminding the King that 'the Royal Family of Stuart have been banished for not attending to the voice of the People.'

APRIL/MAY: After Lord George turns down a naval command and his brother Alexander, the Duke, is approached with a financial deal, Lord North goes to Welbeck Street, with a 'large some of money and leading situation in Parliament' offer – to 'desert the Association.' But Lord George won't sell out, and only becomes more convinced of his importance, speaking of his divine mission to save the country in Parliament, and at increasingly large and rowdy LPA meetings. In Parliament, he says 'that such as came up to him said that they had not yet determined to murder the King; they only considered that they were absolved from their allegiance.' After a meeting at the Old Crown and Rolls Tavern, on Chancery Lane, the fateful decision is made to present the by now monster petition to Parliament. Lord George addresses the largest meeting yet at Coachmakers' Hall, saying: "The only way to go is in a bold manner and show we are to defend Protestantism with our lives." Following which press notices appear, announcing: 'Whereas no Hall in London can contain 40,000 men; Resolved, That this Association do meet on Friday next June 2 in St. George's Fields... to consider of the most prudent and respectful manner of attending their Petition, which will be presented the same day, to the House of Commons.' In solidarity, the City Common Council pass a motion for Catholic Relief Act repeal.

JUNE 1: The weather breaks, with violent storms around the country; at Longleat in Wiltshire a hailstorm smashes glass in greenhouses, and kills ducks and poultry; while in Paddington village a drunk blacksmith falls into a water butt blinded by the rain and drowns. Throughout the week there's tension in the air and strange portents like a baby born with one eye.

DAY 1: FRIDAY JUNE 2: 10.00AM: A crowd begins to gather in St. George's Fields (more or less on the site of Waterloo Station; then as now an all-purpose venue for beggars, apprentice boys fights, and football sessions; bounded by streets known as Melancholy Walk and Dirty Lane). Although there's some un-Protestant drinking in nearby pubs, most are sober 'better sort of tradespeople' and 'honest mechanics', with hymn books under their arms. While a tailor stitches together all the Petition parchments, everyone is issued with blue cockade hat rosettes (formerly Tory, Jacobite, and Wilkite), 'to distinguish themselves from the Papists', some with 'No Popery' blue stitched white labels.

11.00AM: Lord George arrives in a coach to cheers, and makes short-ish speech, calling for 'peaceable deportment and behaviour' – all he can get away with in the sweltering heat – before proceeding down Lambeth Road to the House of Commons; to accept the petition from the marchers later. Meanwhile, the Scottish division, headed by a Highlander in kilt with sword and bagpipes, lead the London, Westminster, and Southwark divisions round St. George's Fields a few times, to practice marching properly. Then the bagpipes start up again and the march proper begins. As described by Gibbon, '40,000 Puritans, such as they might be in the time of Cromwell, have started out of their graves'; marching 8 abreast, with 'No Popery' banners flying, through the Borough, across London Bridge, down Cornhill, past the Bank, into Poultry and Cheapside, round St. Paul's, on down Fleet Street and the Strand. 12.00AM: As the solid Protestant march leaders cheer churches, the Admiralty, and Wilkes's house on Great George Street, the march as a whole assumes an ominous demeanour. As J. Paul de Castro puts it in 'THE GORDON RIOTS' (Oxford University Press. 1926), coming through the City, the march gains 'undesirable recruits' from below, 'ill-conditioned ruffians drawn from its dark courts, blind alleys and unsavoury night cellars.' At the end of Whitehall the City divisions tumultuously rejoin the other division, who've come across Westminster Bridge, to fill New Palace Yard and surround the Houses of Parliament (the old ones that burn down in 1834). The young Frederick Reynolds, Wilkes's solicitor's son, describes the marchers at this stage as mostly 'persons decently dressed, who appeared to be incited to extravagance by a species of fanatical phrenzy. They talked of dying in the good cause, and manifested all the violence of the disposition imbibed under the banner of Presbyterianism. They had long lank heads of hair, meagre countenances, fiery eyes...'

2.00PM: As 'roughs and bullies' encourage petitioners to riot if/when the petition isn't accepted, unpopular Lords are forced to wear blue cockades and shout 'No Popery!' twice, before being allowed through. Old Lord Bathurst is pulled from his carriage, hit about the face and pelted with mud, as the crowd jeer that he's 'the Pope and a silly old woman'. Then, according to Christopher Hibbert's 'KING MOB' ('The Story of Lord George Gordon and the London Riots of 1780' Dorset. 1958), 'excited by the sight and sense of violence, the demonstrators with the fury of suppressed emotions suddenly and thrillingly released, fell upon every carriage containing a peer whether he were a Catholic sympathizer or not.' Secretary of State, Lord Stormont's carriage is demolished, and Stormont himself is subjected to 'the most impudent liberties'. The Duke of Northumberland comes in for similar treatment when his secretary is mistaken for a Jesuit, and has his watch snatched. Lord Chief Justice, Lord Mansfield loses his wig and carriage windows, for recently acquitting a priest accused of saying Mass. The Bishops of Lincoln and Lichfield are roughed up, and the former boxer, Archbishop of York is forced to escape by river (like Dickens's 'Mr. Haredale'). Lords Willoughby de Broke, Ashburnham, St. John, Hillsborough, Trentham, and Dudley, are also mobbed; the semi-conscious Ashburnham is passed over the heads of the crowd into the House. While most Commons Members get away with having their names ticked off, and 'No Popery!' chalked on their carriages, Lord George critic, Charles Turner and Sir George Saville's carriages are attacked. Burke is 'abused with scandalous and obscene invective', and Welbore Ellis and Strahan are beaten up. The former is chased into Westminster Guildhall, where the doors give way, and he's forced to escape over a roof. Then Lord North's carriage hurtles through the crowd, but has to slow down, and the First Minister's hat is seized (to be cut up and sold off at a shilling a piece). By now a lot of original petitioners have gone home, some resigning from the Protestant Association on the way, leaving the least respectable elements in New Palace Yard and Parliament Street.

3.00PM: After donning the blue cockade and shouting 'No Popery', Samuel Romilly makes it into the House of Lords, to find 'Lord Mansfield and 5 or 6 peers in great consternation... several peers with their hair dishevelled, having lost their bags in the scuffle to get into the House..' With the mob thundering at the doors, the Duke of Richmond proceeds to make a proposal for a 'more equal representation of the People in Parliament.' (Richmond is one of the few peers respected by the mob; as well as being the brother of Lady Sarah Lennox, who has affairs with George III and Lord George's brother, Lord William; his successor marries a Gordon, thus uniting the 2 dukedoms.) Then Lord Mountford bursts in, exclaiming that the mob is getting bigger and the life of his friend Lord Boston is in jeopardy. But Richmond doesn't hear him and complains about the interruption. As Mountford frantically explains Boston's predicament, Richmond sits down, then gets up again, to say: "It is well known that I am a friend of the people and have often stood up in defence of their rights, but I am exceedingly sorry to see them so improperly assembled and acting in so unwarrantable a manner. I the more lament it on the mistaken account upon which they have been induced to behave so indefensibly, for the Act which they have been misled about, and taught to believe so encouraging Popery, was merely an Act for giving liberty of conscience and allowing men of different religious sentiments from themselves to enjoy those sentiments at their ease. The Act, therefore, was founded in an idea of securing the general liberties of every description of subjects. My own Bill goes to the same point in some degree..." As Richmond's about to go on, he's informed that Boston is still in the hands of the mob outside the Committee Room window. Lord Radnor proposes that a Lords contingent is formed to rescue him, but the Duke of Gloucester says it's too dangerous, and proposes calling a JP to the bar; 'to receive instructions to collect the civil power and disperse the mob.' Lord Denbigh goes further saying the military should be called out. To which Richmond counters, that this is "the way to create a riot not to suppress one. Our Government will be no better than a Military Government if troops are to be called out upon every occasion to suppress riots." Meanwhile, Boston manages to extricate himself from the mob, and the threat of having a cross carved on his forehead, by getting 2 of his assailants involved in a Pope as Anti-Christ argument. Then Lord Shelburne asks what precautions the Ministry has taken, against the expected 'present tumult', the causes of which he believes lie 'much deeper than the Bill relative to Roman Catholics.' Shelburne then guesses correctly that Lord North forgets about the order to alert Westminster magistrates, until he arrives in Palace Yard, before engaging Denbigh in heated argument about calling out the military. Finally, it's agreed to find a magistrate in the vicinity. Mr. Justice Sampson Wright duly appears, saying he's received no order and merely turned up out of curiosity, and an idea that he might be needed. Wright goes on to say that he can do nothing to

disperse the mob with the forces available to him; at this stage, 6 constables. The House instructs him and his fellow justice Mr. Reed to try anyway. Which they do, before swiftly returning to inform the Lords of their failure. With the now 14,000 strong mob attempting to batter down the doors. Meanwhile, in the Lower House, things are going just as badly – though proceedings begin calmly enough, with amendments to the Hair Powder Bill and the duty on starch – when Lord George stands there's a 'murmur of apprehension and annoyance', audible above the crowd noise. The enormous roll of parchments, reputedly signed by 120,000, is then dumped on the floor of the debating chamber, to be seconded by City Alderman Fred Bull. As Members from both sides oppose it, Lord George goes to the top of the gallery stairs, to update his supporters from below in the Lobby. "Lord North calls you a mob... The member for Bristol (Burke) is now speaking. He is no friend to your petition." At one point telling them that George III is "in the same predicament with James II." In an increasingly agitated state verging on hysteria, according to Hibbert, he becomes 'so intoxicated by the sound of hundreds of voices shouting his name', that he doesn't realise his original petitioners have been replaced / infiltrated by 'a mischief-making and violence-hungry rabble.' After saying prayers the House chaplain, the Rev. Thomas Bowen, runs into him in the House dining room. 'While I was sitting alone Lord George came in; he threw himself into a chair and seemed overcome with fatigue.' At Lord George's subsequent trial, Bowen says he tells him that 'a person in the Lobby had said that if he would say it was necessary for them to go they would, and added that it depended only on him to disperse them.' Whereupon Lord George goes back out on the gallery to tell the people: "You are the best judges of what you ought to do." He then outlines "how the matter stands: The House are going to divide upon the question... There are for taking into consideration now, myself and 6 or 7 others. If it is taken into consideration now your petition may be lost. Tomorrow the house does not meet; Monday is the King's birthday; upon Tuesday the Parliament may be dissolved." This is greeted by more shouts of 'Repeal!' and 'Lord Gordon!' According to Bowen, Lord George optimistically adds, "His Majesty is a gracious monarch, and when he hears the people 10 miles round are collecting... no doubt he would send his Ministers private orders to repeal the Bill." Before reminding his supporters of the Scottish success in thwarting the Government. 'The Scotch, said he, had no redress until they pulled down the mass-houses.' But he also tells them 'to beware of evil-minded persons, who would mix amongst them to incite them to mischief, the blame of which would be imputed on them', and to stay 'steady and cool.' Colonel Holyrod threatens to move that he be committed to the Tower, if he goes out on the gallery again, and General Conway tells him that he's ready to 'protect the freedom of debate' with his sword. 2 other Members follow Lord George about, with swords at the ready to run him through, if any of his 'rascally adherents' make it into the House. Lord George, as described by Hibbert, 'one moment sitting sprawled and exhausted on a chair... the next dashing excitedly across the House... now being pulled back with 'a gentle violence' by General Grant, alternately arguing with a political opponent and talking to his supporters in the lobby... seemed everywhere at once, as ubiquitous in presence as in spirit.'

9.00PM: After the Lords manage to escape, Horse Guards under the command of Justice Addington are allowed to ride into the crowd in New Palace Yard. The Guards flourish their swords but appear reluctant to use them, and duly get pelted with stones, and bits of faggot liberated from a nearby baker's. This draws away those surrounding the doors of the Commons, and members are finally able to get into the Lobby for a Division. Only 8, including Lord George, of the 200 members who make it in, are for immediate consideration. The demonstrators duly hit the taverns to slake their thirst.

10.00PM: As Palace Yard empties, apart from a few crusty stragglers, Members tentatively venture out. Lord George is one of the last to leave, cadging a lift with Sir James Lowther and Sir Philip Jennings Clerke; who describes him as a 'pitiably figure', pale and exhausted, lost in silent despair.

11.00PM: Lord George is dropped off back at Welbeck Street. As he retires, a group of 'resolute, half-drunk, venomous-looking men' with blue cockades, 'No Popery' banners, and lighted torches, march steadfastly down Great Queen Street, towards Lincoln's Inn Fields in Holborn. These are no longer the 'lank haired Puritanical' figures from Palace Yard. Along with the torches and banners, they also carry spades, pickaxes, hammers, staves, crowbars, and chisels; which are also about to become well known symbols of the London Protestant Association. On the group's arrival, outside the Sardinian ambassador's Roman Catholic chapel, on Duke Street (now Kingsway), they have a crowd of 'street boys and prostitutes, drunks, pickpockets and rowdies' in tow, out of the St. Giles slum quarter (of Hogarth's 'Gin Lane' fame, now New Oxford Street / Covent Garden), behaving tumultuously.

DAY 2: SATURDAY JUNE 3: As the Kingsway mob gather excitedly on Duke Street, the leaders break open the chapel doors, to let ragamuffin gangs rush in and smash everything inside, in a matter of minutes. The sight of which causes a woman on-looker to have a fatal fit, and become the first Gordon riot casualty. Henry Angelo, the swordsman, goes along Great Queen Street counting 10 other fires, some featuring Ku Klux Klan style crosses of burning tar, before reaching the main bonfire in Lincoln's Inn Fields. There he finds 'the rabble, the greater part boys not above the age of 15, throwing hassocks, dead cats and other missiles at each other.' Some attempt is made to arrest ringleaders by local peace-officers, who go to Sir John Fielding's and Somerset House Guards barracks for assistance. Sampson Rainsforth, the King's tallow chandler (candle maker) returns with 100 guards, who draw bayonets and force spectators into the chapel; which is beginning to burn, having had the bonfire pushed against it. 13 men are arrested and taken off to the Savoy, including 3 painters, 2 carpenters, a glazier, sadler, printer, waiter, footman, coachman, and Russian Army officer; most of whom are innocent by-standers, several turn out to be Catholic, and none are actual ring-leaders.

1.00AM: As the mob allow fire engines to play on adjoining Inigo Jones houses, but not the Sardinian chapel, another drunken mob gather in Golden Square, Soho, outside the Warwick Street Bavarian Embassy. The adjoining chapel is duly broken into, and another bonfire made of its contents; while tea, from the 80 year old ambassador's smuggling sideline, and furniture is looted by another German, Bund. In the meantime, the Kingsway mob move on to Bloomsbury, where it's said Bishop Challoner sometimes says mass. On their arrival in Gloucester Street, no one knows which is the Bishop's house, so after going up and down the street cursing 'Papische bishops', they disperse. The Soho mob move on to the Portuguese chapel, in South Audley Street, where they're intercepted by Guards. Then there's another mob gathering in the Catholic Moorfields area, which is also broken up, this time.

2.00AM: As the bonfires die down and the riot groups dwindle away, a reporter on the first London daily paper, 'The London Courant', writes; 'everything was perfectly over and quiet.'

12.00PM: After Members and peers arm themselves with clubs and blunderbusses to go to Parliament, the latter discuss 'the great fall from dignity which their lordships had suffered the preceding day.' The Duke of Richmond blames the Government for not taking adequate precautions, and passing the Catholic tolerating Quebec Act. Lord Shelburne counters that there's no point in mentioning Quebec, as Canada, as well as the rest of America, "will at a very short period follow the fate of the 13 United Provinces." Then he calls for the reform of the Westminster Police. "An imperfect, inadequate and wretched system. The commission of the peace is filled by men, base to the last degree, and capable of every mean act derogatory and opposite to the justice of the laws which their office obliged them to administer with truth, equity and wisdom. The miserableness of the Westminster Police was so obvious that the example of yesterday points it out as the fit object of reformation and shows most forcibly that it ought to be entirely new-modelled and that immediately... Recollect what the Police of France is. Examine its good but do not be blind to its evil." Which stirs the Duke of Northumberland to defend the English police against the professional French. (London doesn't get a professional police force until 1829; the same year as Catholic emancipation.) Meanwhile, the Lincoln's Inn Fields 13 are marched from the Savoy to Sir John Fielding's Police Office, on Bow Street. As they come out a crowd suddenly materialise on the Strand, jeering and pelting the Guards with mud. When a guard points his musket at a particularly persistent tormentor, an officer knocks the barrel into the air. At Sir John Fielding's the Guards form a semi-circle in front of the house, to prevent any mob attempt to free the prisoners.

5.00PM: The prisoners are escorted by the Guards to Newgate. Such is the escort's professionalism that they're greeted by a cheer on their arrival at Newgate lodge. Then the crowd disperse in high spirits, apparently leaving the prisoners to their fate. Throughout the afternoon Catholics are left alone and a low profile is kept by the London Protestant Association, and Lord George – the 'ruffian apostle that preached up this storm', as Horace Walpole (who's also anti-Catholic Relief) describes him.

9.00PM: Tumultuous proceedings resume in Moorfields, where there's a large Irish hut encampment settlement. London Irish are mostly unskilled labourers, vagrants, street hawkers, pub landlords / doss-house proprietors. There's also colonies of semi-skilled bricklayers and weavers. In Moorfields the latter are exploited for cheap labour by an Irish Catholic silk merchant called Malo. This causes local English resentment and frequent fights; in which the English custom of forming a circle round the fight, until the matter's settled, is often broken by the Irish. After threats are made against 'Dens of Popery' such as Malo's house, Malo gets the Moorfields alderman to call out the district constables and old

watchmen, which possibly deters the mob from further mass-house destruction. At this stage, lacking direction or leadership, the mob are content to abuse and ridicule the constables. Then Malo appeals to the former brothel-keeper Lord Mayor, Brackley Kennett, for more substantial assistance, which isn't immediately forthcoming. Kennett says; "I have orders to employ the military if necessary, but I must be cautious what I do, lest I bring the mob to my own house. I can assure you that there are very great people at the bottom of this riot." Kennett also ignores Lord Stormont's warning letters but eventually calls out 70 soldiers from the Tower, to disperse aimless mob remnants.

DAY 3: SUNDAY JUNE 4: Crowds gather again in Moorfields, with a woman shouting their intention to do 'some good business', after the previous day's warning to get the 'Papishes on the hop'. Then they just loll about Middle Moor Fields and the Tenter Grounds (around Finsbury Square) for a few hours, taking a riot holiday in the Sun. As the heat subsides, excitement mounts, and the mob reconstitutes itself in Ropemaker's Alley, outside a Catholic chapel. Women from adjoining houses warn them to be careful, and get their windows smashed. Which sends hordes of street-urchins running round the Ropemaker's Alley courts, announcing that the riots are about to re-start. The chapel is duly gutted and a bonfire made of its furniture, fixtures and fittings. With Lord Mayor Kennett standing idly / helplessly by, furniture is thrown from windows, over the heads of Coldstream Guards surrounding the bonfire. Nearby Irish houses and taverns are raided for food and wine, and Pope and St. Patrick effigies are burnt in the ruins. Another mob attack the Sardinian chapel again and parade outside Lord George's house on Welbeck Street, showing off their chapel trophies, before burning them nearby. By now, as Hibbert puts it, 'encouraged by trouble-makers, prostitutes and runaway apprentices and led by criminals... normally quiet and honest people were no longer either willing or able to stand idly watching but felt compelled to join in, forced on by the excitement of violence, the satisfaction of destruction and the chance of loot. Protestantism was no longer a cause but an excuse.'

DAY 4: MONDAY JUNE 5: The King's official birthday: The Lincoln's Inn Fields 13 are taken back to Sir John Fielding's to be re-examined and discharged. Apart from 3, Lind, Inwood, and Twycross, and the German, Bund, who are escorted back to Newgate, to be hanged Thursday. While Susan Burney writes of the mob off Leicester Fields (Square), emptying the house of Sir George Savile of its furniture, and forcing his servant to get a candle to light it. By the time troops arrive, Leicester Fields is lit up by the fire as if it's daytime. When the troops and friends of Savile defend his house with sticks and pistols, the mob move on to Edmund Burke's house on Charles II Street, off St. James's Square. Burke hears that his house is next on the list and hurries back there, to find troops already in position. As the 'No Popery' to 'No Property' trend continues, Sampson Rainsforth is dragged from his bed and forced to watch his house and warehouse, in Clare Street (Kingsway / Aldwych) being emptied of their contents. As his stock is burnt, a gang of street boys turn over barrels, creating a river of boiling fat down the street. Mr. Maberly's house in Little Queen Street is next to go, along with more chapels and premises of Catholic brokers and manufacturers in Spitalfields. The Moorfields mob demolish a Catholic school, and 3 houses, before moving on to a seminary, off Old Street. When the chapel attacks spread out east to Aldgate, the Irish congregation of the Virginia Lane chapel, in Wapping, make a self-defence proposal. A Secretary of State turns it down and the chapel is duly ransacked (on the site of Rupert Murdoch's News International, which attracts similar attention in 1986). Troops always arrive too late and, with no magistrates about prepared to read the Riot Act, get jeered and pelted with mud and stones, until their officer marches them away, to more jeers. Soldiers are also said to show anti-Catholic (French / Spanish) sympathy with the mob, and are believed to be obeying their oath to preserve the Protestant succession. A situation encouraged by magistrates, aldermen and anti-government / pro-American, tea businessmen, like Alderman Fred Bull, who's ward constables wear blue cockades. Only Sir John Fielding, 'the blind beak's people' do anything to suppress the riots. Though, Mad Lord George goes to the Guildhall, to offer his services to the Court of Alderman; only to be insulted by City Elders who stand to profit from the riots. While Mad King George writes to Lord North: 'I have taken every step that could occur to me to prevent any tumult tomorrow, and have seen that proper executive orders have been sent to the two Secretaries of State. I trust Parliament will take such measures as the necessities of the time require. This tumult must be got the better of or it will encourage designing men to use it as a precedent for assembling the people on other occasions; if possible, we must get to the bottom of it and examples must be made...' Throughout the night correspondence goes back and forth between Lord Stormont, Jenkinson, the Secretary at War, and Commander-in-Chief Amherst.

DAY 5: TUESDAY JUNE 6: 'TRUE PROTESTANTS NO TURNCOATS' and 'ENGLAND IN BLOOD' handbills are distributed from Fleet Street. The latter advertising 'THE THUNDERER' paper (due out Thursday), which intends to illustrate 'the infernal designs of the Ministry to overturn the religious and civil liberties of this country in order to introduce Popery and Slavery... bloody tyrannies and inhuman butcheries exercised on the Protestants of England by the see of Rome... To which will be added some reasons why the few misguided people now in confinement for destroying the Romish Chapels should not suffer, and the dreadful consequences of an attempt to bring them to punishment.' As the Arsenal at Woolwich (then known as the Warren) is fortified, in Moorfields, Malo manages to escape with his silk stock, before his house is pulled down and another bonfire made, with his 'Popish canaries' on top.

2.00PM: Crowds gather again outside Parliament, after parading the streets 'with colours, music, cutlasses, poleaxes and bludgeons.' (The 'Courant') Everyone wearing the proto-French Revolution blue cockade, 'badge of insurrection'. Foot and Horse Guards are out in force this time, but only serve to render the mob more insolent. At one point an assault on the Queen's House (Buckingham Palace) across St. James's Park, has to be repulsed by Guards under the command of Captain Topham.

3.30PM: Guards rescue First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Sandwich, from the mob on Whitehall, while Frederick Reynolds writes of another Captain Topham charge. 'The crowd were wedged into such firm and compact masses that the cavalry were actually compelled to recede and return at a gallop, to give their career sufficient force to penetrate them. The consequence was that after the cavalry had passed through, the mob lay in the most ludicrous manner one over another, like a pack of cards.' With Justice Hyde riding up and down the lines on a white horse, all Members make it through unscathed, and 4 resolutions are passed unanimously – making it 'a dangerous breach of privilege to insult or attack Members coming to their duty'; appointing a committee to 'inquire into the outrages and discover their authors'; ordering the Attorney General to prosecute those charged; and payment of compensation to 'sufferers' – Lord George votes accordingly, and removes his blue cockade, when another Member objects to it as an 'ensign of riot'. As he tries to distance himself and the LPA from the mob, a notice appears in the 'Morning Chronicle' calling the riots 'the disgrace of the best of causes.' Burke and Fox make anti-riots and Ministry speeches, while the poet Crabbe sees 'a resolute band of vile-looking fellows, ragged, dirty and insolent, armed with clubs, going to join their companions.'

5.00PM: As the Commons decide to adjourn till Thursday, Justice Hyde proceeds to read the Riot Act, from a 'commanding position' in Palace Yard. Then he orders the Horse to charge, to clear a way out for Members. At this point, a giant red and black flag is hoisted by an equally giant 'very desperate fellow', on a cart-horse. This is James Jackson, a watch-wheel cutter, who Dickens casts 'Maypole Hugh' as in 'Barnaby Rudge'. Jackson shouts in a voice that 'boomed like the crack of doom': "To Hyde's house a-hoy!" Starting a mob surge down Parliament Street, towards Leicester Fields. Across the river, another 500 strong mob surround Lambeth Palace, promising to return later. While Lord George and Sir Philip Jennings Clerke make it out of the House to 'The Horn' pub, and manage to persuade Wiggins the landlord to lend them his coach. Then someone shouts "Let's take Geordie off!" and in Wilkite tradition, the horses are removed from the carriage. It's then pulled along Parliament Street, running over 20 or so people, as it continues down the Strand and Fleet Street, around Newgate, stopping at the Mansion House for 3 cheers for the Lord Mayor, before ending up at Alderman Bull's. From there, Lord George and his man McQueen go to a linen-draper's in the Minories (also called Jackson), as do 3 ladies, and a sailor Lawrence; who's hanged for pulling down Sir John Fielding's. The lawyer de Castro sees this as evidence of 'skillful City knaves' behind the riots.

7.00PM: The mob swarm into Leicester Fields, surrounding Susan Burney's coach on the corner of Long's Court; before emptying Hyde's house of its furniture, window-frames, floorboards, books, curtains, etc; to make 6 bonfires along St. Martin's Street, up to Orange and Blue Cross Streets (Leicester Square). When 30 Foot Guards march up St. Martin's, they're greeted with 'loud shouts and huzzas'. The young ensign in command attempts to make a speech, which is met by continued cat-calls and laughter, until he gives the order to march away. Then the mob run up and down the street, insisting that every window is lit, to celebrate their victory over Law and Order. Mr. Burney has to shout 'No Popery!' and Susan Burney recounts: 'Such a scene I never before beheld! As it grew dusk, the wretches who were involved with smোক and covered with dust, with the flames glaring upon them seemed like so many infernals... At last the ring-leaders gave the word and away they all ran past our windows to the bottom of Leicester Fields with lighted firebrands in their hands like so many furies.'



(Susan's sister Fanny, the 'Mother of English fiction', is kissed by Mad King George, not Lady Pembroke, as portrayed by Amanda Donohoe in the film.) At the end of St. Martin's Street, satisfied that Hyde has received sufficient retribution, James Jackson has 'boomed out in that terrible gong-like voice, "A-hoy for Newgate!" Most of the St. Martin's mob pick up their crowbars and loot, and run off down Green and Castle Streets into the Strand, shouting 'To Newgate!' Others go through Covent Garden, along Longacre, to threaten Sir John Fielding's Police Office on Bow Street. As 'They're going to burn Newgate' buzz goes round the streets of London, thousands make their way through Holborn, to gather in front of the prison. Newgate is the largest and oldest prison in London (dating back to the 12th century) and, like the Bastille, it's become a hated symbol of oppression. As Hibbert puts it, for generations, it's represented 'a closed-in world of hunger and despair behind walls whose grandiose heaviness brought a shudder to the heart.' Even more so after it's rebuilt in ornate style by George Dance, with niches for ornamental stone figures in the outside walls. (The first stone is laid by the slaver Lord Mayor, Beckford, and Alderman Dickens is involved in the project.) Without Charles Dickens's locksmith, 'Gabriel Varden' – but with the 23 year old William Blake, who gets caught up in the mob surge on Newgate and finds himself in the forefront – demands to free the actual King Mob 4 are shouted. Mr. Akerman, the much respected friend of Boswell, politely replies from the Keeper's house that he's duty-bound to hold on to his prisoners. Whereupon the Keeper's house is stoned. As Akerman and his family escape over the roof, a mad Quaker youth in a white coat smashes the ground floor windows with a scaffolding pole. Another youth, on the shoulders of the mad Quaker, smashes the upstairs windows with his head. Ladders are put up against the walls and scaled, and before long furniture and floorboards are crashing once more on to the cobbles. Akerman's fixtures and fittings are then used to to burn through the Newgate gates. When a column of 100 constables arrive at the scene, they're allowed to march into the crowd (on the advice of a soldier), until they're encircled, then they're set upon 'with great fury'. The constables staves are broken in two and converted into firebrands, to be hurled on to the roof and into the wards inside. Fire engines are allowed to preserve adjoining houses, but not the prison. George Crabbe sees Lord George in his mob-drawn carriage, 'bowing as he passed along. He is a lively-looking young man in appearance and nothing more, though just now the reigning hero.' Crabbe's attention then returns to Newgate. 'I went close to it, and never saw anything so dreadful. The prison was a remarkably strong building, but, determined to force it, they broke the gates with crows and other instruments, and climbed up outside of the cell part, which joins the 2 great wings of the building where the felons were confined; they broke the roof, tore away the rafters, and having got ladders, they descended. Not Orpheus himself had more courage or better luck. Flames all around them, and a body of soldiers expected, yet they defied and laughed at all opposition. The prisoners escaped. I stood and saw about 12 women and 8 men ascend from their confinement to the open air, and they were conducted through the streets in their chains. 3 of these were to be hanged on Friday... Akerman's house now a mere shell of brickwork, they kept a store of flame for other purposes. It became red-hot, and the doors and windows appeared like the entrance to so many volcanoes. With some difficulty they then fired the debtor's prison, broke the doors, and they too all made their escape...' Within an hour 134 prisoners are liberated, by mob members who break through every door in the cell-block warren, 'as if they had all their lives been acquainted with the intricacies of the place', as Holcroft jokes. While Frederick Reynolds writes of 'the wild gestures of the mob without, and the shrieks of the prisoners within... the thundering descent of huge pieces of building, the deafening clangor of red hot iron bars, striking in terrible concussion the pavement below, and the loud triumphant yells and shouts of the demoniac assailants on each new success, formed an awful and terrific scene.' The soundtrack of the greatest romantic nihilist gig in history – with Punk Rock time bandits – as described by Hibbert. 'Many of these figures could be seen standing perilously, in postures of arrogant, abandoned recklessness, on ledges, the tops of walls and astride window-sills on those parts of the building not yet too hot to touch. Now hidden by gusts of black sulphurous smoke, now brightly lit in a cascade of sparks, they shouted obscenities at each other and made vulgar gestures as they urinated into the flames, seemingly unconscious of their danger or at least heedless of it. Below them in the street their companions were dancing with delight as they brought up buckets full of gin and wine...' 11.00PM: Crabbe returns to Newgate, to observe 'about 10 or 12 of the mob getting to the top of the debtor's prison whilst it was burning, to halloo, they appeared rolled in black smoke mixed with sudden bursts of fire – like Milton's infernals, who were as familiar with flames as with each other.'

DAY 6: 'BLACK WEDNESDAY' JUNE 7: 12.30AM: A section of the Newgate mob arrive in Bloomsbury Square, tolling the Newgate bell, with 'great shouts and flags', and rope to string up Lord Mansfield. Stopping outside the Archbishop of York's, to let him know he's next, they proceed to empty Mansfield's house of its furniture, rare books and manuscripts. As 300 troops stand by, with no magistrate to be found, daring enough to command their services. Sir John Fielding's Bow Street office is duly revisited, to be demolished and a bonfire made of its contents, while the Covent Garden 'Brown Bear' pub provides free refreshments. The Ship in Little Turnstile alley (behind Holborn tube) is also attacked for selling 'papish beer'. After Newgate, the rest of the prisoners of London are informed that they 'might expect enlargement'. Access is easily gained to the Clerkenwell Bridewell, and jailers open the gates of New Prison, alongside Fleet Ditch, so the mob don't bother to torch it. As unadventurous prisoners are coaxed out of their cells, someone shouts 'Now for Northampton Chapel!' (which used to belong to arresting justice Maberley, though it's since become Lady Huntingdon's Methodist meeting house, and there's some doubt about its status as a 'No Popery place') With the mob indecisive, the argument to burn it anyway is defeated when someone shouts: "Why there? Better go to the Fleet and let us make another gaol delivery!" Lady Huntingdon's friend (and Lord George's cousin), Lady Anne Erskine, writes: 'We were surrounded by flames! 6 different fires – with that of Newgate towering to the clouds – being full in our view at once, and every hour we were in expectation of this house and chapel making the 7th... Our turn, we were told, was next, and by this time the scene was truly horrible, for the flames all around had got to such a height that the sky was like blood with the reflection of them. The mob so near we heard them knocking the irons off the prisoners, which together with the shouts of those they had released, the huzzas of the rioters, and the universal confusion of the whole neighbourhood make it beyond description. Every moment fresh reports were coming in of new fires breaking out – some true, some false: some that the Parliament House was on fire, others the Palace at Lambeth.'

1.00AM: As a mob assault on Downing Street is decisively repulsed by Queen's Light Dragoons, the main Newgate mob reconstitutes itself outside Fleet Prison, next to Fleet Market (Ludgate Circus). Demands to open up are shouted and swiftly met. Though some prisoners ask, as they've been there so long, could they leave it till the next day to get their stuff together and find somewhere else to stay; which the 'compassionate mob' agree to. However, it's estimated, there are now around 2,000 ex-cons on the streets of London. By far the majority of whom are debtors, and lowest classes who've fallen foul of the English Poor Law. Under the 1774 Vagrant Act, 'beggars, vagrants and idle persons' are classified into the following sub-categories for sentencing; 'idle and disorderly persons' get a month in the Bridewell; 'rogues and vagabonds' a whipping and 6 months; 'incorrigible rogues' a whipping and 2 years. As the riots develop their own revolutionary dynamic, independent of the Protestant cause, the latter especially add to the class conflict, armed with Lord Mansfield's railings to extract retribution. Although, as Defoe says, some don't know if 'No Popery' refers to a man or a horse, there's still hundreds of 'Blood and Fire' Protestants on the streets, recalling the 'Bloody Mary' Protestant burnings in Smithfield. Then there's the actual London Poor '4th Estate'; as Gibbon puts it, in the riot cauldron the scum boils up to the top. The rogues and fanatics are augmented by thousands of ordinary people, who stream out of the slum warrens of St. Giles, Shoreditch, Spitalfields, and up from the river. As described in Christopher Hibbert's anatomy of the Gordon riots: 'Pale and forgotten people, ill, hollow-cheeked and hungry they poured from doss-houses, brothels, crowded cellars and workshops to watch the houses burning; to run forward to grab a leg of mutton from a larder, a bottle from a cellar, a scorched blanket from a bonfire. Sometimes getting drunk and joining in the fun; easily led, easily persuaded, having nothing to lose, with generations of hardship, indifference and bitterness behind them, they wandered about in large groups and in small, converging like a sea upon any place where excitement seemed to be offered and there joined with the others and became a mob. And thus spontaneously created a mob, they were urged to violence by that sensual, reactive impulse which brings a mob together and which forces it on to devastation, losing their identities in a fusing welter of destruction. They shouted 'No Popery!' but it was no more than a war cry now. At first it had been only the Catholics, the Irish and a few unfortunate public figures who had suffered; but now it was to be anyone in authority, anyone who might be held responsible for their poverty and discontent, their dangerous malaise. They struck out in irrational, unthinking desperation, unconsciously hoping to release in their uproar the frustrations and irritations of years of neglect. Any reason for violence would have done. Only the spark was needed. Popery was as good an excuse as any other.'

3.30AM: The first mob casualties are taken, when a platoon of Foot Guards arrive in Bloomsbury Square, with a magistrate called Durden, prepared to read the Riot Act. The mob duly ignore him and continue looting Lord Mansfield's. So Durden gives Colonel John Woodford (who happens to be Lord George's brother-in-law) authority to order his men to fire. Though only half obey, and others fire high, through Mr. Dubois's parlour windows, 4 men and one woman are killed and 7 more injured. After which Bloomsbury Square empties, except for several bodies, some of which are dead, the rest unconscious drunk on gin and wine from Newgate. Then the mob return, equipped with tar-soaked rope, wood-shavings, turpentine and tow, to burn down Mansfield's house. A fire engine tentatively approaches along Southampton Street (Row) and Guards march over from St. George's Church, more out of curiosity, than to help put out the fire. The mob surround the fire engine, saying they'll let the firemen put out neighbouring fires if the Guards go away, which they do. Whereupon the fire engine is tipped over and firemen's hats are pulled over their ears. It's now that the Archbishop of York first notices 'a well-dressed man', encouraging the mob to move on to his house. By all accounts this is Henry John Maskall, a pro-American radical apothecary, described as a 'rich and dissolute young man', who's possibly set up by political opponents. At his trial, a witness testifies that 12 men go up to him, asking where to go next, and he says 'The Duke', then later on Russell Street, another man approaches him with a paper, and asks, 'Why leave out Peterborough and Bristol?' To which Maskall is said to reply, 'They are not left out. I have not scratched them out, but don't stay too long in Devonshire, but go to the Bank. There is a million of money to pay you for your pains and at the excise office £400,000 not paid in.' (If the mob had attacked the Bank on Tuesday night they would have been successful.) In the meantime, the Archbishop decides to make a run for it. With the mob in his stable yard, holding up the body of the dead woman, he goes into his neighbour Colonel Goldsworthy's. Then he nips across the square, as there's an explosion in Lord Mansfield's, to borrow a coach, in which he's spotted and chased out of the square. As the Archbishop finds eventual sanctuary in the Adelphi, people sit about outside playing cards and dice, with 'the sky like blood', as Lady Anne Erskine puts it, reflecting the fires in glowing incandescent red. Every window is lit up by King Mob order, with lanterns illuminating 'PROTESTANT HOUSE' / 'GOD BLAST THE POPE' notices. 'The populace remain masters.' (Wraxall)

6.00AM: The 'Morning Chronicle' reports 'military pouring into town at every avenue', as another muggy day begins. Along with the troops, riot tourists from all over London and surrounding villages come into town to see the smouldering ruins. Dr. Johnson finds Newgate 'with the fires yet glowing. As I went by the Protestants were plundering the Sessions-house at the Old Bailey. There were not I believe a hundred; but they did their work at leisure, in full security, without sentinels, without trepidation, as men lawfully employed in full day.' Rumours going round the streets include; the King burned alive in Buckingham House; Lord North hanged in Downing Street; 30,000 'associators' marching on London from Kent and Essex; with another thousand Cornish tin miners on the way; and plans afoot to release the lunatics from Bedlam and the lions from the Tower. In Paris, where Benjamin Franklin and Samuel Adams are in attendance, the talk is of London in ashes by Thursday. The French / American agent provocateur conspiracy theory gains some credence from the American POW, Colonel Scott, who says his cause is 'buoyed up by Spanish gold and French promises of the conflagration in London.' Justice Barrington says, the rioters appear to some as 'lads well trained by some of Dr. Franklin's people in the diabolical practice of setting buildings on fire and abetted by French money.' Whereas Frederick Reynolds believes Opposition members are directing the mob, particularly Lord Effingham. Throughout the morning attacks on arresting justices' houses continue unabated, the Catholic brewer JP Cox has his furniture burnt outside Freemason's Hall, and a Holborn ironmongers is raided for crowbars.

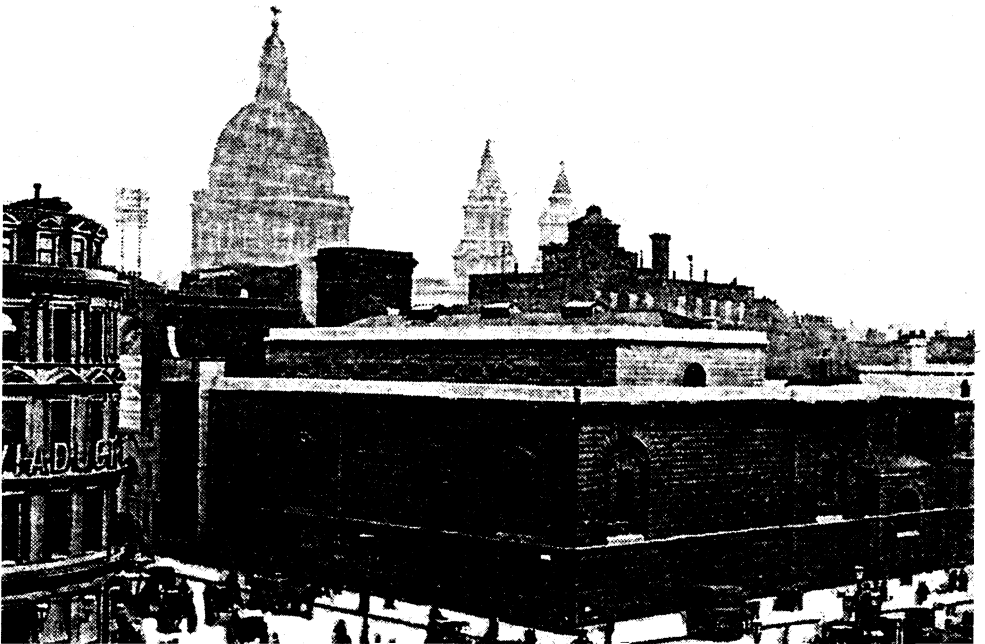
10 – 11.00AM: Lord George goes to the Queen's House, to offer his services to the King, but only gets as far as Lord Stormont, who relays the King's message; that he can't see him, until he shows allegiance by suppressing his riots. As leading Catholics and virtually every member of the Government receive communiques, informing them that they're next, Commander-in-Chief Lord Amherst is inundated with requests for troop detachments; including one from Lord Mayor Kennett, asking for troops to defend the Bank. In Parliament, Edmund Burke attacks the Ministry for "establishing a military on the ruins of the civil government," making London more like "Paris, Berlin or Petersburg than the capital of a government limited by law," and warns that it's "a mistaken idea to imagine the people of this country could be bullied by legions of armed men." While Charles James Fox (who now has statue in Bloomsbury Square) says he would "much rather be governed by a mob than a standing army."

12.00PM: "What? What? What?" With no response forthcoming to £500 and pardon offer, to inform on rioters, Mad King George threatens to lead the Guards himself. Then insists on new reading of the law, so that troops can fire on a 'lawless mob' without a magistrate. Which doesn't get much support, till Attorney-General Alexander Wedderburn arrives at the Privy Council meeting. After receiving a threat himself, he gives his casting vote with the King, who cuts the Gordon Knot, saying, "So let it be done." A Royal Proclamation is put out, and Amherst issues the order from the Adjutant General's Office: 'In obedience to an order of the King in Council the military to act without waiting for direction from the Civil Magistrates and to use force for dispersing illegal and tumultuous assemblies of the people. Amherst.' (2 centuries on the Angry Brigade are busted on Amhurst Road and tried at the Old Bailey.)

3.00PM: Lord George ventures out of his Minorities riot safe-house once more, to meet Alderman Pugh in Coleman Street. There the mob are engaged in pulling down the house of one Robert Charlton, a Catholic druggist. Troops arrive and the officer gets the mob to be quiet, so Lord George can attempt to pacify them. But when they realise he's there, 'there arose a huzzaing and holloing "Gordon for ever!"', and Lord George and Alderman Pugh have to beat a hasty retreat. The former also writes an incriminating protection paper. While military and (probably) Protestant Association notices appear, advising people to stop wearing blue cockades for their own good, and 'as these ensigns are now assumed by a set of miscreants whose purpose is to burn this city and plunder its inhabitants.'

4.00PM: As the London Military Association offer their services to Lord Mayor Kennett, Walpole returns to town, aged 63, not to miss the riots. 'Horry' then writes of the mob in Saville Row; arming themselves at the Artillery Ground; and 5,000 rioters marching on Lord Mansfield's country house, Ken Wood, at Highgate. The latter are intercepted by troops, and have drunken orgy at the Spaniard's Tavern instead (which is adopted by Dickens). Soldiers also prevent a Newgate 2 burning of the one remaining cell-block. While Justice Hyde's country house in Islington is successfully attacked, along with Justice Wilmot's Police Office in Worship Street, Wilmot's house in Bethnal Green, 3 houses in Whitecross Street (off Old Street), and a Rotherhithe mass-house and adjoining houses. By now 15,000 troops are in London, about to be moved into position in the City, around more important buildings. The Museum and government offices are now acting as barracks, and Hyde Park has been transformed into a military encampment. Precursors of yokel cops brought in to police Notting Hill Carnivals call each other 'Your Worship', after being told they are now effectively JPs. Though it's still widely believed that most troops are more likely to join the mob, than fire on them. Every shop is shuttered up, chalked with 'NO POPYRY', and ordained with blue ribbons and Presbyterian flyers, including Jewish and Catholic places. The clown Grimaldi the Elder chalks 'NO RELIGION' on his door, which meets with mob approval. A mob outside Thrale's Distillery, in the Borough, are successfully placated with free gin and brandy by Perkins the manager. While, in Holborn, the local Langdale's Distillery try the same tactic, as bludgeon wielding youths extort money from shops, shouting 'No Popery!' Some groups do door to door mob collections, and search and destroy missions for 'Popish books'. Tramp symbols are left on doors to indicate if contributions have been given, or if not and the house should be pulled down later. According to George Rude's 'Study of the Rioters and their Victims', mob sub-groups acquire a 'degree of cohesion through the emergence from their ranks' of 'Riot Captains' or 'Captain-rioters'. Such as William Pateman, a journeyman wheelwright, who leads the Bobby Charlton attack in Coleman Street; and the coach-master, Thomas Taplin, who manages a gang of 50 ragamuffins making a collection for the poor mob on Great Russell Street. Another highwayman / riot-captain on horse-back, with a blunderbuss, only accepts gold. Mob collections are also made on Tavistock Street, off the Strand, for the 'poor prisoners' from Newgate. Some of the liberated prisoners enthusiastically join in, but hundreds just hang around Newgate, trying in vain to hand themselves back in. Even a murderer, caught in the process of sawing up his wife by a press gang, is refused admission to New Prison, until the press gang insist; but the keeper says he won't have any of his former inmates back.

6.00PM: The City Common Council resolve 'that this Court doth agree to petition the Honourable House of Commons against the Act of Parliament lately passed in favour of Roman Catholics.' On being informed of the Royal Proclamation, Jack Wilkes jokes that he should be arrested. But then comes the City split with pop radicalism, the key moment in the riots, when the City / Protestant / Mob alliance comes apart. Largely due to the turncoat Wilkes. Within an hour he goes pro-Ministry, forming his own armed ward patrol in Farringdon Without, against his old supporters. According to Stormont's mob spy, Drummond, Wilkes gets the idea off him, via Mr. Thorp, of the Fleet Street Globe Tavern.



The Burning of Newgate 6/6/1780. H. Roberts. 19th century Newgate.



The Riot in Broad Street. Francis Wheatley. At Langdale's Distillery. Phiz.

7.00PM: The City Council meet Colonel Twistleton at the Guildhall, to be informed that the military are taking over. London Military Association volunteers are then issued with arms, thus forming a bourgeois National Guard, 9 years before the Paris 3rd Estate. As an ominous silence descends on London, Whitehall moves troops into position. Sideroads along Cornhill and Threadneedle Street are roped off, and canon are set up in the Bank courtyard. Inside the Bank, inkstands are cast into bullets. At sunset, the Stop the City mob assemble at the corner of Old Jewry and Poultry, to make their first charge on the Bank. When they reach the ropes across Poultry, the order to fire is given, splitting them into smaller groups. One group goes towards Threadneedle Street, while others scale the barricades into Princess Street and Bartholomew Lane. Robert Smith writes of volunteers firing on '4 or 5 drunken fellows with blue cockades in their hats, reeling down Cheapside, bawling out 'No Popery!', just missing him but killing a messenger. 2 other bystanders are shot through the neck in front of St. Christopher's Church, while about 20 mob casualties are taken at the bottom of Threadneedle Street, to be dragged off into St. Mildred's church and Scalding Alley. Then Lord Mayor Kennett sends another controversial order across the Poultry, to release the Compter inmates, in an attempt to direct the mob away from the Mansion House. Before it gets dark, King's Bench and Fleet Prison have had £700,000 worth of debtors withdrawn (about 800 people from each). At King's Bench, by St. George's Fields, lookouts sit on the roof calmly drinking while the prison burns beneath them. After warning the rest of the mob of approaching troops, they jump down into blankets. Borough Clink, in Deadman's Place, and Surrey Bridewell are also emptied and fired, the Clink never to be rebuilt. New Gaol in Long Lane, Southwark, survives for the time being, thanks to its keeper, who stands in the gateway with a blunderbuss. At the Fleet, the mob are attempting to push a Royal Exchange fire engine into the burning prison, when troops appear. 4 men on the roof of the Market House insult the troops, until they fire at them. Whereupon the men fall down, but one keeps popping his head up, returning fire with slates. Then he slides down, and runs away 'with great celebrity. He was by far the genteelst in appearance of the 4.' Also in attendance is the King's brother, the Duke of Gloucester, in disguise in a hackney-coach, being mugged in Fleet Market. A Light Dragoons cavalry platoon then appear, under the command of Captain Gardner. After being hit by firebrands, Gardner orders a charge, in which he claims 12 dead rioters. Colonel Leake, the Commander of the entire force at the Fleet, reckons up to 100 are killed there before the night's out. While, across town, Catholic targets continue to be hit; a mass house in East Lane, Bermondsey, and Irish pubs in Golden Lane, and Whitechapel, are pulled down; though the Hammersmith Convent is saved when the mob are told Elizabeth I is educated there.

9.00PM: As the Fleet Prison begins to burn, things come to an orgasmic climax at the much touted Langdale's Distilleries, in Holborn. Up to this point the Catholic distiller, Thomas Langdale, has '2 great blocks of buildings' on the site of the old Black Swan tavern, by Fetter Lane (opposite the Leisure Lounge, where I put on King Mob club in 1994, without so much free booze). A Catholic chapel is said to be on the premises, along with 120,000 gallons of gin, which attracts the mob's attention far more than any Pope-ish connection. The local captain, Robert Smille, dissuades his mob from an earlier attack (thus saving his neck), but when Langdale's troop detachment is called off to the Bank, it begins. Doors and windows are smashed, and furniture thrown out into the street, for more bonfires. A cobbler commandeers a fire engine, and pumps up gin from the stills in Langdale's cellars, to sell for a penny a mug. While people run into the burning distillery buildings – not always – coming out coughing, with blackened faces, carrying casks, bowls, and pig-troughs full of gin. Until the stills burst, and Gordon's Special Dry London Gin gushes up into the street, causing the most notorious scenes of the riots. As described by de Castro, 'there flowed down the kennel of the street torrents of unrectified and flaming spirit gushing from casks drawn in endless succession from the vaults... Ardent spirits, now running to pools and wholly unfit for human consumption, were swallowed by insatiate fiends, who with shrieking gibes and curses, reeled and perished in the flames, whilst others, alight from head to foot, were dragged from burning cellars. On a sudden, in an atmosphere hot to suffocation, flames leapt upwards from Langdale's other houses, and columns of fire became visible for 30 miles round London.' Hibbert imagines 'staring wide-eyed figures... on their backs in grotesque postures, their faces blue, their swollen tongues still wet with the poisonous liquid... and in the warehouse, too drunk to get out when the flames leapt in, other men and women could be heard screaming and shouting and giggling, scarcely aware of what was happening to them or too drunk to care.' The pump at Barnard's Inn, off Fetter Lane, is said to bring up gin for several weeks afterwards.

10.00PM: Another fire engine is unwittingly used to pump gin into the flames, spreading the fire back towards Fleet Market, setting alight 20 or so adjoining houses. This is when it looks like the whole of London is on fire, a sight not seen since the 1666 Great Fire, or until the 1940 Nazi Blitz. From Isaac Newton's Observatory, in St. Martin's Street, Susan Burney writes, 'such a fire I never beheld as one of 4 that was burning with violence.' Her father, Dr. Burney, reckons the sight surpasses 'the appearance of Mount Vesuvius in all its fury.' By the time the Northumberland militia make it to Langdale's (after a forced march down from the north), all that remains of the mob to fire at are pickpockets going through the bodies. Colonel Heywood reports that another 9 houses in Great Queen Street (1980 Blitz nightclub site) are gutted and bonfires made of their furniture. While Walpole writes, 'as yet there are more persons killed by drinking than by ball or bayonet.' With the mob in Downing Street again, Lord North jokes from the roof, "I am not half so much afraid of the mob as of Jack St. John's pistol", and dismisses suggestion to 'effect a junction with the Opposition', as "not practicable."

11 – 12.00PM: The Northumberland militia move on to the Bank to repulse the second, most serious attack, led by a brewery drayman (also portrayed by Dickens as 'Maypole Hugh'); who rides along Poultry and Threadneedle Street, on a carthorse bedecked in Newgate chains, waving handcuffs and fetters above his head. Jack Wilkes and Lord George are also there at the Bank, on the other side of the barricades to their followers. Wilkes writes enthusiastically: 'Fired 6 or 7 times on the rioters at the end of the Bank... Killed 2 rioters directly opposite to the Great Gate of the Bank; several others in Pig Street and Cheapside.' (Afterwards Wilkes examines prisoners in the Guildhall, and finds a pamphlet publisher guilty of sedition.) Lord George pleads in vain from the steps of the Bank for people to go home, but his frantic behaviour only spurs the mob on. At one point he tries to stand next to Guards officer, Lord Rodney, to 'expose his person to the utmost risk to resist such proceedings', but gets pushed aside as the siege rages on. Several waves of rioters assault the Bank, to be fired upon by Colonel Holyrod's original militia, reinforced by Lord Algernon Percy and the Northumberland militia, all under the command of Colonel Twistleton. After each wave is repulsed, a few more bodies are left on the street, then the mob reform and charge again. Colonel Charles Stuart, writing to his father Lord Bute, says Twistleton tells him the mob are led by 'a person in a navy uniform with his sword drawn'; and encouraged by 'many decently dressed people... till they were near the Guard... they then retired and pretended to be spectators... a very well dressed man was killed whose face they took great pains to hide, but after most of them dispersed a curious watchman looked at the body, expressed some surprise, and said he knew the person. Upon which they seized the watchman and dragged him to Moorfields, where they swore him in the most sacred way to secrecy.' Well dressed men are also reported at the storming of Blackfriars Bridge; where the half-penny toll-houses become the focus of mob wrath, after the Fleet, to be burnt down along with the toll-collectors shacks. Unfortunately, for the firestarters, providing illumination for troops to massacre as many of them as at the Fleet and Bank. Dead and wounded fall off Blackfriars like rats, into the Thames where sewage from the Fleet Ditch comes out, or onto Blackfriars Stairs, also despised as the place from where prisoners are transported to America. Amongst the well-dressed men / aristocratic hooligans (known as 'mohocks', after American Indian mohawks), Lord Effingham is reputedly thrown into the river by another Whig, to hide his involvement. While scores of well dressed bodies are said to be pushed out into the river, to evade recognition, from Blackfriars Stairs, Queen Hithe Dock, and Dowgate Wharf; some are reported to have French coins in their pockets. As Colonel Leake proceeds with his mopping up operation, a new attack is launched on the house of a rich Irishman, called Donovan, in Broad Street. This necessitates repositioning of Horse Guards and volunteers from the Bank, one of whom records; 'an awful but beautiful scene... the atmosphere red as blood with the ascending fires... a large mob ransacking a house and burning furniture in the street... bid us fire and be damned. There was soon exhibited a scene of killed, wounded and dying. We were very merciful to them by firing only one gun at once, instead of a volley, thereby giving time to many to get off.' The volunteers then go to St. Catherine's, where a Portuguese man, Thomas Lebart, has received the mob threat, "I will have your house down you outlandish bouger!" Following the example of Fleet Street's Mr. Thorp, other voluntary associations are formed by the likes of Seddons the upholsterer, to defend the anti-Wilkes Alderman Harley, while 400 gentlemen and servants patrol Lincoln's Inn. Though lawyers' self-defence attempts aren't very successful, 22 sets of chambers are destroyed in Barnard's Inn, and troops at the particularly threatened Temple (where the Bishop of Lincoln is Master) decline lawyers assistance.



DAY 7: THURSDAY JUNE 8: With fires at King's Bench, Fleet, New Prison, Broad Street, the Bank, and Blackfriars, London tonight 'offered on every side the picture of a city sacked and abandoned to a ferocious enemy,' as Wraxall reports. Walpole goes to Lord Hertford's, where 200 troops under the command of Lord Rockingham are in attendance, then to General Conway's in Warwick Street. 'We went to the street door and thought it was St. Martin's Lane in flames, but it is either the Fleet Prison or the Distiller's... I returned to Lady Hertford finding Charing Cross, the Haymarket and Piccadilly illuminated from fear... lines being drawn across the Strand and Holborn to prevent the mob coming westward.' Then he tries 'to get a little sleep if Lord George Macbeth has not murdered it all.'

3.45AM: The third and final assault on the Bank begins down Cheapside, with some rioters firing muskets and pistols as they run. Troops wait till the mob are upon them, then open fire with a deafening volley, which leaves another 8 dead and many more wounded. The mob manage to hold off the Horse Guards, but constant fire from the Foot forces them to retreat from the Royal Exchange, back to whence they came, down Fish Street Hill towards the river. There they come under heavier Howitzer fire, from troops positioned at the end of London Bridge, in St. Magnus's Churchyard, and Globe Alley (Billingsgate). Commander-in-chief Amherst is now acting on the advice of Colonels Stuart and Onslow, via a Lord Hillsborough communique, 'to secure the Surrey ends of London and Black Fryars bridges directly; as Southwark is particularly threatened. Securing these 2 passes would effectually prevent the Junction of the Mobs. If the mobs are possessed of the Artillery Arms it will be necessary to have upon each Bridge end 2 4-inch Howitzers with grape shot... 400 men would defend the 2 bridges.' This is the turning point in favour of the military. Though proceedings continue for awhile in Broad Street, as portrayed in Francis Wheatley's picture (which is burnt in 1789). Mrs. Samuel Hoare writes: 'The Horse Guards, attended by a company of volunteers, arrived. They halted exactly opposite our house. 3 times the commanding officer exhorted the people to disperse, but they obstinately refused. Then, advancing but a few yards, they fired near a hundred pieces, and left 4 unhappy men dead on the spot, and 15 wounded.'

Meanwhile, in Portsmouth, Admiral Geary receives orders to put to sea, 'for fear the enemy should take advantage of our intestine commotions and attempt to land a body of troops on the Island.' 6.00AM: Sightseers once more replace proto-police and thieves in the streets, to survey the scenes of destruction and troop encampments. Henry Angelo goes to the site of Langdale's (where it's estimated £100,000 worth of damage is done, though Langdale only gets £18,000), to write of piles of blackened bodies around Holborn. 'As I walked on towards Snowhill, I saw several bodies on each side of the street, whether dead or drunk, I did not stop to inquire, the crowd behind pushing all before them.' While the printer Kirgate reports to Walpole, that 'most of the rioters are apprentices, and plunder and drink their chief objects... both men and women are still lying dead drunk about the streets...' (then Walpole launches into 'I remember the Excise and the Gin Act, and the rebels at Derby...') Under Blackfriars Bridge, 2 centuries before the Pope / 'God's Banker' Roberto Calvi, a boat full of bodies are collected by a waterman at Puddle Dock Stairs, and laid out along Dung Wharf. While militiamen warily watch scavengers going through the toll collectors houses for halfpennies, sporadic gunfire continues at and from mob remnants. As Parliament adjourns again, another Privy Council meeting at St. James's falls just short of declaring unconditional martial law. Troops authority to act on their own discretion amounts to much the same thing, but mostly they just tear blue cockades from hats and pull down blue silk flags.

3.00PM: After an attempt to keep the riots going in the ruins of the Fleet is crushed by cavalry, leaving another 3 dead and more wounded, de Castro describes how '5 of the most desperate "levellers" armed with shot guns climbed the buildings of Fleet Market. One of them fired down upon the soldiers, whereupon a platoon returned the fire, and brought two down dead at their feet.' In the Borough, the New Gaol keeper finally releases his prisoners, just before Guards arrive to preserve the building. While a Catholic pastry shop is burned down opposite St. Mildred's Church in the Poultry.

5.00PM: A drunken mob, armed with cutlasses and iron bars, re-assemble out of the Fleet Market King Mob base, across the Fleet Bridge (on the site of Ludgate Circus), swearing vengeance on troops.

6.15PM: Horse Guards, commanded by an ensign called Marjoribanks, proceed down Fleet Street towards the Bank, to relieve the guard there. When they reach the Fleet Bridge a cheer goes up, and the market mob charge at them. The Horse Guards have muskets but don't have time to fire, nonetheless 20 more people are bayoneted to death and 35 more wounded, some fatally.

6.30PM: A crowd gathers to see Fleet Street 'awash with fresh blood', as troops take up position, on stand-by for another night of rioting. Walpole writes, 'So adieu all Government but the sword!' By now

virtually every big house in London has a military guard, other buildings threatened by the 'levelling idea' include; East India Company offices, South Sea House, Customs House, Navy Pay Office, and Greenwich Hospital. One of the best defended is the house of the Catholic Relief Bill supporting, top Whig, Lord Rockingham, in Grosvenor Square (on the site of future US Embassy Vietnam demos). Burlington, Bedford, Leicester, and Marlborough Houses are also turned into barracks. While the streets of London are patrolled by militia groups, acting on orders to fire on 'any 4 persons collected together who will not instantly disperse.' Groups range from near citizens armies in Cripplegate, Clerkenwell, and Southwark, to the St. Sepulchre's parish patrol, who march around Newgate singing hymns. The search for prisoners still at large, and suspected rioters, focuses on the alleys and courts of 'Fagin's future lair, the Clerkenwell rookeries. Several arrests are made in Black Boy Alley, off Chick Lane (Farringdon), as reported by Jonas Hanway in 'The Citizen's Monitor': 'These places constitute a separate town calculated for the reception of the darkest and most dangerous enemies... with doors of communication in each and also with the adjacent houses, some with 2 to 4 doors opening into different alleys... peace-officers and the keepers of these houses appeared to be well-acquainted...' In Lincoln's Inn, Pitt the Younger writes to his mother, assuring her that 'everything seems likely to subside.' Though serious rioting continues in the Borough; where the 'chief employment of the mobility' is burning spunging-houses, and 2 pubs to gain access to New Gaol; until there's another massacre. Lord Bute's country house, Luton Hoo, and another distillery in West Ham are threatened. Around 100 drunk rioters have to be fished out of the Fleet Ditch, and the Soho Square Masque Ball has to be postponed.

FRIDAY JUNE 9: Lord Jersey writes to Di ancestor Countess Spencer, that 'a sudden calm took place and the night was perfectly quiet.' With military reinforcements still coming into London, the 'Public Advertiser' reports the return of 'silence, decency and tranquillity' to the streets. Coult's banker recalls 'soldiers instead of merchants on the Royal Exchange; red coats instead of black in St. Paul's.' Every business from Whitechapel to Tyburn is shut, except the Bank. To ward off martial law accusations, the Government put out notices denying reports of trials by Military Judge Advocate, and of bodies hanging from lampposts in Cheapside and Southwark. While 'No French Rioters' handbills 'give notice that it now appears that the horrible riots which have been committed in the City have been promoted by French money. If the French are suffered by these means to prevail, Popery will certainly be introduced.' As the insurrectionary tide turns, people rally to the cause of peace / law and order, inundating Lord Amherst with applications to form more patrols. As he's trying to get arms back off the existing ones. More prisoners are taken, after Light Horse and Infantry put down further rioting in Moorfields, and sheds have to be put up in the ruins of King's Bench, and St. Paul's Churchyard, to accommodate the hundreds of rounded-up prisoners. Hundreds more ringleader suspects are held in the Compters at the Poultry and Wood Street (as in 1983 Stop the City), and at Bunhill Row Artillery Ground. Though they all turn out to be vagrants and petty thieves. Colonel Stuart tells Lord Bute he doubts they've got any actual ringleaders, as 'they all appear too wretched to have been the schemers of so deep and well conducted a project.' But they do have one. Meanwhile, King's Messengers, Mann and Stanley, call at Welbeck Street, to escort the Right Honourable Lord George Gordon to the Tower. According to 'The London Evening Post', Mann and Stanley come with 'the biggest number of guards ever to attend a state prisoner.' Colonel Stuart records: 'They sealed the boxes containing his papers and upon searching his person found a pocket pistol, and a large knife, the officers asked why he carried such weapons: he replied, 'to defend himself against the Roman Catholics.' Lord George is taken in hackney coach with blinds drawn, 2 guards on the roof and 2 inside, an infantry company in front, Dragoons and Horse Guards detachment behind, and 3 ranks of militiamen each side, to Horse Guards; for a 4 hour carpeting at the War Office, by North, Amherst, the Secretaries of State, and Privy Councillors. Which he doesn't come out of too badly, except that he ends up in the Tower. Lord North also has a secret meeting with Charles James Fox, backstage at the Haymarket Opera House.

JUNE 10 - 15: As anti-Catholic rioting continues in Bath (where Langdale takes refuge) and Bristol, things return pretty much to normal in London, apart from the ruins and troops. Dr. Johnson writes: 'We are all now again under the protection of the King and the law.' King's Messengers call next on the Lord Mayor, Alderman Brackley Kennett, for not doing anything in Moorfields and releasing prisoners without proper authority, which he talks his way out of. London Protestant Association secretary, James Fisher, also gets off the hook, by exasperating the Privy Council with long-winded answers and destroying all correspondence with Lord George. Colonel Stuart believes Fisher is the author of the 'seditious paper',

'The Thunderer', as well as being 'the Treasurer and Captain of the Banditti', and Stuart's brother-in-law, Sir James Lowther (who becomes 'the bad Lord Lonsdale') is suspected of being the money man. Of the various inter-connected conspiracy theories, one of the most plausible is the Government allow the riots to progress, in order to try out Martial Law. The riots split the Opposition and give Lord North another 2 years in power, though he doesn't particularly want them. Walpole sums up the post-riot state of the Whig aristo-opposition as 'a universal anarchy of opinion; no 3 men agree on any 3 propositions. Lord Shelburne and Lord Rockingham are bitter enemies. Burke is mad for toleration. The Duke of Richmond and Charles Fox agree with him on that point; while the Duke is as violent for annual parliaments as the Rockinghams against them. Lord Shelburne and Lord Camden are as strongly anti-papistic.' Not much evidence is to be found of French and American agents 'slipping across the Channel'; giving out gold to destabilise London (with local Catholic assistance), before attacking the British fleet. Though New River Head and London Bridge waterworks are guarded, and Admiral Geary is ordered out to sea. And, unfortunately, there's no evidence to support Charles Dickens' psycho-geographical riot plan, in 'Barnaby Rudge'. Dennis the hangman is involved, and apprentices rebelling against their masters plays a part, but not as much as Dickens makes out. No lists of houses to be pulled down are discovered, and no list-maker ringleaders are arrested, though that doesn't mean there aren't any. Nor are there any instances of captains sent in from outside. Everyone's agreed that the most active and violent rioters are teenage apprentices, street boys and girl prostitutes / 'rowdy brothel maids', who Burke says 'half-a-dozen schoolmasters might have quelled.' Then 'a different species of rioter' emerges, in the form of older professional criminals who become local captains, directing / managing the street boys and girls. The only evidence that the mob is directed from above is the well dressed men. The Archbishop of York says: 'No mob acted without a number of well-dressed men to direct them. 2 were dug out of the ruins of a house where they ran from the military although the house was burning. One had ruffles, with a large diamond at his shirt breast, the other very well dressed with a plan of London in his pocket.' The Archbishop goes on to accuse the Ministry of fomenting the riots, by spreading Whig agent provocateur rumours; believed by the Rev. Richard Cumberland, who weighs in with: 'Depend on it, the rioters were encouraged and supported by that abandoned Party who have long been diffusing the Seeds of Insurrection.' While Mrs. Montagu is convinced 'our Ministers will not care to lay open the treachery of Persons of Consequence, but will content themselves with hanging a few loose wretches... As for the design to do mischief at Woolwich, that must have had Americans and French for its author.' King's Counsel, Mr. Batt, believes 'American treachery and English treason are at the bottom of it, and religion is the pretext.' But, as the post-riot panic subsides, Samuel Romilly concludes: 'The monstrous excesses appear to have been the accidental effects of the ungovernable fury and licentiousness of a mob, who gathered courage from their numbers, and, having ventured on one daring act, found their only safety in universal havoc and destruction.' Walpole sums up: 'The Court at first had a mind to bestow a plot on France, Spain and the Americas, but now seem to abandon that plan... Some Americans, perhaps, taught by the lessons we have given them of burning houses, joined in the opportunity... France solicited by American agents might, as she used to do when teased by the Jacobites, contribute a little money or a few arms and some rogues, of whom she was willing to disburthen herself, but I do not imagine it was a branch of her political schemes to burn London. She would have had some force ready to pour in or distract us in some other quarter, while the army should be all drawn to the capital.' Boswell is satisfied that 'there was no combination or plan, either domestic or foreign; but that the mischief spread by a general contagion of frenzy, augmented by the quantities of fermented liquors.' But then again? Colonel Stuart records: 'The fear that passes among the better sort of people in the City surpasses description: they talk of whole streets where there are none but disaffected people. They mistrust one another and those I have conversed with generally agree that many very principal men among them are deeply concerned in the business; notwithstanding which we have not been able to make any discovery... more and more are my apprehensions of the deep designs of artful people, but strange to tell the People well affected are so alarmed that they will not give any information lest their houses and property should suffer.' Stuart adds: 'The irregularity of this Mob has plunged them into the depth of their scheme before the business was ripe.' Colonel Twistleton still considers Wilkes, Bull and other aldermen to be 'Republicans in principle'. As Wilkes continues to act loyal, laying on food and porter for troops at St. Paul's, rounding-up 'idle persons' and seizing more seditious pamphlets. There's also some evidence of French / American involvement. Amherst receives

a report of 'suspicious-looking men' with French watermen in Lambeth Butts, and there's reports from Dover of a suspected American agent arriving, and the dodgy Mr. Sharp taking a lot of people from Margate to Calais. That's about all the 'dark and dangerous' foreign plot amounts to. Walpole writes of 'a troop of fugitives' being dislodged from Combe Wood in Richmond, by Light Horse. While a 40-strong gang, captured arguing over their loot in St. Giles, are chained together to be taken to Tothill Fields Bridewell. A last gasp riot meeting is planned, and 'No Popery Down with it' flyer appears, declaring: 'Dethrone him or else he will massacre you all. If your King is not Dethron'd he will be your utter ruin for he is a true Roman Catholick and it is Fit he should lose his Head... Lord George Gordon for ever. Tho' he is in the Tower he will make them Rue for a Army of Scottish is coming 100,000 men in arms...'

JUNE 15: When news of Clinton's capture of Charlestown arrives from America, the Government issue a plea for calm, which doesn't stop celebrations featuring rockets fired from Blackfriars Bridge.

JUNE 17: Benjamin Franklin, writes from Paris to the American Legation in Madrid, showing no sign of knowing anything about the London riots, other than what he's read in the papers. Though he says he's disappointed the mob don't replace the prisoners of Newgate with plundering MPs.

JUNE 19: The King sums up his part in King Mob, to Parliament: "The outrages committed by bands of lawless and desperate men, in various parts of the metropolis, broke forth with such violence into acts of felony and treason, and had so far overborne all civil authority, and threatened so directly the immediate subversion of all legal power, the destruction of all property, and the confusion of every order in the state that I found myself obliged by every tie of duty and affection to my people to suppress, in every part, those rebellious insurrections, and to provide for the public safety by the most effectual and immediate application of the force intrusted to me by Parliament."

JULY: 44 prisoners are sentenced to death, during speedy Old Bailey Sessions. Followed by another 24 at the Southwark Sessions. Edward Dennis the hangman doesn't swing like he does in 'Barnaby Rudge', but is sentenced to hang, for assisting in the demolition of The Ship in Little Turnstile. Claiming he did it under mob threat, he falls to his knees and begs for mercy. He's then imprisoned in a separate cell at Tothill Fields Bridewell, until he's pardoned and released to hang his fellow rioters. The radical apothecary, Maskall, is also acquitted, as Ned Dennis goes back to work, hanging around 20 street youths at the scenes of their crimes. The riot-captain, Thomas Taplin, is executed at Bow Street (on the evidence of an apothecary, from whom Taplin collects money 'for your poor mob'), along with members of the ragamuffin gang convicted of pulling down Sir John Fielding's. James 'A-hoy for Newgate' Jackson goes for the drop at the Old Bailey; while James Henry carries the cask for Langdale's, on the gallows on Holborn Hill; George Kennedy at Bunhill Row, for a Brit-Pop-ery attack on Mr. McCartney's house; and the negress prostitute, Charlotte Gardener, at Tower Hill, for extorting money with threats at Lebarty's. Those also 'turned off' in the proceeding weeks include 2 gypsies, a West Indian slave, a demented cross-eyed beggar, 3 abscess-covered climbing boys, a 13 year old, John Burgess (who's already been up before magistrates on a regular basis), and the circus strongman, Enoch Foster, for throwing floorboards through the windows of a house in Whitechapel. The only hardcore criminals are John Geary, who's hanged for raping 2 servant girls and leaving them to burn in Moorfields, and Denis Reardon, who's duly found guilty of cutting his wife's head off with a carving knife, for shouting 'No Popery!' too much. Of the 450 rioters arrested, 160 are brought to trial, and 62 are sentenced to death, but only 25 are known to be executed. Though the rioters don't actually kill anybody, the military admit to killing 210 outright, along with 75 more who die in hospital, and to wounding another 173. Wraxall reckons the total death toll is more like 700, and Hibbert calculates from Public Record Office military reports that it's 850. More than in the early stages of the French Revolution. Most of those arrested are local journeymen, servants and labourers, except in the storming of Newgate and King's Bench, for which people come from all over. According to one repentant informer, King Mob consists of '200 house brakers with tools, 550 pick-pockets, 6,000 alsorts and 50 men that gives them orders what to be done. They only come at night.' Walpole says they are 'chiefly apprentices, convicts and all kinds of desperadoes... a regiment of street walkers', while Dorothy George calls them 'the inhabitants of the dangerous districts in London who were always ready for pillage.' However, unemployed lowest class don't feature very highly in George Rude's breakdown of arrested rioters: 22 small employers / shopkeepers / independent craftsmen, 4 soldiers, 6 sailors (2 from The Serapis, later captured by the pirate Paul Jones), 36 journeymen / apprentices, 13 waiters / servants, 11 labourers, and 20 women. More debtors are released from the prisons than proper

criminals, and most of those arrested have testimonials of good character, whereas the informants are usually far dodgier. The Newgate stormers include a negro cook, Benjamin Bowsey, who claims to have been bribed while awaiting execution; and the Jewish anti-thief-taker, Samuel Solomons, attacks a Catholic publican, he believes to be a proto-bent-copper. According to Rude, the Gordon rioters have 'no particular motives of their own other than loot, lucre, free drinks or the satisfaction of some lurking criminal instinct.' Though anti-Catholic fanaticism is the primary inspiration, only 5 out of the 27 houses damaged in Holborn are Catholic; and they happen to be next to Langdale's, where gin drinking is more inspirational. As Walpole puts it: 'The Pope need not be alarmed. The rioters thought much more of plundering those of their own communion than his Holiness's flock... Anti-Catholicism seems not only to have had little, but even only a momentary, hand in the riots.' English working-class anti-Irish hostility is a factor in Moorfields, Golden Lane, and Southwark, and most damage in poor areas is done to Irish property; but this is more to do with wage-cutting resentment than religion. English as well as Irish Catholics are considered suspect of running secret, closed-shop trade unions, as well as being adherents of a malign foreign religion. Langdale and Malo aren't attacked for being Catholics, but for being employers who favour Catholic labour. As Rude explains it: 'Langdale was a wealthy and well known manufacturer – though here, as elsewhere, drunkenness gave a special twist to events.' As for 'No Popery' turning into 'No Property', even though more damage is said to be done than in the French Revolution, only 32 houses are substantially damaged, and less than £100,00 compensation paid out. Rude concludes: 'The primary motive, then, was political-religious; but the way in which the blow was directed against the Roman Catholic community and its defenders suggests that it had a distinct social bias as well.' Although the Gordon riots are seen as a total failure, in any normal insurrectionary sense, as de Castro writes, 'from the rabbles standpoint the Riots were an unqualified success. The outcasts, the unwanted, the insubordinate, the brutal, had flouted the Constitution – A Constitution whose wheels, as they revolved in round-house, bridewell, pillory or press-gang, grated on their ears, albeit ears untuned and unwashed. The rabble had mocked, and exultingly mocked, the lawn-sleeved prelate; they had bearded the clean-shaven and brocaded peer; they had begrimed the flowered waistcoat and soiled the powdered curls of the man of fashion. They had filled their pockets, they had gratified their bellies; they had exhorted artizans to rebellion, and they had incited apprentices and servants to violence. They had set at defiance the military authority, they had disabled the constabulary and had well-nigh wrecked the prison-system. They had revelled in pillage, they had played with flame, they had sported with carnage; they had shown that war can be effectively waged without preliminary hymns to the Lord of Hosts – in a word they had fought their good fight.'

JULY – DECEMBER: The struggle continues: The case against Lord George proceeds at a somewhat slower pace to those of his followers. As his trial is postponed, then postponed again, Lord George doesn't exactly rot in the Tower. For the first 2 weeks he's only allowed short listened-into family visits, but these conditions are soon relaxed, and he's allowed to have visits from just about anyone. Of whom the most dodgy are John Greenwood, the auctioneer owner of the Haymarket salesrooms, where the LPA have their meetings, and William Bailston, of Boston Tea Party fame; who are both in with Benjamin Franklin. The American agent conspiracy theory is duly revived, and the Governor of the Tower stops Lord George from associating with the former American Congress President, Citizen Laurens. Though John Wesley reports favourably on his visits. 'Our conversation turned upon Popery and religion... I was agreeably surprised to find he did not complain of any person or thing, and cannot but hope his confinement will take a right turn and prove a lasting blessing to him.'

DECEMBER: After Lord George has been in the Tower for 6 months, Mrs. Montagu writes: 'I consider Lord George as a state electric conductor... His Lordship has wonderfully purged the ill-humour of his fellow subjects and I hope in a great degree cured the epidemical demeratick madness. The word petition now obtains nowhere, the word association cannot assemble a dozen people. We are coming to our right senses... The gathering storm which threatened our strongest, noblest and most venerable edifices has by him been brought down and sunk into the earth before it burst on our heads, he has indeed buried it under the gallows.' With memories and tempers fading, Lord George begins to regain some sympathy, though he's still expected to go for the drop. Enter, top legal team of the day, Lloyd Kenyon and the barrister, Thomas Erskine (Lord George's cousin, and Lady Anne's brother), who's described as handsome, elegant, witty, and shrewd, with deeply held anti-Roman Catholic convictions. But he doesn't rate his cousin's chances, especially as the judge is to be Lord Chief Justice Mansfield.

1781

**MONDAY FEBRUARY 5:** The Trial of Lord George Gordon finally begins in Westminster Hall. Despite freezing conditions a massive crowd turn out and the courtroom is packed. 'The noble prisoner' appears taller and thinner, his long lank red hair, even longer and lankier, with a 'death-like convict's pallor', emphasised by his black velvet suit and snow-white stock. He carries a bible and steel-rimmed spectacles, adopting an unconcerned attitude, as 19 jurors are challenged. Including one Arthur Shakespear, by Lord George, for being 'prejudiced by interest' because he's a ropemaker, which goes down well with the crowd. Then the lengthy indictment is delivered, in brief, charging that Lord George, 'on the second day of June with a great multitude of persons, armed and arrayed in a warlike manner (that is to say) with colours flying and with clubs, bludgeons and staves and other warlike weapons did ordain, prepare and levy publick war against the King. And between that day and the 10th of the same month did compass, imagine and intend to raise and levy war, insurrection and rebellion against our said Lord the King.' The High Treason charge at this time still technically carries the 'godly butchery' sentence, of being half-hanged, then disembowelled, and quartered. For which it's only necessary to prove that the accused levied war against 'the majesty of the King'; by trying to 'effect by force an alteration of the established law.'

**FEBRUARY 6:** Attorney-General James Wallace homes in on Lord George wearing the blue cockade 'badge of insurrection' to the House, and aligning with the mob by signing protection papers. First Crown witness, William Hay, gives evidence about Protestant Association meetings, where Lord George says King George has broken his Coronation Oath; and of how his name becomes the rallying cry for the mob. Whereupon Kenyon begins his cross-examination, skillfully discrediting Hay as a bankrupt printer and 'dark Popish spy'. The Attorney-General then calls the House Chaplain, for more evidence of Lord George encouraging the crowd from the gallery, and referring to the success of the Scottish riots. With candles lit, Erskine begins his brilliant defence, calling early '79 LPA member, the Rev. Erasmus Middleton. He describes the accused as 'the most calm and dispassionate of us', and says the idea of 20,000 petition back-up is to show how formidable their moral case is. While Alexander Frazer recalls asking a gang of drunk rowdies with blue cockades if they're petitioners, to which one rowdy responds: "No, damn it, this is all our Association." Leading up to Erskine and Kenyon's star witness, Sir Philip Jennings Clarke MP (who takes the mob-drawn coach-ride with Lord George from the House). He goes through the story of the mob taking the horses off the carriage, and Lord George saying: "For God's sake go peaceably home and about your business. Whilst you assemble in this tumultuous way your petition will never be complied with, the House will never consent to it."

**FEBRUARY 7: 12.00AM:** After 16 hours continuous testimony, Erskine asks Mansfield if the Court needs evidence of what Lord George is doing throughout the riots. Mansfield says it isn't necessary, and Erskine concludes: "I will not call up from the graves of martyrs all the precious blood that has been spilt in this land to save its established government and its reformed religion from the secret villainy and the open force of papists." Explaining away Lord George's 'remember the Scotch' gaffe, as a reference to Scottish resoluteness, not 'riots and burning'; and prosecution evidence that he incites the riots in anyway, except by lack of foresight and imprudence. **4.00AM:** Lord Mansfield finally gets to do his summing up; implying that he thinks Lord George is guilty of petition delivery illegality. Which prompts Lord George to complain of bias, and convinces Erskine of an imminent guilty verdict. **4.45AM:** The Jury retires. **5.15AM:** When they return, one of the jurors smiles encouragingly at Erskine, who faints, as the Clerk of Court asks them to 'look upon the Prisoner'; to deliver their 'Not Guilty' verdict. Lord George duly returns to Mrs. Yond at Welbeck Street. Presbyterian services are held and, in Scotland at least, church bells ring, and bonfires are lit. Dr. Johnson is glad that a 'constructive treason' hanging precedent isn't set, and the King and his Ministers are satisfied, considering Lord George to be a broken man / spent force, like Jack Wilkes after his riots. Which at first seems to be the case, as Lord George devotes his energies to endless correspondence (usually unsolicited), to Holland, France, America, wherever revolutionary struggles are going on. His sanity is still in doubt but, as Hibbert puts it; 'the terrible memory of the countless lives lost in his name had drained the passion, the bitterness and the ambition out of him.' He also becomes seriously religious, rather than just using the Protestant religion – in the cause of Liberty – against the arbitrary power of the Pope. He learns chapters of Old Testament by heart, always has bible in pocket, drops tartan for constant Puritan black, starts wearing Ben Franklin-style oval spectacles, and has meetings with Quakers. When he develops a following at the Methodist Lock Hospital chapel, Richmond and Rockingham resign, and Hillsborough would have

as well, but then Lord George would have got on the board, so he doesn't. Which encourages Lord George to attempt a Mosleyque comeback. Following the death of Alderman Hayley, he's nominated as a candidate for his vacated City seat. But with the American War of Independence about to be lost, and naval matters in such poor shape that Admiral Darby 'dare not stir out of Torbay', the time isn't right. The Government describe him as the 'vile incendiary of their City', and a Lord George meeting at the Paul's Head tavern, on Cateaton Street, is broken up by agent provocateurs; leading to reports of 'Gordon riots' starting up again. And that's the end of Lord George's political comeback. At the same time, Cornwallis is surrounded at Yorktown, and forced to surrender to Washington and LaFayette.

**1782**

Lord George visits France, to be appalled by the contrast between the palaces of 'the unfeeling Noble and haughty Prelate', and the 'wretched hovels' of the sans-culottes 'trudging in the mire'; and finds Marie-Antoinette to be far from 'Burke's celestial vision'.

**1783**

After the Treaty of Versailles, between England / France, Spain, America, and Holland a few months later, England acknowledges US independence. Fox and North have an uneasy coalition, Newgate is rebuilt, and public executions end at Tyburn.

**1784**

At the time of Charles James Fox's '40 days riot / 40 days confusion', Lord George keeps an oar in, offering his 'mob oratory' services to the Whigs as election campaign speaker. His fellow Shakespeare Club member, Fox, takes him up when he stands for Westminster, and Lord George mounts the hustings once more; to do his bit to get 'The Man of the People' CJF returned. Along with Di of the day, Georgiana Spencer, Duchess of Devonshire, and some election violence in Covent Garden (between the Fox mob, led by Irish chairmen from Spitalfields, and Admiral Hood's sailors mob, 'carrying His Majesty's colours'). Though Lord George still holds both parties in more or less equal contempt, as aristocrats or social climbing businessmen, with no concern for the vote-less people. After the King manipulates Pitt the Younger into power (with the collaboration of Pitt's cousin, Lord Temple), Lord George engages him in angry correspondence, about proposed new tax on linens, cottons, and Scotch gauze. As well as opposing the Lords decision to restore forfeited estates from the '45 rebellion, which further alienates him from the rest of the Gordon clan and the Highland Chiefs. Then he clashes with Pitt again, on behalf of Protestant volunteer soldiers and sailors, back from America, applying for permission to help the Dutch against the Catholic Austrian Empire. As President of the LPA, he suggests to the Dutch Ambassador that they lead the Association on another march, on St. James's, and the Quixotic madness of Lord George returns.

NOVEMBER 10: Lord George goes to St. James's, dressed in Dutch navy uniform, with huge highland broadsword (that 'opposed with success the usurpations of the See of Rome'), which he draws on the arrival of the embarrassed Dutch Ambassador. Then he sends letters to Pitt from sailors, 'able, willing and ready to serve the United Protestant States of Holland against the King of the Romans and all their Popish enemies. And your petitioners will ever pray for Lord George Gordon. Signed Edward Robinson and 34 other seamen at The Kettle Drum, Radcliffe Highway.' Another letter says he's been offered the Prince William frigate, 'to cruise in support of all the United States of Holland', with soldiers, artillerymen and a thousand seamen rallying to the cause. Which finally gets check yo' self response from Pitt.

NOVEMBER 19: 'A vast crowd of sailors' go to the Queen's House, demanding employment. Lord Sydney placates them, but later they form 'numerous bodies' and march threateningly about town. In Wapping, other unemployed sailors spread a rumour that Lord George has used and betrayed them, and they march to Welbeck Street, with the intention of pulling his house down. On their arrival, Lord George calmly comes out to create a 'profound silence', then delivers 'I was a sailor myself and always a friend of the people' speech, which brings forth shouts of 'Gordon and Liberty!' One of the sailors asks if they should 'pull down Mr. Pitt's house' instead, to which Lord George makes a low bow and withdraws. After this the Government decide he's become dangerous again and should be certified insane, but, to quote Hibbert (again), 'between his wild spasms of extravagant derangement there were, it had to be admitted, long periods of sense and rational behaviour.' Lord George also opposes taxes on windows, candles, stamps, post, Scotch distilleries, and shops. In the case of the latter, with 'This Shop to be let. Enquire of Billy Pitt.' posters, which he distributes from Welbeck Street along Oxford Street into the City, causing a Shop Tax re-think, and regaining some popular support.

**1785**

Lord George goes to Aberdeen, to support the Whig candidate Skene against the Tory Fergusson, who's supported by his brother, the Duke. Skene's victory is met by shouts of 'Gordon and Liberty!', and students offer Lord George a uniformed escort out of town.

**1786**

On his return from Scotland, Lord George writes to American Republic founder, Gouverneur Morris, Benjamin Franklin, and Henry Laurens, implicating the American Envoy to London, John Adams, in a 'Liberticide plot; to subvert the republican Government by raising up an Emperor and Senate like that of Rome, dependent on France, upon the ruins of the betrayed Commonwealth, under the auspices of the Washington Convention.'

MAY: Lord George is excommunicated from the Church of England, by the Archbishop of Canterbury; for refusing to attend an ecclesiastical court, regarding a dispute over a Dissenting Minister's estate, as he considers it a civil matter. Lord George says to be expelled from a society that he never belonged to, is 'an absurdity worthy of an archbishop.' Then he plays into the Government's hands, by getting involved with the weird (almost French Lord George) Count de Cagliostro, on his banishment from France, over the Marie-Antoinette Diamond Necklace affair – described by Mirabeau as the 'prelude of the revolution' – The diamond necklace, meant for Marie-Antoinette, is ripped off by the bogus Count and Countess de la Motte de Valois, implicating the latter's lover, the wealthy Prince Cardinal Louis de Rohan, who involves Count de Cagliostro, causing his banishment. Cagliostro has a reputation as a charlatan magician, and claims to have been around throughout time. A pop anecdote goes: Cagliostro to servant: 'Do you remember that evening at Jerusalem when they crucified Christ?' Servant: 'You forget, sir, that I have only been in your service for 1500 years.' Though, like Lord George, he's also interested in social problems and has attempted to help the poor of Paris.

AUGUST: Cagliostro hears that he's now at liberty to return to France, and calls on Court of Versailles London rep. Barthelemy, with Lord George, who refuses Barthelemy's request to leave the room, before the reading of the Court letter. After which an article appears in 'The Public Advertiser', stating that Cagliostro won't meet French messengers, except in the presence of Lord George, as 'the gang of French spies in London are trying the most industrious arts to trap the Count... The friendship and benevolence of Count de Cagliostro in advising the poor Prince Louis de Rohan to be upon his guard against de Valois and the intrigues of the Queen's faction (who still seek the destruction of the noble prince) has brought upon the Count the hateful revenge and perfidious cruelties of a tyrannical government.' Which prompts the Attorney-General to tell Pitt he can get Lord George for libel. Another charge is duly added for a pamphlet representing Newgate prisoners, pleading for him to interfere on their behalf, to 'secure their liberty and prevent their being sent to Botany Bay': 'We have reason to cry aloud from our dungeons and prison ships, in defence of our lives and liberties that the just punishment ordained by God for our trespasses of thievery is profanely altered... and that the true record of the Almighty is falsified and erased by the Lawyers and Judges (who sit with their backs to the words of the living God and the fear of men before their faces) till the streets of our city have run down with a stream of blood.' And so Lord George is indicted for not only libelling Marie-Antoinette, but the 'Judges and Administration of the Laws of England' as well. By now Erskine and Kenyon have gone over to the other side, so Lord George decides to represent himself. Possibly the worst decision of his career. First he tries to subpoena the 'papistical wife' of the Prince of Wales, Mrs. Fitzherbert (the Camilla Parker-Bowles of the day), regarding a meeting with her in Paris in 1784. After being thrown out of her house (Mr. Fitzherbert dies from his exertions helping priests escape the Gordon riots), he holds up the Court disputing legal terminology, and refuses to accept the indictment until its made out to his full title.

**1787**

JUNE 6: Lord George returns to Court for the third time, to launch into a 'by no means brief summary of English Criminal Law from the time of Athelstan', amounting to a libertarian manifesto advocating early penal reform. So that 'no man ought to suffer death without he spill blood.' Pretty radical stuff for the times, when hanging thieves is considered par for the course. But it doesn't answer the charge, and he's found guilty of 'the Laws of England' libel.

JUNE 13: Then comes 'the Queen's Bastille party' libel case. Marie-Antoinette is Introduced by the Attorney-General, as the "most high, mighty and puissant... a great and illustrious princess, eminently distinguished and renowned for her wisdom, prudence, justice, clemency, charity..." To which Lord George adds, everybody knows she is "a very convenient lady", and further expands on his previous libel. Until the Attorney General cuts him short, saying he's 'a disgrace to the name of Briton.' After the inevitable guilty verdict, Mr. Justice Ashurst pronounces: "One is sorry that you, descended of an illustrious line of ancestors, should have so much dishonoured your family... that you should prefer the mean ambition of being popular among thieves and pickpockets, and to stand as the champion of mischief, anarchy, and confusion... that you should insult her most Christian Majesty."



JUNE 14: The Court reassembles for Justice Ashurst to pass sentence. Everybody that is except Lord George who, on being released without bail, does a bunk to Holland. In Amsterdam he receives a revolutionary welcome, but (after some French intervention) the burgomaster says they have to return him to Harwich; with Dutch soldiers under orders not to hand him over to the authorities. Though his arrival back is in the papers, Lord George manages to go underground for the rest of the year.

1788

JANUARY: Dudley Street, The Froggery Jewish quarter, Birmingham. A Bow Street runner called McManus (who's in the Gordon riots) apprehends a curious figure, going by the name of Israel bar Abraham George Gordon. As described by Hibbert: 'He wore a straggling black beard which was in strange contrast with his rust-coloured hair, and a dirty gaberdine coat which hung on his thin body like a cloak. On his head was a large wide-brimmed black hat such as those worn by Polish merchants.' The Jewish street-hawker landlady, of the slum house he's taken from, gives 'The London Chronicle' a most flattering character of this unaccountable man, saying he is endowed with the most engaging manners and possessed of the greatest learning of any one living.' Throughout the Froggery, Lord George is considered the ghetto superstar, though no one knows exactly how and when, or why, he becomes Jewish. For some time he's been a fan of Jewish art and idea of God, via Calvin and Wesley, as he moves away from the New Testament, though not the Old, which remains in his pocket at all times. The radical Dr. Robert Watson says his conversion could be part of an elaborate anti-war plan, to get Jewish bankers to withdraw financial support. Or because he prefers to be 'considered as the leader of the Jews than the humble disciple of Christ.' Whatever the reason, he gets circumcised, learns Hebrew, and spends the rest of his days as a strictly devout Jew. Back in London, he goes up before the Court of King's Bench, to be sentenced to 3 years for the Botany Bay libel, and another 2 years and £500 fine for Marie-Antoinette, with £10,000 security for 14 years, and £5,000 sureties. Then Lord George is given another free lift to the newly refurbished Newgate. According to his on-going prolific correspondence, he does all his time on the Common Felon's Side, though he soon buys his own large cell, with Jew and Gentile maids. There he receives numerous visitors, from political sympathisers, to anyone who wants to see him; such as 'a young lady from Oxford Street', who believes she's conceived virginally, and been told by the Archangel Gabriel to tell Lord George the world is about to end. In the outside world, another Lord George Gordon – Byron is born into the Gordon of Gight clan, and Mad King George gets increasingly agitated, as the French Revolution approaches. For which he suffers worse confinement than Mad Lord George, or Louis XVI.

1789

After the storming of the Bastille, Lord George sends a petition to the National Assembly from Newgate, asking them to apply to the Court of London on his behalf. But refuses to recant his opinions in public for freedom, as advised by his brother the Duke. While King George recovers from being blistered, bled, and straitjacketed, to get through the Regency crisis and receive the acclaim of the 'delighted mob' in Weymouth.

1790

Henri Gregoire, a Catholic French revolutionary, replies to Lord George, saying as he's a foreigner 'it would be improper to deliberate upon the subject', though he's 'sincerely grieved' about his predicament. Then Lord George sends another appeal to the National Assembly and petitions Louis XVI, as the 'restorer of liberty', to apply to London in his favour. He also inundates the House of Commons with anti-slave trade letters, denouncing Members for talking about regulating the trade, instead of abolishing it like the National Assembly. When Lord George isn't corresponding he throws open-house parties, where the only people refused admission are orthodox Jews, who don't have long enough beards. He tells one such, Angel Lyon, to 'Tarry, therefore, in Fenchurch Street until thy beard is grown and then return to thy sincere friend and servant.' The parties usually begin with Lord George on bagpipes and, after 1789, always end with the 'Marseillaise'. Frederick Duke of York lends his band and often turns up himself, on one occasion turning a turkey on the spit while Lord George talks to his maids. The rest of Lord George's time is spent giving violin concerts, playing ball games with common felons, and arguing with gaolers on their behalf.

1791

After the flight to Varennes, Gregoire writes to Lord George again, to sound out English impressions of Louis XVI. The lengthy reply from Newgate concludes that the French king's flight and arrest 'puts him now exactly in the predicament of Charles I.'

1792

Year 1: As Lord George assumes his rightful position as King of the dispossessed people of Newgate – representing their Majesty King Mob – on the outside, Thomas Paine's 'Rights of Man' comes out, and Thomas Hardy's radical London Corresponding

Society forms, out of 'Wilkes & Liberty' and Gordon riots social bias. Lord George is a big influence on the Scottish Radical Thomas Hardy; who also ends up in The Tower on a high treason charge, which he gets off, with the assistance of Erskine, and is persecuted by the establishment, and the mob at one point, for his troubles on their behalf. There's also Church and King Mob riots in Birmingham (with a bit of 'No Popery' thrown in; in which the Unitarian theologian / scientist, Joseph Priestley, has his house pulled down), and anti-French Revolution / Jacobin backlash riots, in Nottingham and Manchester. The right-wing also have claims on the Gordon riots, as extreme Church and State, in Richard Brown's 'Church and State in Modern Britain 1700-1850' (Routledge), or as proto-anti French Revolution, in Thatcher cabinet minister, Ian Gilmour's epic, 'Riot, Risings and Revolution' (Hutchinson).

**1793** LATE JANUARY: As Louis XVI goes for the chop in Paris, Lord George is taken back to Court of King's Bench. Looking more like 60 than 41, thin as a stick, his face deeply lined, and his even longer hair going grey. After refusing to remove his hat, according to Jewish custom, it's snatched by an official. Whereupon he makes a turban from a handkerchief, and produces 2 poor Polish Jews, to stand as £5,000 sureties. Once they are duly refused, Lord George is returned to Newgate, to complete the second part of his sentence. Hibbert reckons he could have got his family to bail him out, as he remains on good terms with them, but stubborn pride prevents him. OCTOBER: After Marie-Antoinette is guillotined and the Great Terror gets going across the channel, Lord George contracts gaol-fever (a form of typhoid that accounts for hundreds of Newgate inmates each year). His last days, with his doctor and little Jewish maid, Polly Levi, at his bedside, surrounded by friends and fellow prisoners, are preserved into the 20th century at Madame Tussaud's.

NOVEMBER 1: Lord George becomes delirious, muttering lines from old speeches and names of family and girlfriends. Before he dies he sings the 'Ca Ira' song of freedom. Out of Christopher Hibbert's 'King Mob', Lord George emerges as 'a very different person from the sanctimonious, fanatical character in 'Barnaby Rudge'. Ill-advised, ambitious, vain, eccentric to the verge of madness, he was nevertheless a sincere humanitarian with ideas far in advance of his time. Pacifist, democrat, penal reformer, revolutionary.' While Hibbert sums up their Majesty King Mob thus: 'In later centuries historians were able to detect in the riots, a violent symptom of that quasi-revolutionary movement which was to end the political system of George III. But the rioters themselves were, of course, only indirectly concerned with this. They were interested in destruction, not reform... They rose up incoherently in protest, unprepared and inarticulate, unsure even themselves of what they wanted or hoped to attain. Encouraged by fanatics and criminals, reckless and drunken, they themselves became criminals, and died to no purpose which they could name, rebels without a cause and without a leader.' George Rude concludes that 'behind the slogan of 'No Popery' and other outward forms of religious fanaticism there lay a deeper social purpose: a groping desire to settle accounts with the rich, if only for a day, and to achieve some rough kind of social justice.' Or, as the Newgate stormer Thomas Haycock puts it: "Damn my eyes, I have no religion, but I have to keep it up for the good of the cause."

**1795** Leaving the 18th century, anti-French revolutionary wars agitation sees the King mobbed, and just missed by a marble / lead ball. After which he goes mad again, when called upon to break his Coronation Oath and consent to Roman Catholic emancipation. Following Pitt's anti-reform 'reign of terror', the United Irishmen rebellion (led by the Irish Lord George, Lord Edward Fitzgerald) is dealt with more like the Gordon riots. As the United Englishmen revolution doesn't come to much, the radical Doctor Watson publishes 'The Life of Lord George Gordon: With a Philosophical Review of his Political Conduct'. Including the following version of 1780 events: 'For many days a dreadful vengeance threatened the guilty city, the magistrates, as is usual in times of danger, were feeble and inactive, and everything was at the disposal of force; the great Law Lords who had been long used to pronounce the most cruel sentences on their unfortunate fellow creatures, were menaced with just retribution, and those obnoxious to the people, were obliged to consult their safety in flight, and a certain great Personage is said to have prepared for quitting England. All the prisons were pulled down and their inhabitants set at liberty, Lord George was carried in triumph by the multitude, and nothing presented itself to the astonished spectator but devouring flames. It is certain, that he, who afterwards dragged a painful existence, in a loathsome Gaol, might have then overturned a government, and founded a constitution agreeable to the wishes and true interest of the people – 100,000 men were ready to execute his orders, and ministers trembled for their personal safety. The unprincipled lawless banditti, who commenced the riots, were miscreants set on foot by French agents.'

**1820**

After the Napoleonic wars, 'King Lud' loom-smashing, anti-Corn Laws agitation, and Peterloo massacre of Chartists, George III finally shuffles off, to be replaced by George IV. In the wake of Peterloo, with radicals split over the 'sovereign right to use physical force', comes the Cato Street Conspiracy. The cranky Arthur Thistlewood plots to take out the Cabinet, and set fire to London again, but is discovered in a hayloft off Edgware Road, and executed on May 1.

**1837**

As Queen Victoria's reign begins, the Chartists hold increasingly revolutionary torchlight meetings, calling for more radical parliamentary reform (than in the '32 middle class reform act; universal suffrage, vote by ballot, etc) in the third 'People's Charter'.

**1838**

'The Times' reports the inquest into the suicide at the Blue Anchor, Thames Street, of Dr. Robert Watson. The landlord says Watson tells him he's Lord George's secretary in the Gordon riots, which results in Dickens portraying him as the treacherous 'Gashford' (due to his war wounds), in his forthcoming, 'The Great Riots of 80' swindle? Though Watson is a real revolutionary, who knows Washington and Napoleon, de Castro reckons he isn't in London in 1780.

**1839**

At the time of the Chartist Monmouth uprising, Thomas Carlyle writes: 'Chartism means the bitter discontent grown fierce and mad, the wrong condition therefore or the wrong disposition, of the working classes of England. It is a new name for a thing which has had many names, which will yet have many.' Carlyle goes on to write of the Saxon British 'Berserkir Rage': 'Deep-hidden it lies, far down in the centre, like genial central fire, with stratum after stratum of arrangement, traditionary method, composed productiveness, all built above it, vivified and rendered fertile by it... Deep hidden; But awakenable, but immeasurable; Let no man awaken it...'

**1841**

'Barnaby Rudge' comes out in 42 weekly numbers, in the wake of 'Oliver Twist'. In the end Dickens does say of Lord George: 'Many men with fewer sympathies for the distressed and needy, with less abilities and harder hearts, have made a shining figure and left a brilliant fame. He had his mourners. The prisoners bemoaned his loss, and missed him; for though his means were not large, his charity was great, and in bestowing alms among them he considered the necessities of all alike, and knew no distinction of sect or creed. There are wise men in the highways of the world who may learn something, even from this poor crazy lord who died in Newgate.'

**1848**

FEBRUARY: The first 23 page edition of Karl Marx's 'Communist Manifesto' (Verso Modern Edition. 1848 / 1998) is printed at 46 Liverpool Street, Bishopsgate. As the barricades go up again in Paris, and then all across Europe in the 1848 Revolutions.

APRIL 10: Another monster petition is presented to Parliament, from across the river in south London. This time from Kennington Common, without quite the same immediate impact of the Protestant Petition. Chartist leader Feargus O'Connor's claim of up to 6 million signatures turns out to be a third short, and only 150,000 of the expected half million turn up. But it's still a better turnout than anywhere else in Europe and, to give the Chartists their due, all their points eventually pass into law (apart from the payment of MPs). Though there isn't even a procession. With 15,000 special constables appointed (including Louis Napoleon III), 8,000 troops positioned about the City, and the bridges secured by the Duke of Wellington, a small escort present the petition. Sandbags outside Downing Street, and Foreign Office clerks blocking windows with volumes of 'The Times', is the nearest we get to barricades.

**1860**

In the wake of the Irish famine, there's another outbreak of 'No Popery' rioting in Kensal New Town (alongside GWR); with a political twist. Irish navvies are asked 'Who are you for? The Pope or Garibaldi?' When English volunteers are fighting for the 1848 Italian revolutionary, and Irish Brigade are fighting for the former. This is after King Mob descendants are cleared out of St. Giles and other central London slums, to the new suburban slums of Notting Hill.

**1884**

Another Gordon comes to a sticky but courageous end, when General Charles Gordon is sent to Khartoum, to oversee Egyptian garrison withdrawal; but gets hemmed in by the Mahdi and offed, before back-up gets through. Though Black Sheep Lord George isn't even mentioned in the Clan Gordon book, 'Cock O' the North', he's now established as the top historical Gordon, ahead of Gordon of Khartoum.

**1914**

After leaving the 19th century racist agitation by Major Evans-Gordon's British Brothers League, there's further King Mob echoes in attacks on German bakers, as World War I breaks out; prompting the royals to anglicise their surnames. While the Imperial (now Electric) cinema on Portobello, is stoned (literally, as well as figuratively throughout leaving 20th century section) by a mob who believe the German manager is signalling to Zeppelin's from the roof.

# KING MOB ECHO



ENGLISH SECTION OF SITUATIONIST  
INTERNATIONAL TO SEX PISTOLS

**1955**

Alexander Trocchi, another Calvinist / libertarian Scot, quits as editor of 'Merlin' – his Parisian (English-language) avant-garde literary journal – in order to join his virtual fan, Guy Debord, in the Lettrist International. Trocchi is a former arctic convoy escort officer, turned beatnik author of 'Young Adam'; and various pornographic novels for Maurice Girodias's Olympia Press. According to Len Bracken in 'Guy Debord: Revolutionary' (Feral House), Trocchi impresses Debord because he reminds him of the Dada boxer-poet, Arthur Craven. To become a Lettrist, Trocchi also has to split with all his old existentialist friends from the Left Bank / Beat Hotel scene, such as Jean-Paul Sartre, Henry Miller, Samuel Beckett, William Burroughs, and Allen Ginsberg (for more on see 'Paris Interzone' by James Campbell). Trocchi tells Greil Marcus in 'Lipstick Traces: A Secret History of the 20th Century' (both Secker & Warburg): "I stopped speaking to them. I was to enter into a closed society, a clandestine group, which was to be my whole world." As Trocchi becomes a member, the Lettrists send a letter to 'The Times', opposing the 'moral town planning' of the Limehouse Chinatown (renowned for its bohemian opium-den scene), 'before we have the opportunity to visit it and carry out certain psychogeographical experiments.'

**1956**

Trocchi comes to London with Debord, for the screening of 'Hurlements en faveur de Sade (Howlings in Favour of Sade)' at the ICA, in Dover Street (off Piccadilly), and psychogeographical drifting sessions. Then Trocchi emigrates to the States, to create Brit-beat legend, as recounted by Len Bracken. "Using a false collar and portable pulpit to escape drugs raids, shooting up on television, and the All Points Bulletin for him in the US on drugs charges, which he avoided by stealing 2 of George Plimpton's suits to disguise his escape to England... But the legend of Trocchi as a source of artistic inspiration to many young people involved in the Venice Beach beat scene (among them Jim Morrison) is more important. Trocchi's life however pathetic it seemed to Marcus, continues to inspire. And as we've seen, Trocchi had first been inspired by Debord.'

**1957**

JULY 27: The artist Ralph Rumney is the only English founding member of the Situationist International (though he's in the Italian Section), representing his own London Psychogeography Association, at Cosio d'Arroscia in northern Italy. Though the Italian Scot, Trocchi, is considered by Debord as an 'active, founding member of the SI' of 'No Section'.

**1958**

MARCH: Ralph Rumney becomes one of the first members to be excluded from the SI (after the rest of the Italian Section), for failing to hand in his Venice psychogeography photo-report on time (still available in 'Vague #22: Media Sickness', along with Ralph interview); Ralph goes on to marry Michele Bernstein, Debord's ex and fellow SI founder (who ends up living in a 17th century parsonage in Salisbury, where 'Vague' starts up). As Christopher Hibbert's 'King Mob' is published, Oswald Mosley does an anti-Lord George Gordon with his 50s pop Nazi, Union Movement, inadvertently starting rock'n'roll youth revolt, in the Notting Hill race riots.

**1960**

SEPTEMBER: The 4th SI conference is held in London, at the British Sailors Society, a suitably Dickensian venue in Whitechapel, which members are required to drift to. There's also a talk at the Dover Street ICA, where, after a lengthy text (translated by Rumney) is read out by a non-English speaker, an audience member asks: "What is 'Situationism' all about?" Debord answers, "We're not here to answer cuntish questions," and goes to the pub (echoing his First International namesake). The London conference also makes a resolution in defence of its one British member, who's just been busted in the States: 'Hands Off Alexander Trocchi – Concerning the imprisonment of: The delegates to the 4th conference of the SI, being informed of the arrest in the US of their friend Alexander Trocchi, and of his charge of use of, and traffic in drugs, declare that the SI retains full confidence in Alexander Trocchi. The conference declares that Trocchi could not have, in any case, traffic in drugs; this is clearly a police provocation by which the situationist will not allow themselves to be intimidated; Affirms that drug taking is without importance; Appoints Asger Jorn, Jacqueline de Jong and Guy Debord to take immediate action on behalf of Alexander Trocchi and to report upon such action to the SI at the earliest moment; Calls in particular upon the cultural authorities of Britain and on all British intellectuals who value liberty to demand the setting free of Alexander Trocchi, who is beyond all doubt England's most intelligent creative artist today.' As his New York junkie-bargeman classic, 'Cain's Book' comes out, Trocchi's smack habit isn't approved of anymore than his dodgy mates, who by now include Timothy Leary; but he seems to be kept on more as an honorary influence on Debord. Trocchi is always too much of a proto-hippy to be a real situationist. Back in London, he spawns the London underground press scene, out of the Jazz record / bookshop

he runs with John Michel in Notting Hill – London’s answer to the Left Bank, Haight Ashbury, and Watts – Michel’s Hedgegate Court premises and the Ledbury Road headshop are frequented by the likes of ‘Absolute Beginners’ author Colin MacInnes, Michael de Freitas (pre-X), ‘IT’ founding editors, Miles and John ‘Hoppy’ Hopkins, and ‘Priest’ Asiento Fox, the first Rastafarian in the UK. While Christine Keeler, Lucky Gordon, and other Profumo Affair characters, are soaking up the bohemian atmosphere in Frank Crichlow’s El Rio coffee bar, on Westbourne Park Road, or at the Great Western Road ‘Beat Hotel’. Out of this post-58 riots, beatnik / West Indian scene, comes the English hippy / rasta countercultures.

**1962**

Trocchi becomes a household name after Edinburgh Writers Conference debate with Hugh MacDiarmid, in which he defends the internationalist beat generation, describing himself as a ‘cosmonaut of inner space’. Trocchi and Burroughs stay with the former’s doctor and, according to Ted Morgan’s Burroughs book, ‘Literary Outlaw’ (Pimlico), Trocchi has writer’s block after ‘Cain’s Book’, and is just doing translations for John Calder. Trocchi says; “I feel that I personally am being attacked when there is all this mention of drugs and sex. Drugs and sex do come into my books... No doubt I shall go on writing, stumbling across tundras of unmeaning, planting words like bloody flags in my wake. Loose ends, things unrelated, shifts, night journeys, cities arrived at and left, meetings, desertions, betrayals, all manner of unions, triumphs, defeats...” He then contributes his ‘Revolutionary Proposal for An Invisible Insurrection of a Million Minds’ to ‘Internationale Situationiste’ #7 (see Andrew Murray Scott Polygon book), and gets himself appointed to the SI central committee, at the 6th conference in Anvers – after Debord’s art purge of the German and Scandinavian sections.

**1963**

At the time of the Spies for Peace affair, Trocchi is part of the editorial committee for ‘IS’ #8, which includes ‘Basic Banalities 2’ by Raoul Vaneigem and SI ‘Anti-Public Relations Service’ (see Ken Knabb’s Bureau of Public Secrets ‘SI Anthology’). ‘Cain’s Book’ is first published in the UK by John Calder, and Pan put out new edition of ‘Young Adam’; ‘the extraordinary new novel of a shameless outsider who took women and life as they come, told in a sensuous Simenon-like style.’ (‘Books & Bookmen’) As another L Gordon, ‘Lucky’ Aloyius, does something like that in Notting Hill, causing the great British post-war political/sex scandal, the Profumo Affair. The Scandinavian Situationist, JV Martin, is prosecuted for a ‘subversive strip’ featuring Christine Keeler, saying: ‘I agree with the IS: It is more honourable to be a prostitute like me than to be the spouse of Constantine the fascist’; on occasion of Danish princess marrying Greek Crown Prince.

**1964**

AUTUMN: Trocchi resigns / is considered to have resigned / parts company with the SI, when he inaugurates his quasi-situ, proto-internet, Project Sigma: ‘based on the situationist Hereford Road, in Notting Hill. DECEMBER: Trocchi puts out Sigma portfolio #5 from 6 St. Stephen’s Gardens (in former Rachman slum territory, at the north end of Hereford Road). While Michele Bernstein and Jorgen Nash contribute articles on the SI to the ‘Times Literary Supplement’ (see ICA/Verso ‘Situationist Scrapbook’). In 1983 Trocchi tells Greil Marcus, virtually on his deathbed, at Observatory Gardens, off Kensington Church Street: “Guy thought the world was going to collapse on its own, and we were going to take over. I wanted to do that – to take over the world. But you can’t take over the world by excluding people from it! Guy wouldn’t even mention the names of the people I was involved with – Timothy Leary, Ronnie Laing. I remember the last letter he sent me: ‘Your name sticks in the minds of decent men.’ He was like Lenin; he was an absolutist, constantly kicking people out – until he was the only one left. And exclusions were total. It meant ostracism, cutting people. Ultimately it leads to shooting people – that’s where it would have led if Guy had ever taken over.”

**1965**

FEBRUARY/MARCH: Trocchi’s Sigma / situationist inspired / related ‘sTigma environmental exhibition’ at Better Books, 94 Charing Cross Road, gets closed down because of the smell. JUNE 11: Trocchi organises and chairs the ‘Poets of the World’ official start of UK counter culture gig, at the Albert Hall, with Allen Ginsberg, Jeff Nuttall, etc. In Jonathon Green’s ‘Days in the Life: Voices from the English Underground 1961-71’ (Heinemann), Christopher Logue says; “it wasn’t organised by the beats at all. It was organised by Alex Trocchi. He put it together with the boy who did the mime inside the ape-skin for ‘2001’, Dan Richter, and John Essam – Essam, Richter and Trocchi did the organising – It was much more Trocchi’s thing, much more to do with his kind of proselytising for something called ‘Sigma’ that he was doing at the time with Jeff Nuttall.” Though Miles says; “Trocchi could never say no to anyone. He just wasn’t a good compere, he didn’t know how to organise the thing or keep control of the mike.”

**1966**

**MARCH:** 'IS' #10 announces: 'Upon the appearance in London of the first publications of the 'Project Sigma' initiated by Alexander Trocchi, it was mutually agreed that the SI could not involve itself in such a loose cultural venture, in spite of the interest we have in dialogue with the most exigent individuals who may be contacted through it, notably in the United States and England. It is therefore no longer as a member of the SI that our friend Alexander Trocchi has since developed an activity of which we fully approve of several aspects.' As Trocchi's beatnik take on situationist theory is about to be surpassed, by a new swinging 60s London situationist group, consisting of Christopher Gray, Timothy Clarke, Donald Nicholson-Smith, and Charles Radcliffe; who duly become the short-lived English Section of the SI. At the same time, the 20 year old Malcolm Edwards / McLaren first meets Vivienne Westwood, and does a maze installation at Kingly Street Gallery, off Carnaby Street; featuring detoured cowboy movie clips and Underground map invites.

**MAY:** At the time of the Provo riots, Charles Radcliffe has a similar Dam trip to Lord George's, and does London edition of 'THE REBEL WORKER' (out of Chicago), from Redcliffe Road, Chelsea (near the Boltons). While Chris Gray does the first official English Situationist translation, of Raoul Vaneigem's 'Banalities de base', as 'The Totality for the Kids'. In 'Sex Pistols: The Inside Story' (Star), Fred and Judy Vermorel trace the roots of Punk Rock back to Chris Gray, 'a quietly spoken, aristocratically mannered intellectual who lived with his dreamy eyed woman in Cambridge Gardens W10.'

**JULY:** As England win the World Cup, Charles Radcliffe puts out his own, still pre-situ, orange covered 'HEATWAVE' journal, for 1/6d (named after the Who covered, '63 Martha & The Vandellas Motown classic). While he's at it, inventing Brit-pop-situ style culture with 'The Seeds of Social Destruction' (Teddy Boys / Ton-up Kids / Beats / Ban the Bombers / Ravers / Mods & Rockers) youth revolt round-up so far. Donald Nicholson-Smith represents the English Section at the 7th SI Conference in Paris.

**SEPTEMBER:** Trocchi's Project Sigma 'intergalactic switchboard' is installed in the basement of Indica 2 head - bookshop, at 102 Southampton Row, in Bloomsbury (now Morgan's Stationary Supermarket). Where 'International Times' is about to come out of, along with Yoko Ono. According to Nigel Fountain in 'UNDERGROUND: London Alternative Press 1966-74' (Comedia / Routledge): 'As far as Miles could see the project did little. The storage and dispensing of such material was to prove one of the more baffling, wearisome, and occasionally lucrative obsessions of the underground in the years ahead, but by the end of 1966 Sigma was petering out.' In 'Days in the Life', Miles talks to Jonathan Green about "Chris Gray of the Situationists, who'd been around for a long time and staged a happening in the Indica Gallery. I related to the politics in a rather stupid, dazed, laid-back way – 'Hey, man...'" Possibly mistaking Gray for Trocchi? While London Free School, 'IT', and UFO club founder, John 'Hoppy' Hopkins, recalls Chris Gray as "the English arm of the Situationists – and one or two other people – they really made a dent in the consciousness. Yeah, they were around, behaving critically." In the same vein, there's also Gustav Metzger's Destruction In Art Symposium, on a site cleared for the Westway.

**OCTOBER:** The first issue of 'International Times' comes out of Miles and Hoppy's Love Books, with input from Trocchi, 'Provo Suggestions' by Simon Vinkenoog of Sigma Nederland, and semi-situ Jean Jacques Lebel's Breton obituary. Trocchi is seen arguing at the door of the 'IT' launch, 'All Night Rave' at the Roundhouse, and contributes thing on Project Sigma to 'IT' #4. Meanwhile Charlie Radcliffe joins forces with Chris Gray for 'HEATWAVE' #2, writing joint-report on the Amsterdam Provo riots. As Gray puts out 'Totality for the Kids' from Hereford Road. (After Trocchi and Gray, Carlos the Jackal gets his name, when the Frederick Forsyth book is discovered with his arms stash on Hereford Road.)

**OCTOBER 10: 12.30PM:** New York: The Black Mask group appear out of the Lower East Side, to 'close down' Museum of Modern Art Dada exhibition (for more on see 'BLACK MASK & UP AGAINST THE WALL MOTHERFUCKER: THE INCOMPLETE WORKS OF RON HAHNE, BEN MOREA & THE BLACK MASK GROUP'; still available on Unpopular/Sabotage. London. 1993; and 'KING MOB 3').

**NOVEMBER/DECEMBER:** The return of the Durruti Column and the Brethren of the Free Spirit: The Situationist 'occult international' arrive on the world historical stage, with 'Ten Days that Shook the University: On the Poverty of Student Life' Strasbourg Scandal. According to Chronos, the 'On the Poverty' pamphlet (Gray?) says of 'Heatwave': 'One thinks here of the excellent journal 'Heatwave', which seems to be evolving toward an increasingly rigorous radicality.' As Charlie Radcliffe joins Chris Gray, Tim Clarke, and Donald Nicholson-Smith, in the English Section of the Situationist International, the first issues of 'Black Mask' contain shout outs to the Black Panthers, SI: Paris, Heatwave: London, Rebel Worker: Chicago, and Jonathan Leake's Resurgence Youth Movement: New York.

**1967**

**FEBRUARY:** The English Situationist pop revolution begins – like the Gordon Riots before the French Revolution – at the proto-Paris May '68 occupation of the LSE (London School of Economics and Political Science), on Houghton Street, off Kingsway. Carrying on and off through '68, into '69, as described by Nigel Fountain in 'Underground': 'At the LSE the students had occupied the premises in February 1967 as their struggle intensified. The storming of the college gates – locked by the authorities – had been accompanied by the death of a porter from a heart attack. Radicals from across London, Britain, and Europe began to pour into the college to observe, participate, or make unsuccessful attempts to take the struggle into the correct channels. The LSE's walls were plastered with slogans – a favourite being 'BEWARE THE PEDAGOGIC GERONTOCRACY' (old teachers) – and suddenly the Situationists moved from the world of small magazines, happenings and Alex Trocchi to hand out their leaflets, and flypost their documents on '10 Days that Shook the University'... It had little effect on the LSE students who, if they were in anything at all were likely to be inclined towards the Trotskyism of the International Socialists.' One of whom, Colin Crouch, writes in 'The Student Revolt' (Bodley Head): 'These (situationists) had appeared at LSE, where they enlivened the proceedings with spray-painted slogans along the school walls declaring that 'UBU CARES' ('God Cares?'), and by sundry acts such as releasing a flood of balloons in the course of a student meeting... they are distinguished by their complete and determined lack of anything that can be regarded as responsibility to others; they are inveterate individualists, and thus tend to lack those rudiments of social awareness that are exhibited by most university Marxists...'

Dick Pountain recalls in Jonathon Green's 'Days in the Life': "When we met the Situationists, in '67, we realised this was what we wanted. When the London School of Economics occupation happened it was a total free-for-all. I was very much involved in that. A bunch of us were doing posters and pamphlets and everything. They tried to set up this thing called the RSSF (Revolutionary Socialist Students' Federation) and they had this agonising conference in the occupied LSE where all these different sects just blathered their different dogmas. Towards the end of this, this white-haired guy got up on stage and delivered this incredibly dramatic harangue denouncing them all as 'arseholes and bastards' and at the end of it he pointed up to this banner over the stage and said, 'And as for this... dogshit by any other name would smell as foul!' (in Richard III / Lord George Gordon style) And we were so impressed by this guy that after they'd thrown him out, we sought him out on the steps of the main LSE building, and it was John Gravelle. He was just meeting Chris Gray and Don Nicholson-Smith who were the British wing of the Situationists. We got chatting with them and discovered that they lived just round the corner in Notting Hill and that was it. I started going round to Chris Gray's. There was this group came together round him and Don, who were the only accredited British Situationists, although they both got thrown out soon afterwards. So all these people, based in Notting Hill came together and gradually formed this group called King Mob which was expelled from the SI for being a sect. They wouldn't tolerate any kind of tendencies or whatever and also our take was different from theirs: they were high-powered French intellectuals, we were rapidly becoming street hippies. They didn't like the street culture, they saw it even then as part of the 'Spectacle'; they didn't like drugs although they drank vast quantities of Calvados and red wine. They were undoubtedly correct – they predicted perfectly that it would all be co-opted and turned into a huge commodity, which it was. The 'Spectacle' is a very Hegelian notion. It was their idea of what the modern state uses instead of physical coercion to keep people in their place. The state still has coercion as the last resort, but by and large they don't need it. The 'Spectacle' is the mass media. TV, film, stardom, the control of everyday life by work disciplines – This naturally fitted together with the hippie thing – except that they couldn't stand hippies."

David Widgery: "The first LSE sit-in was a very modest affair. It was about David Adelstein's right to write a letter to 'The Times', something trivial like that... Later on everyone under the sun was sitting in, regardless of whether they were students, workers, strippers, footballers, whatever, but at that stage it was a very exciting thing to do. And they had a march to support the sit-in with a banner that said 'DOWN WITH THE PEDAGOGIC GERONTOCRACY'...The bar was a very good place, very political. Constant arguments with people always trying to convert each other. Odd Situationists knocking around being rude to everyone, a few proper Anarchists arguing with the Trotskyists, all the Trotskyists would be arguing with each other, and occasionally the Labour Party emerged and everyone howled them down." Alan Marcuson: "One of the reasons I came to London was that things had just taken off at the LSE. They were all sitting on the steps, smoking joints, and it was the place to be. So I went to



the LSE. I met Dave Robins, I met Dick Pountain, Pete Avery, loads of people. That introduced me to the whole Situationist crowd and I had a good time. In the end I could just walk away from it so I could afford to be very radical because I didn't have a degree on the line, and all those other revolutionary arseholes, when it really came down to it, had to finish their courses and get their jobs and secure their careers. And that's the reason, I believe, that the LSE failed – the revolutionaries wouldn't give up their goddamn careers. It was very interesting and exciting but it was a complete fuck-around. Just a load of talk, endless, endless meetings and arguments and bad feeling and factions of the Left. I always wanted to go out and smash the doors down. There was a group of us who were basically into vandalism and were slowly dismantling all the bits of the university that we could lay our hands on and were considered very very irresponsible by the serious left.'

**MARCH:** Meanwhile back in the States, as 'Black Mask' #4 comes out, the Dutch TV, Tony Verlaan, arrives in New York, representing the SI. Verlaan is a Strasbourg veteran, but isn't made an actual Situationist until January '68, nonetheless he sets up SI NYC postbox, and rush-releases English translation of 'On the Poverty of Student Life' – as the British Situationists are taking too long about it – Verlaan also gets in with Ben Morea's Black Mask group, contributing 'On the Poverty' extract and anti-art article, whilst acting like a Situationist and establishing the all important SI / Black Mask link.

**APRIL:** Some sort of pop-situ breakthrough happens at the '14 Hour Technicolour Dream' in Alexandra Palace (with Syd Barrett's Pink Floyd, Marc Bolan's John's Children, Soft Machine, Pretty Things, Mick Farren's Social Deviants, Trocchi, and Warhol). For the occasion, 'IT' put out Indica bust benefit-supplement, as 'IT' #10.5: '7 Days That Shook the LSE'; including the Rebel Worker Group's 'The Forecast Is Hot', and '10 Days' at the typesetters note. Chris Gray's translation of 'Of Student Poverty' comes out as '10 DAYS THAT SHOOK THE UNIVERSITY: The Situationists at Strasbourg' with 'Return of the Durruti Column' comic-strip cover, by Andre Bertrand (who's also credited with the covers of 'IT' #26 and 'Oz' #28) 'Published by the SI. All inquiries to BCM | Situationist International London WC1'

**OCTOBER:** Donald Nicholson-Smith represents the English Section again on 'IS' #11 editorial team, with Khayati, Martin, and Vaneigem, as Debord's 'Society of the Spectacle' comes out. While Dave and Stuart Wise contribute Dada article to 'Black Mask' #8, joining forces with Tony and Carol Verlaan, Benn and Janice Morea, Ron Hahne, Yvonne De Nigris, Anne Ryder, Jenny Dicken, Everett Shapiro, and John Myers. The Wise twins also do 'Icteric' art pamphlet, out of Newcastle University, featuring Andre Breton 'Jacques Vache War Letters', and 'Recent works by David & Stuart Wise December 1965 – July 1966' shock art metal slug face pictures. As Tony Verlaan forms the American Section of the SI, with Robert Chasse and Bruce Elwell, he also puts out 'Totality for the Kids' and 'Decline and Fall' pamphlets, and splits with Ben(n) Morea – over snake dance plan for Washington Pentagon demo. **NOVEMBER:** At the first London Vietnam Solidarity Campaign demo, in Grosvenor Square, Robin Blackburn recalls; "probably no more than 15,000 had gone... but there was quite a lot of aggro. It was a different type of demonstration from what one had had before. There were battles with the police, the chance of making a breakthrough to the Embassy. It seemed like real action rather than the usual tame demonstration." ('Days in the Life') According to Fred Vermorel, 'Malcolm met Henry Adler at a Vietnam rally, when they were arrested together for trying to burn an American flag.'

**MID-NOVEMBER:** Raoul Vaneigem arrives in New York, shortly before the publication of 'The Revolution of Everyday Life' (which Nicholson-Smith translates), to meet Chasse, Elwell, and Verlaan, but not Morea. After Verlaan goes to a SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) conference in New Jersey, Chasse and Elwell take Vaneigem along, but find it too bureaucratic. Then Murray Bookchin, anarcho-bolshevik theoretician and former Chasse/Elwell associate, returns from Europe, to debate SI organisation and practice, Ben Morea militancy, 'the role of subjectivity and the character of negation' with Vaneigem – regarding recent split between NY 'situationists' and 'a group of young anarchists'. After Vaneigem returns to Europe, Chasse, Elwell, and Verlaan set about writing a suitably critical text, to gain them admittance to the SI, while Bookchin fails to get NY anarchist alliance together, and splits with Verlaan over SDS manipulation. Then Elwell writes up the pre-situ NY split with Bookchin, while Morea writes to the SI, complaining about Vaneigem taking the word of 'the shitheads Verlaan and Chasse' and not seeing him. The French and newly formed English section replies don't complain so much about Morea's militancy, as his mystic mate, Allan Hoffman, who Vaneigem meets during his stay. While provisionally making Verlaan and Chasse SI members, instructing them to destroy Verlaan's situ-texts, and to await the arrival of another euro-delegate (Chris Gray), before taking further

action. As the SI echo Marx and Engels ending of the First International, the Americans object to member / non-member confusion, but go ahead with the destruction of Verlaan's pamphlets. Then Murray Bookchin weighs in on the side of Morea, saying Vaneigem wouldn't see him for other reasons. The English Section reply to Morea / Bookchin, saying someone's lying, implying it could be Vaneigem, or as Chasse and Elwell put it: 'Their hedging was apparently rooted to their belief that Verlaan wasn't of SI caliber. It became clear that its real roots were in their view of Morea's utility in an 'advanced anglo-american sphere of activity', where both Vaneigem and Verlaan were nothing. Before the end of 1967, the 3 British situationists had been excluded from the SI for their refusal to break definitively with Bookchin and Morea. They were excluded, as it were, for their wilful maintenance of the organizational confusion in which the SI found itself.' Back over the pond, Charlie Radcliffe makes a dashing escape from the SI, to have the most gloriously dodgy post-situ career of them all. His post-SI CV reads; journalist at Robert Maxwell's Pergamon Press, associate of Howard Marks, journalist for Alan Marcuson 'Fiends', and 'political advisor' to the Jefferson Airplane.

DECEMBER 21: At the time of Black Mask's 'Mill-in at Macy's', according to 'The Latest Exclusions' in the last 'IS' #12 (which comes out in September '69): 'Timothy Clarke, Christopher Gray and Donald Nicholson-Smith were excluded from the SI just as they were getting ready to publish a journal in England and begin a group activity there. (Charles Radcliffe had resigned for personal reasons a couple of months before.) The divergences, which had been nonexistent or at least unnoticed in all other regards, suddenly appeared not in regard to their activity in England but on the question of the SI's relations and possible action in the US. Vaneigem had gone to New York in November as the delegate of all the situationists and carried out his mandate precisely, notably in discussions with the comrades with whom in everyone's opinion – including that of the British – we had the most developed contacts, and who have since formed our American section. Vaneigem refused to meet a certain Ben Morea, publisher of the bulletin 'Black Mask', with whom our American comrades were in conflict on virtually every question concerning revolutionary action and whose intellectual honesty they even challenged. Vaneigem had, moreover, already been obliged to break off a conversation with a certain Hoffman, who was eulogistically expounding to him a 'mystical' interpretation of his text 'Basic Banalities' and who was at that time the main collaborator in Morea's publications: the enormity of this fact naturally led Vaneigem no longer even to want to discuss our other more general divergences with Morea. (Morea and Allan Hoffman later formed the New York 'Motherfuckers' group.) Everything seemed quite clear upon his return to Europe. But Morea wrote to the London situationists to complain of having been misrepresented to Vaneigem. Upon the insistence of the English comrades, who were concerned about fully clarifying the matter in the unlikely case that Morea himself was under some misapprehension, we wrote a collective letter detailing all the facts of the situation. The English agreed, however, that this would be the last response we would send him. Morea wrote once again to all of us saying that what we had written concerned false pretexts and that the real dispute lay elsewhere; he insulted our New York friends and this time questioned Vaneigem's testimony. In spite of their express commitment, the English responded again to Morea, saying that they no longer understood what was going on and that 'someone' must be lying. They had more and more indulgence toward Morea and more and more mistrust of our American friends; and even of Vaneigem, though refusing to admit it. We called on the 3 English to rectify this outrageous, publicly aired vacillation by immediately breaking with the falsifier and his mystical acolyte. They accepted this demand in principle, but equivocated and finally refused to implement it. We then had to break with them. In 3 weeks this discussion had given rise to 2 meetings in Paris and London and to the exchange of a dozen long letters. Our patience had been rather excessive, but what had at first seemed to be merely a surprising slowness in reasoning increasingly began to appear as a conscious, inexplicable obstruction. Up to the moment of their exclusion, however, the discussion had never concerned anything but the details described here and the questions of method it so strangely raised regarding the SI's solidarity and general criteria for breaking (for the English never denied that Morea was involved with a mystical idiot)...'

DECEMBER 22: According to Chasse and Elwell's 'Field Study in the Dwindling Force of Cognition Where it is Least Expected: A Critique of the SI as a Revolutionary Organisation' (in 'Guy Debord is Really Dead' Sabotage. 1995), which comes out in 1970, when they in turn are excluded: 'Chris Gray, who was to have been the SI delegate, arrived in New York the day after his exclusion. Each of the 3 of us discussed the affair with him and drew our own conclusions. During the month Gray was in New

York, Verlaan – due to a crisis in his private life – left for Europe, after distributing SI materials at an SDS National. In Paris, he reversed his previous common stand with us and became a member of the SI. (He would in recounting conversations in Paris stress that Chasse was a bit too formalist, a theme he would play in many variations in the next 2 years – his becoming a member should have revealed to us the little matter that organizational questions were for him.) From Paris, he proceeded to London, staying with the ex-situationists there. He would, as a result, question the exclusion of the British, but the majority of the SI sharply rejected this and he dropped the matter. (His apprehension of organization, in many ways quite similar to that of the British, at that point, should have been accessible to the SI as a whole.) As for Gray, he would eventually become – as ‘King Mob Echo’ – British public relations front for that union of Morea and the mystic who had appalled Vaneigem: the Motherfuckers. An evolution with all the logic of dry rot.’ While ‘Latest Exclusions’ continues: ‘Gray later passed through New York and sadly recounted to whoever would listen that his stillborn group had concerned itself directly with America in order to save the revolutionary project there from a detrimental incomprehension on the part of the continental European situationists (and of the Americans themselves). The English comrades themselves had not felt sufficiently appreciated. They hadn’t dared to say so, but they had suffered from a lack of interest on the part of the Continentals in what they were going to do. They were left isolated in their country – all surrounded by water. A more ‘theoretical’ reason emerged – after the discussion: England being much closer to a revolutionary crisis than the Continent, the ‘Continental’ theorists were supposedly moved by spite at seeing that ‘their’ theories would be realized somewhere else. The value of this historical law of Anglo-American revolutionism was demonstrated only 5 months later..’

POSTSCRIPT: Clarke, Gray, Nicholson-Smith, and Radcliffe’s English Section of the SI Journal doesn’t appear until 1994, when Chronos put it out as ‘THE REVOLUTION OF MODERN ART AND THE MODERN ART OF REVOLUTION’, with the following blurb: ‘This previously unpublished document by the ill-fated English Section of the SI is an exposition of the central tenets of situationist theory. Although much of the material covered is derivative, it is novel from the point of view of its pronounced Anglo-American orientation and its attempt to try and communicate basic situationist positions in a more ‘hip’, streetwise style (even if, regrettably, this sometimes leads to a certain amount of vulgarisation – see for example, the crass eulogy of the violence of juvenile delinquents). As the text was produced in 1967, it is probable that it was originally intended to be included in a situationist journal the English Section were planning to publish. However this project never came to fruition as in December of that year the English situationists (with the exception of Charles Radcliffe, who had resigned a couple of months earlier for personal reasons) were excluded from the SI over the Ben Morea affair.’ According to Chronos: ‘Tim Clarke wound up imprisoned in the ivory tower of academia, where he has spent fruitless years trying to unearth the historical origins of the spectacle – at the last count he had tracked it down to the late 19th century. Donald Nicholson-Smith was ‘honoured’ by a brief appearance in Guy Debord’s film ‘In Girum Imus Nocte et Consumimur Igni’; unfortunately however, he appears just as the voice-over announces: “So many hasty journeys!” Although, between travels he has found time to translate Raoul Vaneigem’s ‘The Revolution of Everyday Life’ and more recently, Debord’s ‘The Society of the Spectacle’ (which has the dubious merit of being approved by the author).’

POST-MODERN-SCRIPT: Fred and Judy Vermorel have a more intelligible, pop version of the Brit-Sit-split in ‘Sex Pistols: The Inside Story’, which goes: ‘In an idle moment, Chris boasted he could call on at least 30 trained and combat-hardened street fighters in the Ladbroke Grove area alone. Hearing of this exciting development, Guy Debord rushed across the Channel to inspect the troops. He was directed by an embarrassed Chris (from Cambridge Gardens?) to the home of one Dave Wise (All Saints?) and bursting in discovered Dave lying on a sofa watching ‘Match of the Day’ with a can of McEwan’s Special Export. Such idle truck with the State’s one-way communication system (ie. Dave’s 6 inch telly) annoyed Debord who became furious when Dave informed him that the guerrilla combat unit was him and his brother Stuart. Denouncing Dave’s modest library as ideologically suspect and throwing books all over Dave’s flat, Debord raged back to Paris. Chris Grey (sic) was duly expelled from the SI for the heinous crime of lying..’ However, Malcolm McLaren says: “I doubt he ever came, although in the late 1960s many people came from Paris acting all very Maoist and possessive. They would accuse you of running with situations which you weren’t necessarily part of. There was a sense of acute paranoia at that time. I always thought it was because everyone was taking a lot of drugs.”

1968

As the Viet Cong launch their Tet offensive, 'Black Mask' #9 comes out in New York, and Chris Gray returns to London, to form his 20th Century 'King Mob' group in Notting Hill. Appropriating the name from the Great London riots before the French revolution, to wind up Debord and co. As first explained by Dave and Stuart Wise in 'The End of Music (Punk, Reggae: A Critique)': 'The name King Mob itself came from the Gordon Riots in London in the late 18th century, when on the walls of the newly built gutted prison of Newgate the signatories of the insurgents, 'HIS MAJESTY, KING MOB' were placed.' (Not sure what they mean by this, possibly 'The Thunderer', or the cartoon slogan? But I think it has to be romantic nihilist poetic license, as there's no mention of graffiti or posters in Dickens, de Castro, or Hibbert, and, as Rude says, 'insurgents don't usually leave their names around.') In 'England's Dreaming' (Faber & Faber), Jon Savage has: 'King Mob took their name from Christopher Hibbert's 1958 book, then the only one available, on the Gordon Riots of June 1780, which John Nicholson calls the 'Great Liberty Riot' – the anarchic week that was akin to the French Revolution a few years later. In applauding this hidden moment of British history, the group were attempting to reemphasize a disordered, anarchic Britain that had previously been swept under the carpet. It was an attempt to give a specifically British context to the rumblings of discontent that, even before the events (of May '68), were growing louder.' In his 1977 'Free England' riot list, John Nicholson has 'King Mob of Georgian England.' Though Chris Gray now says 'the Gordon Riots link with the Sits is tenuous to say the least of it.' Fred Vermorel reckons Chris Gray's King Mob consists of around 60 loosely affiliated members, and first claims, 'if the Sex Pistols stemmed from the Situationist International, their particular twist of radical flash and burlesque rage was also mediated through a band of hooligan pedants based in the Notting Hill Gate area of London. This was King Mob.' 'The End of Music' elaborates that 'part of the genesis of punk goes back (16 years) to the English section of the Situationists and the subsequent King Mob – a loose affiliation (hardly a group) of disparate though confused revolutionary individuals in England in 1968. King Mob lauded and practised active nihilism. 'Revolutionaries, one more effort in order to be nihilists', but most of the active nihilism was directed against the pseudo-revolutionary pretensions of the extreme left of capital, and those who insisted on abiding by a straight job. A tremendous interest was shown in the praxis of deviants; psychotics, the mentally collapsed (it was somewhat hip to have been through a mental asylum) and petty crooks. The most deranged manifestations of hate against the present organisation of society were greeted with fascination. Jack the Ripper, John Christie ('CHRISTIE LIVES' slogan opposite former Rillington Place mews) and child killer Mary Bell. Look at the monstrosities produced by bourgeois society – isn't that enough to condemn the golden afternoon of hippy ideology? There was a greater emphasis on such horrific negatives than the revolutionary negative. Socialism or barbarism? Rosa Luxemburg's stark choice was giggled at – better barbarism. Better to be horrible than a pleasant altruistic hippy. As a kind of undialectical over-reaction to hippy, Chris Gray had the idea of creating a totally unpleasant pop group – those first imaginings which were later to fuse into the 'Sex Pistols' and a spoof, hip, in depth, sociological report of utter degeneration in the sub-cultural milieu to be published by Penguin books and then exposed for the farce it was.' Up until the 90s you could see 'CHRIS GRAY BAND' in standard 60s graffiti along Buckingham Palace Road, but, as far as anybody knows, the anti-Beatles idea doesn't get beyond the graffiti stage in the hands of Chris Gray.

FEBRUARY: The cover of 'IT' #26 is Vaneigem and Bertrand's 'In our Spectacular Society' cartoon-strip poster (for 'IS' #11), reputedly found flyposted outside the 'IT' office, at Indica / Endell Street, Covent Garden? A subsequent letter to 'IT' claims it for the SI. 'Watch out, you may find the kids stealing 'IT' too. Yours with fire and drums, the Random Banana.' The same issue also features Trocchi on his Anti-University project. 'IT' and 'Ink' editor, David Robins, goes on to share a house (Cambridge Gardens?) with Chris Gray, and contributes regular pro-situ articles to 'IT', throughout the rest of the hippy period. Over at 'Oz', the situationist influence comes through Jill Neville's friend, Angelo Quattrocchi. Dick Pountain: "We terrorised the early 'IT'. When they were still at the Indica bookshop one of the earliest King Mob / Situationist actions was going and breaking in there and scaring the wits out of them. Nothing violent, just language and posture and we stuck the Situationist poster up all over the place: a cartoon about the futility of politics and everyday life, a bit like the storyboard for a Godard movie. Our basic statement was that they were agents of the spectacle and they were all going to be co-opted. This was also the time when the graffiti started going up around Notting Hill. 'THE TIGERS OF WRATH ARE WISER THAN THE HORSES OF INSTRUCTION (BLAKE)', all those." (along with

'RENT REVOLT' and QPR graffiti on the corner of Basing Street, across Lancaster Road from Sarm West) Chris Gray's King Mob are also probably responsible for: Blake's 1793 'THE ROAD OF EXCESS LEADS TO THE PALACE OF WISDOM (changed to) WILLESDEN' – 'I DON'T BELIEVE IN NOTHING – I FEEL LIKE THEY OUGHT TO BURN DOWN THE WORLD – JUST LET IT BURN DOWN BABY' – Rebel Worker's 'MOLOTOV COCKTAILS OF FANTASTIC DESTRUCTION' (label?) – 'CRIME IS THE HIGHEST FORM OF SENSUALITY' – 'REVOLUTIONARIES ONE MORE EFFORT IN ORDER TO BE NIHILISTS' from de Sade – 'DADA IS EVERYWHERE' – 'GATECRASH YOUR OWN FANTASY' – Rimbaud's 'OH WE SHALL NEVER WORK, OH SEAS OF FIRE' – 'WORDS DO NOT MEAN ANYTHING TODAY' – the anti-Beatles 'ALL YOU NEED IS DYNAMITE' on Tavistock Road – 'DYNAMITE IS FREEDOM' – 'BURN IT ALL DOWN' – 'BELSEN LIVES' around Powis and Colville area – 'RELIGION = OPIUM' from Marx, on All Saints Church – 'ART COLLEGES ARE OPIUM PIMPS' on Chelsea College of Art, King's Road – 'ASSES, SWINE, HAVE LITTER SPREAD AND WITH FITTING FOOD ARE FED, ALL THINGS HAVE A HOME BUT ONE – THOU, OH ENGLISHMAN HAST NONE! (SHELLEY)' and most famous/effectively; 'one of the first': 'SAME THING DAY AFTER DAY – TUBE – WORK – DINER – WORK – TUBE – ARMCHAIR – TV – SLEEP – TUBE – WORK – HOW MUCH MORE CAN YOU TAKE – ONE IN TEN GO MAD – ONE IN FIVE CRACKS UP' alongside the Westway / tube-line at Westbourne Park (see Roger Perry's graffiti book 'The Writing On The Wall'). As auto-critiqued in 'Once Upon A Time There Was A Place Called Notting Hill Gate', by the Wise brothers, 'the delphic slogans which they spray-canned on the walls of the area pre-dated those in Paris '68 (they also continued after that) but rarely were as acute and definitely not as consequential. In fact the all-too-obvious flirtation with literature in these slogans was only too appealing to the local counter-cultural poets who just loved them. (Heathcote Williams, who's responsible for 'ENOCH POWELL IS VANESSA REDGRAVE IN DRAG' and 'PRINCESS ANNE IS ALREADY MARRIED TO VALERIE SINGLETON') Their merit lay in remaining anonymous. No one was quite sure who wrote what, nor was it done with an eye to promoting the group. In fact graffiti as promo was taken up several years later by groups like the Stones and others. While the honourable tradition of anonymity was continued in slogans like 'JOYLESS WORK CAUSES CANCER', 'WE TEACH ALL HEARTS TO BREAK' on school, etc. But their revolutionary core poetized though it often was, generally remained a dead letter in the area despite the fact that the anonymity and increased incidence of graffiti suggested otherwise.'

MARCH 17: '*Hey dig the time is right for violent revolution*': The day after the My Lai massacre, Mick Jagger comes up with the lyrics for 'Street Fighting Man' in Grosvenor Square, at the second Vietnam march on the US Embassy. Dick Pountain: 'We, the Situationists, actually had a presence on the march and made this huge banner that said 'Storm the Reality Studio and Retake the Universe' (from Burroughs). Yellow letters on blue... it was very professionally done. We joined the march amidst all these Trots, all chanting 'Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh!' and we were chanting 'Hot chocolate, drinking chocolate!' ("Days in the Life") While more pop critical skinheads chant 'Students Students Ha ha ha'. APRIL: 'KING MOB ECHO': The nearest Chris Gray's mag gets to the original King Mob is Interregnum riots mention; but, as it comes out, it's all going off. American cities are burning once more, after the Martin Luther King assassination; in Germany, there's the 'Burn Warehouse Burn' Baader/Ensslin firebombings; and here, Enoch Powell (as Lord George) makes his inflammatory 'Rivers of Blood' speech. 'King Mob Echo' also coincides with the last 'Black Mask' #10 (featuring the Wise brothers on Berlin Dada), as the group transform into 'Up Against The Wall, Motherfucker (and into the Trashcan)', during New York garbage strike. The Motherfuckers magazine features the 'MOB LAW' skeleton, with 'PARIS BURNS. HENRY RETURNS. TONITE ST. MARX PLACE'; while their flyers include 'Affinity Group = Streetgang With An Analysis'; Ben Morea bulletin about his trial in Boston, for stabbing a serviceman; and 'Self Defense', featuring Geronimo and pistol graphics, with 'WE'RE LOOKING FOR PEOPLE WHO LIKE TO DRAW' slogan (detourning Norman Rockwell mail-order diploma advert from Sid Vicious's favourite, 'Marvel Comics') – which is the closest I can get to confirming the Vermorels; 'the name 'Sex Pistols' was originally that of a New York streetgang in the mid 70s.' 'KING MOB' #2 1/2, LAMF Molotov label / poster, duly echoes 'UP AGAINST THE WALL MOTHERFUCKER – REICH, GERONIMO, DADA: AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARIES WITH A MESSAGE FOR ENGLAND – WE'RE LOOKING FOR PEOPLE WHO LIKE TO DRAW'; amidst blood-splattered pistols graphics. Though, it has to be said, the Motherfuckers 'Armed Love' propaganda is mostly in a decidedly mystical, hippy style. In the 'Penguin Book of Political Comics', Steef Davidson says, 'perhaps the most important thing

about the Motherfuckers was that they used a new language – a colloquial, everyday language – and took a stand against the worn-out jargon of intellectual activists.’ As Black Panther leader, Eldridge Cleaver, chooses a Motherfucker as his presidential running-mate, the White Panthers Party form, out of the Detroit Artists Workshop. Inspired by the Black Panthers / Mask / Motherfuckers, they take the ‘Armed Love’ message to high school kids, via the ‘5th Estate’ and ‘Ann Arbor Argos’ underground papers, and the MC5; who are managed by White Panther leader John Sinclair. At the ‘68 Chicago Democratic Convention, the MC5 wear American flags and shout revolutionary slogans / profanities at an anti-Vietnam war gig, thus getting themselves signed to Electra. While the more seriously pro-situ, Point Blank group put out ‘The San Francisco Earthquake’, with point blank pistol cover; taking their name from John Boorman and Lee Marvin’s ‘67 Summer of Hate, classic nihilist movie.

EARLY MAY: ‘IT’ #30, Notting Hill ‘Interzone’ issue, features King Mob graffiti ‘A GRIEF WITHOUT A PANG, VOID, DARK, DREAR, A STIFLED, DROWSY UNIMPASSIONED GREIF (sic); ‘lines from Coleridge’s ‘Ode to Dejection’ graffitied on a wall in Moorhouse Road W11, already contained the seeds of a passage back into rural romanticism.’ (‘End of Music’) Along with ‘HASHISH IS THE OPIUM OF THE PEOPLE’ by St. Michael & All Angels Catholic church, which is painted over and replaced with ‘LOOK THE WALL IS WHITE AGAIN’, according to Michael Horowitz. ‘IT’ #30 also contains an article about the Wise brothers Black Hand Gang, in Newcastle ‘anti-art city’. ‘Black Hand Gang’ / ‘La Mano Negra’ is originally the name of Andalucian anarchist secret societies, behind 1880s rural revolutionary aggro; revived by Durruti in the Spanish Civil War. The name is also applied to revolutionary nationalist Serbs, who assassinate Archduke Franz Ferdinand and start World War 1, and possibly Jill Dando?; and Italian New York criminal societies, involved in white slave trade scares, who also become known as ‘the Mob’. While the May ‘68 ‘Hustler’, black underground paper, features ‘BELSEN LIVES’ and ‘DYNAMITE IS FREEDOM’ King Mob graffiti, with articles on ‘Demonstration Gear’, and guerrilla theatre in St. Stephen’s Gardens. The ‘68 Situationist influence in the UK is described thus, by Nigel Fountain in ‘Underground’: ‘Once there had just been Trocchi drawing on the group’s ideas... Now they were seeping into the consciousness of people within a milieu which, rejecting straight left politics, was searching for a route out of the hippy enclave at a time when the political temperature was rising. It was an appealing image, and an appealing movement for radicals hunting their red snark, and tired of waiting for Godot. It promised involvement, rationalised non-organisation, it dramatised outcast status, and offered the possibility of action, and, as the next decade opened provided it for a few.’ According to the Wise brothers, “Never Work’ as practised by the English Situationist elite was merely an extension of class privilege and moneys from rich parents. Money from the fruits of exploitation gave them space to look ultra radical.’ According to Malcolm McLaren, Chris Gray and co are the 1968 equivalent of 1780 ‘well dressed men’. “They first came to my attention when I was an art student. They used to hand out issues of the ‘King Mob Echo’ at Vietnam demonstrations, marches, where there used to be such a motley crew of students but there was always this set that seemed to be so much better dressed than all the others and they became known as the English Situationists and later King Mob. (laughs) In demonstrations they definitely stood out as the Dandies of the revolution. I used to buy their pamphlets and copies of the ‘Internationale Situationiste’ at Compendium bookshop in Camden. They were often sold underneath the counter in brown paper bags in a very clandestine manner... but what was even funnier was that as you got to know the people responsible for King Mob, Chris Gray or the Wise brothers, you discovered that they were all art lecturers. That was the weird thing, you thought to yourself, ‘Jesus, I’ve never met art lecturers like this!’... I only discovered that they’d been kicked out of the SI later. Look at Alex Trocchi, he was once a close friend of Debord, Burroughs too. Eventually all the members of the SI got expelled for one reason or another... The Dadaists, the Surrealists, the Lettrists... in the end there was only Debord left.” (May 68/98) ‘Dazed & Confused’: “So why did King Mob get expelled? Something to do with them not getting their psychogeography reports in on time?” Malcolm: (laughs) “Or because they took drugs, they were banned in the SI at the time. But at the time Chris Gray was an essential figure, a guiding force for all types of things...” In the wake of the May events in Paris, the most famous Paris-style occupations are of art colleges, most notably, Hornsey and Guildford. Malcolm does his bit at Croydon Art School, organising a sit-in with City journalist’s son, Jamie Reid. As a result of which, Croydon board of governors reputedly try to get Malcolm committed to an insane asylum. Also like Lord George Gordon, Malcolm McLaren and Jamie Reid are both born in London and, in reverse, Jewish Londoner Malcolm adopts his Scottish surname.

JUNE: King Mob and The Black Hand Gang celebrate the shooting of Andy Warhol by Valerie Solanas, of 'Society for Cutting Up Men' 'SCUM Manifesto' fame (still available on Dark Star) – two days before the RFK assassination – with 'DEATH OF ART' original Brit-Pop-ery celebrity hit-list / flyer (including Motherfuckers 'RAT' letter extract); and a street festival in Powis Square. As portrayed in Mary Harron's film, 'I Shot Andy Warhol' (1996), Valerie (played by Lili Taylor) also goes after Maurice Girodias and hooks up with the Motherfuckers, posing with guns to the MC5's 'Kick Out the Jams', in front of 'We're Looking for People who like to Draw' poster. According to 'The End of Music', other such romantic nihilist ideas are 'mooted in '68, which were sufficiently tasteless to horrify the prevalent hippy ideology and its older more conservative forms – romantic English pantheism. For instance, the dynamiting of a waterfall in the English lake district was suggested, with a message sprayed on a rock: 'PEACE IN VIETNAM' – not because there was a deep going interest in the war like there was in the US but because the comment was an absurdist response to ruralism and the revolution had to be aggressively urban. There was a suggestion to blow up Wordsworth's house in Ambleside, alongside the delphic comment: 'COLERIDGE LIVES'. Inevitably ideas for action, produced the psychotic suggestion also: hanging the peacocks in Holland Park. That much beloved brilliantly plumed bird of the aristocracy (largely nationalised), hanging on a rope, in front of a huge graffiti, 'PEACOCKS IS DEAD'. But the detournement of this physically maimed, active nihilist critique was to be found within itself – that of a tranquillising agency. Laughing at the nature mystique was combined with a love for it... Even rain on a window pane was fetishised as conceptual art. In terms of revolutionary critique however, no sound basis was there and neither did one gradually unfold. History was too frowned upon and the spontaneous act was sufficient in itself... On the one hand, 'King Mob' applauded uncritically the Black riots and the activities of the Motherfuckers in the USA, while on the other hand, opportunistically collaborated with a whole consortium of Trotskyists and Maoists (Maoist spontaneists) under the umbrella of the Vietnam Solidarity Committee. The actions could have (and did have) reformist conclusions. Powis Square in Notting Hill was aggressively opened up as a children's playground, really a kind of King Mob guerrilla theatre, bringing imagination to the assistance of social democracy. Such activity was well recuperated in advance supplying the muscle against the cops for the benefit of the Labour left and also providing a cunning debut for the future career of Adventure Playground leader. In themselves, Adventure Playgrounds limit and contain a youthful sense of play (as vandalism or whatever) to an area designated by the social worker-cum-artist under the guidance and money of local councils and charities. (From a critic of the original text: administered imagination – firmly suppressed when the kids gets older.) Dave Wise wears a gorilla suit for their proto-Carnival, King Mob guerrilla theatre, while Chris Gray recalls; 'KING MOB 2 was going to be a bottle of beer – King Mob 2 was the label – given out free to fuel Notting Hill demos, but when we were busted the police found all these bottles and I, thinking we'd get framed up for Molotovs, panicked and threw them all away.'

JULY: As the Homsey Art College student revolt comes to a suitably 1848 / 1968 Chartist conclusion, Fred Vermorel returns from Paris (where he's studying at the Sorbonne in May), to form links with Chris Gray's King Mob, through the art lecturer, Henry Adler. Then Fred receives a letter from Malcolm about his arty trip to the unrevolutionary south of France. Though Malcolm does stop off in Paris on the way back, then he attends South African Embassy molotov attack, and presents James Baldwin at Angela Davis Defence Committee meeting, as 'the black Billy Graham'. While Decca ban the Stones toilet graffiti sleeve for 'Beggars Banquet', which is influenced by King Mob, via Mick's brother Chris.

AUGUST – NOVEMBER: Donald Cammell and Nic Roeg film 'Performance', using 25 Powis Square for Mick Jagger / 'Turner's House', and the actual square for 'bohemian atmosphere'; as the Powis Square 6 are summonsed for causing 'malicious damage'. 'POWIS (WENCESLAS SQUARE) IN NOTTING HELL FOR THE DEVILS PARTY' flyer appears in 'IT' #41, as the Russians go into Prague, occasioning another Notting Hill Gate demo, outside the Czech Embassy. The Notting Hill Community Campaign Appeal is launched from 122 'Ladbroke Grove' by Allan Green, who also acts as Chris Gray / SI intermediary. While the Doors play the Isle of Wight Festival, Jefferson Airplane do Parliament Hill Fields free gig, and the Doors and the Plane play the Roundhouse, marking the end of high-psychedelia, UFO club scene. Back across the pond, the Motherfuckers disrupt Fillmore East Living Theatre gig, and clash with Bill Graham over free nights for head community activities. At the Mexico Olympics athletes make Black Power salutes, and Che Guevara is killed in Bolivia. Then nothing much happens at another Vietnam Grosvenor Square demo, meant to set off London events, including the

storming of the BBC, MOD, and Stock Exchange. Malcolm McLaren says, "King Mob printed all these posters for a Vietnam demonstration. We all went around flyposting London with this image of a girl's crotch and the slogan over the top of it that announced; 'Keep the Dialectic Open'."

OCTOBER: At the time of the latest LSE occupation, 'IT' #42 plugs King Mob 'ARTS SCHOOLS ARE DEAD' flyer, as 'an anti-culture manifesto, brought in by someone the other day, is probably still available from KING MOB, the international situationists. The 4 page manifesto promotes the use of humour, aggression and total subversion in the destruction of culture – 'art's final masterpiece will be its own destruction' (Soffici)'; along with Motherfuckers Freestore and Valerie Solanas New York article. Outside Goldsmiths Art College, in Lewisham, Fred Vermorel shows Malcolm McLaren copies of the 'IS'; Fred also says he writes to the SI Paris postbox, and receives a visit from an SI representative (possibly because of his Communard ancestry). Jamie Reid goes to Paris in later '68. At Cambridge University, the pro-situ (non-Angry Brigade) Kim Philby Dining Club is formed, while according to 'The Student Revolt', Essex University 'situationists' (Anna Mendelson and Hilary Creek?) acquire 'a prestige that enabled them to cast their stamp on the future development of the Essex left.'

NOVEMBER: As 'KING MOB TWO LETTERS ON STUDENT POWER: Supplement to King Mob Echo' comes out, Charlie Radcliffe forms a new partnership, with Howard Marks. As described by David Leigh, in his Marks manifesto, 'High Time' (Unwin). 'Through Graham Plinston, now allowed back to Oxford to finish his degree, he met skinny, blonde Charlie Radcliffe: 'Would you believe Charles Jeremy St John Radcliffe? I'm a descendant of Nell Gwynne. The family's got lots of land in Hampshire. Harold Macmillan comes down to fish.' 'Do you want to do some dope?' 'Sure do. I'm in left-wing publishing. Work at Robert Maxwell's place, Pergamon Press. But I'm down in London a lot. Committee of 100. Here, look at this.' He showed Howard a dollar bill, quite reasonably forged, with the legend 'In God We Trust' changed to 'Stop the Torture in Vietnam'.' Which, by my reckoning, makes Charlie Radcliffe a descendant of one of Charles II's other mistresses, Moll Davies. Her grandson, Charles Ratcliffe / Radclyffe makes a similar sort of impact on the 18th century, to his namesake's on the 20th. As a bastard Stuart off-spring, he's out in the '15', Old Pretender Rebellion. Duly convicted of High Treason, he makes a dashing escape from Newgate, to join the Jacobite court in St. Germain. Arthur Griffiths' 'Newgate Chronicles' has; 'the most important and about the last of the rebel escapes was that of Mr. Ratcliffe.' In France he becomes personal secretary to his cousin, Bonnie Prince Charlie, and founds continental freemasonry, the Situationism of the day. According to 'The Holy Blood and the Holy Grail', he's also a Grand Master of the Priory of Sion. But then he's recaptured, en route to join the Young Pretender at Culloden, and goes for the chop in high papist style, on Tower Hill.

DECEMBER 20-25: The 'King Mob Maker', Richard Neville, editor of 'Oz', recalls at the beginning of his '70 hippy manifesto, 'Playpower' (Cape/Paladin), how King Mob (inspired by Black Mask's '67 'Mill-in at Macy's') 'swept into Selfridges one Christmas with their key man dressed as Santa Claus. 'Free presents' were pressed into surprised but eager hands. Not long afterwards, shoppers were treated to the spectacle of police confiscating toys from small children, and arresting Santa Claus.' Accompanied by 'IT WAS MEANT TO BE GREAT BUT IT'S HORRIBLE' flyer. Malcolm McLaren claims in 'England's Dreaming': "We were handing out the toys and the kids were running off. The store detectives and the police started to pounce: I ran off into the lift. There's just me and this old lady: the doors start to open and I can just see all these police. I grab the old lady really tight and walk through like I'm helping her. As soon as I got out of the store, I belted out of there." But, after his re-enactment in 'Ghosts of Oxford Street', he now admits: "That was organised by Christopher Gray and the Wise twins were involved as well. I never actually went to it but I heard of it. In those days nobody would tell you how things were going to work. There was all this rumour and hype. So, no, I was never involved as such."

DECEMBER 26: The Fairytale of New York continues, with more Motherfucking trouble at Fillmore East. After the MC5 play, the audience proceed to kick out the jams. As recounted by Fillmore East manager, Kip Cohen. 'They were banging on the MC5's equipment and broke a drumhead. The MC5 split in a limousine rented by Elektra to Max's Kansas City for dinner, a not-too-unusual move for a rock group under any circumstances. It was not received too well. A Motherfucker at the mike made a public announcement about what the group was doing, a crowd swarmed outside, pulled them out of their car, messed them up a bit, threw their records at them, came back in, and announced to the crowd that they had been betrayed by phonies.' Bill Graham also puts on the last Sex Pistols gig at San Francisco Winterland, and appears in 'Apocalypse Now' as r'n'r comper, before dying in chopper crash in '91.



**1969**

**JANUARY 27:** University of London Union, Malet Street WCI: 'ULU IS OCCUPIED: The University of London Union is now liberated territory occupied by revolutionaries. The buildings are yours to use as you want. It can be turned into a permanent base for agitation in the London area. The facilities can be used by anyone joining us. We are using the duplication facilities in the Union office on the ground floor, and they can be used by anyone who wishes to circulate any kind of document. There is no control over free expression. This goes for the rest of the building – so far only partly explored. The only thing which needs to be organised in common is defence and basic survival – food and sleep. Inside the building, we are all responsible for resisting any bureaucratic organisation of activities: discussion, decoration, planning for agitation, music. Remember there is a swimming pool. If anyone tells you what to do, report them to the security committee. IT IS FORBIDDEN TO FORBID. EVERYTHING IS PERMITTED. The Security Committee.' Amongst those answering the radical call to occupy ULU, as students are locked out of the LSE, is Malcolm Edwards / McLaren: "When we took over the ULU building, Chris Gray and the Situationist mob decided that the only interesting part of the student union was the kitchen, which they took over immediately and rifled the fridge. He just thought it was fantastic that he could fry all these steaks simultaneously. I remember them all cooking and thinking this was brilliant. They could have started their own restaurant right there down in the basement of the student union building." (laughs)

Dick Pountain, in 'Days in the Life': "When King Mob was going at full blast, after the LSE sit-in there was a sit-in at the University of London Union and we got involved in that. It lasted several days. Everyone was sleeping on the floor and all that. The New Left crowd tried to run it. We gave Robin Blackburn a really bad time, howled him down, told him he was a wanker. They were very worried that we might damage things – don't scratch the paintwork – so a bunch of people went and bust open the swimming pool and had this huge swimming party. The whole thing was very fraught because you'd got this mass of students, the New Left people telling them to be serious and responsible, and King Mob telling them to get their rocks off, let it all hang out, etc. It was very iffy, because the great mass in the middle were swaying both ways. Only a minority supported us; the majority wanted to be quiet and respectable, but these two guys came out of the crowd and joined in with us and said, 'We're with you.' They were a couple of art students from Goldsmith's and one was called Fred Vermorel and the other was called Malcolm Edwards. They both had long, dirty khaki macs, a couple of impoverished art students. And of course Malcolm went on to finer things and became Malcolm McLaren, and in a lot of ways the whole Sex Pistols scam was the putting into practice of a lot of Situationist theories. It was a betrayal of it in the sense that it became part of the 'Spectacle', but he did really shock the bourgeoisie of the whole country, which is something that King Mob never did."

Glen Matlock, in 'I was a Teenage Sex Pistol' by Pete Silvertown (Omnibus): 'I came across a dog-eared treatise on the 1968 student uprisings, in particular the LSE sit-in. One day I was browsing through it in the shop. Malcolm saw me and said, hey, what are you reading, boy? I showed him. He smiled. Oh, he said pretty casually, I'm in that. He wouldn't say anymore. I had to find out for myself. I read on paying great attention, trying to find out what he meant. The only passage I could find which could have referred to him was a section describing whether to break down a pair of iron gates which led to the bursar's office. The idea was they were after the records which the college held on all students. They couldn't come to a decision so they put it to the vote when – as the book put it – a pair of bearded anarchists, one with flame red hair, appeared out of nowhere and took their decision for them, smashing down the gates with sledgehammers. Malcolm and his old friend Jamie Reid?..'

Robin Blackburn, in 'Days in the Life': "I was a lecturer at the LSE from 1967. Partly because of the occupation of the college in '67 the authorities decided that college shouldn't be used to assist things like the VSC and should never again be open to things like being seized by the students. They put steel gates and grilles in strategic places throughout the corridors and staircases of the university. The Students Union decided to ask the authorities to take them down, which of course they refused to do. Eventually the radical group in the Students Union got a vote that the students themselves should directly tear down the gates, which they did, with the help of some building workers who were building the Barbican and with whom they had been involved. There had been a strike and people from the Socialist Society had been helping them picket and leaflet and so forth. So when the gates had to be taken down they were able to get a couple of building workers in who had the right equipment. I had actually had nothing to do with the decision to remove the gates but I did come out in public, and the

papers quoted me afterwards, saying that they'd done the right thing. So the university authorities decided to give me the sack. That caused more reaction from the students and actually by this time the LSE had been closed down – there was a lockout of the students and the staff. During these occupations I did try to keep teaching. We did courses on the sociology of revolution, that type of thing.” Dave Robins (who quotes the Black Hand Gang in 'IT' #47): “Before they could do anything the director, (Ralf) Dahrendorf, had these security gates built so you couldn't get into the library. They'd just been installed and the Trotskyists were talking about sitting down in front of the gates and standing in pickets and walking around saying 'No gates' and the anarchists listened to this meeting which was going on and on. Robin Blackburn of the International Millionaires Group: 'We think, comrades, that what we should do is blah, blah, blah...' Then Duffy Power got up, pissed out of his mind, and shouted, 'We're the International Mine's a Pint Committee and this over here is my friend from the Black Hand Gang and we think we should fuck the gates and take them away and burn them.' And they got screwdrivers and they went up and stole the gates.” According to Vermorel, Dave and Stewart Wise 'supplied the muscle (and 2 sledge-hammers) to despatch the infamous LSE 'gates' which the authorities had erected throughout the college to restrict access.' King Mob and The Black Hand Gang (Chris Gray and the Wise brothers) subsequently put out 'Comrades Stop Bugging About' LSE poster mag (KING MOB 4?), including: 'THIS IS YOUR BUILDING. GO WHERE YOU WANT. TELL YOUR SECURITY GUARD TO FUCK OFF!'; 'furtively taken down by the security guards... The LSE, like all other occupations so far, was a mere introjection of the bourgeois order. What do we want: all the shit of bourgeois society?' Fred Vermorel, in 'Fashion & Perversity: A Life Of Vivienne Westwood and the Sixties Laid Bare' (Bloomsbury): 'I'm in a pub with members of King Mob. We've been assisting in an occupation of the LSE. Over a lunchtime pint we are devising projects to unsettle the revolutionary consensus. Someone suggests setting fire to some rare maps in the library. Destroying culture, that should break their student hearts. Suddenly Malcolm turns up. He is breathless, gushing. Ignoring the King Mobbers (this is the first time they meet him), he chatters at me that he's just come from the National Gallery. He went to reassess Van Gogh... My revolutionary colleagues gaze at this red-haired aesthete bemusedly. There is a rather prolonged pause while Malcolm notices and takes them all in, looking them up and down. They return the inspection. Could he perhaps be a police informer? Then someone asks: "Fancy a pint?" Malcolm settles for an orange juice.' Vermorel describes the Wise brothers as 'stocky northerners and both art college lecturers... These were mostly highly educated people. Dave Wise could argue persuasively about the critique of modern art implicit in the aesthetic of the British Romantics. Or discourse learnedly on the subversive aspects of William Blake's poetry.' While the Wise brothers describe Malcolm as 'friendly with individuals versed in the situationist critique in England, and had picked up some of the slogans and attitudes of the milieu.' 'Fashion & Perversity' also contains stories of McLaren meeting Trocchi, through Henry Adler – as Trocchi is recruiting LSE students for Project Sigma – during which Malcolm steals Trocchi porno books; and 'a comical argument between Chris Gray and the silver haired Marxist Robin Blackburn, with Malcolm supplying a kind of demented Greek chorus of insults, over someone having broken into the canteen and eating all the grub. Was this a revolutionary act? We never decided. But the pies were tasty.' Chris Gray remembers Malcolm as "just a wide-eyed art student – he wasn't very involved." Though he adds, to Jon Savage in 'England's Dreaming'; "The spirit is more important than the facts." Malcolm now says of the Chris Gray organisation: "I have to say in those days I was really impressed by them. They were so much older than I was and they just had a better line of rhetoric. I was excited by what they represented but didn't fully understand what it was all about. It was a new way of looking at the world. You would grab whatever bits you could, like crumbs falling off a table. King Mob were a direct link with the things we were reading at that time. For us the Situationists were revolutionary artists. That's what they represented." Still in a restaurant vein, Malcolm recalls the Wise brothers choosing a Wimpy Bar on the Harrow Road (Ladbroke Grove according to Vermorel), 'as a symbol of the theme park of consumerism and the dumbing down of food. They decided that they would break the windows of this Wimpy Bar every week. It got so bad that the attacks were eventually printed in the Notting Hill Journal but no one ever discovered who was responsible. They were wonderful the Wise twins, very clever. I'd listen to them in Hyde Park during demonstrations and they would say that they were setting up interviews with Brigitte Bardot and John Wayne. I'd say to myself; 'Wow, that's amazing, how are you doing that then?' but it was just their use of comic imagery. They would take Brigitte Bardot and put her with John Wayne

and create a dialogue between the two and then print the interviews as if they were real. Totally in tune with Guy Debord and the other situationists in Paris. That was very much the work of the Wise brothers.” According to ‘BAMN’, it’s an English adaptation of a French Situationist-inspired text, which first appears in ‘The Bash Street School Magazine #1’ poster / broadsheet. (In Iwona Blazwick’s ICA / Verso ‘Situationist Scrapbook’, it’s credited to Ron Hunt and Chris MacConway, from ‘68 ‘Klept’ mag.)

MAY: ‘KING MOB 3’: Black Mask / Up Against The Wall Motherfucker UK comes out, advertised in ‘IT’ #56 thus: ‘Browned off with the English so-called revolutionary scene? Read about the Motherfuckers, Black Mask and other American gangs in King Mob.’ Around the same time, David Mairowitz’s ‘Some of IT’ features King Mob graffiti, SI comic strip, and Trocchi anti-university article, in silver foil ‘IS’ influenced cover; and ‘SMASHIT’ comic poster is credited to King Mob in the Penguin comic book.

JUNE / JULY: *Something in the Air*: At the time of Apollo 11 Moonshot, and Stones Hyde Park bash (where Jagger reads Shelley after death of Brian Jones), Malcolm McLaren organises a free festival / occupation of Goldsmith’s College of Art. With R.D. Laing, William Burroughs, Alex Trocchi, Michael X, Pretty Things, Deviants, and the Stones pencilled in. None of whom turn up, and proceedings develop into a mini-riot, encouraged by Malcolm distributing student union cards. There’s also a teds riot at the Albert Hall Who / Chuck Berry gig. Malcolm proceeds to marry a Turkish girl for £50 (so she can stay in the country), while Viv Westwood sells jewellery on Portobello. Then he starts his ‘History of Oxford Street’ psycho-geography film, with the painter Patrick Casey, and Helen Mininberg (later Wallington / Wellington-Lloyd / ‘of Troy’). The film starts out as a fairly standard sounding, Debordist consumer society critique. As detailed in ‘England’s Dreaming’, ‘many of the shots concentrate on the zoning of the street, itself offering ‘no relaxation, geared totally to work and consumption’; the quick erection over the weekend of ‘new’ facades; the quick-turnover nature of the design itself, displayed in the Wimpy Bars where the seats and the lighting are ergonomically shaped to make the customer leave quickly.’

AUGUST: *Getting it straight in Notting Hill Gate*: For the Death of Hippy, post Manson murders, 1969 Notting Hill Carnival, King Mob present ‘Miss Notting Hill 69’ float, featuring a girl with a massive syringe attached to her arm. ‘A comment on the fact that there was junk and junk, the hard stuff, or the heroin of mindless routine and consumption,’ according to the Wise brothers. While a former King Mob activist calling himself ‘Ezra Pence’, recalls in Jonathon Green’s ‘Days in the Life’ / ‘All Dressed Up’ (Jonathan Cape): “We had this idea to make funds by making drugs. I made a bunch of this drug called PMA, which at the time wasn’t illegal. Its real name was Paramythoxyamphetamine: based on essence of aniseed. It was totally disastrous because nobody liked it except us. It was sort of like psychedelic methedrine – I’m not even sure that Ecstasy isn’t the same thing, rediscovered 15 years later. Very, very speedy... As a money-making scam it was a total waste of time, we never sold any of it at all. We took it all ourselves and got well crazy on it. It made you into a Viking berserker. We were roaming around mountains wild-eyed. When you actually shot it up the rush made everything go black and white and the sky went like the set for a Wagner opera and you had this certainty that you were about to die but you didn’t care. This didn’t exactly endear it to the punters in Notting Hill Gate.”

SEPTEMBER: King Mob also have some involvement with the London Street Commune 144 Piccadilly squat, providing hells angel muscle and Gordon riots spin. Fred Vermorel recounts in his Pistols book how LSC leader Phil Cohen, otherwise known as ‘Dr John’, ‘once tricked the ‘Evening Standard’ and ‘Evening News’ into simultaneously announcing in front page banner headlines a ‘truce’ between skinheads and rockers. This resulted in the West End being invaded that evening by several thousand excited skinheads who had to be driven back east by a bewildered police force.’ In his Viv Westwood book, Fred elaborates: ‘Associated with (King Mob) was a former criminology student from Cambridge who made his living stealing typewriters from solicitors’ offices in Holborn. This person was the brains behind the idea of infiltrating what later became known as teenage ‘subcultures’, the idea being to channel their frustrations to revolutionary ends. For example, he stirred up the beatniks then hanging around Piccadilly Circus into occupying a cafe from which they’d been banned. Then he helped organise a hippie squat in Piccadilly. While this was going on he duped the media, saying he’d arranged a ‘truce’ between hippies and their natural enemies, the skinheads. These rebels would all now join in a crusade ‘against society’. The result of this nonsense was that several thousand skinheads invaded the West End looking for a riot. The police spent the evening chasing booted and braced 10 to 15 year olds around Shaftesbury Avenue, eventually herding them back East.’ The nearest Chris Gray’s King Mob gets to realising a skinheads echo of the Gordon riots apprentices?

OCTOBER: The 'IT' office in Endell Street (near Bow Street Gordon riot target) is occupied by the London Street Commune, backed up by hells angels; let in by Miles's radical secretary, Sarah Pouliakakou. Miles says in 'Days in the Life': "At this stage 'IT' began to get invaded by various people of various ideologies. The LSC tried to take over, there was Chris Gray of the Situationists...The LSC takeover had to be repelled: it was just a bunch of Hell's Angels who were destroying everything and cost 'IT' £3,000." Apart from 'IT', and Wimpy bars, the main 20th century King Mob target is art galleries, where 'the work of lickarse artists' is detoured / vandalised. The Wise brothers' 'End of Music' critique of Chris Gray / themselves concludes: 'King Mob's hysterical over emphasis (without adequate explanation) of violence, whether Futurist, or contemporary hooligan outbursts, played into the hands of a charismatic romanticism of deeds, which mistakenly equated genuine theoretical development with the dead hand of academia. Without such a distinction the way was open for the grotesque return of English philistinism and the renewed acceptance of the university salon. It was energy itself that was needed, an excess of energy which fostered an apocalyptic fear of the imposed extending passivity; the big sleep; the hunkering down under; the steady job. Fear too, that this fate lay around the corner for each individual who wasn't seen to be radiating personal energy. Do something: it didn't matter that you carried Vaneigem in one pocket, while the other contained a manual on the 'new' participatory social democracy. (Peoples Associations, Law Centres, Neighbourhood 'soviets' in twilight areas, even with a 'militant' market research con for finding out 'the wishes of the people'.)

NOVEMBER: Charlie Radcliffe is credited as the 'official political advisor' of the Jefferson Airplane, who have the Motherfuckers 'WE ARE EVERYTHING THEY SAY WE ARE AND WE ARE PROUD OF IT. WE ARE OBSCENE LAWLESS HIDEOUS DANGEROUS DIRTY VIOLENT AND YOUNG', 'BAMN' manifesto on their 'Volunteers' LP. Frank Zappa is heckled off stage at the LSE, and Newcastle, by shouts of 'Up against the wall, Mothers!' While, according to 'The End of Music', 'a number of pro-situ hung for awhile expectantly around Max's Kansas City' Velvet Underground gigs. As the Situationist International actually internationalises, into French, Italian, Scandinavian (JV Martin), and American Sections, at the last conference in Venice. The latter, consisting of Chasse, Elwell, Jon Horelick, and Verlaan, last till January '70 exclusion for Chasse and Elwell, and December '70 scission for Horelick and Verlaan. 'The Latest Exclusions' in the last 'IS' #12 (with Khayati, Riesel, Sebastiani, Vaneigem, Vienet editorial team) concludes on the English Section: 'Gray has since published a rag called 'King Mob' which passes, quite wrongly, for being slightly pro-situationist, in which one can read eulogies to the eternal Morea. Since Morea is all that Gray has left, Gray and his acolytes have gone so far as to conceal certain of Morea's current writings that would be too embarrassing to reveal to the people in their entourage who they want to continue to respect their idol. And they advance the amusing argument that Morea supposedly had the merit of transferring certain radical positions 'from the situationist salon' to street fighting – they say this a year after the occupations movement! Gray also tried to reestablish contact with us, but surreptitiously, through the intermediary of a certain Allan Green, who pretended not to know him but was unmasked at the second meeting. Fine work, and as cleverly conducted as might have been expected! The 'unique' Garnautins must be turning in their university graves in envy of such a worthy successor. It will be noted that for nearly 2 years there have been no other exclusions. We must admit that this notable success is not entirely due to the real elevation of consciousness and coherent radicality of individuals in the present revolutionary period. It is also due to the fact that the SI, applying with increasing rigor its previous decisions on the preliminary examination of those wanting to join it, has during the same period refused some 50 or 60 requests for admission: which has spared us an equal number of exclusions.' With Chris Gray 'shipwrecked in India', the Wise brothers' contribute Black Hand Gang anti-pop star / mystic diatribe to 'Hapt' (Diggers mag, Manchester edition), heralding 'THE RETURN OF GERONIMO / THE HASHISHINS / THE RANTERS / BONNOT / VILLA RIDES AGAIN!' While the Oxford Motherfuckers put out 'The Oxford Wall' mag, 'with the assistance of King Mob', declaring: 'This will certainly be the last year of Situationism in Great Britain, since Situationism no more than Flower Power can hope to survive its own trendiness... There'll be ghettos of Motherfuckers, King Mobsters, Werewolves... Then, when the Press has started beaming, when Situationist musicals have been performed to packed houses, when soft drinks have been advertised with the slogan 'Up against the wall, mother-fuckers', Situationism will become a mere craze for practical jokes, and will quickly die.' John Barker tells the Birmingham 'Radical Arts' mag: 'We contemplate other people destroying the environment we want to destroy.'

**1970**

**JANUARY:** *Hey dig, the time is right for violent revolution*, again. John Barker, a situationist-inspired Cambridge drop-out, moves into 25 Powis Square (Mick Jagger / 'Turner's House' in 'Performance'; in a '68 demo photo Barker looks not dissimilar to James Fox, after Anita Pallenberg's hippy makeover). Dick Pountain: "While I was away in America a whole load of new people had appeared, attracted by the first wave of King Mob Situationist literature. A lot of people from Essex and Cambridge saw King Mob and came to Notting Hill to seek out these people who did it. These were people like John Barker, Jim Greenfield and so on. When I came back from America they were all there. They were several years younger and they were still at university, or just out of university, and they were fresh to the scene. They were definitely a second generation and they didn't settle in Notting Hill, which they felt was too hippie and too compromised. They moved into the East End and later Stoke Newington. I sussed half way through '71 that they were actually doing it." Meanwhile, Mick Jagger and Jann Wenner pull the plug on 'Rolling Stone UK', and Alan Marcuson's 'Friends of Rolling Stone' set up shop at 286 Portobello Road. As recounted in 'High Time', 'Charlie was not only a revolutionary, but a writer. He had connections with the 'Underground Press', then spawning sheets all over London of anarchistic sentiment and even wilder graphics... The underground magazine for which Charlie Radcliffe wrote was called 'Friends'. He shared the Belsize Park flat of its editor and financier, another expatriate (after Neville), the young South African Alan Marcuson. Marcuson ran it out of chaotic offices at the north end – the sleaziest, blackest, most druggy end of the Portobello Road. Marcuson dealt some of Charlie's dope for him and quietly kept 'Friends' afloat with the cash – his lean, bearded figure was occasionally to be seen in the (Westbourne Green) Warwick Castle. Could the 'Friends' connection rescue the Plinston organisation from the doldrums? It was in the end to send them plunging off on one of the biggest and most extraordinary secret smuggling adventures of the 1970s.' The hippy proto-McLaren, Marcuson says in 'Days In The Life': "The Situationists were the first people ever to provide me with a rational explanation of our irresponsible behaviour and urges and to see everything, absolutely everything, in terms of political activity. They were much more fun, their writings were more fun, they were a more interesting group of people, they were doing more interesting things, their pamphlets were more interesting, than the boring fucking Trots, who really were the most tiresome bunch of people I have ever come across. The kernel of what's wrong with the British Left can be found in the sort of Trot students who were around in the 60s."

**MARCH:** As Charlie Radcliffe goes into business with Howard Marks, dealing Pakistani Hash on a large scale, John Barker founds / joins the West London Claimant's Union, and the Notting Hill People's Association (who also include Sarah Pouliakakou from 'IT', at 90 Talbot Road), which involves such community activism as house auction-busting, and Carnival float building. Barker, in 'Transgressions' (Newcastle University) review of my Angry Brigade book: 'I can only say that my own experience was one of ambivalent innocence. On the one hand as a member of the Claimant's Union I had experienced self organisation winning tangible victories but also as a scruffy resident of Notting Hill, an increased level of police repression which we also organised against in the battle to turn private squares into communal playgrounds. A feeling that victories could and should be gained and another, less conscious, that the state and capital had had a gutfull of our victories and were going to come down hard... I had been involved in other gestures and about these I feel less ambiguous, more certain that they were right. There was, for example, the auction of houses owned by Kensington and Chelsea Council to the private sector at which we put on suits and bid up the houses to fantastic levels till some dealer, sweating on a bargain tumbled something was up and the thing collapsed in chaos.'

**MAY:** Just before Ted Heath ousts Harold Wilson from power, the 'Schoolkids Oz' bust, and the opening of the Westway, an unexploded bomb is discovered on the site of Paddington Green police station, on the Harrow Road. In 'Leaving the 20th Century', Chris Gray writes of 'obscure post-grad groups sitting over their pile of gestetnered situationist pamphlets,' while 'on the other hand, the more sincere simply went straight up the wall: The Angry Brigade, very influenced by situationist ideas (translate Les Enrages into English...), destroying themselves at the same time as they took the critique of the spectacle to its most blood curdling spectacular extreme.' The Wise brothers go further in 'The End of Music', describing the Angry Brigade as a virtual King Mob off-shoot. 'In any case one could always threaten bombs and call for the arming of the working class. The superman/woman militancy and the subsequent terrorism came with the tragic loss of the sense of game and vandalism through theoretical and practical confusion caused by having to confront a fresh series of problems. From the breakdown

of King Mob other tendencies developed. One trying to live out the ideologies of a politically conscious hippy life style (akin to the Yuppies but more honest) became openly terrorist (the tragedy of 'The Angry Brigade').. And in 'Once Upon A Time': 'One of the initial reactions, apart from cynicism, to the shabby, quick compromises of the King Mob milieu was terrorism – which appeared in the form of 'The Angry Brigade'. Fleet footing in and out of the Gate, the almost ontological warrior strength they projected made others feel inadequate and contemptible – on purpose one suspected. However, to be generous, although in no way justifying their spectacularised substitutionism one is obliged to recognise 'The Angry Brigade' as the most avant-garde terrorist group in Western Europe and one that fortunately wasn't used by the State...' Like the Gordon rioters, and 'Alias Smith & Jones', the Angry Brigade don't kill anyone. 'The End of Music' concludes on the rest of Chris Gray's King Mob: 'Others became careerists in the university set up. Those arseholes, 'The Sociology of Deviancy' able to maintain Trotskyist (International Socialist) connections dealt with all kinds of issue problems generated by capitalism (modern or otherwise): sabotage, survival in high security prisons, drug taking, thieving, suicide, soccer violence, Weatherman bombing (uncritically clapped on the safer sidelines) with dubious paradigms derived from the Chicago sociology school. An academic 'sociological situationism' there to promote reforms; to awaken top State functionaries to their own glaring insufficiencies and more pointedly keeping sociologists on relative sinecures as intelligence spies of the State. Others settled for obscurity but even as they accepted lowly positions as low grade social workers, teachers, shop stewards, production managers – they were all suffering from a 'schizophrenic' attitude. Only a small minority avoided recuperation and they were mainly the women in one parent families.' At this time, Philip Cohen / Dr. John and the former pro-situ 'IT' editor, David Robins, are starting up the Street Aid research project into working-class youth cultures, funded by the Leverhulme Trust.

JUNE: As the Angry Brigade are getting angrier, Malcolm McLaren and Jamie Reid come up with the first treatment for their 'History of Oxford Street' film. Described by Jon Savage in 'England's Dreaming', as tracing the history of the street 'from Tyburn at Marble Arch on the western end. The hangings on Monday, execution day, were 'London's largest free spectacle'. The street was slowly taken over by the middle class. In 1760, the Pantheon opened, a fashionable amusement palace where one lady dressed 'one half of herself smart and other half in rags'... Their account of the Gordon Riots then begins: 'The middle class started it against the Catholics. Then hundreds of shopkeepers, carpenters, servants, soldiers and sailors rushed into the streets. There were only a few Catholic houses to smash. So they started to smash all the rich houses. The middle-classes did not want anything to do with this.' The rioters then 'burned down all 5 London prisons. They wanted to knock down everything that stopped them having fun and made them unhappy. They wanted to set all the mad people free and free the lions from the Tower.' The McLaren/Reid treatment 'concentrates on fashion's alienation', beginning in Mr Freedom on King's Road, with excerpt of the Stones 'Satisfaction', and popstar saying 'how he loves his work. Thinks everybody is happy with their work. Hates football vandals.' Savage describes how 'the frustration and claustrophobia build, in the stores and on the tube. In front of a window with the word H-O-L-I-D-A-Y-S running across it a young man is kicked into unconsciousness. The film ends with a grand parade of London stores. In the middle of this spectacle is a scene straight from Situationist demonology: 'Smoke seen coming from a building, a restaurant is on fire. Procession stops.' While, back in Croydon, Jamie Reid, Jeremy Brook, and Nigel Edwards start up the Suburban Press, which doesn't come out of 'The End of Music' too badly, described as 'a marginally better (than New York Dolls?) underground paper.' According to Jamie: 'My job, graphically, was to simplify a lot of the political jargon, particularly that used by the Situationists... Even though it's hung round my neck ever since, I was never involved with the Situationists to the fullest extent because I couldn't understand half of what they had written. I found Situationist texts to be full of jargon – almost victims of what they were trying to attack – and you had to be really well-educated to be able to understand them...' The other missing pro-situ link, between hippy press and punk fanzines, is Michel Prigent / Claude Pelieu's 'Sub' magazine, which emanates from 6 Cambridge Gardens (on Portobello '76 riot corner, down from Subterrania). The Australian 'KING MOB 5' (with 'Sub' speech bubble captions), and 'KING MOB 6: WORK' also appear, like post-Lydon Pistols products. Chris Gray writes in '99: '#4 I've never heard of before (I suspect it never existed, but I could be wrong), nor ever seen 5 and 6 until now. #5 looks like it was done quite independently – but there were some Australians in and out of the Mob. #6 looks like it was done a bit later, and could have been Dave Wise, that's just a geuss.'

AUGUST / SEPTEMBER: 'IT' editor (and future Burchill hippy heart-throb) Mick Farren forms White Panthers UK branch. While US White Panther leader, John Sinclair, denounces the MC5 for selling out from jail, where he finds himself serving 10 year sentence for passing joints to a cop. Another White Panther, Pun Plamondon, gets on the FBI Most Wanted list for bombing a CIA office in Ann Arbor, where Iggy and the Stooges come up with 'No Fun'. Other 'IT' music editor Steve Mann, in 'Days in the Life': "The party line was very very vague: we had to overthrow Western civilisation as soon as possible – before lunchtime preferably, although that wasn't too easy because we didn't get up very early." Mick Farren: "We formed the White Panther Party to do something, I don't know what. Some down near Greenwich, a hotbed up in Manchester, a bunch of street kids on the Grove doing the free-food thing, little bunches, groups. People want a name, post-hippies out of money wandering round wondering what had happened to flower power and walking around in worn-out velvet pants. Furious amounts of drugs – people were shooting heroin by then. Post-hippie junkies." After the first Glastonbury, Mick Farren and co put on the MC5 at Worthing Phun City; with Wayne Kramer guitar machine-gunning the audience. At the Hendrix / Doors / Who Isle of Wight festival, White Panthers and Pythonesque French anarchists, from 'Desolation Row', attempt to tear down the fences, as Hawkwind and Pink Fairies play alternative festival. Back in London, there's more proto-Angry Brigade bomb attacks, on the homes of Met Police Commissioner, Sir John Waldron, and Attorney-General, Sir Peter Rawlinson. These are accompanied by the first post-King Mob communiques, written in the style of Captain Swing notes. The former beginning 'Dear Boss' from Jack the Ripper, signed 'Butch Cassidy & the Sundance Kid pp The Tribunal', and the latter signed the 'Wild Bunch', echoing the 'Return of the Durruti Column' cowboys. As Hendrix dies on Ladbroke Grove, constant police raids on the Mangrove West Indian restaurant, lead to another demo / bust; while Howard Marks begins his hippy entrepreneur dope smuggling career, thus in 'Mr. Nice'. 'Neither Jarvis, nor the 2 Charlies were interested in venturing from the RBK&C. It was too much of a disruption. However, Charlie Radcliffe's attractive lady, Tina, had a New Zealand friend called Lang. He had years of all kinds of smuggling experience and was in London looking for work...' In 'High Time', David Leigh describes early 70s Notting Hill as 'a territory decorated with slogans – END POLICE OPPRESSION! – I AM AN ANGRY TORMENTED SOUL SCREAMING OUT IN THIS TORTUROUS MEDIOCRITY!' (next to 'SAME THING...' under the Westway)

NOVEMBER 5: As 'Performance' opens in the west end, Michael X is committed for trial over the 'Slave Collar affair', and the Powis Square 8 are arrested, when 200 cops raid a bonfire-night squat party in the fenced-off square. John Barker now recalls: 'Kensington and Chelsea sold their houses. Elitism continues to mock the rhetoric of democracy. The seizing of Powis Square, knocking down the railings of this private residential square and turning it into a communal playground, this is the only victory that has survived. All that happened with the Angry Brigade was that it cheered up the relatively powerless for awhile.' Powis Square gardens is also the venue for Pink Fairies / Deviants gigs, which could be described as proto-punk, street-hippy anti-music; there's also a kids riot at Holland Park School.

NOVEMBER 7: A group of celeb hippies invade the stage during David Frost Show, featuring Yippie leader Jerry Rubin (after the Chicago 8 trial), for the 'Frost Freakout'. In the aftermath of Marcuson / Farren's hippy attempt at Bill Grundy media scandal, Deviants tour manager, Dave 'Boss' Goodman recalls cops chasing hippies amidst clouds of smoke, and Steve Mann gets hit on Ladbroke Grove.

NOVEMBER 20: 2.30AM: A BBC outside-broadcast van is blown up outside the Albert Hall, where later in the day the 'Miss World Contest' is due to take place. After the explosion, a group of long-haired youths are seen running away, down Kensington Gore, towards Notting Hill. Then the actual contest is disrupted by a 'Carry on Girls' style flour / smoke bombing from Women's Lib, echoing '68 US group.

DECEMBER: The Angry Brigade announce their arrival on the scene, via communiques published in 'IT' #94/95. 'Fascism (Spanish Embassy machine-gunned Thursday – echoing Interregnum riots), High Pigs, Spectacles, Judges, Property... COMMUNIQUE 1. THE ANGRY BRIGADE.' The name is chosen as a combination of the Spanish Civil War anarchist brigades (as exemplified by the Durruti Column), and the French May '68 Enrages students. Who, in turn, take their 'madmen' name from the original 1793 Terrorist movement; which comes about a few years after the actual French Revolution, as the Angry Brigade happen a few years after the '68 events. The original enraged leader, the revolutionary slum priest, Jacques Roux, kills himself before Robespierre can guillotine him, after accompanying Louis XVI to the same fate. When Louis asks him to give a parcel to Marie-Antoinette, Roux coolly replies: "I have not come here to do your errands. I am here to take you to the scaffold."

**1971**

*Henry returns:* After the Angry Brigade bomb Employment Minister Robert Carr's house, in Barnet, the Notting Hill hippy scene comes in for particular police attention. During which Jake Prescott's life in the 'Oz' underground 'Emerald City' comes to an end, when he's pulled on Talbot Road. Boss Goodman recalls in 'Days in the Life': 'I was sharing a flat with Mick Farren in Maida Vale and he was editing 'IT'. And one night I got in and I told Micky I had this funny feeling, like when I had been busted in Ilford. And he said 'yeah, I feel a bit funny too.' So we stashed everything. Anyway at 8 o'clock in the morning all the doors cave in and it's the biggest bust I've ever been involved in. It was absolutely fantastic, and it wasn't the Drug Squad. It was the Bomb Squad and they were looking for Angry Brigade shit. 'IT' had been getting communiques from the Brigade. They took the place to pieces. I was sitting up in bed and I've got this little chest of drawers all full of badges. This guy has these badges out and he holds up this Chairman Mao badge and he's dead serious and he says, 'OK, which one of you is the fucking commie?' We started laughing. 'I said, which one of you is the fucking commie!' I can't take this seriously. I said, 'Come on, mate, it's just a fucking badge.' 'Is it yours?' 'Yeah. I'm just some roadie in a rock'n'roll group, he's a fucking guitarist, the political shit, it's that geezer next door with the haircut,' meaning Micky, who had his wonderful Afro. They found some dope but they put it back in the drawer. They took Micky off to raid 'IT's offices. And Micky said, 'What about the dope?' and they said, 'Listen, mate, we're the fucking bomb squad.'" David Leigh in 'High Time': '(The Angry Brigade) had connections with the Underground press and Scotland Yard frequently (and mistakenly) used to raid the premises of 'IT' looking for them. Infact, their sympathisers were later to be found among the political activists and 'street hippies' who clustered round 'Friends' on Portobello the following year, after Marcuson left it. But police never realised this.'

FEBRUARY: 'Friends' Portobello office is expecting a visit from the Yippie Abbie Hoffman, following its 'Ireland – Britain's Vietnam' issue, when in walks the self-styled 'Free Belfast' group terrorist leader, Jim McCann, brandishing a sawn-off shotgun. Alan Marcuson proceeds to conduct an 'Interview with a Belfast Street Fighting Man', in which McCann describes his group as Situationist / Maoist. McCann is an Irish version of Michael X – a small-time conman, cheque fraudster, and Hoogstratten rent collector, currently on the run from Wiltshire police for burglary – playing the Green card with the hippies. The 'Free Belfast' group is a total fabrication, as the real IRA subsequently inform 'Friends'. However, McCann and Marcuson join forces to attempt to hustle money out of John Lennon, for an Irish revolution benefit gig, in Londonderry. Marcuson tells Graham Plinston and co (in the Westbourne Green Warwick Castle) that McCann can solve their problem of getting large quantities of Pakistani Hash, 'down out of the air' into the UK, through Ireland. Charlie Radcliffe introduces Jim McCann to Howard Marks, and the rest of the early 70s in Notting Hill goes up in smoke.

FEBRUARY 27: Dick Pountain meets up with John Barker, Hilary Creek, Jim Greenfield, and Anna Mendelson, in Liverpool, at the launch of Big Flame's 'Strike' radical underground paper – which Pountain's covering for 'Friends'. Afterwards Greenfield and Mendelson give him a lift back to London, stopping off in Greenfield's hometown, Widnes for a drink. During which they get busted for dope, speed, and stolen chequebooks. Everyone apart from Pountain gives false names, and they're all freed on bail; which only Pountain returns to Widnes to answer, accompanied by King Mob's lawyer.

MARCH 18: The Angry Brigade blow up the Ford Motor Company offices at Gants Hill, Ilford, at time of nationwide Ford strike. Accompanied by 'WE ARE CELEBRATING THE HUNDRED YEARS OF THE PARIS COMMUNE' 1871 / 1971 manifesto-communicue. While Jamie Reid's Suburban Press produce 'Fraud' Ford logo poster for Big Flame, making another pro-situ / Angry Brigade / punk connection.

MARCH 30: Following a botched petrol-bomb attack on Belfast's Queens University, the RUC arrest a 'Friends' contingent, including Felix de Mendelsohn, another hippy entrepreneur of 'Suck' fame; Jill Marcuson, Alan's wife; and future Sex Pistols photographer, Joe Stevens, from New York (then known as 'Captain Snaps' in 'IT' and 'Oz'); under the command of Jim McCann. The resulting 'Evening News' headline, 'Police Smash Anarchist Bomb Gang', has everybody back in London thinking the Angry Brigade's been busted. After visiting John Lennon, Alan Marcuson goes to Belfast, to set about securing the release of his wife and reporters. Then McCann somehow manages to escape from Crumlin Road jail, and becomes a real Belfast street fighting hero. Meanwhile, Michael X is attempting to realise Alex Trocchi's idea of the 'First University of the Alternative', in Trinidad. Back in Notting Hill, Trocchi gets William Burroughs and Felix Topolski behind the project, but not John Lennon, the only one with any money. In Trinidad, Trocchi is known as 'Trotsky'.



APRIL 1: During the course of more intensive police raids around Notting Hill, concerning the Angry Brigade, a copy of Debord's 'Society of the Spectacle' – with notes in John Barker's handwriting – is seized in a Powis Square basement, by the 'Situationist Cop', DS Roy Cremer. To be subsequently used in the Stoke Newington 8 trial, to connect Barker with the Situationist influenced Angry Brigade communiques. John Barker concedes that 'the Angry Brigade was ironically spectacular, given that I and others were much influenced by 'The Society of the Spectacle'. Our actions depended on publicity and have become in this book part of a seamless spectacle, safely situated in a romanticised past. If there was a rationale we could take from situationist analysis it would be precisely the seamlessness of the spectacle, that no one is ever personally responsible for exploitation or repression. 'The Society of the Spectacle' still stands up as a fine description of modern capitalism but it was never prescriptive. Though it is tempting to mock – at least there has never been an AB exhibition at the George Pompidou Centre. I say this because it is the situationist element in the AB rhetoric which often makes me cringe, and which Tom Vague seizes on in this volume in his psychogeographic series. It is easy to see now that theoretically spot on though it was, Guy Debord's analysis came from a group of Bolshevik bohemians and there is an elitist tone to it. What stands out in the Tom Vague book is how comfortable he is with what we could call 'the situationist angle' while saying nothing about the analysis and theory that came out of the Italian movement, from Potere Operaio onward, which was more important to us.'

MAY 1: The Angry Brigade score a direct hit on the Society of the Spectacle, with their next bomb attack on Biba's Boutique, in Kensington Church Street. The accompanying (Dylan / SI comic influenced) communique reads: 'IF YOU'RE NOT BUSY BEING BORN, YOU'RE BUSY BUYING. All the sales girls in the flash boutiques are made to dress the same and have the same make-up, representing the 1940s. In fashion as in everything else, capitalism can only go backwards – they've nowhere to go – they're dead. The future is ours. Life is so boring there is nothing to do except spend all your wages on the latest skirt or shirt. Brothers and Sisters, what are your real desires? Sit in the Drugstore, look distant, empty, bored, drinking some tasteless coffee? Or perhaps BLOW IT UP or BURN IT DOWN. The only thing you can do with modern slave-houses – called boutiques – is WRECK THEM. You can't reform profit capitalism and inhumanity. Just KICK IT TILL IT BREAKS REVOLUTION. COMMUNIQUE 8. THE ANGRY BRIGADE.' Thus splitting the underground scene down the middle, alienating the political and fashion wings from each other. It takes the New York Dolls, who play at Biba's Rainbow Room in 1973, to bring underground politics and fashion back together again. At the time of the Biba's bomb, the Dolls' future manager, Malcolm McLaren, is failing to complete his Oxford Street psycho-geography film with Jamie Reid. The final, 'Billy Fury star focus' treatment now reads: 'From Tyburn at the gallows to the Gordon Riots and Barnaby Rudge to Nash and the rebuilding of the street, from its dangerous curves to a wide and perfectly straight highway, so an army could swiftly move down it without fear of ambush. For a new bourgeois to parade down it, to the invention of a cul-de-sac, and the doorman to trap and catch thieves on it. The coming of the department store and crowd control. The politics of boredom, and the fact that more Mars bars are sold on Oxford Street than anywhere else in the world. This is a journey in 24 hours of a life on Oxford Street.' Jamie Reid says: "He conned some money out of London University to make the 'History of Oxford Street'; we didn't have the techniques or the skills to pull it off, but it was potentially a very interesting project and gave us our first taste of an idea we later developed with the Sex Pistols. The result of the Gordon Riots was that afterwards Oxford Street was redesigned in such a way as to prevent the populace getting easy access into the important parts of the City. That's why there's a bottleneck at the eastern end."

MAY 22: As the Angry Brigade blow up the police computer, 'Ink' weekly underground paper starts up (out of the 'Oz' Princedale Road offices), described by Alison Fell as 'very Angry Brigade-ish', representing a 'new libertarian/situationist nexus of politics', with Dave Robins as editor. While Alan Marcuson sacks some 'Friends' staff, who walk down Portobello in sacks (bloody 'ippies). Then he throws the 'Friends' books in the Grand Union Canal and quits, along with Charlie Radcliffe, concluding that '90% of the criticisms of the underground press are right. It is just clothes and dope. The underground press has created a scene that for the most part is just the emergence of hip middle-class intellectuals.' Prigent's 'Sub 71' features 'TIGERS OF WRATH' and 'THE SKY IS DEAD' King Mob graffiti, and doesn't speak very highly of Franklin Rosemont's 'Society of the Spectacle' translation, or of Trelick Tower and the Westway. There's also a 'situationist' Notting Hill housing co-op in 'Alternative London', and 'Mole Express' features the pro-situ Catalyst comic strip, by Nick Brandt.

JUNE 23: The 'Schoolkids Oz' obscenity trial begins at the Old Bailey, bringing the underground scene back together again, for King Mob echo demos on Old Bailey and Newgate Street. Out of which emerges the hippy equivalent of James Jackson from the Gordon riots. The leading light of the 'Friends of Oz' defence campaign is Stan Demidjuick, a Yugoslav Australian from 'Friends' (now re-launched as 'Frendz'), of whom Nigel Fountain writes: 'Perhaps more than anyone else in the west London milieu of the early 70s 'Stan the Man, the Plastic Man' symbolized activist and at times farcical hippiedom. Amidst the swirl of posers, drawing-room revolutionaries masquerading as street people, and rock idols manque mouthing about the revolution, Demidjuick stood out.' 'Days in the Life' and 'Friends' editor, Jonathon Green, first meets Stan when he goes round to 'Friends'; recruiting for an assault on the new Harrow Road police station. But first he takes Marcuson and Green back to his flat, where he proceeds to beat up his landlord, Richard Branson, and never makes it to Harrow Road.

JULY 3: Jim Morrison dies in Paris, after dropping out of the music biz on romantic nihilist, reverse-Trocchi, junkie-poet tip. Telling 'Time' in '68: "I'm interested in anything about revolt, disorder, chaos, especially activity that appears to have no meaning. It seems to me to be the road toward freedom."

AUGUST: Following the bombing of an army recruiting-office in Holloway, police discover the Angry Brigade 'Moonlighters Cell' communique (named after the 19th century Irish revolutionary, 'Captain Moonlight'), at the Notting Hill People's Association, on Talbot Road. Then John Barker follows Hilary Creek to France. According to Stuart Christie, to get permission from Debord to translate 'Society of the Spectacle', and to set up Latin Quarter info-centre. According to police, to pick up and smuggle a consignment of gelnignite, back to Stoke Newington; where they're duly nicked, on Amhurst Road.

OCTOBER: Before bowing out, with their most spectacular bombing of the GPO (Telecom) Tower 31st floor, another Angry Brigade communique (re. bombing of a Birmingham builder's house) ends with Vaneigem's: 'Let ten men and women meet who are resolved on the lightning of violence rather than the long agony of survival: From this moment despair ends and tactics begin.' Despairing of ending the Oxford Street film (for 20 years), Malcolm McLaren's tactics are to re-invent himself / sell out as the 'Situationist Spiv', with his own 'flash boutique'. Now, going by his father's surname McLaren, instead of Edwards (after getting done for shoplifting), he starts taking the revolutionary project into pop culture, out back of Paradise Garage at 430 King's Road (formerly Hung On You in the 60s). Here McLaren, Westwood, and Patrick Casey, begin their anti-hippy venture, amassing rock'n'roll records and clothes, anticipating the 70s ted revival gap in the market. In due course they take over the whole shop, spraying the black corrugated-iron front with 'LET IT ROCK' (from the Chuck Berry song), in pink musical note lettering. While searching for 'a new revolutionary metaphor', their first media mention is: 'On good days, Malcolm says that he sometimes buys cakes and Coke to give to his customers. Thinking that 'Capitalism stinks', he has doubts about running the shop.'

DECEMBER: Michael X is visited by Grainger Drake and Trina Simmonds, representing Trocchi's anti-university, as things start to slip in Trinidad. While Drake and Simmonds are staying with Michael, the first of 2 bodies end up in his garden. Then the place goes up in flames 'Apocalypse Now' style, and Michael attempts to flee to Brazil. Meanwhile, Howard Marks and Graham Plinston hook up with the Green Michael X, Jim McCann, in his Co. Kerry safe-cottage (which Alan Marcuson has rented). Marks and McCann proceed to hatch the Shannon Airport Scam, conning McCann's real IRA connection – somehow – that they're smuggling arms, and not vast quantities of Black Pak hash. As recounted in 'High Time', Howard sets off from Oxford on the first run, down the M40 to Notting Hill, to see 'Charlie Radcliffe, his new girlfriend, and Alan Marcuson. "There should be a lot of stuff coming in soon, Charlie. We'll let you sell it for us, even though you've been too involved with your lovelife to help with the scam." "Am I going to get my percentage, Howard? I did set the whole thing up for you." "Yes, Alan, we understand how you feel. Don't worry." Marks's Oxford Taffia are described as a 70s dope version of the 30s Cambridge Communists. With Charlie Radcliffe forging Shannon trading estate exit-slips, while Jim McCann spends his time sending Alan Marcuson IRA death threats, and attempting to burn down John Lennon's house. When McCann elbows him out of the Shannon Scam, Marcuson relinquishes his proto-McLaren, counter-culture svengali role. According to 'High Time': 'later took over Plinston's abandoned carpet shop in West London. Disillusioned with the hippy press and the dope scene, he ran the shop for 8 years, became something of an expert on Eastern textiles, and occasionally still appears on nostalgic TV shows as a spokesman for the 60s. He still lives in London, and trades in antiques.' In 1988, 'Days in the Life' has him down as editor of 'Hali', 'the world's leading rug magazine'.

1972

With Carlos the Jackal living at Philimore Court on Kensington High Street (round the corner from Biba's), whilst attending the LSE and West London Rifle Club; Malcolm McLaren beginning his 'Great Rock'n'Roll Swindle', and Jamie Reid's Suburban Press advertised in 'IT' with (killing of) 'Bambi' pet puppy graphic; Chris Gray's 'totally unpleasant pop group' idea is first put into practice (unless you count Pink Fairies / Deviants / Hawkwind), by Dennis Irving and Howard Marks (through Charlie Radcliffe). In 'High Time', David Leigh describes how, amongst various money-laundering scams, 'Dennis Irving, for example, Howard's silver-suited Oxford friend (who gives Howard his first joint) turned up one day: 'We've got this great idea for a really anarchic record company, Howard. There's a group of us, we've got a guy who writes songs, and we've done this amazing number. It's called 'Fuck You'.' 'How does it go, Dennis?' 'Uh, like this: All I want to do-oo-oo is: Arse and cunt, Back and front FUCK you!' 'Oh yes, very nice. How much bread will it take?' 'A few thousand. We can form a company. I thought we'd call it 'Lucifer Records'. Then we get the single privately pressed, and we can sell it through mail order, put ads in 'Private Eye' and that kind of thing.' 'Let's do it.' They actually sold 1,500 copies of this pre-punk innovation (described by Howard Marks as influenced by the Who and Little Richard). They then made a second single called 'Prick', whose motif was the line 'You're a P.R.I.C.K!' Nobody bought it at all. Nor did anybody buy their long-play album called 'Big Gun'. Lucifer Records collapsed – its lyricist went on to write material for the Bay City Rollers, and Dennis Irving developed a new craze for designing musical synthesisers. He also told Howard about the new sport of hang-gliding.' An ad for 'Fuck Rock' in 'Frendz' claims; 'It's a love song, but the companies won't touch it, the BBC won't play it and the shops won't sell it. They think the words are dirty. If you buy it this way we can finish the album.' Charlie Radcliffe's epilogue shout-out in 'High Time' is: 'went to jail with a 5 year sentence for cannabis smuggling. He is now at liberty.' In the west country. Dennis Irving's is 'died in Sussex, crashing his hang-glider.'

MAY: As the Angry Brigade trial begins at the Old Bailey, 25 Powis Square ('Performance' house) is squatted, and 'Frendz' carries on, though only just. According to 'Underground', 'tramps, the occasional threat of physical violence, the offices on Portobello Road' are taking their toll. Nick Kent arrives on the 'Frendz' scene, shortly before it's final demise, describing it thus in 'Zigzag' #58: 'It was dreadful. Everything was at a very low ebb, everyone was just freeloaded manically. Hawkwind, for some Godforsaken reason, were subsidising it, no one was doing any work, and I asked if I could write for them.' Kent is subsequently made music editor, because he 'actually puts pen to paper and doesn't just come round to score Mandrax, which was what that paper was actually all about; everyone was into dope very heavily; just getting stupefied.' The post-King Mob, street hippy scene also centres around the Mountain Grill Restaurant (now George's Caff), the other side of the Westway from 'Frendz', which Hawkwind pay homage to with their '75 'Hall of the Mountain Grill' LP. Bob Calvert describes it as 'a working mans cafe in Portobello Road... I used to eat there when I worked on 'Frendz' magazine. It was a kind of Left Bank cafe/meeting place for Notting Hill longhairs, a true artists hangout, but it never became chic, even though Marc Bolan and David Bowie and people like that often went there to eat lunch.' And it still hasn't, even though everywhere else on Portobello has. Other street hippy / freak hangouts are the Acklam Road hippy market, the Electric Cinema, and the pub is Finch's.

SUMMER: Meanwhile at the World's End, Chelsea, the anti-music group / nihilist pop idea – which Nick Kent is to play a pivotal role in becoming reality – continues to mutate, in the mind of King Mob fringe member McLaren. With 'Let It Rock' attracting a clientele of mostly old teds, some Chelsea trends and 'disaffected teenagers', McLaren stocks up with rare / imported rock'n'roll, r&b, and rockabilly records at Ted Carroll's Rock On stall, at 93 Golborne Road. According to Jon Savage, Rock On 'quickly attracted a hardcore following. Going there was in itself an act of faith. Golborne Road was at the wrong end of Portobello Road, 10 years before urban regeneration.' Another Ted Carroll customer is Lenny Kaye, of 'Nuggets' 60s US punk and garage compilations, and Patti Smith romantic nihilist fame. Ted Carroll also manages Thin Lizzy, which Malcolm grills him about. While, down the Westway in Shepherd's Bush, football hooligans with no particular allegiance (more Stan Bowles' Rangers than Chelsea), Steve Jones, Paul Cook, and Wally Nightingale, form a post-mod group.

AUGUST: At the time of a bizarre hippy / glam / ted style crossover, McLaren, Westwood, and Fred Vermorel, do 'Vive Le Rock' Little Richard / 'The Killer Rocks On' Jerry Lee Lewis T-shirt stall at Wembley Stadium Rock'n'Roll Festival (also featuring Chuck Berry, Bill Haley, Billy Fury, Screaming Lord Sutch, Heinz, Gary Glitter, and the MC5). After the success of 'The Rocky Horror Show', McLaren

plans a musical about the '58 Notting Hill race riots (presumably 'Absolute Beginners', which 'Swindle' director Julien Temple goes on to do in 1986). Let It Rock then begins its transition from 50s ted to 60s rocker / ton-up kid style (given a Kenneth Anger 'Scorpio Rising' S-M homo-erotic spin), mostly featuring sleeveless T-shirts, some with standard 70s glitter, Gene Vincent Blue Caps / Elvis / Eddie Cochran / Chuck Berry logos, others studded with Triumph / Norton 'Dominator' biker legends, and 'PERV' / 'ROCK' / 'SEX' made out of chicken bones and chains, with bike-tyre shoulders.

NOVEMBER: Following 'subterranean sleazoid flash' 'Melody Maker' review, the New York Dolls are flown in to support the Faces at Wembley Pool. The Dolls cite Notting Hill street hippies, the Pink Fairies as their top influence, Cook and Jones blag it in, and drummer Billy Murcia ODs in a hotel bath.

DECEMBER: After the Stoke Newington 8 trial, the last Angry Brigade communique #14 appears in 'IT' #144, entitled 'Geronimo Cell Communique: Sooner or later you'll hear from us again...' Which, by my reckoning, makes Punk Motherfucker connection, through Ben Morea's 'Self Defense' flyer – with Geronimo picture (before final surrender in 1886) / 'We're looking for people who like to draw' pistol graphics – via King Mob. There's also a pre-Biba's bomb, anti-Kensington boutique letter in 'IT' #50, signed 'Gerenimo'. While the Stoke Newington 8 Defence Group booklet, 'If You Want Peace Prepare For War', features Rosa Luxemburg with 'dialectic' slogan, and 'Mob Law / Anarchy' skeleton again; previously adopted by the Motherfuckers, now with 'original' quote of 1890s anarchist bomber, Emile Henry: 'Il n'y a pas des innocentes bourgeoises.' Currently in the States, Point Blank / Contradiction are making much use of photo-montage strips, in 'Wildcat Comix' for SF cable-car drivers wildcat strike ('Nowhere' buses?), AT+T house newspaper facsimile for telephone workers strike, and the Point Blank student revolt comic book. Peter Stansill and David Zane Mairowitz's 'BAMN: By Any Means Necessary: Outlaw Manifestos and Ephemera 1965-70' (Penguin) features stuff by the Provos, Panthers, Situationists, Motherfuckers, King Mob, and Weathermen. While 'Watch Out Kids' by Mick Farren and Edward Barker (Open Gate) makes the 'missing link between Elvis and the Angry Brigade.'

**1973** As McLaren goes through his teds phase to rockers, 'Let It Rock' turns into 'Too Fast To Live Too Young To Die', with new white on black, skull and crossbones front. Viv Westwood designs a studded swastika skirt for Ken Russell's 'Mahler', and drapes for David Essex and Ringo Starr in 'That'll Be The Day'. Iggy Pop visits the shop during the recording of 'Raw Power', but Malcolm snubs him as an 'untidy hippy'. While Howard Marks is phasing out his Shannon Airport scam, to begin his trans-Atlantic ATA Carnet scam; which involves forming a bogus rock group called 'Laughing Grass', and filling their speakers with hash. In the States, Point Blank's 'Nowhere' buses pamphlet comes out, as 'Space Travel: an official guide for san francisco commuters', terminating the '64 Merry Pranksters 'Further' bus trip. Jamie Reid claims: 'The 'Boredom' buses were printed up by Suburban Press as a poster in 1973 and sent to 'Point Blank' in San Francisco, who used them in a pamphlet about city transit policy.' Suburban Press also do 'THIS STORE WELCOMES SHOPLIFTERS' Oxford Street sticker campaign, and 'KEEP WARM THIS WINTER MAKE TROUBLE' for the miners strike / '3 day week', that brings an end to the Ted Heath Tory government. One of the last 'IT's' #156 contains a feature on squatting by John May, illustrated with 'I DON'T BELIEVE IN NOTHING' / 'DARK UNIMPASSIONED GRIEF' / 'THE SKY IS DEAD' King Mob graffiti approximations. As the Pink Fairies' proto-punk, street hippy / freak, 'City Kids' LP comes out, Joe Strummer's 101ers emerge from the Maida Vale squatting scene, and Steve Jones and Wally Nightingale reputedly steal PA equipment from Bowie's 'killing off Ziggy' gig at Hammersmith Odeon.

AUGUST: After attempting to exploit the 1940 US Zoot Suit riots, thus attracting more Chelsea trendies and hip teenagers, McLaren and Westwood take 'Let It Rock' drapes, zoots, and 'Vive Le Rock' T-shirts to New York National Boutique Show. Where they don't sell anything, but get 'Interviewed' by Warhol, and hook up with the New York Dolls – who McLaren finds suitably unpleasant; falling somewhere between the fag-end of the Warhol stars Factory scene, and a Black Mask nihilist streetgang.

SEPTEMBER: McLaren / Westwood return to London, to complete the transformation of 'Let It Rock' into 'Too Fast To Live'. Steve Jones starts hanging out in the shop, and becomes Dickensian 'Artful Dodger' protegee of Malcolm's 'Fagin' in the Roebuck. Fred Vermorel sends postcards to Malcolm 'The Boss' including: 'Malcolm! Stop wasting your time. Time is running out. There are better things to do.'

NOVEMBER: As the final issue of 'Oz' comes out, New York Dolls return to London to play the Rainbow Room, above Biba's on Kensington Church Street; and to be called 'Mock Rock' by 'Whispering' Bob Harris on 'The Old Grey Whistle Test'. Nick Kent sees Malcolm McLaren arguing at the door of Biba's.

**1974**

**JANUARY:** Nick Kent follows the Dolls to Paris, to write 'Dead-End Kids on the Champs Elysees' for the 'NME' (where he ends up after 'Frendz'), recalling Sylvain Sylvain 'ex-native of Paris, who also spent some time at Finch's pub down in good old Ladbroke Grove dealing dope.' Malcolm McLaren is also in attendance, as Johnny Thunders throws up and smashes guitar over head of fan in Paris. While the French claim to have Punk Rock already, at Marc Zermati's 'Open Market' 60s punk shop in Les Halles. Back home, Malcolm is briefed by Nick Kent on the decomposing state of post-glam rock / the hippy 'sex revolutionary critique of culture'. As the underground press comes to an end on Portobello, with a brief Lennon financed incarnation of 'IT'.

**APRIL:** As Bowie's proto-punk 'Diamond Dogs' LP comes out, McLaren and Westwood are closing 'Too Fast To Live', to begin its transformation into 'SEX'. Via 'Modernity Killed Every Night', from the King Mob hero Surrealist, Jacques Vache, and 'The Dirty Stripper (who left her UNDIES on the railings to go hitch-hiking said you don't THINK I have stripped off all these years just for MONEY do you?)' porn-zine quote. Defeated youth revolt teds storm the shop, as Malcolm forsakes them to flog dodgy fetish-wear. Stepping up his use of situationist imagery, he has the foam walls sprayed with lines from Trocchi's 'School for Wives' porn novel, Valerie Solanas quotes, the pro-situ 'WHAT COUNTS NOW IS TO GET OUT OF THE SUBURBS AS FAST AS YOU POSSIBLY CAN', and 'DOES PASSION END IN FASHION?' Rousseau's 'CRAFT MUST HAVE CLOTHES BUT TRUTH LOVES TO GO NAKED' goes behind the SEX sign. A 'Let It Rock' leather jacket remains in the window, along with sketches signed 'Tabou', of the Lettrist Jean-Michel Mension and Fred's Left Bank drift, in slogan-adorned trousers (from the Ed Van Der Elsen photos). As Viv Westwood's sleeveless proto-SEX T-shirt becomes the top-selling item, Nick Kent does 'Politics Of Flash' 'NME' feature, with a picture of Malcolm in mohair, pegs, and high-heels; 'togs for NY Dolls'; and also whips his girlfriend / fellow 'NME' hack, Chrissie Hynde, in the shop. While Malcolm attempts to sell out, to get back to New York with 'totally unpleasant pop group' ideas, the Steve Jones Wormholt Estate streetgang (without an analysis) come through a time worm-hole. As The Strand / Swankers, with first SEX shop assistant Glen Matlock on bass, the group install themselves in Hammersmith Riverside Studios (now of 'TFI Friday' notoriety), to practice through the Pub Rock period. And so, Malcolm reaches 'The Future' in Charlie Radcliffe's 'Seeds of Social Destruction', pop revolution countdown. After the demise of the SI, Black Mask, King Mob, Angry Brigade, underground press, and general failure of the hippy pop revolution. Then Chris Gray puts out 'LEAVING THE 20TH CENTURY: THE INCOMPLETE WORKS OF THE SITUATIONIST INTERNATIONAL'. From Free Fall Publications, Box 13, 197 King's Cross Road, London WC1, originally for 80p, with later 'The situation has changed... now £1.25!' stickers. Printed by Jos. Adam in Brussels, typeset by Millennium, 9 Sefton Drive, Liverpool 8, assisted by the sex-politico-situ Wicked Messengers, 'helped' by Suburban Press, 433 London Road, Croydon, with graphics by Jamie Reid: 'I never really read it, but I loved the one-liners, like the 'corpse' metaphor.' Though it's by far the most pop-situ production to date, sales of the original green cover 4,000 print-run are slow, until the punk connection is made in '77. Re-printed in '98 by Rebel Press, Chris Gray's editorial / translation of 'IS' texts is considered 'a confusionist hodgepodge', by '82 'SI Anthology' editor Ken Knabb, and at the time, as the Situationist-Marxist 'Politics of Whim', by Chris R. Tame of the 'Radical Libertarian Alliance'. Michel Prigent's Debordist Piranha group also publish the first English translation of the 1972 'Veritable (rightly so called) Split in the International' (echoing Karl Marx's 1872 'Fictitious / so called Split in The International'; who also have a Debord in the French London branch). Chris Gray writes, 'at present there are said to be between 2 and 4 members of the SI – including the poor Chtcheglov in his Central European madhouse. Perhaps one should add there are stories that the SI remained intact and really just disappeared owing to police pressure and is now working on a real underground organisation. Sounds a bit like King Arthur and His Knights, but you never can tell. Certainly it seems unlikely that the last has been heard of either Debord or Vaneigem.' While Gray's postscript, 'Those who make half a Revolution only dig their own graves', includes Trocchi (?) letter from the States. 'Seen from over here, the SI has a lot to answer for: it has spawned a whole stew of 'revolutionary organisations', usually composed of half a dozen moralists of the transparent relationship; these have inevitably foundered after a few months – though not without bequeathing weighty self-criticisms to a breathless posterity. Idiots. Worse: cures. Yet their traits are undoubtedly linked organically, genetically, to the original SI in its negative aspects: the SI is responsible for its monstrous offspring. Somehow or other, the SI's 'original sin' is tied up with a shift from the sardonic megalomania of iconoclasm to the

true megalomania of priesthood. Moving, justifiably, from 'culture' to 'politics' the SI threw the baby out with the bathwater. One day somebody (I forget who) took refuge up a lamp-post, while freaked on acid, from a derive-cum-discussion-of-Lukacs with a merry band of situationists. How is it conceivable that this act could be greeted with blank incomprehension (and – *c'est bien la mot* – displeasure) by Debord, drunkard extraordinary? Yet it was so.' As for Chris Gray himself, according to 'The End of Music', as his anti-music idea is about to happen: 'With the degeneration of King Mob, the tranquilising acceptance largely won out, bringing about a delayed fusion with the hippy ideology and junk clamourings (at the instigation of Chris Gray playing the sounds of L. Cohen) and Alastair Crowley. The Brethren of the Free Spirit directed towards the new mysticism... Chris Gray continued with the same opportunism but on a well publicised level, as his charisma was very appealing to dippy rich women whom he could then part from their wealth, in smart parts of the city. To keep up his own image Chris Gray increasingly glamorised forms of social breakdown and vandalism before moving on to a neo-religion which puts together scraps of Reich, Vaneigem, and some aspects of Eastern religions and money making. Chris Gray preferred to cover up the social relations involved in his invocation of how great it was to be a 'self made man' and was always upset with the straight forward objection 'no he's a capitalist'. The small entrepreneurial capitalist extended in this milieu from Benny Gray's Antique Emporium, Alan Marquason and his carpet business, 'We're only ripping off the rich', the small Reichian mystical firm (here's mud in your third eye) to the 'Situationist' spiv, McLaren (but there are others)..'. At the same time, Jonathan Raban includes situationists in his Hare-Krishna / I-Ching / mystical Notting Hill, 'Magical City' section of 'Soft City' (Collins Harvil): 'It is the same consoling message that the Situationists and the Hare Krishna people preach; believe it, and the city, with all its paradoxes, puzzles, and violent inequities, will float away before your eyes, a chimera to delude only the hopelessly, cynically earthbound. The computer dating agency and the horoscope render a similar service: science (especially mystical mathematics) and magic are closely allied – both promise to rip the veil from the troubling face of the world at one sweep. Notting Hill Gate is a superstitious place because it seems to exceed rational prescriptions and explanations. On the Portobello Road, one feels oneself growing more insubstantial, less and less able to keep a sense of personal proportion in the crowd of people who all look so much poorer, or richer, or wilder, or more conventional than one is oneself. It is certainly hard to keep in touch with one's own self – that diminishing pink blob which rolls and slides like a lost coin in the gutter. The people who float on the tide of metaphysical junk – freaks of all kinds... into macrobotics, yoga, astrology, illiterate mysticism, acid, terrible poetry by Leonard Cohen and tiny novels by Richard Brautigan – have managed, at a price. The new folk magic of the streets promises to have some unhappy political consequences but as a way of responding to the city it does reflect a truth about the nature of the place which we had better learn to confront.'

SEPTEMBER: Henry Returns: As Carlos lobs a hand-grenade into the Left Bank Drugstore cafe, the 'Situationist Spiv', McLaren, takes the revolutionary project through the looking glass (recuperation process) into pop culture, using Chris Gray's 'Leaving the 20th Century' as his blueprint. As the shop name becomes 'SEX', 'Let It Rock' clothes are 'detourned' into pro-situ salon couture. Unsold Wembley rock'n'roll T-shirts are customised / accessorised by over-dyeing, and addition of rips, zips, studs, and clear-plastic pockets (for 50s nude women playing-cards; detourned with SI / May '68 slogans, echoing / recuperating '10 Days That Shook The University'), while 50s silk ties have confrontational slogans like 'LESBIAN' printed on them. McLaren and Westwood also collaborate with the radical car salesman, 'Who ideas man', and future Clash manager, Bernie Rhodes, on the first 'SEX' T-shirt, 'You're gonna wake up one morning and know what side of the bed you've been lying on!' Which amounts to an updated 'King Mob Echo', popstars and artists hit-list, also including Angry Brigade targets Robert Carr and Biba's. While the pro-side features the first mention of 'Kutie Jones and his SEX PISTOLS', and shout-outs to Valerie Solanas and her 'Society For Cutting Up Men', Ronnie Biggs, Jamaican Rude Boys, 'Point Blank', 'The Challenge to Capitalism', Buenaventura Durutti (spelt wrong), The Black Hand Gang, Jim Morrison, Alex Trocchi 'Young Adam', and Olympia Press. In the un-pop-pro-situ milieu, Nick Brandt's Spontaneous Combustion come up with 'Dialectical Adventures Into The Unknown' pamphlet. NOVEMBER: With 'SEX' established, in big pink sponge letters on the shop-front, Malcolm McLaren goes to the States again, to manage the ailing New York Dolls out of existence. In his first attempt to commodify revolution in the music biz, he replaces the Dolls glam image with communism. Giving David Johansen Mao's 'Little Red Book', and telling him to use the word 'red' 6 times in every song.

1975

**FEBRUARY:** With the pro-situ manifesto 'What are the Politics of Boredom? Better Red than Dead', the Dolls are given a pop communist, hammer and sickle on RAF star backdrop, and get to dress up in red vinyl Viv Westwood gear, for their first, and last, McLaren New York gig, at the Little Hippodrome. Then Malcolm goes to CBGBs, where the Ramones and Patti Smith Punk scene is in full swing, to (not) catch Richard Hell – with spikey hair / ripped slogan T-shirt, street-hustler / prison-punk look – doing 'Blank Generation' with Tom Verlaine's Television. On his return to New York, after the Dolls tour falls apart, Malcolm fails to get Hell to front the Steve Jones band. While Malcolm's in the States, Bernie Rhodes oversees their progress, and Nick Kent is second guitarist during on-going Hammersmith practice sessions. On King's Road, new SEX shop assistant, Jordan, becomes the first Sex Pistol, and a post-glam soul-boy scene develops around the shop.

**SPRING:** On his return to the UK, with Syl Sylvain's guitar, Malcolm McLaren is temporarily beaten in the rush to create British Punk Rock, when Mick Jones's decadent / glam (Delinquents / Hollywood Brats) group come up with the name London SS (as they frequent the notorious Portobello Nazi memorabilia stall). While Rock On group, the Count Bishops, have a New York streetgang name, but not much more than standard R&B to offer. At the time of the Bay City Rollers tartan-riot-girl pop revolution, as Jon Savage has it, 'the idea of a rough, teenage Rock group was current in the capital's claustrophobic streets.' After the bespectacled Wally is kicked out for not looking the part, Malcolm and Bernie drive to Scotland, on an anti-Rollers tip, and almost end up with Midge Ure, of BCR label-mates Slick (later Ultravox). With Dolls and Television posters on the shop walls, McLaren and Westwood push the edge of the pop envelope with increasingly confrontational prints; featuring Trocchi's 'groaned with pain' quote from 'School for Wives', tits, 12 year old boy out of paedophile mag, naked black footballer, and 'Cambridge Rapist' hood; with 'A Hard Day's Night' Brian Epstein – found dead Aug 27th 1967 after taking part in sado-masochistic practices / S&M made him feel at home'. Leading up to gay cowboys, 'after Tom of Finland', in which the 'Return of the Durruti Column' cowboys meet up again, sans-cullote, saying 'Ello Joe, Been anywhere lately.' "Nah, it's all played aht Bill, Getting to (sic) straight." Instead of "What's your scene, man?" "Reification." "Yeah? I guess that means pretty hard work with big books and piles of paper on a big table." "Nope. I drift, mostly I just drift."

**SUMMER:** SEX shop assistant, Alan Jones, is arrested for wearing the Cowboys T-shirt on Piccadilly Circus. At the time of the 'Johnny Go Home' Piccadilly boy-prostitute scandal, the case makes the front page of 'The Guardian', and SEX is raided for cowboysshirts (police also show interest in 'Cambridge Rapist' ). McLaren and Westwood are charged with 'exposing to public view an indecent exhibition', and duly get fined. While a SEX T-shirt with a Karl Marx patch is exhibited at the ICA; Helen Wellington-Lloyd comes up with the terrorist ransom-note Sex Pistols logo, and bondage trousers are invented.

**LATE AUGUST:** Enter the archetypal Dickensian figure of the London Irish, Catholic folk devil / prophet, John Lydon. 'The One' appears in the shop, out of a Kingsway College, post-glam, reggae-enthusiast, (mostly Arsenal / Gunners supporting) hooligan gang, consisting of 4 Johns; an inevitable Grey / Gray, John Beverly / Richie (Sid), and John Wardle (Jah Wobble). Also compared with Graham Greene's Catholic boy-gangster, 'Pinkie' in 'Brighton Rock', 'Albert Steptoe', 'Steerpike', John of Leyden, and Richard III (by himself), Lydon auditions in SEX and becomes 'Johnny Rotten' (Jacques Vache); setting a fashion for insult nicknames taken on as a badge of pride, a la sans-culottes / enrages. As the group practice in Denmark Street (on the site of the Hogarthian St. Giles slum), it doesn't take much mediation through McLaren for them to become a pop 'Barnaby Rudge' apprentice gang. Irish John takes over from Steve as Captain, Sid is the punk 'Barnaby Rudge' / Wordsworth's 'Idiot Boy', and Wobble is 'Maypole Hugh' / 'Peter the Painter'. (See first Sex Pistols photo session, by Sleazy of TG.)

**NOVEMBER 6:** Chris Gray's 'unpleasant pop group' idea is perfected and The Who are finally replaced 'by a group offering more far-reaching explosions of sounds and ideas', as Ben Covington writes in '66. Or as the Wise brothers have it, 'a musical situationism was born in dressed up rebel imagery', when Sex Pistols do their first gig, at St. Martin's School of Art, 107 Charing Cross Road; followed the next night by Central School of Art & Design, in Holborn. On a Gordon riots ley line, straight out of St. Giles, King Mob, theatrically mediated through Dickens and 'Situationism'. Johnny Rotten becomes the medium for lost pop revolution ideas; Dada and Surrealism, the Ranters and the Diggers, medieval heretics, Monty Python and the Holy Grail. Dormant English revolutionary principles are stirred, unleashing Carlyle's 'Berserkir Rage' from Hibbert's 'dangerous malaise'. 'All values are sucked into the vortex and destroyed', in the Luddite anti-disco at the End of History (or rock music, at any rate).

1976

Jamie Reid brings an end to the hippy King Mob early 70s, by winding up Suburban Press. As he puts it in 'Up They Rise', 'the magazine eventually reached a circulation of about 5,000 copies; it had good distribution throughout Croydon, particularly in working-class areas like West Croydon and the 'new town' of West Addington (which we did a special issue on). We gradually realised, however, that the magazine's effect was strictly limited; our circulation was never high enough to make it anything of a threat. We were also becoming unpaid social workers, helping to organise squatters' and claimants' unions, and we eventually sold up in 1975. Sophie Richmond and I went to live in Lewis, in the Outer Hebrides, with John and Carola Bell' (of Notting Hill's Crest Press). Sophie is a diplomat's daughter, Warwick history graduate, and Solidarity group member.

**FEBRUARY:** Sex Pistols pop terror campaign is stepped up, with their first banning, from the Marquee on Wardour Street; for throwing chairs at the equipment of the pub rock headliners, Eddie and the Hot Rods. Then they play at a gay / art scene party, in Andrew Logan's Butler's Wharf studios, by Tower Bridge; in front of children's castle from the now defunct Biba's, and scenery from Derek Jarman's 'Sebastiane'. According to Nick Kent, Rotten at this gig, on speed and acid, reminds him of living on All Saints Road. "I'd always have to walk past these black guys who would never touch me, but it was like running a gauntlet. That's where he got it, from listening to Reggae and hanging around those guys." While Malcolm and Vivienne introduce the band to the Park Lane prostitute / lesbian scene at Louise's, on Poland Street, the proto-punk cult develops a quasi-Puritan, anti-hippy 'free love', attitude to sex; as illustrated by Catholic John's 'just another squelch session' quote, and his 'Submission' lyrics.

**MARCH:** Malcolm McLaren recalls Jamie Reid from the Hebrides, with 'Got these guys; interested in working with you again' telegram. Jamie and Sophie Richmond – who becomes Malcolm's secretary / PA – add some more radical clout to Malcolm and Viv's SEX shop promo / anti-Bay City Rollers cash-in idea, along with Fred Vermorel (then doing 'International Vandalism' mag). These 3 get a fairly complimentary shout out in 'The End of Music', as the pro-situ Sex Pistols roadies.

**APRIL/MAY:** Sid invents the punk pogo dance, during Pistols residency at the 100 Club, on Oxford Street – echoing 'Maypole Hugh's 'No-Popery Dance', of 'a rather extreme and violent character' to a Scotch reel, in 'The Boot' ('United Bulldog' apprentice pub). While Malcolm and Vivienne (as Hitler and Goebbels) notch up another ban, by starting a fight with hippy audience members at the Nashville, on Cromwell Road. 'Melody Maker' review this gig as doing 'as much for music as World War 2 did for the cause of peace.' Malcolm and Bernie create back-up anti-music sub-groups out of the London SS, who become Clash, Damned, Generation X / SSS, and Chrissie Hynde's rock'n'roll Jacobite, Pretenders.

**JUNE:** As the temperature rises, Pistols play Manchester Lesser Free Trade Hall for the first time, inspiring Tony Wilson's 20th Century Manc Industrial Revolution. Back in London, at the on-going 100 Club residency, Malcolm (as Robespierre) begins glam terror purge of his former allies, orchestrating pop execution of Nick Kent (as Camille-Desmoulins) by Sid and Wobble. As Jon Savage waxes lyrical: 'One definition of nihilism is that it is not the negative rejection of belief but the positive courage to live without it: the Sex Pistols and their supporters were an explosion of negatives and between them encompassed the rejection of most values. They displayed all the trappings of mindlessness, and were quickly defined as being such, a definition which was instantly assumed and which inexorably took over their script. For a while though, they tried to make a way of life that borrowed from the Maoist and Situationist miasmas that hung around Sex... Sex Pistols' gang were undergoing a rite of passage of particular intensity: what had begun as an excuse to annoy people quickly took on an almost messianic flavour as the inner circle surfed through the city on a diet of sun, sex, sulphate and swastikas.'

**PUNK THERMIDOR:** Return of Heatwave: After the Ramones 200th US Independence Day gig at the Roundhouse, Pistols get banned from Dingwalls; for fighting with ancien regime blousons noir, the Stranglers. Bruce Gilbert of Wire, in 'England's Dreaming': "There was a kerfuffle at the door. It was obviously McLaren and he was trying to get his group in. They were so dangerous-looking, these boys. It wasn't contrived, they looked like Dickensian urchins. They had shoes on but no socks, and they looked like they couldn't have got that way without being alcoholics, but they were young boys. They were perfect." 'Anarchy in the UK' is played live for the first time, at Sex Pistols second Manchester Lesser Free Trade Hall gig. With Irish Catholic John ranting the King Mob religion / politics mantra, 'I am an anti-Christ! I am an anarchist!', on the site of the 1819 Peterloo Chartist massacre. (Dickens also does a gig at the Free Trade Hall.) Jamie says he talks to John about 'Situationism', and 'Anarchy in the UK' is reputedly written in the pub under Centre Point (in St. Giles); according to Jordan, in 'Search



& Destroy', 'by an ex-Angry Brigade guy.' Or as the Wise brothers see it, 'Rotten and co were fed lyrics from these formidable sources now on the side of reaction.' At the same time, the Punk Marat, Mark P (Perry), starts up the new underground press / pop terrorist communiques, with 'Sniffin' Glue' fanzine. While Vivienne Westwood comes up with her best ever design, the couturier Situationniste, 'Anarchy' shirt. For which old Let It Rock stock, round pin-hole collar shirts (as worn by Lenin) are turned inside out, dyed with concentration camp style stripes, then stencilled with pro-situ / May '68 slogans; 'ONLY ANARCHISTS ARE PRETTY' (from Point Blank) / 'BE REALISTIC DEMAND THE IMPOSSIBLE' / 'PRENEZ VOS DESIRS POUR LA REALITE' / 'A BAS LE COCA COLA'; further accessorised by Karl Marx and inverted swastika eagle patches, and 'CHAOS' armbands, for pop historical World War 3.

AUGUST: London's Burning 1666 / 1976: Sex Pistols are banned from Marc Zermati's Mont de Marsan 'Punk Rock Festival', in unrevolutionary south of France, 'for going too far' with the Nick Kent incident. Bernie Rhodes' Clash withdraw in solidarity, and make their London debut with Pistols at the Screen on the Green, in paint-splattered 'Pollock' / Lettrist trousers. Followed the next day by the '76 Notting Hill Carnival riot, on a Watts 'Black Anarchy' tip, along Cambridge Gardens. Joe Strummer and Paul Simonon of Clash claim they join in the brick and traffic-cone throwing action on Ladbroke Grove, but later get mugged by rastas. Clash then attempt their 'White Riot', trad-left politicisation of punk, into a white football hooligan equivalent of reggae. As well as recuperating King Mob with music promoting graffiti under the Westway, they incorporate 'Under Heavy Manners' reggae stencil style into their dole-queue-squatter, post-skin image. While the mid-70s militant reggae (of Bob Marley and the Wailers, Culture, Lee Perry, Mighty Diamonds, Prince Far-I, Tapper Zukie, Dr. Alimantado, etc) parallels and influences punk, rasta religion is even closer to the original King Mob than punk is. Dillinger's 'Buckingham Palace'; 'Chant down Vatican City', and Big Youth's 'Kill Pope Paul and Babylon will fall' expresses much the same sentiments as Lord George's original followers. Reggae also gets the same humourless critique as punk in 'The End of Music'; as musical recuperation of discontent from below inna Jamdown. As the heatwave intensifies, fires start up, like warning beacons of punk pop terrorism, leading inexorably towards Thatcher's revolutionary nationalism. Phew! Wot a Scorcher!

SEPTEMBER: Malcolm McLaren (as Merlin) presents his Couturier Situationniste Sex Pistols to Paris. With John in Resistance beret, Ben Franklin glasses, and 'Fantomas' bondage suit, Jordan and Glen in 'Anarchy' shirts. After larging it at the Left Bank Deux Magots cafe, they go down badly at the opening night of Club Chalet du Lac, on Bois de Boulogne – or Siouxsie's swastika armband and tits do, at least. Simultaneously, the first TV broadcast of 'Anarchy in the UK' song (and shirt on Glen) happens, on Tony Wilson's 'So It Goes'. In spite of their anti-music 'We can't play' rhetoric, by now they can. In his 'Vacant' (Thames & Hudson) diary, Pistols tour manager, Nils Stephenson, neatly uses Karl Marx's 'events and personages occur twice, the first time as tragedy, the second time as farce', to illustrate the Chris Gray / Malcolm McLaren thing. 'Gray's proto-punk impulse was tragic in the sense that while he articulated it and understood its power, he didn't or couldn't do it. And Malcolm's later attempt to carry it out was farcical because he never realised that the Sex Pistols could play and were, infact rather good.'

SEPTEMBER 20/21: Malcolm introduces the King Mob nihilist virus into pop culture, at the 100 Club Punk Festival, on Oxford Street. With 'Anarchy in the UK' Pistols, 'London's Burning' Clash, Siouxsie and the Banshees anti-music set with Sid, the anti-rock'n'roll Subway Sect, and French Stinky Toys. On the second night, Sid (as 'Barnaby Rudge') throws a glass at the Damned, mythically blinding a girl; and ends up, done over by cops, in Ashford Remand Centre, reading a Manson book. Banned from most London venues, Pistols also play Chelmsford Prison, echoing Lord George in Newgate.

OCTOBER: Malcolm signs Sex Pistols to EMI, and sets up Glitterbest management company office, at 40 Dryden Chambers, 119 Oxford Street. While Genesis P. Orridge's Coum Transmissions (Throbbing Gristle), 'Prostitution' show at the ICA, prematurely ejaculates, 'These People are the Wreckers of Civilization', 'Daily Mail' scandal; featuring Siouxsie, Severin, and Debbie picture, and Mad Jane biting Shane MacGowan's earlobe when Clash play. Further pop-Dickensian King Mob, punk-psychosis occurs at Clash RCA 'Night of Treason', with Sid, Strummer, and Simonon attacking the audience.

NOVEMBER: 'ANARCHY IN THE UK' goes 'Nationwide', as 'London's Outrage' Pistols play Notre Dame Catholic church hall, another Gordon riots site, off Leicester Square. EMI 2566 is promoted by Jamie Reid's poster of a torn and safety-pinned Union Jack, with press-clipped blackmail logo, and 'Anarchy in the UK' (A3 underground paper format) fanzine / proto-style-mag (put together by Jamie, Malcolm, Viv, Sophie, and Fred). Featuring: 'Anarchy needs co-ordination. WHERE IS DURRUTI?' and

his BLACK HAND GANG', pistol / bank note cartoon and 'Army Careers' from Suburban Press / 'Leaving 20th Century', and the first plagiarism / re-using of the 'Point Blank' 'Nowhere' buses. While students at Coventry Lanchester Poly accuse Pistols and Clash of being fascists. 'No Future' ('God Save The Queen') / 'White Riot' is the new 'No Popery'. Pop apocalypse now looming, as Punk goes into mass media, at time of rising youth unemployment (including me) and glue sniffing moral panic. DECEMBER 1: 6.25PM: Punk Rock goes through the looking glass and becomes world historical spectacle, with the Bill Grundy interview on LWT's 'Today' show (organised by Eric Hall of recent Gazza fame). Steve is goaded into swearing by Bill, causing a lorry driver to kick his TV in, and 'Foul Mouthed Yobs', 'Filth and Fury', 'Were the Pistols Loaded?', 'Punk? Call it Filthy Lucre' international media scandal. Surpassing all previous efforts of the Situationist International, Black Mask / Motherfuckers, and hippy King Mob. Instead of Kings Messengers, the press descend on EMI in Manchester Square, round the corner from Welbeck Street, as Malcolm (as Lord George) achieves the totality for the kids. DECEMBER 3: King Mob return to create anarchy in the UK; according to Lee Wood's 'Sex Pistols: Day by Day', 'Anarchy in the UK' single sells 1780 copies. As the 'Anarchy tour', with former New York Doll Johnny Thunders' Heartbreakers, and Clash, is banned by councils around the country. Only a few gigs take place (at Leeds, Manchester Electric Circus, Caerphilly Castle Cinema – with accompanying Puritan / pro-Rod Stewart, protest-prayer-meeting, Cleethorpes, and Plymouth Woods), before Chris Gray's anti-music group idea comes home to roost, at end of 'Anarchy' tour Xmas party on Cambridge Gardens. Meanwhile, back in London, Andy Czewowski starts up the Roxy Club at 41-3 Neal Street, in Covent Garden (parallel with Endell Street, where 'IT' is in '68, and Bow Street Gordon riot incident in '80). The Roxy is the 20th century equivalent of 'The Boot' apprentice mob pub in Dickens / French Revolution clubs?; with Irish Shane MacGowan as 'Barnaby Rudge', in Don Letts 'Punk Rock Movie'. Usually strictly adhering to Chris Gray's anti-music principle, Ladbroke Grove 'Black Anarchy' yout' revolt is represented to the fullest, by militant reggae from DJ Don (as a rasta Dissenting minister).

# 1977

SEX is renamed Seditious, and given a more pro-situ design by Ben Kelly; blow-ups of Dresden being bombed / Piccadilly Eros upside down on the walls, and a post-modern Biba's bomb hole in the ceiling. As the shop splits from the group, Vivienne Westwood has her most radical phase. Going from severe Protestant / Jacobin to Jacobite excess, with tartan bondage trousers, spider-man jackets, and parachute shirts. The new Seditious '77 urban guerrilla manifesto is embodied in the 'DESTROY' muslin-shirt; emblazoned with swastika / inverted cross / decapitated Queen's head stamp montage, and 'Anarchy' lyrics. Followed up by 'Fuck your Mother and don't run away Punk'. As the Punk Rock pop revolution is rapidly recuperated, much the same as the Gordon riots, by the prospect of 'loot, lucre, free drinks', Pistols carry on regardless, throwing up at Heathrow on way to Amsterdam Paradiso gigs. Back in Soho, John gets busted for speed, EMI terminate their contract, and Glen is replaced by Sid. While the unpublished 'Anarchy in the UK' #2 fanzine is dedicated to 'Che, Durruti, Watts Riots, Weathermen, Angry Brigade, '72 miners' strike and the Levellers'. At the time of the RAF trial at Stammheim, and 27's Clash new urban guerrilla image, I have my finest Youth Revolt moment, as part of a tabloid Man Utd Red Army faction; breaking into the stand at Southampton and dodging stewards to the away end (also on Jacobite tartan, Celtic / Rangers Catholic / Protestant tip. Not that I am or ever was a Man Utd fan, I hasten to add).

MARCH: After Pistols staged-signing to A&M outside Buckingham Palace (echoing the staged storming of the Winter Palace, as well as the Gordon riots), comes Sid and Jah Wobble's pop assassination of 'Whispering' Bob Harris, of 'The Old Grey Whistle Test'. Harris recalls in 'The Independent': "The Punks all went back to the Roxy for re-inforcements, but the Procul Harum roadies managed to get us out of the club and we drove to the hospital in my car. I heard later that 150 punks came back to the Speakeasy, looking for me." Pistols duly get dropped by A&M, and do another King Mob / Lettrist Notre Dame Hall gig. Then Boogie (John Tiberi) takes the band to Berlin, just before the guilty verdict is delivered in the Baader/Ensslin trial. According to Fred Vermorel, it's rumoured that Glitterbest are using record company pay-off money to fund the RAF. Fred, in 76/86 'Zigzag': "The whole Pistols thing was basically a Marxist conspiracy, which sounds ridiculous but that's what it was. You had Jamie Reid, Sophie Richmond and Malcolm sitting around talking radical politics, about how to radicalise this and that, how far can we go with this and that." Around the same time, Malcolm gets a message that Debord wants to meet him in a Chelsea pub. Nils Stephenson says Malcolm returns from meeting a French agent, not Debord, saying it's one of the shittiest things he's ever been through. To quote 'England's

Dreaming' again: 'Surrounded by the same Situationist rhetoric that had led DI Habershon to the Angry Brigade, the Sex Pistols seemed, for a moment to be urban guerrillas themselves; unpredictable, deeply destructive, everywhere.' Then, echoing the RAF, Sex Pistols have to go underground. APRIL/MAY: Sid Vicious makes his debut with Pistols at Screen on the Green 2; with the Slits, Kenneth Anger's 'Scorpio Rising', and Julien Temple (as Goebbels)'s 'Sex Pistols No.1 propaganda film'. While Malcolm reluctantly signs to Richard Branson's hippy Virgin label, then of 'Tubular Bells' infamy. In the run-up to the Queen's Silver Jubilee, Jamie Reid commits pop regicide, by sticking a safety-pin through Her Majesty's lip. Punk Rock May events culminate in his top Situationist detournement of Cecil Beaton's portrait / plagiarism of the Atelier Populaire bandaged head, with safety-pin, from May '68. JUNE: 'GOD SAVE THE QUEEN': Malcolm McLaren (as Lord George / Bonnie Prince Charlie) gets himself arrested on Victoria Embankment, after Sex Pistols Jubilee Boat Party. In which they play 'Anarchy in the UK' and 'God Save the Queen' alongside the Houses of Parliament, in the wake of the Queen's flotilla. Jamie, Viv, and Sophie are also nicked where the Gordon riots begin 200 years before. Malcolm duly appears at Bow Street, to be charged with insulting behaviour, as the 'God Save The Queen and Elvis' mob turn on the radical well dressed men. Jamie, John, and Paul (anti-Beatles) are attacked for wearing Viv Westwood clothes, as punks replace West Indians in the final youth revolt conflict. King's Road Mob punks fight back in weekly style-riots, until a punk/ted cross-over style emerges. While the Jacobin 'God Save The Queen' reaches No 1, but the BMRB fix the charts in favour of Rod Stewart's Jacobite, 'I Don't Want To Talk About It'. After Chelsea hooligans smash the windows of Seditious, Pistols seek sanctuary at the Portobello Hotel, and Chelsea Cloisters. Also at time of Scottish hooligan, pop-Jacobite rebellion, in which they reach London and sack Wembley Stadium. JULY/AUGUST: 'PRETTY VACANT': Jamie Reid detournes / re-uses the anti-Merry Prankster 'Further' 'Nowhere buses', from the pro-situ 'Point Blank' pamphlet (changing one to 'Boredom'), for Sex Pistols best anti-Abba pop single. Surpassing Howard Marks' 'Fuck Rock', with 'Vay-CUNT' chorus on 'TOTPS', along with Iggy Pop's 'No Fun' B-side, given a pro-situ spin. As Malcolm goes to Hollywood, to meet Russ Meyer regarding the Pistols film, 'God Save The Queen' / 'Who Killed Bambi?' (from 'Suburban Press' 'Jewel thieves kick poodle – called 'Bambi' – to death' newspaper story) Then Meyer comes to London, as Pistols do 'Rolling Anarchy Revue' secret gigs (play on 'Rolling Thunder' RAF bombing campaign of Nazi Germany / Dylan tour), billed as 'Acne Rabble' in Middlesborough. SEPTEMBER: At the time of another Black Anarchy Carnival, and the Frestonia squat in Notting Dale, the hippy poet / King Mob graffiti fan, Heathcote Williams, reviews Michel Prigent and Mike Bradley's 'Catalyst Times', in the re-launched 'IT'. 'Paris 1968 was rich in nameless wildness – sous les pavés un plage: under every paving stone, a beach. Je suis Marxiste tendance Groucho. The police could be rubbished, the orgone bomb exploded. The revolution was suddenly more than a room above a dingy pub where people went to have a meeting about a meeting mainly in order to save on the gas meter. It was marred by a small group of embittered scene-creamers, who called themselves the Situationists, and who tried in typically French fashion to intellectualise the whole mood out of existence, and with their very name tried to colonise it. Failed activists and mini-Mansonettes who boasted that all their books and pamphlets ('Leaving the 20th Century', 'The Veritable Split in the 4th International', etc) had been produced from the proceeds of a bank robbery when even the most lavish of them could have been produced for the price of a few tins of cat-food from Safeways (one tiny exception being '10 Days that Shook the University' by Omar Khayati)... Their heroes are a legion of mad bombers: Ravachol, Valerie Solanas, Nechayev, the IRA, et al, though on the purchase of 'Catalyst Times' from 2 of them while psychotically insulting one of the purchasers and threatening to fire the city, it became clear that neither of them was equipped with a match and it was doubtful if either of them could pause long enough from their virulent splutterings to light one. Their mood is humourless enmity – they rejoice in division, but their vishnu capers are confined to bar-room slugging matches. In their latest manifestation their former friend Paul Sieveking (who incidentally supplied much of their copy) is spewed on for his harmless involvement with Rajneesh. Chris Gray, producer of the liveliest situationist pamphlet 'King Mob Echo', is also decried, slugged off as an illustrious corpse, for no more reason than nursery jealousy. As soon as any of their number steps into the limelight another kicks him in the groin while the rest try and fuse the lights. Downers are their diet, and they aggrandise their cult of the bring-down by calling it Nihilism. The tactics of these situationists is to throw a cabbage and then run away without daring to look over their shoulder to see if it's hit the mark. Their great taboo is the 'society of

the spectacle', reasonably excoriated by Vaneigem but the impression you get from 'Catalyst Times' is that merely being alive is a cop-out. Their jealousy leads them to attempt to be more deadly than the death-culture they allegedly despise. 'Catalyst Times' is 60 pages of stale vitriol... Most of it is a mish-mash of poorly printed situationist jargon... Ginsberg is alleged to live off investments in armaments firms. Burroughs is inaccurately alleged to have fallen victim to scientology, despite his hard-nosed piece of investigative journalism on the subject originally published as a series in 'Mayfair' and then in book form as 'The Job'. 'The Catalyst Times' is nothing more than a gigantic and inaccurate gossip column... and the descant to it all is: Nothing is a gas. Nothing is right. Nothing is redeemable. It's sad to see a group of people disappearing up their own arseholes, though it's a not inconsiderable spectacle. Out of paranoia and an inflated view of their importance in the eyes of the Special Branch, they've put no address on their flabby bundle of breathless misanthropy. But if you spy too well-fed gentlemen trying to understudy Raskolnikov, scowling and shuffling between Portobello and Edgware Road, 2 cosmic kill-joys claiming to be purveyors of state secrets, you'll have tracked down the source.'

OCTOBER 1917 / 1977: 'HOLIDAYS IN THE SUN': Back in the pop-situ scene, Cook and Jones join former New York Doll Johnny Thunders' Heartbreakers, on the 'LAMF' ('LIKE A MOTHER FUCKER') tour in Bristol. As the pop situationist, King Mob / punk media connection is made on the final single. With 'I wanna go to the new Belsen, I wanna see some history' lyrics, at the time of the RAF Hanns-Martin Schleyer kidnapping / Lufthansa hijack, and Stammheim deaths (for more on see 'Vague #26: Televisionaries'). After the original detourned Belgian tourist-brochure cartoon is legally scrapped, Jamie replaces it with the holiday beach picture, and 'Nice Drawing' from 'Leaving the 20th Century', along with 'Keep Warm This Winter Make Trouble' sticker. According to the first situationist mention by the 'NME': 'The back sleeve illustration, by the way (also scrapped, since 'Holidays' is now going out in a plain white wrapper), depicting a 'nice middle-class family at luncheon', was based on a late 60s pamphlet put out by the International Situationists – a bunch of French radical loonies (or not) whose credo was permanent revolution...'. Or, as the Wise brothers have it in 'The End of Music', 'this form of hip capitalism, coming from the overt recuperation of a bowdlerised Situationist critique in the UK, was really the capitalising of deceased active nihilism inherent in the activities of King Mob, continuing to exist as a nostalgic, dearly beloved memory, static and un-self critical. In the case of punk, returning active nihilism to a consumed passive nihilism via rock venues, King Mob eventually gave an extra fillip to the marketing of disintegration, and ironically, became more noticeable in the late 70s than in the late 60s because of the sale on the mass market of artistic anti-art... Punk is the admission that music has got nothing left to say but money can still be made out of total artistic bankruptcy with all its surrogate substitutions for creative self-expression in our daily lives. Punk music, like all art, is the denial of the revolutionary becoming of the proletariat.' (for whole thing see 'What Is Situationism?' AK)

NOVEMBER 5: 'NEVER MIND THE BOLLOCKS', there's still some great 'surrogate substitutions'. Like the unsuccessful prosecution of Virgin proprietors, in Nottingham and Notting Hill, for displaying 'Never Mind The Bollocks Here's the Sex Pistols' LP sleeves, under the 1824 Vagrancy Act / 1889 Indecent Advertisements Act. 'Bollocks' includes the new track, 'EMI', with 'Don't judge a book just by the cover, unless you cover just another' Suburban Press line, the anti 'New York' Dolls ('Pills'), and the anti-abortion / Catholic 'Bodies'. While I participate in some 'passive nihilism' at a Clash 'White Riot', in which it's reported; 'punk fans went berserk... ripping up seats, causing hundreds of pounds of damage, and leaving a trail of havoc behind them.' Resulting in the postponement of Clash London dates, and cancellation of Pistols west country tour. Though, according to a CBS spokesman, 'all I can say is that this story is highly exaggerated. The audience was extremely mild. Most of them were long-haired denim-clad kids. One kid upfront was ripping out a few seats and he was ejected by security guards... Perhaps I was at the wrong gig or perhaps Bournemouth has never seen a punk band before.'

DECEMBER 25: For Sex Pistols final UK appearance, the schoolkids gig at Huddersfield Ivanhoes, Malcolm McLaren reveals his 'Oliver Twist Manifesto'. As a flyer / T-shirt in 1780 King Mob missive style scrawl, with George Cruikshanks street urchin nethersken illustration. Which, as well as Dickens, attempts to echo / detourne / rip off 'Now the SI' (in 'IS' #9) from 1964, via 'Leaving the 20th Century'. 'While contemporary impotence rambles on about the belated project of 'getting into the 20th century', we think it is time to put an end to the dead time which has dominated this century, and to finish the Christian era with the same stroke. Here, as elsewhere, it's a matter of breaking the bounds of measurement. Ours is the best effort so far to get out of the 20th century.' Chris Gray translation.

Anarchy in the UK Christmas  
 SEX PISTOLS Day  
 HUDDERSFIELD



Jump Magazine

They are Dickensian-like wretches who  
 with ragged clothes and pock marked  
 faces roam the streets of foggy  
 gas-lit London. Pillaging...

Pill

Setting FIRE to Buildings Beating-up  
 old people with gold chains.  
 Fucking the rich up the arse.  
 Causing havoc wherever they go. Some of  
 these raggedy-in gags jump into  
 the air amidst the charred debris

debris and with burning  
torches play took 'n roll to the  
screaming delight of the  
frenzied pissing pogoing mob.

SHOOTING AND SPITTING

→ 'anarchy' one of these gangs  
call themselves the **SEX  
PISTOLS**. This true and  
dirty tale has BEEN

CONTINUING THROUGHOUT

200 years of teenage anarchy  
and so in 1978 there still

remains the **SEX PISTOLS**. Their  
active Extremism is all that they

care about because that's what

**WHAT COUNTS TO JUMP**

**NOT OUT OF THE 20<sup>th</sup>**

**CENTURY AS FAST YOU**

**POSSIBLY CAN**

in order to **CREATE**  
an environment that you can

**TRUTHFULLY RUN WILD IN**  
Oliver Twist.

1978

JANUARY 14: 'NO ONE IS INNOCENT': Malcolm McLaren ends up as 'Sir John Chester' in 'Barnaby Rudge', as his pop-Dickensian-revolutionary-apprentice-street-gang-with-an-analysis, inevitably rebel against him, and play their last gig at San Francisco Winterland (presented by Bill Graham, with Greil Marcus stalking the aisles). Sid Vicious subsequently ODs, Steve and Paul go to Brazil, and John (as Wilkes / Gray) goes to New York, to stay with Joe Stevens (of earlier Jim McCann connection). Then John (as Mordred) goes to Jamaica, as Virgin A&R man, and forms his post-punk, nihilist-pop outfit, Public Image Ltd. Malcolm concludes: "I realised it was pointless trying to paint and that I should be using people instead. The Situationists were incredible at turning things on their head. It was that manipulation that I was directly inspired by when I finally put the Sex Pistols together. Instead of using paint, instead of using clay, one decided to use people. It was far more dangerous and exciting. It really was. I guess that's how I came to be involved with the music industry. I didn't have any interest in the industry as such and I guess that's why the Sex Pistols never ultimately worked with that environment, the band only ever existed to work against it. It was always about trying to destroy the product in order to retain the idea." While Clash keep the 'street gang with an analysis' myth going, in a more pop-Maoist than situationist style, Malcolm briefly manages the original girl power, anti-music group, the Slits (who bring forth 'memories of Sex Pistols at their most indolent' to Nick Kent). The likes of X-Ray-Spex, Adverts, Buzzcocks, and Alternative TV also perpetuate a pop-pro-situ consumer society critique. Then Malcolm and Jamie begin their 'spooof, hip, in depth, sociological report of utter degeneration in the sub-cultural milieu'; 'The Great Rock'n'Roll Swindle'. Jamie Reid and what's left of the band go on a King Mob nihilist tip for 'No One Is Innocent' ('Cosh The Driver'), the first post-Pistols single, featuring the Great Train Robber Ronnie Biggs, with Sid's nihilist 'My Way'. 'No One is Innocent' echoes the 1890s anarchist Ravachol, on being sentenced to death for bombing a bourgeois cafe; also taken up by Emile Henry. Ravachol has a song, 'Pere Duchesne', which goes: 'If you want to be happy / Name of God! / Hang your landlord / Cut the priests in two / Name of God! / Damn the churches down / God's blood! / And the good Lord in shit'; celebrated in 'IS' #9 in '64, and by the '66 Strasbourg 'Society for the Rehabilitation of Karl Marx and Ravachol'. Malcolm is then left with a corpse in his mouth, when his 'Oliver Twist manifesto' concludes, with Sid (as 'Bill Sikes') probably killing Nancy Spungen, in New York. For which Seditonaries produce the 'Friends of Vicious' T-shirt; detouring 'Phiz' Hablot K. Browne's 'Riots in Moorfields' illustration from 'Barnaby Rudge', with 'FRIENDS OF VICIOUS' graffiti wall, black hand and horseman, and Blitz backdrop. While the Wembley 'Vive Le Rock' T-shirt ends up with the additional pro-situ slogans; 'WE ARE NOT IN THE LEAST AFRAID OF RUINS - BUENAVENTURA DURRUTI' / 'THE ANARCHIST COOKBOOK' / 'THE FAMOUS MOLOTOV', and 'OURS IS THE BEST EFFORT SO FAR TO LEAVE THE 20TH CENTURY IN ORDER TO JOIN THE PUNK ROCK DISCO'. The last Seditonaries T-shirt, 'Anarchist Punk Gang', features 'AS YOU WERE I WAS AS I AM YOU WILL BE' Himmler quote. As 'The End of Music' is first circulated (around the Leeds Solidarity 'Infantile Disorder' scene), and the Vermorels 'Sex Pistols: The Inside Story' comes out (on Omnibus), 'IT' pro-situ David Robins and Phil Cohen/Dr. John come up with 'Knuckle Sandwich: Growing Up In The Working-class City' (Pelican), with 'Fighting the New Nihilism', NF 'Punk Politics' conclusion. Like the Gordon riots, Punk Rock has some obscure (English, French, and American) revolutionary influences, but is more about destruction than reform, and has some unfortunate (reformist, and nationalist) repercussions. As well as Punk's laissez-faire DIY individualism leading into 80s Thatcherism (in the same way that the Gordon riots result in Pitt the Younger), instead of its nihilist intention of destroying the ailing music business, Punk props it up (like the Gordon riots restore George III's ministry). Also echoing the Georgian King Mob, Punk unleashes xenophobic conservative, as well as radical libertarian, nihilist elements. Some Dickensian cartoon King Mob mediates, through Sex Pistols, into the 'Bash Street Kids' working-class punk / football hooligan, Sham 69 (who's gigs regularly come close to a pop 'revolutionary becoming of the proletariat'), and the post-punk, neo-nazi skinhead groups. But, hey, no one's innocent. Also, by now, punk's puritan black streak has well and truly come out, in the form of anarcho-punk; the radical hippy punk sub-culture of Crass, and The Mob from the west country. While some sort of post-18th century King Mob attitude emerges from the Protestant / Catholic Troubles in Northern Ireland, in the form of Stiff Little Fingers 'Alternative Ulster', and the Undertones 'Teenage Kicks' from Londonderry. Back in London, Nick Brandt starts his pro-situ 'Re-fuse' journal, while Tony D's 'Ripped & Torn' fanzine has Angry Brigade page, and re-formsUS west coast pro-situ links, with 'Search & Destroy' fanzine.

1979

'BELSEN WAS A GAS': As the Punk Rock pop revolution peters out, punks turn out to be more of a Victorian Swell Mob than King Mob echo, with, as George Rude says of the Gordon rioters, 'no particular motives of their own other than loot, lucre, free drinks, or the satisfaction of some lurking criminal instinct.' When Thatcher comes to power, McLaren and Reid end up like Debord and Sanguinetti, putting out post-Pistols 'Swindle' film 'products' / 'exposing the face of utter degeneration in the sub-cultural milieu.' As Sid Vicious dies in New York, the top-selling, 'Something Else' / 'Friggin' in the Riggin' singlesleeve, features Sid (as Rosa Luxemburg) 'From Beyond The Grave' action-man doll, in swastika shirt in coffin, and 'The Swindler' comic graphic; echoing the Protestant, 'The Thunderer' paper. Sid's 'C'mon Everybody' / 'God Save The Queen Symphony' / 'Watcha Gonna Do About It' has 'Vicious-Burger' front cover (referring to Vaneigem's corpse metaphor), and 'Rot'n'Roll' manifesto back cover, with Gordon riots re-enactment film still (also on the songbook cover, with 'WE ARE THE SEX PISTOLS' slogan). The 'Swindle' LP has 'Oliver Twist Manifesto' / 'Who Killed Bambi' back cover. 'Silly Thing' single is marketed in a cinema 'Pop Corn' sleeve. 'Carri On Sex Pistols... Some Product', US interviews / ads 'Pistols Propaganda' LP, causes the most controversy in the music press, and the 'Swindle' singlesleeve Amex card detournement results in further legal action. Before 'Flogging A Dead Horse' LP makes a 'final fuck off to Virgin'; along with the Vermorels' Cash Pussies '99% IS SHIT' single; and graffiti on Portobello, outside Virgin's Vernon Yard HQ. As control of the group is vested in the hands of a third party receiver, McLaren and Reid stop working on the film, and Malcolm's pop-situ apprentice, Julien Temple, tidies it up. Jamie Reid says: "As far as I'm concerned, I thought the best Sex Pistols product was 'The Great Rock'n'Roll Swindle'. I think in a way we jumped too far ahead of ourselves. It was meant to be a loud and blatant statement about consumerism and who buys pop records and what a pop group is – just a factory churning out things for people to buy." Meanwhile, in Manchester, Tony Wilson's Factory label come up with the next most romantic nihilist band of them all, in Joy Division (named after concentration camp prostitute slaves). Wilson is also responsible for 'The Return of the Durutti Column' (spelt wrong) FAC14 LP, in sandpaper cover, plagiarising Debord's 'Memoires' book, and the '66 Strasbourg strip. As McLaren and Reid are signing off with '(DON'T) BELIEVE IN THE RUINS' slogan, from Buenaventura Durruti's interview (with Pierre Van Passen of the 'Toronto Daily Star'); following the liberation of Aragon from Franco's Fascists, in August 1936. Durruti: "We are giving Hitler and Mussolini far more worry with our revolution than the whole Red Army of Russia. We are setting an example to the German and Italian working class on how to deal with Fascism. I do not expect any help for a libertarian revolution from any Government in the world... We expect no help, not even from our own Government, in the last analysis." Van Passen: "Can you win alone? You will be sitting on top of a pile of ruins even if you are victorious." Durruti: "We have always lived in slums and holes in the wall. We will know how to accommodate ourselves for a time. For, you must not forget, that we can also build these palaces and cities, here in Spain and in America and everywhere. We, the workers. We can build others to take their place. And better ones! We are not in the least afraid of the ruins. We are going to inherit the earth; there is not the slightest doubt about that. The bourgeoisie might blast and ruin its own world before it leaves the stage of history. We carry a new world here, in our hearts. That world is growing this minute." As 'Vague' and Larry Law's Vaneigemist 'Spectacular Times' ('situationism for beginners') series begin, there's still some great post-punk nihilist pop records about, like 'Babylon's Burning' by the Ruts, 'Death Disco' by John Lydon's PIL, and 'We are all Prostitutes' by The Pop Group from Bristol (who Prigent sends lyrics); while the Mo-dettes 'White Mice' single is described as 'Situationalism' in 'Melody Maker'. The 70s are finally put out of their misery by the romantic nihilist classic, 'Sid Sings (at Max's Kansas City)'. For which Jamie Reid (as Jacques Roux) commits pop suicide, with his much-criticised guitar-swastika cover design (along with the unused 'JOIN THE ROCK'N'ROLL ARMY' / 'MUSIC KEEPS YOU UNDER CONTROL' slogans). Jamie also does cannabis leaf swastikas for Dead Kennedys' anti-Woodstock, 'California Uber Alles'. While Malcolm returns from Wilkesian exile in Paris, to rename Seditionaries World's End. He then ushers in 80s Style Culture, with Viv Westwood's couture-crossover 'well dressed men' / pirate range. Coinciding with the inception of the last and most revolting 70s youth cult, New Romantics, at the Blitz on Great Queen Street (where the Gordon riots start 200 years before). Malcolm also takes over management of Adam and the Ants, promptly sacking Adam. Until Malcolm tempts Adam to sell out to Brit-Pop-ery, the Ants are on more of a Dada / Futurist tip, with accompanying Seditionaries, pop Jacobite tartan / Protestant black, mini-style-riots down the Strand.



1980

'THE GREAT ROCK'N'ROLL SWINDLE' film comes out for the 200th anniversary of the Gordon Riots. Opening with Malcolm, in rubber black mask (as 'Fantomas', from the cover of 'King Mob Echo'), giving 'Lesson 1: How to Manufacture your group': "My name is Malcolm McLaren. I have brought you many things in my time; Teddy Boy revivalism, Zoot suits... sex clothes, bondage, whips, chains, the whole bloody lot, but the most successful of all was an invention of mine they called The Punk Rock... Find yourself 4 kids. Make sure they hate each other, make sure they can't play... I called them the Sex Pistols, a name chosen to annoy people, and created clothes for them, designed to offend and outrage. With the line-up complete, we immediately set about putting our plan into effect – To swindle our way to the top of the rock'n'roll industry. It was a plan that, within 2 years, was to bring us close on a million pounds and a household name as the most notorious, filthiest, disgusting, dirtiest rock'n'roll band in the whole bloody world." Cut to '1780 THE GORDON RIOTS – THE LONDON MOB CREATED ANARCHY IN THE UK' New Romantic nihilist re-enactment, in which Pistols effigies are taken by boat across the river to the gallows at Tyburn. A riot-captain horseman asks, "How do you know whether the Pope is a man or a horse?" The mob respond, "Burn him!", and the horseman shouts 'Fire! Fire! Fire!' The Johnny Rotten effigy is taken out of a Catholic church, followed by a shout of 'Anarchy!' As the New Romantic mob arrive at Welbeck Street, Malcolm (now as Lord George / 'Turner' in 'Performance' in the bath / then as Dickens' 'Gashford' / Dr. Watson) burns evidence of what he's started, in red tartan bondage-suit; while the pop-King Mob burn guitars, records, and punk rock propaganda outside. Jamie Reid says: "Even the scene where the band was being burnt in effigy was naff. Those were rich ideas, ideas that Malcolm and I had laid down years before in the Oxford Street film, about the Gordon Riots, and they were just thrown away. Meyer could have handled it, funnily enough." Cut to '78 Kids audition 'Swindle' song, with Jagger / Dylan / Rod Stewart / Elton John 'King Mob Echo' hit list. 'Lesson 2: Establish the name Sex Pistols': 'I am an antichrist' pogoing punk mob into 'Lesson 3: Sell the Swindle': Steve Jones (as 'Marlowe') pursues Malcolm through Soho to the Glitterbest office, and to 'his rambling Gothic hideaway on the slopes of Highgate cemetery, overlooking the tomb of Karl Marx and the bedroom of Linsey de Paul.' 'Lesson 4: Don't Play': Malcolm and Helen 'You Need Hands' dance routine, with Malcolm in tartan suit, 'Cash from Chaos' shirt, and one black glove (representing the Black Hand Gang), flyposting 'Who killed Bambi? / 'God Save the Cambridge Rapist / Myra Hindley' King Mob Echo handbills. Unused Jamie Reid 'Swindle' promotional material includes fluorescent 'CASH FROM CHAOS' poster (from 'Daily Mail' slag off) in Suburban Press style, and other 'God Save' graphics featuring Ronnie Biggs, Jack the Ripper, Dick Turpin, and Captain Swing (as threatening letters are signed in the 1830 southern England anti-threshing-machine riots). Cut to footage of 'Nowhere' bus; Malcolm saying 'People are sick every-where' in 'Anarchy' shirt, Durruti-ish interview; GLC leader's 'nauseating, disgusting, degrading' Pistols condemnation; Malcolm with Sophie in Oxford Street office, sending anti-Pistols letters to the 'poxy music press'; 'God is dead' Caerphilly religious protest; into 'Silly Thing', with Steve as King Mob Santa Claus. 'Lesson 5: How to Steal as much money as possible From the Record Company of your choice': 'MAMIE' record company girl with insects on her face recites Valerie Solanas 'SCUM Manifesto', as Steve shits on gold disc. While Malcolm and the kids throw bottles of 'Piss-aid' at the Black Arabs, as they do Pistols disco medley dressed as centurions. Cut to A&M signing outside Buckingham Palace, with Steve in 'Destroy' shirt. 'Lesson 6: How to become the World's Greatest Tourist Attraction': Malcolm tells Helen about the Jubilee boat-trip on Tower Bridge: 'Banned on the land we decided to play our tribute to the Queen from the river... beneath the bridges of London!'; 'God Save the Queen' with John in 'Destroy' shirt, Paul in Union Jack shirt; cut with bonfires and 'ERII' torchlit procession; Malcolm and Jamie being arrested, with 'No Future!' chant instead of 'No Popery!'; 'Pretty Vacant' video; into cartoon of John getting 'jumped by thugs' in Dickensian alleyway, and teds beating up Paul re-enactment. As Steve proceeds to the 'Cambridge Rapist Hotel' (music biz debtors prison), in King's Cross, to torment MAMIE boss ('Harry Flowers' from 'Performance'), and grapple with Japanese girl in 'Does Passion end in Fashion?' graffiti room. 'Lesson 7: Cultivate Hatred: It is your Greatest Asset': Faye Catwoman in bondage suit (as 'Fantomas' / Rotten) garrotes 'B.J.' (Brian Ferry), killing Bambi on the train. 'Lesson 8: How to Diversify your business': 'Swindle' promo-products being sold in the cinema foyer by 'direct descendant of Henry VIII', Tenpole Tudor, include Sex Pistols Pop Corn, 'Rotten bars', 'Gob Ale', 'Anarkee-Ora', and 'Piss-lemonade' (echoing 'King Mob 2' beer bottle label?). 'Lesson 9: Taking Civilisation To The Barbarians': Malcolm (as Guy Debord / George III) shouts "I'm anti-American!" at Hindley Airfield, 'old

Battle of Britain Station'; followed by 'In the City voted Young Businessmen of the Year' voice-over. 'Lesson 10: Who Killed Bambi?': Pushing the edge of the pro-situ nihilist pop envelope, Steve and Paul go to Rio, for 'Belsen was a Gas', with Ronnie Biggs and 'Martin Bormann'. While 'Henry returns' to Paris, as Sid generally larging it, representing King Mob / Motherfuckers, in pop Nazi revolution swastika T-shirt, as he drifts around the Jewish Quarter; cut with 'Anarchie pour le UK' buskers. For his 'My Way' finale, Sid (as Jacques Vache / 'Chas' in 'Performance') shoots his mother, and random Olympia audience members. The last Sex Pistol, Mary Millington, and Steve 'get up to leave their seats' Rozanov style, as the audience go home, singing along with 'Friggin' in the Riggin'. Pirate ship with 'God' on sail and Union Jack flags cartoon credits-sequence. The film is also promoted by a Dickens style newspaper serialisation of Michael Moorcock's 'Swindle' novel; the last Pistols (Monkees / Who covers) single, 'Stepping Stone' / 'Substitute'; and a side of a house ad at Shepherd's Bush. Reggae sound-system film, 'BABYLON', appears at the same time, on a militant 'Black Anarchy' anti-pope tip. JUNE 1780/1980: Never Trust A Hippie: After going to see the 'Swindle', I go to Ants v skins style-riot in High Wycombe. As Adam comes up with his pop Geronimo Cell panto (incorporating pop 'Anarchy' shirt approximations); continued into the 90s by Ian Astbury's 'mohock' (Southern Death) Cult. While Malcolm names the former Ants, 'Bow-Wow-Wow', after a favourite phrase of 'Grip' the raven in 'Barnaby Rudge'. Malcolm and the Vermorels also attempt a post-punk 'Schoolkids Oz' scandal, with their radical 'Smash Hits', 'Chicken' mag. Which is meant to accompany Bow-Wow-Wow's anti-music biz cassette-piracy, but suffers a similar fate to that of 'The Thunderer', in 1780. While John Lydon is incarcerated in Dublin Mountjoy prison, for general King Mobbish behaviour. In Ladbrooke Grove, Killing Joke make King Mob / Malicious Damage connection, and in post-punk pro-situ Liverpool, Wah Heat's 'Story of the Blues' features Pete Wylie quoting Raoul Vaneigem's: 'People who talk about revolution and class struggle without referring explicitly to everyday life, without understanding what is subversive about love and what is positive in the refusal of constraints, such people have a corpse in their mouth.'

## 1981

'W.O.R.K.': Malcolm McLaren takes the Lettrist 'Arbeit Macht Frei' / 'Ne Travaillez Jamais' dialectic into pop, with Bow-Wow-Wow's proto-Jungle single, in cryptic swastika sleeve, with the anti-Protestant lyrics: 'Demolition of the Work Ethic / W.O.R.K.N.O. Nah No No, My daddy don't.' Bow-wow-wow also detourne Manet's 'Dejeuner sur l'herbe', for their debut 'See Jungle, See Jungle, Go Join Your Gang Yeah, City All Over! Go Ape Crazy' LP cover; making 'Only in it for the Manet' anti-art statement. As Malcolm's pop revolutionary cognitive powers go awry (until he gets into hip-hop), Barnsley (from Acupuncture) and co maintain a King Mob echo. In the deliberately unpop-situ milieu, the Wise brothers, Lucy Forsyth, and Michel Prigent, produce 'To Libertarians' broadsheet, as the 'British Internationalists', featuring Debord on Spanish prisoners.

## 1982

As Ken Knabb's (Bureau of Public Secrets) 'Situationist International Anthology' is unleashed on the world, the Wise brothers celebrate the '81 (anti-police / Thatcher / Tory) riots, with 'Like A Summer With A Thousand Julys'. Including 'International Herald Tribune' report, 'emphasizing class as the prime factor, they rightly noted London had seen nothing like it since the days of the Gordon Riots in 1780.' Further railing against the 'Sociologist of Deviancy' Stan (?) Cohen / London Street Commune, the Wise brothers also deliver RAR race state of nation address, 'King Arthur and the Knights of Wage Labour', and 'The Lingering Death of Rock'n'Roll'. In which they conclude on punk, 'McLaren was able to mint 'cash from chaos just so long as publicity conscious notoriety overran more radical perspectives. He was the last buccaneer of the music biz, but rather ironically the day he was unmasked, music's claim to even a pseudo radicality also crashed. Punk had wavered as it dipped in and out of the music scene between genuine working class aggression and show case pretence. Attempting to live up to yet another immanent scandal for the sake of a few sensational headlines eventually drove Sid Vicious to murder and suicide. A sticker read 'McLaren wanted for Vicious murder'. However as an ideology of radical art punk was lethal to all who got involved in it. Never before in the history of rock music had so much emphasis been placed on not 'selling out' which implied a critique of capitalism was taking root. So far so good. At the same time Punk's original mentors have sold out with such indecent haste forfeiting all open house claims to being a mass based egalitarian movement, as individuals and groups rose into the supertax bracket and stardom.' Around the same time, the Autonomy Press / V2 Glasgow edition of 'The End of Music' gets favourably reviewed in 'NME', by Billy Mann, with the reservation that 'it uses the style and language of a theoretical elite, and in the 'end', this emerges as its most significant statement.'

For Industrial Revolution 200th anniversary, pop-situ 'member from afar', Tony Wilson, carries out Ivan Chtcheglov / Gilles Ivain's 1958 'Formula for a New City', to create Acid House raver revival in Manchester. 'Milord, I am from another country. We are bored in the town. There is no longer any Temple of the Sun. The Dadaists wanted to see a monkey-wrench between the legs of the girls walking by and the Surrealists a crystal bowl. So much for all that. We can read every type of promise into every type of face, concluding phase of morphology. The poetry of commercial advertising has lasted 20 years. We are bored in the town; you really do have to be pretty bored to be still looking for mystery on the hoardings and in the streets, concluding phase of poetry and laughter... And the swimming pool in the Street of Little Girls. And the police station of Rendezvous Road. The medical-surgical clinic and the free labour exchange of the quai des Orfevres. The artificial flowers of Sun Street. The Castle Cellars Hotel, the ocean Bar and the Coming-and-Going Cafe. The Hotel of the Epoch. And the strange statue of Doctor Philippe Pinel, benefactor of the insane, the last evenings of the summer. To explore Paris. And you forgotten, your memories ravaged by all the chaos of the planet, wrecked in the Red Caves of Pali-Kao, without any knowledge of either music or geography, no longer leaving for the hacienda, where the roots dream of the child and where the wine ends in tales from some old almanac. Well, you've blown it now. You'll never see the hacienda. It doesn't exist anywhere. The hacienda must be built.' Wilson and Joy Division (New Order)'s nightclub is in post-modern industrial style of the SI 'IT' comic-strip (on the next page in 'Leaving the 20th Century'), designed by Ben Kelly, of previous Seditious fame. Pity Ivan wasn't around to see it. Out of the Hacienda comes the next world-historical-revolutionary-youth-pop phenomena after punk, Acid House (albeit mostly pharmacological revolution), and Happy Mondays – whose Manc nihilist King Mob / Sex Pistols capabilities are exploited by Wilson (in a McLaren-esque way) during the high-Thatcherite late 80s. Shaun Ryder's post-Mondays 'Rev. Black Grape' project also contains anti-Pope / No Brit-Pop-ery sentiments.

**1984**

As Trocchi shuffles off, Nick Brandt (BM Combustion) puts out 'Miner Conflicts – Major Contradictions' on the miners strike, and 'The Misery of Unions: A Recent Example of Class Consciousness in Struggle: Barcelona 1979'. While London has a series of 'Stop the City' King Mob echo demos, on (generally anti-Thatcher / War) post-punk, proto-crusty, 1968 King Mob street-hippy revival tip. After clashes outside the Mansion House and the Stock Exchange, on Threadneedle Street, police chase breakaway groups of anarcho-punks around the City. Unlike the Gordon riots, the 'Stop the City' demos are anti-American and there's no well dressed men.

**1985**

Anti-Tory / Thatcher / police riots carry on in Brixton, Broadwater Farm, and around the country, echoing the 18th century anti-Whig / Walpole riots. While Jamie Reid is designing posters for 'Letter to Brezhnev', as part of his 'Leaving 20th Century' project; Malcolm McLaren releases his 'Swamp Thing' LP, keeping up the radical comic connection, and New York street gang analysis; and 'Face' journo DJ, Jay Strongman, attempts a pop-situ soul group. The unpop-situ Wise brothers (BM Blob) come up with 'Report on the Danish Mass Strike of March and April 1985', and the Cyber-punk pro-situ, Mark Downham, writes on the current state of the revolutionary project. 'Historically speaking the British, French, American, German, Greek and Yugoslav situationist communities are alive and well. But they are very much out of contact with each other, primarily because texts are not translated and various internal rivalries. The British situationist community is at best an invisible network, at worst a fragmented, internally waning collection of individuals. We did not have our last fling with the Angry Brigade or with the commercial cynical rationale of Jamie Reid (now working with Jayne Casey, Ambrose Reynolds, Margo McGregor (Margi Clarke), Pink Industry and 'Leaving the 20th Century' respectively) and Malcolm McLaren. At the moment, nationwide, the network shifts between 500-1000 individuals, all as usual very solipsistic to the point of being tendentially nomadic. The last really big situationist event was the Finsbury Park situation, where Nick Brandt (BM Combustion) announced that he would be screening Guy Debord's 'Society of the Spectacle' film. 500 plus turned up, anarchists, syndicalists, anarcho-situs, pro-situs and new wave situationists. Brandt had baked a huge 'eat me' cake and left it on the first floor of the squat, full of booze. Unfortunately the residents thought it was a revolutionary army gathering and someone rang the police. The rest is history. But all the situationists haven't been in one place together since. As far as 'Situationism' goes it doesn't exist except as a recuperated spectacular ideology, I accept that Larry Law ('Spectacular Times') sees us, 'the Situationists', as deified Leary intellectuals, surrealists adrift in an interzone between phenomenology, revolution and living our everyday lives. The main point to stress is that we

are continuing, Chris Gray may have joined Rajneesh and Alex Seers (BM Mattoid) may have done the 'Time and Motion' issue of 'Class War', but we continue. Why no more terrorism? Well, after the Angry Brigade, the big heat was really turned on and it's not worth getting stuck on the wrong side of the wall. As for situationist texts, at the moment I'm involved in a massive re-release hopefully of all British / American SI / new situationist texts ever written. One last thing, after Guy Debord made the 'In Girum' film his whole sense of progress collapsed, culminating in the split with Sanguinetti, so when 'KOYAANISQATSI' came along he naturally went for it, who wouldn't after being ripped off by Resnais and Strawb. Actually I last spoke to Debord in 1981 but Michel Prigent (BM Chronos) is in contact at the moment for a new English edition of 'Society of the Spectacle' and Nicholson-Smith is in contact with Vaneigem. We are collectively (10-12 of us) working on a new main situationist text to look at new aspects of phenomenological Geist / Gestalt in the Spectacle and survivalism.' (for more Brit-pro-situ stuff see Simon Ford's 'Realisation and Suppression of the SI: Annotated Bibliography 1972-92' on AK)

**1986**

Richard North asks the Vermorels in 76/86 'Zigzag', if they think the situationist critique still applies. Fred replies: "Some of it more than ever but the tactics seem a bit tame these days. The Situationists split up but the ideas have been absorbed by different things which is healthy. Images and ideas have been absorbed, especially by teenage pop culture in this country, which has radicalised a whole group of people, which when I was young would've been astonishing. I'm amazed that large numbers of 18 year olds are tuned into, what we would've called, hard anarchist philosophies. In my time those ideas were usually picked up by students who played around with them for 3 years before going off to be magistrates or whatever. Now the ideas are being taken up by people who've got a lifetime ahead of them on the dole or in some crappy job. So it means so much more to them. They're really internalising those ideas and in that sort of way living them out." As well as their Pistols and Kate Bush biogs, the Vermorels do 'Starlust' (Comet) and 'Fandemonium' (Omnibus. 1989) on pop riots through the ages, with the 1514 Durer peasant dance in 'King Mob Echo'. MARCH 25: I ask cops in Grosvenor Square directions to Jamie Reid's 'Leaving the 20th Century' exhibition at the Hamilton Gallery. Michel Prigent pickets it, with flyer saying Chris Gray, Reid, and McLaren 'are still stuck in the 19th century'; while 80s re-launch 'IT' contingent run off with 'Pretty Vacant', 'Swindle', and 'Pistols Castrated' artwork. Michel Prigent and Lucy Forsyth's Chronos mini-group also publish 'The Thunderer' (from the London Protestant Association), and 'On the New Cross Fire by a friend of Junius'. While, out of the Stoke Newington anarcho-punk slum warren / squatting scene comes God Told Me To Do It, flyer and T-shirt campaign. Including 'Better Dead Than Wed', for Fergie / Andrew wedding (adopted by Class War), and 'Clockwork Orangemen: Being the adventures of Young Ian, whose principle interests are Beethoven, Pope and lashings of the old Ulster-violence.' God also squat the Libyan Bureau (briefly), and put out (genuine) 'Enoch 'n' Roll' racist Beatles tapes. JULY: Tony Wilson's Factory present the 'Festival of the 10th Summer' in Manchester, featuring Durutti Column (still spelt wrong), New Order, A Certain Ratio, The Fall, The Smiths, The Worst, Bill Grundy, Jamie Reid and Margi Clarke's 'Chaos in Cancerland' performance, and assorted post-punk pro-situ merchandising; which brings forth another Michel Prigent anti-Reid / McLaren flyer. Jamie's multimedia 'Leaving the 20th Century' project also incorporates Delacroix's 1830 'Liberty leading the People', and a Margi song, which goes; 'Here's to you my honourable gang / The timeless rabble of history... My happy gang / Who were at the Gordon Riots / And the storming of the Bastille...'

**1987**

For the publication of 'Up They Rise: The Incomplete Works of Jamie Reid', by Faber & Faber, Michel Prigent does 'How is your stiff neck today?' flyer. While Nick Brandt brings out French prison revolts pamphlet, and 'Rebel Violence v Hierarchical Violence: A Chronology of anti-state violence in the UK mainland July 1985 - May 1986'. Then the Wise brothers (BM Blob) and Nick Brandt (BM Combustion) join forces for 'France Goes Off The Rails: The Movements in France, November 1986 - January 1987'; with proviso that 'our specific collaboration on this does not pretend to constitute any Organisation, Association, Re-groupment, Milieu or Clique.' Blob also put out Portuguese dockers strike pamphlet, and Brandt does Greenham Common critique.

**1988**

The Wise brothers bring out 'Once Upon A Time There Was A Place Called Notting Hill Gate', going into the ongoing Grove class struggle; arguably the best London Psychogeography project to date. Also the year of the Tate gallery Situationist disruption by Michel Prigent; and Stewart Home of 'SMILE's, more pop than unpop-situ tome, 'Assault on Culture: From Lettrism to Class War' (Aporia / Unpopular).

**1989**

Down and out in Paris and London 1789 / 1989: Jamie Reid shouts 'Fuck off arty wankers', at Debordist demonstrators outside the Pompidou Centre SI exhibition. While at the London ICA SI expo, there's a one-man (Prigent) Tiananmen Square style demo.

**1990**

The Wise brothers publish 'The Destruction of Toytown UK: Thoughts Instigated by the Great Poll Tax Riot' (which also echoes the Gordon riots, around the Soho block), while Martin Scorsese makes 'Friends of Vicious' / Black Hand Gang tribute with 'Goodfellas'.

In 'Blissed Out' (Serpent's Tail), Simon Reynolds sums up the pop-situ revolutionary project at the end of the 80s. 'Situationism's error was to imagine that these dreams – of unbounded bliss and heaven on earth – could ever be realized. But there's another, dystopian side to Situationism that has influenced rock. Mark Stewart, for instance, has responded entirely to the critique side of Situationism, its project of negation, and largely ignores their ideas about cultural improvisation. For Stewart, 'nihilism' is a way of life', almost mystical ('Anger is Holy'). Mark Stewart and the Mafia don't 'gatecrash paradise' like Scarlet Fantastic and requisition the impossible; they rage about being expelled from paradise. (Though he lives in Ibiza?) Like the original situationists, Stewart looks at the world system and sees only power, deceit and exploitation; unlike the situationists, he's given up the dream of a utopia. Stewart inhabits a hinterland of Situationist-influenced activists on the margins, groups interested in magick, altered states, conspiracy theories, pirate radio and TV, all documented in the irregular fanzine 'Vague'. His kindred spirits are Psychic TV, World Domination Enterprises and Mutoid Waste Company. (The Mutoids' 'skip culture' – the detournement of refuse into art – is one of the few contemporary examples of the fun side of Situationism, their dream of a life of perpetual play.) Jon Savage has argued that these 'media refusers, cultists, ranters, plagiarists, poets and pranksters' represent a contemporary resurgence of Millenarianism. This is the belief in an apocalyptic 'end of history', to be preceded by a short period of unrule and carnivalesque license. Certainly, these 'alternative networks' do sustain themselves with the belief that by building up links, exchanging ideas and contacts ('networking'), they can propagate radicalism, which will snowball and fulfil some kind of 'destiny' – the dawning of a new age.' As the King Mob anti-music virus goes into the pop culture matrix, a 'Society of Situationism' continues to thrive. Every post-punk act, from New Order, Frankie Goes To Hollywood, and Sique Sique Sputnik (who have Moscow street gang name, and Belgian terrorist logo), to Pet Shop Boys, Transvision Vamp, and beyond, has a supposed pop-pro-situ sub-text. As most recently, and bogusly, illustrated by Manic Street Preachers, detourning the Stranglers / Clash, and Chumbawumba's 'Get knocked down' dole office muzak. I know I've lost touch with pop music, but I know what I don't like.

**1991**

The Wise brothers cease fire with 'Yugoslavia: Capitalism and Class Struggle 1918 – 1967: Some basic ingredients of Yugoslav ideology', and 'Workers of the world, tonight!' on the 'International dockers struggles of the 1980s; recent examples of workers' revolutionary organisation' (according to 'Blast 3'). Which is apparently their last word on the subject, as they abandon romantic nihilism for the building trade. Er? What was all that stuff about work? DECEMBER 25: 'Magic's Back', like the 80s never happened? Malcolm McLaren's 'History Of Oxford Street' psychogeography film finally comes out, as 'The Ghosts of Oxford Street' Channel 4 Christmas special. 'Let's Smash the Great Deception': Malcolm's 'Spectacle of the Commodity' critique / celebration begins in St. Giles alleyway, under Centre Point, on a generally pop-Dickensian tip. There's King Mob in Selfridges Xmas '68 re-enactment, with 'Situationists Create Seasonal Sensation' 'Daily Mirror' mock-up; Happy Mondays being hanged at Tyburn (where Malcolm claims a Jacobite ancestor offed after Culloden); the original psychogeographer, Thomas de Quincey, played by John Altman ('Nick Cotton' out of 'Eastenders'), Shane MacGowan (who now has Popes group), and Sinead O'Connor (who leaves the 20th century as a punky/reggae anti-catholic priest).

**1994**

1794 / 1994: For the 200th anniversary of the Great Terror, Malcolm McLaren resumes pro-situ activity with his 'Paris' tribute LP, quoting Chtcheglov and Trocchi's porno story. Harris and me drift into McLaren (The Man who killed the King) at the Tuileries, and Guy Debord shoots himself. Back in London, the anti-Criminal Justice Bill demo in Hyde Park echoes the 1855 Chartist pro-Sunday Trading riot, which Marx attends (as well as 1866 generally anti-government, and 1887 unemployment riots); while Class War loot Oxford Street, echoing the 1968 kids.

**1996**

1976 / 96: King Mob 'No Popery' finds an echo in 'No Surrender' skinheads at Pistols in Finsbury Park – through 70s Celtic / Rangers (Catholic / Protestant) and 80s casual (more Swell than King Mob) football hooligans – ditto Euro 96 Trafalgar Square riot.

**1997**

After Di and Dodi's speed history media 'flight to Varennes' (from Place Vendome; where 1871 Communists pull down Napoleon's column), the 'People's Princess', Soft City London mob succeed in getting the Queen to lower the flag at Buckingham Palace.

**1998**

Media Sickness: More contagious than Aids: With the Youth Revolt turned into soft lad style culture – 'Cool Britannia' artists, Hirst, Turk, etc, Brit-pop musos, and fashion designers, perpetually recuperating revolutionary punk ideas – former Tory City radical, turned New Labour 'Guardian' conservative, Julie Burchill, writes in her autobiography: 'Ever since the mid-80s, desperate hippies with haircuts have tried to rewrite and reclaim punk as the last gasp of right-on rebellion. But it wasn't. It was rebellious – but only in the way that Mrs. Thatcher was. Punk was about a break with consensus. And we media brats, like our susser (susser? Ed) soul-mates who would come up a few years later in the City – the Big Bang boys, which in itself sounded like a Malcolm McLaren concept group – were McLaren's and Thatcher's children.' ('I Knew I Was Right')

APRIL: After 'The Observer' make a situationist link with the 'Welcome to the Mardi Gra Experience' letter bombs (sent to branches of Barclays and Sainsburys with 'Reservoir Dogs' style labels), the bombers turn out to be a couple of un-counter-cultural, west London old blokes. During the filming of 'Notting Hill', the movie, hippy takeaway staff throw eggs at Hugh Grant (in argument over money), while 'Black Anarchy' Rolex robbers echo 18th century highwaymen on the streets of Kensington.

MAY: 68/98: And Anglo/Continental revolutionary project hostilities continue. Raoul Vaneigem writes to 'Dazed & Confused', regarding proposed interview: 'Thankyou for your letter and examples of your magazine which you have been so kind to make me aware of. However seeing as I don't enter the public arena, which I have never ceased to criticise, I never do interviews, not for the press, radio or television, I don't doubt that you will understand my reasons, I send you my best sentiments.'

JUNE 1848 / 1998: Which is immediately followed by King Mob England hooligans taking revolutionary pop nationalism to France, to disrupt the End of Football World Cup Spectacle. Pity Guy wasn't around to see it. Michel Platini says, "We're a nation of spectators", Terry Venables comments, "I think the Spectacle would have been France v Spain", and Glen Hoddle keeps saying 'Situation'. Back home, Chris Evans receives death threats over Gazza sessions in the Portobello Star; where Damon out of Blur is attacked by skateboard wielding youth; while equally revolutionary you go on CD smashing rampage in Oxford Street HMV (at Destiny's Child PA). It's a London Thing. No Surrender to the IS! JUNE 23: After 'Standard' journo Alex Renton is kicked unconscious in Marseille, Andy Martin writes in 'The Independent': 'There is a curious parallel between the Evenements of 1968 and the World Cup of 1998. Guy Debord's recently re-published 'Societe du Spectacle', which argued that we were suffering from a lack of reality and that everything was a stunt, an illusion, conjured up by a sinister conspiracy of capitalistic and political forces, provided a manual for the 1968 pseudo-revolution. If there were no real events, then we might as well stage one – a happening, a party with barricades and Molotov cocktails. Ironically, the whole thing turned out to be a great non-event that changed nothing. It is possible that the World Cup will do more to change the world (eg. in Iran). The Parisian sociologist Jean Baudrillard is not the only one to carry on the Debord tradition and represent everything as the invention of the media. Now every passing nutter without a CSE to his name is a post-modernist, convinced that the latest mayhem is nothing other than an exercise in the hyperreal. Or, in other words, it is all the fault of the media for making it up. I saw a cameraman set upon by a group of hostiles in the street in Toulouse. "Oi, you. You're scum, you are," growled one of the gang, who had recently been holding hands across the boulevard and lying in front of buses while singing 'Rule Britannia'. "We're just here to have a bit of fun, and you make us out as hooligans. I ought to do you for that!" It was only the fact that the cameraman happened to be standing next to a bus packed with CRS that stopped him being duly done. There were other cases around town where the journalists were not so conveniently positioned and found themselves the victims of instant street censorship, and had their gear and faces smashed. I was coward enough to stuff my pen in my pocket and replace it with a can of Heineken. "What me? Nah, I'm not a journalist, I'm a hooligan." "Oh, that's alright then."

XMAS 1968/1998: Viv Westwood's Boudoir perfume makes its debut in Selfridge's Beauty Hall, as she goes off on some sort of romantic nihilist 18th century trip – after her return of Marie-Antoinette fashion Great Terror in Paris. While Julien Temple goes up his 'passage back into rural romanticism' (along with Joe Strummer in Somerset), as he works on his 1968 King Mob echo Wordsworth / Coleridge film, 'Pandemonium', and more pro-music Pistols propaganda.

**1999**

**KING MOB ECHO LEAVING THE 20th CENTURY: MARCH 27:** Brit-pop shopping couple, Liam, out of Oasis, and Patsy Kensit, are attacked by revolutionary pop nationalist England hooligans, in their BMW, outside the Conran shop on Marylebone High Street. No Brit-Pop-ery! The struggle continues. Ingerland. Ingerland. Ingerland. **INGER-LAND!**

**JUNE 18: STOP THE CITY: THE MEANING OF LIFFE:** After Apathy in the UK euro-elections, the day before Edward / Sophie royal wedding spectacle, and day of G8 economic summit in Cologne, 'Reclaim the Streets' road protesters and fellow travellers succeed in bringing the City to a standstill. I take it all back, the Kids are alright. As 'The Observer' puts it, 'Virtual chaos baffles Police: recruited through an obscure website, organised in cells, the eco-warriors without a chief have redefined anarchy.' The 'Stop The City' 1780 / 1980s revival is organised on the internet, with on-line City map, and via mobile phones, instead of riot captains with target lists. London Underground nihilist travel movement also do their bit to smash the system, and City companies advise employees to dress down.

**12.00PM:** As the Duke of Edinburgh is turned back on his way to a cricket World Cup dinner at the Guildhall, demonstrators covered in fake blood chain themselves inside Lloyds Bank on Cheapside, theatrically re-enacting the Gordon riots. City of London police stand by, also echoing their 1780 forbears, as Warburg Dillon Read bank, at Liverpool Street, is surrounded by the 'Carnival against Capitalism' – at this stage a relatively innocuous pop rave riot 'of whistling and dancing anarchists.'

**12.40-1.20PM:** The Riot in Broad Street: From Liverpool Street the crowd splits into 4 groups, with one going east down Middlesex Street to Aldgate, and the other 3 heading into the City, towards the Bank.

**2.20PM:** A girl is dragged under a police van, while other protesters stomp on the roof, on London Wall / Moorgate (where Francis Wheatley's June 1780 picture is set). At the Dutch Rabo bank windows are smashed with scaffolding poles; a Mercedes showroom is also attacked; several BMW / Daimler / Mercedes cars are set alight; as is a policeman, and a postbox outside the Royal Exchange; a fire engine is set upon (as in the Gordon riots); and a restaurant is trashed on Upper Thames Street.

**2.40PM:** City traders fight demonstrators on the escalators, in the revolution of everyday Life (London International Financial Futures and Options Exchange), at Cannon Street. This is shortly before the 'futures pits' are closed down. In Channel 4's 'City Stories', soon to be obsolete floor traders do indeed behave, and dress, more like Burchillian Sex Pistols than their anti-City hippy opponents. As the City and State office worker mob cheer police charges, floor traders taunt protesters, flashing gold American Express cards, and Rolexes, and throwing photo-copied fivers at them. Another 1968 King Mob style group in carnival masks attack the Cannon Street McDonald's. While Lord Mayor Levene is going round the City in casual disguise, on a motorbike; acting more like Brackley Kennett than the 1381 mayor, William Walworth, who personally hunts down revolting peasants.

**4.30PM:** Echoing the end of the Gordon riots, police secure the bridges and flush demonstrators out of the City, across Blackfriars and Southwark; as an anti-wedding party continues in Trafalgar Square.

**JUNE 19:** 'The Times' headline reads, 'The Mob's Day Out', while the 'Telegraph' leads with 'Mobs put City under siege', and 'Riot in the City: The day the mob brought violence and destruction to the Square Mile' feature. In which George Trefgame writes: 'The City was confronted with the worst trouble in the Square Mile since the Gordon Riots of 1780. News of the mob's progress spread rapidly. Little work was done as e-mail messages flashed between offices and phone lines were buzzing. Absurd rumours abounded, including one that protesters had built a wall blocking the exit to the LIFFE exchange and another that a protester had super-glued his head to the doors of the Bank of England.' 'The Independent' has 'Police battle with rioters in the City', and 'The Sun' has picture of the masked attack on the Cannon Street McDonald's, with 'Evil Savages' caption – at the time of Kosovo – like the 90s never happened? Police have usual difficulty identifying ringleaders, due to anonymous Internet organisation, though City of London police claim they use the Internet to gather intelligence on organisers' plans. No sign of any well dressed men at this stage, though one of those arrested is Spanish. As for cyber-riot-captains, the 'Telegraph' reports 'disguised ringleaders – some even dressed as women' (echoing the French Revolution and 1843 Welsh Rebekah riots). DCI Kieron Sharp says: "The violence had been highly organised and rioters targeted specific institutions such as the LIFFE and a BT building." Assistant Commissioner James Hart adds: "What we ended up with was a large-scale, meticulously organised attack on police and property." While 'one rank and file policeman' tells the 'Standard': "We feel we were not allowed to do our job properly and were badly let down by senior officers." Making another 18th century echo, 'Standard' coverage includes report that demonstrators

are given £30 and packed lunches to travel in to the City. Damage estimates are somewhat higher than in 1780 at £2 million, and there's not even any houses pulled down, and probably not as many windows smashed, but there's a lot more graffiti – though not as good as in 1968. Of the 6,000 total attendance, there's only around 20 arrests on the day, less than in the 1980s, and a further 50 or so afterwards.

**JULY / AUGUST:** As an eco-mob tear up a GM crop in Oxfordshire, the yanks have anti-Woodstock festival, during which merchandising booths are torched, and more rapes than in the Gordon riots are committed, in front of the stage. Ken Kesey then goes on 'King Mob presents The Quest for Merlin' old hippy Eclipse tour, in 'Further' bus. The Totality for the Kids? Watch out Kids – Never trust a hippy.

**POSTSCRIPT:** Some time after the City riot, police come up with CCTV footage of 'smartly dressed men', one with a brief-case and copy of the 'Financial Times' under his arm, co-ordinating City riot activity. As 'The Independent has it; 'a man in a suit with a mobile phone who called the shots in the City riot.' According to Justin Davenport, in the 'Standard', 'dressed in suits and ties and carrying brief-cases and mobile phones, these men did not draw a second glance among the crowds of City workers on 18 June. Yet these are the activists police believe orchestrated and led some of the worst violence that London has seen in recent years. Little is known of their background. None is known to police or recognised as an activist or member of an environmental or anarchist group and their clean-cut image is far removed from the stereotype of the anarchist demonstrator. Police have identified around half a dozen smartly dressed men who marshalled and orchestrated the trouble. Once the violence began, they donned carnival masks or scarves to disguise their faces, while another sought anonymity in dark glasses and a baseball cap. The one thing that brought them to the attention of the police, who have spent hundreds of hours scrutinising CCTV video tapes of the riots, was their use of whistles and mobile phones to direct protesters.' Police also find a latterday Sir James Lowther (the rumoured Gordon riots moneyman) in Mark Brown, a 'Rebel Millionaire' environmental activist. Brown turns out to be the heir to the Vestey family fortune (ironically enough from Dewhurst butchers), as he's questioned – to apparently not much avail – regarding hired vehicles, used in the riot to transport ladders, staves, and concrete blocks into the City, to block intersections. As well as the Spanish rioter, who skips bail, another is arrested at Folkestone, and French, Italian, and Portuguese suspects are also sought. While a similar wrangle over policing to that after the Gordon riots rumbles on, Millwall and Cardiff football hooligans also orchestrate aggro via the Internet and mobile phone.

**AUGUST 29/30: NOTTING HELL: THE DISASTER MOVIE:** Notting Hill Carnival goes from its King Mob roots (of 1837 'Entrance to Hipp', 1860 'No Popery', 1958 'Rock'n'Roll Fascism', and 1976 'Cramp and Paralyze Babylon' punky reggae party; the best Brit-pop riot) to (the worst) New Labour mobile vulgus 'Carnival for Capitalism'. As the 'Standard' says, 'the Carnival was perhaps a fitting end to a decade which has seen such events transformed from being largely underground and trouble-prone to highlights of the social calendar.' Or as G.K. Chesterton writes in 'Napoleon of Notting Hill', of leaving the 20th century as he leaves the 19th, 'Notting Hill is the tyrant, your Majesty. Its council and its crowds have been so intoxicated by the spreading over the whole city of Wayne's old ways and visions, that they try to meddle with everyone, and civilise everyone, and tell everyone what is good for them.'

**SEPTEMBER:** Leaving the 20th century, Chris Gray writes: 'Dear Malcolm, Thanks very much for the mss. which I've been reading over the weekend. To tell you the truth, I was quite surprised how much I enjoyed it... though I don't know quite what I feel about reprinting it all 30 years later. Partly I'm flattered that you think it's still relevant; partly, and this is the revolutionary part I fancy, I wonder whether it wouldn't be better just to forget about the past, and let a new generation find their own revolution, out of their own hearts and nerves and minds. And I pray they do, man, for God knows this civilisation is an even bigger and more sinister shithheap than it was when we were young... Lastly I didn't quite understand what it is you've sent me. Is this one book – or two? Because, if it's meant to be just one book, there seems to be undue stress on the Gordon Riots, whose link with the Sits is tenuous to say the least of it... OK. All luck to you, and your book.'

**NOVEMBER 30: BABYLON FALLING DOWN** (graffiti on burning police van): If you find some of the above theories bizarre, how about the 'Standard' report that demonstrators at the Euston anti-WTO / Railtrack riot include; 'right-wing fascists linked to soccer violence and extremist Protestant groups.'

**DECEMBER:** Malcolm McLaren has to get the last word by standing for London Mayor. As the 21st century Brackley Kennett, he pledges to legalise brothels opposite Parliament, ban cappuccino bar culture, grant libraries alcohol licenses, and enforce drifting through galleries and museums.



# The social history of protest riots

YOUR editor against

# The Daily Telegraph

Britain's biggest-selling quality daily

Saturday, June 19, 1999 79p

## Banks, shops and monuments targeted in six-hour riot • Police face hail of bricks

# Mobs put City under siege

### Hague to restore Tory values



# POLICE BUNGLED THE CITY RIOT

### Senior officers blamed for allowing violence to spread

by Lucy Lamberth

BAD JUDGMENTS made by inexperienced senior officers were responsible for the police failure to control this year's violent City riot, according to a highly critical report out today.

The report, written by a senior police officer, says that the riot was a "major public order failure" and that the police were "unable to prevent the riot from spreading to the City of London Police area."

The report also says that the police were "unable to prevent the riot from spreading to the City of London Police area."

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...most of them, the extra-curricular value was being part of a process never mind what it was about Nigel Hasleford, Birmingham Post

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## BUY AND GET TOMORROW

# The day the mob brought violence



## EVIL SAVAGE

## Revealed: how City

## DAVENPORT reports

These are the pictures of the men police wish to interview in connection with the City of London riot last month. They include some of the suspected ringleaders of the protest, which ended with £2 million worth of damage and 42 people injured, some seriously. The pictures, taken by police video teams including a helicopter hovering overhead, reveal for the first time the full scale of the day-long Global Against Capitalism protest. Crime Correspondent DAVENPORT reports

# Virtual chaos baffles police

Recruited through a website, organised in a city without a chief

By Richard Barnes  
Home Affairs and  
John King

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Internal inquiry told of 'mishandling' and junior officers feeling 'let down'  
**Pcs thought they were 'losing control' of City riot**

By COLIN ADAMSON  
and JUSTIN DAVENPORT

AN INTERNAL police inquiry into  
London's riotous day has  
blamed 'mishandling' and  
junior officers feeling 'let down'  
for the chaos. The inquiry  
found that police officers  
were 'not clear on what  
to do' and that some  
officers 'did not know  
what to do'.

Trust fund activist on bail amid new claims about organisation of massive day of protest

by JUSTIN DAVENPORT and NICOL ROSSER

and destruction to the Square Mile

TV's Helen Rollason dies of

riot was organised



Disappeared in riotous and cap



Under a police line

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Why Nike Town will conquer the capital  
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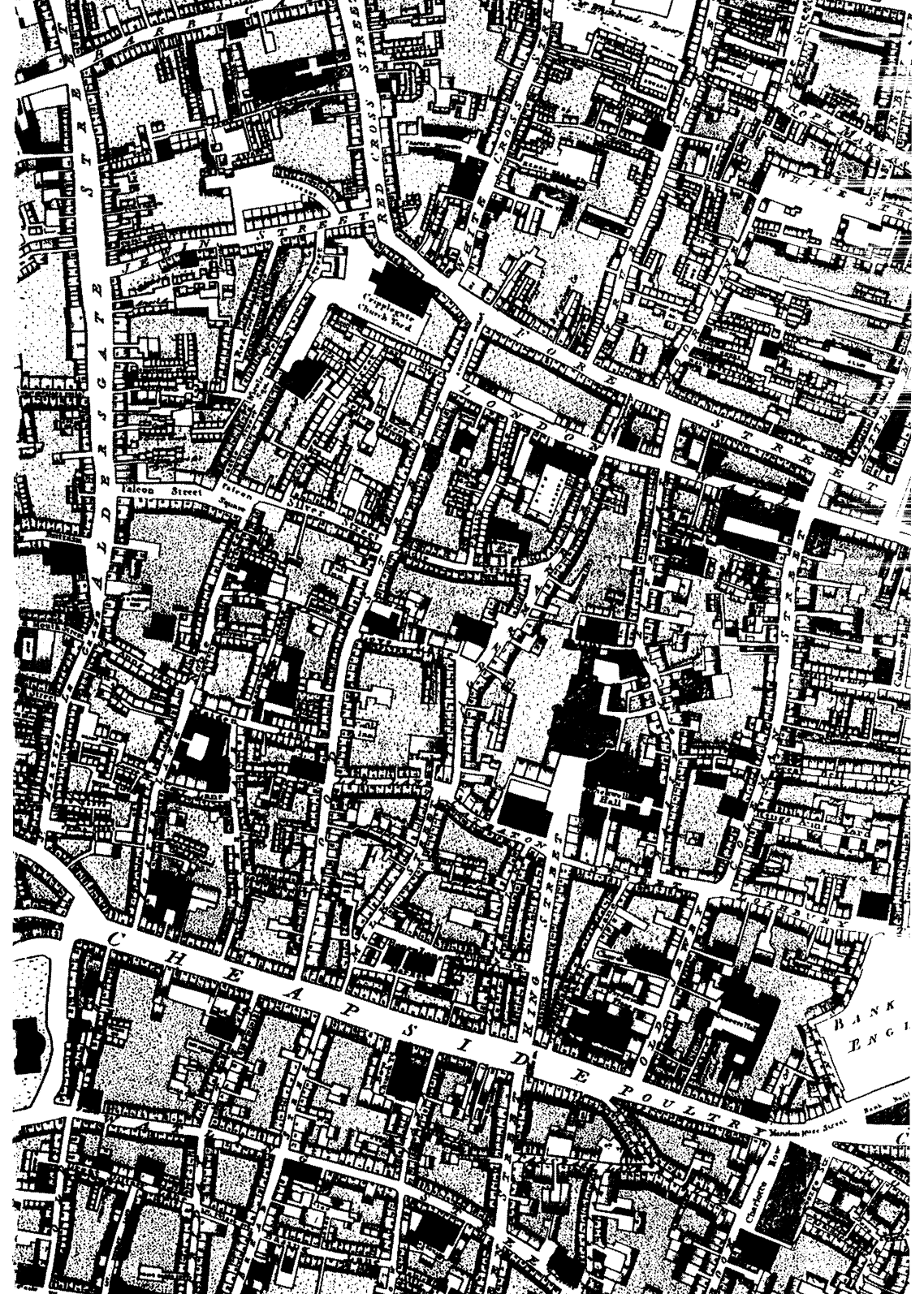
# Notting Hell

NO BLACKS - NO IRISH - NO DOGS - NO MOROCCANS - NO PORTUGUESE - NO ITALIANS - NO SERBS - NO SWINDLERS - NO TRICKSTERS - NO PICKPOCKETS - NO KNAVES - NO PIMPS - NO FAGGOTS - NO GRASPING DOUBLE DEALERS - NO POP - NO STYLE - NO ROCKS - NO SEX - NO DRUGS - NO ROCK 'N' ROLL - NO REGGAE - NO PUNK - NO HIPPIE - NO HIP-HOP - NO HOUSE - NO WESTWAY - NO ADBROKE - NO BONGS - NO SKATEBOARDING - NO CARAVAN - NO DRAMA - NO ROMANCE - NO COMEDY - NO STORY - SAME DING DONG DAY AFTER DAY - TUBE - SHOP - TRENDY CAFE - MOBILE - SHOP - RESTAURANT - BAR - TUBE - SHOP - HOW MUCH MORE CAN YOU TAKE - ONE IN TEN GO MAD - IN FIVE GO BACK UP - GET REAL - MEMOIT - RICHARD UPTON - WANTED BY INTERNATIONAL MEDIA - TRIBUNAL FOR ENGLISH ETHNIC CLEANSING

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'Behind the slogan of 'No Popery' and other outward forms of religious fanaticism there lay a deeper social purpose: a groping desire to settle accounts with the rich, if only for a day, and to achieve some rough kind of social justice.' George Rude, 'The Gordon Riots', 'Paris and London in the Eighteenth Century - Studies in Popular Protest'

'Part of the genesis of punk goes back to the English section of the Situationists and the subsequent King Mob - a loose affiliation (hardly a group) of disparate though confused revolutionary individuals in England in 1968. King Mob lauded and practised active nihilism...' Dave and Stuart Wise, 'The End of Music - Punk, Reggae: A Critique'



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